



Vassilis Nitsiakos, Ioannis Manos, Georgios Agelopoulos,
Aiki Angelidou, Vassilis Dalkavoukis (Eds.)

Balkan Border Crossings

Second Annual of the Konitsa Summer School

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

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Contributions to Balkan Ethnography

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edited by

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CONTENTS

Editorial

7

A. On Theory and Method

Thomas Hylland Eriksen

Perilous Identity Politics, the Loss of the Primitive and an Anthropology that Matters. Some Reflections about Anthropology in the new Century 9

Vassilis Dalkavoukis

From Ethnic to Ethno-local Identity. The Example of the Sarakatsani at Zagori (Epirus) in the Twentieth Century 29

Elefteria Deltsou

Greece, the Balkans and Europe in Anthropology 45

Radharani Pernarcic

The Impossible Discourse 63

Vasiliki Kravva

The Personal, the Local and the Political: Oral Histories as Valid Analytical and Methodological Tools 85

B. On borders

James Verinis

Ethnographic Features of the Landscape Along the Greek-Albanian Border: Agricultural Artifacts as Anthropological Data 103

Marija Krstić

Shrines ("Eikonostasia") on the Greek-Albanian Border Line 119

Flora Giovannetti

Shifting Meanings of Ethno-religious Boundaries at the Southern Albanian Border Area: Drawing Inspiration from the Case of Kosinë/Kosina 131

Georgia Kitsaki

Ethnic Groups: Identities and Relationships in the Greek-Albanian Border 147

Gabriela Boangiu and Evangelia Matsouki

Lived Borders – Between Belonging and Daily Crossing 153

Pinar Gümüs and Banu Acikdeniz

Borders and boundaries in a border area: The case of an Asia Minor refugee settlement in Konitsa 165

Evangelia Matsouki

Claiming the Place. Commercialisation/National Memory 181

Christina Knechtl, Aleksandra Djuric-Milanovic and Marko Perožić

Singing for the Boar: Collective Identity and the Consumption of Tradition in the Greek-Albanian Border 191

Fenia Tsobanopoulou and Vassiliki Apostolopoulou

Oral Tradition across the Border: Reflections on/of Polyphonic Singing in a Greek-Albanian Context 201

Mimina Pateraki

Looking back, Moving forward. Parallel Polyphonic Representations of Historical and Contemporary Dance Practices in Leskovic 221

Georgia Sarikoudi

Social Borders and their Meaning in Repatriates Life 235

Ariadni Antoniadou, Chrisa Giannopoulou and**Maria Kapsioti**

Within the Community of Fourka: The Case of the 'Saint Maiden' - Discourses and Symbolic Meanings 245

Presentation of PhD and MA/MPhil theses

James Verinis 255

Maria Miruna Rădan 273

Course Syllabi 289

Author Index 353

Index of the Editors and Contributors 359

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

Editorial

The *Konitsa Summer School in Anthropology, Ethnography and Comparative Folklore of the Balkans* is now a well known academic institution among academics and students. Nearly four hundred students and forty professional scholars have participated in its academic, social and cultural activities.

This is the second volume of the School's Annual containing the proceedings of two years, 2007 and 2008, for practical reasons. There was a delay in the whole editing process and we decided to publish a double volume. The volume contains texts written by members of the teaching staff, papers delivered as lectures or especially prepared for the Annual, papers written by students based principally on their fieldwork exercise, presentations of ongoing PhD theses and, finally, the syllabi of the subjects of instruction. We would like to stress once more the emphasis put on students' participation, providing them with the opportunity to express their views and publish their work.

We express our deep gratitude to all colleagues and students alike, who have shared this wonderful and utterly stimulating academic and human experience with us. Special thanks go also to the Municipality of Konitsa for the material and moral support, the University of Ioannina for including this activity in its academic programme and all the Universities participating in the *Border Crossings Network*.

The Editors

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

Perilous identity politics, the loss of the primitive and an anthropology that matters. Some reflections upon anthropology in the new century

This essay is intended as a contribution to what Keith Hart (1998) has called 'the long conversation of anthropology'. My aim is straightforward. I am going to raise a few critical questions about the state of our art in the early twenty-first century, aided by a very limited, slanted and selective reading of the anthropology of the last century. This will be about some of our successes and some of our failures and, given the topic, it is almost inevitable that I shall also speculate somewhat on future prospects.

Allow me to begin with an anecdote from my home department, the Department of Social Anthropology at the University of Oslo. Back in the 1970s, the young and brilliant anthropologist Jorun Solheim wrote a rather knotty and theoretical article with the lengthy title, if my memory serves me correctly, 'Er det riktig å si at moderne antropologiske forskere som Barth og Bailey står på skuldrene til Raymond Firth?', in other words or in plain English, 'Is it correct to assume that modern anthropological scholars, such as Barth and Bailey, are "standing on the shoulders" of Raymond Firth?'. Generations of students had to read the mimeographed typescript, originally an exam paper, and an exceptional one at that, which concluded that there was a strong and clear continuity from Firth's reworking of functionalism to the transactional models devised by people like Barth and Bailey.

In 1989, the department decided to organise a grand celebration of its 25th anniversary, for reasons still obscure to me. A quarter-century is not an impressive time span and, besides, the foundation of the department was very much a technical and even terminological affair; before 1964, social anthropology had been taught in the same dilapidated building, aptly named Barracks B, by roughly the same staff, in the Section of Ethnography.

* Professor, University of Oslo.



Be this as it may, in connection with the celebration, Raymond Firth was invited over. Firth, then pushing 90 years old, gave two lectures during his visit, one of which was entitled 'The future of social anthropology', where he spoke of biotechnology, computers and other recent phenomena that demanded the attention of anthropologists. It was during question time after this lecture that a colleague, known for his quirky sense of humour, rose in the packed auditorium and asked the venerable old man: 'Is it true, Professor Firth, that Fredrik Barth and other contemporary anthropological scholars are standing on your shoulders?' Firth, vaguely sensing that he had been given a part in an in-joke, answered roundly and graciously that 'Well, if they do, at least that suggests that they can see further than me'.

Now, the question is, do we see further than the people on whose shoulders we are perched, or has a nasty fog descended on the scenery? Clifford Geertz seems to have moved towards the latter position towards the end of his life, although he was frequently seen, by self-professed scientific anthropologists, as one who had paved the way for the horrors of postmodern obscurantism. In a recent book essay comparing James Clifford and Pierre Clastres – an unlikely pair, but offering a thought-provoking contrast – Geertz concludes: 'Whatever the flaws of his approach, Clastres knew where he was going, and he got there'. Clastres, in *Society Against the State*, describes a South American tribe struggling to retain its old way of life. Clifford, in his *Routes*, a book about travel, movement and ethnography, on the contrary 'seems stalled, unsteady, fumbling for direction', and his text has 'a hesitant, stuttering quality (what can I say? how can I say it? with what right do I do so?)'. Postmodernism taught a generation of anthropologists to dissect the menu without bothering to look at the banalities of the food; it concentrates on the wallpaper patterns instead of the quality of the woodwork, just as scholars with a neo-Darwinian bent – adherents of selfish-gene biology – appear to mistake the recipe for the food. The most evangelical expressions of neo-darwinism, representing a search for simple answers to complex questions, could be seen as resulting from despair at apparent postmodern fragmentation, but ironically neo-Darwinism deals in abstractions of a comparable kind to those of a Derrida or a Lyotard.

Is the party over? Anthropologists of my generation were somehow given the distinct impression that early-to-mid-twenty-century anthropology was sparkling with magic. It held a confident belief in its huge intellectual task and, quite evidently if usually muttered under one's breath or even denied up front, its moral mission consisting in improving the world, but especially improving the Western middle classes. Disdainful of the competition, be it quantitative social research, a-theoretical historiography or reductionist sociobiology, social anthropology held the banner high, but not so high as to make itself vulnerable to criticism for vulgarity and sensationalism. The era of anthropological identity politics properly began just after the Second World War, by which time the number of professionals and teachers in the discipline was sufficient for anthropological scholars not to have to worry about making their writings accessible or interesting to outsiders.

Haven't we all sat in social anthropology seminar rooms, whether in Oxford, Oslo or elsewhere, listening to presenters taking liberties with certain conventions of the discipline, only to be met with reactions of the generic kind '*Hmm... very interesting, fascinating even, but is it anthropology?*' In sum, and I do not want to go into details at this stage, there is a lack of openness in social anthropology, which is at best puzzling, at worst embarrassing. Some years ago, there was widespread professional concern with the ways in which our battered old concept of culture had been hijacked by academic non-anthropologists, while we were simultaneously busy dismantling it. Although anthropologists are nowadays everywhere outside the academy, the internal identity politics of our discipline are still militantly obsessed with boundary maintenance and gatekeeping. I can think of several departments which wouldn't dream of hiring a member of staff with a PhD in another subject than anthropology. Collaborating with academics in other disciplines is considered respectable as long as one doesn't 'lose one's professional identity as an anthropologist'. You know this as well as I do. But isn't this somewhat out of character for a discipline to which one of the truly foundational texts is Marcel Mauss's *The Gift*? Mauss begins his essay by distinguishing between the three phases of gift exchange: giving, receiving and returning the gift. Anthropologists, almost like Scandinavian aid donors, are perfectly happy to give their concepts and theories to outsiders, but

are less enthusiastic about the offered return gifts in the form of analyses inspired by anthropological thought but not part of it. There is a fear of impurity in anthropology, a fear which makes sense, perhaps, in the context of Mary Douglas' theory, but not in intellectual life.

This fear of impurity, or of intellectual contamination, is perhaps nowhere more evident than in the realm of popular anthropology, or public anthropology if you like. I have recently devoted a whole book to this topic (Eriksen 2006) and will not reiterate my argument about popularisation here. Attitudes to light-hearted 'popular anthropology', typically represented in this country (i.e. the UK) by Kate Fox and her very entertaining book *Watching the English* (Fox 2004) vary and, I think, should vary. However, there are different kinds of popular anthropology. One or two are plainly populist, commercial literature aiming to entertain but not to make substantial new contributions to knowledge about the condition of humanity. I have no grumbles against such books, but they fall outside the scope of the present concerns, which are about the ability of anthropology to contribute intellectually to the long conversation about humanity, not just the one about anthropology. It is disconcerting to note that on recent lists of the 100 most important intellectuals in the UK and the world respectively a grand total of one anthropologist was represented, namely Clifford Geertz, on the global list. Now that he is gone, the number would be nil.

You may not be interested in lists of this kind, but I could mention other examples, such as the very comprehensive bestseller lists on Amazon, the professional backgrounds of contributors to the *London Review of Books*, *Prospect* or the *New York Review of Books*, or a dozen similar indicators suggesting the wider intellectual significance of social anthropology. This is not a time for complacency. Anthropology has, in the past, succeeded spectacularly in combating racial prejudices and biological determinism, accounting for – and, at least in the case of Margaret Mead, contributing to – cultural change, and throwing unexpected analogies and thought-provoking contrasts into the world, sometimes succeeding in 'making the exotic familiar and the familiar exotic', to paraphrase Malinowski. Our failure to define a single public agenda over the last decades – and I am using the word 'public' loosely, to include the media, politics and general intellectual debate – is actually quite serious. It does

not mean that anthropologists are, generally, working with useless and irrelevant topics, that they are engaged in a self-enclosed activity of high sophistication akin to the 'glass bead game' described in Herman Hesse's last and most important novel, *Das Glasperlenspiel*, translated into English variously as *The Glass Bead Game* and as *Magister Ludi*. The glass bead game has no ulterior point beyond that of allowing its players to display their dazzling skill and intellectual dexterity and, as the novel shows so clearly, the singleminded commitment to the game demanded of its players makes them unfit for living in the world. Among other things, Hesse's novel is clearly a comment on self-enclosed, self-congratulatory academic pursuits with little relevance beyond the academy. Novelists and poets have been known to regard literary studies, not least in their poststructuralist versions, in such terms. But anthropology? Well, clearly no. What attracted many of us to anthropology in the first place – the possibility to raise fundamental philosophical questions while simultaneously engaging with the world of real existing people – is still there. But, and I regret this very deeply, it is increasingly to be found inside a cocoon.

One feature of contemporary anthropology which may contribute to its failure to attract intellectual interest from outside could be the absence of clear theoretical positions. As Bruce Knauft recently pointed out (Knauft 2006), theoretical perspectives are not so much absent in contemporary anthropology as they are mixed:

[T]he reification and contestation of named "isms" and their progeny – materialism, Marxism, interpretivism, postmodernism, and even those that cultivate a distinctive subject position of politics or authorship, such as feminism or multiculturalism – are no longer as subject to explicit theorisation or paradigmatic contestation as they were 10 or 15 years ago, notwithstanding their enduring threads, lineaments, and academic politics. Theoretical disputes between paradigms or subject positions are no longer as prominent as they were.' (Knauft 2006: 408)

Knauft then gives a partial list of the 'first team' of American anthropology, noting that not a single one of them is associated with a partic-

ular theoretical paradigm. Perhaps what Knauff is really saying is that anthropology has become more like history (only less eloquent), an ideographic field of study, far from being a nomothetic science. But there is more to his argument than that. His view is that the opposing poles that defined anthropology for most of the last century have lost their magnetic force and are no longer seen as indispensable. Versions of Marxism, structuralism, hermeneutics and phenomenology, even healthy injections of structural-functionalism, have made their way into the shared theoretical toolbox of anthropologists to which nobody has a right of priority. In saying this, it is clear that Knauff is playing down a few real existing polarities, such as the rather deep gulf between interpretive anthropologists and neo-Darwinists, but as a diagnosis of American cultural anthropology and most European social anthropology it is fair enough. Knauff nevertheless uses the word 'post-paradigmatic' to designate contemporary sociocultural anthropology, but this usage of the term must remind us of Lévi-Strauss' Brazilians, or Baudrillard's Americans, who had ostensibly taken the journey directly from barbarism to decadence without passing through civilisation on the way.

The timidity of contemporary anthropology contrasts sharply with the grand visions and ambitious theoretical programmes characteristic of early-to mid-twenty-century anthropologies. In this country, the end was announced as early as 1950 by Evans-Pritchard in his lecture '*Anthropology and history*'. Expanding on his earlier critique of Radcliffe-Brown's positivism, Evans-Pritchard now seemed content to see social anthropology as an interpretive discipline. This statement did not detract many of his contemporaries on both sides of the Atlantic from continuing to develop their distinctive and often hugely ambitious theoretical programmes, from Lévi-Straussian structuralism to Marxist anthropologies and the so-called cultural materialism of Marvin Harris, as the latest projection of what Edwin Ardener – another great Oxford man – called 'high modernism' in anthropology. In Ardener's view, modernism in anthropology ended around 1980, when the grand theories seemed to fizzle out. A decade later, Henrietta Moore suggested that anthropology as a unified discipline had ceased to exist (Moore 1996), having been replaced by a series of overlapping but distinct practices. This is clearly an overstatement at the very least. I can think of few academic professions with a stronger

collective identity than anthropologists, and perhaps this is where our current problem lies: we have, it appears, so much to tell each other that we forget to invite others to join the conversation and, similarly, have little time, on our own part, to join theirs.

I said that this is not a time for complacency, but it is also, like it or not, not a time for grand theory. Contemporary anthropologists commenting on the state of the art, from Wendy James to Kirsten Hastrup, from Talal Asad to Joao de Pina-Cabral, never seem to call for the resurgence of all-encompassing theories with an objectivist bent. Their caution is obviously well founded – as Evans-Pritchard noted more than half a century ago, the scientific programme of structural-functionalism had failed to yield a single ‘natural law of society’ – yet, what we have taken away from our students (and ourselves) is the joy and enlightenment involved in comparing and evaluating distinct theoretical programmes. For my own part, one of my great formative moments as an undergraduate was the departmental seminar, it must have been around 1982, when Eduardo Archetti accused Marvin Harris of being a vulgar Marxist, following Harris’s just-so materialist stories about cultural changes in American society. Things, we thought then, are more complex than they seem – but we remained Pyrrhic sceptics and not mere disillusioned sceptics in that we continued to believe that the answers were to be found somewhere.

Be this as it may. It is nonetheless a fact that when grand theory tries to return in this postmodern era, it recalls the famous formulation from *The Eighteenth Brumaire* of Louis Bonaparte about history repeating itself as farce. I am thinking, of course, of the evangelical movement known variously as sociobiology, evolutionary psychology and Darwinist social science. The après post hangover, which we are still trying to come to terms with, seems to be a time for good, solid work with sensible ambitions and a modest scope, not for grand visions about life, the universe and everything. Now, this is not a condition unique to anthropology, and it may not even be a problem when all is said and done. What is disconcerting is the fact that non-anthropologists no longer have a clear notion of what we are doing. ‘Anthropology is defined through its epistemology, not its object’ says Kirsten Hastrup. She is right in improving on Malinowski’s view that we study problems not peoples – the ethnographer’s

reflexivity is now an established and integral part of the process of inquiry – but we have to be able to offer something more tangible. Before immodestly offering my own suggestions, I suggest a brief detour. I am going to argue that the loss of the primitive to anthropology was like the loss of Eastern Europe to Western socialism.

* * *

Perhaps the last truly great theoretical contribution from anthropology – many of you will doubtless disagree with this – the last strikingly original perspective offered by anthropology to the world with enduring consequences – was Mary Douglas' *Purity and Danger*, published more than 40 years ago (Douglas 1966). She could still write as though the Lele were an autonomous society uncontaminated and uninfluenced by the wider colonial or neo-colonial world. Maybe that has something to do with the originality and timeless quality of her book. She could write from the much criticised, but commanding heights of the ethnographic present. This has been impossible for a long time. What we are now capable of producing is increasingly snapshots of societies undergoing historical change.

Now, the study of complex societies has been an accepted part of anthropology for a long time. In his BBC lectures, delivered in 1950 and published the following year, Evans-Pritchard (1951) takes a rather positive view of anthropological studies in complex societies, although he admits that British anthropologists have so far concentrated on the so-called primitive societies. Evans-Pritchard mentions a number of reasons for studying small-scale societies, but he fails to mention the most obvious reason, namely that knowledge of the full range of social and cultural variation which is necessary for anthropology to live up to its name, the study of humanity. Other anthropologists of Evans-Pritchard's generation and the next also supported his view that the study of complex societies should be part of our collective endeavour, and many undertook such studies themselves, but the most widespread view remained – and remains(?) – that the small-scale study should form the basis of social anthropology. This is quite obviously no longer the case, not least since small-scale societies have to be studied in their wider geographical and

historical context. It is almost as if Rivers and the diffusionists have struck back at Malinowski. Anthropology has been capable of handling this shift methodologically, but the question deserves to be raised as to whether the change has affected the anthropological imagination in any way. When, around 15 years ago, I decided to title my introductory textbook *Small Places – Large Issues*, borrowing a phrase from Geertz, there was already an element of wishful thinking in it; there was already the looming suspicion that anthropologists nowadays neither studied small places nor raised large issues.

Moreover, the theoretical onslaught by postmodernism and postcolonialism came at the least convenient time conceivable – as you will recall, it began in the early 1980s, just as anthropology was recovering from the often timely and pertinent but extremely demanding critiques from feminism and Marxism. As anthropology struggled to reinvent itself through taking in world history, imperialism and gender as constitutive features of its quest, new calls for radical change came from another direction. Complaints about closet positivism in anthropological terminology, the impossibility of objective comparison, the literary nature of anthropological texts and so on were heaped on top of existing complaints about the shortcomings of twenty-century modernist anthropology. In one sense, we recovered fully from these critiques by moving towards less ambitious (and, indeed, less coherent) theoretical frameworks and placing greater emphasis on the local. But in another sense, the general feeling must have been that the party was over and the magic was gone. From being a body of secret knowledge containing all the important keys to an understanding of the world, anthropology became just another mundane way of knowing, fraught with all the familiar contradictions and dilemmas of other lofty scientific projects and firmly pulled down to earth, into history, as an enterprise of ambiguous moral value. Enter the anthropology of transnationalism.

At this stage, it would be disingenuous not to, at least, consider the possibility that the loss of the primitive may have affected the confidence and intellectual creativity of anthropology.

There is a Gary Larson's cartoon which depicts a group of North American Indians about to hide away their stereo, their TVs and computers just as two bespectacled foreigners are approaching the village. One

of the native Americans shouts: '*Anthropologists! Anthropologists!*'. Larson's comment illustrates a reality which has loomed over our subject ever since Malinowski wrote the introduction to *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, the end of the primitive. Today Malinowski's fears have in a certain sense been fulfilled. To quote Geertz again: cultural differences 'will doubtless remain - the French will never eat salted butter. But the good old days of widow burning and cannibalism are gone forever.' (Geertz 1986:105). Typical PhD projects in anthropology at the Scandinavian universities in recent years have dealt with identity politics in a North American Indian reserve, unemployed men in an Oslo suburb, second-generation Turkish girls in Drammen and their transnational links, youth of Mahgrébin origin in a Paris suburb, the 'dot com' hype in Swedish enterprise culture, and so on. Not much swidden agriculture, sharecropping or witchcraft there - and if African witchcraft is studied these days, it is likely to be seen as a reaction to neo-colonialism and the neoliberal policies of the World Bank. Witchcraft: yes. Magic: no.

Anthropology is still taught as a twenty-century discipline with a strong continuity from Malinowski, Boas and Mauss. Key terms are historical particularism and cultural relativism as a methodological device, intensive hands-on fieldwork and the total social fact. In spite of intervening attempts to fashion alternative projects - notably materialist anthropologies drawing their intellectual energy from Darwin or Marx, structuralism and methodological individualism - and in spite of scathing critiques of the entire project of anthropology, our students are still being taught the central tenets of early twentieth-century anthropology as noble guiding principles. If I am correct in this, we obviously need to ask if it is not time to reinvent ourselves.

The three key persons mentioned - I suppose I should apologise for leaving out Radcliffe-Brown, but his enduring influence is more complicated - were all socially marginal in their societies. While Malinowski was an immigrant and Mauss was Jewish, Boas was both. Among the first recruits to the subject, there was a striking overrepresentation of people who had sound reasons to feel ill at ease in the society in which they lived, and the small networks of professional anthropologists at the outset of the Second World War included women, Jews, homosexuals, immigrants, Communists and uprooted cosmopolitans with a colonial

background. The anthropological communities were small and full of intellectual excitement, knowing that they were treading where no man or woman had trodden before. With the confidence of cult members, they were convinced that their brand of secret knowledge was capable of unlocking the hidden mysteries of culture and society.

The critical implications of social anthropology were obvious, although rarely brought to fruition in Britain. As you all know, the most successful application of anthropological cultural relativism in commenting on Western society was that of Margaret Mead with her books from the Pacific, initially focusing on gender roles and socialisation, later concentrating on the so-called problems of culture change. But Boas and Malinowski too, and French anthropologists of a more literary bent like Michel Leiris and Roger Caillois, also contributed to the debate over contemporary issues, often using examples from remote places to shed light on domestic matters. Indeed, Evans-Pritchard himself is on record as having said that his studies of Zande witchcraft could shed light on political processes in the Soviet Union.

Through most of the twentieth century, anthropology took much of its intellectual power from its ability to draw bold comparisons and make surprising contrasts, thereby creating a sense of wonder and strangeness (*Verfremdung*) in the wider world. For reasons well known to you, comparative anecdotes about Trobrianders, Kwakiutl or other 'Amongtha', to use George Stocking's term, stories are likely to incite as much disgust as naive wonder these days. The story about the painting in Kwame Nkrumah's presidential suite says it all. In the historian Herman Lebovics' account:

'It depicted, in a great surge of force, a giant Nkrumah breaking the chains of colonialism. The figure was surrounded by dramatic storm clouds and flashes of lightning. At his feet, fleeing towards the edge of the canvas, as if to avoid the storm and the wrath of the emancipator by leaving the frame, were three small figures. One was a pallid white man carrying a briefcase: a capitalist. The second scurried holding a Bible: a missionary. The third figure, smaller than the other two, but the most important for us, was a man carrying a book. Its title was

legible: *African Political Systems*. He's the anthropologist.' (Lebovics 2005)

In this image there is a dual implied critique of anthropology – it is about both colonialism and knowledge imperialism – but the most common interpretation sees it as an expression of the complicit role believed by many to have been played by anthropologists during colonialism. The book clutched by the anthropologist in the painting, Evans-Pritchard and Fortes' *African Political Systems*, could reasonably be read, in a slightly paranoid spirit, as a useful manual for the colonial service in a period when indirect rule was the preferred form of political domination in Africa. Now, the actual relationship between social anthropology and colonialism was far more complicated, both in France and Britain, than often assumed by leftist or postcolonial critics. As documented extensively by Jack Goody in *The Expansive Moment* (Goody 1995), the relationship with colonial authorities could be strained and difficult, although anthropologists doubtless received much practical assistance from the colonial office. As shown recently by Andre Gingrich (2005), German anthropology in the same period, that is the Nazi era, was consciously geared towards facilitating German colonial expansion in Africa following the military victory in Europe. Areas of specialisation among British and French anthropologists, too, tended to coincide with the areas ruled by their countrymen. Yet, as Goody shows, very little anthropological research was funded by colonial authorities – most of the money in the 'classic' era came from American research foundations – and the Cambridge 'applied anthropology' course for civil servants working in the colonies was never a great success. Be this as it may, the relationship between European social anthropology and colonialism remains ambiguous, a generation after the publication of Talal Asad's *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (1973).

In America, the situation was different. One might have expected American anthropologists to have evaded allegations of hidden imperialism. Whereas French and British anthropologists described societies which were dominated politically by their own governments, a main project of American anthropology consisted in rescuing the rich heritage of Native American cultures from oblivion, documenting languages,

myths, customs and so on among people which might shortly disappear as culture-bearing groups. Nevertheless, as you well know, very articulate intellectuals with a Native American background, most famously Vine Deloria and his extremely critical book *Custer Died for your Sins* (1969), claimed that whereas European settlers had taken their land, their economy and their political autonomy, the anthropologists and other social scientists had stolen their last remaining resource, namely the right to define who they were.

More difficult to falsify than more or less flimsy allegations about complicity in colonial expansionism, criticism focusing on symbolic and definitional power continues to gnaw at anthropology's self-confidence. Contemporary anthropologists sensitised to the problems of representation have been for many years full of the sentiment described by Geertz as 'what can I say, how can I say it?'. Following books like Asad's and Deloria's, a considerable library of books and articles written in a similar, deeply critical vein have seen the light of day and as a result light-hearted comparisons between 'The West' and the 'Amongstas' have been relegated from academic anthropology to the realms of business studies and travel writing.

Good riddance, you may think, and rightly so, but I am personally convinced that the loss of the radical Other, those peoples formerly described as primitive, has been a more serious blow to sociocultural anthropology than we are usually prepared to admit. It was, after all, the ability to juxtapose the Western life with that of remote, usually small-scale societies that gave anthropology its identity in the wider world, and it contributed in no small degree to the intellectual confidence of its practitioners.

Now, more than 20 years have passed since Edwin Ardener proclaimed the end of modernism in social anthropology, where, admittedly, he chiefly argued about the decline of distinct theoretical programmes; but it has also been 20 years since the publication of *Writing Culture*. A number of bids for a rejuvenation or reorientation in anthropology have been submitted in the intervening years, while most of us – naturally – have got on with our work in a spirit of business nearly as usual. In the context of engaging with the world, it has been suggested that we relinquish cultural relativism and embrace human rights (Kearney 2004), that

we develop mixed methodologies to be able to study modern culture (Archetti 1994), that we take the study of history more seriously, and so on. Yet, the old confidence in the cosmic importance of what we are doing has faded. Naturally, when 'the natives' began to talk back, this did not just have a theoretical or epistemological significance: anthropologists were – and are – accustomed to seeing themselves as academic spokespersons for the small peoples, giving them a voice and visibility they would not otherwise have had. When the so-called natives have serious reservations about being described by anthropologists, since they see themselves as perfectly capable of identifying themselves, the anthropologists, it would seem, have to go elsewhere.

In the old spirit of cultural relativism, anthropologists tended to function as cultural radicals at home and cultural conservatives overseas. Now that we are all in principle consociates in Alfred Schütz's sense, that is people sharing the same time and space, as opposed to contemporaries who only share the same time, this formula, which was always objectionable anyway, has lost all credibility. Obsessed with everything that divides humanity for a hundred years, anthropology could now be ready to return to the commonalities that which holds humanity together.

Exoticism has been a negatively charged word for a long time among anthropologists. Yet it remains a fact that, whereas it is easy to define a twentieth-century anthropology trapped in exoticist presuppositions – increasingly implicit as the century went on – it is much more difficult to delineate and define a twentieth-first-century anthropology completely devoid of 'radical Otherness' as a category.

There are a number of possibilities. The problem, the way I see it, is not the absence of non-exoticising anthropologies, but the difficulties in talking about the anthropological project as founded in a particular *Erkenntnisinteresse*, knowledge interest.

Quite a few years ago, an English anthropologist wrote, in a worried tone of voice: 'When the entire structure of the profession is called into doubt, it is hardly surprising that most British anthropologists still prefer to keep their heads firmly buried in the sand'. The context of this pronouncement was political radicalism and a critical questioning of the interests served, tacitly or openly, by anthropologists working in the societies that were by now known as the Third World. The author was Keith

Hart, writing in the *British Journal of Sociology* in 1974. His point of view was that the anthropology of his time was sterile and irrelevant outside the seminar room. More than 30 years on, this is still a concern not to be sneered at. It is still common to speak of anthropologists working outside of the academy as 'not working as anthropologists any more', as if preserving one's academic virginity was all that mattered.

Before we begin to discuss what a twenty-first-century anthropology ought to look like – and a wishy-washy, non-committal pluralism is not an acceptable answer – there are a few more points I should like to make concerning the relationship between academic anthropology and the non-academic social and political world.

First, regarding the invisibility of anthropology in the public sphere and policy, there is a terrible possibility that people out there know perfectly well what anthropologists do and have some fairly sound notions about the way we reason about the world – but they are not interested! Only last week, I went out to have a few drinks with some friends, and one of them spoke of a development project in Malawi. Whereas the Europeans were keen to build wells and schools, local chiefs had told the development officers that the first priority should really be to secure funding for rainmaking rituals, which are very expensive and involve large expenditures on food and so on. Of course everybody had a laugh at this, but a few years back I might have taken on the social responsibility of the anthropologist by saying something about local priorities and the importance of getting to know people really well before embarking on development projects funded and managed by foreigners. However, everyone present knew this argument backwards and forwards already, but it didn't matter. On a more general note, it is clear that in recent years there has been a perceptible impatience in the European public spheres, e.g. in questions to do with immigration and the cultural diversity brought through them. One possible response to this situation might be to accept a countercultural position, which would come easily to many anthropologists, who are used to represent minority views, but which would ultimately be a gesture of resignation.

Second, grand theory remains a temptation in spite of the many years of 'the end of modernism'. Some time back in the 1980s, Ernest Gellner claimed that the success of postmodernism was due to a great

demand, among students and academics, for obscurity. Today, it seems as if the intellectual public, certainly in the Anglophone world, is more inclined to be enthusiastic about simple answers to complex questions, as witnessed in the current popularity of selfish-gene biology. Although evolutionist adaptationism can be illuminating and may shed light on many of the topics we work with as social anthropologists, it is ultimately a kind of anti-anthropology, since it rejects irreducible complexity in favour of single-factor causalities.

Third, the supreme symbolic power of the academy can no longer be taken for granted, and this seems to have had some unfortunate consequences for our activities in the public sphere. If you are going to have an argument with a journalist or someone else with a much poorer formal education than yourself, it will now be an argument between equals. Many of us have experienced that if we say something slightly controversial in the seminar room, we may expect a polite discussion afterwards, but saying the same thing in the media may lead to vigorous and often extremely passionate disagreement. Against this kind of controversy we have no instant means of protection other than keeping mum. Naturally, it would be totally irresponsible of an anthropologist who has knowledge which is relevant for, say, warfare in Iraq or Afghanistan not to share it with the greater public for the fear of controversy. Yet it seems that this mechanism, ultimately one of self-preservation, functions far too often and has reduced the amount of necessary public interventions of anthropologists to a historical low in the English-speaking countries.

* * *

Let me now, by way not so much of concluding but trying to open up a discussion, suggest some ways in which we might begin to think, collectively, about the relevance of social anthropology in a century of disenchantment.

The continued importance of ethnographic fieldwork is, I think, beyond questioning, although methodological pluralism has been with us for a long time. What passes for qualitative data in sociology is a weak soup indeed, compared to the thickness of the ethnographic stew – consisting of an elephant of empirical stuff and a rabbit of theory, to use

Godfrey Lienhardt's metaphor, but cooked in such a way that the taste of the rabbit comes through in every spoonful.

Moreover, and this is an epistemological point closely related to the methodological one, Kirsten Hastrup is right in saying that anthropology is 'defined by its epistemology rather than its object' (Hastrup 2005: 146) – as a form of anti-fundamentalist knowledge, which she describes with the term 'pragmatic enlightenment'. It is the enlightenment of Diderot rather than that of Voltaire, a soft-spoken enlightenment which is self-aware and knows that there is more than one truth, that two descriptions are better than one, to quote Bateson. I am less happy, incidentally, with Hastrup's view that '...it is possible to believe in some sort of progress – not in the sense of belief in a unidirectional history or a teleological drive towards the perfect social state, but rather in acknowledging the possibility of learning from history.' (Hastrup 2005: 147) There has got to be more to it than that. But Hastrup's main point is well taken: Anthropology can no longer deal in absolute truth and, as we sometimes tell our students, if you have problems coping with complexity, you might want to study another subject.

These internally uncontroversial points about methodology and epistemology have, I should like to argue, the potential of catapulting anthropological knowledge and thought back to the centre stage of intellectual life and to make major contributions to policy and development issues. When this impact has failed to materialise, the short explanation is probably that we are too obsessed with our academic identity. Thus the perilous identity politics of my title.

Now the question is how a twentieth-first-century social and cultural anthropology without a shred of residual exoticism, but armed with a superior methodology and epistemology can conceivably make a difference in the world at large. Jonathan Benthall thinks we should set ourselves modest aims. A few years ago, he wrote that 'theoretically, anthropology ought perhaps to be the queen of the social sciences' (Benthall 2002: 10). He then adds, immediately, that it should probably be seen as a 'service discipline' instead; small, but with the potential to influence 'more mainstream disciplines'. But could it not be precisely its slightly countercultural character, which enables it to look at the world with fresh eyes from unexpected angles, that has the potential of placing anthropology in a

central location? The myths of uniqueness that defined twentieth-century anthropology were very helpful in internal identity politics, but they simultaneously created strong and impenetrable outward boundaries. If anthropology continues to surround itself internally with a mystical aura, the trade-off will consist in it being undersold externally.

A possible solution might consist in making a real effort to study the basic institutions of society – any society – essentially through ethnographic methods, in the same way as we should – again – begin to address the central intellectual questions of today, in the domains of development, democracy, rights, human nature and the environmental crisis. This is being done already, but in too modest a way to make a proper impact. But let me return to the empirical questions. Rather than studying down, we have to begin to study sideways and up. Up to now, as far as the ranking of the social sciences goes, the economist says important things; the sociologist says useful things; but the anthropologist says fascinating things.

Arguably, saying fascinating things, whether good for a laugh or not, may be better than saying nothing, but we can do better. Anthropological studies of everyday life in a modern society, municipal politics, diplomacy, government corporations, schools, hospitals and even military academies exist, but most of them focus too much on culture and too little on the features of the social organisation, in its formal as well as informal aspects. The crowded field of minority studies, in no way matched by an equal interest in majority studies, may indicate that anthropologists (and certain other social scientists) are happy on the margins. This is ultimately unproductive and may boost tendencies of cocooning. Anthropology should confidently locate its focus of enquiry to the centre of society, using ethnographic methods not so much to create wonderment and surprise, but to reveal hidden or unacknowledged features of mainstream society. In this way we would be able to generate knowledge which is not only truthful, but also relevant and – dare I say it – useful.

There is no particular reason why anthropologists should confine themselves primarily to work 'at home' or become a less cosmopolitan or global discipline. The point is that, just as our predecessors took on the central institutions in their small-scale societies, we should now do the

same thing in large-scale societies. This professional bias places us, incidentally, in a privileged position when it comes to globalisation research.

During the lecture mentioned a while ago, Raymond Firth was asked about his choice of fieldsite in the Pacific. He replied that, since social anthropologists study universal problems of society, they might as well do it in places where it is pleasant to spend a while. In this context, I would say that since social anthropologists can study anything, they might as well apply their phenomenal methodological toolbox to places where important things happen, and not be afraid of explaining to others what they are doing.

In conclusion, either we place ourselves immodestly at the centre stage of intellectual life and of the societies studied through our methods – through our superior methodology, our ability to raise relevant questions and apply them to the key arenas and our insistence on telling the whole story and not just a slanted version of it – or anthropology could very quickly come to be seen as an anachronism from the twentieth century, unable to make its small facts speak to the big issues.

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From ethnic to ethno-local identity: The example of the Sarakatsani at Zagori (Epirus) in the twentieth century

What is an ethnic group? Under what conditions does it arise? Is it something stable and 'eternal' or something flexible, negotiable and historically defined? In other words, is an ethnic group a type of essence or a type of social and historical construction?

Anthropologists seem to have generally answered¹ this question by suggesting the second route. But if an ethnic group is a construction, this suggests that it can be transformed through pressure, contact or incorporation within a larger society. In twentieth-century Balkan history, that is the age of nation-making, ethnic identity posed a serious 'problem' in terms of political and military power². Today, the challenge of globalisation pushes ethnic identity in two opposing directions. On the one hand, we witness an increasing homogenisation of ethnic / cultural identity through the 'centralisation / concentration and differentiation' of the global 'ethnic market'³ and the almost complete disappearance of many non-western cultures, as Eriksen (2006: 457-461) stresses. On the other hand, we also see a turn to more narrow expressions of ethnic identity connected with space⁴.

In this context, contemporary anthropology has criticised (Marcus 1992: 313) and even abandoned the term 'identity' as unable to describe

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¹ See, for example, Barth (1969), De Vos, Romanucci and Ross (1982), Verdery (1993), Eriksen (1993), Vermeulen and Coorenbalg (1994), Banks 1996 etc.

² See Kitromilides (1989) about the confusion between the terms 'ethnic', 'national' and 'national minority' within the Balkans. See also Cowan and Brown (2000: 1-27), where the authors sum up the questions and the relevant bibliographic references about Macedonia.

³ I am referring to Verdery's argument (1994: 52) about 'capital [which] continues to accumulate through simultaneous processes of centralisation / concentration and differentiation: centralising and concentrating capital, differentiating products and markets [...] Both processes have been apparent during the last decade or two [...] A company like Benetton is representative of these combined processes, with its world-wide production and distribution network and its marketing based in a variety of styles, permuted from numerous "ethnic traditions" [...]'

⁴ See, for example, the term 'glocal' (Eriksen 2006), which refers to the adaptation of global (Western) culture into local patterns.

the 'multiple positionalities' (Moore 1994: 81) and 'hybrid subjects' (Alarcón 1997: 292-293) of individuals, focusing instead on concepts, such as 'person' and 'self' (Cohen 1994). Another tendency in anthropological theory stresses the 'collective' character of identity (Giddens 1991; Hall 1996) as a more useful analytical tool, insofar as collective identity provides protection for individuals who face the destruction of their traditional forms of life. As an ethnographer who has to decide which theory is the most appropriate in specific situations, I believe that a) theoretical choice is connected to the type of field and b) the fieldwork itself reflects back on the theory, producing new assumptions and questions.

In this paper I will attempt to address the first issue by using empirical examples from my fieldwork material. My field of study is Zagori, in Epirus, Northern Greece⁵. Zagori consists of 45 villages and is a very poor region. It is very mountainous and the terrain is mainly rocky. With little soil to farm, agriculture has always been restricted and sheep rearing is the traditional occupation of the inhabitants. The high meadows of Zagori have been characterised as some of the best in Northern Greece (Makris 1990: 97), but they can be used only in the summer, as they are usually covered by snow from November to May. During these months, the larger flocks are moved to the coastal areas of Epirus or to Thessaly, while the smaller ones are kept in the villages, in stables or under the houses.

The Ottoman occupation of Zagori, which started in 1430, created profound changes in the everyday life of the inhabitants. The Zagorians negotiated their surrender to the Ottomans and thus managed to retain a level of autonomy and self government. The tax they were required to pay for autonomy had a lasting influence on their social life; a hundred Zagorians had to travel to Istanbul to take care of the horses of the Ottoman army as grooms for six months per year (Lambridis 1889: 5-9). This was the beginning of a way of life which has been described as 'traveling' (*taxidiotismos*) (Lazaridis 1983) or 'migration' (*metikesia*) (Dalkavoukis 1999) and has shaped the character of healthy Zagorian men since. Apart from grooming, the migrants used to work in religious buildings and on the streets of Istanbul, doing anything they could to earn enough money to return home. The migrants soon, however, became engaged in com-

⁵ About Zagori, see in German Kahl (1999).

mercial activities, as the Ottomans disdained such activities due to religious beliefs⁶.

The development of commercial activity had important consequences for both the Zagorians and their homeland. Commercial companies were formed with branches in the Balkans or Eastern and Central Europe (Stoianovich 1960; Füves 1965), which reproduced the pattern of migration from Zagori, because the new companies needed reliable staff. Furthermore, as the migrants came into contact with the ideas of the Enlightenment and nation building, they founded schools in every village. This act reinforced migration from Zagori, especially in the nineteenth century, when young students from Zagori had the chance to continue their studies in Ioannina, the nearest city, or at the University of Athens (Dalkavoukis 1999: 66-92). In the mid-nineteenth century, the lack of men in Zagori prompted a local historian to write: 'There is no real marital life in Zagori' (Lambridis 1868: 119). The time was, therefore, ripe for the Sarakatsani⁷ to appear front stage.

In Greece, one of the most popular conversations among folklorists, especially among the older generation and non-academic community, revolves around the origin of the Sarakatsani (Exarchos 1994). Although there is no indisputable evidence about their origin, folklorists have formulated contradictory theories, claiming ancient Greek origins for the group (Chatzimichali 1957; Poulianos 1996) or, alternatively, Vlach origins (Exarchos 1994). The Vlachs are another pastoral ethnic group in Northern Greece. Both of these theories have developed within the context of the national unification of Greece and are currently reproduced in terms of the ethnic competition between the Sarakatsani and the Vlachs. On the one hand, the assertion by the Sarakatsani of their ancient Greek origin provides them with pedigree and status that makes them feel 'more Greek' than the Vlachs. On the other hand, the address 'Vlachs' is commonly used to refer to all pastoral groups in Northern Greece as a

⁶ See Tsoukalas (1985: 275) and Mehlan (1939: 234). This behaviour was not the same for Arabs, who developed commercial activities to a sufficient degree from the thirteenth century (see Rodinson 1980).

⁷ About Sarakatsani, see Höeg (1925-1926), Chatzimichali (1957), Campbell (1964), Kavadias (1965), Chang (1993) and Dalkavoukis (2005).

result of their professional occupation of sheep and goat rearing, and this leads people to confuse the two groups. Currently, the relation between the Sarakatsani and the Vlachs is a prominent issue in ethnic studies in Greece.

We will not discuss further the origin of the Sarakatsani, as the important issue is not so much their origin as their collective identity, especially its construction in ethnic terms and its development as an ethno-local identity. We will, therefore, turn to the relationship between the Sarakatsani and Zagori.

The Sarakatsani appeared in Zagori in the late eighteenth century. In the beginning, they were used as shepherds in the flocks of the Zagorians, but they gradually started developing their own flocks from the middle of the nineteenth century (Tsoumanis 1981). At that time the majority of the Zagorians were migrants, so the high meadows of Zagori were available to the newcomers. The former not only had to pay rent for the fields to the communities of Zagori, but they also paid a tax for using the communal water reservoirs. In addition to this tax, the Sarakatsani used to pay the communities a certain amount for their products, such as cheese or meat. The communities, from their side, had to facilitate the process of producing goods by repairing the buildings or building new ones in the mountains (*stanes*). The whole system was supported by an official agreement between the communities and the Sarakatsani leaders, which was renewed at the end of April of each year (Dalkavoukis 2005).

The economic structure we described above had an important influence on the way of living of the Sarakatsani. First of all, they were forced to form concrete groups in order to deal with the demands of the Zagorians. The rent for the fields was so high that the Sarakatsani who owned small flocks (between 50 and 300 sheep) were not able to rent on their own. As they were not members of the communities as such, they had no right to the free use of the fields. Hence, they were forced to cooperate with others, who owned huge flocks (between 500 and 2000 sheep) and who had the economic power to pay the rent. These larger groups of Sarakatsani, named *tseligata*, were a kind of pastoral company, where the richer shepherds invested the necessary capital and the poorer ones offered their small flocks and, of course, their labour. The leader of each *tseligato* (*tseligas*) was responsible for the families of the shepherds who

worked for him and sometimes operated as a banker for them: lending money to families when necessary, but also restricting their payment. Finally, as the *tseligas* was the only man in *tseligato* who could read and write, he also became the administrator of the group and was able to exploit his shepherds⁸.

These working conditions defined the everyday life in the *tseligato*. A typical *tseligato* was based on consanguineal kinship, so it was a kind of a large family. This element, and also the fact that a *tseligato* had to compete with others in order to rent the best meadow, led Campbell (1964: 150-212) to stress that family was the most significant structure in the social life of the Sarakatsani. Shepherds had to trust their leader, who was usually a relative of theirs, and they were learning how to take care of the flocks since they were children. The shepherds' wives produced clothes, blankets and woolen carpets from the sheeps' wool for their own families. They were also under the moral supervision of their husbands or, in the case of the unmarried women, of their fathers and brothers. The honour of the extended family depended on two factors: the first was the positive action of the men, who had to be effective in work and in protecting the family from attack, the second was women's behaviour. Women had to be patient housewives, good mothers and strict mothers-in-laws for their sons' wives. It was said that the less the men mentioned the name of a woman, the more that woman was respected in the community.

The restricted social life of the Sarakatsani led to two opposing and significant processes. The first regarded marriage strategies. The leader of the family was responsible for the marriage of the young members of his *tseligato*, both men and women, and he used to choose husbands and wives according to the interests of the family. He tried to form alliances with strong members of the community of the Sarakatsani through marriage, in order to avoid competition with other *tseligata* or to take advantage of their position. These prescriptive marriage alliances led to endogamy among the Sarakatsani, which enforced their collective identity, but

⁸ In the Greek bibliography we can find a romantic analysis of the *tseligato*, according to which the *tseligato* was a mechanism of social care (see Karavidas 1931). The full economic function of the *tseligato* has been analysed by Nitsiakos (1987).

simultaneously alienated them from the surrounding society. This disadvantage was balanced by the second process, that of pursuing protection from godfathers, who usually belonged to the upper strata of the surrounding society and were normally connected with the political authorities. The Sarakatsani repaid for this protection by voting for the godfather's preferred candidate in the elections. This function of the Sarakatsani community has been described as 'patronage' (Campbell 1964: 213-262).

This brief analysis of the structures of Sarakatsani community can provide us with material to describe their ethnic identity from a semiotic point of view. Furthermore, we can compare the social life of the Sarakatsani with that of the Zagorians, in order to understand the manner in which contact between these two different communities enforced the collective identity of the Sarakatsani and encouraged them to reproduce it as an ethnic one⁹.

As Fredric Barth stresses (1994: 12)

'ethnic groups and their features are produced under particular interactional, historical, economic and political circumstances: they are highly situational, not primordial [...] The cultural differences of primary significance for ethnicity are those that people use to mark the distinction, the boundary, and not the analyst's ideas of what is most aboriginal or characteristic in their culture'.

Following Barth, we should: a) examine the conditions under which the ethnic identity of the Sarakatsani appeared, and b) mark out the symbols of this identity, as they arise from the ethnographic fieldwork in Zagori. As for the first task, we have already indicated the position of each group: the Zagorians used to live in the villages, while the Sarakatsani lived outside the settlements.

⁹ Many scholars suggest that the ethnic identity of a group presupposes contact and interrelationship. Eriksen, for example, stresses (1993: 9-10) that '[...] ethnic groups remain more or less discrete, but they are aware of – and in contact with – members of other ethnic groups. Moreover, these groups or categories are in a sense created through that very contact. Group identities must always be defined in relation to that which they are not – in other words, in relation to non-members of the group'.

The majority of men from Zagori worked as merchants, employees or teachers in an area stretching from central Europe to Egypt and Asia Minor, while their families in the villages reared small flocks for domestic use. The Sarakatsani, on the other hand, used to spend their whole life rearing flocks of sheep in *tselegata*. They were referred to as 'Vlachs' (in the professional meaning of the term) and accepted this definition. The differentiation between the two groups at this level was crucial for the numerous divergences in their everyday life and not least for the cultural differences between the two groups. The most important of these cultural differences, as symbols of collective identity, are outlined below.

The two groups inhabited completely different types of residence. The Zagorians lived in houses built of stone, with enough room for each of their activities. On the ground floor there was room for keeping small flocks or storing goods for the winter. On the upper floor there were at least three rooms. The first one was the living room for the winter (*chimoniatiko*) with a fireplace. The second room, named *edias*, was for the social events of the family and the third was the 'secret room' (*mistiko*), which the family used to keep closed in order to guard precious possessions from outsiders. The kitchen was normally in the yard, which was surrounded by a high wall, so that curious neighbours or villagers could not gaze in. The furniture of the house was analogous to the financial strength of the family and it often consisted of pieces bought in the places where the migrants used to work (Stamatopoulou 1987).

The extended family of the Sarakatsani, on the other hand, used to live in a one-room straw hut. It was a circular construction with a skeleton of thin wooden sticks, which were bound on the top. This skeleton was covered by straw from top to bottom, so that it was protected from rain. On the top of the hut the Sarakatsani used to place a wooden cross, in order to prevent evil from coming inside (Moutsopoulos 1994). This hut had only one opening, a kind of door, which of course could not lock. Although it was not a permanent construction, it was effective for the purpose it had been built. The impermanence of this dwelling functioned as an important semiotic signifier. In contrast to the stable constructions of the Zagorians, the hut signified the temporary character of the Sarakatsani as well as their lower social position. Finally, for the Zagorians, the straw hut was construed as the house of a stranger.

We can discern the same semiotic function in the food habits of each group, as well as in their dress and house keeping, although there is not enough time to deal with these issues in detail. In addition to the forms of residence, we can identify the most characteristic symbolic expressions of their respective cultures in terms of: a) pie making, b) the material used for their trousers and c) the musical habits of each group. As for the first, the typical pie of the Sarakatsani was a pastry without crust (Chatzimi-chali 1957: 324), which was cooked with a gruel mixed with different vegetables, usually wild vegetables found on the mountains. The Zagorians cooked a similar pie, which they prefer to call 'zagorian pie'. This pie was cooked with a crust and a filling from vegetables or meat or anything else they could combine with crust. Although pies are common to all regions of Greece as traditional food (Loukopoulos 1984: 113-116; Arnot 1975: 300), the Sarakatsani and the Zagorians dispute the paternity of their particular pie. This disagreement provides us with an interesting field in order to study the ethnic relations between the two groups, especially at the present time, when traditional pies have become a major attraction for the visitors of Zagori.

The material used to make trousers has also a symbolic meaning. The Sarakatsani traditionally made their trousers from sheeps' wool, while the Zagorians bought their trousers from shops. This differentiation reflected their different occupations. For the members of the two groups, though, it had an additional function: the Zagorians used to treat a man who was dressed in woolen trousers as impolite and violent. From their side, the Sarakatsani considered a man who was not dressed in this way as not a 'real' man, implying he was feminine¹⁰.

Finally, as far as music and dance are concerned, the Zagorians did not play any musical instruments themselves and hired local gypsy musicians for their festivals (Lambridis 1868: 112). The Sarakatsani, on the other hand, were more self-sufficient, due to the fact that they used to sing at their own family festivals or marriages, although, like the Zagorians, they did not play musical instruments either¹¹. The Sarakatsani ha-

¹⁰ Campbell (1964: 213) asserts that, according to the Sarakatsani system of values, Zagorians were 'lacking in manliness, courage and generosity'.

¹¹ My older Sarakatsani informants told me that the Sarakatsani used to 'dance with the mouth', which means that they used to sing and dance at the same time.

bit of singing while they danced led to difficulties for the Sarakatsani in adjusting to the dance pattern of the Zagorians, when they came into the settlements and started taking part in the community festivals.

These cultural expressions described above could be characterised as 'ethnognomonic traits' in the frame of a 'cultural totemism' in Zagori (Schwartz 1982: 106-108). They enabled people to distinguish between friends and opponents and moreover to develop survival strategies in their everyday lives. Finally, such cultural expressions were essential elements in the code of communication between the two ethnic groups. The reproduction of the economic and social structure of Zagori endowed these expressions with an apparent stability and permanence over time. This apparent stability was seriously disrupted by what Hobsbawm has called the 'short twentieth century' (Hobsbawm 1994).

The integration of Zagori into the Greek state in 1913 was immediately followed by an official government census of the population (1913-14)¹². During this census, the Sarakatsani were not counted as citizens of the region due to the fact that they were neither members of the communities in the past nor did they own properties in the settlements in the present. They may also have been absent at the time of the census, so the community leaders refused to include them in the lists of the new citizens. This was an act of necessity for the communities, since the tax the Sarakatsani pay was the only source of income for the communities. As a result, the national authorities confirmed a non official separation of the population in Zagori and they instituted this separation as an ethnic one, calling the Sarakatsani 'tent dwellers'.¹³

The situation became more pressing for the Sarakatsani after 1922, when more than 1.5 million refugees came to Greece from Asia Minor. The refugees were settled in the places where the Sarakatsani used to stay in the winter, so it became extremely difficult for them to preserve their flocks. It has been noted that this process destroyed almost 50 per cent of the flocks and led shepherds to accept more onerous working conditions

¹² See 'Census of the population of Zagori at 1913' in *Epirotic Society* (Ηπειρωτική Εταιρεία), 1988, 14, , 250-256.

¹³ I found this definition not only in the Community documents but also in the bank accounts of the Sarakatsani, when they used to borrow money.

in the *tseligata* (Nitsiakos 1987: 282-283). This development led the Sarakatsani and other shepherds to form syndicates and cooperatives in order to pressurise the government to resolve their problems (Dalkavoukis 2005). Finally, an effective solution was achieved in 1938, when communities were forced to accept the landless shepherds as members (Dalkavoukis 2004). Nonetheless, despite the fact that in 1939 the first members of the Sarakatsani groups became official citizens of Zagori, the process did not effectively start until 1950, after World War II and the Greek Civil War. By 1950 the majority of the Zagorians had left their villages as a result of the destruction of their property, so the Sarakatsani could find cheap houses to buy.

The renewal of the population of Zagori after 1950 led to an increase in contact between the Sarakatsani and the Zagorians. This process influenced the everyday life of the Sarakatsani, who gradually started to change many of their customs. They lived in houses instead of straw huts, they adapted their traditional clothing and food to the patterns of the villagers. Although they continued rearing sheep, they restricted the size of the flocks, so that they could stable their animals in the winter. Many Sarakatsani became permanent inhabitants and their children started going to school in the villages. The extended families were gradually broken down and replaced by smaller nuclear families and a lot of the younger men emigrated to Germany or Sweden as industrial workers. Others left rural life and joined urban occupations, such as butchers or greengrocers, in Ioannina or Athens, or they studied at the University from the mid 1960s. In short, as every single expression of the Sarakatsani social life became similar to that of the Zagorians, nobody could any longer discern any difference between the two groups. In this context, the Sarakatsani produced a new collective identity, one that we could call an 'ethno-local identity': they defined themselves as 'the Sarakatsani of Zagori' or 'Zagorian Sarakatsani' (Dalkavoukis 2005). In the rest of this paper we will examine the factors that led them to reserve their ethnonym in this new identity and the function it has today.

After the Sarakatsani established themselves in the villages, with the consequent increase in their contacts with the Zagorians, an inevitable process of assimilation took place. Milton Yinger (1994: 68-166) describes four possible phases of assimilation: a) *acculturation*, a cultural phase,

during which a group of people accepts the system of values and rules of the rest of society, b) *integration*, a structural phase, which implies that a group of people shares the same rights and political position and opportunities with the rest, c) *identification*, a psychological phase, which is characterised by a fluent sense of belonging, and finally, d) *amalgamation*, a biological phase, which implies that a group of people is not separated from the rest of the society by physical difference.

The fact that the Sarakatsani choose to reserve their ethnonym in their new identity suggests that identification has only partially taken place. Although integration and acculturation were completed since 1938 and consolidated during the following generation, there is a kind of restricted amalgamation that prevents the Sarakatsani from feeling Zagorians. Many of the Sarakatsani informants have noted that there haven't been any marriages between the Sarakatsani and the Zagorians until now, a fact that evidently shows that they feel 'strangers', a kind of community within the community of Zagori. Moreover, the older of these informants accused the Zagorians of racism (Dalkavoukis 2005), because the latter did not accept them into the settlements in the past. Thus, the 'ethnic memory' of the Sarakatsani is still alive and influences their identity today.

In addition to the reasons presented above, we can also refer to the ethnographic fieldwork that marked the ethnonym 'Sarakatsani' instead of 'Vlachs' and was used by the Sarakatsani as a form of self definition. As a result, the Sarakatsani derive status from their own ethnic identity, which they choose to combine with local elements. Moreover, the Zagorians do not accept them as fully acculturated either, because the Sarakatsani insist on referring to their particular culture, origin etc., so the Zagorians collude with the use of this ethno-local definition of the Sarakatsani. The ethno-local identity of the Sarakatsani, therefore, seems to be a matter of 'collective defense' from both sides and within a context of ethnic competition.

In conclusion, we would argue that the case of the Sarakatsani of Zagori provides the ethnographer with an opportunity to study the process of an emerging and developing ethnic identity in a specific context. As a result, we believe that it confirms the assumption that the term

'identity' still has a collective character and is useful not only for individuals but also for anthropologists as an effective analytical tool.

Furthermore, this study not only confirms the situational and psychological character of ethnic identity but also shows that the application of semiotics can be extremely effective for a 'thick description' of culture that is necessary in an ethnographic approach. As Clifford Geertz stressed (1973: 5):

'The concept of culture [...] is essentially a semiotic one. Believing with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning. It is explication I am after, construing social expressions on their surface enigmatical.'

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Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

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Greece, the Balkans and Europe in Anthropology. The issue of regional anthropologies in Europe and the question of the Balkans

For a long time the comparative dimension of anthropology focused on areas which, one way or another, were considered to form a larger group, a 'cultural area' or a region. In the early days of anthropological research on Europe the 'culture area' *par excellence*, was the Mediterranean. As anthropological research was approaching its birth place – Europe – as an object of study, the Mediterranean emerged as a 'timeless' category that constituted the neither / nor of the West and the Rest division, thus presenting itself as an appropriate subject matter (see Herzfeld 1987). While for some time the critique directed against Mediterranean anthropology seemed to have come to an end (see, for example, Herzfeld 1980; Herzfeld 1984; Llobera 1986; Pina Cabral 1989), recent publications are reintroducing its relevance as a category (for a discussion of the issue, see Harris 2005; Albera 2006). More recently, specific areas of Europe have emerged in anthropological discourse in the form of 'regional' anthropologies. Southern European anthropology for quite some time included Spain, Italy, Greece, Cyprus, Malta and, despite its non-Mediterranean location, Portugal. After the fall of the communist regimes in Europe, however, Eastern Europe and the Balkans formed two further regional anthropological categories, that defined themselves primarily in terms of the political past of the respective countries. As Guyer (2004: 503) remarked about the SSRC Area Committees that decided on US research funding, 'the Soviet Union and successor states were a new conceptualisation of the Cold War "area". Western Europe and Eastern Europe were separately constituted, but membership in the EU was blurring the distinction'. What is the use, however, of regional anthropologies and how can they stand up now to critiques that pinpoint their central flaw, i.e. essentialism? As Herzfeld (2001: 41) pointed out, not only have anthropological essentialisms not been abandoned, but, on the contrary, thinking in terms of area studies categories constitutes a marked tendency in anthropology. While, as Gupta and Ferguson have noted (Gupta and

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Ferguson 1997: 13 cited by Herzfeld 2001: 41), the geopolitical considerations behind their existence provide sufficient reason for anthropologists to challenge 'the conventional division of the world into regions, nation-states or "culture areas", organised in cultural hierarchies with persistent overtones of survivalism', Herzfeld (2001: 50) suggests that 'regional entities' can be used in a critical sense, 'not in the idiom of the old culture area formulations, but in recognition of political realities that include the use of regional identity as a means for effective mobilisation'.

