

**Mind the gap: Attempts to introduce social anthropology  
in Greece during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s**

Georgios Agelopoulos  
University of Macedonia, Thessaloniki  
E-mail: avgiagel@gmail.com

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The development of social anthropology in Greece is a post-1974 phenomenon related to the modernization of Greek society and academia.<sup>1</sup> The study of others, alongside with the study of 'traditional' Greek society, from the pre-1960s period is usually attributed to the work of folklorists and historians, an issue well exemplified in the literature<sup>2</sup>. After the fall of the military junta (1974) Greek academia gradually started a modernization process. The three Departments providing undergraduate and graduate programs in social anthropology in Greece were established in Universities where folklore was never taught. Thus, accounts of the development of the discipline in Greece are located in a post-1974 socio-political context<sup>3</sup> or at an earlier stage, the 1960s, when John Peristiany and John Campbell were directing the Athens Centre for Social Research.

Although there is no doubt that folklore studies and history have played a dominant role in the study of otherness, the available literature ignores the lesser known efforts to introduce social anthropology in Greece in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. This paper focuses on the work of Peter of Greece and Denmark (1908-1980), the contribution of the Greek Anthropological Society (1924-1970), the hybrid relationship between

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to S. Trubeta and E. Papataxiarchis for their insights and the material they provided regarding the Greek Anthropological Society and the Athens Centre for Social Research. P. Pedersen was kind enough to provide me with his publications and advice on Peter's life and work. The archival material located at the The Athens American School of Classical Studies Gennadius Library and at the Athens University Historical Archives also informed the analysis. This research was carried out with a grant from the University of Macedonia Research Committee.

<sup>2</sup> See the detailed and highly critical analysis on the issue by A. Kyriakidou-Nestoros (1978) and M. Herzfeld (1982).

<sup>3</sup> For a detailed discussion on the development of social anthropology in Greece see Bakalaki 1997 and 2006; Gefou-Madianou 1993, 2000 and 2009; Gizelis 2004; Panopoulos 2003; Papataxiarchis 2003, 2005 and 2010.

psychoanalysis and social anthropology in 1940s-1950s Greece and the establishment of the Athens Centre for Social Research in 1959. With the exemption of the volume edited by Lampiri-Dimaki's (2003) and Trubeta's recent work (2009, 2010), little attention has been given to this particular context.<sup>4</sup> This paper discusses the relationship between the local socio-political context and the incorporation of anthropological knowledge. In addition, it highlights the continuities and discontinuities in the development of anthropology in Greece. The stress on the socio-political rather than the institutional academic discourse needs to be clarified. Most studies of the history of anthropology in Eastern and Southeast Europe argue that political changes have significantly influenced the development of social sciences, including the discourse of anthropology.<sup>5</sup> One could argue that a certain kind of reductionism exists when reading between of the lines of such arguments. However, as this paper illustrates, political changes have indeed had an important effect on the development of social sciences in the region.<sup>6</sup>

I will argue that developments in the anthropological discourse of Greece have to be understood as part of the modernisation of the state. The state in this context needs to be perceived as a partially fragmented institution produced by the activities of different agents. In competing for the monopoly of violence, these agents occasionally exhibited partly conflicting strategies. However, this does not mean that there is no such a thing as an overall order imposed by the state's hierarchy. This order reflected the dominant socio-political power structures and modes of production. Such a dynamic conceptualization of the state allows us to understand why Greece did not constantly follow the same modernisation agenda, including national homogenisation policies. Indeed, in certain periods the modernisation process of the state required more flexible and pragmatic policies towards incorporating otherness into its structures.<sup>7</sup> In this respect, Mihailescu's, Iliev's and Naumovic's central argument

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<sup>4</sup> Papataxiarchis (2003: 144) and Gizelis (2004) briefly mention Peter's work as having some kind of contribution to the development of anthropology in Greece.