From this perspective one may wonder why Western Europe never really formed a regional anthropology in itself. If a Southern or an Eastern European regional anthropology does exist on the basis of a geographical categorisation, should not apply the same to a Western European regional anthropology? If yes, where would the boundaries be? If not, why not? In all honesty, why is it considered so commonsensical in our discourses to name an Eastern European regional anthropology, but not really a Western European one, while the West continuously materialises itself in our analyses? In order to answer these questions, one needs to examine the specific regional categories as concepts that involve power relations.

The particular focus of this paper concerns the state of the Balkans and Eastern Europe in relation to the broader category of Europe, a category that in geographical terms should include them, but in geopolitical terms not only leaves them out, but seems to be defined in contradistinction to them. At the same time, all former socialist countries of Eastern Europe argue for their European status, either having achieved or desiring their incorporation in the European Union.

For a number of years the issue of the Balkans as part of Europe did not really concern western scholars very much. As long as all countries in the Balkans were politically located amongst the socialist countries, part of the so-called 'Eastern Block' or 'behind the Iron Curtain', the question of the Balkans as a part of Europe was not really posed and not just in anthropology. However, after the political and then the economic, social, etc. changes that followed Soviet perestroika, the question of the relation between the Balkans and Europe was set anew.

A number of studies provided the basis for the discussion that followed and shed new light into the processes of the construction of the

Balkans as 'Other'. Bakić-Hayden and Hayden (1992) analysed Balkanism as a variation of the orientalist theme, arguing that in the post-colonial world the language of orientalism as a set of categories is still powerful and it stigmatises societies that are not 'western-style democracies'. By now Todorova's pioneering *Imagining the Balkans* (1997) is recognised as a classic critique of Western constructions of the Balkans. Todorova explained in this book how the Balkans, a region that is an inextricable part of Europe, became constructed as a repository of negative characteristics in opposition to a positive image of the European, as the 'Other' of Europe. Another important publication was also Bjelic and Savic's edited volume *Balkan as Metaphor: Between Globalisation and Fragmentation* (2002). In the introduction to that volume, Bjelic and Savic analyse the construction of the 'Balkans' in relation to a 'West' by raising issues of 'modernity' and 'progress'. For them, the Balkans 'are constructed through a discourse that associates modernity and progress, however arbitrarily, with the "West" [...] Consequently [its] identity [is] constructed in relation to a spatio-temporal order that arrives from the "outside" '.

The rest of the paper will examine the ambiguous relation between the Balkans and Europe through the case of Greece, as simultaneously both a Balkan and a non-Balkan country. It will also explore the significations of Europe, in direct or indirect relation to which the Balkans are constructed as non-European.

Greece and the ambiguity of regionalisms: Balkan, Mediterranean, Southern European, Eastern European or just European?

Greece provides a good example of the problematic nature of regional anthropologies. In terms of anthropological geopolitics, the first anthropological studies included Greece in the 'cultural area' of the Mediterranean. When the notion of the Mediterranean area was criticised for ignoring sharp differences within it (beyond obvious but superficial similarities, like the values of honour and shame), Greece was situated in Southern Europe. As an anthropological region, Southern Europe was formulated on the basis, on the one hand, of its political difference from Sou-

theastern Europe which was then communist, and, on the other, from 'Europe' itself, the developed West.

The ambiguity of the position of Greece in Europe and the problematic nature of the Mediterranean were analysed by M. Herzfeld. As his work has shown (Herzfeld 1982; 1987; 1992), the ambiguity of Greek identity in relation to Europe constitutes a central dimension in the construction of contemporary Greekness. Herzfeld's analyses showed that Greek identity exhibits disemic ambivalence between its Eastern and Western national self, demonstrating the ambiguity of an identity that oscillates between its remote past as the ancestors of European civilisation and its more recent past within the Ottoman East. This ambiguity corresponds to images of the self that are contextually constructed in relation to the 'Other' as either a desired or a rejected part of the 'Self'. His later work on the dirty laundry of Greek cultural intimacy and the importance of stereotypes for 'Self' and 'Other' (Herzfeld 1997a) developed even further aspects of Greekness, which are perceived to be collective secrets not to be seen by outsiders.

As much as these approaches discuss a significant and very interesting part of contemporary Greek identity,, what has not been analysed in analogous terms so far is the question of the Balkans in relation to, and in the context of, the construction of a Greek identity. It comes as no surprise that the ambiguity of Greek identity can be seen to be reproduced in relation to the Balkans. Despite having been so far a silent point of reference, it was nonetheless a real one, as testified by the fact that in the 1970s Dionisis Savvopoulos, a Greek musician, song writer and performer, sang 'It is the Balkans here, it's not a laughing matter'. It is also interesting that young Greeks then, in a spirit of resistance, would sing the refrain out loud. In what sense did Savvopoulos include Greece in the Balkans and what sort of resistance did those Balkans express for the young Greeks during and right after the junta times? Perhaps Savvopoulos' Balkans is, as Todorova (2004: 183) suggests, 'the occasional romantic, occasionally reluctant recognition of cultural similarities accumulated over the centuries which, at times, assume the form of a defensive common response to an ascriptive identity from the outside'. As no easy answer can be provided to this now, the question, thus, remains: where does Greek identity stand in relation to the Balkans? Is it in the Balkans

or not? And what exactly is the Balkans, if, as many have shown, it is not 'just' a geographical entity? Even more, where does the Balkans stand in relation to Europe?

As it has become obvious, to answer this question one need not look at the geographical location of Greece, which is undoubtedly Balkan, but at the content of the 'Balkans', on the basis of which the underlying questions are formulated as follows: what does Greece share with the 'Balkans'? What differentiates Greece from the Balkans? Or, to rephrase the question more accurately, when is Greece *in* the Balkans and when *not*?

As geographical, political and cultural boundaries are not set a priori, but are circumstantial and even conditional, the relationship between Greece and the Balkans cannot be described in simple terms. Undoubtedly, Balkan countries have different histories, but also share a common Ottoman past (see Todorova 1997) that, for some, provides an explanation for current developments in the area. The decisive moment, however, in the contemporary history of the Balkans and the reinforcement of the old, symbolic geography of the Balkans as the 'Other' of Europe was the post-Second World War incorporation of all the Balkan countries except Greece in the communist block (Bjelić-Hayden and Hayden 1992; Todorova 2004; Verdery 1988 cited by Bjelić-Hayden and Hayden 1992). This political development marked the exclusion of Greece from the Balkans and its inclusion in the capitalist West, i.e., Europe. Of course, when on a number of occasions, Greeks and citizens of other Balkan countries, happen to discuss the outcome of the Greek Civil War after the end of the Second World War that led to the prevalence of right wing political forces, the views expressed over the outcome are diverse. Depending on individual political views, both Greeks and non-Greeks evaluate the outcome as either 'luck' or a 'misfortune' for Greece not to have become one of the then communist countries. In either case, the undoubted outcome was that Greece definitely became part of Europe and the West.

Thus some of the characteristics that then, but also now, separate Greece from the rest of the Balkan states have to do with the fact that historically Greece was a capitalist nation-state (however 'unsuccessful', for some, in its application of a proper capitalism) and for a number of years a democratic state (again, for some, 'not fully effective' in its application). In any case, the political history of dictatorships during the twentieth

century cannot provide the criterion to question the 'European' character of Greece, as right-wing fascist dictatorships were part of the history of a number of other European nation-states as well – from Germany and Italy in the first half of the twentieth century to Spain and Portugal in the second. Thus, Greece differs from the rest of the Balkan countries, because in their recent past they were communist and Greece was not, while in their contemporary implementations of a capitalist economy and civil democracy Greece definitely claims a 'been there, seen that, done that' difference. It is exactly on the basis of these differences in their respective recent pasts that Greece, in an essentially developmental scheme, is excluded from the rest of the Balkans and located in Europe, i.e., in the progressive, modern West, which is seen as more advanced in relation to the backward Balkans. The symbolic, but also political, economic and cultural confirmation of this was, beyond Greece's membership in NATO, its entrance into the then EEC and currently EU.

What happens, however, if the perspective of what Europe represents takes into consideration aspects that for Greeks belong to the realm of cultural intimacy? Would this inclusion / exclusion process locate Greece again in a regional anthropology at the margins of Europe, in the Mediterranean or in Southern Europe? The following examples are quite telling: if issues of 'political patronage' and 'public corruption' are introduced into the picture, then the immediate reflection would be that Greece's position in Europe is less evident and definitely questioned. Of course, it is interesting in itself that it is an almost automatic reflex that occurrences of 'political patronage' and 'public corruption' constitute criteria of exclusion from Europe. Needless to say that Europe definitely represents a state of 'rationality'. That image of Europe explains what Bjelic noted (2002: 16) about representations of the Balkans both by itself and others, namely that while they do argue about the Balkans as guardians of Western civilisation, they also present them 'as the only remaining European barbarians, equally susceptible to bribery and betrayal'.

On the basis of these criteria, therefore, do 'political patronage' and 'public corruption' locate Greece *back* in the Balkans and the Mediterranean, or not? As expected, the answer to this question is neither automatic nor clear. As shown elsewhere (Deltsou 2006), Greek identity works in rigid and impermeable terms when it excludes 'Easterners' from being

'European', in which case Greece is clearly located in Europe. On the other hand, the same relational procedure does not exhibit equal rigidity when the stake of exclusion concerns Greece vis-à-vis Europe. In that case, the categories of exclusion that Greeks use for themselves are not rigid, but instead permeable, and the position of Greece in Europe is open.

The Balkans in Europe?

The inclusion of a country in a regional category is not a matter of *the* identity of that country, as the case of Greece exemplifies, but, among other things, of the conceptual contents of the regional categories themselves. Of course, one approach to this question is described by Todorova (1997), namely that Europe ends where politicians want it to end. The real issue for the particular analysis, however, is neither the discussion of the ambiguities of Greek identity in relation to Europe and the Balkans nor the construction of Balkan identities and political changes per se. Of course, how all these interrelate in the conceptual content of the regional categories is relevant and particularly important. The important question concerns the ideological categories that inform the conceptual content of Greece, the Balkans and Europe, which depend to a large degree on the conceptual content of the hegemonic category, Europe, which presumably exhibits attributes that are allegedly absolute and independent of the rest of the categories. By doing so, one can figure out the terms and conditions under which the rest of the categories define themselves, while at the same time being defined by them.

The post-communist times that the Balkans is currently going through are commonly seen as a period of 'Europeanisation' and 'modernisation' of these countries. These changes are marked by the promotion of democracy and civil society by governmental and non-governmental Western political agencies, as well as by the advancement of market economies. Key to these processes is the deeply desired membership in the EU. Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania are already EU member states, Croatia's membership is due and Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia-Montenegro, FYROM and Albania look forward to their inclusion as well.

While the process of democratisation in the Balkans constitutes the most central political discourse from an international perspective, a number of scholars offer critiques of that which is being achieved through this process of Europeanisation. Paley (2002: 15), for example, quoting Mandel (2002), remarks that donor agents promote civil society and democracy in the Balkans in order to advance market economies and US global interests. What one does not know, she continues, is that neoliberal market reform, with the income disparities and the distancing of economic decision making that it creates, may actually undermine rather than foster democracy. Brunnbauer (2003: 5) also remarks that in the Balkans Europe is largely identified with the EU. First of all, the countries of Southeastern Europe are measured by their relationship with the typologised Europe, as the EU Progress Reports by the EU Commission measure the success of countries in terms of their Europeaness. Second, citizens of these states think that the EU offers political stability and peace, whereas local governments see in the EU the means to achieve prosperity and resolve primarily economic problems. Furthermore, research has shown that the EU considers itself to have a 'civilizing mission' with regards to the Balkans and Southeastern European countries striving to represent themselves as good Europeans (Brunnbauer 2003: 5-6). Still, as Brunnbauer says, in the Balkans there are different interest groups with diverging perceptions of benefits of EU membership. Thus, he continues, it is interesting to investigate the meanings Europe has for local people and how they modify their policies in response to EU opportunities and constraints.

As Lindstrom (2003: 314) comments, for example, Croatian and Slovenian political discourses, in an attempt to extricate the countries from the Balkans, argue for the return of these countries to Europe. Yet, through their discourse they establish Europe outside the nations, producing the paradox 'return to where you don't belong'. Furthermore, Bakić-Hayden and Hayden (1992) have shown that both Croats and Slovenes promote themselves as progressive, hardworking, tolerant and democratic Europeans in contrast to the primitive, lazy, intolerant and backwards Balkans.

Accordingly, Brunnbauer (2003: 6) rightly concludes that in Southeastern Europe what it means to be 'European' is negotiated and re-

evaluated on an everyday basis. Therefore, what people make out of 'Europe' and the EU and how they relate themselves to these concepts and master narratives should not be taken for granted, but instead be open to investigation.

And what about Europe itself?

The discussion so far of Greece and the Balkans in relation to Europe has left unexamined the question of Europe itself. Where do the boundaries of Europe lie, and why and how is Europe perceived as an entity? As historical analyses have shown, the boundaries and the content of Europe were never very clear or absolute in terms of where they lie. The bibliography on Europe provides information on how different Europe(s) have been constructed in the course of history (see, among others, Leontidou 2004). Nonetheless, Europe continuously emerges as an entity – an essentialism impossible to ignore.

In an analysis that challenges the essentialisation of Europe, Goddard, Llobera and Shore (1994: 25) suggest that the definition of 'Europe' is not just a problem of semantics, but of classification and definition, of ideology and politics. As they say, the concept 'Europe' has been used and misused, interpreted and misinterpreted in many different ways, resulting in legion and contradictory meanings. For them, Europe constitutes a master symbol, an icon that embraces a whole spectrum of different referents and meanings. It is also a discourse of power, a configuration of knowledge that is shaped by political and economic institutions which are embedded in the disciplines and practices of government (Goddard, Llobera and Shore 1994: 26).

In symbolic terms, Europe constitutes, not just for the Balkans but for the rest of the world, *the* state of modernity. As Asad (1997: 719) remarked, terms like modernity, liberal democratic culture, advanced / late capitalism, the developed nations, and civilisation are actually understood to be partial equivalents of Europe. Of all these symbolic connotations of Europe, the one concept that prevails and encompasses the rest is that of modernity, posing the question of its content and its characteristics.

A rough outline of the characteristics of modernity points to the presumption that there has been something totally new about the 'modern' world, that has been described in terms of some of the most longstanding and influential analytical categories in the history of the social sciences. From Tönnies' distinction between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* to Durkheim's distinction between mechanical and organic solidarity, to Weber's thesis about modernity, or even Lévi-Strauss' distinction between hot vs. cold societies, modernisation is seen to constitute a passage to a social state and stage through a rationalising process, moving from relationships based on family, face-to-face interactions and attachments to place to rationality and calculation, urbanism, heterogeneity and impersonality. In short, modernity (but also the different types of modernities that some argue about) has come to be associated with Western rationality and specialisation, while anything pre-modern (i.e. traditional, primitive, etc.) with the lack of specialisation and pre-rational, magical thought. Despite the critiques that the 'tradition / modernity' binary has received (see, for example, Comaroff and Comaroff 1993), the belief in modernity seems to be well established, at least in everyday thought.

Europe and modernity as good to think with

One may leave aside the question of what modernity is and approach it as a discourse, trope and metaphor, and as such a constituent and constitutive aspect of social realities. In this light, the use of the concepts of tradition and modernity perpetuates and therefore re-constitutes an evolutionist line of thought that, presumably at least, in social theory has been long abandoned. If we, therefore, expand the type of analysis applied to the Balkan discourse as metaphor, as Bjelic and Savic (2002) have suggested, to an approach of modernity as metaphor, then we need to look into what sort of metaphor modernity is and what Europe as modern represents. Therefore, the subsequent question is what is at stake by not being like / in Europe. The answer to such questions relates to the ways through which the construction of inequalities works. As Tambiah (Tambiah 1990 cited by Herzfeld 2002: 3) noticed, for example, anthropologists, by calling themselves modern, claimed for themselves rationality capable of transcending cultural boundaries.

Let us briefly return now, for the sake of the analysis, to the Greek example and its relation to this 'European modernity'. When in Greece discussions are raised with regards to its Western character, its modernity and rationality, a number of practices come to be seen as failures of Greece in the face of modernity. One such case is the failure of the rational functioning of the Greek bureaucratic state mechanisms. A good ethnographic example is the phenomenon of the *diaplekómena* (literally the 'entangled', meaning the abuse of power in a conflict of interests), scandals that have come up in the Greek public political sphere during the last decade (but also in the past). As many argue, this political-cum-economic phenomenon constitutes an expression of Greece as a not-quite European society. Of course, getting into a consideration of whether cases of abuse of power exist in other Western, modern countries is not the right direction of analysis. In any case, the former and current Italian Prime Minister S. Berlusconi would provide the perfect case in point, not to mention US Vice President Dick Cheney. What is remarkable in the case of Greece, however, unlike Europe (facing here the danger of essentialising Europe), is that the *diaplekómena* in Greece has constituted a public discourse – obviously in the context of the wider perception of a national dirty laundry – that sets the country in a pre-modern, and thus non-European, state of things. Interestingly enough, however, what is assumed to be a pre-modern Greek characteristic, the *diaplekómena*, may well be explained in the context of contemporary democracies, following Ong's suggestion (Paley 2002: 481), as an expression of State eagerness to forge links with corporate interests with the consequence that 'democratic values are more available for some people than for others.'

At the same time, analysis shows that the Balkans systematically signifies the opposite of Europe. As Bjelic says (2002: 3), the Balkans has functioned 'as the fulcrum of enlightenment Europe's self-image, or the means by which "progressive" Europe projects its anxieties and forbidden desires onto the other [...] [o]nto those who constitute its antithetical periphery'. Balkanism, according to Bjelic (2002: 3), has been organised around the binaries rational / irrational, centre / periphery, civilisation / barbarism that are hierarchically arranged: the first sign – Europe – is always definitional of the second – Balkans – and 'so the second is always a grammatical, internal effect of the first'.

On the other hand, the very same idea of modernity itself seems to be reconsidered. According to Spencer, recent empirical analyses of modernity show that supposedly modern institutions do not fulfill Weberian expectations of impersonality and rationality and that the anthropology of modernity might do more than just providing 'repetitive, if amusing, empirical challenges to Western self-images of modern life' (Spencer 2002: 378-9). Even more, Spencer argues, Latour (Latour 1991, cited by Spencer 2002: 378-9), the philosopher and anthropologist who has provided a theoretical critique of the concepts of premodernity, modernity and postmodernity, has actually shown that the very idea of the modern world is based on a set of actually impossible intellectual distinctions, like the objective knowledge of nature and the subjective world of culture, science and politics, the modern and the traditional.

It seems, then, that to argue in analytical terms about the properties of Europe as the epitome of modernity does not help us very much. One could, however, switch perspective and follow Paley's critique of the discourse of civil society. As Paley (2002: 483) remarks in her discussion of civil society with its ubiquitous and optimistic characteristics, its very incoherence constitutes the characteristic that makes it 'good to think, to signify with, to act upon'. Similarly, modernity, an equally incoherent conceptual category, is good to think, to signify with and to act upon. In this sense, modernity, as a grand theory, has been challenged as simply being one amongst many conditions with particular characteristics.

Continuing with this analogy between modernity, democracy and the Balkans, Paley's approach to modernity assumes a rather interesting perspective. If, as Bjelic shows (Bjelic 2002), in recent works on Balkanism the Balkans comes out as a 'place' in a discourse-geography, by analogy modernity is a discourse of governmentality. Moreover, Paley's suggestion that the discourse of democracy constitutes a post-Cold War imaginary that links political freedom to liberated market forces leads us to see modernity as an imaginary that constitutes, in Foucault's terms (e.g. Foucault 1991 in Paley 2002), a form of governmentality, by which is meant the 'art of government' in a wide sense. Particularly 'neoliberal governmentality', the type of governmentality that characterises advanced liberal democracies, includes a wide range of control techniques. European modernity involves certain forms of knowledge with regards to political,

economic, social and cultural life, as well respective practices in that direction. This knowledge, as Paley (2002) remarks, allows the construction of auto-regulated or auto-correcting selves.

Europe and modernity, then, as discourses of governmentality, constitute what Lévi-Strauss (Lévi-Strauss 1950 in Abélès 2000: 42) called floating signifiers, notions, namely, that are 'both essential and vague and allows for their evocation alone to be of great significance'.

Whither Europe?

It is common place, but no less true, to argue that the contemporary debates over the position of Balkan countries in relation to Europe and the content of their identities cannot be seen irrespective of the contemporary political, economic, etc. history of the construction of Europe. As mentioned earlier, Slovenia and Croatia provide interesting cases of countries which claim their inclusion in the Balkans to be a historical mistake and their position in Europe a historical fact. While in that context both Slovenian and Croatian discourses, as Lindstrom (2003: 317) points out, claimed for themselves to be not just equal but also superior to Europe in several ways, at the same time critics have started to explore 'the radical ambivalence of being both European and Balkan' (Lindstrom 2003: 322). On the other hand, on a political level and particularly that of foreign policy, inclusion in or exclusion from regional associations and organisations occasionally locates them in Central Europe, in the Mediterranean, the Alpine or Adriatic regions of Europe. For Lindstrom (2003: 324-327), inclusion in these cultural, political and economic groupings on the one hand disassociates them from the Balkans and associates them as European, and on the other, provides them with ideational and tactical advantages. Both the Mediterranean and the Adriatic evoke more positive cultural images than the Balkans and associating with the Mediterranean provides countries with cultural capital or cachet. Current evidence for this is provided by the 2008 Croatian tourist organisation slogan 'The Mediterranean as it used to be'.

Europe is, as Bakić-Hayden and Hayden (1992) called it, a 'symbolic continent', an '*idée-force*' (Llobera 2003) that, with the exception of Herzfeld's influential *Anthropology through the Looking Glass: Ethnography at the*

Margins of Europe, has remained relatively under-explored as a mythologeme. Even so, Europe has indeed emerged as a specialisation within anthropology, a fact that can be testified by the number of relevant publications (see, among others, Goddard, Llobera and Shore 1994; Bellier and Wilson 2000; Shore 2000) and conferences. But, as Herzfeld comments (1997b: 715), while Europe 'is currently undergoing a virtual orgy of self-construction, and this has generated some further anthropological reflections, [...] some of them are still occidentalist in their relative exclusion of the formerly communist regions'.

Within this anthropology of Europe, one relatively recent direction is the anthropological analysis of the European Union. While, as was mentioned before, the geographical territory of Europe does not concur with the EU, many, nonetheless, do consider the EU as the institutional materialisation of Europe. The anthropological study of the EU, however, is not a regional anthropology in the same way that Southeastern Europe is. The EU is a political institution and as such an anthropology of institutions also provides directions for its analysis. Still, the formation and development of the EU is inextricably linked to the inclusion and exclusion of those countries that belong either to Southeastern Europe or the Balkans. As Verdery remarked (1997: 715), 'the image of Europe as centre of developed capitalism and liberal democracy has grounded the division of the continent into West and East mutually exclusive'. In the intricate relations that exist between 'Europe' and the 'Balkans' in terms of cultural meanings and social practice, Europe occupies an hegemonic role both as a political force that intervenes and affects developments in these countries, but also as a mythologeme that provides the point of reference for relational definitions of identity. Returning to the initial discussion about the relevance of regional anthropologies, it seems that the constitution of Europe, the EU, Southeastern Europe, the Balkans, etc. as regional anthropologies is not at all irrespective of the geopolitical considerations that function outside the academia. The fact remains, however, that the Balkans as a category currently cannot be conceived without European modernity as its point of reference, because, as Asad (1997: 720) put it, Western categories still provide the yardstick for others to be measured and to measure themselves against.

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Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

The Impossible Discourse

Never before had I doubted the worth of writing an academic paper nor my own capability of doing so. Moreover, I fear that anything I may say will not be sufficient to bring out the significance of physicality and embodiment. Being fully aware of the numerous traps of verbal communication, I wonder how to write an essay which not only speaks about embodiment, but speaks it instead, an essay which makes you practice. It seems almost as if I need to invent a discourse on the issue, which is in its essence anything but a discourse and should not turn into one. Instead of only letting you know-about body techniques, I would rather initiate a practical training, which has the power to pull us out of our usual 'roundabout' ways of grasping the world. This practice is what I have and I can give you in order to once arrive to the point of knowing-it, to feel it knowing, to feel it falling through you.

Introduction: Why is that small deer standing right in the middle of the open sea?

This article emerges from a practical knowledge, based on a provisional 'division' between body and mind and their distinct kinds of intelligence. In this sense my writing is both unscientific and antiphilosophical and will therefore demand a great deal of intellectual indulgence from its readers. Although this matter is very simple, it runs an inherent danger of being oversimplified and becoming banal. The path for reaching the simplicity of embodied intelligence does not go through the process of analysing, selecting and clarifying information, but rather through a process of embracing, accepting and allowing ourselves to *feel* information, admitting its existence free from judgment. Immediately the latter runs the risk of being 'translated' into a (moralistic) *idea*, learned by heart (or better 'by head') and understood only on a mental level. This would mean that it would be more *agreed-upon*, rather than *accepted*. As the practice aims more for a recognition of our existing abilities and the articula-

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tion of our link with them (self-awareness), it involves a process of *undoing, letting-go, letting-be*. This process is a sort of a passive stretch, in which the surface of water subsides all the way to the bottom, but remains a vertical plane. The latter may sound very easy or so far gone that we must be careful not to underestimate its complexity.

There are several reasons why this knowledge is hard to follow and go along with. Above all, there is the inconvenience of transmitting physical practice through a discourse, causing great difficulties, acknowledging the gaps between the two and resulting in *metaphorical speech*. This article is also full of such expressions. Since physical practice can only exist by being practiced, words may only serve as auxiliary explanations, like a mother's hand holding a child when s/he learns to walk. Discourse is required in order to transmit a basic idea of what it means to walk. It should not, however, be taken so literally that we start clinging on to the 'verbal hand', merging the 'verbal hold' and the 'physical walk' into one and the same thing. Now, it is relatively easy to accept 'metaphors' with a clear reference point, where the idea depicted by a symbolic action is directly linked with our experienced actions. But there is more than that: within every evident action there is our *internal activity, our inner state*. There are metaphors in which the idea is connected directly to our inner process, irrespective of external actions, but if the only link to the idea (meaning) is therefore our *inner sense* (present within numerous different actions), while our inner activity is possibly blurred to us, we will have a hard time considering these metaphors as serious knowledge. We seem to lack the *experience of recognising* inner states and our intellect stands first in line to fill the gap, offering us explanations, definitions, categories. We start *thinking* about them, instead of letting ourselves to feel, to grasp them as embodied (to *meditate* on them). For this reason, some metaphors are far more difficult to accept and surrender to, since our intellect makes us perceive them as unsustainable in comparison to our intellectually gained knowledge. Metaphors like 'being in-the-head vs. in-the-body', 'mind vs. body', 'body intelligence', etc. interfere strongly with our dominant way of functioning (i.e. thinking), since they run in parallel with any rational logic trying to put us in a state where $2 + 4 = 9$.

The briefest of glances at Wikipedia reveals the typical result of our intellect trying to solve everything on its own:

'Meditation is recognised as a component of eastern religions...'
 (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Meditation>, 17.02.2008). *'...it is related to mysticism...'*; *'In Eastern Christianity contemplation is understood as...'*; *'...almost opposite meanings in the Western and Eastern traditions...'*
 (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Contemplation>, 02.02.2008). *'In psychology and the cognitive sciences, perception is...'*; *'...from essentially biological or physiological approaches...'* (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Perception>, 12.02.2008).

'Anthropologist Nancy Scheper-Hughes has developed a concept of body-mind...' (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bodymind>, 16.02.2008). *'Modern theories, based on scientific understanding of the brain...'*; *'Dualism and monism are the two major schools of thought...'*
 (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mind>, 15.02.02008). *'...cognition is used in different ways by different disciplines...'*
 (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cognition>, 15.02.2008). *'Awareness is a relative concept.'* (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Awareness>, 01.02.2008).

Definitions, categories, meanings, terms, schools, thoughts, interpretations, concepts, ism-s. Knowledge of this kind gives us an extremely hard time if we want to surrender to something intellectually provisional or just acknowledge that there is a different way of *under-standing* in us. Only by practice it is possible to turn this knowledge into intelligence: by unfolding it, making it more tangible, unambiguous and unequivocal. Certainly this cannot be achieved by thinking, nor according to the laws established by the mind. As an anthropologist entering a school for dance and somatic studies I have had long-lasting disputes about all this with my teachers. In my opinion their ideas could not sustain any reasonable argument. However, the only thing I could not yet grasp was that those were hardly ever ideas or theories. Later on, I saw the same scepticism from the students I taught at Konitsa Summer School (2007): the exercises generated curiosity while at the same time leaving the students puzzled. Insecurity resulted when they could not find the purpose of the task. They showed sincere interest in the practice, while not realising how much self-discipline it involves. They agreed and dis-agreed, reasoned and sought understanding in definitions from within their own intellec-

tual frameworks. They would not accept the tasks without realising what they were for, or what they had to do with anything. They distanced themselves when they sat aside watching the other group doing the exercise, etc. The mixture of these intellectual responses came back to me as a week long *déjà vu*.

Mind the gap

It may be that I am shaking the very base of widely objectified (principal) ways of human functioning, followed within intellectual disciplines. We should acknowledge, however, that our mind may not want to admit other kinds of logic but its own and will continue to 'tidy up' different ways of understanding according to its own laws: treating green in blue terms. One must be aware of a basic difference between the progressive tendencies of the mind and the existential tendencies of the body. The mind seeks liveliness in development, while the body seeks liveliness in being. Mind is a conflictual faculty, it is argumentative, it evaluates, compares, draws models, proves and refutes claiming things to be *right, false, true, worse, important, negative*, etc. Under such conditions it brings human beings many benefits but it also makes many mistakes. Its basic act is to gather, select, analyse and synthesise information; it works in an exclusive manner and such is its intelligence. Right now it may conclude '*aha, getting definitions out of our mind*', while the body would feel '*releasing definitions down-and-through from our mind*'. The body is reconciliatory but not necessarily unproblematic, it knows blockages as well, but it operates inclusively, bringing obstacles into its existence. There is no *for* or *against*, not *rational* or *irrational*. What is embodied is oriented to this *practical real (actual)*. It involves no perspectives or connotations and does not need them, for they are all present within states, feelings, in which it does not live, but dwells. If the mind seeks the point, goal, purpose, reason, conclusion, then the body seeks the state, aim, intention, alertness, motivation.

This comparison, though, has already tended more towards our mind. Writing, continually, slips away from embodied intelligence, remaining safely in the mental realm. The only way to come closer to embodied intelligence is to stop *building up* knowledge and *actively allow*

ourselves to *passively dive* into what is already known. Although this may be hard to do, as our *capability to surrender* our head, and along with that our mind, is extremely weak, because our intellect keeps whispering that surrender equals collapse (only the body can grasp the difference between tension, relaxation and collapse within one and the same action). These are critical points where the mind gets frustrated and begins to strike against the wall of its own inability to include embodied intelligence. For this reason, it starts pushing us into endless discussions, in which we try to explain our understanding of terms, concepts, meanings and, needless to say, we can never reach agreement. But words and thought cannot say everything and only when we practice embodied knowledge we can see how perfectly well we *get* each other, because we tune into *knowing*. As a result of the constant objectifications of praxes (evident in both individual functioning and cultures as a whole), mind is always prioritised. It functions as the primary mechanism of control, and as such is governed by a 'totalitarian' logic: by erecting barriers, spying, constant surveillance and banishing any form of intelligence which does not support this logic. Most often it adopts a patronising stance towards the body, inventing all kind of means to proclaim its supposed 'superiority'. Either it denigrates the value of embodied intelligence, as there is no proof for it, or it does it more delicately, calling it 'para-psychological', 'spiritualist', 'ideological', 'New Age', 'placebo', 'disorder', 'indoctrination', imprisoning the body's potential inside the walls of negative connotations. These are the usual strategies of the mind to strike back when fearing a 'threat' to its own hermetic utility. The mind may very well be right in these matters; my point, however, is that it can only be right when being intergrated with that 'obscure' body – which is why it is so important to start taking seriously the issue of embodied *intelligence*.

Training for sensitivity and embodied intelligence is very simple, it involves repeating a series of exercises. As these *seem easy to get at a first glance*, we may immediately assume that we have grasped and accomplished the task at hand, when in fact we may not even have started, as we often underestimate the depth and endeavour they demand. The problem is compounded by the fact that *changes are subtle*, unequally disposed, appearing very gradually in time, and that recognition *almost never comes through as an 'aha effect'*. Furthermore, we may also convince our-

selves that we are doing the practice when we are only *imagining* it, and gaining no substantial feeling whatsoever. On the other hand, we may also overlook the fact that we *are* doing physical practice when we think we are only imagining it. The latter may also make us think that change has accrued due to the 'power of imagination' alone. A simple way to tell one from another is to recognise a *real-visceral-feeling* from a *feeling-yet-a-thought*. When one is really *in-the-body*, one *knows*. If not, one wanders around one's mind, being half here, half ahead of oneself, half at another work, in another place, falling into relativity. The distinction between being *nowhere* and *now here* is very subtle, subsisting as *inner balance* (Exercises 1-6), not action or 'material presence'.

Concillusion (not a word in English)

The significance of practice, which I first introduced to anthropology in Konitsa, resides in its potential to rid us of our daily illusions, the illusions that influence our practical life. Illusions are one of the most *real* (not *true*) perceptions a human being can have; they are not always necessary, but they are unavoidable. The results of experiments in isolated conditions with little practical use have demonstrated our ability to produce illusions. Unfortunately our ability to train these senses in order to strengthen them and their role in our perception is often dismissed. Such abilities can, however, be heightened to a much greater extent. One needs to know that our senses are the most reliable part of perception, the twist happens in our mind when making a judgment. My concern here is the '*cultural (or intellectual) illusion*', which tells us how to approach our senses: namely, by reminding us to think about them rather than encouraging their use. For example, you have all probably heard that admonishing voice at the London train stations telling you to 'mind the gap', assuming that we need to *learn about* the gap (keep it in mind) instead of keeping our eyes open and *seeing* it for ourselves. This is not only about painting boards in bright colours, but about the *internal brightening* of our senses. It is only through firstly awakening our senses that we can avoid the detours through our mind and achieve a state of full *alertness*. Only then can we *trust our sight* (Exercises 7-14) to prevent us from falling over a bag (of which no one had reminded us) lying just behind the gap. In

this process our *presence* is often extremely fragile: either we do not trust our senses or we place no importance on them and other inner activities (e.g. breathing). We shut ourselves down, get locked inside our heads (thoughts) and dwell in the illusive belief that *we are here*, while no one can really feel us or get 'entangled' with us. We are like a black hole in space, having no *connection* with either ourselves or with our surroundings. Since our surroundings are too intense for us to keep up with, we feel that we need protection from being 'blown away' or surfeited. We hold our surroundings at a distance (shutting down) or we keep them in a secure place (creating blockages). At times when we need to *focus* on a subject, our mind may also mislead us through *fixation*, for we do not know how to be open and centered simultaneously. This is a sure way to miss the information we need most, while in fact it is all around us and always available, no matter what the subject of our intellectual interest is. Sometimes we get a sense that someone wants to share something with us and is tugging us by the sleeve, but we deny this sense and we miss our opportunity to bring this information out. In this respect, it is also illusory for anthropologists to claim that they have not done the fieldwork yet, since fieldwork is everywhere around us. As soon as we keep an open question at the back of our mind, we receive information from everywhere and we can always refer back to the already seen, heard and sensed. What we lack is the skill *to ground, to root* ourselves (Exercise 15); only then we can keep our *inner support*, which protects us from being blown away, while leaving us open to receive information from our surroundings and move with it, play with it.

It is very important for anthropologists (as human beings and as professionals) to realise that our connection with the world cannot be left merely to ideas, verbal communication or coincidental physical relating. From a simple set of exercises (Exercises 16-22) we can learn so much more about the complexity of relating to others. Trying out these exercises once as an experiment can only tell us about our ability to create illusions. We somehow manage to trick ourselves, believing we are *connected* while performing the task. This happens because we ignore the substantial *sense of connectedness* and rather trust the judgment that appears when we impose our beliefs on the external form of the action or we merely go through the motions (as we have learned is expected from us). Only by

repeating the same task we do achieve a complete physical sense of it and thus recognise the difference, finally achieving a form of embodied intelligence which can be used in any life situation – when there is no task to perform, simply living beings around us. It is also a pity to undertake fieldwork under the illusion that we have connected with our informants just because we started a conversation with them and thus miss the chance (choice) to collect more subtle information, which could give a different perspective to our research. Both anthropologists and informants get caught in all sorts of inhibiting illusions. These knots may arise in the middle of our interviews, driven by a false sense that we are *leading* (Exercises 23-24) the interview. An interview, however, cannot be a cause (reason) of an exchange, only a result (a formulated consequence). Therefore, we need to realise that there is another way of relating and not merely an interview. Moreover, no matter how (un)balanced an exchange may be, communication never contains one leader only, as it is essentially a mutual practice, a flux of *give-and-take*. When we do not sense this *stream of give-and-take* taking place, then we are performing our interviews (conversations) blindly, possibly blocking them by taking when we are supposed to give or vice versa.

The illusory belief that we are *playing the same game* (i.e. *communicating*) may appear quickly when focusing more on the form of our actions rather than on the mutual exchange of our inner activities. We may not even grasp what role our inner state of *willingness* (Exercise 25) plays in this, or how to find this in the body. As these are states which enable us to *go along with*, they are necessary to play any game (first an individual one, within ourselves, and then also a social, interactive one). This is what concerns embodied intelligence. Our intellect may tell us whether we *get along with* the idea of the game, but every game includes a *force (state)* and an *idea (form)*. The first guarantees the existence and continuation of the game and the second assures its development and direction. They always come together, although they have separate sources, different 'functions' and must be acknowledged and treated as distinct. When both are merged in our comprehension, we may either refuse to play, *feeling not-ready* as we are not familiar with the idea (fusing readiness with knowing-the-procedure), or to *protect our idea* (for example, of equality). Alternatively, we may push an idea back, becoming involved

but not really grasping the possibilities to suggest different directions (starting fights or wars, for instance). Finally, we can *stay in denial*, accepting the game, but at the same time ignoring it, playing the disinterested observer and claiming that 'this is how it is' when situations are problematic and need not stay so (e.g. tolerance issues). Intellectual disciplines are further menaced by their *dislocating response* to a game, as we transpose our active responsibility into another realm.

Our *genuineness* or *engagement* (Exercises 26-27) may also seriously suffer if we cannot distinguish between our inner activity and an idea that accompanies it. This process takes place within us alone. When performing our daily actions, we frequently have a sense that someone is watching us, and this is especially true when there is a 'foreign element' present in our environment (foreigners in the country, anthropologists in the field, investors in the office, mother-in-law visiting, etc). Our sense is real, we can trust it, but our judgment causes us problems, changing a sense into a meaning, the meaning that somebody is 'criticising-us', 'threatening-us', 'wants-something-from-us', 'absolutely-adores-us', 'represses-us', etc. As we are not able to simply accept the sense and dwell within it, our mind starts producing illusory explanations. This causes us to 'double our being', to act-out, to *represent* or *state* what we are (do), instead of simply be (do) and thus unplugs our genuine identity. Alternatively, we ignore the sense altogether and behave as a disengaged observer. These alternative reactions can happen to both the observer and the observed. We need the skill to separate our reception-of-the-observed-object and our idea-of-it. Otherwise, as observers, we either send out vague but irrelevant messages or we simply disengage from our surrounding environment, not wanting to 'interfere' with others (e.g. 'urban-down-look', 'Dutch-like-ignorance'). For the observed, on the other hand, the inability to distinguish sense and judgment results in one falling into a representation, from which one's ability to accustom oneself to the environment and engage is cut off (e.g. 'Muslim-integration', 'gay-brotherhoods'). The latter are repercussions of our adolescent state of mind, whereby sharing one's Self with the observer is equivalent to being controlled and constrained. Once this happens we also start feeling and acting as if this is indeed the case. This is hardly a problem of cultural clashes, but a

problem of our inability to bring out embodied intelligence and allow the mind to project its illusory ideas upon us.

The senses shut down when we most think that we have opened them up, exactly because we *think*. When we listen with our mind instead of listening with our entire body, we often mishear our own (or other people's) *inner dynamic, timings* (Exercises 28-29), for our mind misinterprets an inner state for a form (idea) of our external behaviour. At certain times, when we need to be quick and efficient, which we can only achieve by being calm and concentrated inside, we fall into jumpy gestures and scattered movements in space, time or plot. Alternatively, if we do not want to make others around us restless, we must act slowly ('easily'), leaving time between action, reaction and response, whatever the situation demands from us. Our dogmatic assumption of a 'proper' dynamic may quickly 'walk over' and suffocate people's real inner dynamics, if it was not distinctively heard first time.

'Kill Your Darlings'

I hope it is now clear that I am neither referring to nor creating a *theory*. In another context I would immediately agree that embodied intelligence could not be achieved or lived without an analytical mind, for mind and body are inseparable. My purpose is neither to diminish nor to deny the value of intellectual knowledge. On the contrary, I would simply like to redirect our attention to the realm of embodied experience as we live it and offer another perspective on anthropology from this position. Intellectual knowledge may provide the best means for us to broaden our picture of ourselves, but my question here is how can we leave pictures aside and deepen our inner connection with ourselves. The groundwork I am setting out here consists of methods to locate and articulate the *pre-evident* (physical) *body* as the fundamental element of everything that later appears as 'social, economic, political phenomena or behaviour'.

Regardless of how intellectual the discipline of anthropology is, it is the point where physical practice intersects with anthropological work from within and not just in terms of a look (the distant gaze) upon the 'phenomenon' of body techniques. If anthropologists continue to leave somatic training to dancers, actors, alternative healers or other somatic

researchers, we gamble with the very core of our own discipline: *anthropos*. If *anthropos* is not to remain merely an abstract concept, possibly hidden within an even more abstract idea of culture, if society is no longer to be considered as a rigid structure imposed upon us, but as a living dynamic entity, created each day by people who walk on this planet, alive and real, if habitus is not solely a concept, but a real ability to re-objectify imagined patterns of objectifying, then this *anthropos* needs to give equal importance to his/her flesh and bones, charkas, fluids, veins, feelings, auras, emotions, skin, energies and senses and be approached as an embodied human being by another embodied human being (anthropologist). This, I believe, is the basic idea of *fieldwork*.

Fieldwork, as I am trying to express it here, is far more subtle and complex than merely an anthropologist's act of participation in daily events, rituals, feasts, dances, communities, etc. It is above all about a *communicative exchange* between the anthropologist and the participants, which engages with *all levels* of human existence. Anthropology has established a number of ethical codes and this is an important contribution as far as it goes. However, ethics tends to ignore certain of *anthropos'* abilities and has therefore resulted in a rather narrow definition of ethics. No doubt, it is ethical to write down references, not to share data without consent, to inform participants what the research is about, how and where it is going to be used. It is also ethical to pay heed to the emic point of view and reconsider ideas of civilisation vs. primitive cultures. But is it ethical to make our informants restless by our own disjunctive *presence*, as we lack any sense of our own *groundedness*? Is it ethical to expect from informants to give us information about their lives, when we do not know how to first establish *willingness* within us and to *connect* with them on a very basic bodily level? Is it ethical to make informants feel as if we are 'pushing them' because we are not skilled enough to redirect our *untamed force*, as we are driven by our eagerness to collect as much information as possible? To conduct an interview without any sense and consideration for the *inner dynamic* of our informant? To listen to informants' *answers*, while not listening to the *informant*? Is it ethical to start involving people in our research when we are not yet sufficiently *engaged* to ourselves? Indeed, how ethical can it be to carry on seeing these feelings and processes as insignificant and therefore not part of our anthropological

skills? If these levels of communication are not adequately acknowledged as our words and external behaviour, then we cannot adopt a proper ethical stance, because we have not established sufficient *awareness* beforehand. Furthermore, we may completely misinterpret many cultural phenomena, social situations and behaviours, if we do not grasp them in their totality. By studying and doing anthropology we should not just think, but rather *train* our intellect (mind) to use its intelligence for the best possible purposes regarding human, social or cultural issues. The same can be said for the body; the fact that we communicate on a bodily level, whether we acknowledge it or not, means that by remaining untrained we either cause harm through ignorance or we deny any possibility of creating a constructive influence. This can also be said insofar as we are participants in society in general and not just within our anthropological practice.

Full and complete embodied intelligence, such as that is required in performing arts, healing or meditation practices, is a long and difficult path. Nevertheless, there are steps and levels inbetween, which anthropologists may undertake. As an anthropologist I am perfectly aware of how important it is to clearly define our ideas and concepts in order to establish comprehensive verbal communication. The lack of theoretical knowledge can also reach terrifying dimensions, as, for example, in the dance world. Still, as a performer, I am also aware of the importance of following a method, known among artists as '*kill your darlings*'. Namely, to dismiss the things one most likes, for they do not fit in and therefore are detrimental to our work. In many social situations, these darlings are 'definitions', which cannot exist or become clear through verbal explanations (that is why in this article I am also deliberately not offering them), but can only become clear and comprehensive when being *physically defined* and *redefined* (through the body). Anthropologists should be able to achieve the latter, at least for the sake of being able to make their own contribution to a more mature society, for the sake of grasping *anthropos* holistically and dealing with it by sharing our *knowledge* and not our *an-yways*. In short, this returns us to the basic question of whether anthropology is about the people being there for us or vice versa.

Wearing neoprene, while water: behind a glass (?)

In this sense, the present paper should be understood not only as an essay on embodiment, but also as an attempt to establish a *study program* and *methodology* in *re-embodiment* and thus enable intellectuals to approach issues more holistically. All too often anthropological (or sociological) writings exhibit very little insight into the inherent connection between academic research and our bodies (inner activities). A narrow focus on social or cultural *aspects* of an issue is often misinterpreted as if the entire matter *is* altogether social or cultural. Analysing issues from such a singular perspective may stop anthropologists touching the core of the issue and therefore inhibit them from reaching the emic view and making any positive impact on it. To me this is especially visible in research on dance and humanitarian inclined research. Even with the best of intentions to resolve cultural conflicts, anthropologists, armoured with their intellectual knowledge, will always remain *unengaged*, watching from a distance behind their opaque glasses of analysis. They produce and *evaluate* meanings but leave the problematic issues untouched, as they are dislocated from their own existence. Nobody, however, can mold or condition the 'cultural clay' by standing aside and simply analysing it. In order to do that, one needs to *take* the clay and plunge one's hands into its very substance. As the intellect alone cannot penetrate this substance, its only resort is to invent even more conflicting *categories* in order to *fight against* it. This is where anthropology hits its desired but impossible 'abolishment' of homophobia, xenophobia, nationalism, stereotypes, intolerance, etc. and simply ends up as an intellectual exercise. Correcting and *improving* the 'bad' things into something 'better' becomes solely a premise of the mind, unfamiliar to the body, which keeps on *playing* in an innocent durability and simply *is*. Since we live in our bodies, these 'phenomena' are ineradicable and will always remain present in some way. Each human being necessarily consists of both intellect, striving to grow and progress, and body, striving to maintain its existence. Only the imbrication of these two forms of *intelligence* with each other can make us play a more mature 'game'. But in order to *influence* our present 'game', or have any 'say' in it, we first need to *step in* and play it ourselves.

As each social game has numerous possibilities and consequences, the distinctions between them can be very delicate. Our intellect alone is too judgmental and arrogant for such a task. It also needs the 'mother's hand' of a humble and playful bodily intelligence in order to recognise when we should *accept* the reality of an *inner state* or *force* and accordingly *suggest a redirection of its idea*. In studies of violence, for example, the force and violent aspects are usually assumed to be one and the same thing, since they most often come out together. In such cases we may overlook those social situations where violence emerges in combination with a lack of force (i.e. passive violent behaviour). Alternatively, we may overlook the positive potential of force. I have myself encountered this latter situation in various discussions about stereotypes. While listening, for example, to two football teams and their fans discussing issues of nationalism or homophobia, I realised that the basis of these stereotypes had not been considered at all. In order to start a match and play it to the full, a certain state needs to be established. Calling another national team a 'bunch of gays' is primarily a product of the body trying to bring out its force and entice another body to create states of synergy (i.e. withholding tension which then bursts out in play). Unfortunately, this force was merged with an unreasonable idea. If anthropologists could accept the potential of sheer force, they would be able to play along with it and thus get a chance to redirect the idea from within. When these stereotypes are circulated through the television networks, why should anthropologists not join the game and suggest alternative stereotypes – for example, by releasing a picture of their best player stating with a big smile: 'Yes, I am gay, because I know how to play!' This way, the game of increasing tension (needed for the match) continues, but at the same time it *invites* the other team to think differently and to broaden their idea of what it means to be 'gay'. Moreover, by inviting a respected player to call himself gay, we create an opportunity to reach the crowd from which these stereotypes arise. He alone can establish the grounds to show the fans that being gay is nothing sick, despicable or shameful for a decent man.

Gulp the mind, gape at life

We can say that up to this point the intervention of this article was to be written straight from the body, to express its reality (and also, hopefully, to be read in this way). However, there is also an idea present here, namely to redirect anthropology into 'the actual'. The actual is not only a physical action, but also an inner activity. In this sense, I am already initiating a future turn in anthropology to an *inner-flowscape*. Unlike other anthropological paradigms, which suggest that by performing our daily tasks we create our inner sense of space, duration, identity, etc., *inner-flowscape* suggests that by diving straight into our inner senses and activities, and by training them through practices of 're-patterning', we may gain the ability to perform our daily tasks in more creative, vivid, fluent and constructive ways, without being caught in cultural 'demands'. A life in which we leave our inner senses to be formed through objectified praxes (and not the other way around) is mundane and impoverished. A holistic perspective, in which our two intelligences interweave in cooperation, can no longer be substituted by 'imaginary' cultural dogmas, samples and maxims.

This is also the point where anthropologists start *participating-in* and *speaking-about* dance, while forgetting *to-dance* (even within intellectual work). Eschewing our inner activities, we allow narrow views to emerge, claiming that dance is a social (socialising) event, a form of external movement, categorised action, while in fact it is precisely a practice of pure transcendence from the intellect, from anything social and meaningful – a practice straight from our bodies. It is a practice of living the 'wilderness' of the body, that part of our human existence which will always remain substantially plain (even when being cultivated for a better use). I can guarantee that one can neither grasp nor learn to dance when one is only trying to learn steps, social rules or understand it, as the only 'meaning' of dancing is the ability to take rest from the laws of intellect and dwell fully in one's inner activities. This is what concerns pure *dance*, the rest is already *an out-springing institution*: dance-theatre or 'social-dramaturgy' (culture). Namely, form, action, movement, characteristics, meanings, social aspects, theoretical models are only a second layer of

our surrender to being – readable by those who stay outside, safely watching, gossiping, analysing... Square.

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Physical Exercises:

- 1:** **a)** (Individually) Stand with your eyes open, shifting your weight slightly from foot to foot, sideways, back and front. Feel how the body rearranges itself from the inside, where the balance is to be found or where it is created through compensation within the structure. Observe whether balance is a fixed posture or a constant dynamic. **b)** repeat the same task with eyes closed.
- 2:** (Individually) **a)** Walk around the space, observing the transfer of weight from foot to foot with an inner 'eye'. Try different speeds and different kinds of steps. The aim is to access our imprinted pattern, feel which leg is stronger and how that is manifested. **b)** Once aware of the pattern, try to challenge it in other ways.
- 3:** (Individually) Make a path (feeling-wise) from head to feet, observe which body parts are more present in your awareness than others. **a)** Change focus from one body part to another. **b)** Make a path through organs, bones, muscles and skin. **c)** Bring all body parts into equal awareness simultaneously.
- 4:** (Individually) Put your hands on your knees (sitting), palms facing up, let them yield down into the knees. **a)** Feel which hand is more resistant to yielding; which one feels stronger; which one is more immediately ready to react; which one is more closed, tense. **b)** Move your arms apart and together again until the feeling tells you they are in a position which puts the entire body in balance, breath into the side where your arm is more closed. **c)** Write with both hands at the same time facing each other and apart from each other. **d)** Observe yourself in irritating conversations: does your inner feeling tell you to turn to the right or to the left? **e)** Feel whether a person you talk to or walk with needs to be on your right

or on your left side. Change sides, feel how differently you perceive the person and the information in that space. **f)** Just before brushing your teeth, feel whether you need to brush them from right to the left or vice versa. The real need is hidden underneath our habit.

5: (Individually) Breath repeatedly into **a)** the front of your head, to a space behind the face **b)** under the top of your skull **c)** the back of your head where your small brain lies **d)** chest **e)** lower abdomen **f)** back and bottom of pelvis **g)** feet. Notice the different states and qualities created trying to bring them into balance.

6: (Individually) Close your right nostril with your thumb, breathing in through the left one, changing nostrils to breathe out. After repeating this for few times, switch the path, starting to breath in through the right nostril.

7: (Individually) Hold both index fingers closely in front of your eyes, slowly draw them apart, following both by keeping them in sight at the same time. Build your recognition of this state, break it by looking out clearly. Observe whether this state happens spontaneously during the day and break it.

8: (Individually) **a)** Follow objects in space by sight, rather than by interest or decision **b)** Let your sight place you in the position of the object.

9: (Individually) Walk around the space, alternating your vision between **a)** *short* (a few centimetres in front of your eyes) **b)** *medium* (half a metre to three metres away) **c)** *long* (the far horizon). Observe the different states or ways of grasping the space and information.

10: (In a group) Walk around the space, alternate between looking straight into people's eyes or seeing others in peripheral vision. Observe the differences in grasping space and information.

11: (In pairs, face to face) Standing face to face, one person describes the other person's face as neutrally as possible, giving no interpretations and

evaluations. The person described then observes his/her feelings of being watched and described. (Change roles).

12: (In pairs, face to face) First, one person looks at the other person's face silently and **a)** observes in a nonjudgmental manner **b)** thinks about a memory from early childhood / from an hour ago **c)** thinks of bad things about the other person's appearance **d)** thinks about what they are doing at the moment **e)** focuses on the feeling of the stomach from inside **f)** speaks a text learnt by heart **g)** thinks of whatever comes to mind **h)** thinks of an action and dwells within the desire to do it without expressing or doing it. The other person observes the eyes/sight of the first person during all these tasks. (Change roles).

13: (Individually) Standing half a metre away from the wall, look at it while **a)** thinking of some intellectual work you are busy with **b)** noticing details, colour, texture **c)** noticing little holes and scratches, creating a desire to smooth it only by sight **d)** embracing it with your sight, as if you are trying to remember the pattern of scratches **f)** looking 'through' the wall to a very distant place. Feel in which situation you were most present, most with the wall, most sure of where you are and what you are doing.

14: (Individually) Go to a supermarket with no shopping list. **a)** Think of what you need first and then look for it, going straight to it. **b)** Walk around the shop and look, see the products you are passing by, acknowledge whether you need or want them. **c)** Combine the two ways. Feel which of these versions makes you more present, more aware of the environment and your own path within it.

15: (Individually) **a)** Sit straight (finding a place where the torso is supported by the pelvis without muscular effort or holding) either on a chair or on the floor. Let your pelvis (also your feet when on the chair) yield fully into the ground, eyes closed, sight directed inwards between eyebrows. Focus on the feeling of the downward stream (a kind of an inherited sense of inner gravity), sending your breath into the ground between the base of the spine and Coccygeal plexus. Work on releasing (not

pushing) any tensions in the outer or inner muscles and organs. Release your thoughts by letting them drop through the body into the ground from within, but do not let yourself collapse by slightly pulling the atlas-occipital joint upwards. **b)** Do the same from a standing position (legs apart at the width of your hips), sending the stream into the ground through the feet.

16: (In pairs) Walk next to each other (shoulder to shoulder but with a little gap between you). Try to stop and start walking at the same time as each other without speaking or looking at each other. Establish a feeling of being one body with the other person. Seek a connection through the stomach, expand this connection to the entire body. Note when you lose concentration and start just blindly executing the task. Note whether you are pulling or pushing the other person to follow, or whether you are obstructing the other. Note whether you feel as if you are standing *next to* a person or *with* a person.

17: (In pairs) Stand two metres apart, one person blindfolded, the other person with eyes open, both holding a thread with the thumb and index finger. The person with open eyes takes the other person through the space. The task of the blindfolded person is to keep the thread always stretched and parallel to the floor. Try to establish a similar 'thread-like' connection on a bodily level.

18: (In pairs) One person travels through the space with two fingers (on low, medium and high level), the other person follows fingers, keeping the same distance to them from **a)** eyes **b)** forehead **c)** top of the head **d)** chest **e)** belly. (Change roles.) Notice when and why you disconnect and lose distance.

19: (In pairs) Stand back to back, touching each other, move slowly apart until you both feel that you have lost the feeling of the other person's back.

20: (In pairs) Stand back to back about five to seven metres apart, establish a connection, try to start walking at the same time. Continue walking

for a while, looking for a time and place where both of you can stop again. (Extend the same task to a bigger group.)

21: (In pairs) Stand shoulder to shoulder, but without touching, look straight ahead, slightly swing right and left, look for a moment to start walking in space and at the same time seeking direction (either both walk to the right or to the left).

22: (Five people) Stand in a row, shoulder to shoulder, without touching. The rule is that always two, and only two, persons should be in a squatting position. Observe whether you perform the task mechanically or by feeling the others' presence **a)** looking straight ahead **b)** with eyes closed.

23: (In pairs) Stand front to front, without touching. One person is **a)** pushing the other person through the space **b)** pulling **c)** guiding. (Alternate these roles, while performing the task.) Notice how important it is that both participants listen to each other with their entire bodies.

24: (In pairs) One person touches the other on different body parts, the other person **a)** moves that body part and continues moving **b)** moves that body part and stands still until another body part is touched. Notice which version is more connected and fluent, creating a feeling of communication. Who leads, the person giving an impulse or the person who responds (determining where it will stop or moving on and thus giving impulses options back)?

25: (Individually) After grounding exercises. Internally focus on the lower abdomen (sacral plexus) and drawing on its energy let it flow over the body. Work on grasping this energy unconditionally, separate out your interest, direction, goal, reason, encouraging its vigilance within different actions (especially those you do not like to do or have an aversion to). The key phrase here is: playfulness with serious issues.

26: (In a group) Put a chair in front of the group. One by one participants sit on the chair and observe the group watching them for ten minutes.

Observe the discomfort or possible pretentiousness emerging (what is the inner cause?). Observe when you disengage.

27: a) (Two groups) One group is performing any kind of task, the other watching them. Those who watch, reflect on their engagement at the end.

b) (Three groups) The third group is watching the second group as they watch the first one doing their task. Second group participants reflect on how their engagement and genuineness changes in different versions. Repeat the first version so that the second group works on maintaining their feeling as if they are part of the entire game, at once involved but remaining themselves.

28: (Individually) Keep on walking through space and **a)** observe when you get sick of it **b)** observe when you want to stop: stop, continue **c)** observe the pattern of stops and starts **d)** challenge your own pattern by prolonging or shortening walking and standing **e)** observe and challenge your own concentration pattern by breathing and looking out, seeing the space **f)** (In a group) Observe whether the group dynamic directs you into a unified pattern or whether you stick to your own thing, while not listening to and excluding the group. Notice also when others listen to you and when you listen to them.

29: (Individually) Observe your own pattern of timing when **a)** you change legs when crossed or move to another position **b)** you have the inner need to say something **c)** breathing **d)** observe the pattern of itching which appears when you sit completely still, doing nothing. **e)** observe other people's patterns, trying to tune completely into their pattern for a short while.