<sup>5</sup> There are many reasons explaining this phenomenon. It is worth mentioning that academic institutions and the state were, and still are in these countries, more closely interwoven than in Western European contexts. Thus, academia has been more exposed to political decisions taken by third parties. In addition, social sciences in general have been perceived as promoting a critical or even radical perspective in relation to the socio-political establishment.

<sup>6</sup> See also Mihailescu et.al. 2008: 9.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, the educational policies proposed for the Slav-Macedonian speakers in Greek Macedonia in the 1920s (Michailides 1996), the policies adopted towards religious minorities in the

that ‘home anthropology was a nation-building science’ in the Balkans (2008: 2) can only be applied in the case of Greece for specific periods. Modernisation in this context implies building an industrial society according to Western European standards. This endeavour involved overcoming anything associated with the Oriental or/and Balkan past of the country and corresponds to the very idea of creating modern Greece (Herzfeld 1987). As a result, the otherness challenged by such a modernisation process was that of the minorities and/or the peasants who were considered as genuine remnant of the oriental Balkan past.

In addition, I will argue that the introduction of anthropological discourse in Greece since the early 1960s can hardly be classified as a process of developing an ‘other anthropology’ or/and a ‘national anthropology’ for the very simple reason that it depended on the scholarly context of ‘metropolitan anthropology.’<sup>8</sup> As it could be seen in other countries of the European periphery, anthropological discourse in Greece lacks any ‘itinerary separating them from the Anglophone and French mainstream anthropology’ (Eriksen 2010: 169).<sup>9</sup>

Clarifying the terminology that will be used in this analysis is of great importance. The term anthropology is used with reference to social and cultural anthropology. The term ethnology is used according to its emic perception in Greece during the 1920s-1960s period. The term physical anthropology is used with reference to the discipline as developed in 20<sup>th</sup> century Europe. The term anthropological discourse provides an overall framework covering all disciplines engaged in the study of what has been perceived as otherness by Greek academic establishments and state agents, in other words: ethnology, physical anthropology, folklore studies, social and cultural anthropology.

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interwar period, the political realism towards minorities promoted by Venizelos and some of his associates in the 1910s (Tsitselikis and Christopoulos 2008) and the establishment of the study of otherness in Greek academia during the 1920s (Agelopoulos 2010a).

<sup>8</sup> The terms ‘other anthropologies’, ‘native anthropologies’, ‘metropolitan anthropology’ and other terms (such as ‘anthropologies of the South’) refer to a discussion which has developed since the mid 1980s regarding the alternatives to ‘metropolitan anthropology’ (see Hannerz and Gerholm 1982, Krotz 1997, Restrepo and Escobar 2005).

<sup>9</sup> Papataxiarchis (2011) offers a similar argument by stressing that ‘Greece is a small ‘island’ on the global map of anthropology, situated quite near the Anglo-American or German mainland and therefore caught up in the anthropological wars of the 20<sup>th</sup> century’.

This paper focuses on the native epistemological processes and on the development of the above mentioned disciplines in the local Greek domain. However, this does imply that such developments have been isolated from a wider international epistemological and academic context. The data provided illustrate the close relationship between local and international developments. As Papataxiarchis argues (2003), in the case of the introduction of anthropology in Greece, it is evident that it has been heavily influenced by the positioning of Greece as an anthropological subject. Discussing the work of non-Greek anthropologist studying Greece is beyond the scope of this paper. However, it is necessary to mention that the gradual abandonment of the term ethnology in Greece is the result of two factors: (a) the influence of non-Greek anthropologists writing on Greece and (b) the result of Greek anthropologists studying in the UK, France and the USA.

The analysis follows a linear chronological order. The intention behind this is to highlight the continuities and the discontinuities as well as the interrelationship between the various actors and the structural domains.