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The Personal, the Local and the Political: Oral histories as valid analytical and methodological tools

The paper that follows deals with one of the most discussed and debated contemporary issues in social sciences: the usefulness of oral histories as methodological and analytical tools in social analysis. I consider this to be a much debated issue exactly because at least two distinct disciplines claim to have 'discovered' oral histories and therefore have claims on their patronage. On the one hand, history and historians have a recognised long-term relationship with the use of oral histories but, on the other, anthropology, which traditionally presupposes the extensive use of fieldwork and in depth engagement with the 'community', has undoubtedly enriched the understanding of everyday life particularly through narrations of the past.

If we want to give a definition of oral histories, we could argue that they are nothing more than the lived past, the lived everyday experiences of the past, brought into the present. These sets of lived experiences influence to a great extent present conditions and shape people's lives, choices, decisions, preferences and feelings. It is common place among contemporary social scientists that there is a reciprocal and dialectic (in a Marxist sense) relationship between the past and the present and oral histories provide a useful resource in order to explore this reciprocity. As Hastrup (1992) argues, the marriage between history and anthropology seems today a happy one and yet the period of courtship has been long and has had its temporary setbacks. In the present era, we no longer need to speak of historical anthropology, because social anthropology has become historicised.

The discussion starts with an exploration of the historicity of one of the most important dilemmas in social analysis: the dilemma between micro and macro. For those who adopt a macro-perspective, 'society' is an autonomous entity that works with the accuracy of a machine, social roles are given and exercise constraints upon individuals. On the other hand, those who adopt a micro-perspective believe in individuality and

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choice and argue that social life is often unpredictable. Of course this dilemma goes back to the nineteenth century and has influenced immensely the use of oral histories in social research and analysis. In the next section, a great transition is discussed: the turn from one homogenous History to a multiplicity of histories. Through the presentation of some recent anthropological studies, I will point out that anthropology is no more 'trapped' into synchrony but is also in a sense historical or historicised. The last part of the paper consists of extracts from the life histories of two old Jewish women, who were born in the early twentieth century in the city of Thessaloniki¹ in northern Greece. These life histories will be used as examples, in order to stress how such detailed narrations can reveal the interplay between national, local and personal issues and also the importance of class and gender perspectives in perceiving and evaluating 'reality'. Moreover, I hope to demonstrate that there is not one past, one history or one belonging, but that these are analytical categories which prove highly contextual, contested and constantly altered. As has been argued, 'although born at a particular moment of history and into a particular culture, people also take responsibility for whatever culture has made them' (Hastrup 1992: 11).

The historicity of the micro-macro dilemma

P. Thomson ([1978] 1988) reminds us of the historicity of oral history: he starts from Herodotus, and then he moves on to Jules Michelet, the great historian of the French Revolution, and to Voltaire, in order to underline the respect of old historians for the oral sources and to show how this was gradually taken over by the imposition of the archival method in the nineteenth century. Of course this turn was explained by the whole spirit of positivism in nineteenth-century Europe and the enthusiasm that surrounded all social sciences, including history, according to which social

¹ These life histories were taken by Vasiliki Kravva (2005 and 2006) and were part of a European Research programme called 'Centropa'. This is an oral history programme, which covers the whole span of the twentieth century and collects life-histories, but also visual material (such as photographs), of the Jews living in the wider Balkan area. The coordinator of the programme in Thessaloniki was the historian Dr Rena Molho. All the so far processed material can be found in the internet under the address www.centropa.org.

acts were measurable and calculable phenomena. It was Emile Durkheim who had argued that we should study social facts as things and definitely hoped that only this way the newborn social sciences could lay serious claims on 'objectivity' and 'scientificity' like their rival natural sciences, such as physics, chemistry and biology.

The micro-macro dilemma in social sciences was thus set and since then it has been dividing social research and analysis. On the one hand, there has been emphasis on implicit or explicit structures and a *sui generis* society, which exists independently of human actions and, on the other, a micro level of analysis that owes much to the Weberian notion of 'empirical analysis', which focuses on human life and considers individuals to be the actors, creators and interpreters of their everyday living conditions. The notion of society is mediated by human translation and interpretation and human subjectivity is considered valid and worth studying as objectivity.

Life histories offer a picture of people's shared memory of the past deriving from contemporary memories and as such they were recognised as valid analytical and methodological tools by the Chicago School back in the 1920s. Under the guidance of Robert Park, the representatives of this school highlighted the power of oral histories to reveal the past and explain the present. We must note that this was a period of mass migration of African-Americans from the rural Southern states to the industrialised North, such as Chicago. Migration from Eastern Europe and Ireland had been also taking place since the mid-nineteenth century. This sociological School was concerned with the processes by which these new migrant communities were integrated into the city and how social relationships and dynamics were generated and influenced social life. It was the right time for social scientists to get rid of the conventions of the positivist legacy and to trace everyday interaction between newcomers and 'native' inhabitants. Furthermore they came to realise that the 'Self' is reflexive: it emerges only through social experience and only via human interaction and interchange of social roles. The influence of the Chicago School's ideas led, during the 1960s, to phenomenological² and ethnome-

² For the advocates of Phenomenology (Husserl, Schutz), what is needed is the study of structures of consciousness and thus the restoration of the connection between knowledge

thodological³ explanations, such as, for example, the well-known sociological study by Berger and Luckmann (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality*.

In the field of history, during the 1960s and 1970s the School of Annales and many important figures inspired by its principles, such as Fernan Braudel, emphasised the importance of studying the structures of everyday life and concentrated on the material aspects of people's everyday life. According to Iggers (1997), however, they only partly achieved their initial aims, since they failed to analyse how the material conditions were really lived. And yet, the defense of micro-history as a history of the everyday people that can enrich our sense of the past and the present living conditions is beyond any doubt, and the contribution of the Annales School in this re-reading of history is fully recognised.

Anthropology was traditionally a synchronic discipline. Boas and Malinowski in the early twentieth century undertook the task of revealing the synchronic lives of remote and exotic 'Others', the Northwest American Indians and the Melanesian islanders. Yet, the founding fathers of anthropology failed to depict a world that was rapidly changing due to colonial economic, political and social dynamics and of course failed to see their presence as part and parcel of the colonial agenda. This a-historical beginnings of anthropology were radically altered some decades later, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, with the publication of two influential studies, namely *Europe and the People without History* by Wolf (1982) and *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* by Mintz (1985). Both anthropologists were influenced by the Marxist material reading of history and strongly criticised the 'western-biased' analysis of others. Wolf suggested that it was not just the European people who have a history but also other, often anonymous people, who are not just victims of grand histories but also creators of their own histories, of

and experience. Knowledge can be achieved by trying to find out how individuals come to perceive and interpret social reality.

³ Ethnomethodologists (Garfinkel, Atkinson, Cicourel) share the same philosophical standpoint with phenomenologists, namely that society is culturally constructed. To prove their principle they used experimental methods called 'breaching experiments'. They also examined transcripts of conversations to stress that the content of a conversation matters less than the underlying structure.

diverse personal, family and local histories. Mintz suggested the need for a fresh look upon the production and consumption of sugar that shaped colonial economic, political and social relationships. These two studies were quite a lesson for both historians and anthropologists: what was really needed was a historical anthropology or an anthropological history.

Anthropology is by definition a closer and more sensitive study of everyday living conditions and, as such, participant observation and unstructured, in-depth interviewing are considered basic methodological tools. However, oral histories, biographies, narrations and recollections can prove as valuable as the methods mentioned above and in any case could help the researcher acquire a closer and more sensitive look upon everyday life and thus achieve a sense of time and historical depth. Studying exclusively synchronic conditions, the main theoretical tradition in anthropology, leads to a sense of timelessness, homogeneity and inevitably sustains illusions of 'primitive' (Kuper 1988), almost 'uncontaminated' societies. But it is exactly the task of anthropology to reveal difference, diversity, asymmetries and to create a dynamic picture of life. Through the analysis of specific anthropological examples of oral histories, the present article aims to address the complexity of the social world or, more accurately, 'worlds' and the remarkable diversity in the ways human subjects interpret, understand and embody their culture.

From History to histories: a 'historical' anthropology

My aim in this section is to focus on some important anthropological studies and to show how social anthropology after the 1980s and until the present day has been rethinking the process and the parameters of objectifying others. I am going to mention indicatively some studies, which have raised the need for a more historically friendly⁴ anthropology. Of course I do not claim to exhaust the subject matter or to review the so far historically informed anthropological studies but more to use these case

⁴ I borrow the term 'user-friendly' from an article by P. Loizos (1992) 'User-Friendly Ethnography?' in J. De Pina-Cabral and J. Cambell (eds), *Europe Observed*, McMillan Press, London.

studies as examples in an attempt to stress the compatibility between history and anthropology and to uncover theoretical possibilities and hypotheses. As it will be evident in Europe, but also elsewhere (in the Middle-East, for example), there is a multiplicity of histories. Anthropologists have been trying to rewrite world history as a dynamic network of multiple, complex and often contested histories. According to Hastrup (1992), there is much evidence for the non-coherence of the world. The range of 'otherness' could be translated in a vast number of separate histories and such an analysis opens up the discussion of the non-synchronicity and discontinuity of social experience.

A historical anthropology should problematise otherness and not take it for granted; the dimensions of time and space are really essential in order to unmask otherness and understand present conditions. R. Paine (1989), in his study in Israel of the multi-layered Jewish identity and competition over 'tradition', argues that the categories of time and space are of great importance and reveal differences and contestations, and even in the relatively new State of Israel such cultural differences become salient. In other words, there is a controversy over what Jewishness is or should be and this brings to the forefront antagonisms amongst immigrants between the traditional and the modern, meaning western ways of life. For Paine, there is a competition over tradition, since 'Jewish immigrants from different lands carried with them into Israel their cultural and social features from which they had to be weaned so that they could embrace the inclusive model of "modern Israeli identity" ' (Paine 1989: 128). Therefore, we can speak of more than one 'times' and more than one 'places' in the state of Israel among Jews today.

Studying six mountain villages in the province of Evritania in Central Greece, A. Collard (1989) came to the realisation that identity is hardly ever solid and homogenous but rather it is in part a process of creation. The ideas of the inhabitants about the Ottoman period, the 1930s and the Civil War reveal a certain degree of different modes of understanding, incorporation and translation of these important historical periods. The scholar discusses how a particular history is experienced, thought about and mobilised in the present. Social memory is, thus, individual and privatised and, beyond any doubt, what is called memory influences how the present is experienced and evaluated. For Collard, the past and the

present are not autonomous entities but they are in a constant, creative dialogue.

The study of three villages in the basin of Langadhas in northern Greece by A. Karakasidou (1997) reveals that the nation is itself an artificial and highly reified entity and that history often becomes a commodity. Especially in the Southern Balkans, the word 'Macedonia' is not just the naming of a disputed region but rather a symbol for contested national identities and ownership of the same historical glory. Karakasidou finds herself between oral memory and written history and thus treats the re-membering of the past as a crucial process in perceiving and evaluating the present. On the one hand she researches local archives and on the other she collects extensive life histories to reveal that, apart from national historiography (often biased by hegemonic political agendas), there is a plurality of personalised and localised versions of histories and lived experiences that should be taken into consideration. These micro-histories inform and affect the way the present is perceived and by studying them anthropologists can become more sensitive to the present political conditions.

The role of autobiography and memory in the creation and re-thinking of national identity are discussed by P. Vereni (2000). For him, several diverse histories have fought out for decades in Macedonia. Any discourse on history should consider as a starting point the constitution of personal identity through the workings of memory. Vereni points out, via the analysis of Leonidas' diary (a farmer who defines himself as *Ellin Makedonas*, i.e. Greek Macedonian), how greater history and greater geography are always informed by lesser history and lesser geography and how this farmer founds his social self and finally questions and chooses his belonging.

Two life histories about the twenty-century Thessaloniki. Mrs Abravanel's story: the interplay between national, local and personal

Mrs. Abravanel was born in 1910 in Egypt; her father was born in Constantinople around 1880. Greece at that time was at war with Turkey and he volunteered to fight on the Greek side. Apart from Greek, he spoke

Arabic and French perfectly and, while in Egypt, he wrote in a Greek magazine called *Cosmos*. Her paternal grandfather was born in the island of Andros and her paternal grandmother was born in Nikolayef, near Odessa. Her maternal grandfather was from Gallipolis in Thrace. He was an Ottoman subject and, apart from Greek, he spoke French and Turkish. He worked for a company named *'Agents des Phares'*, responsible for the lighting of the Lighthouse in the Aegean islands. He had three Turkish associates with whom he spoke in Greek. Mrs. Abravanel's family lived in Cairo, Athens and the island of Mytilene – because of a blockade during the First World War – and finally in 1928 settled in Thessaloniki.

This life history is a step-by-step explanation of the diasporic conditions that gradually led to the birth of the Greek nation-state, the consolidation of national consciousness and the conceptualisation of categories, such as 'national' or 'foreign'. Furthermore it challenges stereotypes, such as 'one nation – one language', but most importantly it reminds the researcher that there is nothing 'innate' or 'natural' about national belongings. National identity is a gradual construction and, as Anderson (1991) has remarked, nations function like 'imagined communities' *par excellence*, which involve a systematic instilling of nationalist ideology, an ideology that presupposes the myths of continuity and homogeneity.

In 1928, soon after my interviewee's family had settled in Thessaloniki, she met a neighbour, a Spanish Salonican Jew, and fell in love with him. As her narration goes on, it becomes clear that tensions between Christians and Jews were an everyday reality in pre-War Thessaloniki. Her parents were quite open-minded and the family of her future husband accepted her but still there was some degree of reluctance and ambivalence regarding their different religious background. To quote her:

'Maybe his sister was the only one who was surprised. I had not had any such reaction with the rest of his siblings. They welcomed me and spoke to me nicely, they defended me when we had disagreements with Leo – like every couple – they were always on my side. We loved each other and had a good time together. We did not worry about what would happen in the future. Only our landlady said "Good, one more Christian"... I cannot say that there were no differences between Christians and Jews before the War.

There was the rumour that during Easter the Jews slaughtered a Christian boy to prepare the unleavened bread with his blood.'

And yet, Mrs. Abravanel admits that there was a lot of matchmaking within her working environment between Christians and Jews from various neighbourhoods. In fact, Mrs. Abravanel belonged to the middle class and owned a small cosmetics firm. In her very long narration, she keeps referring to her work, which seemed to play a very important role in her life. Through her work experiences she also experienced many dramatic changes during the twentieth century:

'Leo was ten years older than me, he was born in 1900. He had gone with his father to Germany for baths and that is how he spoke German. He had pimples then and a German doctor had given him an ointment, the recipe of a face cream. We started from that. He prepared this cream and distributed it to barbers at first, for men's skin after shaving. In time, we became successful with cosmetics and we started making face creams also for women. We started selling face creams together. At first we did not have a shop and we prepared them at the basement of our house and sold them from home. Later we asked for a permit from the Ministry of Hygiene. This took place in 1930-2. I remember we sent some specimens and the permit – which we had to renew – was sent to us. Of course, we also had to pay a Greek chemical engineer, because the permit had to be issued in his name. Afterwards, when we opened a shop in Aghia Triada Street, our business grew and we had many employees, Marika and Toula, Efharis, Kostas and Iordanis in a workshop in Kapodistriou Street. Later on, in my shop I had Rebecca, Nino and Alberto. I had to guide them. I told them that work is different when one has to deal with 200 or with 500 pieces. So I used to manage the staff when we had a lot of pieces to produce. I was always in the shop. Then we started a soap workshop, a small one. At the time we had Davico Beja, who later converted and became Christian, under the name of Dimitris. He was very clever. One couldn't find someone better in the world. He could turn a piece of shit to a jewel. He was not an employee; he was a travelling salesman with a percentage. And he travelled everywhere. He bought face creams from our stores and sold them cheaper. It became known that Beja sold cheaper and apart from face cream he also sold other cosmetics. From

those he made a profit. Finally, we had to stop providing him with our face creams. After the war he came back broke. He left his watch to his uncle and borrowed from him 200 drachmas. With this money he did great and beat all his competitors. His first shop was a storehouse in Frangon Street. He was smart, had a square head, he created something out of nothing. That is what one needs in commerce. The well-known shops "Bejas" probably belong to his children. His children too were baptised Christian. His wife was Christian, very nice lady. Unfortunately, I have not met her. On Sundays she would visit the house in Harilaou – which my father bought, so we could hide Leo, but finally he never hid there – to see her husband Dimitris (Mimis). He hid there and managed to survive. He was so bright, so competent...'

Other Salonican Jews were not as lucky as Bejas. Before leaving for the concentration camps, they gave their gold pounds to the Abravanel, begging them to hide them in soaps and in toothpastes, hoping to find them after their return...

The discussion of this woman's belonging reveals that there is nothing 'natural' regarding communities and it constitutes a serious analytical and methodological mistake to treat them as static and fixed. My interviewee was born an Orthodox Christian and was raised in a Christian family but fell in love with a Salonican Jew and became 'one of them', unofficially immediately after she met him and officially after the Second World War, when they got married. Mrs. Abravanel argues that after her conversion to Judaism nothing had really changed and yet in her life-story there is a constant shift between being a Christian and being a Jew. This shift reveals that there is nothing natural about membership and belonging, but there is a constant interplay between the categories 'us' and 'them'. Subjectivities and everyday identifications inform and, most importantly, transform collectivities.

Her rejection of the life in the old people's home is immediately restored and, in what follows, my interviewee calls this institution and the Jewish Community 'homes' contrasting her communal belonging with her nationality:

'Up until today I vote at the Community's elections. I am interested in keeping up with how the Community is doing, because I live here. This is my home. Who supports me today? Greece perhaps? No, the Jewish Community. But of course I don't agree with all the things happening here. I have my complains.'

Rethinking membership and belonging leads to an anti-essentialist critique of identities. Rather, we should argue that identities are never static or even given but always in a process of re-definition and transformation through inclusions and exclusions. Thus, communities are far from fixed and completed but instead always altered and challenged from within, exactly due to the dialectic between subjectivities and collectivities but also due to the dialogue between 'Self' and 'Other'. As Hall (1997) has argued, identity is a process of articulation and identification, it is a construction, 'a process never completed – "in process"'. It is not determined, in the sense that it can be "won" or "lost", sustained or abandoned'. (Hall 1997: 2).

Mrs. Nahmias story: History is always mediated by class

Mrs. Deniz Nahmias was born in Thessaloniki in 1924 and in her life history class seems to constitute a far more central dimension than in the previous narration. We could say that her narrative depicts a 'different' Thessaloniki, filtered through a strong class perception. She belonged to the upper class and her mother's family, named Beza,, owned in the early twentieth century a flourmill in the city together with one of the most important families, the Allatini. Her husband Albertos was born in Monastir in 1915 and he speaks Greek, Serbian, Albanian, Italian, Turkish and German. During the Second World War, his whole family escaped to Italy and thus managed to survive. Mrs. Nahmias grew up in a typical upper class environment: she went to *Lycée* school where she learned French⁵, she learned how to play the piano. It is interesting that her nar-

⁵ The *Alliance Israelite Universelle* was founded in nineteenth-century France. This was a Jewish organisation, which aimed to educate all Jews and ultimately alter their living conditions. Thus, many French schools were founded in the diaspora and French became

ration portrays a city that was in-between traditionality and modernisation in the first decades of the twentieth century and that the representatives of the upper class were at the same time agents of a more Europeanised, westernised life-style:

'My paternal grandmother, Diamante, was wearing traditional costumes but maternal grandmother, Doudou, used to dress in exactly the same way women used to get dressed in Europe, she was also wearing big hats with feathers. Diamante was still wearing the traditional Jewish costume with the kofya when I met her, but after some time she took it off. She had two-three dresses, they used to give them together with the dowry in those days. She did not manage to educate herself because a nasty cousin of hers was making her life difficult at school. Her parents were afraid that she might harm her and because Diamante was their only daughter they decided to stop her from school. This is why she was left without education. After that, they took her to learn sewing. Grandmother Diamante died in 1937.'

Of course language was an important issue at that time. Middle class Spanish Jews were only speaking Ladino, the Judaeo-Espagnol dialect, and upper class Jews spoke French and Greek. Class was also affecting people's religiosity, since the poor Jews were much more devoted to religion but rich Jews in many cases followed a more cosmic lifestyle, filled with westernised habits, such as playing cards:

'We were communicating with grandmother Diamante in Ladino, we spoke French with our mother and in school with our schoolmates we spoke Greek. I remember we used to tease our grandmother by saying: "Hey granny, you have to learn Greek". My grandmother spoke no other language apart from Ladino but my mother learned French and in time she also learned Greek, because our neighbourhood was a mixed one. I spent most of my childhood at 25th Kritis and Marasli streets, I mean before the War. My grandmother was not particularly religious, well somehow she kept religious things done and

almost the *lingua Franca* for most Jewish communities. Among the upper class Jews there was also a preference towards a modern, Europeanised lifestyle and a rejection of whatever 'tradition' represented.

she used to go to the synagogue. But she loved to play cards, a card game called ramie. She had some friends in the neighbourhood and they gathered together and played cards. Once a week they used to come home and then they visited other homes. Those who played cards were Jewish, because my grandmother did not have any Christian friends, as she could not communicate with them, she could not understand their language. A family named Cases, who were very rich, used to invite my grandmother to play cards. I remember that both husband and wife played. Every day, from four until eight o'clock, I remember my granny leaving home. She used to wait until my father left for work and she went to the Cases family to play cards. She used to go there in any weather condition: winter with snow, cold, good, warm weather. She used to wait until my father left and then she rushed to that house. Otherwise, he would have seen her and of course he would have asked where she was going.'

Mrs. Nahmias' memories of her mother fit well into this 'tradition or modernity' dilemma that seemed to be central in the early twentieth-century Thessaloniki. She was born in a good family, followed the fashion of the time and of course spoke French fluently:

'My mother Loucie was born in 1885 in Thessaloniki and died in 1995, at the age of 100, in Athens. Her mother tongue was French, because she had attended a French school, but she could also understand Ladino. No one spoke Hebrew at that time, they only read the Bible but they could not understand anything. Our languages were Ladino and French. So my mother attended the French school and this school was located in the shopping area of the city. My mother was a fashion victim. She used to wear hats and every year she went to a dressmaker to have new dresses made, but she also had the old ones transformed, this was called in French transformé. My mum always kept up with fashion and when she was a young woman she used to wear little hats with a veil. She used to wear suits. She was really a modern woman. There were specialised shops selling hats, so every year my mother was buying one or two and she had the old ones transformed. Of course the new ones were also tailor-made for women. There was a shop selling hats in 25th March Street, which was near our house. At that time some dressmakers were really expensive, but you could also find cheap ones,

who were paid by the day. Doudou Sounhami was one of the most famous dressmakers at that time, her niece is Ririka Leon. She was 'haute couture' and Paximada was also a very famous dressmaker. Although she was Christian, many Jewish women used to go to her. Those two were the most expensive in that profession and there were also others who were less expensive. And then some dressmakers were visiting women at home. I remember we used to practice "circomon" since nothing was found ready-made in the shops. Especially when we were growing up. Koen's shop was a famous shop, which was selling shoes, and it was situated in Venizelos Street. There were some stores selling shoes, but they had to measure your feet. This is how they worked. And they made shoes especially for you. After the War I remember "Karakala" and "Loux". But before the War the only shoe-selling store in Thessaloniki was "Koen", situated in Venizelos and Vasileos Irakleiou Street. We always had a piano at home. And my mother used to play. At that time all the girls coming from good and respectable families learned French and playing the piano. It is funny. Playing the piano, especially among girls, was a tradition. The first book, Becker, in order to get the first degree, was really difficult, because we had to start at the age of eight. I remember my mother was playing only one melody. Always the same. But, you know, many girls who learned the piano gave up after some time. I had a cousin who had a piano degree and she closed the piano immediately after she got married. Maybe they oppressed them to learn it, and this is why they eventually disliked it.'

In what follows, Mrs. Nahmias recalls all Jewish neighbourhoods before the War. It is interesting to note in her narration that city space is hardly neutral. On the contrary, it is filtered by class perceptions. For my interviewee, the end of the historical market signaled the end of the city and marked the boundary of an unknown, different, unexplored city: the poor districts, predominantly Jewish, in the Vardar area.

'Before the War Thessaloniki was full of Jewish neighbourhoods. Especially where I live now, in Vasilissis Olgas street. Our neighbourhood was a mixed one, both Jews and Christians lived there. Poor Jewish neighbourhoods were supported by the Community. We called them in Ladino "koulivas", meaning "very poor huts". Palombita, a Jewish-Spanish mate we

used to have, lived in such a poor area. She was a young girl and her fiance was named Massista, he was also Jewish-Spanish. His job was to visit local festivals in the countryside and demonstrate his strength in shows. For example, he was breaking chains and stuff like that. I remember once that Palombita sent him away, he came in the middle of the night and he was shouting at our doorsteps: "Palombita te cero". I remember, when we were young, we never visited the Vardar area; this was a neighbourhood with a very bad reputation. Rezi Vardar was a Jewish neighbourhood that was built near the railway station. I think the Community supported it as well as two other impoverished neighbourhoods: "Ses" and "151". In the Vardar area one could find all the red light houses. I suppose ordinary people were also inhabitants of that area but I knew nothing about them. For my friends and me, the city ended in Venizelos street, where my uncle, the husband of my mother's sister, had a shop with textiles called "Cosmos". This was the geographical limit for us...'

In 1942 the whole Nahmias family hid in Athens and thus escaped the deportation of Thessalonikan Jews to the camps in 1943. There was hunger in Athens and survival was difficult, but those who had saved some money could buy things in the black market:

'In Athens we had been provided with false identity cards, Greek identity cards. I was called Angelidou from my real surname, which was Angel. My whole family had similar identity cards. But they were perfectly valid, because Teresa had them issued in a police station. But of course we had no card for the food distribution and you know in Athens during the War there was great hunger. Here in Thessaloniki, and especially in the countryside, things were much better. I remember my brothers left the house and they were searching for almost two hours to get us something to eat. In the beginning the situation was very difficult. But as time went by things got better. You could find something to eat. We mostly ate vegetables. Every noon and every evening a big casserole of vegetables. Next day roots with garlic sauce, next day black spaghetti and next morning honey from grapes that we bought from the black market. We also bought German bread from the black market.'

The war years were tragic years for all Greeks, but in a strange way life went on. Mrs. Nahmias was at that time 19 years old and, despite hunger, death and fear, managed to go on and enjoy her youth:

'During the War, I remember every Monday there was a concert of classical music at the theatre of Irodis Attikos. I was also attending lectures about art and speeches by Papanoutsos. Since it was forbidden to walk at night, we were partying all night and in the morning my friends and I were going for excursions. In Athens every Monday we were going to the theatre and we also attended classical music concerts. I remember we were sitting on the rocks of the theatre listening to this music. I must tell you that even though it was a difficult period, that of the German Occupation, the theatre was nevertheless full of people. It was a time when we had so many interesting things to do. And watching theatre was certainly among our priorities. Our friends' group in Athens was really big and the leading figures were two doctors. They were the organisers of our little group. It was very nice. We were organising lectures and every Sunday we went on excursions. We were visiting many places in the outskirts of Athens, but we avoided the seaside, because we were afraid of German bombing. You know, the Germans had already bombarded the harbour of Piraeus. We were really making fun of the whole situation, although it was very scary indeed. We used to go to Penteli in small buses called "gazozen", which were using wood instead of gas as fuel. Cars were very rare at that time. And we put our suitcases on the top. These buses were more like mini buses and we liked sitting on the top of them instead of sitting down on our seats. If I remember correctly, we rented them. We had the permission of our parents. Especially my mother was a very open-minded person. She used to say to me: "you are responsible for yourself" and she let me go wherever I wanted. But my mother had brought us up with very strict principles, almost puritanical... The leaders of this friends' club we had organised, one of them was called Giorgos Kelaiditis and he was writing in a newspaper, he was left wing. He came from a very rich and educated family from Constantinople. The other guy was called Giannis Ioannou. The discussions were not political but of an artistic nature. Twice a week Kelaiditis used to invite to his house people of all kinds and he used to lecture us. Most of them, as I

said, belonged to the left and the majority were Thessaloniki Jews. But, of course, Greeks joined our club as well.'

As an Epilogue

Both Mrs. Abravanel and Mrs. Nahmias, through a series of interviews – almost eight in each case – gave me very long and detailed life histories, that stress other important issues, such as the Civil War, the after War period and the diaspora of Thessalonikan Jews to Latin America. My purpose here is not to discuss every matter but rather to show how life histories can enable the researcher – whether historian or anthropologist – to rethink the past, re-order perceptions about it and also problematise how lived conditions inform the present. Moreover, life histories can lead to a re-reading of identities and belonging and reveal the constant interplay between the national, the local and the personal. Past conditions and past experiences can be also re-thought via a number of parameters, such as gender or class, because there is not just one history but a number of diverse historical interpretations depending on individuality and human agency. As Thomson (1998) argues, the past and the present can be re-structured and can challenge the established account and this results not merely in a shift in focus, but also in the opening up of important new areas of inquiry. This inevitably touches upon the fundamental relationship between history and the community: 'Though oral history, the community can, and should, be given the confidence to write its own history' (Thomson 1998: 26).

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James Verinis*

Ethnographic features of the landscape along the Greek-Albanian border: agricultural artifacts as anthropological data

Introduction

National borders are sites of intense historical burden involving the complex interplay of history and geography, society and the environment. The drawing of the Greek-Albanian border in 1913, upon the independence achieved by Albania from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, was indeed rather arbitrary on the whole (Hart 1999). Nonetheless, irregularities began to develop in what were once relatively undifferentiated northern and southern parts of a region called Epirus in Greek. Islands of 'other' people came about within the new boundaries surrounding both countries, as the political direction of their activities ensued – the nationalisation of land use, ethnicity, religion language, etc. These 'islands' became even more isolated once the border was effectively closed by Albania's communist government after the Second World War. Consequently, despite the arbitrary nature of the border as well as the various cross-border connections, such as marital and commercial relations that have been maintained since 1913, and the renewal of similarly significant cross-border activity beginning in the early 1990s when the Albanian borders were re-opened, stigmas and artifactual residues of national separation, in conjunction with the global economy and contemporary understandings of national or historical differences amongst Greeks and Albanians, remain rather salient.

Borders are now generally considered to be particular ethnographic milieus within the discipline of anthropology (Wilson and Donnan 1999). In an attempt to comprehend the Greek-Albanian border landscape, sites and settings such as farms, greenhouses and animal pastures as well as the activities associated with their use or occupation on both of the immediate sides of the Greek-Albanian border are evaluated in this paper. The paper addresses the socially, economically and politically constructed 'nature' of these ethno-national artifacts, spaces and practices

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(Barth 1969) that has contributed to similarities and differences, 'real' and 'perceived', in this particular milieu. While the dichotomy of nationalised space in the Konitsa / Leskovic area in the Greek and Albanian regions of Epirus has given way to somewhat transnational spaces, as has generally been the case along this border in recent years, material evidences or cultural artifacts continue to play a role in, and in certain instances reinvi-gourate, national separation as a result of contemporary difference-making practices and other national trends. What John Cole and Eric Wolf (1974) wrote about the differences that persisted in the Italian Tyrol despite national unification can be used as a comparison case in point. The trajectory of socio-historical, economic and political expediencies in the emerging transnational space of Epirus is yet to be seen. Signs of agricultural practices, as examples of existential phenomena in this once and still very divided border area, can serve as useful data in keeping up with these trajectories, both unifying and divisive.

The Place of Nations

Seemingly without the self-consciousness that Johannes Fabian has suggested we strive for in *Time and the Other* (1983), many characterisations of Albania that developed within as well as outside the field of anthropology are the result of chronotyping: 'crossing into Albania by road is like going back to another time' (Dana 1996); '[Albania is] a time warp, hermetically sealed' (Hall 1996: 186). Of course Greece too has contended with its fair share of such chronotyping. There is neither the space nor the need in this paper to review the recovery project targeting Ancient Greece that has accompanied the development of Modern Greece throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century.¹ Nor is it necessary to recall the many ways Albanians are thought to be the embodiments of ancient Illyrians or how travelling to present-day Albania conjures up images of Greece after the Second World War or the Greek Civil War. However brief, mentioning of such romantic travels points to some of the

¹ For the most thorough account within the field of anthropology of the Hellenisation of Modern Greece, see Michael Herzfeld's *Ours Once More* (1982).

important material evidences, those on either side of the border, that beg comparison and are the focus of this paper..

The American author Edmund Keeley, recounting his tour of Albania via Greece under the auspices of the US Information Agency in 1996, wrote of the Albanian countryside:

'I've seen something like it driving along the ravines of Kastania and Pelion and Southern Crete. Here the tree covered ridge opposite looks higher, the valley below deeper, the mountain ranges in the distance, one after the other seeming to reach closer to infinite space. But the colours are the same, clean, primary, though the valleys are not made up of broad squares of yellow and green but of strips, narrow, short, telling of how little any villager owns these days.' (Keeley, 1997: 20)

Along with the wood-saddled donkeys, women hoeing furrows and scarcity of men due to emigration, which Keeley saw as comparable to Greece's own emigration in the recent past, we might point to the current state of the Albanian society, its economic and political capabilities for example, as reliable data illustrating the position of Greece and Albania in a global context. Bordering Greece to the south, on the periphery of the EU periphery as it is, Albania might be considered as an 'under periphery' (Ribas-Mateos 2005: 4). Now in the 'waiting room' for candidates for EU inclusion, Albania is attempting, as part of the EU Associative Stability Act, to curtail trafficking in immigrants as well as the smuggling of products and to strengthen its military and police forces in order to be considered for EU candidacy. In the meantime, cities like Durrës, Tirana and Korçë are overrun by a rural exodus. The communist period politics of 'rural retention' has given way to a desperate flooding of Albanian cities (Santner-Schriebl 2002: 134-136). The Albanian countryside, amidst the turmoil of depopulation and underdevelopment, eludes most descriptions normally applied to rural societies.

After the rapid and chaotic dissolution of the cooperatives from the communist period, rural dwellers cultivated whatever land they could and tended the livestock they could gather. The collapse of the pyramid investment schemes in 1996 left the government in shambles and only exacerbated an already desperate situation for most. Disinterest in coop-

erative activities in general since communism, along with the general lack of human and financial investment, has led to terrace collapse, field abandonment, destruction of irrigation and roads. The chronic condition of the Albanian countryside has led Silvia Santner-Schriebl to predict rural death there: 'Within a few years, the mountain way of life will come to an end. A continuing emigration flow from the highland into the lowland will accelerate the transformation of communities into shell villages within skeletal mountains' (Santner-Schriebl 2002: 144).

The continuing underproduction of the Albanian countryside, in conjunction with the myriad burdens inherent to Albania's position in relation to the much more developed Europe surrounding it, is perhaps exemplified best by the fact that Albanians are the primary consumers of EU products once their expiration dates have passed (Ribas-Mateos 2005: 203). As with Keeley's impression, a comparison of the two countries that focuses on Albania as opposed to Greece, considering Albania's particularly anomalous position in Europe, is a natural one. What is more, my companions and I made our brief field trip in August of 2007 from Greece into Albania with the purpose of noting the different features of the Albanian landscape. The place of Albania in an international hierarchy of nations was indeed evident in its topography.

Before detailing some of the particular features of the countryside on both sides of the Greek-Albanian border for consideration, one final note concerning the relationship between Greeks and Albanians in the present-day global migratory context must be made. This broaches the topic of increasing migration of residents of less developed EU states as well as of non-EU nationals, such as Albanians, to the more developed states of the EU. More to the point, it explains much about contemporary Greek / Albanian social relations. The current emigration rate of Albanians to EU countries, particularly to Greece, is phenomenal. It is the highest migration flow in Europe (Kosta 2004), representing the 35 per cent of the labour force emigrated by 2004. The monetary transfers of the estimated 600,000 to 700,000 Albanians now living and working in Greece are one of the most important sources of income for Albania. By contrast, many estimate that migrants make up nearly one million, or one tenth of the Greek population. While also 'patchwork' or 'multifunctional', the Greek rural economy is in such a condition due to a relative ple-

thora of opportunities now available to both men and women by way of tourism and EU agricultural subsidies. Greek agriculture has assumed a much greater level of investment thanks to the EU Community Agricultural Policy (CAP), which continues to distribute approximately half of the EU budget each year (Cole and Booth 2007: 68). And with the added benefit of the estimated 500,000 cheap and mostly illegal agricultural workers, most of whom are Albanian, rural Greece has a significantly advantaged position. While an 'Albanophobia', in reaction to the swarm of extremely poor Albanians that have poured into Greece since the 1990s (Bakalaki 2003), and a drop in economic growth since the Olympic Games of 2004 and EU enlargement, strain relations between Greeks and migrant Albanian labourers and threaten the stability of the Greek economy, cheap Albanian labour remains a mainstay of the construction, agricultural and eldercare industries.² Greece has a dramatically more active countryside, in particular, as a result (Kasimis 2005).

While inhabitants of villages and mountain communities in Epirus during the Ottoman period were somewhat familiar with the surrounding world due to their travels associated with brigandage, pastoralism and certain bureaucratic endeavours of the Ottoman Empire, the activities of those residing on the Albanian side of the border (especially after 1944) and the knowledge and wealth they had gained from the rest of the world soon diminished. The socio-historical transhumant practice of *kurbet*, referring to the many ways that people had travelled to work in many parts of the Balkans in the past, while still is referred to in Albania, is now of a different character relative to Albania's position in the global economy.³

² Due to the proximity of Albania to Greece, the complicated historical relationship between people in southern Albania and those in northern Greece, the relatively high number of Albanian workers in Greece compared to those of other countries and the liminal Greek legal category that applies to Albanians and 'North Epirots' in particular there, Albanian workers suffer the worst of all migrant labourers in the hierarchies of immigrant groups that are developing in Greece. For a more detailed discussion of such hierarchies and the legal categories that partially enable them, see Triandafyllidou and Veikou (2002) and Pavlou (2003).

³ For an eloquent account of the role *kurbet* plays in contemporary socio-economic relations between Greece and Albania, see Papailias (2003).

Agricultural practice as ethnographic data

Peter Sahlins (1998: 51) explains how peasants on either side of the French / Spanish border in Catalonia practiced the same agricultural methods at the time that the border was created in 1814. Families were intertwined across the border in this particular region. There was cooperative harvesting. People remained ethnically Catalan while simultaneously they were French and Spanish citizens. Nonetheless, the agricultural revolution that followed in this region, unevenly on either side of the border, created specific new provincial disputes over water rights, for example (Sahlins 1998: 42). Such critical events in this formative period of the nation-state building created distinguishing features of people and places according to the new border dynamics.

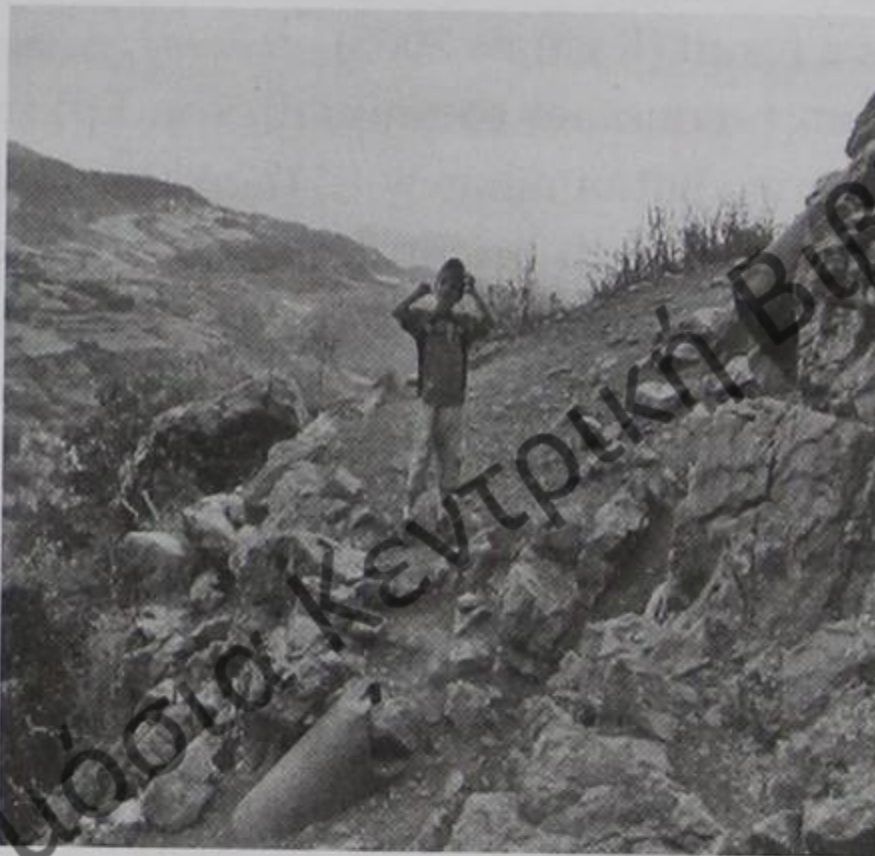


Photo 1

Agriculture that relied on irrigation has largely been abandoned in Albania due to the lack of funds for upkeep. This water source on the immediate outskirts of Leskovic is no longer available

(Photo: James Verinis)

The contemporary Albanian countryside, while it is certainly a product of myriad variables imposed upon it throughout history, it is most notably affected by the economic collapse and rural exodus described above, that has left the people and places there to fend for themselves. Consequently, the Konitsa / Leskovic border landscape for example, is irrigated to varying degrees depending on the availability of funds, labour, as well as on political expediencies. On the Albanian side, there is

little to invest in pastureland, flocks, mills, woodlands, water pipes, etc. by comparison to the Greek side (photo 1). Agricultural practices, such

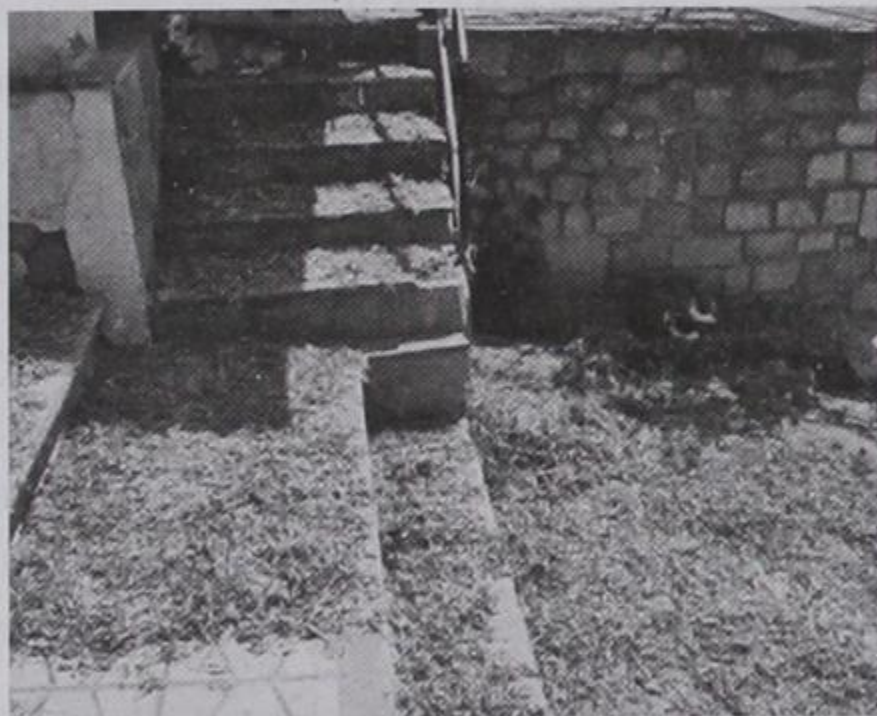


Photo 2

*Sage drying on the steps of an apartment building in Leskovic, Albania
(Photo: James Verinis)*



*Photo 3 Tomatoes drying in the back of a pick-up truck in Carçove, Albania
(Photo: James Verinis)*

as hay storage, differ according to various social, political and economic conditions that have developed and reproduce such consequent practices. Most rural work in Albania is done on an individual family level (photos 2 and 3). In other words, as opposed to the Greek side of the border, evidence of any large scale or intensive farming is much harder to find. In Albania, hay is stacked manually for the most part. Horse-drawn carts transport hay rather than trucks (Dana 1996). By comparison, hay harvesting in Greece is entirely mechanised (photos 4 and 5).

State socialism in Albania between the years of 1944 and 1985, when Enver Hoxha, the autocratic ruler of the communist government of that

period, died, collectivised agriculture. Land and private property laws were introduced in 1991 to dissolve the cooperatives. Land redistribution and various types of in and out-migration ensued (Hall 1996).



Photo 4
Hand-stacked hay outside of
Carçove, Albania
(Photo: James Verinis)



Photo 5
Hay rolls in Konitsa, Greece
(Photo: James Verinis)

The resulting clash between pre-socialist landowners and socialist period peasants as well as the conflict over land titles between re-emerging post-socialist ethnicities, such as Vlach and a more generic Albanian, has contributed to the very slow pace of change (Hall 1996: 185; Schwadner-Sievers 2002: 158).⁴ In his *Albanian Journal* (1997), Keeley also describes the destruction of villages and the surrounding countryside following the death of Hoxha, a communal rage that emerged from the exorcism of a half-century of pent up expression. Greenhouses and dairy installations,

⁴ Vlachs, or Aromanians / Aroumanians, are of a once predominantly nomadic / pastoralist Christian minority group, that speaks a Latin-based language and has lived mainly in present-day Greek, Albanian, and Romanian territories for centuries.

as well as other material symbols of the communist agricultural industry, were destroyed after the fall of the regime, leaving little infrastructure to build on in many places (Keeley 1997: 95). Agricultural practice had become a difficult endeavour in Albania.

The industrial processes of the communist period have now given way to what can only be called 'semi-rural processes' (Ribas-Mateos 2005: 295). The abandoned hillside terraces of the Albanian south are now a symbol of the communist period excesses. Such terraces were some of the first fields to be abandoned (photo 6). 'Grey' and 'black' market activities and 'kiosk economies' hamper efforts towards agricultural development. Smuggling goods into Albania from Greece and to Kosovo continues to deter from investment in the Albanian landscape.



Photo 6

Abandoned terraces south of Permet, Albania

(Photo: James Verinis)

Despite the rural exodus, the lack of funds and the relative anarchy, approximately two thirds of the Albanian population is still rural (Hall 1996: 188; Kosta 2004). 65 percent of Albanians still rely on agriculture for their livelihood. Agriculture makes up more than half of the Albanian GDP. However, on the whole, the Albanian countryside has seen a return to subsistence type agriculture from the former cash crop system and has made little recovery in the decade since the pyramid collapse. While privatisation has created incentives that have spurred on the economy,



Photo 7

Multiple types of agricultural production sites in Konitsa, Greece

(Photo: James Verinis)



Photo 8

Narrow wheat fields outside of Permet, Albania

(Photo: James Verinis)

the redistribution of land as part of the *perseritje* model has chopped up formerly large national parcels into small plots and forced farmers to return to the use of beasts of burden instead of tractors. Goat-herders are women as often as men. Merchants weigh products with 'primitive' scales. Communist era bunkers are now used as horse stables and animal coupes of various sorts in the post-socialist and eclectic economic environment (photos 9 and 10). There is a comparably less-structured and less-organised use of agricultural land – a more extreme sense of mixed land use in Albania by comparison. The incidence of erosion is also more evident (photo 11).



Photos 9 and 10
Bunker stables of various shapes and sizes in Leskovic, Albania
(Photos: James Verinis)

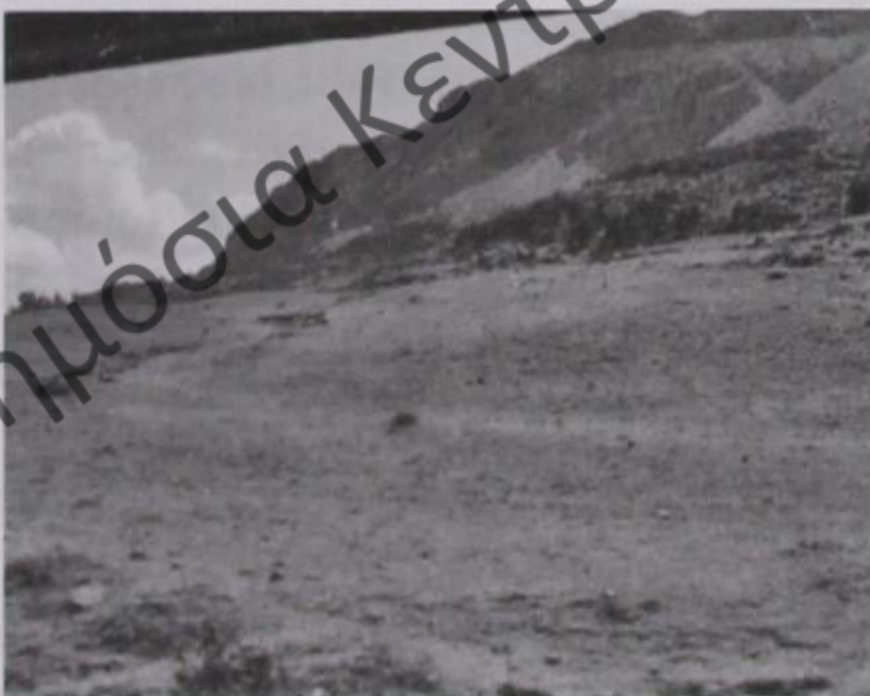
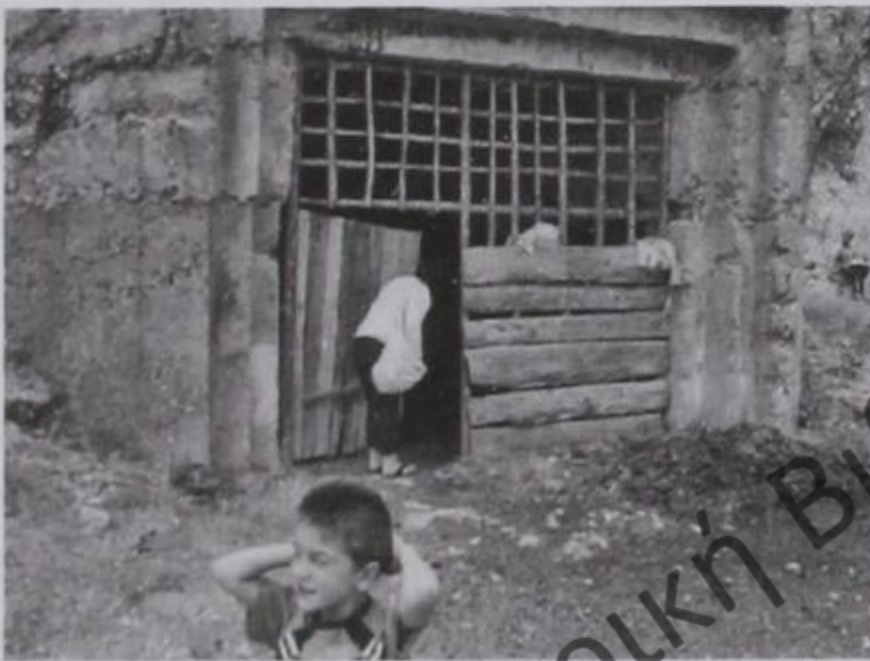


Photo 11
Water cuts a gash in the slope of barren countryside just north of the Greek-Albanian border
(Photo: James Verinis)

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

Conclusion

In sum, along with the musings of Keeley and other writers in various disciplines, we might be tempted to conflate Albanians with the historical idea of the peasant in Greece (Ribas Mateos 2005: 97). If we do so, we should also note some of the specific ways that Albania suffers from its lowest position, economically, in comparison to all European countries – as less human by virtue of the Albanian need to eat expired EU food. Similarly, Albanians remain in a catch-22 that forces many of them to either migrate and tolerate the lowest wages of all agricultural labourers in Greece, due to their overall inexperience with contemporary technology and the concomitant Albanophobia, or to remain and work on Albanian land with little more investment than this of their own two hands. The stigma of being unused to mechanised agriculture even when there are funds to incorporate it, and the associated artifactual residues or dispositions, evident in the bodies of Albanians (Bourdieu 2004) as well as in the Albanian land, come into clear focus as the most relevant factors, when someone is considering features of the landscape as ethnographic data. They can then be seen as maintaining the seemingly paradoxical character of many comparisons between Albanians and Greeks as well as the Albanian and Greek countrysides.⁵

Of course Albanian flexibility may yet prove a valuable resource. Santner-Schrieber (2002: 140-141) notes the ease with which Albanians take Hellenic names or baptise their children, without seeming to compromise their own sense of self as Albanians. Indeed, this ability is considered by many as a specific Albanian trait and might allow for an easy transition out of the current phase of emigration or into other phases of Albanian history. The 2003 Labour Migration Act encourages Albanians to return in order to combat the brain and labour force drain that has left Albania at the mercy of other countries for aid. Investment of some kinds of social, human and financial capital, especially in the countryside, is

⁵ For a problematisation of the concept of 'land degradation' in Greece and Albania and in order to avoid the same presumptions we might be obliged to make with regard to how Albanians look as opposed to more 'progressive' Greeks, see Green (2005) and Nitsiakos, Green, et al. (1998).

needed in order to avoid the rural death Albania is currently experiencing.

The American Farm School, which changed the course of agriculture in northern Greece beginning in the early 1900s, opened up a branch in Korça, near the most fertile of Albanian plains, in 1995 and has begun to offer practical hands-on training to the relatively few remaining young and able-bodied rural dwellers. There are possible niche markets for Albania in organic produce as well as in aromatic and medicinal plants (Hall 1996: 189). An international conference of funding institutions in 1992 (PHARE 1993) decided to a) transform communist-era state farms, b) reorganise rural credit and input / output marketing, c) rebuild irrigation and transport systems, d) issue formal land titles, and e) develop agricultural industry in general. Most of these incentives are now in place to some extent. Progress remains slow, however, due to setbacks associated with the abovementioned problems.

There is a varying diversity of production levels and agricultural produce in this border area as well as an emerging and rapidly changing nature of relations with global import / export markets. But these production levels and markets favour Greece in myriad ways. Economic subsidies in the way of cheap migrant labour (Lawrence 2007) further enables Greece to maintain its current rural / national economy. If Albania resembles to the old-time Greece, this is due to the combination of the extreme socio-historical similarities with the extreme contemporary economic differences.

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ΕΠΕΑΕΚ 2/ ΤΕΧΝΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗ
ΚΑΤΑΡΤΙΣΗ ΔΙΔΑΚΤΙΚΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟΥ

Κατάσταση: Προβλεπόμενη

Ποσοστό: 100%

Ημερομηνία: 20/11/2023

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

Marija Krstić*

Shrines ('eikonostasia') on the Greek-Albanian Border Line

Introduction

This paper examines the shrines on the Greek side of the Greek-Albanian border in the region of Epirus. Shrines are small private sanctuaries built by the road. The aim of our fieldwork, conducted during the 2007 Konitsa Summer School,¹ was to be introduced to the significance of borders as transmitters of codes. That implies that shrines were perceived not only as religious spots but also as signs of national identity, which sometimes also have military connotations. In what follows, I will explain possible ways of 'reading' the shrines that we researched.

Theoretical perspective and methodological problems

Nationality as a construction

The Greek border area is inhabited mostly by Greeks. One may also find Greek villages in Albania near the border. This implies that the Greek-Albanian border line includes a bigger frontier.² 'Greekness' as an essen-

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¹ This issue was researched during the *Konitsa Summer School in Ethnology, Ethnography and Comparative Folklore of the Balkans*, which took place between the 3rd and 7th of August 2007. The students who participated in this survey were Jovana Diković, Maria Filippidou, Stella Florou, Matina Mitsopoulou and myself, under the supervision of Dr. Vassilis Dalkavoukis. The methods used were detailed observation of shrines and interviews. We also took advantage of photography as a visual resource. I finally used available literature about this topic. We analysed the role of shrines in Epirus, near the bridge of Bourazani, in the villages of Molivoskepastos, Kalovrissi and in the town of Konitsa. The interviews were conducted with the priest of Molivoskepastos and monks of the monastery of Assumption Day in Molivoskepastos, as well as with inhabitants of Konitsa and Molivoskepastos.

² As Poupouridis (2008) argues, in the Balkans there are not borders but frontiers, large areas that separate modern nation-states. During our fieldwork we found Albanian coins in a shrine on the Greek side. This implies that Orthodox and Muslim populations exist on both sides of the frontier.

tial part of Greek identity³ is being constructed in a very different manner compared to the Albanian population. Their origin and religion are different. They are Orthodox Christians, while Albanians are Muslims. Religion provides an identity and guidance to pious individuals (Rieffer 2003: 217). It gives a range of options to frame and revise one's life plan (Kymlicka 1995, as cited in Rieffer 2003: 217-218). 'Greekness' has been produced as a unique national identity by state-making policies, in contrast to the 'others' (Albanians, Turks), on the basis of different language, religion and origin⁴. Identity (personal, national etc.) is always constructed as a result of contact: we identify ourselves as part of one group only through comparison with – and differentiation from – other groups. People identified as members of the same nation must share a common culture – a system of ideas, signs, associations and ways of behaving – and they must *recognise* each other as belonging to the same nation (Gellner 1983: 7, as cited in Rieffer 2003: 219). The nation usually incorporates language and / or religion as its cultural stuff (Smith 1999, as cited in Rieffer 2003: 222). Because of the possibility of losing their national identity, border areas are usually regions where national identity is strongly kept. National identity is often perceived as eternal, fixed, homogeneous and unique (Nitsiakos and Mantzos 2008). National and ethnic identities are socio-cultural constructions which are products of history and political actors (Eriksen 2004).

Borders

Hartshorne (1933, 1936, as cited in Newman 2006: 174) described three types of borders.

Antecedent borders are connected with early settlement of the area. Subsequent boundaries are demarcated by the existing settlement pattern

³ In some cases, the terms ethnic and national identity and the terms ethnicity and ethnic identity could be interchangeable. National identity is a variant of ethnicity, i.e. national identity is ethnicity at state level (Malečević 2005: 219). Eriksen suggests that ethnic and national identities create imagined continuity with the past. They create an illusion of possessing culture and could provide psychological support during hard times (Eriksen 2004: 122).

⁴ I would like to thank Dr. Dalkavoukis for his suggestions and advice on this paper.

Methodological tribulations

During our fieldwork, we conducted participant observation, we collected ethnographic data and attempted cultural description. They all presuppose a standpoint outside, looking at, objectifying or, somewhat closer, 'reading' a given reality (Clifford 1986a: 11). Thanks to postmodernism (but not only to it) we learned that it is impossible to give true and objective explanations for researched phenomena. What one can observe in an ethnographic account is the imagined construction of the 'other', connected with what one understands (Clifford 1986b: 101). Nevertheless, this does not mean that as a Serbian, non-Greek-speaking anthropologist I am completely incapable of understanding a different culture. It means that I need to be more sensitive regarding the survey results⁶ and that all my analytical statements are limited. Shrines are expressions of personal emotions and faith. Though I could not participate as an interviewer, it was obvious that this is a sensitive question to ask. Shrines are usually built after car accidents as signs implying danger and often death, so it was not easy to remind people of their own pain. My personal inability to speak Greek imposes methodological questions. Am I able to understand and write about (a part of) a culture, the language of which I do not know? Considering this project as a short student fieldwork practice, this question is perhaps rhetorical, but I will keep it in mind during my analysis.

Fieldwork results

What is a shrine?

A shrine is a type of construction with a glass door. It has the form of a small private building with a cross on the top and in Greek it is called 'eikonostasia' or 'eikonismata' (iconostasia). Its main purpose is to protect the people who built it and passengers on the road. It is usually built after a car accident at the very place where someone died or was injured.

⁶ Regarding concepts of native anthropology see Narayan 1993; Ryang 1997; Kanaanah 1997.

⁷ Regarding difficulties during translation see Asad 1986: 160-163.

and difference. Superimposed borders are imposed by others (usually colonial forces).

As Nitsiakos and Mantzos (2008) noted, state borders are plural and defined by context. During the 1930s and 1940s the term 'natural borders' was used. It was considered that rivers, mountains, oceans and deserts have recognisable delineation features. Border is an (imaginary) line that divides a geographical area. It is a demarcation line between two neighbouring states. Such division is not natural but part of political agreement between the two states. Borders are social constructions, because they are formed by people (government and politicians), who use natural features as convenient points of demarcation (Newman 2006: 174).

In his work, Newman introduces the term 'border as process' (2006: 175), because borders are negotiated and can be changed. Borders serve to make clear the distinctions between Us and Them, Here and There (Newman 2006: 176). That is impossible in most cases, because people, with their daily practices and manners, flow from one state to another. National boundaries are cornerstones of nations and of socio-cultural and symbolic space, because they can change the identity of a person from a citizen to a foreigner (Berdhal 1999, as cited in Nitsiakos and Mantzos 2008)⁵. Borders make real the fictional division between groups. They may be invisible but they are perceived as real (Newman 2006: 177).

The act of building a shrine has its roots in Greek Orthodox tradition. The location of shrines in visible places makes clear whom that territory belongs to. Religion can be an important symbol of identification and can play a unifying role in regions where more than one religion (Rieffer 2003: 226, 237) or dissimilar kinds of state exist. During the Cold War, Albania had no official religion, so the shrines marked not only the border line but also the boundaries between two different types of state.

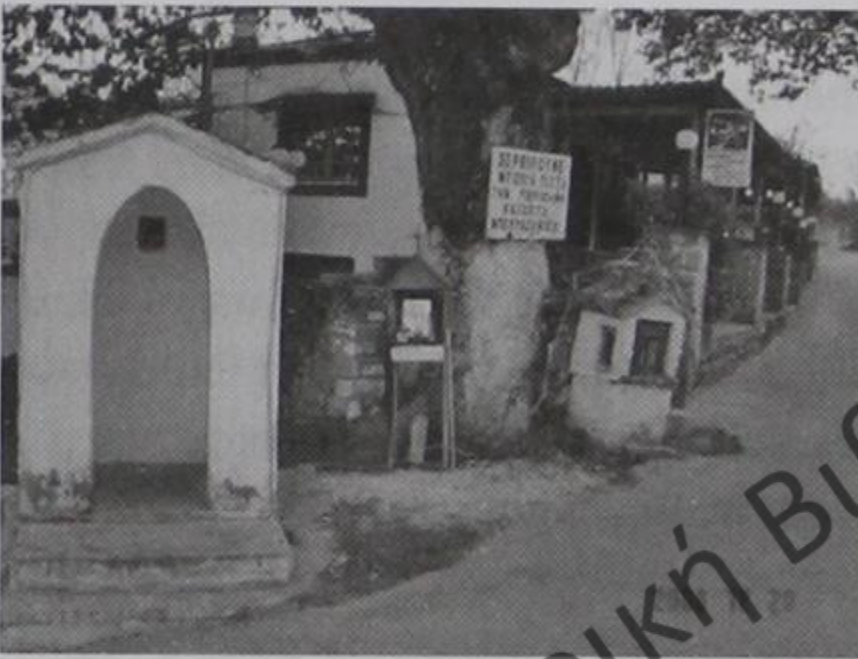
⁵ Starting from 1991, the border between Greece and Albania is seen as a landscape of immigration from Albania to Greece (Nitsiakos and Mantzos 2008; see also Dalkavoukis and Drinis 2007).



Photos 1 - 2

Shrines connected with military settings at the ends of the bridge of Bourazani

(Photos: the author)



In the village of Molivdoskepastos the shrine of St. Efstathius holds the greatest significance. In the shrine there are icons of St. Efstathius, St. Antonius and Virgin Mary, plastic and real flowers, matches and Greek and Albanian coins. This could have several meanings: members of the Greek minority in Albania coming from the Albanian side left the money there as an offering; Albanians came to beg for protection; the money is left there by Albanian immigrants to Greece. There are at least three versions regarding the history of St. Efstathius shrine. On the hill, above the shrine, there is a church dedicated to St. Efstathius. According to one version, a long time ago there was a church in the shrine's place. After its demolition, a shrine was built and a new church was constructed a few meters away. As a soldier told us, shrines are usually built after car accidents and relatives of the deceased go there to light a candle. There are claims that St. Efstathius shrine was built for an ill child, for a dead son or in the memory of a departed husband.

It could also be built as an expression of gratitude to a Saint who rescued the believer. In some cases it serves as a substitute for a church, when the nearest church is too far away. Within a shrine one can find the icon of the Saint it is dedicated to, icons of other Saints, a 'candili' (oil candle), candles, matches, 'fitili' (wick), oil and water (for 'candili'). In some shrines there is a box for coins (with or without coins in it). This way, the space is turned into a sanctuary.

Although shrines can be divided into those that are not in use any more and those that are still in use, they both serve the purpose of warning. They are built by the road in order to warn about possible danger. Greek roads are very winding and Greece is known for the large number of car accidents. So shrines could be 'read' as a statement that someone had a traffic accident there. Besides, in a border area context they constitute a web of meaningful signs that are ambiguous, even if they are usually perceived as one-meaning signs by the 'external' users of the road. Dalkavoukis and Drinis (2007) connected shrines with 'landscapes of defense'. This means that the shrines have a double protective role: they protect the person who had them built (or the person they are built for) and they also serve as guardians of the whole region from another nation (Albania). Thus, in a border area context shrines are used as marks of Greek territory.

In this frame, some shrines may have an additional⁸ military significance. The most characteristic examples are the shrines at the ends of the military bridge of Bourazani, which were built during the Greek Civil War (1946-9). During our fieldwork we noticed that the nearby shrines are parts of a military scene (there were a lot of army bunkers)⁹. Moreover, in the town of Konitsa the shrine of St. Antonius, surrounded by a military setting, was built in 1976 by the 'Konitsa National Guard Battalion'.

⁸ Merton drew a distinction between manifest or official functions of an act and latent functions, which are unofficial and unconscious (Merton 1998: 129).

⁹ The sanctification of the space coincides here with metaphysical support for national duty, since, from a semiotic point of view, the two *iconostasia* are placed next to the institutionally determined guard as supporting 'guards' (Dalkavoukis and Drinis 2007).

turned into place. Shrines which are built by the road not only can transform space into place but they are also able to produce several kinds of external perceptions of the place in terms of 'landscape'. The possible ways of reconfiguration depend on the groups and individuals who organise their space (Bafna 2003). Actually, different landscapes are constantly produced depending on the viewer or interpreter of their meaning.

Consequently, shrines constitute a multidimensional symbolic universe. They are situated spatially, in place and time. Places are politicised, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions (Rodman 1992: 641). The particular ambiguity of the place is the crucial element that produces the direct and implicit meanings of the same signs, turning a place into a (cultural) landscape (Dalkavoukis and Drinis 2007), since places are constructed spatially and have multiple meanings (Rodman 1992: 641). In relation to these facts and according to the interpreter of the meanings, a place is 'read' in different manners. '[...] places, like voices,¹⁰ are local and multiple. For each inhabitant, a place has a unique reality, one in which meaning is shared with other people and places' (Rodman 1992: 643). Multi-locale ethnography is based on the assumption that any cultural identity or activity is constructed by multiple agents in varying contexts or places (Marcus 1989: 25, as cited in Rodman 1992: 645). Multi-locale ethnography explores two or more locales and shows their interconnections over time (Marcus 1986: 171). As Rodman stressed (Rodman 1992: 646), multi-locality invites reflexivity and can refer to comparative analysis of place.

We need to know the codes, if we want to understand (or just sketch) some meanings and the significance of shrines. M. Augé stressed the difference between place and non place. According to him, places have identity and history and are relational (Augé 2005: 53). Non places have none of the above mentioned characteristics. They belong to a world of anonymity and individuality and are temporary (Augé 2005). Non places signify areas built for some purposes and imply a certain kind of

¹⁰ Multi-vocal or multi-audience-addressed text is used for mapping and acknowledging the situatedness of knowledge (Fisher 1999: 458).

In our attempt to define what a shrine is, a bus station with a cross that lies outside Molivoskepastos monastery could be a useful example. This is not a typical shrine. As we have been told by a monk, the cross functions as a protective mark for the monks who are waiting for a bus and as a sign for travellers, indicating that there is a monastery nearby. Should this construction be considered a shrine, since it holds a protecting role like a shrine? If yes, it implies that space and society are dynamic, that they modify and restructure one another (Bafna 2003: 18).

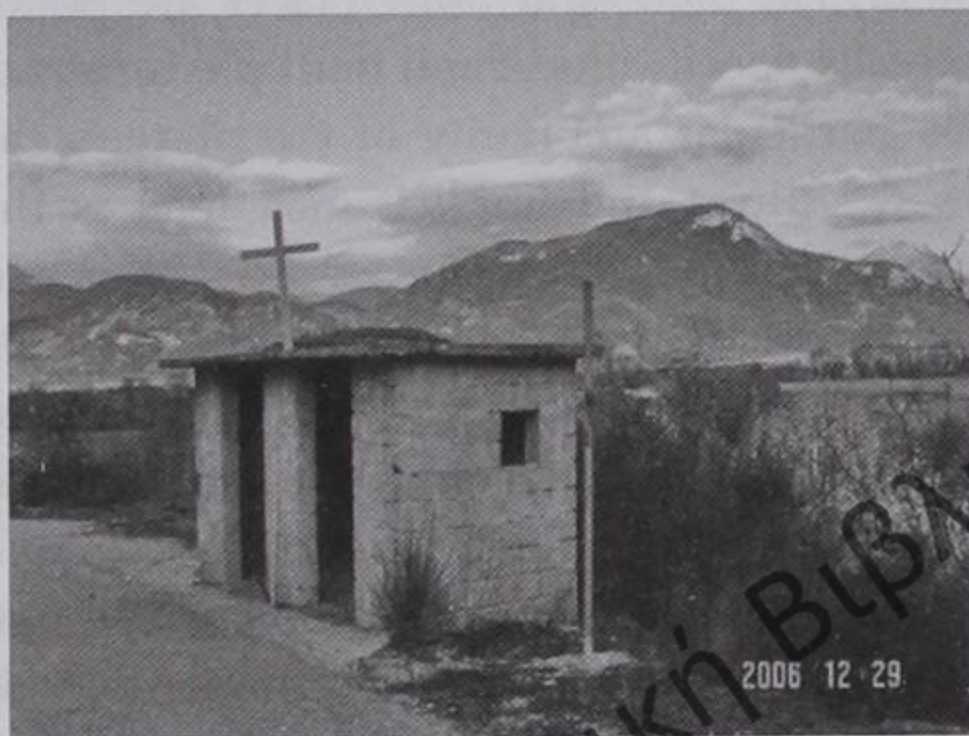


Photo 3

A bus station with a cross outside Molivoskepastos monastery

(Photo: the author)

Neither the Greek Church nor the Greek Army have official responsibility for the shrines. According to the local authorities, an official license is needed in order to build a shrine, but this is usually neglected by both individuals and local authorities. Even the priest of Molivoskepastos monastery built three shrines by himself (and was paid for that as if he was a stone mason) without license.

Analytical comments

Bafna (2003) noted that human societies use space as a necessary resource in organising themselves. People organise space and place according to their needs. Shrines are 'good to think' upon this. Bafna uses the phrase 'space is configured' for the act of turning space into a connected set of discrete units (Bafna 2003: 17). Dalkavoukis and Drinis (2007) argued that used and recreated space, or in Bafna's words 'configured space', is

shrines exist on the Albanian side? If they do, are they built only by the Greek Orthodox population? I must admit that I have not noticed anything similar in Serbia, where grave stones are placed by the road as signs of traffic accidents. This doesn't mean that shrines do not exist in Serbia, but that we need more time and efforts for fieldwork.

It is not enough any more to rework traditional notions of comparative material, acknowledge anthropological representations as interventions in a stream of representation and use more frequently multi-local and multi-vocal ethnography (Fisher 1999: 458). As Fisher recommended, we also need to focus on juxtaposing, complementing or supplementing other genres of writing, to work with historians, literary theorists, media critics, novelists, investigative or in-depth journalists, writers of insider accounts, photographers, film makers, physician-activists and others (Fisher 1999: 458). In other words, as Fisher argued, we need to avoid disciplinary ethnocentrism if we want to better understand the researched phenomenon (Fisher 2005: 383). This means that research on shrines on the Greek-Albanian border line needs more detailed interdisciplinary fieldwork, and I hope that this paper will motivate other colleagues to pursue this goal.

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relationship of people to them (Augé 2005: 89).¹¹ Non places are places where we spend time but we do not recognise them as important places for ourselves. Shrines are simultaneously places and non places. Augé said that places and non places are not fixed, because they do not exist in pure form (Augé 2005: 76). The distinction is based on differing points of view. For a non Greek (like myself), shrines are non places. They are private buildings by the road. They are part of the journey (through Northern Greece), but they do not hold a deeper significance for a foreigner passenger. For Greeks (or people from that region), however, especially for those who had them built, shrines are places filled with meaning and evident purpose.

Final reflections

In this paper I tried to sketch what shrines are, based on a short group fieldwork conducted in August 2007 on the Greek-Albanian border line. The aim was to show how something that seems to have only one meaning can be (and must be) read in different ways. In the term 'shrine' diverse meanings are hidden. For some (Greeks), they have national importance. They are also sacral and temporal marks, places and non places.

This topic is very interesting, because it tries to answer questions which are essentially anthropological: what people do and what people think they do. Since I do not speak Greek, I am aware that this work is not sufficient to address such a broad theme. My recommendation for further research would be to conduct more interviews. Papers in Greek considering the same topic probably have already answered the questions that I pose. Nevertheless, the question of whether there are shrines in other border areas of Greece is worth investigating. If they exist, how do they look and which purpose are they built for? Is the phenomenon exclusively Greek or are there similar presentations in other countries? If the answer is yes, are they to be found in Orthodox countries only? Do

¹¹ According to Augé, non places demand identification upon entrance (entering high roads, plains etc.) or exit, and this provides socialisation and localisation (Augé 2005: 96-97, 106). I do not agree with that. Not for every non place we need to register first (bus stations, roads, in front of garbage cans).

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Kosinë and the border

The Southern Albanian village Kosinë is a very small rural village of approximately 150 households, situated just a couple of kilometres north of the town of Përmet, in the picturesque valley of the Vosje river, along the road that connects Tepelenë with Përmet and the latter, across the customs post of Mertziani, with the town of Konitsa in Greece. The village is located at about 35 kilometres from the Greek-Albanian border.

A series of factors provide insight regarding the border-dimension of the district of Përmet, as part of the broader contested region of Epirus: the relative closeness to the border-zone, with its marking of national difference and its migration issues, the complexity of the area's identity, due to the previous existence of ancient social networks of migration and movements cutting across the present political boundaries, as well as its historical instability, determined by the shifting status of the border. This specificity of the area suggests that the meanings of ethno-religious boundaries are here necessarily intertwined with those historically assumed by the state border as an, at least in the beginning of its existence, arbitrary territorial boundary having legal as well as political and symbolic dimensions. As Verdery and Hart suggest, ethnic difference cannot be effectively dealt with without taking into account its interrelation with the relevant internal and international political framework (see Verdery 1994; Hart 1999). Consequently, I consider here ethnic boundaries, as they are defined by Barth's theoretical approach, in their close relation to the politics of space and of culture in the context of modern state-building.

Barth defines ethnic boundaries as a form of social organisation, which originates from and simultaneously disciplines social interaction through a dichotomisation of society based on criteria of ascription and self-ascription, inclusion and exclusion on the basis of social behaviour. According to this definition, ethnic identity is a form of social status, and its cultural traits are linked to ethnic boundaries, as culture is needed to signal and maintain behavioural criteria of ascription (based on a certain system of values) and social difference, by reflecting the external circumstances to which actors must accommodate themselves. This entails that ethnic identities and their cultural features are flexible and situational:

Flora Giovannetti*

Shifting meanings of ethno-religious boundaries at the Southern Albanian border area: drawing inspiration from the case of Kosinë/Kosina¹

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the existence, production and shifting meaning of ethnic boundaries within a border reality, with emphasis on some factors which are at present reshaping the complexity of identities in the observed area. Its content is drawn from team fieldwork activity conducted in the Përmeti village Kosinë in August 2008 within the study program of the Third Konitsa Summer School², as well as from the comparative use of some relevant literature. More specifically, the main argument is meant to give an answer to the following questions: To what extent and how does emigration to Greece contribute to reshaping the ethno-religious boundaries of the area? And how much are geopolitical changes of the more or less recent past affecting them?

The fieldwork methodology, based on qualitative collection of data, included free conversation and semi-structured interviews conducted in the informants' domestic (Aromanian, Albanian) and acquired (Greek, Italian) languages, limited participant observation and careful observation of the context (e.g. through sharing offered local food, a visit to the village cemetery and a short visit to Përmet town centre). All observations resulted in field-notes, recorded interviews and pictures. Three aspects which limited the fieldwork should be mentioned here: the team's extremely short stay in the field (two days only), the author's lack of knowledge of the local languages and the common contradictions inherent in sharing work within an improvised, heterogeneous team.

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¹ Kosinë is the official Albanian name and Kosina the old Greek name of the village under consideration.

² It is worth mentioning the specific national composition and related linguistic skills of the team members, which, along with their diverse disciplinary backgrounds and individual contributions, proved to be enriching for the progress of our fieldwork: Greek; Greek Vlach (Aromanian language); Italian (language skills in Greek and Albanian); Turkish (language skills in Greek and Albanian); Italian/German. It is in a way striking how this national / linguistic composition seems to reproduce a microcosmos, which bears resemblances to some well-known periods of recent local history.

ation as a contested space, i.e. 'the issue of what it can or cannot separate' (De Rapper 2007: 569).

The geopolitical frame: history of a contested border

The Greek-Albanian border was officially established in 1913, arbitrarily dividing a region (Epirus) which at that time presented a substantial unity between different linguistic and religious communities, freely moving across its territory and cooperating within socio-economic networks. Within the Ottoman framework of the *millet* system, the most relevant category of ethnic difference and social organisation was that of religious allegiance, but people's identity and social status were also defined according to complex criteria of ascription, such as kinship, 'occupational caste' along with its language, regional affiliation, degrees of access to social mobility and prestige, as well as style of life (Hart 1999: 201-203; Prévélakis 1997: 38-85). The historically rooted social relations behind the observed religious divisions in the area may explain the grip religious allegiance still has on a local level, despite the efforts of the dominant national narratives.

For a certain time, the border existed only on the maps. It remained irrelevant to the inhabitants of Epirus on both sides, since kin and economic networks persisted and people, goods and culture flows continued until the Second World War. This was not the only factor undermining the homogenising process of state-building. Local difference produced by that very discriminatory process took the ambiguous form of the enclosure of Greek-speaking communities within the Albanian state and the presence of Albanian Muslim communities in Northern Greece³. The rigid closure of the border in 1945 followed ongoing territorial disputes between the two countries and acquired an even more compelling meaning in the context of the Cold War, as a sign marking the separation not only between two distinct nations but between two wider geopolitical and ideological blocks. This had inevitably dramatic consequences on the population of the region: a century old tradition of networks and mobili-

³ On the dramatic contemporary history of Southern Albanian Muslims (Chams) see Kretsi 2007: 45-68, 281-285.

they can switch, being involved in strategies of social interrelation, adjusting to variant structures of competition over specific resources in different 'ecological' settings (Barth 1969: 1-38). In our case, it shall become evident how the meaning of boundaries is determined by social conflicts emerging in the struggle for control over resources (e.g. prestige, Greek passports and permits of stay) and how identities can shift, while 'boundaries persist despite a flow of persons across them' (Barth 1969: 9).

Since not all difference matters (Barth 1969: 14), it should be taken into account that nationalism and state-building play a role as an 'ecological' factor conferring significance to ethnicity as difference (Verdery 1994: 47).

Thus, the peculiar historical background and geopolitical conditions of this border-area should necessarily be taken into account for a better understanding of local ethno-religious identities, considered here as resulting from a combination of the ideological and 'mythopoetic' constructions of power-politics, on the one hand, and local reactivity, along with local perceptions of social categories and (national) stereotypes, on the other.

A key point in understanding how this interconnection between the national border and the production of local ethnic boundaries works is given in De Rapper's study of the reshaping impact of the proximity to the border, as a 'place of ambiguity', on the identity of the Southern Albanian local population. De Rapper argues that, while a certain negotiation of the national boundary between Albanians and Greeks takes place in the present context of border-crossing migration, a parallel process of strengthening local boundaries results as a consequence. Indeed, because of historically (and politically) determined local differences in access to this negotiation, pre-existing ethno-religious lines of social fragmentation are being reinforced, by taking on a new hierarchical meaning in that very context (De Rapper 2007). 'Practices with meanings dependent on the existence of a borderline also compromise the border as an apparatus devised to produce difference', as they make the border become plural, defined each time contextually (Nitsiakos and Mantzos 2008: 259, 275).

The features that make this border a 'place of ambiguity' are precisely its historical specificities and arbitrariness and its geopolitical situ-

Ethno-religious lines of differentiation in Kosinë

While most of the informants agreed upon the fact that the population of Kosinë initially consisted of almost exclusively Orthodox Christians, today this rural community is no longer homogeneous from an ethno-religious point of view, presenting indeed linguistic and confessional lines of differentiation within the village boundaries. This feature seems to mark one of its specificities in the Southern Albanian context, in which, according to the ethnographic literature, most villages present a unified ethno-religious character and their separateness from the neighbours is usually reinforced by a strict rule of religious endogamy. In the rare cases of mixed villages, as well as in towns, ethno-confessional lines of difference are commonly marked by repartition of space and patterns of endogamy within the resulting neighbourhoods (*mahala*)⁷ (De Rapper 2002: 28-29; 2005: 179-185; 2008: 34).

These features notwithstanding, our informants overall claimed the existence of religious tolerance and friendly cooperation among the villagers, grounded on the fact that they are all Albanians, regardless of religious allegiances. '*At the end of the day, there's only one God*'. This seemed to confirm, at first glance, a certain local success of 'Albanianism'⁸ and of Hoxha regime's efforts to unify the Albanian nation. However, as the literature on the topic suggests, it should be noted that in Albania the duality between the 'official' (public statement) and the private level (everyday behaviour) – mostly due to the extreme pressures of that very regime and its propaganda of national myths – seems to be still quite pronounced (see Lubonja 2002: 100), along with a certain inevitable mistrust by the informants of strangers and/or foreigners.

In our case of study, nonetheless, there is even evidence of mixed marriages, as, for instance, some of our young informants have an Orthodox father and a Muslim mother. This seems to be in line with the present pattern of intermarriage / endogamy underlined by De Rapper in his study on the district of Devoll. According to him, endogamy here

⁷ Neighbourhoods in the traditional Ottoman repartition of urban space according to religious allegiance.

⁸ On the Albanian national myths see Lubonja 2002 and Duijzings 2002.

ty was broken, entire rural communities and families were separated, traditional paths of professional services and trade were severed, land was cut away from its owners⁴.

When the border was reopened in 1990, along with the huge migration flows from Albania to Greece, the international disputes over territory and national minorities were renewed, intertwined with Greece's restrictive migration policies and regional power-politics. According to the Greek national narrative, Southern Albania is the Greeks' 'Northern Epirus'. Greece tries to extend its influence over the entire Greek speaking Orthodox population in Southern Albania (beyond the officially recognised minority zone), grounding its legitimation on the claim that this population has a Greek 'national consciousness' (see Hart 1999: 203-212). In this spirit, the right to obtain passports and permits of stay is accorded by the Greek state to both the Aromanian⁵ community and the Greek minority living in Southern Albania. The most recent developments in Greek-Albanian and Greek-Macedonian relations provide us with insight regarding how Greece takes advantage of EU membership to establish itself as a regional power. Its pretences over the treatment of the Greek minority in Albania acquire, thus, a rather compelling meaning within the broader frame of EU conditionality politics towards potential membership-candidates. The same may be said with regard to Greece's present claims for memorials to be built on Albanian territory, as a tribute to the sacrifice of Greek soldiers fighting against the Italian army in Southern Albania in the beginning of the 1940s. The events in Kosinë in June 2006⁶ – when skeletons were exhumed near the Church of Shen Meri on behalf of the relatives of Greek soldiers killed in the Second World War, with the complicity of the local Orthodox priest, while violating graves of Albanian villagers – is a case in point.

This process of rewriting history and manipulating identities, which is peculiar to modern state-building and international power-politics, interferes in one way or another with local life.

⁴ For a more extensive view of the history of this border, see Winnifrith 2002.

⁵ Called *βλάχοι* (Vlachs) in Greek.

⁶ See news item by Benet Koleka, Reuters, 5 June 2006.

which the local concept of civilisation (*kulturë*), usually ascribed to Christians, plays a crucial role (De Rapper 2008). What is striking is that, unlike the Christian villagers, Muslims do not have any place of worship in the village. The nearest mosque is in Përmet, while Kosinë's landscape is marked by the presence of the suggestive Orthodox church of *Panayia / Shen Meri* (St Mary), dating back to the twelfth century.

If we compare the situation in Kosinë with De Rapper's ethnography on the neighbouring Lunxheri, the Aromanian and the Muslim inhabitants of Kosinë, in the social hierarchical frame of the village, might both be considered as the village 'newcomers' (De Rapper 2005: 175). In the case of Muslims, this seems to be confirmed by the assessment of some Christian interviewees that Muslim villagers do not have the right to build either a mosque or a *tekke* in Kosinë, grounded on the fact that they allegedly never had a place of worship there in the past. '*Muslims may come to pray in our Church, as we take part together in the same religious feasts of the village*', some of our Orthodox informants claimed. The most important of these feasts is said to be the Ascension Day (*Panayia*).

Overall, as far as religious practices are concerned, the case of Kosinë seems to follow the same pattern as other places in Albania, where religion is generally practiced in a rather 'popular' form, priests are scarcely available and religious education is almost non-existent.

The impact of border-crossing migration

Migration has been considered by scholars as one of the factors of discordance over place, borders and identity. Individual narratives of movement through spaces and places are said to reshape the perception of the 'self' in relation to the 'other', along with that of one's own locality in relation to the 'imagined' space the migrant moves across – since the identity and place of a person are considered to be deeply intertwined (Gregorič-Bon 2008: 169). Transnational cultural flows, along with mass movements of people and goods, can be seen as part of a 'transnational public sphere', in which spaces are hierarchically interconnected rather than 'naturally' disconnected, as the representations maintained by states and national elites would have us believe. Through physical movement people are able to 'confound the established spatial orders'. In this frame,

consists in a refusal to give away brides to, as opposed to taking them from, the other community. In a patrilinear system, like the Albanian, this means that we should consider endogamy as part of a more general pattern of social hierarchy: the person who may take brides from the other community but refuses to give brides is in an evident position of relative power. In contemporary Southern Albania this seems to apply to Orthodox Christians, while before State-independence, in the context of the Ottoman society, that very position was reserved for Muslims (De Rapper 2002: 28-29). This aspect represents a remarkable shift in the local (hierarchical) meaning of ethno-religious boundaries, brought about by a historical change of the political frame of reference.

The traditional division of the village space into *mahale* also seems not to be so rigid, as most of our informants explained and as the example of a Muslim man comfortably sitting with us in the garden of one of our Orthodox informant families might seem to confirm. The cemetery of the village is indeed shared by all three of its ethno-religious communities – Albanian Orthodox, Aromanian Orthodox and Albanian Muslim. The only division of space which can be found there follows lines of kinship and only a few graves are adorned with religious symbols of either allegiance, apart from the inscription of names.

If Orthodox Christians are overall considered to be the *autochthonous* inhabitants of Kosinë, it has been confirmed by our Aromanian informants that most *çobani* (as Aromanians are called and call themselves in Albania) settled in the village from the end of the 1950s, forced by Hoxha's policy of assimilation within the newly established agricultural co-operatives. Their difference is mainly based on descent, on their traditional socio-professional specialisation (pastoral) and their style of life (semi-nomadic), and some of them, apart from Albanian, still speak their traditional Romance language (see Schwandner-Sievers 1999). As for the Muslim villagers, while they seem to be considered as one community by Christians, some of our Muslim informants drew a distinction between orthodox Muslims (*Islamik myslyman*) and Bektashi or heterodox Muslims. At the same time, the boundaries between them and the Christian villagers are usually quite blurred. Indeed, Muslim villagers frequently assert to be of Orthodox origin, which confirms a common pattern in Southern Albania, referring back to a social hierarchy of prestige, in

duce themselves by both their 'name of birth' and their *Greek* 'name of baptism', virtually stressing the latter. All this may be explained through shifting socio-hierarchical meanings of ethno-religious boundaries.

In De Rapper's studies on Southern Albania, previous experiences of emigration, i.e. *kurbet*⁹, were found to be symbolically affecting social status hierarchies and negotiation of prestige, in a frame in which local interpretations of the relation between Christians and Muslims, whereby the former enjoy a position of prestige, are grounded on degrees of proximity to the local notion of 'civilisation' (*kulturë*) (De Rapper 2008). The opposition between 'civilised' (*me kulturë*) and 'not civilised' (*pa kulturë*), which usually overlaps with the opposition between Christian and Muslim, is part of a 'system of representations and stereotypes' which has nothing to do with religion as such and rests indeed on the strong concern of post-socialist Albania over matters of backwardness and the longing for progress within a European framework. Christians are generally seen as *me kulturë*, i.e. more 'European', closer to the West, because of their continuous contact with Western culture through *kurbet*, their present legal emigration possibilities and their traditionally easier access to education. Muslims, on the other hand, are assigned a lower status, as they are usually considered to be less integrated in the wider world, to have a more 'local' / 'oriental' background and sometimes to even operate as an obstacle to the process of integration with the West (i.e. within the EU). The same system of representations is applied, in a more or less similar way, to the stereotypical opposition between Albania's North and South, rural and urban, etc. (ibidem). For instance, some of our interviewees claimed that people of the Përmeti region are the most cultivated in Albania and generally that Southern Albanian people are more 'civilised', open-minded and generous than Northern Albanians.

It is important to point out how, in this frame of oppositions, transnational migration and circulation of material culture¹⁰ may affect the

⁹ Albanian emigration during the Ottoman Empire.

¹⁰ Dimitris Dalakoglou is currently carrying out interesting research on the everyday flows of trade and material culture (especially regarding household and housing) towards Albania brought about by migration to Greece and Italy, and the visible impact this has on Albanian socio-cultural life (see Dalakoglou 2008 and 2009). On the combined circulation of people and goods in the Greek-Albanian border-area see also Nitsiakos and Mantzos 2008:

restriction of immigration appears to be 'one of the main means through which the disempowered are kept that way' (Gupta and Ferguson 1992: 8-17). Movement is always implicated in a network of relationships with other people and places, which combines the way things seem to be (rhetorics, politics of representation, imagined spaces) with how things are (borders and passports, social relationships, being forced or being free to stay or to move) (Green 2005: 29). More specifically, we shall consider migration, as De Rapper does, through looking at its impact on the construction of collective identity, and thus as 'a matter of negotiation of identity, not only for those who leave, but also for the community at home, giving new forms to boundaries inside local society' (De Rapper 2005: 173).

In our case of study, present trans-border migration is a cornerstone in connection to which the gap between the official level of statements, claiming a strong and homogeneous national allegiance, and the actual behaviour of the local population, along its historically determined cultural lines of social division, becomes more evident. Let us examine, for instance, the following statement by a villager of Kosinë who settled back from migration to Greece: 'I am a "muslyman" but I don't believe in any religion. I was baptised in Greece. This is how things are: the whole world has changed and there is no Christian or Muslim'. The man, while claiming not to believe in any religion and indirectly supporting the homogeneity of the Albanian 'world', defines himself as a *muslyman*, while at the same time admitting to have got baptised in his host-country. This also shows how, in the considered area, one's allegiance to a religious community is determined by attribution (descent) rather than by adherence (Hayden 2002: 208).

In Kosinë, as elsewhere in the region, the practice of obtaining Orthodox names through baptism seems to be quite common among the Muslim population. This observation, which might seem paradoxical at first sight, is explained by the intensification of socio-economic ties with the neighbouring Greece and the everyday confrontation with the migration restriction policies of the latter (see Hart 1995: 60). This does not necessarily entail a change in people's local status of *muslyman*. What has been striking for me and what I kept wondering about is the fact that many people in the village, even self-defining Christians, used to intro-

bet (De Rapper 2004: 167-68). It should be added here that the degree of freedom to stay or to move is another important factor affecting social status.

Emigration also seems to reshape the present perception of the 'other' (foreign nations and reception countries). Some of our informants in Kosinë, who settled back from relatively successful emigration to Greece, described the advantages of emigration to Greece and to Italy in terms of importing new experience, techniques and materials for building and housing, gaining access to western goods and improving their economic conditions. Aromanian villagers, who were among the first to leave for Greece, benefited from the Greek state's policies towards them from the 1990s onwards: *'God bless Papandreou and Greece who gave us bread and saved us from hunger'*, claimed one of our Aromanian informants. At the same time, however, there seemed to be a certain disillusionment among our interviewees regarding the once imagined promises of the host countries. People who once emigrated appear to be informed about the current economic recession affecting their ex-host countries, even though they maintain that in comparison their country of origin is still 'poor' and less developed. Moreover, as far as Greece is concerned, it was noticeable that critical assessments are often based on traditional stereotypes regarding Greek-Albanian difference, e.g. Greek intolerance and discrimination vs. Albanian generosity and tolerance. The following statement by one of our informants provides a case in point:

'Albania is the only State in the world that is so tolerant towards different religious affiliations. Here we have a really good time together. In Greece it is different. Many Albanian Muslims who went to work in Greece got baptised because they were afraid that they would not be accepted'.

Television, especially by broadcasting neighbour state channels, is another remarkable factor that should be taken into consideration, along with border-crossing, in the present redefinition of identity, locality and boundaries. But that goes beyond the scope of this paper.

ongoing negotiation of identity and prestige, thus reshaping present socio-hierarchical relations and boundaries within a locality like Kosinë. Among the Orthodox inhabitants and migrants, the Aromanian population, considered to be almost of Greek national 'consciousness' by the Greek state and thus being granted the right to obtain Greek passports and permits of stay, appear to have the most flexible identity (see Schwandner-Sievers 1999) and thus the best chance to achieve better life conditions and to renegotiate their prestige on a local level. Their emigration experiences take place in a framework of legal facilitation and appear to be generally successful, especially thanks to revitalising kin networks and contacts from pre-socialist times. Having been assigned in the past a position at the lowest level of the Southern Albanian prestige hierarchies, considered by both Orthodox and Muslim Albanians to be the least 'civilised' due to their professional specialisation as shepherds (*çoban*), now their evident economic success positions and cultural achievements, along with their acknowledged entrepreneurial spirit, might legitimate their social emancipation (see De Rapper 2005: 187). Muslim emigrants are the most disadvantaged in the context of migration to Greece, as they are discriminated by the Greek state both in terms of historically determined national narratives and by legal restrictions to immigration. They are mostly forced to cross the border illegally, which negatively affects their working opportunities and living conditions in Greece. Moreover, they do not seem to be able to change their status in their home villages. Indeed, they are scorned by Christian villagers for their efforts to change religious affiliation. Albanian Orthodox people usually claim not to have the necessity to demonstrate their alleged community with Greeks, as they share the same confessional identity. If, however, the Greek national discourse would consider them as 'Greek' on grounds of religious allegiance, legal immigration restrictions would apply to them, since they cannot prove that they belong to the officially recognised Greek minority in Albania¹¹. In order to cross the border legally, they usually rely on reactivating networks dating back to the time of *kur-*

270-274. De Rapper has also stressed the relation between the popular notion of 'kulturë' in Albania and the way it is expressed through possession and use of 'Western' goods, especially those relevant to the household (e.g. chairs and cutlery sets) (see De Rapper 2002a).

¹¹ On the contested Greek minority in Albania see Hart 1995.

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Concluding remarks

The first conclusion that can be drawn is related to the contextual porousness of local ethno-religious boundaries, which, however, in the specific observed border-area appear to be less fluid than national ones.

In my view, both individual and collective identities prove to be multi-layered and multi-faceted, which means that different principles of social affiliation and identification (e.g. ethnic, national, religious, regional) usually correlate and more or less overlap, especially in the so called 'frontier societies' (Duijzings 2000: 20). Individual and collective border-crossing, along with migration policies, operate as mechanisms through which the nation-state's homogenising forces produce differences in frontier societies, that may take the form of locally pre-existing, ethno-religious divides. It should be noted here that migration usually takes place in a context of existential insecurity and consequent high competition over resources, whereby allegiances other than family and kinship are necessarily unstable (Duijzings, 2000: 6). Border-crossing migration in border-regions turns out to be a fertile context in which an interactive combination of, on the one hand, State homogenising ideologies and contesting international power-politics and, on the other, individual strategies to gain a status facilitating access to scarce resources may create, re-define or even strengthen local collective identities along socio-cultural lines of differentiation.

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toman Empire used to be multiethnic, with groups combining different ethnic characteristics co-inhabiting the same space. With the onset of the era of nationalism in the Balkans, after the dissolution of the Ottoman system, ethnic groups contained in the wider category of the millet were not so easily transformed into national identities.

After the initial drawing of the border, border communities on both sides retained their trans-border connections, undermining local state power. However, the sealing of the border in 1945 put an end to all of this. Border control by the two states became rigid and, as a result, communities which had shared intimate relations were isolated from one another, cultural relations were interrupted and mobile professional groups, such as masons and shepherds, could not cross the border any more. Populations remained confined within what became their national space. 50 years later, the collapse of the Hoxha regime in Albania resulted in the radical transformation of the border as well as the re-establishment of communication between the cross-border communities (Nitsiakos and Mantzos 2004).

The symbolic dimension of this space that divides not only the borders but the limits of ethnic entities is crucial for the construction of new identities and makes us redefine the terms by which we approach ethnic identities due to their hybrid characteristics. The geographic closeness, the historical background of the populations' movements, the existence of ethnic groups that cut through national borders (e.g. the Vlachs), the existence of a recognised Greek minority in Albania and other matters that have to do with the bilateral relationships (e.g. Chams) of the two countries make it difficult to establish the different identities, especially when we consider the fact that many Albanian immigrants in Greece have two houses, speak two languages and live their lives in both countries, whose borders are crossed very often, if not every day (Nitsiakos 2006). As far as the definition of the ethnic groups is concerned, there are two approaches: the first, based on historical sources, censuses, diplomatic reports and instructions, national contracts etc., can represent diachronically the size of ethnic populations, while the second defines the existence of minorities through 'the self-determination of the cultural identity' of persons and groups. This approach, without underestimating the importance of history and tradition in shaping consciousness, answers

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Ethnic groups: Identities and relationships in the Greek-Albanian border

This paper is the product of my participation in the 2007 Konitsa Summer School, during which I had the opportunity to take part in a short ethnographic excursion to Albania. Under the supervision of Prof. Vassilis Nitsiakos I conducted ethnographic research in the area close to the Greek-Albanian border. As part of this research, I visited the following communities: Çarçovë (Charshova), Badëlonjë (Badelonia), Kosinë, Këleyrë (Klisura), Përmet, Leshicë (Lishitsa) and Leskovik.

My project was focused on the different ethnic groups that exist in the villages and cities mentioned above. I tried to identify them and to recognise the identity idioms, considering their proximity to the border, and the kinds of relationships that exist among them and with the people on the other side of the border. The material collected was based on participant observation and on interviews with different residents of the villages, especially in the Permet area. The members of our research group overcame the language barrier quite easily – we could not communicate in Albanian – since our informants spoke either Greek or Vlach.

A short introduction to the transformations of this specific border in the last century and the concrete effects they have had on the local populations is needed, so as to understand the present developments. The national borders are rather novel in this area and were drawn with great difficulty due to the ethnologically complex character of the area, which made it impossible to create an absolute correspondence between the specific ethnic groups and national dichotomies. In the end, the arbitrary character of the border line made it quite difficult to assign the novel national labels to the ethnic groups living in the area. Finally, two national identities – Greek and Albanian – were to correspond to the officially recognised groups in the region.

These identities are supposed to be eternal, stable, internally homogeneous and externally differentiated from others, especially neighbouring identities or those with which they share component parts. The Ot-

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- *Vlachs*: They call themselves *Rāmāni* but are called *Çobani* by Albanians. They are present in many villages, where they usually form a separate neighbourhood called 'mahala'. They were settled in the villages after the socialist collectivisation in the 1950s. Before that, they were mainly semi-nomad pastors living throughout the region. Vlach *mahalas* exist in several villages, such as Kosinë, Bodar, Leshicë, Badëlonjë, Kutal and Qilarisht. Vlachs also live in mixed neighbourhoods in Përmet, Çarshovë and Leskovik.

The local residents of Greek origin describe the villages from their own viewpoint as Greek, Albanian Christian, Albanian Muslim – they mention especially the Cham villages – and Vlach. Similar categorisations exist in the nineteenth-century accounts of the region. However, the situation today is more complicated due to the existence of mixed villages, towns and cities and due to the displacements of populations in the first half of the twentieth century.

The Albanian government after 1990 transformed the border into a free crossing for any Albanian wishing to go abroad legally or illegally. As a result, in the years 1990-3 more than 300,000 Albanians left the country. A large part of these migrants comes from the southern part of the country, the area close to Greece, which is today depopulated. Most of the inhabitants of this area migrated to Greece, a phenomenon with several consequences for both countries.

In the socialist era, when all the population groups were integrated as co-nationals and class, ethnic, linguistic and religious legacies played a minor role, the Greeks of Albania had to abandon their identity in order to climb up the Albanian social hierarchy. Mixed marriages were common and most children of these marriages grew up without any knowledge of the Greek language, while they had acquired an Albanian ethnic identity. But the situation has been reversed lately.

As we speak, in the Albanian south, but mostly in the Albanian population that has emigrated to Greece, a gradual change to a pro-Greek identity can be traced. The Greek language is spoken by an important percentage of the Albanians of the south, the television sets are tuned to Greek channels, Greek music is everywhere and the exchanges with Greece constitute almost the only source of income for most families (Tsitselikis and Christopoulos 2003). Such pro-Greek feelings also draw

the question 'who is Greek, Turkish or Albanian?' by claiming that every person is what they freely declare they are (Veremis, Kouloumbis, Nikolakopoulos 1995). After interviewing several people, we realised that their self-determination is the product of elements of both approaches, and consequently we did not have to choose between them.

The defining criteria of ethnic groups were linguistic (i.e. the use and comprehension of the same language) and religious (i.e. belonging to the same religion and prioritising religious community). The division of the population in the area of our study into 'Greeks' and 'Albanians' is very simplistic. According to Athanasios Psalidas, an important historian who came from Epirus, the division of the inhabitants of the region in the nineteenth century was as follows: Greek Christians, Albanian Christians and Albanian Turks, meaning Muslims.

In our 2007 conversations we came up with the following categorisation of the populations of the region:

- Albanian Christians (Shqip): They are everywhere in the region and form the majority of the population. They are divided into two sub-groups: the 'Gegithes', in the north, who are mostly Muslims and Catholics, and the 'Toskithes', in the south, who are mostly Orthodox Christians. They are called *Crestini* by the Vlachs and *Kauri / Gauri* by the Albanian Muslims.
- Albanian Muslims: They are newcomers from regions north of Permet and they mainly live in large villages, towns and cities. They are called *Turci* or *Muslimani* by the Vlachs and all other Orthodox Christians.
- Albanians Bektashi: They are also newcomers in this region, mainly concentrated in the towns of Këlcyrë, Përmët and Leskovik.
- Greeks: They live in two small villages near the border with Greece (Valovista and Vlahopsilotera) as well as in neighbourhoods in Përmët and Çarshovë.
- Gypsies: They are called *Gifti* by locals. *Gifti* are usually Albanian speaking Muslims, although some are Christian, settled in localities, mainly in Përmët and Leskovik.
- *Tsigani*: They are Gypsy nomads who come from different regions and are constantly moving around.

economic, political and social distress. Their realities disclose the ideological mechanisms of subordination, which are subject to global dependence structures between states (King, Mai and Scwandner-Sievers 2005). As our case indicates, border regions often have a critical impact on the formation of nations, national identities and state mechanisms. Borders and identities are externally defined, articulated within larger social, political and economic processes. From the moment a border is created, it functions not only to reinforce but also to create difference, depicting the operation of unequal state powers and the historical formation of cultural relations in frontier zones.

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power from the Orthodox Christian Albanian population, including the Vlachs, part of which for historical reasons had developed cultural affinity with Greece.

The recent socio-political changes in Albania have brought on this change. Work in Greece is of vital importance, so in order to acquire entry or a work permit in Greece, you have to declare being a member of the Greek Minority or prove your 'Greek origin', which has acquired tremendous social and economic value in Albania. Different identity cards were provided by the Greek state to 'Greeks by descent' (*homogeneis*), i.e. to Albanian citizens claiming Greek origin. A great number of Vlachs in the south-east of Albania have also claimed Greek *homogeneis* identity based on their pro-Greek social networks and identity idioms of the past. There have even been cases of Albanian Muslims who made similar claims by falsifying their Albanian documents. This is the potential effect of Greek policy, since people in Albania believe that there is discrimination by the Greek state against Muslims or 'non Greeks' in favour of 'Christians' or those of 'Greek origin'.

Apart from religion, language, as we have already mentioned, was a means of proving one's origin. In the narrations of the inhabitants, language was seen as the anchor of collective identification that affiliates communities with the Albanian nation or, alternatively, ties them to the Greek domain. Apparently, bilingualism had emerged within the borderland communities in the past, and this was proven by the high rate of intermarriages at the Greek border zone. Some of the elders positively recall the traditionally close cross-border relationships before the 1949 sealing of the borders. Such memories make them more flexible over the question of national / ethnic identity compared to the younger generation. Actually, young generations blame the elders for a 'compromised, chameleonic behaviour, a leftover of the communist era'. It should be noted that the flexibility towards ethnic / national identifications is related to the marginal situation and economic dependence of the locals within a national state that does not provide them with any social security.

To sum up, local actors in this area try to appropriate an interpretation of the past favoured by present day migration movements. Such survival strategies are practiced by individuals living in a state beset by

socialist past of Albania and with present day realities, as she appeared as an 'insider' of a common 'past' but also of a common 'present'. This common present refers to the fact that many of our Albanian informants experienced, in a participant's own words, the '*Eastern migrant's life in a Western country*' (Mario, Albanian, 36 years old, worked abroad in Ioannina and Konitsa, Greece). So, this 'Romanian background', as we may call it, facilitated representations. Many Albanians met Romanians and had Romanian friends who were migrants too or they had travelled to Romania after the collapse of the communist regime. Their identity strategies became more explicit and were articulated in a more coherent way, as they could share their experiences as migrant workers from a post-communist country in a Western one.

Although only one of us speaks Greek and we had allocated plenty of time for translation, we believe it was valuable and useful, allowing our respondents to observe us and to focus, leading ultimately to the creation of a very friendly context. We wanted to create a feeling of trust among all parties involved in the research process. It should be clear that we tried not to forget how our identities can limit, mediate or contribute to informants' representations.

The historical context

Following the Balkan Wars (1912-14) and the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, Greece took possession of Epirus, while 1914 saw the creation of the Albanian state. Drawing the border between the two countries was a very difficult process due to the ethnic complexity of the region and the impossibility of determining any precise correlation between the particular ethnic groups in the region and the ethnic separation being pursued. The location of the border was, eventually, entirely arbitrary, and as a result enclaves of ethnic minorities were created on both sides of the border, the most blatant example being that of the officially recognised Greek minority in Southern Albania (Nitsiakos et al. 2005: 88).

The difficulty in classifying and separating populations arose from the fact that, during the Ottoman Empire, people were classified according to their religion. It was easy for populations to move and mix within the unified regime that covered the whole Balkan Peninsula, while in the

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Lived borders – between belonging and daily crossing

This paper is the outcome of our participation in the 2007 Konitsa Summer School in Anthropology, *Ethnography and Comparative Folklore of the Balkans*. It focuses on data collected during the fieldwork exercise that took place in three Albanian towns at the Greek-Albanian border: Carçova, Leskovik and Permet.

We examined particularly the issues of whether borders become more or less obvious, the factors that contribute to this process, the ways in which social relationships develop among people who live close to the borders and finally the factors that affect these relationships. Another issue of central importance is the dialectical relationship between borders and the everyday life in the region. Due to the short period of time spent at the borders, this paper is mainly an attempt to offer some directions for future research that can be developed in this area, focusing on several socio-cultural aspects which will prove that an anthropological glance might make them reveal something of Albanian realities.

Regarding the methodology of the study, we need to point out in advance some limitations as well as some possible ways to overcome them. The persons interviewed are presented in this study more as portraits than case-studies, because of the way in which language was used in a fluid and flexible manner, building a discourse which is a hybrid between academic argumentation and fieldwork diary. The character of the interviews moved between structured / formal and informal, facilitating a short but thick dialogue, which proved to be productive in gathering fieldwork data. Contextualising the questions became one of the researchers' methodological goals.

We encountered some language limitations, since most of the interviews were conducted in Greek. Evangelia was translating into English so that everybody could understand. Although this resulted in communication difficulties, Gabriela's Romanian national identity seemed to act as a variable that encouraged informants to relate more freely with the

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they are tied culturally to many other people in neighbouring states' (Wilson and Donnan 1998: 4), the examination of differences and resemblances of identities in these border areas is articulated through the changes that took place in the post-socialist period.

Borders as signs embedded in time and space

The 'Border' has increasingly become a central topic in social sciences, as it represents a meaningful and dynamic aspect of the processes of identities shaping. 'The border must be interrogated for its subtle and sometimes not so subtle shifts in meaning and form according to the setting' (Wilson and Donnan 1998: 12). According to anthropologists:

'borders have three elements: the legal borderline which simultaneously separates and joins states; the physical structures of the state which exist to demarcate and protect the borderline, composed of people and institutions which often penetrate deeply into the territory of the state; and the frontiers, territorial zones of varying width which stretch across and away from borders, within which people negotiate a variety of behaviours and meanings associated with their membership in nations and states.' (cf. Martinez 1994: 5; Prescott 1987; Herzog 1990: 16 quoted by Wilson and Donnan 1998: 12)

It is no easy matter to determine a border, even in cases where historically there have been no competing claims. Lines which determine exactly where a territorial state has dominion are a modern European concept, unknown in the Medieval Period with its migratory populations, labyrinthine system of feudal rights and obligations, and the absence of any unified administrative mechanisms. Feudal states in medieval times established their borders not just by war but also, frequently, by the exchange of territory among kinsmen. This was the time of great empires (the Holy Roman Empire, and later the Prussian State, the Hapsburg Empire and the Ottoman Empire in the East).

Even after the French Revolution erupted, it was still difficult for anyone to pinpoint where the borders of the French kingdom lay with the precision required of today's cartographers. The borders of the Eastern Despotates were similarly unclear. They were based chiefly on fortified

Epirus region the phenomenon was encouraged by the dominance of Ali Pasha, whose fiefdom spread from Gjirokastrë and Korçë (Albania) to Igoumenitsa and Preveza (Greece).

In 1945, during and after the Greek Civil War, the border between Greece and Albania was closed permanently, as contact and diplomatic ties between the two countries ceased. A 500-metre wide strip of wasteland was left on the Albanian side of the border, forming a second (internal) border. When the Hoxha regime collapsed in 1989, the state of war between the two countries was officially ended and in 1990 the border was opened between the two countries, while the internal border ceased to exist in 1991.

In Albania, the post-socialist period brought new challenges. Individuals, groups and the state were confronted with processes that may appear fragmentary linking the past and the future in several socio-cultural dimensions. The features of these processes can be identified through constant questioning and critical thinking. Thus,

'the anthropological study of the everyday lives of the border communities is simultaneously the study of the daily life of the state, whose agents must take an active role in the implementation of the policy and the intrusion of the state's structures into its people's life. [...] An anthropology of borders simultaneously explores the cultural permeability of borders, the adaptability of border people in their ideological attempts to construct political divides and the rigidity of some states in their efforts to control the cultural fields which transcend their borders. Thus, anthropologists study the social and the economic forces which demand that a variety of political and cultural boundaries to be constructed and crossed in the everyday lives of people by the border' (Wilson and Donnan 1998: 4).

The dialectical relations between individual choices and state power, between 'agency' and 'structure', construct new realities, new discourses, some visible, some still hidden, as the borders become more and more porous but still remain 'alive'.

In accordance with Wilson and Donnan's view that 'when ethnographers study border people, they do so with the intention of narrating the experiences of people who often are comfortable with the notion that

They become signs embedded in the past or in the present, fluid, doubled by people's representations during the past or springing up from the present.

The Albanian border area becomes more urbanised as one moves further inside the country. Very close to the Greek border, Korce kept alive or, alternatively, it is kept alive by its rural character, then Leskovik is a liminal 'rurban' space in comparison to Permet, a bigger Albanian town further inside Albania. A generational contrast is apparent: the grand-daughter of a man from Korce is studying abroad, in Hungary; in Leskovic, a young girl, whose identity lies between Greek (her grandfather) and Albanian (her father) ethnic origins, is studying in Tirana and wants to move permanently to the capital of Albania. Throughout this gradually urbanised region, from the border area to the centre, the state remains central through its capital, which is still perceived as the engine of 'welfare'. Although younger generations seem more cosmopolitan and mobile than previous ones, sometimes the 'link' to a 'better life' remains the centre, for example 'education in Tirana'.

Everyday life on borders

The proximity of Greece, the nearest Western country for the towns of Carçova, Leskovik and Permet, brings specific issues into the discussion, such as migration. The circulation of persons from the rural to the urban environment, inside the country and then abroad, represents one of the most complex social phenomena. The definition offered by the *Sociological Dictionary* of Allan G. Johnson draws a wider context for migration as a social phenomenon:

'Migration means the physical movement of people within social systems and between them. Migration is a very important phenomenon, if we consider the effects it has on the areas which are losing people through emigration and on the areas which receive by immigration. Migration is, for example, a major component of population growth – especially in areas like Europe and North America, where fertility is low and, historically speaking, migration was the first source of urbanisation. Migration also affects the social composition of the population and, on this ground, it plays an important

cities dominating the surrounding countryside, which was frequently foreign and hostile. Their authority stretched only as far as their armies could reach (Kedourie 2003: 173).

Although the French Revolution saw natural features promoted as an indispensable element in the determination of borders, France was frequently obliged to resort to the force of arms – which led the country becoming embroiled in wars with the rest of Europe for two full decades and forced it to expand and occupy regions which were far beyond any supposedly natural borders (Kedourie 2003: 173).

With the rise and spread of nationalism, borders begin to be viewed as a form of shelter for nation-states. Territorial borders separate and distinguish the territory of one nation-state from that of another. Their existence is an essential element of a specific territory, which itself is one of the key factors in determining where borders are established. The nation-state is closely associated with territorial dominion and territoriality becomes a major factor. Thus, every nation-state attempts to establish its own clearly defined recognised territory, for which it seeks recognition from international organisations. It also creates a mythology about the border, which presents it like a castle that repels any type of invasion, be it ethnic, political, cultural or economic. From this perspective, borders are the ultimate symbols of the state's authority, a demonstration of the state's sense of security against its neighbours or confirmation of its hostility towards them. There, at the border, the state seeks to make its presence felt in the most forceful way it can. At the border, the power of the nation-state is made tangible by the erection of monuments.

Borders may be regarded as a liminal space. In the case of Albania, borders appear or disappear constantly between traces, such as the bunkers built during the socialist period to protect (isolate?) the country from the rest of the world. In present-day Albania the sense of the border is mainly related to wishful thinking, e.g. Albania becoming a member of the EU or Albania as a member of NATO. The ever-present use of EU signs and flags in Albania is just such a strategy. The most interesting traces are those where multiple borders of both past and present crosscut each other. That was the case, for example, of an empty bunker with the Albanian and the EU flags on top of it. Borders also 'live' in the different signs at customs posts (passports, policemen's uniforms, car labels etc.).

for the unstructured one. These emigrants are representing in fact a floating population [...] Their displacements are not cyclic anymore, but on the contrary, nowadays migrants come from and go to different places, where they stay a longer period of time.' (Pispal 1986 cited in Bonte and Izard 2007: 543)

For the people who live near Albanian towns, at the border, Greece represents an opportunity to find a better job, even jobs that will necessitate crossing the border daily. Interpersonal networks, family networks are developed in order to improve migration networks in Greece. In order to better respond to the migratory phenomenon, many new policies were implemented in the recent past. A special migration card allows Albanian people to work abroad, but unfortunately the price that Albanians must pay for it is too high, so they chose to migrate to Greece illegally instead. Borders are porous and mutable as they allow people, goods, ideas and cultural products to pass through. Many of the informants met Greek citizens who helped them to start their own business in Albania, thus entrepreneurial attempts are fostered by interpersonal relations and networks.

Another important element is a special identity card issued by the Greek state for ethnic Greeks who live outside Greece. The card can be obtained on request, based upon a person's own declaration of Greek ethnic identity. It is free of charge and allows its holder to pass the borders and work abroad.

After the fall of the Hoxha regime, increased trade between the two countries led to a requirement for stricter border controls and to the creation of a customs post at Mertziani. We can, thus, discern the disappearance of old borders and the creation of new ones.

Trade on borders is characterised by increasing flows of different types of goods, which led to continuous legal improvement of border checking. In recent years, customs officials between Greece and Albania have allowed the legal flow of goods and persons (agricultural products and commodities from Greece to Albania, but also vice-versa). A lot of products, such as wine and *tsipouro*, a traditional Greek drink, are produced in Albania and sold in Greece via interpersonal or family networks. Also the internationalisation of trade through the establishment of multinational firms flourished in Albania. During the fieldwork research,

role in racial, ethnic and class relations. Historically speaking, the sociological study of migration had mainly focused on factors determining rejection and attraction and the conditions that make people leave one area and move to another. Contemporary research shows that there are actually many complex processes to be taken into consideration: for example, the international job / labour demand and the flows of capital on the foreign borders.' (Johnson 2007: 215-216)

A comparison can be made with the migratory phenomenon in Romania and with the illegal networks and structures that functioned there after 1990 (Chelcea, Mateescu 2005: 223-260). The research informants easily speak about their illegal border crossing experiences, about passing the borders in larger groups, but they always feel the necessity to seal the confession with a silent agreement built upon trust and the responsibility on the part of the person who collects their narratives.

The local emigrants, those who established themselves in the Konitsa (Greece) - Leskovic (Albania) areas, try to reproduce their domestic environment abroad. This is the case for one of our informants, Mathias, 56 years old, migrant in Greece, at Ioannina. He brought his wife with him to Greece, but she couldn't adapt and couldn't find a proper job. He cannot picture his wife living abroad for the rest of his life. However, he believes that his sons, whom he brought with him to work abroad, will easily work and live abroad. At the same time, he hopes that they will eventually return to Albania to study. He states that '*they must decide what they will do with their lives*', thus, a certain distance from the traditional way of upbringing can be identified, an 'open destiny' for younger generations between freedom and the lack of concrete plans for the future. He speaks about his sons studying as a step they must take, but not as something sure or as a well planned future.

The case of this family is indicative of family migration processes. As Pispal argues:

'family migration networks result in the intensification, the growth of group mobility. Anyhow, the new generations of immigrants are hardly adapting themselves to their adoption environment and their attempts to become integrated are even harder for every territory and for each activity field, especially

ing aspects of the imaginary that the media try to manipulate. The cultural representations used by the video-clips that accompanied the music (a 'mélange' between disco-dance-traditional Greek-Albanian music) 'offered' the 'feeling' of improvisation and imitation of several obvious Western patterns.

Broadcasting knows no borders, but in the past the censorship by the communist regime and the punishment for 'crossing the border' by listening to foreign radio (Greek radio, for example) was a reality in Albania. Nowadays, young Albanian people from the Greek-Albanian border mentioned that they improved their Greek language skills by watching Greek television channels. This was the case, for example, of a young girl, whose Greek grandfather never taught her Greek. One middle-aged respondent of Greek origin in Carcova had particularly strong memories of the problems she had faced in her youth during the Hoxha regime, because she used to listen to Greek radio. Thus, it is questionable whether borders become more porous or more subtle through the media.

Conceptualising the term 'borders'

Research developed in border areas is rich in emphasising interethnic and intercultural communication but one cannot underestimate the danger and the limitations of this perspective in today's globalised world. Thus, a comparison with the status of other well known anthropological concepts, such as 'identity' and 'culture', may raise awareness, when the context of these border areas is brought into discussion. The mobility of persons, goods, ideas, media products and representations necessitates a broader analysis of context, something which anthropologists must take into account when they develop research on border areas. The concept of 'culture' has faced many challenges and has been interpreted in various ways because of its fluid character, but also due to epistemological and methodological demands for re-definition. The term 'border' may face similar challenges to the concept of 'culture' in a globalised world.