### **The civilizing mission of interwar ethnology**

It is impossible to understand the post-WWII developments without prior knowledge of key events during the interwar period. The first attempts to institutionalize the knowledge of others in Greek academia took place during the 1920s. The study of whoever was perceived as other was influenced by the establishment of the Greek Historical and Ethnological Society in 1882 which generated the discussion on the academic discipline of ethnology. In the first volume of the journal *Laographia* [Folklore] (1909) Nikolaos Politis, one of the founding fathers of Greek folklore studies, discussed in detail the similarities and differences between ethnology and folklore. He concluded that ethnology studies ‘peoples living in a state of nature’ while folklore studies focus on peoples ‘sharing the same native land and its culture’. Thus a ranking was established in respect of the approach to otherness. Ethnology, in a similar way to *Volkerkunde*, undertook the study of the most distant others while

folklore studies remained, similarly to Volkskunde, focused on the Greeks.<sup>10</sup> This epistemological distinction as well as the relationship between folklore studies and ethnology was a common phenomenon in many European academic traditions of that era.

As a result of being on the ‘winning’ side during the first and the second Balkan Wars and WWI, Greece almost doubled in size between 1912 and 1919. By 1919 the Greek government directly or indirectly controlled the area composed: (a) by the present day Greek state, (b) most of the present day European region of Turkey and (c) the former Ottoman Villayet of Izmir including the city of Smyrna. These areas were populated by hundreds of thousands of people who were neither Greek speaking nor Greek Orthodox Christians. For almost a decade the Greek state prioritised accommodating these people within its administration. The Liberal Party which was in power utilised aspects of colonial policy into state structure. The ‘New Lands’, as they were called, were administrated by High Commissioners and the presence of the military was important in keeping order and controlling the local populations. The Liberals even attempted to create special educational systems for the ‘natives’ as they called them at that time.

Most significantly for this discussion is that the Liberals promoted the establishment of academic knowledge of otherness. This is why the School of Oriental Ethnology was created at the Greek University of Smyrna in 1920 (Agelopoulos 2010a). This is also why a Balkan Languages Department<sup>11</sup> was established and a Chair of Jewish Religion overseeing education of rabbis at the University of Thessaloniki emerged in the 1920s (Marketos 2007). The Greek government also initiated pioneering ethnographic studies in the Villayet of Izmir and in northern Greece during the 1920s (Agelopoulos *ibid* and 2010b). Kostantinos Karavidas, a ‘sociographer’ (Hann *et.al.* 2005: 8) is the best known of all those conducting ethnology [*ethnologyia*] – as they called it – during that time.<sup>12</sup> All these attempts were distinctively modernist both on an epistemological level and in relation to the policies they promoted. They aimed to

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<sup>10</sup> See Herzfeld 1982, Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1978, Loukatos 1968, Megas 1967, Meraklis 1971, Nitsiakos 2008 and Tountasaki 2003 for a critical discussion on Greek folklore studies.

<sup>11</sup> For a detailed analysis of the interwar developments at the School of Philosophy, the School of Law and the School of Theology at the University of Thessaloniki see Anastasiadis 2003 and An. 2000.

<sup>12</sup> See Agelopoulos 2010a, Komninou and Papataxiarchis 1990 for a detailed bibliography on Karavidas.

produce an institutional framework of internal colonialism (Hannerz 2010: 216) for the incorporation of non-Greek populations inside the Greek state. This is the reason why they did not interfere with folklore studies. They did not address the ‘problem of ruling fellow peasants’, as happened with other ‘national anthropologies’ in the Balkans (Mihailescu et.al. 2008: 11), simply because some of these peasants were not so much ‘fellows’ in the sense that their belonging to the Greek nation was questionable (as in the case of the non-Greek speaking peasants) or beyond the ambitions of state officials (as in the case of Turks and other Muslims of the Asia Minor coast and Thrace). In addition, the existence of large bourgeois populations of non-Greek origins, such as the Jews and the Armenians, complicated the situation. However, all the above mentioned attempts shared with folklore studies a common understanding of the relationship between local ‘native’ cultures vs. the state’s civilization. The ‘natives’ had to be Hellenized or subsumed into the superior Greek civilization. Such an understanding obviously implies that the natives did possess ‘something’ which was not Greek, i.e. the natives were recognized as having ‘local cultures’. Thus, the Greek state and its organic intellectuals, including some sociographers practising ethnography, attributed to themselves a civilizing mission in the region.<sup>13</sup> Needless to say that this civilizing mission was a prerequisite for the very existence of modern Greece (Herzfeld 1987).<sup>14</sup>