The anthropological concepts must be always questioned and linked to fieldwork research so that they will open new theoretical perspectives on the data gathered. Border areas represent a challenging and rich con-

the owner of a supermarket mentioned that he bought products from *Metro* in Ioannina, Greece, but also from Tirana.

Another important observation can be made regarding working hours in Albania. During the weekend there are no limitations regarding working hours, so a dental surgery can still be open at nine o'clock in the evening and a barber shop at midnight. These examples may represent only uncommon and rare situations, but they may also be indicative of the way everyday life is planned in a certain socio-cultural system. This unofficial 'open time' or 'working time' can offer rich anthropological insights regarding the working timetable and workers' rights and an analysis of the working rhythm can serve to highlight institutional aspects of work in Albania.

Interesting insights can be also obtained regarding the fluidity of religious discourses, due to the variety of religious identities that are encountered in Albania (Islam, Orthodox Christianity, Catholicism) and to the challenges posed by an homogenised atheism imposed during the communist period. Many informants declared that they take part in collective religious feasts regardless of their religious identity. There are many mixed marriages and also extensive borrowing of names between different religious communities. A classic example was given by one of our Muslim respondents, who named his daughter Christina because she was born on Christmas Day. A distinct characteristic of Albanian religious reality is represented by the existence of common cemeteries and by their lay character. On the graves, religious signs are replaced by lay marks, such as the Albanian arm that can be found also on the country's flag. Thus, it becomes important to question this lack of religious signs and this religious standardisation. How 'real' is this lack of 'religious' idioms? Has the communist era created stronger, hidden, religious allegiances and identity strategies, which are difficult to identify?

Broadcasting knows no borders but settles borders

An important aspect of everyday life is media consumption. Studying the borders by studying the media can be fruitful. Short observations of television programs were made during our stay in Albania. The analysis of media 'discourses' used during entertainment shows may reveal interest-

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Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

text, but socio-cultural reality is in constant movement, which requires and encourages an open point of view on the part of researchers.

Conclusions

The everyday life of people in border areas is affected by the border, the existence of which is at times more obvious and at other times less so. A border does not simply run between two nation-states. It can also separate political systems and ideologies. Border controls may be relaxed or tightened. The political system of each society is a key factor of this process. It sets limits, exercises rigid controls and imposes its own terms. While borders may represent a barrier, they are porous as people, ideas and merchandise cross them continuously by official or unofficial routes. Crossing a border may bring with it the opportunity of a better quality of life, more highly paid work and obtaining capital for future investment.

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tion to, historically and ethnographically, in searching for the possible internal borders and boundaries within Konitsa.

We are not arguing, of course, that this classification of 'upper' and 'lower' Konitsa and the existence of two separate social groups persisted in the same way since the first moment of their encounter. The social and cultural contents which determine the positioning and classification of these social groups are not fixed, but dynamic:

'This "cultural content", the culture, in other words, of a specific ethnic group, was not conceived as a constant marker of the group, as an eternal substance characterising it from the beginning of its existence but rather as a dynamic process, which is in a state of continuous manipulation and redefinition according to changing historical conditions and in the context of inter-group relations.' (Nitsiakos and Mantzos 2003)

Therefore, in this paper we will try to examine this very moment of meeting and the period afterwards. This study is an attempt to look at the relationship of the local people and the Asia Minor refugees in the border city of Konitsa in Greece. The rationale for focusing on this issue in Konitsa derives from a preliminary discussion of borders and boundaries.

Through the following questions, we will try to examine the possible effects of the 'top-down' politically forced settlement in Konitsa. How did refugees from Asia Minor come to Konitsa and how were they treated by the local people of Konitsa? How did their cultural formation change and in what sense did they adapt to the existing cultural formation in Konitsa? What types of encounters did take place in terms of religion, language, occupational options, cultural rituals etc.? How did these encounters affect the notion of identity in Konitsa? How did people from 'upper' and 'lower' Konitsa feel about each other? Did they think that they were somehow separated or not? Did these cultural encounters lead to an assimilation process?

Pinar Gümüş* and Banu Acikdeniz**

Borders and boundaries in a border area: The case of the Asia Minor refugee settlement in Konitsa

Introduction

Nation-states employ several state policies in order to establish 'pure' national entities; some of them are exercised at the international level. The exchange of populations between Turkey and Greece, which materialised with the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, was such an international political enterprise, aiming to achieve ethnically homogenised nations for both Turkey and Greece. However, it is also possible that within the political borders of nation-states, which are supposed to separate 'homogenous' groups from each other, some other internal borders come into being, revealing the heterogeneity of those 'imagined' national communities.

The political borders of nation-states are not the only borders that determine social, cultural and political identities. We can also discern the existence of social borders, which have also important effects on the social identity of a group or an individual. Sometimes these social borders are formed as a result of political decisions taken at state level. In this paper, we pursue the argument that the population settlement policies undertaken between Turkey and Greece, namely the population exchange, created an encounter between two new social groups (the newcomers and the hosts) that produced certain internal social boundaries within Konitsa, a little town on the Greek-Albanian border.

With the population exchange that took place in the 1920s, the composition of the population of Konitsa drastically changed. The newcomers from the Capadokia region (in Asia Minor) were first settled in the 'lower' part of Konitsa, which was formerly the area of Konitsa's Muslim population, while the hosts remained in their places. Therefore, the notions of 'lower' and 'upper' Konitsa as well as the social, political and economic connotations related to these notions seem worth paying atten-

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Identification

As Yinger points out, when referring to the psychological aspect of this process, the degree and the way in which cultural and structural assimilation takes place fundamentally affect the definition of individual and group identities.

Since the term identity designates the symbolic means through which the fluid 'sense of belonging' of a person to a group is described, Yinger relates the response one receives to the question one formulates.

Amalgamation

Yinger argues that if the members of a group are not divided by specific genetic differences, then a group of people settled in an area becomes successfully ethnically mixed. Thus, mixing is the biological aspect of assimilation and it is achieved through mixed marriages and the abolition of ethnic endogamy.

Historical Background

The Population Exchange

The dissolution of the Ottoman Empire in the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century triggered the revival of nationalism in the Southern Balkans and in Turkey. This is exemplified in both the Greek Army's campaign of 1919 in Asia Minor, which aimed to fulfill the irredentist¹ and expansionist vision of the Great Idea (*Meghali Idhea*), and also in the nation building military movement of the 'Young Turks' in Turkey, which implemented policies aiming at eliminating the ethnic groups other than 'Turks'. The war between Turkey and Greece ended in defeat for Greece in 1922, a disaster that was registered in both official history and popular memory as the 'Greek Catastrophe'.

¹ Irredentism was a common characteristic of nineteenth-century nationalisms. The Greek *Meghali Idea* was not alone in its irredentism, in contrast to claims in history course books in Turkey. Actually, Turkish nationalism also had its own irredentist dimensions and versions, for example Pan-Turkism or Turanism (Berktaş 2005: 18-19).

Theoretical Framework

Yinger's Theoretical Framework on Assimilation

In order to ask questions concerning assimilation in the case of Konitsa, we will be base our discussion on the confrontation of cultures on J. Milton Yinger's theoretical framework regarding assimilation (1981). Yinger argues that four different types of assimilation constitute a range of smaller mechanisms, but they are included in the same assimilation process: acculturation, integration, identification and amalgamation.

Acculturation

Yinger defines this phase as a process of change and modification, leading to the accomplishment of cultural homogeneity between two or more groups which are in contact. An ethnic group undergoes an acculturation process in accordance with the values and patterns of its members and it is transformed at the same level as the rest of the population. This process can also be displayed as a 'silent range', either as an action or as value. For this reason, it can be defined specifically as 'transculturation'.

Integration

According to Yinger, a second mechanism of assimilation is integration, which constitutes the structural aspect of assimilation, whereby people coming from two or more different groups enter a phase of varied mutual influence, that includes both impersonal contacts (within an economic / social frame) and personal relationships (friends, neighbourhood, etc.).

Integration is displayed either when people from different ethnic groups participate in the same communal processes or (at group level) when the groups enjoy the same rights and political privileges. It is also evident that members of different groups should have the same opportunities to access politically and economically advantageous positions and also share the same responsibilities as citizens and as members of the community.

change took place between 1922 and 1926. It is recorded that around 45,000 Capadokian Greek Orthodox left Turkey and came to Greece (Stelakou 2005: 272). The refugees to Konitsa came from the regions of Kapadokia and Pontos, from the villages of Sarikli, Farasa and Misti. The oldest informant in 'lower' Konitsa told us that they were taken to Konitsa to be settled in 40 empty houses, which belonged to Muslims. Some of the refugees coming from Asia Minor were first brought to Igoumenitsa, then they were separated into groups and settled in different parts of Northern Greece. Since there was a limited number of houses for these people to be settled, they were divided into groups according to their previous occupations in Asia Minor. Therefore, while the farmer population was sent to rural areas, like Konitsa, people coming from urban areas were settled in cities like Thessaloniki².

Three Important Spaces for Refugees in Konitsa

The Aoos Bridge, the ruins of the mosque near the bridge and the monument dedicated to the Kapadokian Asia Minor Refugees are the three places carrying some traces of the population distribution in Konitsa. Each one of these landmarks has been important for the different populations settled in the area in different time periods: Muslim and Christian populations under Turkish rule, Christian and Muslim populations under Greek rule, and refugees from Asia Minor and local Christian people after the population exchange.

The mosque (*cami*) near the Aoos Bridge was built by the Sultan Suleiman the Glorious (Kanuni Sultan Suleyman) in 1536 (Tufidis 1994: 142). Just below the mosque there is also a *Bektaşî tekke*. Therefore, three belief systems were evident in Konitsa before the population exchange: Islam, *Bektaşîlik* and Christian Orthodoxy. Near the mosque and the tekke there are also some ruins of Muslim houses. As the mosque served the religious needs of the Muslim population, its use ceased after the population exchange and the building was partly destroyed in the course of time. The monument dedicated to the Asia Minor refugee quilt (*ğorgan-yorgan*) makers (*Paplomatades*) coming from Farasa and Misti was built in

²Interview with Agapios Moisidis, 06.08.2008, Konitsa.

After 1922, irredentist policies in Greece were abandoned. This was the time when in both Greece and Turkey the consolidation of national unity and cohesion was a priority for the stability of the national state structure. Therefore, both countries concentrated on creating 'ethnically purified' nations and the population exchange was an important step for Greek and Turkish state policies. The conditions created by the war and the defeat compelled big numbers of Rum people to leave their country before 1923. In 30 January 1923, the Lausanne Treaty that legalised the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey was signed. The decisions taken by the political leaders of the two nation-states forced approximately 1.5 million people to leave their places and find themselves in a new environment as complete strangers.

The population exchange that took place in accordance to the Lausanne Treaty was the first compulsory exchange of minority populations negotiated internationally, ratified and executed by the League of Nations. The population exchange between Turkey and Greece was undertaken according to religious differentiations. It was a clearly asymmetrical exchange: while around 350,000 Muslim people left Greece, approximately 1.2 million Greek Orthodox people left Turkey and settled in Greece (Hirschon 2005: 19).

In those years, Greece was a country with a population of approximately 4.5 million people, with limited land resources and almost no industrial development. So the influx of 1.2 million refugees to the country implied very harsh living conditions for the refugees in the beginning. Most of the refugees coming from Asia Minor had to leave their lands and their possessions and so they found themselves in a financially destitute state. The Greek government made some official attempts to resettle the refugees, but most of them were left in an environment that was often hostile to them.

Historical background of Asia Minor People in Konitsa

The town of Konitsa, which was under Greek rule since 1913, had also experienced the consequences of the exchange of populations. The Muslim population left, while the Rum Orthodox population came and settled in Konitsa starting their new life. In Konitsa, the population ex-

There was not a fixed set of questions, so the narratives elicited covered various themes (oral history, traditional culture, autobiographical stories). All of our informants were Greek speaking and therefore the Greek speaking members of the group took on the role of translators throughout the field research. The position of the researchers in our team can be defined as that of researcher-outsiders. The distance between the researchers and the informants varied, depending on language skills and ethnicity because some members of the team could probably be classified as (perfect) strangers.

In addition to the interviews, we took long walks in both 'upper' and 'lower' Konitsa in order to familiarise ourselves with the organisation of spaces and places in relation to the communities living in them. Field notes deriving from these observations as well as the visual material collected constitute an important part of the collected information.

Analysis

Cultural Encounters

When asked about the moment of encounter between the Asia Minor and the local population in Konitsa, our informants unfolded memories and narratives on topics such as religion, occupation, material culture and language as well as dance and music traditions. In what follows, we will develop these topics, as they apply to the phenomenon of the cultural encounter.

Religion

In the very beginning the refugees considered the natives as being 'atheists'. One of our informants told us a relevant story:

'Every day, when I was going to school, my mother [she came from a native Konitsa family] used to give me a bag with food and milk. My grandmother, who was a first-generation immigrant here, always "checked" what she was giving me, especially on Wednesday and Friday

2005 by the town mayor. Although we do not know why the monument was dedicated to the *yorgan* makers, we can make an informed guess that the reason for this may be that an important part of the Asia Minor refugees coming from Kapadokia region were quilt makers. Finally, the Aoos Bridge was built in 1871 by a banker, J. Loulisin, from Ioannina, and the chief engineer was Ziogas Frontzos from Pырsoyannis. It is located near the exit of the ravine and unites the two banks of Aoos (Tufidis 1994: 142, 143). The bridge was used both by Christian and Muslim populations in order to reach their fields and be connected to other parts of the region, mainly for trade purposes.

Today the area between these three places seems to be slummy surroundings (with the exception of some tourist new buildings.) The monument constitutes the border point that separates the 'lower' from the 'upper' area of Konitsa. The monument hardly has any a 'monumental' or 'sacred' character; the dustbin placed just next to the monument serves as a characteristic example of this.

Methodology

This ethnographic study was conducted as team work. Our group was consisted of six members: two from Turkey, three from Greece and one from Serbia. The decision to study the Asia Minor refugees in Konitsa had much to do with the group's multicultural composition. Moreover, the two of us coming from Turkey had previously observed the effects of the population exchange in Turkey and therefore we had developed a curiosity regarding the situation of refugees living now on the Greek side.

Field research in Konitsa was carried out during three days in August 2008. The group was separated into two subgroups at the very beginning of the research, in order to conduct interviews and make some observations in both the 'upper' and the 'lower' parts of Konitsa. We conducted five interviews, three in the 'lower' part and two in the 'upper' part. We conducted our first interviews with the priests of both parts of Konitsa and they directed us to the other informants, two old men in 'upper' Konitsa and an old lady and an old man in 'lower' Konitsa.

for this unpaid work, the answer pointed to their need for recognition by the local people.

Another informant, also from 'lower' Konitsa, pointed out that even after acquiring ownership of their fields, the refugees could not produce the amount needed to make a living, because they did not have the necessary agricultural tools. Later, the State provided them with tools and they began making a living.

The informants from 'lower' Konitsa said that during the Second World War period they, **they, the unpaid farmers from 'lower Konitsa', helped the 'upper' Konitsa people to survive providing them food.** Therefore, the refugees' affiliation with agriculture seems relevant to their relationship with the local people and the state as well as to their recognition and integration processes.

Gathering places (Coffee shops [καφενεϊα], Churches and Schools)

Coffee shops existed both in 'lower' and 'upper' Konitsa, but there was no reason for the immigrants or the local people to prefer the coffee shops on the other side. They just preferred those closest to their neighbourhood. Similarly, they also preferred the closest church, meaning that the 'upper' Konitsa people were going to the church in the 'upper' part of the town and vice versa.

There were also schools in both the 'upper' and the 'lower' parts of Konitsa. However, as we were also informed, children of immigrants went to the orphanage school, which was located in the 'upper' part of Konitsa. What is interesting about this orphanage is that the children of refugees' families were accepted to that school, even if they were not orphans. In other words, the children of refugee families were 'kindly welcomed' to that school. However, one of our informants also mentioned that the implication of this acceptance for the families of those children is a recommendation to forget about their children. It is certain that this forgetting does not imply forgetting them literally but suggests a detachment from family and community culture. Therefore, it is worth questioning this in terms of the mechanisms of assimilation.

[these are fasting days for Orthodoxy]. Whenever she found milk in the bag, she used to tell her: "What are you giving the children Fatme?"

With this example the informant underlines the fact that the refugees thought themselves to be more religious than the natives. The grandmother's use of the Turkish name 'Fatme' can be interpreted as an analogy between the native population and the Muslims, stressing their 'heresy' from the perspective of refugees. The informant also said: 'People here were atheists. We brought them God here', and when he was asked to clarify this statement, he said that probably natives did not manage to keep their religion during the Ottoman period, as refugees did.

Food and Clothes

When they came to Konitsa, the refugees' families had their own way of cooking, but since then they have got used to cooking in the same way as local people. Nowadays, both populations share the same kinds of food and only on special occasions refugees serve 'Asia Minor tastes'.

Almost the same applies to clothing. The informants told us that there were some differences in their clothes, but only during the first years. Nevertheless, until recently some older people dressed in the way they did in Asia Minor, for example in long woolen dresses. **The next generations, however, very soon ceased to dress that way.** The only noticeable difference **between the next generation of refugees and the locals concerning clothing** was the quality of clothes, as the refugees were more destitute compared to the natives, especially during the first years of their arrival.

Occupations

As we mentioned above, the refugees were settled accordingly to their prior rural or urban affiliations. The families settled in the Konitsa region were those previously engaged with agriculture. One of the informants from 'lower' Konitsa told us that, just after coming to Konitsa, the Asia Minor immigrants worked as unpaid agricultural workers for the local people living in 'upper' Konitsa. When we asked what they got in return

Ethnonym

The immigrants were called *dudumides* by the local people, when they first came to Konitsa. This is a term / ethnonym with pejorative connotations, mainly related to the language issue between local people and refugees. As the Asia Minor refugees did not speak the same language as the local people, their language was characterised as 'dumdum' (i.e. dissonance).

According to our informants, this term does not maintain its pejorative connotations nowadays. However, locals continue to call the Asia Minor refugees 'immigrants', something which shows that the consciousness of difference in origin still persists.

Music and Dance

Although we could not communicate with our eldest informant in Turkish, he used the Turkish language in many songs throughout his narrative. These songs were mostly local Asia Minor songs. Two of them are still famous in Turkey, but one of them has been turned into a Turkish nationalist anthem with different lyrics.

Ankara'nın kavakları dökülür yaprakları

Ankara'nın taşına bak

Gözlerimin yaşına bak

Yunan bizi esir aldı

Şu feleğin işine bak

Ankara'nın taşına bak

Gözlerimin yaşına bak

Uyan uyan Gazi Kemal

Şu feleğin işine bak

İzmir'in kavakları, dökülür yaprakları

Bize de derler çakıcı

Oy fidan boylum...

Language

The refugees from Asia Minor spoke dialects which were different to those of the local people. However, only the first generation of refugees used their dialect³ in the public sphere and this dialect was not transmitted to the next generations. One of our informants told us:

'My parents didn't want us, the children, to learn this dialect. They were talking like that only when the children were absent. They didn't want us to use it, especially at school, because of the fear that our (native) school-mates and the teachers would make fun of us.'

So it seems that in the period just after the population exchange the dialect of the refugees was probably perceived by the local people as 'less worthy' or even 'funny'. The dialect of the refugees is rarely used nowadays, and this is limited actually only to some idioms. The people from 'upper' Konitsa told us that only the elder people and some of the less educated younger people continue to speak this dialect even today.

Our eldest informant, a first generation refugee from Asia Minor, who told us about the orphanage school, also talked about his experience of language. As we heard that he spoke Turkish, we hoped to conduct the interview in this language. But his hearing problem and especially his difficulty in remembering Turkish words dissuaded us from talking to him in Turkish. His relatives told us that he had also prevented his children from learning the Asia Minor dialect.

Thus, these different parts of his narrative on language and education, along with the loss of his language, can be seen to point to the assimilation processes that the refugees in Konitsa may have employed.

³ The Asia Minor refugees in Konitsa were not a totally homogenous group. They mainly came from two different regions, Capadokia and Pontos, and thus spoke different dialects. As far as we know, the dialect used by the Capadokian refugees was formed out of both Turkish and Greek words.

Marriages

According to our informants, after the Second World War the separation between the refugees and the local people started to disappear and the number of mixed marriages between these groups increased. Until 1940 there were not so many mixed marriages, only lower class women used to get married to immigrant men. At present mixed marriages are a common phenomenon. Thus, ethnic group endogamy was a phenomenon limited among the first generation.

Conclusions

In this part of the paper we will try to evaluate the information we collected, following Yinger's framework of assimilation. As we argued before, Yinger defines four mechanisms of assimilation (acculturation, integration, identification, amalgamation). In the case of Konitsa, we can argue that each of these mechanisms has been employed in different time periods that did not follow one another in a causal sequence. The pattern and model of the assimilation process changes according to historical and political circumstances. Moreover, the encounters between these groups in Konitsa indicated religious and cultural rather than racial differentiations.

Most of the cultural encounters we mentioned above (language, religion, occupation, material culture etc.) were implicated in the acculturation process. Acculturation can be defined as the modification of two or more cultures in the direction of a homogenous cultural formation. Therefore, the fact that the Asia Minor refugees abandoned the use of their language constitutes the most important example of acculturation in Konitsa. This process has been realised through the schooling system and the public mechanism of 'teasing'.

The second mechanism Yinger introduces is integration. It is the phase that either people from different ethnic groups participate in the same communal processes or (at group level) the groups have the same rights and political privileges. We can see the traces of this mechanism in the arena of political participation in Konitsa, although we do not have much information about the refugees' participation in election processes as vot-

Our informant sang five songs in total and he did not have great difficulty in remembering them. Therefore, one can argue that his memories related to the Turkish language and also Asia Minor are strongly preserved through these songs. Moreover, as two of the researchers also were from Asia Minor, we had the opportunity to sing and dance with him and we felt that he was more comfortable during these performances.

During the interview, we felt that he got anxious when he could not communicate in Turkish with us. However, he overcame his anxiety while he was singing and telling stories about these Asia Minor songs. Thus, we can infer that, although the immigrants also contributed to the loss of language / dialect, this situation may indicate a language 'forgetting' process which is not totally internalised.

Political Participation

When the immigrants came to Konitsa they were not totally accepted by the local community. The immigrants did not participate in local administration until 1990-1, when the first mayor, Prodromos Hatziefremidis, from the immigrant community was elected. According to our informants' narrative, no one of the other candidate mayors could believe that an immigrant could be elected, not even that he could be a candidate. All the other candidates were mainly from 'upper' Konitsa. They sought co-operation with the immigrants, but only in order to win their votes.

Two of our informants, local people from 'upper' Konitsa, made similar comparisons during the interviews, when they talked about the social status of the immigrants in the past:

'So, we can expect an Albanian to be the mayor in the near future.'

*'We had the immigrants who came here, just like we have the Albanians who come as workers to our town.'*⁴

⁴ The term (ethnonym) 'Albanian' in this sentence refers to the Albanian illegal immigrants, who have been coming to Konitsa during the last 15 years. There is a noticeable relation between social status and ethnicity.

Thus, the definition of ethnicity in Konitsa should be framed in these terms rather than those of race. In terms of Yinger's framework of assimilation, it can be argued that an assimilation process including these four different mechanisms has been operating in Konitsa concerning Asia Minor refugees.

It is certain that a deeper analysis of this assimilation process is needed, in terms of linking the assimilation process to the components of gender, age, kinship relations and other factors. At this point, the question of how far the assimilation has proceeded within these communities can be raised as a further issue for discussion through intensive ethnographic research on the area.

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ers. However, the election of an immigrant mayor in Konitsa constitutes an important moment in terms of their political participation.

As a material example of the assimilation process we can use the monument located in the 'lower' part of Konitsa, which was dedicated to the Kapadokian refugees. We stated above that this monument does not seem to fulfill the purpose of its construction as a 'monument'. The condition of the monument (located in a slummish area, with dustbins around etc.) may imply that it does not meet the cultural references it implicates. Therefore, rather than being a monument of cultural inheritance of Kapadokian Asia Minor refugees, it can be argued that it refers to the very erosion of cultural inheritance. It could also be argued that the construction of the monument represents a step in the process of political participation of the people living in the area as voters, employed by political agents in the area. Thus, it may point to processes of acculturation and integration at the same time.

Since the term identity refers to the symbolic means through which the fluid 'sense of belonging' of a person to a group is described, we can detect elements of an identification process in Konitsa only after the 1940s. Due to the conditions of the Second World War period, the structure of the relationship between these two groups changed. As they acted together, the boundaries between them seem to have disappeared. Thus, this moment also could possibly stand as a milestone for their identification as people of Konitsa.

After that point, the differentiation within Konitsa has been based on economic and social conditions rather than ethnic or regional differences. Therefore, on the basis of our observations of the area's conditions, nowadays it seems that the boundary between the 'upper' and 'lower' Konitsa stands for the boundary between the poor and the rich inhabitants of the town.

Another mechanism of assimilation is amalgamation according to Yinger's typology. Amalgamation mainly refers to the biological mixing of the groups. As we have stated before, after the 1940s mixed marriages between these two groups started to increase and thus we can argue that the amalgamation process continues from the 1940s to the present.

In conclusion, we should emphasise that the ethnic distinctions in the Konitsa region were mainly based on language, religion and culture.

tory and attach meaning to a particular place and time (Le Goff 1998: 9), while at the same time they bridge the feeling of gap between the past and the present. They are one of those memory places that help us to re-create the past and form memory. The effort of the social body not only to attach duration but also to guide collective memory is reflected in monuments.

According to Halbwachs, memory is not the storage of the past; it is re-created daily under the influence of the present. The way we recall facts, the facts themselves that we recall and the time we recall them are signs that indicate our contemplation of the present. In addition, the memories that form our identity and provide us with a framework of thought and action are not only personal; we have learnt, borrowed and in a way inherited them from our families, societies and cultural traditions.

Greek Civil War and Borders

The liberation of Greece from the Fascist and Nazi occupation was accompanied by serious political conflict between the Communist guerrillas, who had joined the largest resistance organisation, the National Liberation Front – Greek People's Liberation Army (EAM-ELAS), and the right-wing camp, where many German collaborators had sought recourse. This conflict became more violent and a civil war broke out in September 1946, inspired by political and ideological motives.

The warfare took place mainly on the mountains of the northern Pindus range and most intensively on the mountain ranges of Grammos and Vitsi. Margaritis (Margaritis 2006: 19) remarks:

'The region of northern Pindus gave the guerrilla army a tactical advantage. The terrain limited or thwarted the role of the opponent's costly technical means, the armoured vehicles, the artillery, and generally the air force. The opponent was compelled to engage in warfare, based on infantry units. But the infantry units of the Democratic Army of Greece (DSE) were considered, not without an element of truth, to be superior.' *'The guerrillas strengthened their positions on Grammos and Vitsi to such a degree that the mountains were called 'unconquerable'.*

Evangelia Matsouki*

Claiming the Place. Commercialisation / National Memory

The 2008 Konitsa Summer School gave rise to fruitful contemplation on a great deal of issues in anthropological research, offering the participants several opportunities for fieldwork. Given that Konitsa lies in close proximity to the Greek-Albanian border, the meaning of border became one of the prevailing topics of discussion and raised many queries among the participants. This paper attempts to contribute to this discussion and tries to address the issue of national memory management in a local village. The Konitsa area, and particularly Mount Grammos, which lies to the northeast of the town, were locations of critical fighting in the later phases of the Greek Civil War (1946-9). My attention is focused on the village of Pirgos (formerly named Stratsiani), where an important battle of the Greek Civil War on Mount Grammos took place in April 1948. It also attempts to examine whether and how national memory clashes with the commercial use of the area, encouraged by the Municipality of Konitsa by installing a mobile phone tower. More specifically, it focuses on the ways that this clash becomes manifest in the everyday life of Pirgos.

Monuments and National Memory

Halbwachs (1992) notes that, as social groups evolve, collective memory is what remains from their past or what these groups themselves create eventually within the framework of a particular experience. Memory is a constituent part of collective identity and the product of social interaction. In order for the body of society to turn a historical fact to memory, it attaches duration and continuity to it, bringing it forward to the present by erecting museums and monuments. It establishes memory areas by consolidating a network of relations and setting up a network that can define a place. Monuments are typical symbols of duration, as they condense a narrative area which is made up by the indirect world of History and the direct world of memory (Terzoglou 2006 as referred to in Stavridis 2006: 272). Monuments express times of History, are evidence of His-

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The government army tried to seize Pirgos by any means, using special military groups (Mountain Raid Companies), artillery and air force. During a battle that lasted 25 days (2-27 April 1948), the national army mounted five offensives and eventually seized Pirgos, although the guerrillas had made a decision to retreat and take cover on Vitsi.

Work Methodology

This project is based on fieldwork carried out in the village of Pirgos of the Province of Konitsa in August 2008.¹ The material used comes from observations, photographs and recorded or written interviews with villagers. The conversations took place in public places, coffee shops, and the cultural centre of the municipality, and reflect the opinions of men more than those of women. The men who talked to us were customers of the coffee shops while the women happened to be passing by, which made the conversations with them briefer. This fact indicates that the public place of a coffee shop is frequented mostly by men, while women are restricted to the private life of home. Our brief conversations with women gave men the impression that our interest was journalistic, which posed a great problem to the anthropological research.

Those who talked to us were mostly people of authority, such as presidents of cultural associations, a candidate of the Communist Party at the last prefectural elections and the village priest, in the hands of whom enormous symbolic power was concentrated. In order to approach the interviewees better and maintain a friendly atmosphere with them, we alternated between informal and formal, semi-structured interviews.

New Uses of the Place

According to the interviewees, a cable telephony company had installed a tower at the entrance to the village with permission granted by the Municipality of Konitsa (Pirgos is under its administrative authority). The constant complaints made by the villagers to the Municipality of Konitsa

¹ This fieldwork was carried out in co-operation with Stefania Lazaridou.

The northern borders of Greece (where Grammos and Vitsi lie) were of vital importance for the Communists' strategy. The area, being in geographical proximity to the borders, offered the Greek Communist fighters and their supporters the possibility to come into contact mainly with Yugoslavia. Many auxiliary services, printing houses, commissariats and repair workshops for weapon mechanisms were in operation across the border (Close 1998: 145). A radio station was based in Yugoslavia, and it was there that the international aid to the Greek guerrillas was sent. Also, many injured men were treated over the border. In addition, while performing some effective military manoeuvres in the summer of 1948, the leftists broke through the lines of the *National Army* so as to go to Vitsi using both sides of the border (Close, 1998: 51). After the leftists were defeated on Vitsi, many fighters crossed the border to avoid reprisals.

The Pirgos Battle

Pirgos is situated in the middle of Sarandaporos Valley. Its key location at the pass of the mountain range was of considerable strategic importance. Pirgos was the bastion of Pirsogianni and Vourbiani, the next important locations under guerrilla control on Mount Grammos. In order to strengthen their positions in the area, they had created minefields and pillboxes all around.

According to Margaritis (Margaritis 2006: 13), the aims of the opposing camps on Grammos, the National Army and the Communist guerrillas,

'were defined at two levels. The first level was more political and had to do with the control of the mountainous terrain and the people living there. The view of the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) was that controlling a geographical area and maintaining a free and safe zone meant the legalisation of its statehood, which had already been proclaimed. The other camp aimed at exactly the opposite. Eliminating the control of a national geographical area exercised by the Left would cancel the statehood and remove the basis of its rights, which is to say the territory.'

Monuments and the Municipality of Pirgos

During the Greek military junta, the army built a road shrine, without putting up a sign referring to the facts or casualties. According to the village priest, he held a memorial service there over the first years after the erection of the road shrine. This practice fell into abeyance on account of the internal migration of the last decades that led to depopulation and the abandonment of most rural roads, which became inaccessible.

The Cultural Association of Pirgos erected a monument in remembrance of all those heroes who had given their lives. It stands on the street at the entrance to the central square. On national holidays (25th of March, commemorating the Greek independence from the Ottoman Empire, and 28th of October, in memory of the Fascist and Nazi invasion in the Second World War), the local community lays wreaths there. Although the villagers disapproved of the acts of vandalism against the monument performed by unknown persons (they had removed a metal laurel branch), they focused on the monument site, which they considered improper and unsuitable. *How can those who fought for Greece be honoured when the monument is not in an easily seen central location in the village but on the side of the road?* they wondered.

In addition, the villagers expressed the need to have a new monument erected in remembrance of a fellow villager who had fought with EAM-ELAS, the largest resistance organisation, and taken part in the first phase of the war against the Fascist and Nazi conquerors in the area. However, this issue has aroused considerable doubts and provoked dispute, because a monument has already been put up at the point of the fighting (several kilometres away from the village) while some people think that the hero's family should play a leading part in the erection of the monument.

Forms of collective action in Pirgos

The Cultural Association of Pirgos is particularly active in matters that affect the village. Besides the erection of the war memorial, it has set up in the centre of the square two marble columns engraved all over, depicting scenes of the village's traditional collective life. Most scenes refer to

were fruitless, which was put down to the poor representation of the village on the City Council. This issue was settled in court, which ruled that the tower should be placed at a distance of one kilometre, on a hill outside the built area of Pirgos. This distance was not considered satisfactory, so they continued their efforts to have it installed even further away. A short while later, a dish aerial for the use of cable telephony was placed outside the yard of the village church.

The villagers stressed that what they were opposed to was the distance between the village and the tower, not the tower itself, which they considered necessary to cover the communication needs of the residents in the wider area. They also expressed disagreement with the Municipality of Konitsa for granting the mobile telephony company permission to install the tower, not with the company itself, which had followed the prescribed procedure. For the villagers, that tower represented the development of communications technology, and they stressed that they were opposed to its improper and unreasonable use, rather than its use per se. Some villagers drew a parallel with the use of tractors by farmers. *'We aren't against technology; we're against the abuse of technology'* (Vasilis, aged 55). They often repeated emphatically and stressed the need for popular movements to control the action and projects of companies. They focused on the health risks involved in the close proximity to towers: *'[...] it is before our very eyes, by our bedsides'* (Eleftheria, aged 65) [referring to the dish aerial].

Nowadays, telephone aerials, instead of monuments, are being placed on the hills round Pirgos, where important battles took place during the Greek Civil War. The need for life in Grammos villages to continue and improve was prioritised and highlighted by the people who talked to us: *'And what should we do? Let [the place] live in the past? Shouldn't we do something [about life in the village]?'* (Lambros, pensioner). Some of the people who live in Athens and spend their summers in the village demonstrated that need by referring to the Athens Metro works: *'[...] Athens is built on another city. We can see that wherever we dig [...] What should we do? Shouldn't we live there?'* (Vasilis, aged 55).

in the course of the Greek Civil War in their place and about the location of their village, which they called *'the chest of Grammos'*. While speaking, they made frequent references to the inspection of the guerrillas' positions that had been carried out by General Markos Vafiadis and to the difficulty the government army had had in prevailing, that had been such as to use napalm bombs in co-operation with the American army. *'If Pirgos should fall, Grammos would fall too,'* they claimed in order to demonstrate the importance of the location and the battle.

However, as regards the installation of the tower instead of the erection of a monument, they gave priority to the village's needs, as it became obvious in everyday life and thought that it was necessary for life in the local villages to improve. In their opinion, every inch of the area was a place of military action during the Greek Civil War and therefore was automatically turned into a memory place. Nevertheless, setting up a monument is a political act and, as they claimed, the monument that was built in the village of Likorahi in 2006 pays tribute to the fighters who gave their lives. What is of overriding importance for the villagers today is the reasonable use of technology and of the tower, so that their health and safety will not be compromised. For this reason, they stressed the need to have active social and political movements, to represent strongly the village on the City Council and to monitor the Municipality, so that the rental of the area where the tower was would be re-allocated in the best interests of the village.

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the life of artisans, that is builders who before the Second World War would migrate from the nearby villages, Mastorohoria (meaning artisans' villages), and build on the entire territory of the former Ottoman Empire. The villagers stressed their cultural relationship and common cultural identity with Mastorohoria, and disapproved of the fact that their village was under the administrative authority of the Municipality of Konitsa rather than the Municipality of Mastorohoria.

Based on the volunteer work of its members, the Cultural Association of Pírgos is involved in multifaceted activity in addition to the erection of the monuments, such as constructing and repairing roads and building an aqueduct. Most members of the Association are pensioners, meaning people who were born during or before the Greek Civil War. They grew up in Pírgos in the aftermath of the Civil War, when the memories of the battles that had taken place there were still fresh. For these people, volunteer work is necessary in order to address directly the village's needs. Some of them even associate it with the tradition of artisans who, when they returned from their migratory travels that lasted for many months, would carry out works in the village. A large number of the members are leftists and consider volunteer work as a kind of assistance and support given to the local community.

The end of the Civil War was followed by a very difficult period, particularly in the regions where the guerrillas acted. Progressively, the active population of Pírgos moved to cities and only the elderly remained in the village. Over the next decades, the internal migrants returned as pensioners. The depopulation of the village constitutes a major issue for the informants. *'When the school bell stops ringing, life in the village stops'* (Pírgos's priest). Many of them claim that the Cultural Association fills this gap and that its action assists the village in remaining as lively as possible. This endeavour is supported also by well-to-do men who come from Pírgos and continue the rich tradition of benefactors in Epirus.

Conclusions

Human activities give shape to a place and infuse it with values that are constantly negotiable. The residents of Pírgos spoke proudly about seizing the flag of a commando squadron during a battle that had taken place

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Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

ing ceremony, by placing the necessary objects on it: a rifle, a candle, incense, a cross and a spray of basil. The event was officially starting.

This paper is based on a short-term fieldwork exercise that was carried out within the activities of the 2007 Konitsa Summer School in Anthropology, Ethnography and Comparative Folklore of the Balkans. The ethnographic material presented discusses issues of collective identity construction through festive public events that include dance and music as their main activities. The event contains various symbolic elements that shape the participants' perceptions in different ways. Participants in these kinds of feasts celebrate different forms of belonging, such as that of kin, village, church and population category. All these elements are implicated in the construction of the collective identity of this small community. The paper also explores the ways in which the event is perceived as 'traditional' by some of the participants and examines certain features that make it possible to recognise modern elements of music and dance within a seemingly traditional setting.

Silence and authority: 'Blessing the hunters'

The blessing ceremony had two parts: first, there was the actual blessing of the hunters' symbols, such as the rifle; second, the priest addressed the assembled guests with his views on hunting, which he saw as a responsibility towards both nature and animals, as well as a nice hobby for the hunters. We refer here mainly to the second part of the blessing, because it is more representative of the rapport between the priest, as an authority figure, and his community. The first part of the blessing mainly represents the community's attitude towards the symbolic power of the ritual.

Symbolically, and even spatially, the priest was intentionally a central figure in this event. The central position of the 'altar', the typical elements of traditional religious rituals and the participation of the priest at the very beginning of the feast all underscore the sense that the ritual is rooted in the traditions of the community.

The participants, however, seemed to pay very little attention to the priest. Formally, the priest was the first to address the people, so there was no practical reason to justify the low level of attention. A low mur-

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Singing for the Boar: Collective identity and the consumption of tradition on the Greek-Albanian border

Introduction

In August 2007 the Hunters' Association of Konitsa, a small town in the prefecture of Ioannina in north-western Greece, organised a feast to bless the forthcoming hunting period. The members of the Association with their families as well as other inhabitants of Konitsa and the villages around had gathered to celebrate that night by eating, drinking and enjoying what was thought to be and was presented as traditional Greek music and dance. A rabbit, a deer and a wild boar stared out from a poster that advertised the event across the town, inviting everyone to the upcoming feast.

That evening, the hunters' vehicles, easily distinguishable with their cages for hunting dogs attached to the back, were parked in front of a large parking lot. The place, which is normally used as a bus terminus, had been turned into a great festive stage. Dozens of tables had been put together in rows, accompanied by hundreds of plastic chairs to host the audience. A young wild boar in a cage, the first prize of the raffle, welcomed us with loud grunting sounds at the entrance. A group of young boys had already gathered around the cage, teasing it with the plastic guns that their parents had just bought them at the toy stall.

Right in front of the stage and the dance floor one single table was reserved for the guests of honour, marked with two bottles of whiskey. This was the warm up phase of the event, with guests arriving and taking their seats. Once most of the guests were there, the feast was ready to start. While the orchestra, led by the clarinet player Apostolos Kassaras and the singer Regina Vagelio, was seated at the stage, a small table was placed in front of them. Quickly it was turned into an altar for the bless-

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together. Everyone was welcomed to join the circle, no matter if they knew how to dance or not. The guests who remained seated enjoyed *souvlaki*, grilled pieces of pork, and drinks, while listening to the music, which some considered traditional while others we spoke to defined it as 'neo-traditional'.

If this was indeed a tradition which had endured over time and a vital part of the history of the community, then a number of questions emerged: Why were people so uninterested in the words of the priest? What had happened to the authority of the priest? Was only the formal part of the tradition and not the content of the ritual or had the content fallen out of the tradition? It is difficult to answer all of these questions without conducting a long period of research, but we can start by asking the right questions and giving some indicative answers based on our observations.

By neo-traditionalism we understand the overlapping of 'traditional' and 'contemporary' elements of dance and music, which together create a sense of incongruence and inconsistency. The inconsistency of the elements, thus, requires a certain adaptiveness on the part of the participants in order for the event to function. People, despite their cultural provenance, must be ready to accept certain elements which they did not expect to find at the event. This kind of unconsciously produced mutual acceptance is a key factor for neo-traditionalism. Neo-traditionalism, from this perspective, is a typical product of the western amalgamation of liberal values and multicultural tendencies. Insofar as it consists of many seemingly disparate elements, neo-traditionalism can be said to represent postmodern cultural kitch.

The second important issue raised by the hunters' feast in Konitsa was its atypical hierarchy of authorities and this aspect helps us to get a sense of the neo-traditional form of the event as a whole. It was particularly striking that the two most prominent persons there, the president of the Hunters' Association and the priest, had their authoritative positions reversed in terms of the traditional hierarchy. Usually, in such situations,

mur was audible after only a few minutes of the priest's speech and with time it became so loud that an observer might conclude that the people had no interest in the blessing ceremony. Indeed, on the basis of our observations, the profane character of the event should be stressed. Although the priest had an important role in the context of the ritual itself, his authority was undoubtedly reduced. He remained an avatar, an empty signifier, without a clear referent or signified. Somehow, it seemed that he was a stranger in his own community.

'The Association's president addresses the people'

In contrast to the blessing of the orthodox priest, the attention paid to the following speech by the president of the Hunters' Association was marked. While the priest's words were constantly interrupted by the happy screams of children running around and the audience talking, the authority of the president was unchallenged. In his speech, addressed to a silent crowd, the president pointed out that the feast did not take place for financial reasons but for the *antimoma*, the coming together of the community. The president, who is also the brother of the mayor of Konitsa, made a clear statement of social bonding between the visitors: *'It is not only us the hunters, but it is the Ipiotes, it is the Albanians, we will all dance and spend a great time together.'*

'The dancing starts...'

The opening clarinet, accompanied by the vocals of a male singer, introduced the most powerful part of the night, the dance of the president and some members of the Hunters' Association. Holding each other's hands, they moved in a circular fashion to the music, led by the president and encouraged by the rhythmic clapping of the crowd. The man leading the dance would always incorporate some special dance steps, such as turning completely around without letting go of the hand of the person next to them.

With the ending of the formal part of the feast, Regina Vagelio took over the microphone and people rushed to the dance floor. Young and old, men and women, foreigners and locals danced the rest of the night

conducted with local informants during the feast. The interviews were conducted in Greek and for the purpose of this paper are translated into English. The following extracts reflect the informants' perception of traditional and neo-traditional music, the feast and the Hunters' Association itself.

The description of the available oral corpus with singer Regina Vagelio:

Views of the situation in music today:

'But now all of this is getting lost (meaning people who deal with traditional music), there is not even a school, there are no old musicians to teach the music and they don't even teach the young people properly. Some things have remained from then, but we don't have the chance to get to know some things. I believe only the word tradition (paradosi) has remained, unfortunately, even though there are many cultural societies [...]

Her perception of tradition:

'The traditional songs were passed on from generation to generation. No cassette recorders and no TV existed then, it was from mouth to mouth [...] the traditional, as we say, are the old songs [...] the traditional song is the one you took from tradition [...] it is what existed [...]

Regina also pointed out the difference between traditional songs and *dimotiko*:

'The traditional is what existed, dimotiko is something else. Somehow these two got mixed up [...] the dimotiko is the song of the people, the traditional song is the one you took from tradition [...]

She declares herself a traditional singer, but also someone who can sing everything:

the priest will almost¹ always have a more important role. In this specific feast in Konitsa this was clearly not the case. The president of the Hunters' Association was the one who had the more important role in terms of authority. This was evident through a simple indicator, silence. Despite the fact that the message of both actors was basically the same², the silence during the president's speech was striking in contrast to the noise that accompanied the priest's.

We need to explicate some of the mechanisms which operated in this reversal of authority and we also need to define precisely the basic terms we are using. Authority is too abstract a term to be dealt with fully here, so let us understand it as a form of legitimacy, where 'power is not only institutionalised but more importantly is given moral grounding' (Scott and Marshall 2005: 358). In this sense, we can say that 'legitimacy may be claimed by those with power on the basis of either traditional, charismatic or rational-legal grounds.' (Scott and Marshall 2005: 358). We should now consider the basis for the legitimacy of the president of the Hunters' Association and the priest. In traditional societies the priest bases his legitimacy on two factors, tradition and charisma (depending on his personality). We cannot say that traditional values have remained the same over time and, therefore, we must consider the thesis that the modernisation of society is closely related with its secularisation³ and, thus, sources of authority change.

Revitalising 'tradition' and the construction of local identity

In an attempt to answer the question of whether or not festival traditions constitute marks of local identity, we will analyse parts of the interviews

¹ We are emphasising this point because there are some traditional manifestations, such as pageants, where social values are turned upside-down for the purpose of some sort of social catharsis.

² Both were pointing out the positive sides of hunting and the social bonding it creates.

³ 'Secularisation is usually seen as part of a much broader process of modernisation, embracing several dynamics, such as the Protestant Reformation, the rise of the modern state, the growth of capitalism and the expansion of the sciences. All these different dynamics stimulated the differentiation of society, ultimately causing religion to lose its former dominant and coordinating influence.' (Halman Loek and Draulans Veerle 2006:264)

blessing but also the lottery and the food that was sold there, led us to the concept of an 'invented tradition'. In Hobsbawm and Ranger's *Invention of Tradition* the term 'invented tradition' is used to refer to deliberately created types of behaviour, which are either ritual or symbolic in nature and which create certain values and norms in order to establish continuity with the past (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992).

Invented tradition is conceptualised as 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 and which automatically imply continuity with the past. Indeed, wherever possible, invented traditions normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past. Furthermore, this notion perfectly describes another important aspect which we must keep in mind while exploring the phenomena of tradition. Hobsbawm and Ranger stress the fact that some 'traditions' that we take for granted are not as old as we might think. Many traditions have only recently been discovered. We can conclude from this that some parts of the Konitsa hunters' feast have comparatively recent origins and therefore it is illegitimate to describe them as traditional. In this sense, Hobsbawm's term 'invented tradition' can also be associated with the idea of neo-traditionalism.

The Konitsa hunters' feast is now 'traditionally' organised every year as the local Hunters' Association brings together local people and musicians from different places in order to open the hunting season. Many authors have pointed out that music is a means for unifying people, by breaking down boundaries and promoting a sense of appreciation for different cultures and traditions (Stokers 1994: 5). From this perspective, the organisation of the feast and the participation of the local people serves to strengthen group identity. One of our informants, the president of the Hunters' Association, Giorgos Exarxou, emphasised this point: 'It is not only us the hunters, it is all of us, the Ipiotes, the Albanians, we will dance and we will have a great time.' In her book *Me and the others* the anthropologist Zagorka Golubović explains that group identity links origin and history, past and future, tradition and rituals which are practiced during collective ceremonies and celebrations and with their help feelings of affiliation and solidarity with others become stronger. Since identities are not static but continuously (de- and re-) constructed, the process

'I have been singing everything, I sang traditional songs for many years, I kept ipirotika⁴[...] I will sing traditional songs if it is needed and if not, I will sing something else. I will consider anything. Anything, also laiko [...] because you can never justify yourself as a traditional singer [...].'

She explains that the Hunters' Association organises a feast with musicians every year. Her appearance in this feast with the clarinet player Apostolos Kassaras was a promotion for her new CD.

During the interview, she continually mentioned the situation of music (concerning the future of *dimotiko*) and that it should be resolved and controlled by the Ministry of Culture:

'The Ministry of Culture should have a state channel which deals with dimotika.[...] If the Ministry of Culture or someone in some position does not do anything about it, in ten years no one will know anything about these songs. [...] Also some educated people, for example, from the Ministry of Culture, who know the tradition, should identify who is allowed to participate in certain events (ekdilosis) and who is not. [...].'

Interestingly, one informant, a member of the city council, said that the clarinet has its origins in Grevena (the orchestra that night was from there) and that it has Vlach elements. Another man, 80 years old and from Arta, who was singing in the Konitsa choir, said he believed the songs Regina was singing were very 'Albanian'. Indeed, the participants' views on the feast and the music differed greatly between them. The strangers (outsiders) describe this part of Greece as '*ipirotiki* Greece', thus they expect the music to be traditional *ipirotiki* and they described the songs of Regina as traditional *ipirotiki*. It was clear, however, from the statements we heard at the Konitsa feast, that many of the participants were unsure whether they witnessed a traditional or a neo-traditional event. From one perspective, the juxtaposition of elements visible at the feast suggests it was a neo-traditional event. The mixture of traditional and neo-traditional elements, such as neo-traditional music, the priest's

⁴ *Ipirotika* is music from Ipirus (region in North-Western Greece, including Ioannina)

can never be fully defined. For that to happen, we would be talking not of the neo-traditional but of a new tradition, in the sense that the eclectic elements, previously without any hierarchy, are now systematised and a new tradition has been established.

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of identity construction requires ongoing processes of bordering and 'othering' of us / them (Houtum, Naerssen 2002: 63). On the other hand, neo-traditional music in this event has become an instrument of social / community bonding, creating a 'feeling of belonging together', thus contributing to a sense of authenticity verified by genuine participation.

Traditions may also be changed to suit the needs of the day, and the changes can become accepted as part of the old tradition. The concept of 'usable past' explains how groups of people, no matter their size or constitution (whether ethnic, occupational, organisational or regional), creatively utilise past practices as malleable markers of a common identity. In addition, according to Tad Tuleja, folklore should not be seen, 'as a thing but as a practice,' as a 'malleable mobile expression of social identity' (Tuleja 1997: 6). Thus, the author emphasises that small groups manipulate and use folkloric expressions for both self-representation and their representation to others.

Conclusion

Tradition is a luxury of modernity. Today, fluctuations of identities abate the possibility of that luxury and traditional events take place only in very closed societies, where it is not easy to penetrate unless one is part of that society. In circumstances where cultural eclecticism merges different cultural elements into a single event, the concept of socially constructed traditions becomes highly plausible. At the same time, the situational nature of one's identity and its lack of universal value make one's position very susceptible. In a situation such as this one can negotiate one's position among other possible identities. These kinds of negotiations can be found throughout society, but it is very common amongst those who no longer find themselves in the secure symbolic order of established traditions. In this way we can see how individuals use their positions to negotiate their emotional relations with others and, at the same time, emphasise specific levels of political authority. So the term neo-traditional, we could say, uses parts of tradition, remixing it steadily with new social and political phenomena, and in this way can be identified as a hybrid that has to be constantly redefined in local and temporal contexts. We must also keep in mind, however, that the neo-traditional

Polyphony around the world

One of the most intriguing features of vocal polyphony is its enigmatic distribution throughout the world's musical cultures. For example, why is there so much vocal polyphony in sub-Saharan Africa and almost no signs of polyphony among Australian Aborigines? And why is it that sometimes only a part of the culture of a country contains vocal polyphony?³ A reasonable explanation is that vocal polyphony is not a late cultural development of initially monophonic singing, but was in fact a very archaic phenomenon, an integral part of the evolutionary process of the development of human language and speech, as well as of human cognition (Jordania 2003, 2006). Social polyphony must have been present in all early human societies. Larger group size, rhythm, synchronic bodily movements and precisely coordinated group singing of our hominid ancestors were one of the survival strategies against predators. Multisonance is one of the strongest (and one of the most ancient) universals of human communication and a medium for social cohesion and bonding of early human communities (Christensen 2003).

The appearance of human intelligence and human language – and consequently the appearance of *Homo sapiens* – took place on the musical communicative stage of development, long before the advance of articulated speech.⁴ The last major acquisition of human evolution, the

³ This is the case in China, Vietnam, India, Bulgaria, Romania, Lithuania, Greece and many other countries (Jordania 2006).

⁴ If we compare the chronological depths suggested by two contemporary conflicting theories of the origins of *Homo sapiens* – (a) Multiregional Evolution Theory and (b) the Recent African Origin Theory (respectively around 2 millions - one million and 200,000 - 100,000 years ago) – and then we compare these dates with the often-suggested chronology of the development of articulated speech – around 30,000 - 40,000 years ago – it is clear that there is a good theoretical possibility that the first human migrants in different regions of the world did not come to new territories fully equipped with articulated speech. Speech was developed by different human populations after their initial migration from the African 'cradle' into different parts of the world. Living in various regions of the world with a different climate, geography and ecology, human populations could have shifted to articulated speech in different epochs. That began in different populations at different times, which is why in some populations the tradition of vocal polyphony is almost absent (for example, among East Asian or Australian Aboriginal populations) and in some populations it is still thriving (as among populations of Europe and particularly sub-Saharan Africa). 'Therefore,

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Oral tradition across the border: Reflections on/of polyphonic singing in a Greek–Albanian context

Eight old women holding each other tight, shaping a semi-circle, facing us in the audience; their voices permeating the quiet summer evening, flooding the village square and our hearts... Polyphonic singing in Kefalovryso, Epirus. A spontaneous response to the pressing need for contact, for meeting their call; earthly, as if is from the depths of time and place. Fieldwork begins.

Introduction

One of the true universals of human musical cultures, the antiphonal dialogue between two parties (between soloists, two groups, and particularly between a soloist and a group), represents the most basic and widespread form of social polyphony. 'Polyphony', the most widely used term,¹ derives from the ancient Greek terms 'polyphōnos' and 'polyphonia', meaning the co-existence of many voices.² There is no purely monophonic culture in the world without any elements of social or musical polyphony.

In this paper, vocal polyphony is explored at a macro and at a micro level, in an attempt to grasp the connections involved, the parameters and the traits of this fascinating phenomenon of culture and biology. Through this, we are hoping at best to draw a rough sketch of our constantly shifting model.

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¹ 'Multi-part music' (Arom 1985: 34) is probably the next most popular English term, used widely in ethnomusicological publications. 'Polyvocality', 'plurivocality' and 'multiphony' are also terms in use.

² After classical antiquity, forms of the adjective came into use in modern languages, designating both non-musical phenomena, such as birdcalls, human speech and multiple echoes, and musical phenomena, such as instrumental range and tonal variety, as well as the various tunes playable on an automatic musical device (Jordania 2006).

refuge in the face of invasion and whose inaccessibility has allowed for the preservation of numerous archaisms' (Cooke 1998: 601).

Within localised stylistic areas, musical forms often remain relatively stable and serve a wide variety of genres, such as laments, love songs, wedding songs, harvest songs, dance songs, satires and historical songs. In some cultures polyphonic singing is almost exclusively the prerogative of either men (e.g. Sardinia and Corsica) or women (e.g. Bulgaria). In others (e.g. Southern Albania and areas of former Yugoslavia) both men and women sing polyphony, but clear gender distinctions are drawn (Sugarman 1997).

Some forms include drone parts (simple or double, straight or alternating, continuous or rhythmic), ostinatos or parallel movement between voices; some have a chordal basis; others are more complex, combining a variety of structural principles. Responsorial forms are also found (e.g. in parts of the Balkans and Italy). Polyphonic singing in the Balkans is predominantly diaphonic. Songs in two, three or four parts are found in Southern Albania, the lower parts often being sung in chorus by several singers. Where there is a strong connection with dance, the songs have a clearly discernible rhythm.

In the big family⁸ of polyphonic music the drone type of polyphony is definitely one of the dominating types of vocal polyphony throughout the European landscape. Many styles feature a tense or vibrant voice-production associated with singing outdoors, while each vocal line has its own distinctive timbre⁹; the resulting 'polyphony of timbres' (Lortat-Jacob 1993) is often popularly compared with environmental sounds (e.g. sheep bellowing). Many styles also feature a pronounced vibrato or

⁸ This 'family' consists of several different types of polyphony: (a) Parallel polyphony, (b) Drone polyphony, (c) Canonic polyphony, (d) Contrapuntal polyphony, (e) Ostinato polyphony, (f) Heterophonic polyphony, (g) Overlapping polyphony, (h) Chordal polyphony (i) Array of Synthesis polyphonic subtypes (Jordania 2006: 24-25). The harmonic language of this style often features very specific secondal harmonies and small-range melodies.

⁹ Timbre can be specifically selected in order to produce a characteristic clash of overtones and fundamentals, as in the Balkans, or the phenomenon of an additional 'virtual' voice, as described by Lortat-Jacob (1993), in Sardinia. Pitch mobility is often associated with timbral quality. Rice (1980: 57) noted that in the case of Bulgarian singing 'pitch is manipulated subtly along a continuum to achieve a particular harmonic effect'.

emergence of articulated speech, fundamentally affected vocal polyphony. Choral singing lost its direct survival value and has been gradually marginalised.⁵

Nowadays, predominantly polyphonic continents are Africa – more precisely sub-Saharan Africa – and Europe, particularly the mountainous and island parts of Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean region. Another very important polyphonic region is Oceania (Polynesia and Melanesia).⁶ As Emsheimer puts it, 'part-singing is, or was, distributed principally in areas having the character of isolates, such as the Caucasus, Russia, the East Baltic area, the region of the Carpathians, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, Southern Albania and the Greek North Epirus, the region of the Alps, Italy, Portugal, and Iceland' (Emsheimer 1964: 43-44). The Mediterranean region with the adjacent territories⁷ comprises a major part of European polyphonic cultures, that are concentrated around two types of natural environment in Europe – mountains and islands. Cooke argues that 'they are typically, though not exclusively, found among agro-pastoral communities organised on a strong collective basis, in mountainous regions where indigenous populations have habitually found

I suggest that the ancestors of the East Asian, Australian Aboriginal and most of Native American populations shifted to articulated speech much earlier than the ancestors of the sub-Saharan African and European populations. The earlier (or later) shift to articulated speech did not give any evolutionary (historical, social or cultural) advantage to any of the human populations' (Jordania 2006: 17).

⁵ The historical dynamics shows clear signs of the decline (and disappearance) of vocal polyphonic traditions in many parts of the world: division of society between 'singers' and 'listeners'; advancement of individualism and the beginning of professionalism; replacement of polyphonic songs by monophonic developed melodies comprising the most important points from different parts of the polyphonic texture; increasing of the role of instrumental polyphony etc. (Jordania 2006: 15).

⁶ On the other hand, the major parts of North, Central and East Asia, Australia and North and South America are basically monophonic with interesting exceptions, like the polyphonic singing of the Ainus in North Japan, the polyphony of Nuristanians in mountainous Afghanistan or the drone polyphony of northwest American Indians and some South American indigenous people (Jordania 2006: 176).

⁷ Corsica and Sardinia have particularly rich polyphonic traditions. All the mountain ranges from the Pyrenean Apennines through to the Alps, the Balkans and Caucasia form a chain of isolated regions, in which traditional forms of vocal polyphony are distributed (Bithell 2000).

Typically, the songs are performed for the benefit of the singers themselves as much as for an audience. A sense of complicity is vital and it is common for the same group of singers to perform together for many years. For men in particular, polyphonic singing combined with alcohol consumption induces a transcendent state of heightened spiritual harmony (Sugarman 1997). Intense concentration and close physical contact between the performers are crucial for their successful interaction, in particular with respect to both timing and the ultimate fusion of the individual voices; hence the horseshoe formation commonly adopted. The hand is often used to cup the ear or is held with the fingers touching the ear and the palm turned towards the mouth (Rihtman 1952; Lortat-Jacob 1993).