The above mentioned attempts to institutionalise the study of otherness in the 1912-1922 period had an important use value for the state since it contributed in administrating the local ‘natives’. This use value ceased to exist after the 1922 defeat of the Greek army in its Asia Minor arising from the 1921-1922 campaign. The population exchanges between Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria in the mid-late 1920s created a different situation. Greece became smaller but the degree of linguistic, religious and national homogenisation of its population increased compared to the 1914-1922 period. In addition, the state adopted less liberal policies towards those

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<sup>13</sup> See Sigalas 2001 for an analysis of the historical development of ideas regarding the civilizing role of Hellenism.

<sup>14</sup> Madianou argues that perceptions attributing a higher status to Greek civilization played an important role in delaying the establishment of social anthropology in Greek academia (Gefou-Madianou 2009). Such perceptions present a hurdle to the acceptance of the very idea of everyone having a ‘culture’. Bakalaki puts forward a similar argument in her analysis of difficulties faced in teaching social anthropology in Greek universities (2006). These arguments obviously refer to the situation during the last two decades.

remaining who were perceived as belonging to religious and linguistic minorities. Thus, the above mentioned attempts to institutionalize the study of otherness were extricated from their use value and cancelled.

### **The social sciences context in interwar Greece**

Just a year before the publication of the first volume of *Laografia* mentioned above, the Sociological Society was established in Athens. The statute of the Society identifying its goals was a manifesto supporting a socio-democratic version of modernization (Lampiri-Dimaki 1987: 18-19). During the 1910s the term ‘sociology’ in Greece did not always refer to an academic discipline but rather to symbolic political connotations (Kyrtis 1996: 9). In 1916, the pro-socialist politician, intellectual and short-lived PM, Alexandros Papanastasiou, established another Society with a more academic orientation called The Society of Social and Political Sciences following the German model of the Verein fur sozial Politic (ibid: 142). Most, if not all, of the fellows of these Societies were not involved with actual empirical research projects (ibid: 122, Lampiri-Dimaki 1987).<sup>15</sup> They were members of the upper echelons of the bourgeois who held managerial positions in the public sector and were not interested in widening the debate to the wider society, in a similar way to the interwar ‘German Mandarins’ (Struve 1973). Thus, they gradually distanced themselves from their Marburg neo-Kantianist philosophical origins and adopted a version of Heidelberg neo-Kantianism (Kyrtis 1996). However, they contributed to introducing the teaching of sociology at the Universities of Athens and Thessaloniki, at the Athens Panteion School of Political Sciences and the Athens School of Economics from the late 1920s to the early 1930s. In addition, a number of social science journals were published among which the *Archive for Economic and Social Sciences* (1923-1972) was the most important. However, they failed to offer any support to the crumbling democratic regime which collapsed in 1936 under Metaxas fascist dictatorship. In the post-WWII period the most prominent of these scholars associated with the conservatives and were elected as fellows of the Athens Academy. Two of the founding members of the Society of Social and Political

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<sup>15</sup> Excluding Karavidas’ research projects, the work of Dimosthenis Daniilidis and Georgios Skliros are the only two other examples of empirical social research in interwar Greece. Their approach belongs to the area of Marxist sociology and positivist economic history.

Sciences were ministers in the government which voted through the law for the establishment of the Athens Centre for Social Research. One of them, Panayiotis Kanelopoulos, was actually the vice-PM of that government.