While early studies in 'folk' polyphony were concerned predominantly with the analysis of musical structure and the description of style, more recent research has drawn attention to responses to social and political change and the manner in which polyphonic genres have sometimes assumed an emblematic role in issues of national identity (Bithell 2000). Macchiarella (2005) has investigated formal and stylistic relations between oral and written traditions. Others have paid emphasis on contexts and social function (Sugarman 1997), psycho-physical factors and the singers' interaction (Lortat-Jacob 1993), emic conceptualisation and symbolism (Rice 1994).

To exemplify the latter, a revealing exploration is that of mythology, philosophy, art and literature – all aspects of culture – where the pre-existence of polyphonic singing is manifested. The Bushmen cite a myth, which explains the polyphonic group organisation: '[...] one baboon sings to the others as people do when they sing the # *gebbi-gu*. He sings before the other baboons, for he wants the other baboons to sing after him, that they may sing as he does when he sings the # *gebbi-gu*' (Bleek 1931: 177-178).

Plato, in his *Republic*, in the Myth of Ere¹¹ (v.617c) refers to the myth of the three Fates (*Mires*), the sister divinities of destiny (Willis 1995: 74),

¹¹ '[...] The spindle (the universe) turns on the knees of Necessity; and on the upper surface of each circle (planetary orbit) is a siren, who goes round with them, hymning a single tone or note. The eight together form one harmony; and round about, at equal intervals, there is another band, three in number, each sitting upon her throne: these are the Fates, daughters

'trembling' and the incorporation of shouts, yips, yodels, slides, glottal stops or a sobbing effect which contributes to both rhythm and resonance. Staggered breathing can be employed to maintain continuity of sound.

The text itself can also be deformed to the point of incomprehensibility to the outside listener, both by the manner of its intonation and by the way in which it is adapted to the musical phrase with word breaks or the omission, repetition or addition of syllables characteristic of some styles (Sugarman 2000).

Despite the heterogeneity in terms of musical structure, many features relating to the organisation of the voices are common to different areas of the Mediterranean. The lead part is often sung by a solo voice which begins alone and is sometimes the only voice to sing the whole text, while the accompanying voices use the vowel sounds of the text or patterns of unrelated vocables. Each individual voice has its own strictly defined role.¹⁰ Local terminology often provides a graphic description of how each part is conceived. In Greek polyphonic singing, for example, there are the roles (Tenta 1998: 39) of *parties*, the leader, who begins singing and unwinds the basic melodic line, of *gyristis*, the second soloist who turns or twists the thread of the song, and of *klostis*, the weaver, 'who embroiders the melody with a yodeling voice' (Cowan 2000: 1010). The three main roles are always accompanied by *iso-krates*, the drone holders, who sustain the tonal centre of the song.

Once the pattern is established, the leader may begin to yodel in cross rhythms. Others may join in, creating contrapuntal yodeling and possibly adding extemporaneous utterances. The resulting impression is one of complex, perfectly blended, beautiful contrapuntal singing.

¹⁰ With the Bushman (Frisbie 1971) singing group, which is composed of anyone who wishes to participate, songs are usually organised so that one person begins them by singing a melodic pattern. He or she adds the rhythmic pattern in a clap and then others join in 'unison'. These people imitate the first person (the 'leader'), sometimes in a canonic form. 'A woman stands there and sings first, she leads the others as she wants them to sing after her, for the others think that she is one who knows the + *gebbi-gu* tunes. That is why she first sings to the others, for she thinks that the others do not know how they ought to sing the change of the + *gebbi-gus*. For one Bushman woman is always there to teach the others the # *gebbi-gu*' (Bleek 1931: 177-178).



Picture 1

*Engraving of the Three Fates
(Source: Decharme 1970: 362)*

If nothing else, the achronous origin of polyphonic singing, its powerful character and the clear structure, the role appointment and the immense impact on people, as they acknowledge it forming an integral part of human life, all the above are depicted, if an analogy is drawn, between polyphonic singing and the perception of fate (Tsobanopoulou 2009).

Besides benefiting from a symbolic anthropological analysis, it is essential to explore polyphony in terms of textuality, inter-textuality and most crucially of its social context. Along this path we approached our case study.

Case study: A performance of polyphonic singing at Kefalovryso

An occasion of contextualised reproduction of orality formed an integral part of our case study. This was a performance of polyphonic songs within the frame of a traditional music festival taking place at a small village on the Greek side of the border near Albania. The ensemble visited Kefalovryso specifically for this festival. Its members – and our main informants – were of Greek origin, residing permanently in Albania. They were female, aged 65-86, and came from the area of Dropolis, a cluster of 34 Greek-minority villages in Southern Albania near the border, in particular Selio, Kossovitsa, Sotiras and Longos.

whom she calls 'daughters of Necessity'. He pictures them dressed in white, singing as a polyphonic group the eternal music of the Universe, 'the Harmony of the Spheres', according to Pythagoras (Kaimakis 2007). Their roles are distinct and specific: Lachesis sings about the past, Klotho (the weaver) about the present and Atropos about the future. Their roles are distinct also in their handling of human destiny: Klotho spins the thread of life, Lachesis – where the modern Greek word *lachio* (lottery ticket) derives from – measures it out, and Atropos – deriving from *trepo* (lead towards, e.g. path) of the same root (Andriotis 1995) – cuts the thread of life. In ancient Greek Art they are depicted as old women. In the engraving shown (Picture 1, Decharme 1970: 362), Atropos unrolls upon the globe the cylinder where all eternal truths are written on, Lachesis, turning her head holds the thread of the mortals' life and Klotho weaves it. Each of them performs a distinct and specific role, just like *Partis*, *Gyristis* and *Klostis* of polyphonic singing.¹² A similar myth to the three sisters of Fate can be found in other mythologies, for example the myth of the three Norns in Scandinavian Mythology, the myth of the three Parcae in Roman Mythology and the myth of the three ugly spinners, the Wyrd Sisters, in English Mythology (Willis 1995, *The Book of Threes* 2008).

of Necessity, who are clothed in white robes and have chaplets upon their heads, Lachesis and Clotho and Atropos, who accompany with their voices the harmony of the sirens – Lachesis singing of the past, Clotho of the present, Atropos of the future; [...] ' (Plato, *The Republic*, v.617c)

¹² The drone keepers, *iso-krates*, all sing as one body. The role of *iso-krates* is played in the Platonic metaphor by the sirens, each singing a single note, together forming one harmony accompanying the Three Fates. In Homer, apart from Zeus, we encounter (Decharme 1970: 359-367) the two names of – a no less important abstract power – destiny / fate. These are *Mira* and *A-isa*, the latter coming from *iso*, meaning equal, and the former coming from *meros*, meaning parting or part of something.

it also reflected the form of their social interaction back at their villages in their everyday life. What we know for sure is that Katina is their organiser, the person who possesses the knowledge and can pass it on.¹³

In addition, her strong, yet not authoritative personality and her ability to balance the group dynamics have made her a prominent figure in the ensemble. Her husband being an accountant and the leading figure in the village council as well as her own training and employment as a primary school teacher added apparently to the status a lead singer of a polyphonic group usually possesses (Jordania 2006: 90). According to the polyphonic song specialist we interviewed, if she were to leave the group, the ensemble would probably break up, as it is her who acts both as mediator for contacting festival organisers as well as the group coordinator and song instructor. Crucially, this would amount to the loss of a rich resource of polyphonic tradition.



Photo 2

Katina, the leader of the group

(Photo: the authors)

Contextualisation

The fact that polyphonic singing is located in a border area constitutes a condition that enhances its complexity. This is because both Albanians and Greeks claim the origin of this particular type of singing with respectively extensive, almost desperate, research (Nitsiakos-Mantzios 2003). We consider worth wondering whether national borders can truly cultu-

¹³ She once provided a polyphonic researcher / specialist with more than 90 original songs.



Photo 1

Members of the polyphonic ensemble after the performance

(Photo: the authors)

We observed that the ensemble engaged in two levels of performance, the first on-stage and the second off-stage. While on-stage, these eight women wore the traditional costumes, which their leader, Katina, made herself by hand. She sang mainly as *partis* and Leftero and Efterpi, the eldest – 86 years old – were mainly the *gyristes* (plural of *gyristis*). The rest of them shifted between the roles of *klostis* and *iso-kratis*. They were standing forming a semi-circle / horse shoe, hugging each other facing the audience. The latter included both locals and visitors, people of all ages, others attentively listening, others involved in discussions or consumption. Keep in mind that there was a *taverna* at the square and a flea market with local children's craft products.

While off-stage during intervals, Katina acted as the main representative of the group and Leftero was the second one to provide us with information. After the performance they had dinner at the *taverna* across the stage and engaged in a discussion with another male singer. Their demeanour was revealing. It seemed to us that they were giving a second, off-stage performance. They were still in the same outfit. Katina, the leader, was sitting right next to their interlocutor and had the primary role. Leftero and Efterpi, the *gyristes*, were sometimes answering or shortly intervening. Overall, our impression was that the group dynamics developing before us was almost identical off-stage with the roles they held on-stage. It was as if their roles were reproduced in their social conduct. We cannot be sure if this was due to the context of the performance or if

as to fit political interests and aspirations is of wonder to the ethnographers.¹⁵

Apart from nationalistic endeavours which relished the folklorist contribution (Herzfeld 1986), politics in its strict sense was applied. The Soviet Union, for example, considered vocal polyphony the embodiment of collectiveness and attempted to create a 'unified Socialist musical culture'. This, however, had not always been successful, as in Central Asian musical cultures, where prior to communism the multi-part choral singing was generally absent and after *Perestroika* the big choirs were disbanded (Jordania 2006: 11).

The Hozha communist regime in Albania demonstrated the same zeal (Hysa 2008). In fact, the national was undervalued next to the political: the regime writing polyphonic praising-the-Party songs not in the Albanian language but in Greek in order to achieve a successful propaganda for the Greek minority is a clear indication. The polyphonic song that follows was written in Greek by the Albanian communist authorities, intended particularly for the inhabitants of the Greek-minority villages of Dropolis for the sake of whom the Albanian state constructed an aqueduct:

*For years you've been longing, woman of Dropolis, for water
To drink and refresh your dry throat
Zogu's ruling was an instrument of malice
That of Bei and of the merchant oppressed the people
Our present government with the party ruling
Has decided to bring water up to Dropolis.*

In reverse, as a bottom-to-top move, the Greek minority villager (Katina's husband, Andreas) inhabitant of Albania wrote a polyphonic praising-the-brave-offspring-of-the-Epirotic-land song to be performed in

¹⁵ As Pistrick (2008: 46) stresses, 'Music and music making receives an increased value and a particular vulnerability for ideological interference in culturally contested regions such as borderlands. A cultural object has to "belong" to someone'.

rally isolate one side of the border from the other (Lolis 2003). Of course, it can sometimes be so, as in the case of people who went to a nearby Albanian village to work during the olive-picking season just before the Hozha regime and did not manage to return home until forty years later. In most cases it is physical borders such as high mountains that can act as a border, impeding communication between neighbouring communities¹⁴.

However, national borderlines are not always determined on the basis of physical or cultural criteria. If maps took into consideration polyphonic tradition, it is certain that this border line would not have been placed where it is now. As Nitsiakos and Mantzos put it, 'it is indicative that the two commissions assigned by the international community to draw the "ethnological line" (in the jargon of the time), first in 1912 and then in 1921, found it impossible to do so, due to the fact that any of the "objective" criteria that might be used to define national identity collapsed in the face of a much more complex reality'. Contested cultural features, border identities in general, create danger in the form of ambiguity. Ambiguous identities have to be controlled (Nitsiakos-Mantzos 2003: 197).

Tradition is said to play a leading role in the formation of identity (Hobsbawm 1992). The concept of 'tradition' was first linked to the idea of the 'action of transmitting', but has now more or less become synonymous with 'heritage'. 'This notion excludes the idea of action, as heritage is lifeless [...] It interests me even less when it is "patrimonialised"' (Lortat-Jacob 1993: 70). Sincere efforts to patrimonialise the traditional practice of polyphony as national heritage have been taking place on both sides of the border (Mantzos 2003). Of course, how the universal and archaic can possibly be reduced to something local and historical so

¹⁴ To exemplify, the Greek village Ktismata shares a common musical tradition with villages on the other side of the border that nowadays belong to Albania, rather than with Parakalamos, a village inhabited mainly by a different ethnic group, Gypsies, just seven kilometres away, on the same side of the border with Ktismata. What functions as a border here is the high mountain between the two Greek villages.

*Mother I'm fed up
 Hold, Daughter, oh Daughter
 Just this very year
 For the grapes to ripen, oh Daughter
 For the wine to sweeten*

* * *

Crossing a bridge:

*I see a girl at the window
 Embroidering a golden scarf
 Sewing with golden thread
 She quarrels with her mother
 Mother, she says, find me a husband
 A house and a household
 But do not give me an old man
 Still, you yourself will regret it
 Cause the old man's play
 Tastes like garlic and onions*

In these songs we can identify specific issues raised, such as: family life, mother-daughter relationship; marriage as an institution; how marriage is externally arranged (often with old men marrying young girls) and it might end up unhappily; marriage as a means of acquiring social status; the issue of the dowry, prepared by the girl with fine valuable material; the issue of space – a young girl sitting in the house by the window, she can only see out and be seen from the outside; sexual implications disguised through the employment of phenomenally innocent, yet essential cooking ingredients (onion, garlic, clove) of indisputable necessity for a delicious dish; how time is filtered and organised through

Athens, in the presence of the Greek President, who happens to come from a border village of Epirus.

Social Context and Textuality

The songs were originally produced within a certain social context. Some accompanied agricultural chores, such as crop-gathering, cultivating the land with a hoe and crop-peeling. These songs were long and repetitive and were collectively sung to help them get through the long, painstaking working hours. Some others were songs of love and longing, of pain for the migrants, of joy or of keeping the order and thus sustaining gender and social stereotypes.¹⁶

Some other songs acted as a form of release of social pressure, as in the case of arranged marriages, according to the tension release theory, as suggested by Douglas (1975), or as a form of ritual rebellion, according to Johnson (1978), as in the case of 'dirty' songs that were sung during the carnival. Relief theory describes and explicates humour as a result of social oppression: in a stratified society humour indicates the oppression by social structure, because the lower strata use it as an alternative punishment model, according to Dalkavoukis (2001).

A textual analysis, that is, exploration of the poetics and the semantic load of the text, provides an insight into the socio-historical context and the perceptions that have been instilled in the text diachronically. Two of the songs we have collected from our informants can act as an exemplification of the above:

Sewing handkerchiefs:

Mother I'm fed up

It's time to give it up, oh Mother

It's time I got married

¹⁶ In the ritual of the wedding the father of the groom is invited by song to dance first, then the father of the bride, then the best man, then the older males then the younger males etc.

texts (on stage, via the media), in new arrangements (rarely unaccompanied, with several types of traditional instrument added), for new purposes (profit, nostalgia for rural lifeways), and are taught in new ways (notation, formal paid instruction). The differences between world and traditional folk musicians have collapsed, and for many of them the local marketplace and the global market are at some level the same (Bohlman 2005).

The increased valorisation of polyphony in the late twentieth century, as reflected in the number of international conferences and festivals devoted to polyphonic singing, has been charted by Goffre (1994). Following the trend-setting phenomenon of the *Mystère des voix bulgares* recordings, for instance, and accompanied by a shift from the domain of popular expression to that of artistic product, there appears to be a generation of new compositions based on traditional styles.

Conclusions

Polyphony is an integral part of human musical culture. The initial belief held by musicologists and ethnomusicologists that polyphony came as a late development of the initial monophonic singing tradition is by far outdated. As the origins of human group singing and vocal polyphony date back to the beginnings of the evolution of hominids, polyphony is truly a world phenomenon, spread variably on every continent of our planet, owned by everybody and by nobody.

As a cultural practice, polyphonic singing forms a part of oral tradition. Oral tradition, instantiated in the case of the Kefalovryso performance, embodied in the polyphonic singing of the Dropolis women, besides being a text is most importantly a context. It presupposes a context, it carries a context, it recreates a context and it is contextually recreated and reproduced.

The roles performed on-stage as well as off-stage, in the living reality and in the constructed reality of mythology, art, philosophy, currently and in the depths of time, locally and universally, weave the web of life,

development and mechanisation of agriculture also had an effect on polyphonic singing practices.

phases of production, agriculture and immigration. The social context is reflected in its cultural products¹⁷.

Reproduction

However, there is also the social context in which songs are being reproduced nowadays in everyday life. Songs can be interwoven in orality (while referring to marriage, Katina answered with a song). Songs also contribute to the handling of emotions (sadness for her son living abroad, in Kosovo). Moreover, they still form an integral part in rural wedding rituals, where female family members sing their wishes for the bride or their lament for the 'loss' of their girl, who often moves to her husband's place. In these cases, the reproduction is contextualised. Yet, oral tradition can be de-contextualised, when the text is removed from its context and relocated, isolated in children's books, as part of a school textbook or in CDs.

Attempts to preserve or revive traditional songs can be regarded as semi-contextualised. For example, a newly-established ensemble studying polyphonic traditional music preserves the song itself, the group singing and the roles within the group. However, it lacks the original social context or the immediate lived experience that old people possess. In many areas, contextualised or 'original' polyphonic practices have inevitably declined as a result of increasing modernisation, urbanisation and changing fashions.¹⁸ Village songs are now heard more often in new con-

¹⁷ An interesting juxtaposition, that can act as exemplification of this view, would be that of the Dropolis song about the water (see above) with the Bushmen song (Bleek 1928: 120) that follows: *'New Moon, come out, give water to us / New Moon, thunder down water for us / New Moon, shake down water for us'*. The texts in the Bushmen polyphonic singing (Frisbie 1971) concern animals, heavenly bodies, thunderstorms, new grass and rain. Political songs (like the Dropolis one), war songs and historical songs are lacking, as is the tribal organisation implied by them. The technology and subsistence techniques of the Bushmen are reflected in their hunting songs, gathering songs, songs to the heavenly bodies and natural forces, just like aspects of a different social organisation and context are reflected in the songs of this case study.

¹⁸ Where such singing was the prerogative of small select groups of men (e.g. in Corsica), continuity was severely compromised by losses suffered in the two world wars (Bithell 1996). Elsewhere (e.g. in Portugal), marked regional differentiation in terms of economic

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the tapestry of polyphonic narration. In order for it to become visible and audible, one needs to taste interdisciplinary cooking, to inhale the emissions of the field and feel the difference.

As far as the border is concerned, to contextualise this narrative, it appears that national borderlines, as primarily imaginary constructions, do not restrict oral tradition, at least nowadays. Physical borders, such as mountains or rivers, may occasionally change its orientation. Yet, there does not seem to be anything like a temporal borderline, as oral tradition may permeate space but not time. And it is so, because time is its indispensable constituent.

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side the front of their houses with their families and neighbours. Some of the women had never left Leskovic or travelled anywhere; others had just returned from their summer holidays. Some of the women now lived in the suburbs of Athens and these women were the most keen to talk to us. Every conversation was introduced with *meze* and the question 'Raki or Beer?' During our conversation we were informed that two days before there had been an engagement celebration. They willingly showed us a video from a mobile phone. We saw the men dancing *Pianetsi*, a very difficult and complex dance. They were all proud of the dance. As they told us, this dance was a matter of pride for the discerning male dancers of the village. The distinctive feature of this dance was the bottle of wine or raki that the first dancer in the cycle held and had to continue drinking from or treating others as he danced.

At nightfall we stopped in front of a house where women were ready to pack up their chairs and go inside. A young girl in the group spoke fluent Greek and helped us to get in contact with the others. She asked us to wait for a while and when she came back she was holding two frames. 'My grandfather was the village choreographer' she told us and showed us two old photographs. As Layson argues 'source materials in themselves do not constitute dance history but as the remnants of the commentaries upon the past they provide the basic starting point for study' (Layson 1994: 29). Later that evening we had a very fruitful meeting with her grandfather, including dancing with his friends. We scheduled a more formal interview with him in the privacy of his own home and, with his permission, we audio and video recorded our discussion.



Photo 1
Melezini Dance Group
(Photo: provided to the author).

Mimina Pateraki*

Looking back, moving forward: parallel polyphonic representations of historical and contemporary dance practices in Leskovic

The coffee shops were overcrowded. Men were everywhere – boys, teenagers, young men, elderly men – dispersed by the breeze and showing little interest in the ‘strangers’ who had come into town. The ‘strangers’, as we were known, were not completely unknown people. Over the previous three years, the presence of students of Konitsa’s Summer School in Leskovic has become something of a ‘tradition’. Tradition in this context refers to a modern phenomenon which involves a ‘public’ (the people of Leskovic), ‘tourists’ (the students), ‘performances’ for the ‘tourists’, and potentially involves some ‘experts’ (the tutors overseeing fieldwork).¹ Our fieldwork was undertaken in this border town as part of our activities at the 2008 Konitsa Summer School.

As we started to talk, the plates of *meze* were accompanied with the question: ‘*Raki or Beer?*’ Many different ideas were articulated in the courtyard of the ‘Don Café’ coffee shop. Christians and Muslims shared the same table. Among the customers there was a policeman, a driver, a builder, a merchant, the local kiosk owner, some unemployed and some pensioners. During our discussions with our ‘new friends’ some local musicians were trying to find a place to play later that evening. Finally, discussion gave way to dancing which, according to Amanda Coffey (in Thomas 2003: 77), provides the ‘embodied dimension of the social and physical space of the ethnographic field and transforms ethnography into an embodied activity’.

Later in the afternoon we walked through the upper part of town in order to find the women of the village. We found them socialising out-

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led to differing interpretations during the participant observation of 'dance events'. According to Cowan 'the dance event as a temporary spatially and conceptually "bounded" sphere of interaction' (Cowan, 1990:4) consists in the locus where the dance intersects with the eye of the observer and the body of the dancer. This requires a minimum set of rules that are understood by both the observer and the dancer (Kaeppler 2001: 41).

In our case, as there was not any scheduled dance event, we invited our informants to accompany our discussions and treated them to food and drinks. This turned out to be rather difficult, as we almost had to fight to treat the villagers. Our companions were accompanied with locally available music, which was in itself interesting, as this was easily available in digital format (the cafe CD player, internet cafe playing mp3, a PC brought to our event or a mobile phone) and although the younger people refused to dance, they were generally interested in our presence and were proactive in providing music for us.

We argue that through distinct dance representations people negotiate different discourses, express different voices, articulate different aspects and define alternative spaces of conversation, whereby one enlightens the other. We approach the 'formal' dance representations that a group 'stages' traditionally as live performance and today as televised appearances (Desmond 1997:46) and the 'informal' dance performances during the communist period as 'parallel dancing traditions' (Shay 1999). These parallel dance traditions dialectically reworked and negotiated the relationship between local and national identity. As one informant told us:

'Here, Leskovic was the best place for singing and dancing, it was the source of music and dance.[...] his "soi" (extended family), "the ntamar" as we say, was to play music and dance [...] that was within their bodies [...] his cousin, the best violinist in the area, was in prison because "they were with Greece" and were told not to be... and he was... and went to prison... When he was released from prison he played for the government [...] he was very good and it was in his blood... he could not live without playing... His children are now musicians in Athens [...] with this job they eat bread.'



Photo 2 Malezini Dance Group

(Photo: provided to the author)

It could be said that the people of Leskovic initially classified us as 'coming from Konitsa', i.e. as their neighbours. As one woman told me 'I know you, we were dancing together two days ago in Konitsa's square'. As Nitsiakos and Mantzos (2008: 275) stress in their analysis of the border area between Konitsa and Leskovic, the main point to focus on is the 'negation of a single concept of the border'. People of this region perceive the border as 'plural, defined each time contextually' underlining the 'socially constructed nature of boundaries and their dynamics of interaction and exchange' (Barth 1968).

Our study guided us to discuss the local dance practices, focusing on the current local dance repertoire and the repertoire performed in informal and formal dance events during the Hoxha regime in private celebrations and National Folk Festivals. We were interested in the question of how the meanings arising from the performance of dance can be kept a common secret between people and can be contextualised in informal local performances when the national culture forbids the performance in border areas.

As a team we all had different backgrounds and our individual experiences as ethnographers strongly influenced our field work. The main limitations we faced were the short time for research, the fact that some of our contacts only spoke Albanian and the lack of time for follow up interviews with key actors (for a discussion see Cassidy, Felis 2008: 306). Another important issue was our different experiences of dance which

fit national ideological requirements, which, according to the national elite, derived from this border region.

'Vangelis was the best for this job [...] so, during Hoxha's period, in 1973, he was selected by the government here in Leskovic and was told to leave his wood cutting and go to Tirana to teach young people to dance. [...] If he refused he would lose his job or even would go to prison. When he was told to go to teach dance to other choreographers, they asked him about dances: "what is this, Albanian or Greek?" He could not say...Did you understand?'



Photo 3
Vangelis Kollias, retired choreographer
(Photo: the authors)

As Manos argues (2002), dance performance in border areas has to be integrated into what is perceived as the 'national culture'. Based on Handler (1988), Manos examines both the 'institutionalisation of cultural objectification' and 'the politicisation of culture' and points out that dance is often modified to fit national ideological requirements. A great number of studies on the relationship between dance, ethnicity and national identity are referred to, in Reed's review, where dance is approached as a 'powerful tool in shaping nationalist ideology and in the creation of national subjects' (Reed 1998: 510-512). Similar approaches are evident in a number of studies which consider the role of state institutions in the promotion and reformation of national dances (Austerlitz 1997; Daniel 1991, 1995; Maunung 1993, 1995; Mohd 1993; Ramsey 1997; Reed 1991, 1995; Strauss 1977).

As Nahachewsky (2006: 165-168) argues, 'staged dance tradition' as a second order signifying system has become very popular as 'a vehicle

Symbolic cultural practices, such as music and dance, generate a specific identity for the locality around the border: 'Generally speaking, the musical tradition of Konitsa is a good indicator of the particularity of the area' (Nitsiakos, Arapoglou and Karanatses 1998). One can detect influences from musicians who have come from Leskovic, and they will play the dances and tunes of the local area, if you know how to ask for them. As Donnan and Wilson argue (2003: 9, in Pstrick 2008), border regions constitute places where cultural practices support or subvert state policies. Pstrick points out that 'this "borderland ambiguity", exemplified in local discourses and expressed through the continuous switching between national and local narratives, provides the framework for intensified identity formations within border regions'.

As Giurchescu points out, during the Ceauşescu regime Rumanian folklore researchers were pressurised to harmonise their research goals with the dominant political values, in accordance with two distinct but sequential ideological and political strategies. State cultural management supported and encouraged the selection of folklore products separated from their original contexts, 'enriched' and 'raised to a superior artistic level'. These then became the transmitters of new political and cultural messages through staged performances, a process known as the revolutionary stage. According to our informants, religious festivities were prohibited and were replaced by national celebrations and folk festivals, during which dancing took place in organised groups and performances were scrutinised by the national elite² in accordance with highly choreographic standards. The post 1970 period was characterised by the rehabilitation of cultural inheritance through utilising folk traditions as symbols of national identity (Giurchescu 1999: 43). Officials tried to direct and control the institutionalised research process and to use folklore in mass culture. As our informants pointed out, the national elite had a preference for Leskovic, as it was seen as the source of Albanian traditional music and dance. The dance repertoire was constructed by the national elite in order to differentiate Leskovic's cultural (dance) boundaries and to purify it by removing any 'contested elements'. Dance was modified to

² About the role of elites in communist regimes see Verdery, 1991.

Melezini group were preparing to participate in the Christian feast on the 6th of August.



Photo 4
Melezini Dance Group
from Leskovic, 15 May
2006

(Photo: provided to the
authors)

As Desmond (1997a: 18) argues, commenting on Ramsey's (1997: 345) material from Haiti, the staging of folklore represents a critical focus for scholarly research and analysis, as it relates to the production of national identity. Zografou (2007: 12) also points out that 'if one accepts that national identity and a historical sense of self are being both discursively and practically constituted, then it would be safe to argue that dance practices relate to – at least – the practical establishment of national and ethnic identity. In turn, if the latter is true, the importance of preserving the authenticity of the dance is as great as that of revealing it'. Indeed, this aspect is well documented in the process of tradition formation (Hobsbawm 1983). In order to produce and legitimise a proper sense of 'national unity', experts select from the past and promote a specific tradition, which encapsulates this primitivist or autochronist sense (Mihailescu 2008).

In order to preserve 'regularity, purity and authenticity in folkloric dance as in a protective mode for defending culture under siege there have been mentioned several strategies of domestication of dance and taming of its potentially disorderly elements by state and elite interventions' (Reed 1998: 510). For example, according to Daniel (1995), 'while in the early post-revolutionary period rumba was associated with drinking [...] the subsequent government support for the dance promoted a shift away from its unruly atmosphere'. Similarly, in Ireland (Meyer 1995, Hall 1996) an equally authoritative approach to dance is evident, as a Dance

for ethnic expression', whereby the signifiers are the proscribed dance compositions and the signified is 'Nationness'. Furthermore, 'national dance revival movements' tend to constitute a severely restricted selection of the vital dance repertoire from which they draw their inspiration (Nahachewsky 2006: 165-168). The objective, for the constructors of a national dance tradition, is not to save the entire corpus of traditional dances but rather to promote a small selection of dances, which then serve as symbols of the rest. Laszlo Felfoldi (1999: 55-56) commented that the drive towards nationally defined cultures and the search for 'pure' local dance forms by educators, artists and politicians in Hungary has effectively rendered folk dances archaic. This has resulted in a distorted picture of the traditional cultures of Eastern and Central Europe, which in turn has impacted upon the traditions themselves. Felfoldi notes that, when conducting their folk dance research, Central and Eastern European researchers have to take into account complex issues of authenticity and preservation, on the one hand, and the ossification of tradition, on the other. Through historical and contemporary examples from countries under the Soviet influence (Giurchescu, Felfoldi, Nahachewsky), Buckland (1999: 8) comments that the residues of intellectual and political inheritances continue to flow across the field and we cannot view dance as a 'clean slate', unsullied by past discourses.

Leskovic dance events during Enver Hoxha's period were established as national organised festivals related to political celebrations – (e.g. 15th May 1944) '6,000 people participated in a great feast for the liberation' – while religious celebrations were prohibited, except weddings or engagements. Gjorcastra national folk festival was a very famous event in the South of Albania and the 'Mezelini' Leskovic dance group participated in this event. State sponsored dance seminars and programs utilising dance as a focal point for the reification of national identity were common during this period. During the post-communist period religious celebrations, such as the Christian feasts on the 6th and 15th of August and the *Bektashi* (Muslim) feast on the 25th of August, were once again included in Leskovic dance events. Indeed, with the exception of events related to political celebrations, dance events continue to thrive and dance is still staged according to the previous notion of supporting national identity. According to our informants, the current members of the

tural elements into their homogenous and “pure” indigenous culture and therefore producing cultural ambiguity’, as Pistrick stresses (2008: 358-381).

‘We had designed a very nice choreography [...] When we went to be checked by authorities before our performance in Gyocasta festival we were rejected. It was too Greek and we were a dance group from Leskovic, the source of Albanian dance. They indicated the unacceptable elements and they told us to be more careful next time’.

As dance events were recontextualised and the ‘pure’ dance repertoire was constructed as an ‘invented tradition’ (Hobsbawm 1983:9) to serve the state in its desire to construct a homogeneous national culture, contradictions emerged between national and local experience and the prohibitions and punishment were resisted by the local people, as they performed the forbidden dances at private events.

One informant confided to us, in a phrase that captures the enduring sense of strength and feeling around the dance: *‘For me, even if they changed the dance, I have it within me’* and reminded us of Herzfeld’s question ‘why so much vehemence should be invested in denying what the senses affirm?’ (Herzfeld 1997). The embodied practices of dance form an intrinsic dynamic that is at once polysemic and polyphonic. Interpretations can never be certain and are always ambiguous, as they derive from different points of view, always ready to look forward, even as they are looking back.



Photo 5

*From our fieldwork in Don Cafe:
‘For me, if they changed the dance, I
have it inside me’*

(Photo: the authors)

Commission controls virtually every aspect of Irish dance from its transmission to its performance, and forbids the teaching, learning and performing of traditional dance without its approval (Reed 1998: 511)

In Leskovic, the *Pianitsi* dance was completely forbidden due to its association with drinking. The Leskovic villagers, however, danced it in private. Informal dance events, thus, emphasise their independence from the state (Cowan 1990: 89, 118). Such situations also foreground the reflexivity of dance events (Cowan 1990: 4), revealing that dance practices are imbued with social meanings (Desmond 1997a) that 'both structure and are structured by human experience' (Zografou 2007: 1).

According to our informants, the local dance repertoire included dances such as *Danto*, *Radova*, *Postenange*, *Mikse*, *Elenagi*, *Geia sou Leonida*, *Manousakia*, *Pianeci*, *Pogonishte*, *Osman Taka*, *Katjushka* and *Napoloni* (couple free dance). During this period the selected dance repertoire for the formal representations only included the 'pure' Leskovic dances *Danto*, *Radova*, *Postenange*, *Mikse*. As Manos (2002) argues, dance elements that were thought to resemble those of neighbouring countries were excluded or changed and the local culture was 'refined' and 'purified' to include only elements deemed representative of the national culture. The purpose was to establish a resource for representing national identity as a whole. As a result, dances such as *Elenagi*, *Geia sou Leonida*, *Manousakia* and *Osman Taka* were excluded from the repertoire, although they were very popular.

The arbitrary drawing of the borderline in this region created islands of difference and irregularity in terms of national rhetorics (Nitsiakos 2008). The cultural power-brokers and musicians of bilingual populations living on the border produced local interpretations which led either to the support of national identities or the creation of alternative ones. Focusing on 'musical regionalism' (Wade 2000), Pistrick (2002) argues that it is a way for local performers to express cultural identities within a multicultural region and a way for nationalist elites 'to discipline diversity'. According to Manos (2002), 'dance is one of the means that the state uses to promote national homogeneity and to link the border region with "national life" '. Dance variations in Leskovic were created in order to define their own cultural boundaries and consequently to avoid 'symbolic pollution' (Herzfeld 1987:29), 'in the sense of introducing external cul-

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Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

the Soviet Union for the transportation of refugees to Eastern Europe. The first waves of refugees in 1948 consisted mainly of children. When the war was over, the flight was massive for the fighters of the Democratic Army, who took with them, as captives, soldiers of the Greek National Army (Hradecny 2007: 203, 204). Most of these transportation waves took place in the spring and summer of 1949. Ships departed from Albania's harbours, crossed the Aegean sea and the Dardanelles and reached the Soviet Union. An alternative route was from Albania to Gibraltar and then to the harbour of Gdansk in Poland, from where the refugees were transported to Hungary and Czechoslovakia (Giannakakis 2005: 9). During their journey, political refugees were locked up almost 22 hours per day in the hold of ships, due to the danger of them being identified by the Greek government Navy, suffering from hunger, thirst and malodorousness. Such security precautions were particularly practiced when the ships sailed in the Ionian or in the Aegean seas. When the refugees finally arrived in Czechoslovakia, they were settled in areas close to the German borders, areas with 'no history', as Alvarez characterises borderlands (Alvarez 1995: 448). Their mode of transportation and their settlement in those specific areas rendered boundaries, border crossings and identity issues particularly important for the refugees, not only during their stay in the host country but also during repatriation. This is how Stamatia⁴ remembers her 'weird journey to refugee-land':

'Dirt and stink. Dirt and stink. We were all piled in a small hold, filthy, hungry for days, scared to go upstairs, because we did not know what would happen. I do not even remember how long we spent under these conditions. Now that I am thinking about those days, until we crossed the Greek territory, I sometimes believe that it lasted only for a moment and some others that it was an eternity. Time had stopped for us. Crossing borders was the milestone that made us alive again.' (Thessaloniki, 02/04/2006)

In the early 1950s, almost 13,000 Greeks had settled in Czechoslovakia. They constituted 24 per cent of the total number of people who left Greece, which is the second largest group after the 26 per cent who went

⁴ All names used are pseudonyms.

Georgia Sarikoudi*

Social Borders and their meaning in repatriates' life. The case of Greek Civil War refugees in former Czechoslovakia

Borders are traditionally defined as 'international boundaries between nation-states' (Alvarez 1995: 449). However, a border is not only a geographical and political frontier; there are borders of various kinds, such as cultural, economic, social, etc. These kinds of borders are quite difficult to recognise and cross because there are no discreet signs marking them. Territorial units are defined not by static lines but by sets of practices and discourses, which 'spread' into the whole of a society and are not restricted to border areas (Paasi 1999: 671).

This paper deals with the repatriation of Greek political refugees¹ from former Czechoslovakia and the way that crossing borders influenced their adjustment in Greece. Social borders played a significant role in repatriates' efforts to be placed again into their country. For my informants, returning home² after 30 years of living in a foreign country and adopting new cultural and political identities was more complicated and stressful than simply adjusting to the 'host' country. The longer the time of exile, the more fraught with difficulties is the return.

Before referring to the particulars of the situation, some comments on the history of the repatriates are in order. By the end of the Greek Civil War in 1949, fighters of the Democratic Army of Greece,³ young children, even the population of whole villages, had to leave the country in order to protect their lives from bombing, executions, starvation etc. Balkan socialist states, such as Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria sheltered the refugees until the Greek Communist Party came to an agreement with

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¹ This is a term used for those that had moved to former socialist states during 1946-9. After their repatriation, these people prefer to use the term 'political refugees' rather than 'repatriates', and this is because, as Voutira points out, 'people don't discard their identity to get another one, like a snake discards its skin' (Voutira 1989: 59).

² Political refugees were regarded as 'acting against their country' and were deprived of their citizenship, nationality and right to return home. The situation changed only after the collapse of the dictatorship in 1974.

³ The Democratic Army of Greece consisted mostly of members of the Greek Communist Party.

Why were they so anxious to return? Homesickness and nostalgia, informants answer. Nostalgia of what? What was the home they so desired to return to? For my informants, the concept of home has two meanings: the place that someone was born and grew up and the social relationships established in that place. According to this description, the home they were dreaming to return to was not only the national state of Greece but also the house and the neighbourhood they had lived before their departure for Czechoslovakia as well as their friends and relatives they had left behind. However, one can go back to a place, but cannot go back in time. During their stay in Czechoslovakia, refugees had become accustomed to a different way of life and a different culture and this obviously affected their attitudes. Nevertheless, they were not the only ones who had changed. The places where they were born, the people they used to know and the more general political and social circumstances they had left behind were not the same. Yet, they expected that they would find everything almost the same as it was before their departure. However, reality did not match their imagination and the only thing that was left from their past in Greece was their memories. All repatriates had found it difficult to recognise the area that they used to call 'home'. They had crossed every artificial and physical border to return to their country, but their 'coming home' took place quite later. After the initial period of joy, repatriates realised that the contrast between their reminiscences and reality was sharp. As Kostas confessed:

'When exactly did repatriation happen? When we left the train station? When we crossed the borders? When we showed our passports to the Greek custom officer? All these years that I was living in Czechoslovakia I thought that simply by returning to Greece everything would be exactly as I left it 30 years ago. But everything was new. Nothing matched my memories.'
(Thessaloniki, 05/07/2006)

For better or worse, the past cannot come to life through memory. There is no return to a *status quo ante* (Kibreab 2002: 55). Therefore, refugees came to Greece, but they did not actually return. As repatriates, they found it hard to reconcile with new state policies and with social changes that had accumulated during their absence. This was perhaps the major

to the Soviet Union (Psarrou 2005: 42). Although the Czech government provided Greeks with rights and opportunities that did not differentiate them from native citizens, Greek communist leaders were reassuring refugees that their stay in the host country would be temporary and that they would return to their home country soon (Hradecny 2007: 92). None of them could foresee that they would live in exile for almost three decades, nor did they anticipate that their children would grow up in this foreign country. Koula narrated to me a characteristic example:

'Most of us were living with the desire to return. As my friend used to say "there are five members in the family: two sisters, our parents and the wagon". The fifth member was the wagon. The wagon was actually a room in their apartment, where they were gathering the things that they would take with them on their departure. This is something that only those who live outside their country can understand. We were expecting that soon enough we will go to Greece.' (Thessaloniki, 26/05/2006)

The repatriation was conducted in two phases. The first was during 1953-4. At that time, those returning were people who had left as children and who were being sought through the Red Cross by their parents who had stayed behind, the soldiers of the Greek National Army and finally those political refugees who expressed a wish to go back (old people, whose families were living in Greece, had priority). Whoever applied for return had to fill a questionnaire concerning their political beliefs, their values and views of the Soviet Union and to renounce Communism (Psarrou 2005: 41). This procedure discouraged the majority of refugees – especially the members of the Communist Party – from applying under these insulting and humiliating conditions. The second phase began with the end of the dictatorship in 1974. The then Greek Prime Minister, Konstantinos Karamanlis, abolished the law depriving political refugees of their citizenship and nationality and allowed them to repatriate. It is estimated that between 1974 and 1990 10,000 refugees from Czechoslovakia returned. In 1996-7, the Pan-Hellenic Union of Political Refugees reported that there were 2,100 Greeks still living in former Czechoslovakia (Psarrou 2005: 47).

minds, the term 'political refugee' evoked communism, Civil War, traumatic experiences they would rather leave behind. In addition, locals perceived the presence of repatriates as a burden and more specifically as a threat against their own employment prospects and their access to social benefits and privileges. Thus, they built a barrier, a social border against repatriates, excluding them and making them feel a 'foreign body' separated from the rest of the Greek community. The fact that repatriates were exposed to such attitudes on an everyday basis made them feel isolated and insecure and this situation reinforced their sense of having a special, separate identity and encouraged their efforts to create a community in which they could feel security and solidarity. At this point, it should be mentioned that prejudice among locals and repatriates was mutual and symmetrical. Every border has two sides. While the former embraced the stereotype that all those repatriating from Eastern Countries were communists, atheists and responsible for the Civil War, the latter defined local Greeks as lazy, vulgar and insidious. Repatriates had also created a border for all those Greeks that didn't share the identity of the political refugee and repatriate, offering at the same time to their group an aura of uniqueness. Manolis said to me:

'When I compared myself and all those who came from Czechoslovakia with local Greeks, I felt that we were naive in a way. We were not furtive, like the people here. They do not consider you as a friend if you don't have money. You don't count.' (Aridea, 17/05/2006)

Likewise, Ifigeneia mentioned that:

'they [local Greeks] were so uncivilised and uncultivated that they could not recognise the refinement and the capabilities that we, who came from the Eastern European countries, had.' (Aridea, 15/05/2006)

This bitterness that repatriates felt, contributed to a sentiment of isolation and enforced their idea of carrying a special identity. Their tendency to call themselves *'we, the Czechs'* implies their will to distinguish themselves from local Greeks. By this mean, they tried to establish their cultural difference, that was based on their intellectual background and

problem that made their adjustment so painful. Anticipating to find familiar circumstances, they actually had to come to terms with a strange and sometimes hostile environment, to which they had no choice but to try to adapt to (Warner 1994: 170-172; Zetter 1988: 100).

Upon arrival, the first concern of repatriates was finding a place to stay. Initially they accepted the hospitality of friends and relatives, most of whom were also repatriates. During the first years, while trying to adjust, repatriates found themselves in a liminal, marginal condition, a condition in which 'it's not necessarily clear exactly where you are or where you are from, and that can make you only partially visible, only partially connected' (Green 2005: 1). Repatriates were neither fully integrated into Greek society nor cut off from Czech attitudes, they were *in betwixt and between*, in Turner's terms (Turner 1995: 95). They were in between two different statuses in two different worlds. Of course, this condition was not very different from the one they were in back in 1949, when they arrived at Czechoslovakia as refugees. Moreover, the strategy they followed in Greece was not very different from the one they had resorted to then. At the time of settlement in Czechoslovakia, they had tried to stick together within the Greek community, by living in the same neighbourhoods and bonding their relationships through marriage. The principles that had helped them survive in the new country and maintain their identity as Greeks were mutual assistance, interdependence and cooperation. These were exactly the principles to which they tried to aspire to upon their return to Greece. Their first concern was to stick together. Thus, they tried to rent or buy apartments close to each other. Each new arrival tried to find out where friends had settled, hoping to find a place to live nearby. Furthermore, they provided support for each other and sustained kinship ties, thus creating a functional social network (Stokes 1990: 169). These strategies seem to be a form of 'constructive resistance' (Papataxiarchis 1999: 159) to the marginal position they were allocated. Their need to be among others who shared the same memories would probably have been less intense if 'local' Greeks were less cautious and sometimes openly hostile towards them. Every informant said that at least one incident made him or her feel unwanted in his or her own country. The suspiciousness that indigenous Greeks felt is perhaps not surprising, considering the political and social context of the times. In their

'This situation made me feel uncomfortable. Especially when my brother and my old friends were talking to me about people who I did not know, as if I knew them. All these years I wasn't part of their lives and they were not of mine. I preferred to talk about football, basketball, something neutral or much better not talk at all.' (Thessaloniki, 10/10/2006)

Finally, there are cases of relatives who had taken advantage of the refugees' property. As expected, they were not pleased to see the original owners returning and claiming their rights (Harrell-Bond 1989: 58). In these cases, the relationship between 'locals' and repatriates was characterised by tension, conflict and sometimes chronic litigation. Petros said:

'When my wife went to her village, she saw her mother's house inhabited by some strangers. She could not believe in her eyes. The most amazing thing was that they were annoyed by her presence and accused her of abandoning her mother all those years. They said to her "You are the reason why we live here". We consulted a lawyer, but we could not afford to take that family to court and claim her rights. Fortunately, the Greek government compensated my wife for the fields that were taken by the State and with that money we bought this small apartment.' (Thessaloniki, 12/11/2006)

In conclusion, repatriates crossed a number of borders from their 'flight' from Greece until their repatriation. However, nothing affected their life more than the constant effort to adjust to their country after their return and to be an active part of the Greek society. The invisible social borders that some people raised against them, in the first years after their return were initially difficult to demolish, but 30 years later have disappeared. Repatriates have integrated into Greek society, adapting their Czechoslovakian cultural heritage to the Greek way of living.

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their lifestyle in Czechoslovakia, elements completely diverse from those of indigenous Greeks.⁵

Moreover, these stereotypes influenced relations not only between people who did not know each other personally, but also among relatives. Lack of communication with parents, brothers and friends and the fact that repatriates had adopted the Czechoslovakian habits complicated their reunion with kins that had stayed behind. Most of the repatriates had left Greece as children and when they returned, 30 years later, they knew little of their families (Paton 1990: 8). In fact, they could not feel much for them; they were strangers. Marios said the following about his father:

*'I took care of him when he got sick, because I had to; he was my father. However, we did not have anything to say to one another. I lived half of my life there, while he was here. Apart from our kinship ties, there is nothing to bind us.'*⁶ (Thessaloniki, 27/08/2006)

As Tasos admits, plenty of nights in Czechoslovakia he could not sleep, because he was wondering what he would feel when he would see his brother. He was trying to imagine how his brother would look like; he was even rehearsing his words, his gestures. His wife did not share his anguish. For her, every problem would magically be solved simply by their return. Nothing else would come up after this. When that moment finally came, Tasos confessed that he was very nervous. The time that he would face reality had arrived (Muggeridge and Dona 2006: 420). Nevertheless, that moment was far away from what he had ever imagined. The only thing he remembers from that time is some seconds of constraint and a clumsy shaking of hands. The most difficult part was when the two brothers tried to 'coordinate' their memories. They thought that they were affiliated by the same experiences, the same recollections. Unfortunately, they were not.

⁵ René Hirschon in her book describes a similar situation between refugees from Asia Minor that settled in Kokkinia and local Greeks. The first used to call the latter 'rude' and 'people from the mountains', trying to underestimate them (Hirschon 1989: 89-90).

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inction between the point of view of the permanent residents and that of the de-territorialised members of Fourka. The different perceptions of the two population groups regarding issues related to the history of the community, such as the existence of a local patron-saint, the 'Saint Maiden of Fourka', serve as significant indicators of a diversified interpretation of the community as a whole. Examining the ongoing debate about the 'Saint Maiden', which allegedly originates from Fourka, and through the different discourses related to it, our study will attempt to depict the transformation of Fourka into a *symbolic community* and the implications of this notion / status for the community. In addition, we will interrogate the concept of Fourka as an identity and its interrelation with the regional identity of Pindus as well as the predominant national identity defined by the state.

The initial interest in the issue of the 'Saint Maiden' emerged after our first visit to Fourka. The ethnographic material in this study was collected during fieldwork conducted in Fourka (August 2008) and Thessaloniki (October 2008), including interviews with members of the community of Fourka. The analysis focuses on the initial division between the local and the de-territorialised community groups on the 'Saint Maiden of Fourka' issue. The former, however, do not present a unified point of view and a number of the permanent residents identify with the views expressed by the latter group. Overall, in the dialogue amongst the contested parties various symbolic borders, which express this division, could be observed.

Throughout the interaction of the research team with the local community, the collection of information was achieved with a model of open conversation and unstructured interviews. In specific, the team contacted 11 key informants. The taping of the process was generally authorised. During the discussion, the prevailing issues were the institutive myths of the community, the competition with neighbouring communities, the history of the community, with emphasis on the 1940s, and above all the reception of the story of the 'Saint Maiden of Fourka' amongst its inhabitants.

An important dimension that emerged during the interviews as having a direct effect on the community of Fourka was the mass exodus of locals towards the Greek urban centers and abroad during the post

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**Within the community of Fourka: The case of the 'Saint Maiden'.
Discourses and symbolic meanings**

The term 'community' usually refers to the built environment and the socioeconomic and administrative structures of a collectivity. It also refers to a sense of common belonging, a concept which is formulated in relation to the specific social structures and relations that also correspond to a specific ethos, which is a product of communal life (Nitsiakos 1996: 48).

The present study focuses on the mountainous community of Fourka in the Prefecture of Ioannina. The community is located in the broader area of the Pindus mountain range, at 1450-metre height. It shares borders with the Prefectures of Kastoria and Grevena, and is 40 km away from Konitsa. Fourka was incorporated in the Greek state in 1913. From an earlier population of 900 inhabitants, mostly Vlach speaking, it counts only 117 inhabitants in the more recent census of 2001. Its population fluctuates during the year and the reported numbers vary. According to locals, the population is not more than ten people during the summer, while the official site of the community states 25 inhabitants as permanent residents, with the addition of 75 more during the summer months. It should be noted that, after the state reshuffle in 1997, Fourka constitutes one of the 13 current administrative communities of the Prefecture of Ioannina. An important historical fact concerning the community of Fourka is that it has participated in all the wars that defined the Greek state, both national-liberation and civil, while it suffered heavy losses in the battles of the Second World War (Exarhou 2007).

The research team first visited Fourka in August 2008, with the primary research focus on the symbolic meanings of the community of Fourka for those descending from it. The case of Fourka constitutes a rich field for discussion on the perceptions of a community, with a basic dis-

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Photo 1

The shrine at the entrance of the village of Fourka

(Photo: the authors)



Photo 2

The Saint Maiden of Fourka

(Photo: the authors)

According to documented narratives (interviews with key informants, August 2008), the Saint Maiden of Fourka was introduced to the community by the Association of Fourkiotes of Thessaloniki. They claimed that the board of the Association, after having seen a shrine and a chapel in Vrontou Pierias and having heard the narrations of the locals

Second World War period in Greece. Due to the rural exodus and the weakening of the once financially, socially and culturally thriving mountainous areas, many inhabitants fled to the nearby urban centers of Ioannina and Thessaloniki (Nitsiakos 2003: 51). Following the exodus of the population from the boundaries of the community, the relocated former inhabitants created unions, such as the Association of Fourkiotes in Thessaloniki and the Association of Fourka of Konitsa, 'Panagia Kladormi' based in Ioannina, which were founded in 1959 and 1978 respectively (www.fourka.gr). These Associations function as 'intermediate influences' in the context of the accession and integration of the migrants in their new places of settlement (Damianakos et al. 1997: 295).

In such cases of migration, the social subject that is being integrated in the urban environment experiences a contradiction as a consequence of its social transition. On one hand, the subject has to be integrated in the new environment and, on the other, there is a correlation between the degree of integration and the subject's gradual alienation from their roots. This process produces a mythology about the past and tradition, which is enriched by the tide of folklore that pervades the urban population and dominates the Associations, especially in the post Second World War period (Damianakos et al. 1997: 295). In order to identify the specific character of the de-territorialised community, in our case the members of the Associations, we first needed to examine the patterns and the content of their myths and symbols, their historical memories and key values, the mechanism of their diffusion in the given population and their bequest to the following generations (Cohen 2003: 99). It is within this frame of a conscious detachment from their roots and the need for the creation of a mythology that the construction of the 'myth of the Saint Maiden' must be placed.

The emergence of the 'myth of the Saint Maiden' is calculated around 2005, according to the reference on the shrine at the entrance of the village Fourka. On this modern looking shrine, the 'Saints of Pindus' (Saint Kosmas Etolos, Saint Nikolaos, Saint Paraskevi and Saint George of Ioannina) are depicted forming a cross, with the Saint Maiden being placed on the central and highest spots of the shrine, while the rest of the saints are placed in direct arrangement under her dominant representation.

whores so we made our female saint [...]' (Interview with key informant, August 2008).

The different discourses about the existence of the Saint Maiden establish a defining framework among the social subjects of the community, thus constructing internal conceptual boundaries. The boundary as a concept, depending on the collective cognitive process that formulates it, is defined in our case through two different collectivities (Kaftantzoglou 2001): the inhabitants of Fourka and the de-territorialised social subjects of the community. These two collectivities are interconnected through their experienced relation to the same space. They are defined by the space and through their experienced relationship with the community they live in. They form a sense of common belonging based on specific structures and relations, which maintains communal life and transforms the anonymous space into a place. In a place, the members of a social group construct their collective identity by acknowledging their relationship with each other. They recognise the traces of communal history and appreciate its continuity. In this sense, the place acquires symbolic value. It also challenges the symbolic system of those who inhabit it. This is a symbolic construction. It is shaped by communal demands and hierarchies. It is formed according to the ways the community perceives its place and identifies its norms and values. Place becomes the locus where the community's ethos, beliefs and social codes are produced (Nitsiakos 1993). In our case, however, the de-territorialised social subjects – having long been detached from the structures that reproduce the community, while simultaneously retaining a strong sense of 'belonging' to it – try to intervene in that space, something that introduces contradiction among the inhabitants of the community. In the case of Fourka and through the issue of 'Saint Maiden', it is not the community's ethos that is being challenged, but the level and the reasons of the interference of the de-territorialised subjects, which is being perceived by the inhabitants as an attempt to change the history of the community.

But why does the de-territorialised community insist so intensely on the story of the 'Saint Maiden'? In order to answer this question we must take into account Cohen's remarks about the symbolic construction of communities (Cohen 2003). He argues that 'the conditions that challenge the vigour and structure of the community urge the social subjects to de-

about the arrival of a Maiden in the area of Vrontou, were mobilised to learn more about her story and concluded that the Maiden who lived and died in the area of Vrontou originated from Fourka. According to bibliographical references, however, there are other places that claim her origin too and various versions of her biography in circulation (Tsakirides 1993). All these versions refer to Epirus as her place of origin, but there is no specific reference to the community of Fourka. Moreover, the informants insisted that the Maiden of Vrontou was the same as that of a popular narrative that was common in the community of Fourka, according to which a Maiden who was born in Fourka left the village because a 'Turkish Pasha' was persecuting her and then all traces of her vanished. The Board of the Association of Fourkiotes of Thessaloniki identified the representation that appears in all the biographical references of the Saint Maiden of Vrontou with the above narration about the Maiden from Fourka who left the village. It should be noted that none of the representations of the Saint Maiden, either in Vrontou Pierias or in the Church of Panagouda in Thessaloniki (the icon of which was copied for the construction of the shrine at the entrance of Fourka), refer to a specific place (e.g. Saint Maiden of Olympus, Saint Maiden of Vrontou). Only on the icon on the shrine at the entrance of Fourka was there a reference to a specific place: 'Saint Maiden of Fourka'.

However, the reception of the story of the Saint Maiden by the inhabitants of Fourka and the discourses about her that were developed since present a 'dual expression' of the community. On one hand, the Association of Fourkiotes, presents a unified discourse about the existence of the Saint Maiden and her origins and, moreover, intensively promotes associated activities in the community. On the other hand, the inhabitants of Fourka itself express a diversity of views. Some of the inhabitants think that the efforts of the Association contribute greatly to the construction of the historical continuity of the community, while other members of the local community consider the emergence of the story of the 'Saint Maiden' as a construction, and even an attempt on behalf of the Association to dominate communal life from a distance.

In our conversations about the Saint Maiden of Fourka, one of our informants intensely argued that the Saint Maiden never existed: '*[...] each village has its own bell and its own whore, in our village, we had many*

key informants, August 2008), places the wider region of Pindus firmly in the Greek national space and supports the principle of national homogeneity.

In conclusion, the claim that Fourka is a 'contested' community is founded on the grounds of three separate arguments. First of all, the fact that the de-territorialised community is in conflict with a fraction of permanent residents concerning the existence of Saint Maiden attributes to Fourka the status of a symbolic community, with different interpretations for each group. Second, within the community of Fourka, the division is expressed through the contrasting opinions amongst the inhabitants about the acceptance of the myth and its implications for the identity of the community. Third, the 'contested' status is in order, in the sense that the inhabitants have to assert their equal accession to the nation state compared to other communities, while a significant portion of communication is conducted in a language other than the one of the official state.

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defend themselves by validating and reinforcing the boundaries of the community at a symbolic level' (Cohen 2003: 99). In our case, in the context of historical changes, Fourka has undergone both processes within its structural boundaries. In fact, it is the case of a community where the collective consciousness is being conceived in a different space, namely in the urban centers, and it is being reproduced in mainly symbolic terms. The symbolic reserve of the social group of the de-territorialised community appears as a reservoir of various resources, which it draws upon in order to defend its special identity and establish its defining boundaries.

In this sense, the story of the 'Saint Maiden of Fourka' has a dual symbolic function. On one hand, it promotes the introduction of the community of Fourka to a wider social and spatial community, that of Pindus. The saints depicted on the shrine at the entrance of the village actually serve the intention of equal participation of the local – Fourka – to the regional – Pindus – level. On the other hand, the story underlines the special identity of Fourka, as the community is able to contribute its own saint to the so-called 'Saints of Pindus', ensuring its continuity and simultaneously differentiating itself. After all, the meaning of the term 'community' implies both similarity and difference, while it expresses the contrasting viewpoints of a social group against other social and spatial units (Gupta and Ferguson 1997: 13-14).

Spaces, places and landscapes, such as Pindus, function as connotations of national identity in an historical context. The emergence of Pindus as a distinctive region contributed significantly to the promotion of Greek positions, mainly against the claims of an emerging Albanian nationalism, but also against Romanian nationalist discourse (Potiropoulos 2007). For a long time there was a territorial dispute with Romania, which opposed the annexation of the Vlach speaking populations of the wider region of Pindus by Greece in 1912. As a result, in 1918, a group of Vlachs who resided in Pindus declared the Principality of Pindus in Koritsa, which only lasted a day. Many Romanian schools and churches were built at the time of the dispute in the Greek territory (Divani 1999: 97-100). Under these circumstances, the national determination of the Vlach speaking population of the region was under negotiation by the Greek state. Subsequently, the statement of our informants that all the Saints of Pindus spoke Greek, including the Saint Maiden (interview with

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

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Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

struggling to adapt to new markets. Along with locals, they now take integration into their own hands, designing individual, family and community strategies of inclusion in order to accommodate historical predispositions, shifting socio-economic needs and formidable legal barriers to citizenship.¹

It is vis-à-vis these needs and barriers that integration on various existential levels is now often achieved. Such metonymic ethnic replacements or exchanges conjure the very contentious issue of repopulation in Greece, one of the many European countries with a birth rate that stands in a negative relationship to its immigration rate, and can potentially complicate the economy, which currently demands a class of cheap labourers, maintained by its exclusion from citizenship rights. While Albanian workers allow for a return to traditional agriculture, for example, enabling Greeks to maintain their senses of self and place in the face of sweeping changes, Albanians remain quintessential 'others'. Their new socio-economic roles impinge on 'traditional' ones. Athina Athanasiou (2006) notes opposing perspectives that see new immigrants as an 'injection of new blood' in the 'hemorrhaging Greek body' or a 'swamping over-procreating "other"' (Athanasiou 2006: 239-240). Beyond the need to naturalise immigrants in order to support the social security system, Athanasiou analyses the needs for and limits to 'intelligible kinship' (Athanasiou, 2006: 241).

While simultaneously moving in the direction of a more civic nation in order to meet EU guidelines concerning human and minority rights, many new references to 'locals' (*dopyi*), and 'outsiders' (*xeni*), have emerged on many levels and scales in the Greek state, presently the most ethno-national of Europe (Eurobarometer 2006).² Ribas-Mateos refers to Greece as 'one of the clearest expressions of social inequality in the context of the European Union' (Ribas-Mateos 2005: 41). As with the position of Spanish farmers described by Liliana Suárez-Navaz (2007), rural Greeks play a frontline role in forging the criteria for the European identity in conjunction with as well as in opposition to migrants. The slowing

¹ Vassilis Nitsiakos (2003), for example, furnishes testimonies of many Albanian migrants in Greece that reveal telling variations in their experience of inclusion / exclusion.

² Similarly, the Migration Integration Policy Index, funded in part by the European Commission, recently placed Greece 24th out of 28 European countries.

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Contemporary European Regionalisms and Social Ties: recent immigration, neo-rurality and opportunities for ethnography in the Greek countryside

Introduction

In the new 'immigrant states' of Mediterranean Europe, foreign workers are fast becoming pragmatically essential in the production of contemporary 'regional', 'traditional', 'rural' and 'alternative' economies and forms of social organisation. Natalia Ribas-Mateos has described the northern Mediterranean countries as a 'common space' for migrant groups and flows, one in which de-industrialisation, the need for cheap agricultural labour and eldercare as well as other factors combine to characterise it as a paradigmatic barometer of the 'global migratory context' (Ribas-Mateos 2001, 2005). The social and economic positions of recent immigrant workers, variously manifested as refugees, repatriates, foreigners, labourers, entrepreneurs etc., must be evaluated from a number of different perspectives in order to understand developing ethno-national norms, values and boundaries in Greece, in Europe and around the world in the contemporary context of global migrations.

With the influx of migrants since 1989, Greece is experiencing the largest population change of EU members. A labour force consisted almost entirely of immigrants of a growing number of origins in conjunction with an emerging diversity of markets has begun to erode ties between people and place in 'neo-rural' or 'pluri-active' Greek countrysides (Kasimis and Papadopoulos 2005). Novel agro-pastoral practices and socio-economic relationships have developed, as has a generic xenophobia. These phenomena are exceptional. Greece remains one of the least economically developed and most socially exclusive EU members. Its rural economy and forms of social organisation have not undergone such sea changes since national unification in the nineteenth century. Immigrants have begun to occupy myriad local roles. Notably, there is a lack of farmers to work fallow land in depopulated areas and replace aging farmers

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'the change in the policy approach, prompted by integration into the EU and the presence of a large immigrant population in the country, involves a redefinition of Greek identity'. This takes on specific new roles in rural areas: 'Concepts of national identity have taken on new importance as they serve to organise the new relations of agricultural productions and facilitate the incorporation of the region into EU markets' (Lawrence 2007b: 170). While a new concern for ethnic groups in the anthropology of Greece in the Balkans has developed in response to the 1989 events and EU notions of 'unity in diversity' and a 'Europe of the regions', new immigrant contribution to national food production, regional narratives of rurality and the ways that lines of inclusion in and exclusion from the Greek ethnos that are concomitantly being drawn in specific agricultural sites in the Greek countryside, beg investigation. Ethnic hierarchies are fast developing according to the general fear of 'others' around the country but also according to the immigrant presence in particular occupational niches attributed with varying degrees of symbolic value. As new types of agricultural occupations develop in conjunction with new technologies and markets and become ethnicised as well as gendered occupational practices, they provide various opportunities to certain groups and not to others. Ribas-Mateos (2001) explains: 'in Southern Europe the exodus of the indigenous workforce from agriculture, the progressive tertiarisation of employment and the rise of so-called atypical jobs (temporary, part time, casual) are parameters which are clearly reflected in the occupational structure of the immigrant labour force'.³

Social institutions, such as family, ethnicity and rural villages (*choria*), continue to add order to ideologically and politically unstable social landscapes, such as those of the contemporary Greek countryside. An appreciation of the developing occupational capacities of ethnic groups

³ Lazaridis and Koumandraki (2001) similarly describe some of the stereotypical associations connecting certain immigrant minority groups with specific types of labour. Filipinas have become synonymous with domestic workers, Albanians with generic hard labour, Polish with decorating, etc. Ribas-Mateos continues: 'By and large, immigrants in Southern Europe are incorporated into the secondary segment of the labour market, where racial, ethnic and gender markers indicate their vulnerability and their confinement to certain employment niches; they are not placed according to their skills and qualifications' (2001).

economic growth rate and the shrinking EU funds since the Olympic Games and EU enlargement (Kasimis 2005) bring new pressure to bear on the current situation.

Developing regimes of agricultural production are particularly rife with varied forms of cultural differentiation resulting from the changing dispositions and practices of animal and plant management. Kinship-based networks have largely given way to function-based networks (Green, King and Nitsiakos 1998). New distribution techniques, forms of oversight and styles of difference-making have emerged. Farmers do not pay complex ethnic-, kinship- or gender-based attention to labour relations in *Merlin* orange tree pruning, kiwifruit harvests or cattle ranching, for example. Despite the divisions of labour that exist in these industries, these are not rooted in pre-EU history to the extent that sheep herding or the care of native peach, olive and grape varieties is. As traditional kin patronage systems are bypassed by functional EU farm subsidy programs, other social ideologies now make such accommodations. Preliminary fieldwork in apiculture and olive harvests in the Peloponnese in 2006 and 2007, along with anthropological studies of recent socio-economic re-productivity in agricultural regions of Greece, that engage this history of ethnic and regional conceptualisation in conjunction with workers now found in these places (Sutton 2000; Lawrence 2005, 2007a, 2007b; Gefou-Madianou 1999; Theodossopoulos 1999; Chang 1993, 2000), has drawn my attention to what Tim Ingold (2000) calls 'taskscape'- incidents that various social or regional boundaries develop from perceptions of and engagements with the environment. Such a focus evaluates social relationships in rural Greek communities amongst 'locals', migrant 'outsiders' as well as the various animals and plants that they co-manage. It draws attention to the role of agro-pastoral practices in social organisation in neo-'rural' Greece.

Greek ethnic and kin boundaries in the new Europe

Christopher Lawrence describes a [re]production of new topographical, biological and cultural features to Greek ethno-national identity, that lies squarely on the backs of immigrants themselves (Lawrence 2007b: 81, 179). Indeed, Triandafyllidou and Veikou (2002: 189) have written that:

seen to exist in a multifunctional and post-agricultural new rurality due to late industrialisation, large agricultural and tourist sectors and the continuation of an extensive family-based informal economy (Kasimis and Papadopoulos 2005). Greek rurality as well as ethnicity is largely determined by national historical norms of agricultural production and socio-economic patterns resulting from new technologies, industries, transnational markets and initiatives, global consumption habits and immigrants, that now amplify or semantically shift such older assumptions about place. New types of social relations with the land have been developed, leading to redefinitions, introduced by rural sociologists, social geographers, political ecologists and cultural anthropologists, of such constituents of the rural as 'farmers', 'food', 'rurality', 'nature' and their interconnections (Kasimis and Papadopoulos 1999). The consequent spatialisation of immigrant groups informs new Greek geographical as well as occupational spaces, that also contribute to regional identities.

Agriculture has retained significant symbolic and material value across Europe, despite the recent transformation of the European countryside from a relatively unified space organised around food production to many places organised around various types of neo-rural activities (Gray 2000: 33). Caftanzoglou and Kovani (1997) describe the polysemy of agriculture as a testimony of the significance of rural life to the future of modern Greece in the neo-rural milieu. Notable are the new niches for immigrants, depending on their ethnicity – as Albanians, Poles, Romanians, Bulgarians or Filipinos, Pakistanis, Sudanese, Iraqis, etc. – which have evolved in conjunction with new agricultural trends; what informs them and how they contribute to neo-rural and national social organisation.

Conclusion: scale of ethnography

While the first Community Agricultural Policy (CAP) can be seen to have helped to maintain the mutually constitutive relations between farming and rural space as they were historically conceived (Hadjimichalis 2003: 105), the second CAP, the LEADER program, Community Support Frameworks (CSF's) and INTERREG initiatives, supporting regional socio-economic ties and local or alternative forms of agricultural produc-

in conjunction with rural kinship systems in the contemporary context of order maintenance, as Michael Herzfeld (2007) has suggested, is necessary. The examination of the ways in which new residents, in their new capacities, participate in such traditional cultural codes and ideologies, as the socio-economic migratory practice of *kurbet*, neighbourliness (*allilovoithia*) or reciprocal labour exchanges (*allaksiés*) among cognatic and agnatic kin and co-ethics, can highlight new 'spiritual' and 'real' kinship systems. Considering these traditional elements of rural social organisation, one might wonder if Greeks see themselves now as so entirely Europeanised and preoccupied with state bureaucracy and the management of resources, that only more 'primitive' ethnic groups, such as Albanians, have the ability to think in ways that Greeks 'traditionally' had in the past. Ribas-Mateos contends that the arrival of Albanians in Greece not only led to the revival of Greek agriculture but to a rapid revitalisation of the traditional Greek farming methods in particular (Ribas-Mateos 2005: 19). Yet, certain types of 'peasant' behaviour are now less necessary or possible for Greeks, in much the same way that First Nations people undermine their belief systems by seeking to protect them in partnership with the Canadian state (Nadasdy 2003). While agriculture may be a cornerstone of modern Greece, traditional rural agro-pastoral social relations and practices are in many ways the antithesis of modern Greek life. As Greek farmers are neither ideal labour nor ideal capital and rely on cheap immigrant labour in order to 'resist', they stand alongside agricultural workers in the incompleteness of their transformation into a petty bourgeoisie. Thus, they share a historical and liminal space with new immigrants, however tentative the ethnic and kin boundaries between them and the new immigrants might be.

The re-territorialisation of rural Greece

Stathis Damianakos (1997: 193) has written: 'rural destinies have been linked with the process of building contemporary Greece's political, social and economic institutions'. However, as opposed to prototypical rural spaces in the anthropological record that have received much critique, such as those inhabited by the 'pastoralist', 'peasant' and 'fisher' (Asad 1979; Chang and Koster 1994; Nadel-Kline 2003), rural Greeks are now

terial conditions of the Greek countryside have certainly changed in recent years, we should inquire in which way immigrant agricultural labourers are participating in these changes. We might hypothesise that, like apprentices, immigrants are 'situated' and 'peripheral' actors who have the potential to 'become effective and knowledgeable members of their respective local communities in ways that often subvert the ostensible norms of those communities' (Herzfeld 2004: 51).

Considering the contemporary processes involved in the spatial and temporal constellation of 'Self' and 'Other', according to which the 'ethnographic Other is constituted in highly dispersed, interpenetrating 'international communities' (Kearney 1998: 132), there is the need for a multisited approach to the understanding of ethnic communities. The notions of ethno-national identity and rurality on national and international level must be considered in order to comprehend their scalar complexity. An examination of citizenship rights, regional variation and new rural industries, such as tourism and Sultana grapes, on a macro level of Greek-EU relations, will be conducted as part of this study through structured and semi-structured interviews with members of the Greek Ministry of Rural Development and Food and the European Commission's Directorate General of Agriculture. This will be related to the variety of local adaptations to new policies, markets and migration, discovered through the ethnographic fieldwork described above. However the bulk of this research entails in-depth interviews with and participant observation alongside Greek farmers and farm-workers.

New funds available for 'traditional', 'regional' or 'European' ways of producing and marketing such products as national or regional wines, olives, *Feta* cheese and orange varieties in villages of the Peloponnese, make them particularly suitable places for situational studies of new kin and co-ethnics in a rural yet supra-national political economy. Olive harvests as opposed to intensive citrus farming and sheep husbandry as opposed to cattle ranching beg a phenomenological investigation in order to understand the role of new-work practices in forging contemporary Greekness. The Prefecture of Laconia, that has a long history of de/repopulation, is home to a group of migrants with diverse ethnic origins and is engaged in new endeavours that contribute to its 'post-agricultural' character. The wildfires that raged across this area in August

tion, have fostered new informal spaces that 'invite analysis to explore the realm of interpersonal relationships and the psychology of groups' (Ray 1999: 527). Everyday life on farms, especially in demographically and economically repopulated agricultural regions, can serve as a remarkable source of information on recent subtle and indirect forms of social differentiation (Triandafyllidou 2001). In much the same way that Herzfeld has focused on artisan workshops in Crete in order to show how such working spaces produce artifacts, such as 'persons framed as traditional artisans' (Hertzfeld 2004: 27), Greek farms can illuminate how such metaphors, as 'body', 'nation' and 'family', become 'grounded in the experience of everyday labour, love, and life' (Hertzfeld 2004: 36), how tradition can become a *vioma*, that is a 'lived thing'.

Entrepreneurial work habits or practices are key factors not only in the processes of socio-economic development but also in the socialisation of people in the Greek hierarchy of value. Fredrick Barth describes the entrepreneur's actions as contributing to the ascription of values and the entrepreneurial career as a mediating role, a process of 'resistance' (Barth 1963: 15) that, while subjected to social, political and economic constraints, it is a significant contributor to the cultural and political ecology of an area. Entrepreneurs help in constructing the iconic identity of the new Greek rural resident, the 'new farmer', who literally and metaphorically maintains villages as well as other rural places (Tovey 2003). The improvisational and entrepreneurial activities of new immigrants are also necessary to evaluate. Vis-à-vis their association with rural dispositions (Bourdieu 1977, 2004; Herzfeld 2004: 37) immigrants are instilled with and conceptualised as embodying various degrees of Greekness. Pierre Bourdieu (2004: 579) writes that ' [the "empeasanted body" is] burdened with the traces of the activities and attitudes associated with agricultural life'. Demetra Galani-Moutafi similarly describes the lasting effect of agricultural practice on social relations on the island of Samos, despite the addition of new tourist enterprises: 'the gender division of labour and the exigencies of the agricultural production system left their mark on the wider kinship system' (Galani-Moutafi 1993: 257). Nonetheless, she concludes that 'gender and kinship relations are not restricted to the construction of ideal roles. They evolve and change with the material conditions of men's and women's lives' (Galani-Moutafi 1994: 126). As the ma-

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of 2007 took an exacting toll on its inhabitants, further intensifying variables.

In juxtaposing the relationship between agro-pastoral life and ethno-national identity alongside comparable issues in Europe, an extension of analytical models concerning 'global cities' (Sassen 1991) and 'border cities' (Ribas-Mateos 2005) so as to include the study of neo-rural economic development and social relations in 'border' or 'global countryside' in EU peripheries, may shed light on the heterogeneity of globalisation, on what is initiating the rebordering of kin and regional boundaries in rural Europe and on what other borders might emerge there in the near future.

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seums, exhibitions and theme parks (Kratz 2002; Hendry 2000). I use this theoretical framework to look at the emergent 'global spaces of cultural display' that have been shaped by the new communication technologies (i.e. internet and mass media). These new spaces have a global nature, in that they 'gather localities' and communicate them further to transnational audiences (i.e. back to the local / other people's local). Local knowledge displayed for global consumption must comply with aesthetic criteria and meanings relevant to the viewers / consumers. This means that showing and displaying require ordering and organising of information, making it 'user friendly' and comprehensible (Dicks 2003: 12). In this space, culture no longer has the diffuse nature of the habitus described by Bourdieu (1989), but becomes objectified, gains self-reflexivity and can be a conscious choice (Appadurai 2002: 59). What is shown always depends on who the intended consumers are (foreigners / members of the same culture) and on who is creating the display.

Showing is a two way process, and often displays not only reflect social realities, but they also shape them. The representations of places and cultures promoted by the internet and the mass media very often construct pre-set expectations and the corresponding 'tourist gaze' (Urry 2001), the referential framework travellers use when they explore a place (Jansson 2007: 10-11). The 'politics of representation' touches upon much more than museums or exhibitions and is part of the contemporary negotiation of power over resources. Naming (or 'branding') is an act of power – it means appropriating and ordering (Mihăilescu 2006: 193). The dominant positions are taken by those who have the means (i.e. financial resources and access to global stages of display) to spread representations and by those who have knowledge and understanding of people's interests (pre-existing 'tourist gazes'). In the case of Romanian rural tourism, these powerful agents are not the local communities, but a wide range of intermediaries with non-local (urban), even non-national roots: tour operators, national and international NGOs with environmental and developmental agendas, as well as the National Tourist Agency that works under the direction of the Government. They brand not only places but also activities and life-styles, employing ideas of nature, cultural difference, beauty, authenticity, individual aspirations and self-fulfilment, which are offered as *experiences* and packaged in concepts like 'vil-

Maria Miruna Rădan*

Reasons and modes of authentication in Romanian rural culture

This paper is a summary of my MPhil thesis and explores why (the *reasons*) and how (the *modes*) leisure travel to (some parts more than others of) the Romanian countryside developed into an institutionalised practice known and marketed as 'rural tourism'. The practice has non-local roots, therefore many of the *reasons* of authentication I touch upon are set within a wider temporal and spatial framework. They are linked to historical changes typical of the Western (Euro-American) world and to the accompanying shifts in people's thoughts and values. Following Raymond Williams (1985) and Alan de Botton (2003), I discuss how the countryside, with its landscape and inhabitants, became a subject of aesthetic contemplation and consequently a tourist destination. However, rural tourism is just one, often not that clear-cut, variation within a highly institutionalised practice, and in order to understand it I also touch upon the more general role leisure travel plays in our contemporary world. Touring is a highly institutionalised behaviour, and many people feel they are not 'complete' if they do not travel or 'get away' from time to time. Being a tourist is part of modern selves and, as Judith Adler has insightfully pointed out, travelling can be seen as a performance for an audience in a process of shaping one's identity / personhood (Adler 1989: 1382). The kind of self-image people seek can be essential in determining their choice of travel destination.

Almost 40 years ago, suggesting travel should be considered an institution, Nash noted that, apart from answering social needs, this institution will develop needs of its own, 'needs which will make an interesting subject for further anthropologic enquiry' (Nash 1977: 49). Place branding and cultural display are among the needs gradually developed by the institution of tourism. A subchapter of my thesis is dedicated to the interlinked notions of *visibility* and *visitability* (Dicks 2003), that are central in turning a place into a tourist destination. It has been argued that displays have agency (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 6) and notions like 'the politics of representation' have been frequently touched upon in studies of mu-

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rience without even searching for the 'authentic' in its original meaning (coming from the past, being 'traditional' and so on).

My findings are drawn from a wide range of sources, including several short fieldtrips, a range of ethnographies, touristic guidebooks, promotional material and advertising websites of tour operators, of NGOs or of guesthouse owners, as well as from mass-media accounts (both foreign and Romanian).

The first case I discuss is set in Maramureş, a predominantly rural area in the north of Romania. Maramureş is depicted by the media, by guidebooks and by travel websites as being the country's most traditional place, with architecture, dress, customs and crafts preserved for 'hundreds of years'. This discourse places much weight on notions of 'authenticity' and, according to explicit statements of hosts interviewed by Hristescu (2005), tourists indeed come on a 'quest for authenticity'. They want to see how carpets are woven or how animals are milked, and often demand to try these out for themselves. Locals are happy to accommodate the tourists' wishes and set up demonstrations of such farm activities (some of which had been abandoned and just recently revived) or organise rides in horse-drawn carts. It has even become common for hosts in Maramureş to set up an 'exhibition room' in their guesthouse, where various hand-made objects are displayed for viewing by tourists and are often also available for purchase (see Photo 1). These include carpets, ceramics, icons painted on wood, pieces of clothing or bed covers.



*Photo 1.
The host in the exhibition room
Anca Guesthouse
(Etur 2008)*

lage tourism'¹, 'adventure tourism', 'ecotourism', 'cultural tourism', 'ethnic tourism', 'heritage tourism', 'geotourism'² and so on. Since a place can host many activities, this allows for diverse and flexible branding of the same destination and competition between the intermediaries.

Surprisingly, the role of such bodies has been almost neglected by anthropological and sociological approaches to tourism. The second part of my thesis turns to investigate the ways in which these institutions act as mediators between tourist demand and local offer. These determine the *modes of authentication* the title of this paper puts forward, which broadly refer to local responses prompted by non-local world-views and demands. I will look at and compare two popular destinations from the Romanian countryside, one attracting more foreigners while the other mostly domestic visitors. They illustrate how *Romanian rural culture* is not a homogenous entity, as the title might suggest, and how it can accommodate very different tourist gazes.

I have chosen the rather awkward notion of 'authentication' due to the two ways in which the concept 'authentic' is understood – sometimes with a thin line between the meanings: 'authentic' as having certain attributes (e.g. coming from the past, coming from a different culture), and 'authentic' as something that is what it claims to be, something true or genuine. Some have argued (MacCannell 1999; Selwin 1996) that tourism is underlined by a quest for authenticity. In an extremely diverse tourist market this may not be the general rule, but it seems that the concept of 'authenticity' does play an important role in informing people's decision to travel to *some* destinations and the notion is closely linked with the onset of rural tourism. However, as the two cases I researched show, its content is flexible and subject to negotiation and what matters are the social uses of the notion of 'authenticity'. Some tourists may feel they are engaging in a genuine ('true' / 'authentic') rural tourism experience.

¹ One of the five main objectives of The European Federation of Rural Tourism (EuroGites) is 'to define a European concept for Farm and Village Tourism, which will be protected by a brandname' (EuroGites 2005). EuroGites is an international association of rural tourism, with members in over 20 countries, including Romania.

² Defined and promoted by National Geographic as 'tourism that sustains or enhances the geographical character of a place - its environment, culture, aesthetics, heritage, and the well-being of its residents' (NGCSD 2008).

'People are used to tourists and just mind their own business [...] nothing is done for the public's eye'. Oddly, he tries to support his argument by adding that 'anyway, besides us [the journalists from Vacanțe la țară] there were only a TV crew and a professional photographer at the scene' (Bădulescu 2006: 18, my emphasis).

It is important to note that this image of Maramureș is deeply held by Romanians too, who see it as the only place where traditions remain unaltered and the peasant is still pure and 'authentically Romanian'.

However, drawing from the ethnographic evidence available (Cipol-lari 2002, 2003; Hristescu 2005, 2007) and from two brief fieldtrips I took in 2000 and 2007, I argue that many of the 'traditional' aspects of material and non-material culture which do persist should be put on the account of specific touristic demands and of the corresponding destination 'brand' the region has gradually acquired. There are, actually, many signs of change and modernity in Maramureș, the trend being perhaps even more pronounced than in many other parts of the Romanian countryside. This dynamic is influenced both by the financial inflow tourism brings and by significant labour migration abroad⁵. Returned migrants often acquire good cars and build modern-looking villas with satellite dishes, which are gradually changing the appearance of some regions⁶ and nowadays it is quite frequent to find hosts advertising 'two guest-houses, a new, modern one and a traditional one'. In this context, it remains to be seen how long locals will be able to accommodate the display of 'tradition' and 'authenticity' in their day-to-day lives.

In the second case study I look at another popular rural destination in Romania, but one which, in the absence of a unique and restrictive brand and due to a diverse kind of tourist demand (mostly domestic), has known a different development and a faster dynamic. This is a moun-

⁵ According to research conducted by Sandu, in 2002 Maramureș was among the Romanian regions with the highest incidence of labour migration abroad. Over seven per cent of the county's population had either worked abroad and returned or was working abroad at the time of the survey (Sandu 2004: 3).

⁶ The relation between migration and tourism has not been explored yet, but there is evidence (Hristescu 2005) that remittances and migrants' networks (of foreigners) often function as starting point for an enterprise in tourism.

The expansion of tourism in Maramureş started in 1992, when the international aid program *Opération Villages Roumains*³ (OVR) established the Romanian Villages Tourist Network. Fourteen villages were selected to be part of the pilot project. Each of them had a tourist information office set up, the future hosts underwent training and the first tourists were brought from the 'sister' Belgian villages. Rural tourism was seen as a means of boosting local economy and stimulating development. OVR's policy was to improve and restore houses without changing their original structure, rather than encourage locals to build new ones, and overall they promoted preservation of local material and non-material culture. No other influential organisations or big tour operators were active in the area, and small scale touristic entrepreneurship that locals developed subsequently followed the same philosophy. Altogether, these actors succeeded in conveying a powerful and coherent image of Maramureş as a deeply traditional place, an image which is taken as reference point in recognising what is 'real' and 'authentic' in a sight. It is suggestive to see what one of the reporters from *Vacanțe la țară*⁴, a magazine on rural tourism, noted after witnessing Sunday mass in Budești village, Maramureş:

'All that I knew from books, brochures or television was now unfolding in front of me. A large number of women and children were standing in the church's quad and all, absolutely all of them, were wearing traditional clothes. The men were not in sight, as they were inside the church. This is the tradition and this is how it was kept.' (Bădulescu 2006: 18, *my emphasis*).

He then notes:

³ OVR was set up in Belgium in 1988 and was not, at first, concerned with rural tourism. Its aim was to counter-act the *sistematisare*, Ceaușescu's plan of gradually destroying Romanian villages by transforming them into urban settlements. It involved adoption of some 2000 villages by Belgian and UK villages and, shortly after the fall of the communist regime, further connections were established between Romanian and Belgian villages and donations to the Romanian side were arranged (Turnock 1991: 259).

⁴ Which translates *Holidays in the Countryside*.



Photo 2

Image from the cover of *Vacanțe la Țară (Holidays in The Countryside)* No.3/2004, magazine issued by ANTREC. The text reads 'In Bran, the cradle of rural tourism'.

The National Association for Rural, Ecological and Cultural Tourism¹¹ (ANTREC) was instrumental in branding Bran 'the cradle of rural tourism'¹² by helping locals register and promote their homes as guesthouses and by setting up the first network of rural accommodation in Romania. Although it claims to have national and international recognition 'as a leader in the development of Romanian rural tourism, in encouraging the ecological spirit and preserving Romanian traditional culture' (ANTREC 2008), the Association shows little concern about those members who deviate from its declared values. On the contrary, ANTREC's website and publications feature increasingly luxurious and modern-looking lodgings and the NGO seems to have entered the competition for profit along with the big tour operators and entrepreneurs

¹¹ ANTREC is part of EuroGites, The European Federation of Rural Tourism and much of its principles were inspired by the French EuroGites.

¹² Although linked with ANTREC's initial promotional activities, this has turned into a widely used way of referring to the region. A simple search on Google for 'leagănul turismului rural' (*the cradle of rural tourism*) returns 205 results, all connected to Bran.

tainous area in the centre of the country, consisting of the villages of Bran commune and of some villages in adjacent communes. Rural tourism started to expand significantly in Bran at the beginning of the 1990s, the region being the first to spawn this type of private enterprise in post-communist Romania. In public discourse on rural tourism (media, NGOs) it is often referred to as 'the cradle of rural tourism'. This brand, together with a medieval castle also known as 'Dracula's castle',⁷ the area's scenery and its relative proximity to big urban centers, such as București⁸, Brașov or Pitești, or to the nearby skiing resorts Predeal, Bușteni and Sinaia, were essential in determining an assorted inflow of visitors. Consequently, Bran has been packaged in various ways, with guidebooks and tour operators' websites matching the different tourist gazes they anticipate and target. For instance, some may focus on the 'rural idyll' part⁹, where culture and tradition are included, while others may choose to package 'nature tourism', 'adventure tourism' or 'recreational tourism' in the areas surrounding the villages. Overall, Bran seems to be governed by different modes of authentication to those at work in Maramureș. It is not people or livelihoods that are the focus of display and discourse, but their guesthouses. The emphasis is on comfort, utilities and services, and there is a strong competition between owners. Central heating, a private bathroom for each room, TV sets, a barbecue and a parking lot are 'must-haves' for any lodging. Those with the means and the drive to stand out might add anything from internet, conference rooms, a gym, ping-pong table, a swimming pool with sauna and jacuzzi, or a tennis court. Particularly popular are the ATVs rentals – all terrain vehicles – that can be driven on narrow paths in the woods¹⁰.

⁷ For more information on how Bram Stoker's fictional character Dracula came to be linked with the Bran medieval castle see Light's (2007a, 2007b) detailed account.

⁸ The capital city of Romania is only 110 miles away.

⁹ When addressing foreign tourists, there is still a marked tendency to overemphasise 'authenticity', 'untouched nature', 'traditions' or 'folklore', while the descriptions play on ideas of contrast, contemplation, discovery and traveling back in time.

¹⁰ Note how trekking can be done from the 'tourist bubble' – people need not walk anymore, they can just ride ATVs. According to Nash, it is these tourists, who seek to keep with them all the comfort and facilities they have at home, who are likely to have the most impact on a destination (Nash 1977: 35).



Photo 2

*Image from the cover of
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active in the area. Together with the local authorities, ANTREC tolerates a number of legal inadvertencies. Most striking are those lodgings which exceed by far the number of ten rooms set by current legislation as the upper limit of a tourist pension, and more generally, those which are in obvious breach of the Urbanism Regulations. To attain the much-needed visibility, many of the newly built lodgings have brightly coloured facades, several stores and unusual architectural touches. Competition between entrepreneurs and their desire to stand out sometimes leads to surprising developments (See Photo 3 - the text printed on the facade reads 'American Dream').



Photo 3
New architecture in Bran's landscape

The first important observation that can be drawn is that Bran is a place in which the politics of representation is very real. There are many competing actors within a genuine tourist industry and they each shape Bran's landscape according to their understanding of it. Laws are being by-passed in the process and local administration, together with ANTREC, tolerates significant deviations from the regulations concerning 'rural tourism'.

It is interesting to see that the brand initially attached to Bran, the one thanks to which the area acquired visibility, is gradually been left devoid of content. As shown in the beginning of this paper, the discourse on rural tourism feeds from ideological strands which may now belong to a 'global space' but which have originated from particular (once local) realities (e.g. the 'triumph' of man over nature, the mistreatment of the

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It is interesting to see that the brand initially attached to Bran, the one thanks to which the area acquired visibility, is gradually been left devoid of content. As shown in the beginning of this paper, the discourse on rural tourism feeds from ideological strands which may now belong to a 'global space' but which have originated from particular (once local) realities (e.g. the 'triumph' of man over nature, the mistreatment of the

'primitive', the industrialisation of the countryside, the disappearance of the peasant, the 'disenchantment of the world'). When imported to places that have different social histories, the notions are bound to lose some of their 'authenticity'. They become 'nostalgia without memory', as Appadurai expressively described 'one of the central ironies of the politics of global cultural flows' of our contemporary world (Appadurai 2002: 48). Unlike Maramureş, where there is a high inflow of foreigners, in Bran most of the visitors are Romanians. They are driven by essentially different demands and 'tourist gazes'. The phenomenon can be seen as one of 'pseudo-gentrification': tourists are not really tourists, they do not *tour* or interact with the villagers, nor are they interested in local life-styles or farming. What they seem to value more are comfort, utilities, services and entertainment.

To better understand contemporary changes in Romania's countryside, particularly when some of these changes are driven by the very 'objectification' of rural culture, we need to look at villages and their inhabitants in a wider temporal and national context. Compared to other European states, Romania is a 'very rural' country, with almost half of the population living in villages (47.25 per cent of its 22 million inhabitants). In the not-so-distant past, the percentage was even higher and 76.6 per cent of Romanians were inhabiting rural areas in 1948 (RPL 2002). This demographic reality was reflected over time in the ways in which Romanian national identity was thought of and represented by cultural and political elites, and correspondingly in the ways in which Romanians learned to see themselves. Prior to the Second World War there was debate between two opposing groups, roughly labeled 'Europeanists' and 'Traditionalists'. Europeanists placed an emphasis on the Western path of industrial development, while Traditionalists were arguing that economical and political models of development imported from the West are incompatible with Romanian society. They stressed indigenous elements, which were seen as deeply linked with the rural space and the image of the peasant. The peasant was portrayed as 'the pillar of a vital economic and social order' and the village extolled as 'the preserver of "healthy" tradition and "authentic" national values' (Hitchins 1992: 1072). However, the debates came to a stop during the four decades of communist regime and were replaced by a nationalist political project. This relied on a

nation building ethnology, labeled 'folklore' or 'ethnography', which was concerned with charting only some aspects of material and immaterial culture (songs, dance), while leaving others out (Mihăilescu 2007: 20). This selection of local popular culture gradually reached the point where national folklore was used to support ideas of unity and continuity of the nation (Mihăilescu 2007: 247). Identity construction in Romania was therefore self-referential: the discourse about indigenous elements prevailed, while 'the Other' was either unspoken of or depicted in negative terms. The process was enforced by Romania's reclusion, with no freedom of speech and Communist Party monopoly over the mass-media, letting little (and usually distorted) images of the world outside the national borders¹³ go through.

After the change of regime in 1989, the explosion of satellite dishes and cable television quickly turned people into spectators for a wide variety of cultural displays. How did this change the way Romanians perceived themselves? As Boia shows, in communist countries 'the myth of the putrid West had its counterpart in a myth of the idealised West' (Boia 1998: 201). Once free from an oppressive regime, people were able to pursue the counter-myth. Moreover, since positive images of the 'authentic Romanian' were, for a long time, embedded in the excessively nationalist nation building project fostered by Ceaușescu's oppressive regime, after 1989 some of these images were rejected as part of the same mystifying discourse. Romanians were left with a reluctance to look at their distinctiveness and a wish to be like the 'Other', the modern Westerner, which had been denied to them for such a long time. This kind of self-image is reflected now in Romanians' present travel behaviour: domestic destinations are not very popular and, as shown, those that are popular do not build on discourses of distinctiveness, 'Romanian-ness' and so on. Moreover, this self-image is reflected in the self-representations Romanians build for foreign observers. If at the beginning of the 1990s Hitchins found Romanians to be 'at the crossroads of East and West' (Hitchins 1997: 1083), now, more than a decade later, it is obvious that Romanian

¹³ During the last years of Ceaușescu's rule, the national TV station aired only a few hours a day broadcasting only 'party and ruler' related material.

official policy took a 'Western' turn¹⁴. Accordingly, tourism promotion by the National Tourist Agency followed for a long time an ideological agenda underpinned by a wish to stress Romania's similarities with the West (Light 2006: 259) rather than its distinctive features.

Ironically, it is not local modernism of the type we can find in Bran, nor of the type promoted by the National Tourist Board, that puts Romania on the global scene, but local 'neotraditionalism' emerging in Maramureş, as Mihăilescu has insightfully noted: the Maramureş 'neotraditionalism' has actually 'annexed this "old" country to the mondialised world' (Mihăilescu 2006: 50).

Indeed, the Government's approach had little success in boosting tourism and the National Tourist Agency has long been blamed for not being able to convey a coherent image of Romania. The national media often comments on the country's 'branding crisis'¹⁵, a crisis which goes deeper than the public mediations to international audience and which is ultimately linked not only with the inherent ambivalence of Romanians' image of themselves, but potentially with a less commented identity crisis.

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¹⁴ Starting from January 2007 the country is part of the European Union. *

¹⁵ In 2005, the 'Branding Romania' website was launched as a space in which the intellectual elite would debate issues concerning the country's brand crisis. One of the articles published by Horia-Roman Patapievici, philosopher and director of the Romanian Cultural Institute, had an interesting point to make. He argued that, even if our essences, or realities, were flawless, we [Romanians] would still have trouble dealing with appearances and that the problem really lies in an inability to be capitalists 'all the way' (Patapievici 2005). Indeed, having 'culture on display' is conditioned by the existence of a culture of display. Bad representation or lack of representation can be due to poor image management. As it stands, Romanians may have not (yet?) developed a culture of display.

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Course by
Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

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- **Siting culture**

Prof. Kirsten Hastrup

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Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

Courses taught at the 2008 Konitsa Summer School in Anthropology, Ethnography and Comparative Folklore of the Balkans

Course director: Prof. Vassilis Nitsiakos

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Dr. Deema Kaneff, Dr. Georgios Agelopoulos, Dr Eleni Sideri, Dr. Alik Angelidou
- **The market & marketing of traditions**
Prof. Vintila Mihailescu
- **The migratory phenomenon: evidence and policies - Migration and Nation in the context of the late capitalism**
Prof. Charalambos Kasimis Dr. Yiorghos Tsimouris
- **Introduction to the study of oral tradition: Comparative method, field-work and ethnography"**
Dr. Marilena Papachristophorou, Dr. Hande Birkalan-Gedik

Intermediary course

- **Ethnographic research in border areas: Field practice in both sides of the Greek-Albanian border**
Prof. Vassilis Nitsiakos, Dr. Vassilis Dalkavoukis, Kostas Mantzos

2nd week courses

- **Ethnography of 'socially marginalized groups': Theoretical and methodological approaches**
Dr. Ljupco S. Risteski
- **Consuming post-socialism**
Dr. Evgenia Blagoeva, Dr. Ilia Iliev
- **Gender, sexuality, ethnicity: Complex routes**
Dr. Alexandra Bakalaki, Dr. Venetia Kantsa
- **Music and dance in the Balkans: Culture, identity, and power**
Dr. Panagiotis Panopoulos, Dr. Ioannis Manos

Workshops

- **The Balkans: Between Nationalism and Tolerance, Respect and Enjoyment in Others**
Prof. Dzemaal Sokolovic

Guest lectures

- **Ambiguity of Multiculturalism: Lessons from Bosnia**
Prof. Dzermal Sokolovic

NOTE: The syllabi are presented as submitted by the lectures. In case of courses taught both in 2007 and 2008, we publish the most recent syllabus.

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

Ethnographic Research in Border Areas: Field Practice in both Sides of the Greek-Albanian Border

COURSE SYLLABUS

Pr. Dr. Vassilis Nitsiakos, University of Ioannina

Dr. Vassilis Dalkavoukis, Democritus University of Thrace

Mr. Kostas Mantzos, University of Ioannina

Description

The aim of this course is to offer, both a theoretical knowledge and a practical, hands-on, experience of what it means to practice ethnographic research on a border area. In addition, through the short ethnographic trips planned, the participants will have the opportunity to contextualize their presence in the Summer School in Konitsa, by understanding and experiencing the area that host us, specially that part defined by the Greek-Albanian border, as an ethnographic milieu.

Teaching methods

Lectures, film screening, workshops and fieldtrips. Lectures are given in Greek and English.

Coordinators

Pr. Dr. Vassilis Nitsiakos is Professor of Social Folklore at the Department of History and Archaeology, University of Ioannina. He holds an M.A. in Folklore Studies (University of Leeds, UK) and a Ph.D. in Social Anthropology (University of Cambridge). His research interests include the study of Cultural Ecology, Nationalism and Ethnicity, Balkan Anthropology, Minorities, Migration, borders and identities. E-mail: b.nitsiak@cc.uoi.

Dr. Vasilis Dalkavoukis is a Lecturer in Ethnography of Greece at the School of History and Ethnology, in Democritus University of Thrace, Komotini. He holds a Master's degree in Modern History and a PhD from the Faculty of Philosophy in Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. His research interests include: local and ethnic identities in Greece. Email: vdalkavo@he.duth.gr

Mr. Kostas Mantzos is a Reseacher and PhD student at the Department of History and Archaeology, University of Ioannina. He holds an M.A. in History and Anthropology (University College London). His research interests include Social Transformation, borders and identity formation.

Introducing the object of study

State borders as sites of ethnographic research have as Wilson and Donnan point out a long, but not very deep history. Looking back to this history one can not avoid to stop at F. Barth's seminal work on ethnic groups and boundaries (Barth 1968). In the introduction of that volume, F. Barth, despite the fact that did not deal straightforward with state borders, he brought forward the value of localized studies for understanding how cultural landscapes are superimposed across social and political divides. There, also were posed the two leit-motifs of ethnographic research agenda of border areas. The first point was the socially constructed nature of (ethnic) boundaries and the second, related to the first was their porosity, meaning that no matter how well guarded borders are, they always are points of interaction and exchange.

As anthropologists started to address issues of nationalism, political economy, class, migration and the integration and disintegration of nation-states a distinctive body of anthropological work on international borders emerged. We can not avoid mentioning here the ground-braking work of Cole and Wolf (1974) in the Italian Tyrol, where they focused on the persistence of cultural frontier long after the political borders of state and empire have moved away. International borders started to look promising for researchers with an interest on the relation between local communities and the state. This was done either by focusing on how borders have influenced local culture (Kavanagh 1994), or on nation and state-building (Kopytoff 1987), or on people that choose or are forced to move across borders (Alvarez 1995, Hann and Hann 1992, Malkki 1992).

In the last decade of the twentieth century the study of the borders gained momentum following the political turmoil in the beginning of the nineties and the waves of mass immigration that followed. In the new world of movement and flux, borders seemed to be a condition of the past. New concepts were devised, such as transnationalism, (N. Glick Shiller et al., 1994) in order to describe migrant communities that defy national borders creating a dual existence at home and abroad. Following this, border or rather the crossing of, took over a strong symbolic meaning for the renegotiation of the relations between place, culture and identity (Clifford 1997). However, our focus during this course will be on the specificities of the Greek-Albanian border attempting to ground our theoretical investigations on the realities of the borderline.

In addition, borders are sites carrying immense historical burden. This being said a short introduction on the interplay of history and geography in the specific area is needed in order to contextualize our ethnographic field. The national borders are rather novel in this area and were drawn with great difficulty due to the ethnologically complex character of the area, which made it impossible to create an absolute correspondence among the specific ethnic groups, and the under construction national dichotomies. The drawing of the border was done, in 1913 initially, at the end of Balkan Wars, and finalized in the Paris Peace conference in 1921. The war years between 1912 and 1921 had forced the border populations in the most dramatic way to take sides. Further on, the arbitrary drawing of the borderline created islands of difference, or rather irregularity in terms of national rhetorics, on both sides of the border. This was the legacy of the multinational or multiethnic Ottoman Empire, where intermediate groups which were combining different "national" characteristics, co-inhabited the same space.

However despite the new political divisions, the border areas on the two sides remained substantially connected during the interwar years. Marital relations, and commercial exchanges did not cease to exist overnight, and supra-local routes that were cutting through the newly founded border retained their importance. It was only after the end of the Second World War and the Greek Civil War that followed, when the border area became once again a fighting ground, that the borderline became a line of sedusion. As the two countries fell on different sides of the post-war world the relations between the border areas were violently severed.

This dichotomy of space was felt quite strongly in the area of Konitsa, as in other border areas of Epirus, like Pogoni and Filiates further to the west. Villages and groups that retained close relations until then, like Konitsa with neighbouring Leskovik, were cut off, kinship groups, even families are separated, wider economic exchange networks cease to exist. To give just an example, mobile professional groups such as builders and transhumant shepherds were forced to change their routes, something that had severe consequences to their future.

The collapse of the communist regime in Albania led as well to an opening of the borders from below, an opening that to a certain extent one could support that leads gradually to the restoration of the lost historical unity of space. Old roads and footpaths are in use again, old social relations and kinship networks are restored and old and new forms of economic exchange are again taking place over the border. People, animals and commodities move from village to village and from country to country, crossing the border even in the course of the same day, creating a trans-national space where before there was only trans-local.

Possible Topics of Interest

Through this introduction, but mainly through the ethnographic trips we hope that participants will come up with individual topics and ideas on the importance of borders as sites of ethnological research. However we would like to put forward some topics that might be interesting to keep in mind:

- Understanding the border landscape
- Routes and Networks that cut through the border
- Local interpretations of the borders
- The presence/absence of Nation or State
- Sub-local divisions/groups/categories and their relation to the border
- Borders appearing and disappearing

Practical Issues

During the field trips, participants should be equipped with notepads, tape-recorders and cameras in order to store information gathered in the field. Learning how to keep a detailed diary should be considered part of the courses goals. No need to mention here that the use of such storage devices should be done with great cautiousness, and always with the consent of our informants, as it is quite easy to alienate the people that offer us their time, knowledge, and we hope confidence. That of course is the case in any social field chosen for social research, however is doubly so in border areas, where the constant presence of the state in past and present make people even more sensitive to intrusions to their everyday life.

References

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- King et al., (eds.), 2005, *The New Albanian Migration*, Sussex University Press, Brighton.
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- Malkki, L., 1992, "National Geographic: the rooting of peoples and the territorialization of national identity among scholars and refugees", *Cultural Anthropology* 7(1): 24-44.
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- Νιτσιάκος, Β., 1995, *Οι ορεινές κοινότητες της Βόρειας Πίνδου. Στον απόηχο της μακράς διάρκειας*, Πλέθρον, Αθήνα.

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

Anthropological Theory and the Understanding of the Balkans

The syllabus is developed by:

Dr. Georgios Agelopoulos, University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki

Dr. Alik Angelidou, Panteion University, Athens

Dr. Eleftheria Deltsoy, University of Thessaly, Volos

Dr. Rozita Dimova, Free University, Berlin

Dr. Deema Kaneff, University of Birmingham, Birmingham

Dr. Eleni Sideri, University of Thessaly, Volos

The 2007 – 2008 course is taught by:

Dr. Georgios Agelopoulos, University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki

Dr. Alik Angelidou, Panteion University, Athens

Dr. Deema Kaneff, University of Birmingham, Birmingham

Dr. Eleni Sideri, University of Thessaly, Volos

Course Description:

During the last decade the Balkans have attracted the interest of an increasing number of social anthropologists. Recently published papers and monographs have influenced both our understanding of the region as well as anthropological theory. The course looks at the origins of ethnographic accounts of the Balkans, the interwar fieldwork projects in the region, as well as the relationship between Mediterranean Anthropology and Balkan ethnographies. It also focuses on the postmodern perspectives of the Balkans, anthropological accounts of Balkan socialist/post-socialist societies and the permeability of the boundaries of "Europe" with regards to the "Balkans", while recognising at the same time that there is an increasing notion of "Europe" as being exclusively associated with the EU. We do not intend to cover all the anthropological literature on SE Europe. In addition, we are not encouraging the development of a "Balkan Anthropology". Our priority is to highlight the relationship between historical developments, epistemological paradigms and ethnographic research conducted in this region.

social and economic transformations and emerging inequalities and neoliberal reforms in Eastern Europe (Bulgaria and Ukraine).

Dr. Eleni Sideri is adjunct lecturer at the Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology, University of Thessaly, Volos. She holds an Ph.D. in Social Anthropology (S.O.A.S., London). Her research interests focus on diaspora, memory, language, the media and cyberspace, Caucasus and Central Asia.

Student assignments:

Students will be organized in small groups and will participate in a debate on "socialism vs. neoliberalism" based on set literature.

Course Outline

Lecture 1

Balkanism Reconsidered: theoretical reflections on constructing a region

Developed by Dr. Rozita Dimova & Dr. Georgios Agelopoulos

The starting point of our discussion is the relationship between modernity, social theory and area representations. The lecture will cover the rise of the significant and on-going polemics surrounding the body of literature addressing the Balkans as a political, topological and cultural construct. By providing the wider academic, but especially the anthropological, context, in which the discussion on the Balkans has been unfolding, I will trace the influence of Said's seminal work on *Orientalism* (1978) and its effect on subsequent works that expand and ground *Orientalism* in specific regions (Bakic-Hayden and Hayden 1992, Bakic Hayden 1995, 2006), or insist that *Balkanism* should be explicitly distinguished from *Orientalism* due to its non-universalizing connotation (Todorova 1994, 1997). How sharply can we distinguish between these (and other) constructs in "mapping" regions produced through different political and academic discourses? How convincing and helpful are concepts such as inventing, imagining, otherness/alterity of the Balkans in deconstructing negative representation of this region (Wolff 1994, Goldsworthy 1998)? Should we consider a dimension, as Kristeva insists, that embodies "strangeness within" that is not imposed or constructed by an external force or the "other" (Kristeva 1994)? What is the significance of the emergence of local (native) authors such as the members of the Bel-

Teaching methods:

Lectures, debate and ethnographic film screening. The course will be taught in English. Each lecture is organised and taught by one or two lecturers with the contribution of the rest of the team.

Instructors:

Dr. Georgios Agelopoulos is Assistant Professor at the Department of Balkan, Slavic and Oriental Studies, University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki. He holds a Ph.D. in Social Anthropology (University of Cambridge). His research interests include the study of Nationalism and Ethnicity, Balkan Anthropology, Minorities, and Migration.

Dr. Alik Angelidou is lecturer in Social Anthropology at the Department of Social Anthropology, Panteion University, Athens. She completed her PhD in Social Anthropology at Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, in Paris, exploring the socio-economic transformations in post-socialist rural Bulgaria. Currently, she carries out research on migration and multiculturalism in Athens.

Dr. Elefteria Deltson is Assistant Professor in Social Anthropology at the Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology, University of Thessaly, Volos. She holds a Ph.D. degree from Indiana University. Her research interests include the politics of culture and the past, issues of tradition and modernity, tourism, development and the EU.

Dr. Rozita Dimova is a research coordinator at the East-West Institute of the Free University-Berlin. She studied Ethnology at the University St Cyril and Methodius, Skopje (B.A.), History at the Central European University, Budapest (M.A.) and Social Anthropology at the University of Cambridge (M.A.) and Stanford University (M.A. and Ph.D). Her research interests focus on nationalism, Balkan identities and diaspora.

Dr. Deema Kaneff holds a PhD in Anthropology from the University of Adelaide, was a postdoctoral fellow at Cambridge University and Senior Researcher at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology (Halle) before taking up the position of Reader in European Studies, at the Center for Russian and East European Studies, University of Birmingham, UK. Her research interests focus on

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

important methodological and theoretical similarities. All of them are influenced by Structure – functionalism and the rural community studies paradigm. Their intention was to contribute to the debates on development and modernization in the interwar Balkans.

After WWII the agenda of anthropologist working on SE Europe is rather different. Ethnographic research that was carried in the Balkans in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s considered the area as part of wider Mediterranean. The idea of Mediterranean unity was introduced by the *Annales* historians who focused on social and cultural history. The key issues of the 'Mediterranean' ethnography were: kinship and the family, the village and the community, gender identities, political structures and patronage, the modern state and the incorporation of rural communities into the nation – state, honor and shame, religious practices. This research agenda coexisted with different epistemological paradigms such as folklore studies and socialist 'ethnology'.

Key texts:

- Karavidas K. 1926. "Η Μακεδονοσλαβική Αγροτική Κοινότης και η Πατριαρχική Γεωργική Οικογένεια εις την Περιφέρειαν Μοναστηρίου" [The Slav-Macedonian Rural Community and the Zadruga in the Bitola Region]. *Αρχειον Οικονομικών και Κοινωνικών Επιστημών* [Archive of Economic and Social Sciences] 6.
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- 1935. *Κοινοτική πολιτεία* [Community State]. Athens.
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- Mouzelis N. 1976. "Greek and Bulgarian Peasants: Aspects of their Sociopolitical Situation during the Interwar Period". *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 18(1): 85-105.
- Sanders I. 1936. *A Bulgarian Village*.
- 1939. "Neighborhoods and Neighborly Relations in a Bulgarian Village". *Social Forces* 17 (4): 532-537.
- 1949. *Balkan Village*. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press.
- 1950. "Changing Status of the Peasant in Eastern Europe". *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 271: 78-93.

grade circle (Bjelic and Savic 2002) who attempt to reclaim the positive connotation of the Balkans through local academic production?

Key texts:

- Bjelic, D. and O. Savic (eds.) 2002. *Balkan as metaphor: between globalization and fragmentation*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.
- Bakic-Hayden, M. 1995. "Nesting Orientalism: The case of former Yugoslavia". *Slavic Review* 54 (4): 917-931.
- 2006. "Introduction. Balkan između mentaliteta i senzibiliteta" [Balkan Between mentality and sensibility]. In *Varijacije na temu Balkan*, 15-28. Belgrade: Institut za Filozofiju i Društvenu Teoriju.
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- Goldsworthy, V. 1998. *Inventing Ruritania: the imperialism of the imagination*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
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- Todorova, M. 1994. "The Balkans: from discovery to invention". *Slavic Review* 53(2): 453-482.
- 1997. *Imagining the Balkans*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wolff, E. 1994. *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Lecture 2

Balkan ethnography in the Interwar period (1920s-1940s) and its relationship to the Anthropology of the Mediterranean (1950s-1980s)

Developed by Dr. Georgios Agelopoulos and Dr. Deema Kaneff

There is a limited but interesting body of ethnographic studies of the Balkans in the period between the 1920s and the 1940s. These studies are influenced by the modernization process of SE European societies. We will examine the work of three ethnographers who conducted fieldwork in Macedonia, in Bulgaria and in Northern Greece: J. Obrebski, K. Karavidas and I. Sanders. Their work presents

main reforms initiated after 1989; and the consequences emerging from such transformations; how can such studies contribute to anthropology? The lecture also discusses the relationship developed between western academics and local epistemological paradigms. These questions are addressed in part through the presentation of recent ethnographic research.

The second part of the lecture provides an ethnographic case study that focuses on inequalities emerging from British citizens buying property and migrating (seasonally or permanently) to rural Bulgaria. The case helps ground some of the questions raised in the first part of the lecture, looking critically at the categories of 'socialism' and 'postsocialism' in the context of globalization (especially trans-national mobility).

Key Texts to the first part of the lecture:

- Bringa T., 1995, *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way: Identity and Community in a Central Bosnian Village*, Princeton, P.U.Press.
- Brown K., 2003, *Past in Question: Modern Macedonia and the Uncertainties of Nation*, Princeton, PUP.
- Burawoy M. & Verdery K. (eds.), 1999, *Uncertain Transition: Ethnographies of Change in the Postsocialist World*, Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford: Rowan & Littlefield Publishers.
- Creed G., 1998, *Domesticating Revolution: From Socialist Reform to Ambivalent Transition in a Bulgarian Village*, University Park, Pennsylvania, The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Green S., 2005, *Notes from the Balkans: Locating Marginality and Ambiguity on the Greek-Albanian Border*, Princeton, PUP.
- Halpern J.-M. and Kideckel D., 1983, "Anthropology of Eastern Europe", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 12, 377-402.
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- Engelking A. 2003. "Objective observation and direct experience. Jozef Obrebski's research in Macedonia, contextualizing his scientific biography". *Ethnologia Polona* 24: 7-28.
- Halpern J.M. 2003. "reflections on Jozef Obrebski' work in Macedonia from the perspective of American Anthropology". *Ethnologia Polona* 24: 29 – 41.
- Braudel F. 1996. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Ithaca: University of California Press.
- Gilmore D.D. 1982. "Anthropology of the Mediterranean". *Review of Anthropology* 11: 175b - 205.
- Pina-Cabral J. 1989. "The Mediterranean as a Category. Regional Comparison: a Critical Review". *Current Anthropology* 30: 339 - 406.
- Valtchinova G. 1998. "Anthropology of the Mediterranean and the Perspectives of National Ethnography" in *Communities and Identities* edit. by A. Krasteva, Sofia.

Lecture 3

Socialist and Postsocialist SE Europe

Developed by Dr. Alik Angelidou & Dr. Deema Kaneff

This lecture is divided into two parts. The first part looks at the study of socialist societies by anthropologists since the 1970s as well as at the proliferation of actual "post-socialist" studies. It focuses on new trends and questions relating to the transformations of the so-called 'socialist' into 'postsocialist' states: what were the

Lecture 4

Europe and its others: re-discovering regions and diasporas in the Black Sea region

Developed by Dr. Eleftheria Deltsoy and Dr. Eleni Sideri

The construction of regions is a historical process and not a well-bounded product. The issue has become significant lately with the discussions regarding the European Enlargement and the affects of the European identity. Similar issues have been also discussed in anthropological analyses of Greece. Where do the boundaries of "Europe" lie and what is the role of the European Union in the construction of a "Europe" that includes some but excludes others? This paper will try to examine how our understanding of 'regions', in particular, the one lies between the Balkans and the Caucasus, interconnects with perceptions of European identity and security. In addition, I will study how the concept of diasporas, especially the Greek diasporas in Georgia (South Caucasus), seem to become eminent in the discussion of post-national identities.

Key Texts:

- Bellier, I. and Wilson Th. (eds.), 2000, *An Anthropology of the European Union: Building, Imagining and Experiencing the New Europe*, Berg.
- Clifford, J. (1997). *Routes. Travel and translation in the late twentieth century*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
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- Verdery K., 2003. *The Vanishing Hectare: Property and Value in Postsocialist Transylvania*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press.

Key Texts to the second part of the lecture:

- Friedman J., 2004, 'Champagne liberals and the new "dangerous classes": recon-figurations of class, identity and cultural production in the contemporary global system' in *Globalization. Critical issues*, ed. by A. Chun, pp. 49-82. New York & Oxford: Berghahn books.
- Harvey D., 2005, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kaneff D., 2006, 'Holiday location or agricultural village? British property owners in rural Bulgaria' *Eastern European Countryside* 12: 79-92.
- Kaneff D., (forthcoming), 'A place in the sun: transnational neoliberalism and changing patterns of property ownership across Europe (Britain and Bulgaria)', in *Accession and Migration: Changing Policy, Society, and Culture in an Enlarged Europe*, London: Ashgate.
- Massey D. et. al., 1998, 'Coming to Terms with European Migration' in *Worlds in Motion. Understanding International Migration at the End of the Millennium*, Oxford: Clarendon Press. (Chapter 4)
- Parrenas R.S., 2005, 'The Global Economy of Care' in *Children of Global Migration*, Stanford: Stanford University Press. (Chapter 1)
- Rapley J., 2004, 'Neoliberal Globalisation and the Crisis of the State' in *Globalization and Inequality. Neoliberalism's downward spiral*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers. Chapter 4.
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Music and Dance in the Balkans: Culture, Identity and Power

Dr. Panagiotis Panopoulos and Dr. Ioannis Manos

Course Summary

Music and dance are interrelated social activities and critical cultural domains in which social relations, cultural symbolisms, transformations and conflicts are collectively articulated and expressed. In this course, we approach music and dance as social and cultural practices, as well as symbols, implicated in the construction of collective identities and the formation of local, national and transnational processes of network-building. Based on the instructors' ethnographic fieldwork [Florina region, northern Greece (Manos) and the Greek island of Naxos (Panopoulos)], as well as on several case-studies from various Balkan countries, we will address the role of music and dance in the construction of gender, national and other individual and collective identities, as well as the politics of culture identity in state border regions. We will also consider some wider theoretical and methodological questions of ethnographic practice: the interplay of observation and participation in music and dance performances; the position of the ethnographer; issues of "authenticity", revitalizing of "tradition" and the influence of the market in the transformation of music and dance.

Daily Lectures

LECTURE # 1:

Dance as an object of study – Anthropological perspectives on dance – Fieldwork

This session will be an introduction to the ways dance has been studied as a social practice both within social sciences and anthropology. The lecture will focus on dance as an object of study. It will then point to the ways it has been studied by anthropologists up to nowadays. In its third part, the discussion will turn to issues of methodology with a specific focus on aspects of fieldwork, the dance event, the ethnographer, the body and the movement.

LECTURE # 2:

Studies on music and dance: Key theoretical discussions - A literature review

This session will address the issue of the constitutive power of music and dance in the formation of social relations. It will offer a brief overview of the terms and

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- Todorova M. 2004. "What Is or Is There a Balkan Culture, and Do or Should the Balkans Have a Regional Identity?" *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 4(1): 175-185.

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

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- Hanna, Judith Lynne, 1987 [1979], *To Dance is Human: A Theory of Non-verbal Communication*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
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- Peterson, Royce Anya, 1980, *The Anthropology of Dance*, Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press.
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- Spencer, Paul, 1988 [1985], "Introduction: Interpretations of the Dance in Anthropology", In: Spencer, Paul (Ed.), *Society and the Dance: The Social Anthropology of Process and Performance*, Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-46.
- Stokes, Martin, 1994, "Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity and Music", In: Stokes Martin (ed.), *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*. Oxford: Berg Publishers, pp. 1-27.
- Stokes, Martin, 2003, "Globalization and the Politics of World Music", In: Clayton, Martin, Trevor Herbert and Richard Middleton (Eds.), *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*. New York: Routledge.
- Thomas, Helen, 2003, *The Body, Dance and Cultural Theory*, Palgrave Mcmillan.
- Wulff, Helena, 2001, "Anthropology of Dance", In: Smelser, Neil, J. and Baltes Paul, B. (Eds), *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 5, pp. 3209-3212.
- Reed, Susan, A., 1998, "The Politics and Poetics of Dance", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 27, pp. 503-532.