It is interesting to note that some folklorists such as S. Kyriakides and G. Megas who participated in the Sociological Society were also members of the Greek Historical and Ethnological Society. However, as both Lampiri-Dimaki (1987: 31-32) and Kyrtis (1996: 173) argued, folklore studies did not interfere with the development of social sciences in Greece. On the contrary, other scholars, who were placed on the margins of academic networks for political reasons, had been attempting since the 1940s to apply anthropological ideas to the study of ancient Greek society. Panayiotis Lekatsas, a Marxist philologist and columnist, is probably the most well known due to his studies of ancient Greek religion, kinship systems and death rituals (Lekatsas 1946, 1951, 1957, 1971).<sup>16</sup> Lekatsas was aware of the British, French and German anthropological literature of his time. His work is not related to any kind of ethnographic fieldwork but provided an alternative to the hegemonic nationalist discourse prevalent amongst archaeologists and historians in Greece during that time. Although this 'offered great popularity to his work, particularly in the middle 1960s, when the domestic political scene diversified and shifted to the Left' (Papataxiarchis 2011), it prohibited him from having any kind of institutional position.

### **Multiple encounters: physical anthropology, ethnology, psychoanalysis and the discovery of social anthropology**

Greek scholars came into contact with British social anthropology from the late 1930s. Some of these scholars were associated with the Chair of Physical Anthropology of Athens University and the Greek Anthropological Society. Their work was heavily influenced by racial theories of interwar German physical anthropology and British evolutionism (Trubeta 2009 and 2010). As Trubeta points out in her critical analysis, the establishment of the Greek Anthropological Society in 1924 was the most important milestone in the development of physical anthropology in Greece. This process started in 1886 when the Anthropological Museum and

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<sup>16</sup> Since the late 1970s many Greek scholars provided critical reviews of Lekatsas' contribution. See Papataxiarchis 2003 for a detailed bibliography on Lekatsas.

Laboratory was founded at the University of Athens. The first museum director was the Professor of Medicine, Clon Stéphanos (1854-1915). ‘His successor, Ioannis Koumaris held the chair of physical anthropology at the University of Athens from 1925 to 1950 and opened physical anthropology to broader scientific circles... Koumaris headed all existing Greek anthropological institutions from 1915 to 1970: the Anthropological Museum, the university chair and the Greek Anthropological Society’ (Trubeta 2009: 16-17). The main challenge faced by the Greek Anthropological Society was to balance the contradiction between scientific ideological neutrality (as imposed by the dominant interwar positivism) and Greek national interests. Due to political developments, this contradiction became more evident during the 1940s.

According to Trubeta, ‘the initial interest in [physical] anthropology in Greece derived from a general interest in human evolution and the universal claim of this science to provide an enlightening world view and epistemic knowledge for humankind... The idea of ancestry clearly marked such research. Greece was particularly interesting for anthropometric and racial anthropological investigations due to its association with two legacies: its ancient Hellenic and Ottoman heritage... A modern science, as [*physical*] anthropology was thought to be, was able to provide solid knowledge for such national projects’ (ibid: 224 – 251). Thus, the activities of the Museum, the Chair and the Society ‘provided a terrain in which biologicistic, racial and racist models of approaching human life, history and society found fertile ground, especially up to the end of the Second World War’ (ibid). Both Stéphanos and Koumaris failed to attract any PhD students and the Chair of Physical Anthropology was vacant from 1950 to the mid 1970s.

Although the Society’s primary focus was on physical anthropology, the fellows included some wider anthropological concerns in their discussions. This is the reason why some non-scientists joined the Society in the 1940s and the 1950s. Among them it is worth noting the presence of some sociologists from the *Archive of Social and Economic Sciences* and K. Karavidas. In their proceedings the Society used the term ‘ethnology’ (*ethnologyia*) to distinguish between physical anthropology and the study of cultures. However, since the early 1940s, following developments in anglo-saxon literature, they gradually incorporated the term ‘social anthropology’ (*kinoniki*

*anthropoloyía*) into their discussions as an alternative to ethnology (Piniatoglou 1943). This is due to the fact that, as Papataxiarchis explains, ‘Koumaris pursued an all inclusive view of *anthropologia* (i.e. anthropology) that embraced physical anthropology, prehistoric archaeology and “ethnology, folkore and popular art”’ (Papataxiarchis 2011).

Some prominent Greek folklorists, such as Georgios Megas and Stylpon Kyriakides were fellows of the Society. As Trubeta explains, ‘the motivation of scholars with diverse backgrounds to join the Anthropological Society was abetted first by the character of [physical] anthropology generally to be a modern science that was expected to offer relatively modern scientific answers to topical societal questions... In turn, this very holistic character was a result of the lack of a professional group that would demarcate its epistemic terrain’ (Trubeta 2009: 224 – 251). In addition, Koumaris’ nationalist agenda and his attempts to ‘prove scientifically’ the racial continuity of Greeks provided a common ground with the professors of folklore studies of his era.

It was also in the same period that a small group of Athenian upper class bourgeoisie came in contact with psychoanalysis and social anthropology. Lazaros Piniatoglou, for example, in his analysis of Pythagorean taboo prohibitions (1942) seems to be aware of both Malinowski’s relevant analysis and Freud’s monograph *Totem and Taboo*. Most of these scholars were influenced by the personal involvement of Maria Bonaparte of Greece (1882-1962) with S. Freud and B. Malinowski.

Maria Bonaparte was the grand-granddaughter of Lucien Bonaparte, Napoleon’s brother. Her father, Pierre of Denmark was considered a geographer and an anthropologist (Frederiksen 2008: 28).<sup>17</sup> Maria Bonaparte married George of Greece and Denmark. Although she had several lovers she claimed that she was unable to experience vaginal orgasm. She considered this as a problem and undertook a number of operations (Bertin 1982: 141), finally asking Freud’s advice in 1925. She was analysed by Freud, later studied psychoanalysis under his supervision and became

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<sup>17</sup> Prince Roland was president of the French Société de Géographie et de l’Institut International d’Anthropologie (Pedersen 2005:6).

Freud's benefactor (Bertin 1982). It was because of her intervention that the Nazi authorities allowed Freud to depart from Vienna.

In 1932 Bonaparte established a close friendship with B. Malinowski (Wayne 1995) which continued until his death. In a letter to Malinowski during that period, his wife Elsie makes hints on the possibility of an affair between her husband and Bonaparte (Wayne 1995: 219, Frederiksen 2008: 30). Malinowski was attracted to Bonaparte since she offered him valuable assistance in overcoming stress problems. In addition, Malinowski's and Bonaparte's analyses on clitoridectomy 'were similar' (Frederiksen 2008: 42). In the 1930s, the practice of clitoridectomy among African populations was a highly politicised issue involving the British colonial administration, Christian missionaries, feminist groups in Europe and nationalist movements in Kenya. At the same time, it was an important issue for psychoanalysts, including Freud himself (ibid). Bonaparte's interest in clitoridectomy was the reason for her meeting with Komo Kenyata in Paris in 1935 (ibid: 28). It was Malinowski who introduce Kenyata to Bonaparte. Later that year, Peter established a close friendship with Kenyata which started in the seminar room of LSE, when Kenyata presented his paper on clitoridectomy among the Kikuyu (ibid: 31).<sup>18</sup>

Both Freud and Malinowski had a great influence on Maria's son, Peter. Peter was born in Paris on December 3, 1908. He was educated at the Lycee Janson de Sailly with Claude Levi-Strauss among his classmates. He studied law at the University of Paris (1927-1934) and received his doctorate in 1934. The topic of his thesis was 'The rural cooperatives in Denmark and the foreign markets'. In 1928, Peter met Geza Roheim (1891-1953), a Hungarian anthropologist who applied psychoanalytic techniques to the study of cultures, and developed an interest on Australian aboriginals. A few years later in Paris, in 1932, Peter discussed his idea to study anthropology with Malinowski (Pedersen 2005: 10). In 1934-1935 he studied anthropology at the LSE but was forced to return to Greece due to political developments. After his training as a military officer (1935-1937), he travelled to the

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<sup>18</sup> Pedersen provides a critical and comprehensive analysis of the relationship between Maria's and Peter's academic interests and personal lives (2005 and 2007).