Ethnographic Case-Studies:

- Anthropology of East Europe Review*, 2004, [special issue on Dance and Music in Eastern Europe].

theoretical traditions that have been used in the study of music from the early 20th century. It will also present some of the basic theoretical and ethnographic works on the study of music and dance that refer to Greece and the other Balkan countries.

LECTURE # 3:

Recent writings on dance and music in the Balkans – Presentation of case studies

This 3rd session will continue the literature review focusing on recent publications about dance and music in the Balkans. Subsequently, certain case studies will be presented as examples of how can dance and music be used to the study of politics, gender and club culture.

LECTURE # 4:

Animal bells as symbols of sound

An ethnographic example of the study of sound and music will be presented drawn from a very recent work that took place on the Greek island of Skiros.

Recommended Literature

NOTE:

The bibliography list offered below includes works published only in English and is only suggestive of key theoretical texts and further readings for those who are interested in learning more about ethnographic examples and different approaches to the study of dance and music in the Balkans.

Key Theoretical Texts:

- Barz, Gregory, F. and Cooley, Timothy, J. (Eds) 1997. *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*. Oxford university Press
- Blacking, John (Ed.), 1977, *The Anthropology of the Body*, London, New York, San Francisco: Academic Press.
- Carter Alexandra (Ed.), 1998, *The Routledge Dance Studies Reader*, London: Routledge.
- Cowan, Jane, 1990, *Dance and the Body Politic in Northern Greece*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
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- Giurchescu, Anca, 2000, "Gypsy Dance Style as Marker of Ethnic Identity", In: Baumann Max Peter (Ed.): *Music, Language and Literature of the Roma and Sinti*. VWB. pp. 323-329.
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- Ilieva Anna, 2001, "Bulgarian Folk Dance During the Socialist Era, 1944-1989", *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 33, pp. 123-126.
- Ivancan, Ivan, 1988, "Folk Dance among the Croats", *Narodna Umjetnost*, 2, pp. 69-107.
- Ivanova, Radost, 2004, "Die Calga as Kultureller Ausdruck der Transformation", *Ethnologia Balcanica*, 8, pp. 227-238.
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- Keil, Charles and Angeliki Vellou Keil, 2002, *Bright Balkan Morning: Romani Lives and the Power of Music in Greek Macedonia*, Photographs by Dick Blau, Soundscapes by Steven Feld, Middletown: Wesleyan University Press.
- Kligman, Gail, 1988, *The Wedding of the Dead: Ritual, Poetics, and Popular Culture in Transylvania*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lausevic, Mirjana, 2000, "Some Aspects of Music and Politics in Bosnia", In: Halpern, Joel. L. and Kideckel, David, A. (Eds). *Neighbors at War: Anthropological Perspectives on Yugoslav Ethnicity, Culture, and History*. The Pennsylvania State University Press. Pp. 289-301.
- Longinović, Tomislav, 2000, "Music Wars: Blood and Song at the End of Yugoslavia". In: Radano, Ronald and Philip V. Bohlman (Eds.), *Music and the Racial Imagination*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Loutzaki, Irene, 2001, "Folk Dance in Political Rhythms", *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 33, pp. 127-138.
- Magrini, Tullia, 1995, "Repertoires and Identities of a Musician from Crete", *Ethnomusicology OnLine* (On-line journal). Musicians of the Mediterranean, 3.
- Manners, Lynn, D., 2000, "Clapping for Serbs: Nationalism and Performance in Bosnia and Herzegovina". In: Halpern, Joel. L. and Kideckel, David, A. (Eds). *Neighbors at War: Anthropological Perspectives on Yugoslav Ethnicity, Culture, and History*, The Pennsylvania State University Press, pp. 302-315.
- Manos Ioannis. 2004. Signifying Self in Plural Cultural Contexts: Subjectivity, Power and Individual Agency in North-Western Greek Macedonia. *Anthropology of East Europe Review*. (special issue on Dance and Music in Eastern Europe) Pp. 125-138.
- Manos, Ioannis. 2005. Border Crossings: Dance performance and Identity Politics in a Border Region in Northern Greece. In: Wilson, Thomas and Donnan

- Bezic Jerko, 1998, "Ethnomusicology and Ethnochoreology at the Institute from the Late Forties to the Eighties", *Narodna Umjetnost*, 35(1), pp. 23-51.
- Brandl, Rudolf M, 1996, "The 'Yifti' and the Music of Greece: Role and Function", *The World of Music*, 38 (1): 7-32.
- Buchanan, Donna, A, 1995, "Metaphors of Power, Metaphors of Truth: The Politics of Music Professionalism in Bulgarian Folk Orchestras", *Ethnomusicology*, 39(3):381-416.
- Caraveli, Anna, 1985, "The Symbolic Village: Community Born in Performance", *Journal of American Folklore*, 98 (389): 259-86.
- Caraveli, Anna, 1986, "The Bitter Wounding: The Lament as Social Protest in Rural Greece", In: Dubisch, Jill (Ed.), *Gender and Power in Rural Greece*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Ceribasic, Naila, 2001, "In Between Ethnomusicological and Social Canons: Historical Sources on Women Players of Folk Music Instruments in Croatia", *Narodna Umjetnost*, 38 (1), pp. 21-40.
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- Silverman, Carol, 1996, "Music and Power: Gender and Performance among Roma (Gypsies) of Skopje, Macedonia", *The World of Music*, 38 (1), pp. 63-76.
- Stokes, Martin. 1992. *The Arabesk Debate: Music and Musicians in Modern Turkey*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
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- Sugarman, Jane, C., 2003, "Those 'Other' Women: Dance and Femininity Among Prespa Albanians", In: Magrini Tullia (Ed.), *Neighbors Music and Gender: Perspectives from the Mediterranean*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, pp.119-146.
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- Voiculescu, Cerasela, 2005, "Production and Consumption of Folk-Pop Music in Post-Socialist Romania: Discourse and Practice", *Ethnologia Balcanica*, 9, pp. 261-283.
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- Hastings (Eds). *Culture and Power at the Edge of the State: National Support and Subversion in European Border Regions*. European Studies in Culture and Policy. Lit Verlag. Pp. 127-154.
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- Mursic, Rajko. 2002. Games of Identification and Self-Presentation: Local Radio Broadcast in Skopje, Macedonia. In: Kärki Kimi, Leydon Rebecca, Terho Henri (Eds). *Looking Back, Looking Ahead: Popular Music Studies 20 Years Later*. Proceedings of the 11th Biannual IASPM Conference July 6-10, 2001, Turku, Finland, pp 331-345.
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Doing fieldwork in contemporary world

Rajko Muršič and Radharani Pernarčič
University of Ljubljana

Keywords

Ethnography, experience, practice, modernity, postmodernity, popular culture, postsocialism.

Course Description

Based on his own fieldwork and research in the area, the lecturer will give some examples from epistemology of present-day life. He will present some possible approaches in doing ethnographic fieldwork in modern environment (urban anthropology, popular culture, transnational studies, multisited ethnography, cultural creativity, culture industry). Lectures will include basic introduction to ethnographies of modernity with special accent on anthropology of popular music and phenomena related to popular culture. The lecturer will present some examples in his studies of post-socialism from Poland, Slovenia, and former Yugoslavia. Together with presentation of ethnographic approach, the lecturer will present other methodological possibilities in studying post-socialism and popular culture (textual analysis, comparative approaches, cultural hermeneutics).

Specific ethnographic knowledge

- looking/seeing/observing
- talking/asking/interviewing
- participating/practicing
- perceiving/feeling:
 - colours and shapes
 - voices and sounds/noise
 - tactile perception
 - smell

Views from Croatia, Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Zagreb, pp. 151-162.

Zografou, Magda, "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", *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, 17, pp. 1-21

Zografou, Magda, Pateraki, Mimina, 2007, "The Invisible Dimension of Zorba's Dance", *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 39, p.117-131.

Course Instructors:

Dr. Panagiotis Panopoulos (ppanopou@sa.aegean.gr) is Assistant Professor of Music and Dance at the Department of Social Anthropology and History, University of the Aegean, Mytilini, Greece. He studied Education at the University of Athens and Social Anthropology at the University of the Aegean. He was awarded a PhD by the University of the Aegean in 1998. His recent ethnographic publications concern the symbolism of sound and hearing in modern Greece, through a case-study of animal bells. Another part of his research interests concerns the study of local associations and the role of musical performances in the construction of identity.

Dr. Ioannis Manos (ioannis.manos@gmail.com) is lecturer in Social Anthropology of the Balkans in the Department of Balkan Studies at the University of Western Macedonia, Florina, Greece. He holds an MA (1998) and PhD (2002) in Social/Cultural Anthropology from the University of Hamburg in Germany. He has conducted fieldwork on the politics of culture and identity, the politicization of dance and its role in identity formation processes in northern Greece.

Ethnography as engaged learning

Ethnographic location:

Exoticisms

Ethnography at home as studies of modern ways of life

Some epistemological limits of ethnographic work.

Ethnographies Now and Tomorrow

Recommended reading

- Appadurai, Arjun, 1991, 'Global Ethnoscapes: Notes and Queries for a Transnational Anthropology.' In *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*. Richard Fox, ed. 191-210. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
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- Barnard, Alan, 2000, *Social Anthropology: a Concise Introduction for Students*. Taunton: Studymates.
- Bernard, H. Russell, 1994, *Research Methods in Anthropology: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. 2nd edition. Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: Sage.
- Bernard, H. Russell, ed., 2000 (1998), *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*. Walnut Creek, Lanham, New York and Oxford: Altamira Press.
- Brightman, Robert, 1995, 'Forget Culture: Replacement, Transcendence, Relexification.' *Cultural Anthropology* 10(4): 509-546.
- Carrithers, Michael, 2005, 'Anthropology as a Moral Science of Possibilities.' *Current Anthropology* 46(3): 433-456.
- Csordas, Thomas J., 1990, 'Embodiment as a Paradigm for Anthropology.' *Ethos* 18: 5-47.
- Fischer, Michael M. J., 2007, 'Culture and Cultural Analysis as Experimental Systems.' *Cultural Anthropology* 22(1): 1-65.
- Fox, Richard G., 1991, *Recapturing Anthropology: Working in the Present*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press.
- Geertz, Clifford, 2000, 'Thinking as a Moral Act: Ethical Dimensions of Anthropological Fieldwork in the New States.' In *Available Light: Anthropological Reflections on Philosophical Topics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Gupta, Akhil, and James Ferguson, 1997, *Anthropological Locations: Boundaries and Grounds of a Field Science*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press.

—taste

Doing fieldwork in modern world

- Two basic questions:
 - 1. Ethnographic location.
 - 2. Other(ing).

Ethnography of contemporary life

- field is where I find myself
- field is now, but it can be past – or visions of the future
- Holistic experience – experience with all senses.
- Experimenting with senses.

Epistemological limits of ethnographic work

- Epistemology, not methodology - ethics and beyond.
- Ethnography of phenomena we dislike, hate or despise.

Course sessions

Entering the field in contemporary world.
 Fieldwork in (post)modern settings
 Epistemological limits of ethnographic work
 Ethics and morality
 Unavoidable issues
 Relativism
 Fallacies to avoid
 Epistemological complements
 Anthropology of a moral science of possibilities (Carrithers)
 Anthropological fieldwork

Neighbors at War: Anthropological Perspectives on Yugoslav Ethnicity, Culture, and History. Joel M. Halpern and David A. Kideckel, eds. 56-77. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Muršič, Rajko, 2005, 'The Dubious Notions and Experiences of Transition – and after: Some examples from Slovenia and Poland.' Workshop on the Cultural Politics of Globalization and Community in East Central Europe. Budapest, Hungary, May 2005. (Manuscript, pdf.)

Skalník, Peter, ed., 2002, *A Post-Communist Millennium: The Struggles for Sociocultural Anthropology in Central and Eastern Europe.* Prague Studies in Sociocultural Anthropology 2. Prague: Set Out.

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- Lakoff, Andrew, and Stephen J. Collier, 2004, 'Ethics and the anthropology of modern reason.' *Anthropological Theory* 4(4): 419-434.
- MacClancy, Jeremy, ed., 2002, *Exotic No More: Anthropology on the Front Lines*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Marcus, George E., and Michael M. J. Fischer, 1986, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique: An Experimental Moment in the Human Sciences*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Muršič, Rajko, 2002, 'Games of Identification and Self-Presentation: Local Radio Broadcast in Skopje, Macedonia.' In: *Looking Back, Looking Ahead: Popular Music Studies 20 Years Later*. Kimi Kärki, Rebecca Leydon and Henri Terho, eds. 331-345.
- Proceedings of the Eleventh Biannual IASPM Conference July 6-10, 2001, Turku, Finland. Turku: IASPM-Norden.

Additional reading

- Brumen, Borut, and Rajko Muršič, eds., 1999 *Cultural Processes and Transformations in Transition of the Central and Eastern European Post-Communist Countries*. Etnološka stičišča/Ethnological Contacts/Zbiežności etnologiczne 9. Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta, Oddelek za etnologijo in kulturno antropologijo.
- Hann, Chris, 2002, 'Understanding Postsocialism: New Property Relationships and Their Consequences.' In MESS, Mediterranean Ethnological Summer School, Vol. 4. Piran/Pirano, Slovenia 1999 and 2000. Bojan Baskar and Irena Weber, eds. 49-68. Ljubljana: University of Ljubljana, Dept. of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology.
- Mandel, Ruth, and Caroline Humphrey, eds., 2002, *Markets and Moralities: Ethnographies of Postsocialism*. Oxford: Berg.
- Muršič, Rajko, 1999, 'On Globalisation, Westernisation, Popular Music and Similar Issues in the Times of the Transition of Post-socialist Countries.' In *Cultural Processes and Transformations in Transition of the Central and Eastern European Post-Communist Countries*. Etnološka stičišča/Ethnological Contacts/Zbiežności etnologiczne 9. Borut Brumen and Rajko Muršič, eds. 139-156. Ljubljana: Filozofska fakulteta.
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- Muršič, Rajko, 2000b, 'The Yugoslav Dark Side of Humanity: A View from a Slovene Blind Spot.' In

The migratory phenomenon: evidence and policies

Prof. Charalambos Kasimis and Dr. Yiorghos Tsimouris

Course description

1st part The migratory phenomenon (Prof. C. Kasimis)

This course will place its emphasis in the analysis of the characteristics of the migratory phenomenon in Europe and more particularly in Southern Europe and the Balkans. First, it will examine the reversal of the direction of migration towards Southern Europe in the context of external factors related to globalisation, the collapse of the Central Eastern European Countries (CEECs) regimes and the war conflicts and internal factors such as the demographic crisis and the changes of the labour market structures of the receiver countries.

The course will move to the discussion of the migratory phenomenon in Greece and the connecting routes to some of the Balkan countries of origin. Emphasis will be placed upon the socio-economic dimensions of the phenomenon in the rural regions and the research experiences in the field.

2st part Migration and Nation in the context of the late capitalism (Dr. Y. Tsimouris)

In this course our aim is to foreground the relation between the construction of the nation-states and the proliferation of migrants and refugees in the modern world dominated by capitalism. In this context we shall explore the pragmatic and the symbolic aspects of borders, both voluntary and involuntary migration from the point of view of geographic, political and economic relations between the countries of origin of migrants and the countries of destination. We shall discuss migratory trajectories in the context of global political economy and the division of labour. Through concrete ethnographic paradigms, we shall approach the relation between migration and the production of collective identities. Similarly, issues on transnationalism, diasporas, hybridisation, xenophobia and racism will be presented and discussed.

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

Ethnography of 'socially marginalized groups': theoretical and methodological approaches

Dr. Ljupco Risteski
Sts. Cyril and Methodius University of Skopje

Course description:

This course deals with 'socially marginalized groups'. More specifically, it focuses on Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) populations, Commercial Sexual Workers (CSW) and People who Use Drugs (PUD) exploring aspects of their social life. The course will discuss definitions and understandings of these groups in Anthropology and other social sciences. It will also address the epistemological and methodological problems posed in the ethnographic study of such groups using examples from researches conducted by the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology at the Sts. Cyril and Methodius University in the city of Skopje.

Course instructor:

Dr Ljupco S. Risteski is Associate Professor at the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, University of Sts. Cyril and Methodius - Skopje . He received an MA (1997) in Social - Cultural Anthropology from the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade and a Ph.D. (2002) in Ethnology from the University Sts. Cyril and Methodius" - Skopje . His research interests include Balkan ethnology and anthropology, especially the fields of mythology and folk religion of Balkan Slavic people.

Course Instructors:

Dr Charalambos Kasimis is Professor of Rural Sociology at the Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Development of the Agricultural University of Athens. His research interests focus on questions of rural transformation and development in Greece and the Balkans and more particularly on family farming, employment and rural community change. Migration and, more particularly, migration to rural regions has become one of his main research priorities in the past few years.

Dr Yiorghos Tsimouris graduated from the Department of Political Sciences, Panteion University, Athens. He studied Sociology at the University of Essex, UK (M.A. 1994) and Social Anthropology at the University of Sussex, UK (PhD. 1998). For his doctoral thesis he conducted research among people who came as refugees from Asia Minor, after the Greco-Turkish war of 1922. He has published in both Greek and English journals on nationalism, refugee and migratory issues. His last research is on the trajectory of the Greek community of Imvros (Gokceada) and has been published as a book with the title: *Imvrii: "Fugitives from our place, hostages in our homeland"*. He teaches at the Department of Social Anthropology, Panteion University, Athens.



Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόλυτσας

Introduction to the Study of Oral Tradition: Comparative Method, Fieldwork and Ethnography

Hande Birkalan-Gedik and Marilena Papachristoforou

Aim and Scope of the Course:

This course, which aims to introduce students to the study of oral tradition and orality, also aims to introduce them to the world of comparative method and ethnographic fieldwork. The course is divided into two parts and will be taught by Dr. Marilena Papachristoforou and Associate Professor Dr. Hande Birkalan-Gedik. We will be drawing theoretical frameworks from the US, Scandinavian, and European traditions. Fieldwork examples will be given from Turkey, Greece, and the Balkans.

Course Instructors:

Dr. Hande Birkalan-Gedik is an associate professor of folklore at the Department of Anthropology at Yeditepe University, Istanbul - Turkey. Completing a double MA Folklore and Central Eurasian Studies, she obtained her Ph.D. at Indiana University, Folklore Institute with minors in Anthropology and Gender Studies. Her research specialities are gender and genre, folklore theory and methods, fieldwork, migration, and nationalism.

Dr. Marilena Papachristoforou is a Researcher at the Hellenic Folklore Research Centre (Academy of Athens). She studied French and Comparative Literature in Sorbonne (University Paris IV) and obtained her PhD in Social Anthropology and Ethnology from the *Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales*, Paris. Her main research objects consist in the development and the documentation of archival data and the study of orality with a special emphasis on oral narratives. Her research looks also at issues of fieldwork methodology, mythologies and identity. She has done fieldwork research in the prefecture of Ioannina and the Dodecanese islands.

PART A

Professor Birkalan-Gedik's course plan is as follows:

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

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I. General introduction to the folklore scholarship and the role of national inclinations.

- 1-a. Orality, literacy, narrativity, performance and text, performers, interactions of print culture, children's literature, media.
- 1-b. Culture area, cultural boundaries, genres, intertextuality (both within and outside of the cultural boundaries). Issues in classificatory systems (in ref to ideology, nationalism, historical contexts), notions of "minor and major" genres, gender and genre.
- 1-c. Ethics in fieldwork, ownership, editing, publishing, what happens to the "folklore text?"

II. Turkish Folklore Genres:

- 2. a. Basic genres of Turkish folklore: Jocular tradition Hoca (see my article), refer to Marzolph's work Aşık (minstrel) tradition (see my article) refer to Boratav and Başgöz Folktales (see my articles), Turkish classification; system and parallels to and deviations from the system;

III. Theoretical points:

- 3. a. Oral tradition (shortcomings in definition of oral tradition). Overview. Commonalities, historical influence, variation... examples...
- 3.b. Approaches to
 - genre, (see Bauman)
 - text, texture, (See Dundes),
 - intertextuality (See Bauman)
 - context (see my article, Dan Ben Amos)
 - performance (see my article)

Please peruse the bibliography carefully and make sure to at least skim the articles I distributed. The bibliography will be a helpful tool for your further research. Be prepared to ask and to facilitate questions in the class. I will be doing the lectures, however, since I conduct interactive classes, I would like to students move along with me.

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- c) to present the principles of the comparative method and the underlying theories that led to its development;
- d) to acquaint the student with two complementary methodological tools, that is the ethnographic fieldwork research and the comparative study of the texts;
- e) to approach orality and oral tradition in general as a complex communication system, where text and context are continuously interconnected and interacting.

By the end of this course students will:

- a) have gained a first experience in intensive fieldwork conditions and solved the eventual problems in this kind of approach in order to extract and present their own results from fieldwork and comparative approach of the texts;
- b) feel more secure in organizing their own fieldwork research, in managing the recorded material, in transcribing their own records into audible texts;
- c) be acquainted with methods of folktale research;
- d) have an additional motivation to enjoy people's sayings (by: listening, comparing, contrasting, evaluating, analyzing) and thus develop a positive attitude in transforming words into meaningful data for the study of entire social groups.
- e) have the possibility to apply this knowledge on their further studies / careers.

Format

The classes are structured in two parts; the first part treats theoretical matters, whereas the second part deals with issues of fieldwork and methodology. The composite format of this course consists of interactive dialogue and lecture for the first part and of interactive dialogue and discussion for the second part; this combination will lead to the development of the fieldwork exercise. Presentations from the students' part are scheduled for the 3rd and 4th classes. Students will be asked to form and work in small teams, either in order to develop the fieldwork exercise or to analyze given texts. They are also expected to attend all classes offered and to contribute in the course's development by their active participation and their creative presentations.

Requirements

- ≡ Students must bring with them a (tape) recorder, head-speakers and a relevant recordable medium.
- ≡ The texts are going to be distributed by the instructor during the first class.
- ≡ Presentations need to be prepared in the intervals between classes.

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PART B

Dr. Marilena Papachristophorou's course plan is as follows:

This course seeks to introduce the student to the study of oral tradition and to examine issues related to it. The folktale will serve as a vehicle to present case studies. The first part will survey verbal genres and their possible adaptations to urban / web contexts as well as basic principles of the comparative method especially considering the study of the transcribed texts: international classification systems, national catalogues and archive research. That is, methodology issues of an initially philological research. The second part of the course will focus on questions of description and methodology for a two-way fieldwork: first, collecting and transcribing in order to compile archival material and, second, understanding orality in specific cultural and social contexts. Contested theories and ethnographic practice: the case of "oicotypes", enlarging localities and perceiving the Balkans as a melting pot. From fieldwork to the anthropology of orality: strategies, ideological and symbolic systems, collective identities. The course will lead to fieldwork practice: free interview, recording and commentating cases of traditional verbal expression.

Aims and Objectives

This course aims:

- a) to clarify and define issues of specific terminology and taxonomy;
- b) to introduce the student to archival research;

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The market and marketing of traditions

Professor Vintila Mihailescu

Course description:

The course aims to reflect on the uses and abuses of a core concept of anthropological thinking, in general, and a sensitive one for the "nation-building anthropologies", in particular : tradition. The first course (National ethnologies and the making of traditional facts. Some reminders of the historical and epistemological context) intends to critically revisit the ways in which "national ethnologies" of the Balkans usually defined - and still consider - their object as traditional facts, thus approaching social reality in a way rather different from the classical durkheimian principle of the social facts. The second course (The making of folk patrimony. A case study: the Calus) goes a step further, explaining and illustrating by means of several ethnographic films the way ethnology contributed to the very production of traditions. Coming closer to present days, the third course (The market of handicrafts. An exhibition, an a case study: the pottery of Horezu) is presenting the market & marketing of traditions phenomena by means of a collective research on a leading pottery community in Romania. Finally, the last course (Branding traditional gastronomy. An experiment: how would you proceed ?) is, in fact, a "brainstorming" exercise, aiming to test the role and limits of the ethnologists in the "marketing of traditions".

Course Instructor:

Professor Vintila Mihailescu is full Professor of anthropology at the National School of Political Studies and Administration in Bucharest and General Director of the National Museum of the Romanian Peasant. Main fields of interest: cognitive anthropology, economic anthropology, community studies, history of anthropology.

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

Consuming post-socialism

Dr. Evgenia Krasteva-Blagoeva and Dr. Ilia Iliev

Course description:

The course focuses on some of the main characteristic features of consumerism and consumer culture in socialist and post-socialist societies. Mainly on the basis of material for Bulgaria changes of consumer practices and especially of food behavior will be presented. Then will be discussed the process of adapting Soviet and Western concepts, related to consumption, to the Bulgarian social sciences, social policies, and everyday practices. Finally, the course will invite for a discussion on similar processes in adapting concepts from Western anthropological traditions into local Balkan contexts.

Course instructors:

Dr. Evgenia Krasteva-Blagoeva is a chief assistant professor in cultural anthropology in the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology of New Bulgarian University, Sofia, Bulgaria. She has M.A. degree in ethnology from the Sofia University 'St. Kliment Ohridski' (1994) and Ph.D (1998) from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Ethnographic Institute with Museum. Her main research interests include names, name-giving and renaming; contemporary ethnic processes, studies of communities and identities in the Balkans, consumer culture as well as the main ethnic and religious minorities in Bulgaria.

Dr. Ilia Iliev is assistant professor at the Department of Ethnology, University 'St. Kliment Ohridski', Sofia, Bulgaria where he got his PhD in 1998. He teaches History and Theory of Ethnology and Ethnography of Socialism and is doing applied research on poverty and social exclusion in nowadays Bulgaria. His major research interests are social history of the communist countries, ethnicity, and the transformations of Bulgarian agriculture.

The market and marketing of traditions

Professor Vasilis Mihalakis

Course description:

The course aims to reflect on the use and abuse of a core concept of anthropology, 'tradition', in general and a specific one for the 'nation-building' anthropologists, in particular, in Greece. The first course (historical ethnology and the 'nation-building' anthropologists) focuses on the historical and epistemological context in which 'tradition' is used. The second course (the making of folk practices) focuses on the social factors that lead to the making of folk practices. A case study is given as a step further explaining and illustrating by means of several examples how the way ethnology contributed to the very production of 'tradition' (this course is given during the third course). (The market of traditions). An in-depth analysis of the party of Hoxas is presented in the market & marketing of traditions by means of a collective research on a leading party in Greece. Finally, the last course (branding traditional gastronomy) focuses on the role and limits of the ethnologist in the marketing of traditions.

Course objectives:

Professor Vasilis Mihalakis is full Professor of anthropology at the School of Political Studies and Administration of Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. He is also a senior research fellow at the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague. His research interests are in the history of anthropology, economic anthropology, community studies, history of anthropology.

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

Gender, sexuality, ethnicity: complex routes

Alexandra Bakalaki and Venetia Kantsa

Course description:

The course begins with a summary presentation of the basic anthropological approaches to the study of women and gender as they emerged during the 1970s. Since then gender has been deployed as an analytical tool and/or perspective for the understanding of various social and cultural processes. However, anthropological research has also centered on the multiple and complex ways in which gender informs and is informed by cultural constructs pertaining to personhood, identity and the body and by the organization of social relations. Hence the ethnographic part of the course will explore the interrelations between gender, "race", kinship, sexuality and ethnicity.

Course instructors:

Dr. Alexandra Bakalaki is assistant professor in Social Anthropology at the Department of History and Archaeology of Aristotle University in Thessaloniki. She studied sociology in Indiana University and anthropology in the State University of New York at Buffalo. She has been engaged with the study of gender as both teacher and researcher.

Dr. Venetia Kantsa is lecturer in Social Anthropology at the Department of Social Anthropology and History, University of Aegean, Mytilini. She completed her PhD in Social Anthropology at London School of Economics (LSE) exploring erotic relationships among women in contemporary Greece. Her research interests include gender and sexuality, kinship and new reproductive technologies.

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Consuming post-socialism

Dr Eugenia Kostova-Balogova and Dr Jill Davis

Course description

The course focuses on some of the main characteristic features of consumerism and consumer culture in socialist and post-socialist societies. Mainly on the basis of material for Bulgaria changes of consumer practices and especially of food consumption will be presented. Then will be discussed the process of adapting Soviet and European models related to consumption of the Bulgarian social system and everyday practices. Finally, the course will explore the social and economic changes in adapting concepts from Western anthropological studies into local contexts.

Course instructors

Dr Eugenia Kostova-Balogova is an assistant professor in cultural anthropology in the Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology at New Bulgarian University, Sofia, Bulgaria. She has a Ph.D. in anthropology from the Sofia University St Kliment Ohridski (1997) and Ph.D. from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences ethnographic Institute with focus on the research interests include names, name-giving and customary concepts and processes, studies of communities and identities in the Balkans, consumerism as well as the main ethnic and religious minorities in Bulgaria.

Dr Jill Davis is assistant professor at the Department of Anthropology, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom where he got his PhD in 1999. He teaches theory and theory in ethnology and ethnography of Southern and is doing applied research on poverty and social exclusion in post-socialist Bulgaria. His main research interests are social history of the communist country, ethnicity, and the transformation of Bulgarian agriculture.

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

Author Index

- Abélès M., 65, 67, 404
Adler J., 313, 327, 404
Agelopoulos G., 151, 169, 268, 304, 333, 335, 343, 344, 345, 347, 404
Alarcón N., 35, 47, 404
Albera D., 51, 67, 404
Alexiou M., 302, 376, 381, 404
Alvarez R., 269, 270, 278, 338, 341, 404
Anderson B., 105, 116, 404
Andriotis N.P., 240, 251, 404
Angelidou A., 113, 151, 169, 255, 268, 304, 333, 335, 343, 344, 349, 404
Appadurai A., 314, 323, 327, 367, 384, 404
Archetti E., 18, 25, 32, 404
Armbruster H., 231, 404
Arnott L., 42, 47, 404
Aron S., 404
Augé M., 147, 148, 150, 404
Averof-Tositsas E., 219, 404
- B**
Bafna S., 146, 150, 404
Bakalaki A., 125, 136, 303, 335, 397, 404
Bakic-Hayden M., 346, 404
Baldwin-Edwards M., 302, 404
Balias S., 308, 404
Banks M., 34, 47, 404
Barth F., 11, 12, 33, 34, 40, 41, 47, 122, 136, 150, 154, 155, 167, 258, 266, 300, 303, 338, 341, 404
Baudrillard J., 17, 191, 404
Baxevanis J., 303, 404
Bellier I., 66, 67, 352, 404
Benveniste R., 219, 404
Berkday H., 197, 210, 404
Bithell C., 236, 239, 249, 251, 404
Bjelic D.I., 53, 57, 62, 63, 64, 346, 404
Bleek D.F., 238, 239, 248, 252, 404
Bohlan P.V., 405
Boia L., 325, 327, 405
Bonte P., 187, 191, 405
Bourdieu P., 134, 136, 300, 303, 314, 327, 405
de Botton, 313, 327, 405
Bridges S., 405
Brown K., 17, 22, 34, 48, 150, 266, 303, 341, 350, 380, 386, 405
Brunnbauer U., 59, 60, 67, 405
- C**
Campbell K.J., 37, 39, 40, 43, 48, 405
Chang C., 37, 48, 296, 298, 303, 304, 405
Chatzimichali A., 37, 42, 48, 405
Chelcea L., 186, 191, 405
Christensen D., 234, 252, 405
Christopoulos D., 175, 177, 405
Cipollari C., 319, 327, 405
Clifford J., 12, 15, 47, 142, 150, 151, 339, 341, 352, 368, 386, 387, 405
Close D., 89, 213, 219, 405
Cohen A., 35, 48, 284, 287, 289, 405
Cole J., 122, 125, 136, 338, 341, 405
Collard A., 103, 116, 405
Comaroff J., 61, 67, 304, 405
Cooke P., 236, 252, 405
Cowan J., 34, 48, 116, 117, 238, 252, 258, 264, 266, 304, 355, 405
Cuche P., 191, 405

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Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

- Hart K., 11, 27, 32, 121, 137, 154, 157, 158, 163, 165, 169, 306, 341, 407
- Hastings D., 138, 360, 407
- Hastrup K., 18, 29, 32, 97, 99, 102, 116, 333, 334, 407
- Hayden M.R., 53, 56, 60, 66, 67, 163, 169, 346, 407
- Hendry J., 314, 327, 407
- Herzfeld M., 51, 54, 62, 66, 68, 123, 137, 245, 253, 265, 266, 267, 297, 300, 306, 352, 381, 382, 407
- Herzog L.A., 183, 191, 407
- Hesse H., 15, 32, 407
- Hirschon R., 198, 210, 276, 278, 306, 407
- Hitchins K., 324, 326, 327, 407
- Hobsbawm E., 44, 49, 116, 228, 229, 231, 245, 253, 263, 265, 267, 407
- Höeg C., 37, 49, 407
- Holmes D.R., 306, 407
- Hradecny P., 270, 271, 278, 407
- Hristescu S., 316, 319, 327, 407
- Hysa A., 246, 253, 407
- I**
- Iggers G., 100, 116, 407
- Ingold T., 296, 306, 398, 407
- Iosifides T., 306, 307, 407
- J**
- Jansson A., 314, 327, 407
- Johnson A.G., 185, 186, 191, 247, 253, 369, 407, 408
- Jordania J., 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 243, 246, 253, 408
- K**
- Kaeppler A., 258, 267, 355, 408
- Kaftantzoglou R., 287, 290, 408
- Kahl T., 35, 49, 408
- Kaimakis P., 240, 253, 408
- Kalentzidou O., 307, 408
- Kanaaneh M., 150, 408
- Karakasidou A., 103, 116, 307, 408
- Karavidas D.K., 39, 49, 347, 348, 408
- Kardulias P.N., 303, 307, 310, 408
- Kasimis C., 126, 137, 289, 293, 295, 298, 307, 333, 335, 371, 372, 408
- Kavadias B.G., 37, 49, 408
- Kearney M., 25, 33, 301, 308, 408
- Kedourie E., 183, 192, 408
- Keeley E., 123, 124, 130, 134, 137, 408
- Kenna M., 308, 408
- Kibread G., 408
- King R., 137, 168, 176, 177, 295, 306, 307, 308, 309, 341, 342, 350, 408
- Kiprianos P., 308, 408
- Kitromilides P., 34, 49, 408
- Knauft B., 16, 33, 408
- Koleka B., 158, 169, 408
- Koliopoulos J.S., 308, 408
- Kosta B., 125, 131, 137, 408
- Koster H., 298, 304, 408
- Koumandaraki M., 408
- Kovani H., 299, 303, 408
- Kratz C.A., 314, 328, 408
- Kretsi G., 157, 169, 408
- Kuper A., 102, 116, 408
- L**
- Lambridis I., 36, 37, 43, 49, 408
- Latour B., 63, 69, 408
- Lawrence C., 136, 137, 296, 308, 409
- Layson J., 256, 268, 409
- Lazaridis K., 36, 49, 297, 308, 408
- Le Goff Z., 212, 220, 409
- Lebovics H., 23, 33, 409
- Leontidou L., 60, 69, 304, 352, 409
- Leontis A., 308, 409
- Levi-Strauss C., 69, 409
- Light D., 320, 326, 328, 368, 382, 409
- Lindstrom N., 59, 65, 69, 409
- Llobera J.R., 51, 60, 66, 68, 69, 409

- D**alakoglou D., 164, 167, 168, 405
 Dalkavoukis V., 5, 34, 36, 37, 38, 44, 45, 46, 48, 116, 139, 140, 141, 143, 147, 150, 151, 169, 247, 252, 268, 278, 304, 333, 335, 337, 405
 Damianakos S., 283, 289, 298, 304, 405
 Dana L.P., 122, 129, 136, 405
 Danforth L., 304, 357, 380, 405
 Danopoulos A.C., 304, 405
 Day S., 139, 161, 188, 279, 358, 387, 405
 De Rapper G., 156, 159, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 168, 406
 De Vos G., 34, 50, 406
 Decharme P., 240, 241, 252, 405
 Delamont S., 68, 405
 Deloria V., 24, 25, 32, 405
 Deltso E., 5, 51, 58, 68, 333, 343, 344, 351, 406
 Demousis M., 304, 406
 Dicks B., 314, 327, 406
 Dimen-Schein M., 304, 406
 Donnan H., 122, 182, 183, 192, 259, 304, 305, 308, 311, 338, 341, 342, 360, 406
 Douglas M., 14, 19, 247, 252, 304, 406
 Draulans V., 226, 231, 406
 Driessen H., 305, 406
 Duijzings G., 159, 167, 168, 406
Emsheimer E., 235, 252, 406
 Eriksen H.T., 5, 11, 14, 34, 35, 40, 48, 140, 141, 150, 333, 334, 406
 Exarchos G., 37, 48, 406
 Exarchou C., 406
Fabian J., 122, 136, 406
 Felfoldi L., 262, 267, 406
 Ferguson J., 52, 68, 162, 169, 288, 290, 368, 406
 Fermor P.L., 305, 406
 Fernaudez J., 406
 Firth R., 11, 12, 31, 32, 33, 406
 Fischer M., 150, 168, 169, 368, 406
 Fish J.M., 149, 150, 406
 Foucault M., 64, 68, 406
 Fox K., 14, 32, 341, 367, 368, 406
 Frisbie C.J., 238, 249, 252, 406
 Füves O., 36, 48, 406
Galani-Moutafi V., 300, 305, 406
 Geertz C., 12, 15, 20, 21, 25, 32, 47, 48, 368, 387, 406
 Gefou-Madianou D., 296, 305, 406
 Giannakakis E., 270, 278, 406
 Giddens A., 35, 49, 406
 Gilmore D., 68, 349, 406
 Giurchescu A., 260, 262, 267, 358, 406
 Goffman E., 191, 381, 407
 Goffre A., 250, 252, 407
 Golubović Z., 229, 231, 407
 Goody J., 24, 32, 387, 407
 Gray J., 299, 305, 407
 Green S., 135, 136, 137, 162, 168, 169, 255, 274, 278, 295, 305, 306, 350, 407
 Gupta A., 52, 68, 162, 169, 288, 290, 368, 407
 Guyer J.I., 51, 68, 407
Hadjimichalis C., 299, 306, 407
 Halbwachs M., 211, 212, 219, 407
 Hall D.R., 35, 49, 108, 116, 122, 129, 130, 131, 135, 136, 264, 328, 407
 Halman L., 226, 231, 377, 407
 Harrel-Bond B., 407

Rihtman C., 239, 254, 411

Rodman M., 147, 151, 411

Sahlins P., 126, 138, 310, 411

Sandu D., 319, 328, 411

Sassen S., 302, 310, 411

Schore C., 411

Schutes M.T., 303, 307, 411

Schwander-Sievers S., 411

Schwartz T., 43, 50, 411

Scott J., 225, 231, 411

Selwin T., 316, 329, 411

Seremetakis N., 310, 362, 411

Shay A., 259, 268, 411

Smith A.L., 140, 310, 328, 341, 411

Solheim J., 11, 33, 411

Spencer J., 63, 69, 356, 411

Stamatopoulou C., 41, 50, 411

Stathakis G., 304, 307, 411

Stavridis S., 212, 220, 411

Stelakou V., 198, 210, 411

Stewart M., 279, 411

Stoianovich T., 36, 50, 411

Stokes E.M., 231, 274, 279, 356, 362,
411

Sugarman J., 236, 237, 239, 254, 362,
411

Sutton S.B., 296, 304, 310, 411

Tad T., 230, 231, 411

Tambiah S.J., 62, 69, 411

Tenta G., 238, 254, 411

Theodosopoulos D., 411

Thomas H., 5, 11, 256, 268, 333, 334,
356, 360, 368, 411

Thomson P., 99, 115, 411

Todorova M., 53, 55, 56, 58, 70, 310,
346, 352, 411

Tonkin E., 116, 117, 411

Tovey H., 300, 311, 411

Tsakiridis L., 290, 412

Tsardanidis C., 308, 412

Tsitselikis K., 175, 177, 412

Tsitsopoulou V., 310, 412

Tsoumanis C., 38, 50, 412

Tufidis P.S., 199, 210, 412

Turner V.W., 274, 279, 351, 412

Turnock D., 318, 328, 412

Tziovas D., 210, 254, 311, 412

Urry J., 314, 329, 412

Van Boeshoten R., 412

Van der Geest S.J., 311, 412

Verdery K., 34, 50, 56, 66, 70, 154,
155, 169, 260, 268, 311, 350, 412

Veremis T., 173, 177, 308, 412

Vereni P., 104, 117, 412

Vermeulen H., 34, 47, 50, 169, 303,
311, 378, 412

Vernier B., 311, 412

Voutira E., 116, 269, 278, 279, 311,
412

Warner D., 273, 279, 412

Williams R., 220, 313, 329, 412

Willis R., 239, 254, 412

Wilson T.M., 66, 67, 121, 138, 182,
183, 192, 259, 305, 308, 311, 338,
341, 342, 352, 360, 412

Winnifreth T.J., 311, 412

Wolf E., 101, 117, 122, 136, 338, 341,
389, 412

Wright S., 268, 412

Yinger J.M., 45, 50, 195, 196, 207,
208, 209, 210, 412

Zakopoulou E., 289, 412

Zetter R., 273, 279, 412

Lolis K., 244, 253, 409

Lortat-Jakob B., 409

Loukopoulos D., 42, 49, 409

Lubonja F., 159, 169, 409

Macchiarella I., 239, 253, 409

MacCnnel D., 328, 409

Madsenn K.D., 231, 409

Mai N., 168, 176, 177, 308, 409

Makris E., 35, 49, 392, 409

Maleševic M., 409

Mandel R., 59, 69, 350, 369, 409

Manos I., 151, 169, 255, 261, 264, 265,
267, 268, 304, 333, 335, 353, 359,
360, 364, 409

Mantzios K., 140, 141, 151, 156, 164,
169, 172, 177, 192, 194, 210, 244,
245, 253, 254, 255, 258, 268, 309,
333, 335, 337, 338, 409

Marcus G., 35, 49, 147, 150, 151, 368,
386, 409

Margaritis G., 213, 214, 220, 409

Marshall G., 225, 231, 409

Martinez O.J., 183, 191, 409

Mazower M., 116, 409

Mehlan A., 36, 49, 409

Merton R., 144, 151, 409

Mihailescu V., 264, 335, 393, 409

Mintz S., 101, 116, 409

Moore H., 17, 35, 50, 397, 398, 409

Moutsopoulos N., 42, 50, 409

Mul A., 234, 311, 409

Nadasday P., 410

Nadel-Kline J., 298, 309, 410

Naersen T.V., 410

Nahachewsky A., 262, 268, 410

Narayan K., 142, 151, 410

Nash D., 313, 321, 328, 410

Newman D., 141, 151, 410

Nitsiakos V., 39, 44, 50, 135, 137,
140, 141, 151, 156, 164, 169, 171,
172, 173, 177, 181, 192, 194, 210,
244, 245, 254, 255, 258, 259, 265,
268, 281, 283, 287, 289, 290, 294,
295, 304, 306, 309, 333, 335, 337,
388, 410

Paasi A., 269, 279, 410

Paine R., 103, 117, 410

Paley J., 59, 63, 64, 69, 410

Papadopoulos A.G., 307, 410

Papailias P., 126, 137, 309, 410

Papataxiarchis E., 274, 279, 357, 410

Paradellis T., 219, 410

Passas V., 308, 410

Patapievici H.R., 326, 328, 410

Paton P., 276, 279, 410

Pavlou M., 126, 137, 167, 309, 410

Pina Cabral J., 51, 410

Pine F., 137, 303, 410

Pistrick E., 245, 254, 260, 265, 268,
410

Plato, 151, 239, 240, 254, 410

Potiropoulos P., 288, 290, 410

Poulianos A., 37, 50, 410

Poumpouridis K., 140, 151, 410

Prescott J.R.V., 183, 191, 410

Prévelakis G., 157, 169, 410

Psarrou N., 271, 272, 279, 410

Ramsey K., 261, 263, 268, 410

Ranger T., 228, 229, 231, 253, 267,
410

Ray C., 300, 309, 410

Reed S., 261, 264, 268, 356, 410

Ribas-Mateos N., 123, 124, 130, 293,
295, 297, 298, 302, 309, 410

Rice T., 237, 239, 252, 254, 361, 410

Rieffer B., 140, 142, 151, 411

Zografou M., 263, 264, 268, 363, 412

Δημόσια Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη Κόνιτσας

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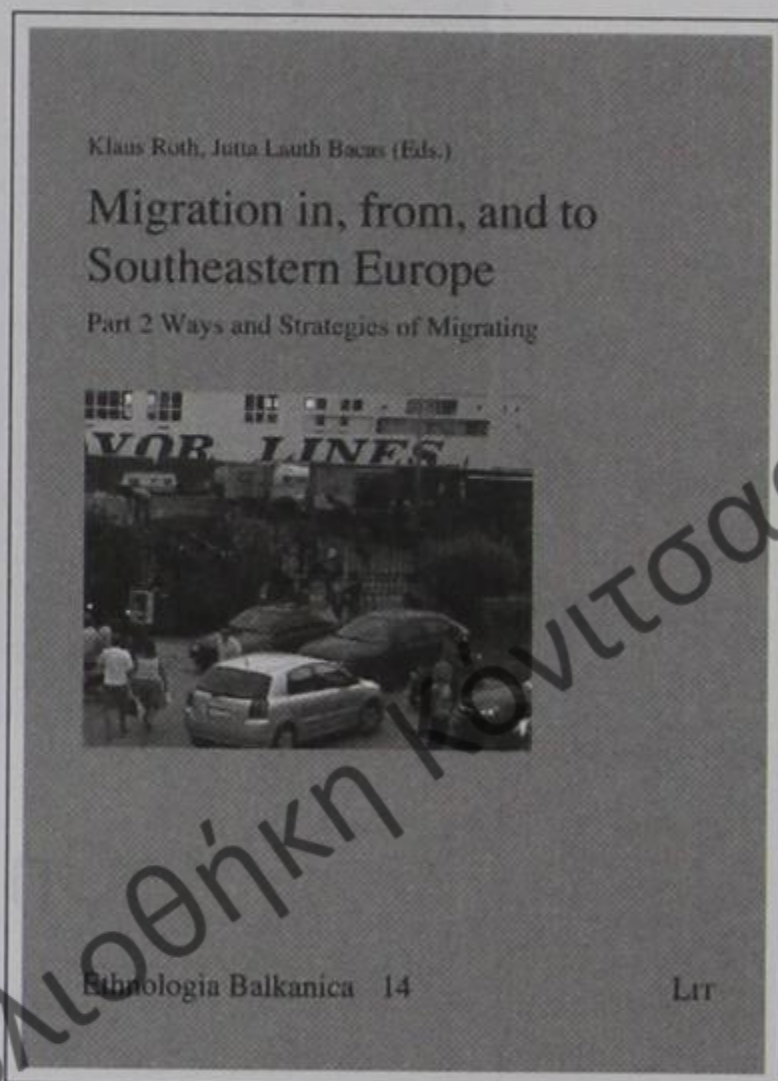
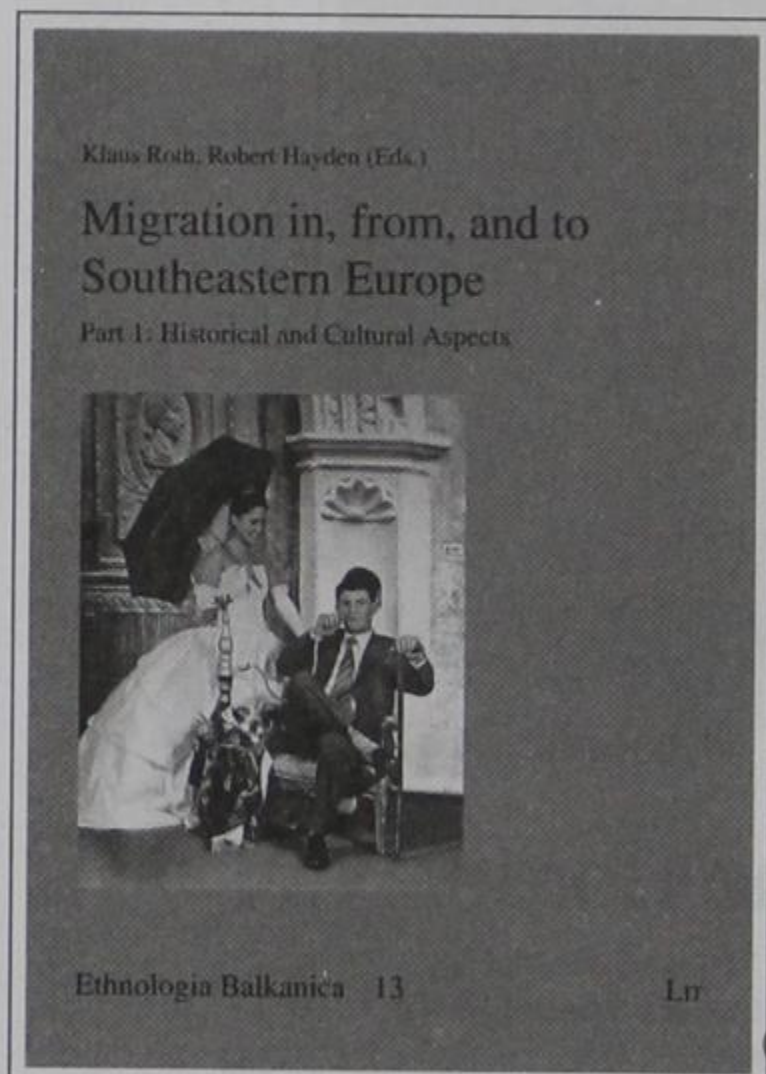
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Ethnologia Balkanica

Journal for Southeast European Anthropology/Zeitschrift für die Anthropologie
Südosteuropas/Journal d'anthropologie du sud-est européen
Editor-in-chief: Prof. Klaus Roth, Co-editor: Dr. Ulf Brunnbauer



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Karl Kaser

Patriarchy after Patriarchy

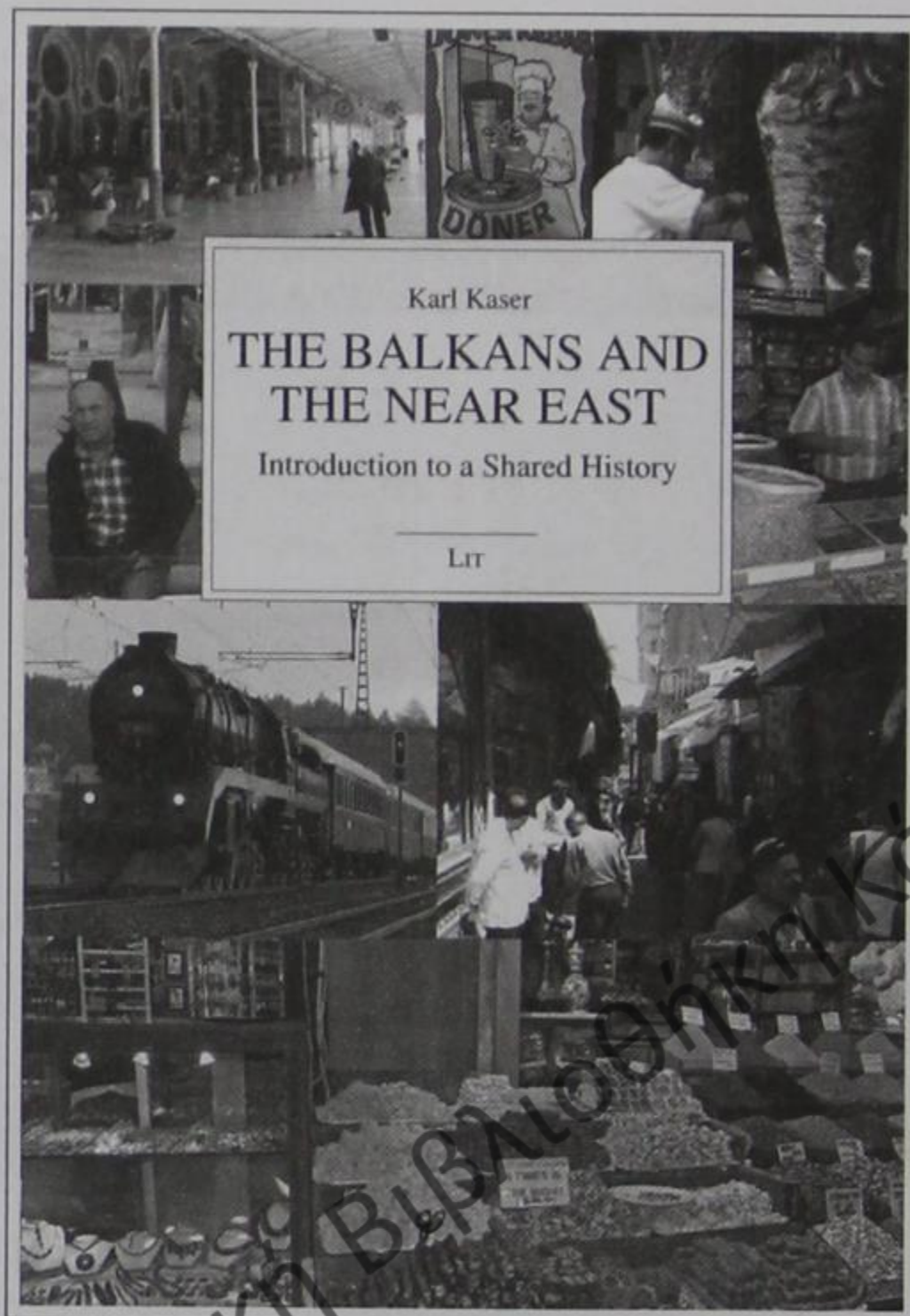
Gender Relations in Turkey and in the Balkans, 1500 – 2000

Since the second half of the 1980s social movements, which questioned the legitimacy of the hitherto seemingly stable systems of Kemalist Turkey and socialist Balkans, won ground. Political Islam struck Turkey; in the Balkan socialist countries the dams broke, and parliamentary democracies replaced monolithic socialist regimes. These processes have not been gender neutral. Therefore the central question is-after the abolition of patriarchy and the official installation of gender equality, are patriarchy and female discrimination returning in the region through the backdoor, although in a modernized version?

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Images of Imperial Legacy

Modern discourses on the social and cultural impact of Ottoman and Habsburg rule in Southeast Europe



Tea Sindbaek, Maximilian Hartmuth (Eds.)

Images of Imperial Legacy

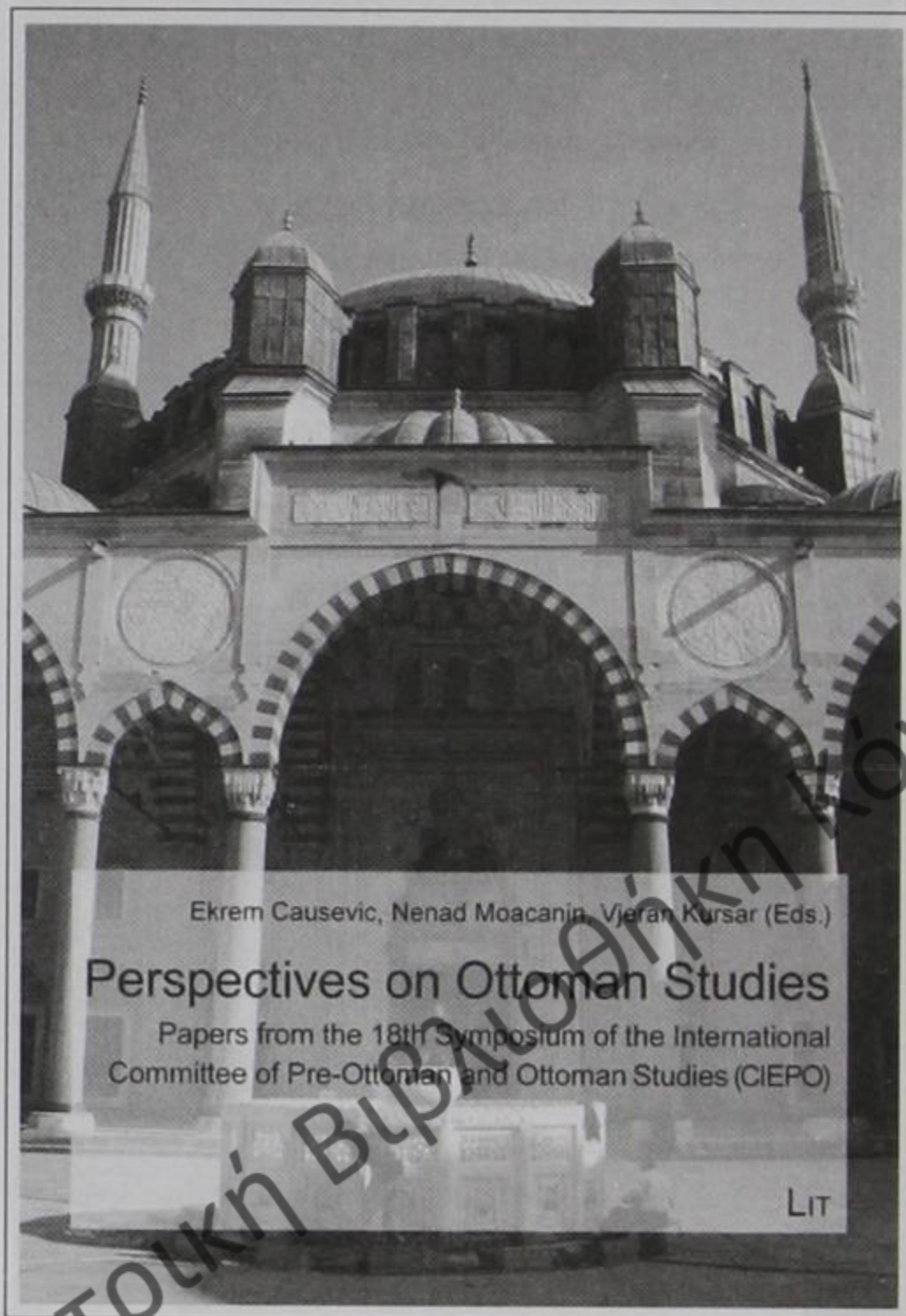
Modern discourses on the social and cultural impact of Ottoman and Habsburg rule in Southeast Europe

There has been a tendency to view the history of the Balkans as essentially determined by historical legacies. Whether in scholarly literature or in popular discourse, the Ottoman or Habsburg pasts are thought to be accountable for a large variety of phenomena ranging from democratic culture (or the lack thereof) and adaptability to a free market economy to nepotism and the filthiness of public facilities. By contrast, the papers in this volume demonstrate that "legacies" are not unchanging determinants. Instead, they are very much open to constant reinterpretations and re-assessments depending on conditions in the present; they are, in short, as much shaped by the present as they are by the past.

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Perspectives on Ottoman Studies

Papers from the 18th Symposium of the International
Committee of Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Studies (CIEPO)

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Ekrem Čaušević, Nenad Moačanin; Vjeran Kursar(Eds.)

Perspectives on Ottoman Studies

Papers from the 18th Symposium of the International Committee of Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Studies (CIEPO) at the University of Zagreb 2008

The present volume contains most of the papers presented at the 18th^(th) symposium of the *Comité International pour les études préottomanes et ottomanes* (CIEPO) which has taken place in Zagreb in August 2008 (eighty-three authors from fifteen countries). CIEPO is the non-profit association of more than a hundred of world's leading scholars in Ottoman studies, founded in 1973, whose meetings are open for all other researchers as well. The contributions cover a very large field (Turkey, Central and Southeastern Europe, the Middle East, from ca. 1300 to 1922), including a vast variety of topics.

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This volume is the second Annual of the Konitsa Summer School in Anthropology, Ethnography and Comparative Folklore of the Balkans containing the proceedings of two years, 2007 and 2008. It includes papers written by members of the teaching staff, papers delivered as lectures or especially prepared for the Annual, papers written by students based principally on their fieldwork exercise in Greece and Albania, presentations of ongoing PhD theses and, finally, the syllabi of the subjects of instruction.

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