Himalayas and South India to do fieldwork.<sup>19</sup> He was accompanied by his spouse, the wealthy White-Russian Irene Ovchinnikoff. While in India the couple got married by a civic ceremony. As a result, Peter was forced to forfeit all his rights as a member of the Royal families in Greece and Denmark. When WWII began, Peter joined the Greek army and became Chief Liaison Officer to British and Allied Forces. In 1941, after the battle of Crete, Peter moved with the remains of the Greek Army to North Africa and fought in Tunisia and in Italy as the head of the Greek elite military force Bataillon Sacré (*Ieros Lochos*).<sup>20</sup> However, due to his disputes with the Glücksburgs he did not return permanently to Greece after its liberation but was forced to live in Egypt until the late 1940s.

Throughout most of the 1950's, Peter studied the Tibetan people in northeastern India, but was later forced to depart from India due to political complications. Peter finally completed his PhD at LSE under the supervision of Raymond Firth in 1959. He published extensively on polyandry and Himalayan societies in English (1951; 1952; 1954; 1961b; 1962b; 1955; 1963a; 1966; 1969), French (1957), Danish (1962b) and Greek (1961a; 1961c; 1961d; 1962a; 1962c; 1963c). His research produced interest in this subject around the world, his writings and his ethnographic film still attract attention from scholars working on the Himalayas and India (Pedersen 2004-2005, Pedersen 2005). Peter was mainly influenced by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century evolutionism and the functionalism of Malinowski. He paid particular attention to the role of environment in shaping cultures and he attempted to incorporate in his analysis a psychoanalytical perception. The reader of his texts gets the impression that Peter ceased studying anthropological theory after the late 1950s. Evaluating Peter's work in India and Tibet is beyond the priorities of the present analysis. What is important is Peter's involvement in promoting social anthropology in Greece.

Although Peter and Maria Bonaparte gradually distanced themselves from the Glücksburgs in Greece, they were influential and wealthy enough to support ethnographic missions in various parts of the world (Frederiksen 2008, Pedersen

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<sup>19</sup> See Pedersen 2005 for an analysis of Peter's fieldwork in India. Pedersen provides some very interesting accounts of the correspondence between Malinowski and Peter (2005: 3).

<sup>20</sup> Peter's accounts of the 1940-1941 battles were published after his death (Peter 1997).

2004-05, Pedersen 2005).<sup>21</sup> Peter engaged in promoting social anthropology in Greece by giving lectures in various settings from the late 1950s onwards. In 1957 he was awarded a honorary doctorate from the University of Athens and in 1959 he was also awarded a honorary LL.D. from the University of Thessaloniki.<sup>22</sup> Peter addressed the senate of Athens University by giving a lecture on ‘the influence of the Hellenistic period in central Asia’. His activities in promoting anthropology in Greece escalated during the 1957 – 1967 period. In 1958 Koumaris, an emeritus professor at that time, submitted a letter to the senate of the University of Athens proposing Peter for the vacant Chair of Anthropology. On numerous occasions Koumaris insisted on this proposal (for example: G.A.S. 1962: 13). Grigorios Kasimatis, the last Minister of Education in a conservative government of the 1960s, also stressed the importance of ‘opening the gates of our universities to the call of social anthropology’ while addressing Peter in one of his lectures in 1963 (G.A.S. 1963: 11-12). This proposal never materialized. Peter’s knowledge of physical anthropology was limited,<sup>23</sup> a fact which was a typical obstacle for the Medical School of the University. However, the most crucial obstacle was his conflict with the Glücksburgs and the lack of support from the centrist government of Georgios Papandreou which came in power just nine months after Kasimatis’ proposal. Gizelis argues that although Peter was keen to become an academic, the Glücksburgs and the king reacted against this idea (2004: 30). They did not wish Peter to settle down permanently in Athens.<sup>24</sup> Peter was fully

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<sup>21</sup> Peter headed the Third Danish Expedition to Central Asia in 1950-1952, the Danish Scientific Mission to Afganistan and the Henning Haslund-Christensen Memorial Expedition in 1953-1954 (Pedersen 2005: 7).

<sup>22</sup> In 1948 Peter received an honorary MA from the Asia Institute, New York and in 1960 he received an honorary doctorate from the University of Copenhagen (Pedersen 2004-5).

<sup>23</sup> Among his numerous publications, there is only one in the area of physical anthropology in which he is a co-author (Peter 1961).

<sup>24</sup> Peter’s hostile relations with the rest of the House of Glücksburgs in Greece dates from 1939 when he married without asking the permission of his father (Prince George) and his uncle (George of Greece). Pedersen provides a detailed account of this problematic relationship (Pedersen 2004-2005). Being the most educated, the most cosmopolitan and ‘by temperament closer to the Greek people than the other members of the Greek royal family’, according to a British WWII intelligence report (ibid: 181), Peter was considered a serious threat by his uncle, his first cousin and his nephew who became kings in Greece. Recently revealed archival documents (see <http://www.theroyalforums.com/forums/f198/prince-peter-1908-1980-and-irina-ovtchinnikova-1900-1990-a-8632.html>) prove that in 28 August 1941 George of Greece, fearing his death, had indeed appointed Peter as ‘President of the Regency’, a fact which practically strengthened his prospects in becoming the next king. In 1947 Peter’s cousin Paul I succeeded to the throne. Peter was advised to stay out of Greece (Pedersen ibid: 190). It was only in 1959-1960 that Peter improved his relationships with the Glücksburgs in Greece. However, this brief improvement was not enough to solve his serious conflict with Frederika, wife of Paul I, who controlled the Glücksburgs in Greece during the 1947 – 1967 period.

aware of this situation and he indirectly pointed it out in one of his 1962 lectures. As he put it:

‘There are a number of obstacles faced by the ethnographer in order to fulfill his work. These obstacles are even evident in our own society of the Western culture. Two are the main obstacles: intolerance and dogmatism. Of course, these obstacles are not recent. They have a long tradition, especially in our country... Unfortunately, this tradition continues to the present... posing an obstacle to the progress of Anthropology...’ (1962a: 50-51).

In just three years (1959-1962) Peter gave numerous public lectures in Athens stressing the importance of anthropology for Greece. He gave four lectures at the University of Athens, two lectures at the Anthropological Society, three lectures at the Athens Higher School of Economics, one lecture at Athens Academy, one lecture at the Athens Royal Theatre and an undefined number of lectures in the public schools of the Athens upper bourgeoisie (1961a; 1961c; 1961d). In March 1962 Peter gave a series of three keynote lectures on the development of anthropological theory (1962a; 1962c). These lectures were later published in English (1969). Finally, in 1963 he gave a paper at the Greek Archaeological Society (1963c).

Peter’s understanding on anthropology never moved beyond the British, French, German and American literature of the late 1950s. Thus, by the time he escalated his academic activities in Greece, his approach was somewhat outdated. He stressed the comparative aspect of any anthropological endeavor (1962c: 13). His understanding of culture needs to be clarified. Peter accepted the existence of large civilizations such as ‘the ‘Western’ and ‘the Asian’ (1952) but attributed both positive and negative elements to both of them. In addition, he pointed out that all societies have culture [*politismos*] (1962c, 1963c). Such an understanding of culture was, by definition, hostile to dominant perceptions at that time in Greece which identified culture exclusively within the ancient Greek civilization.

It is worth mentioning that in the last of his 1962 lectures Peter publicly praised the work of ‘the director of the Athens Centre for Social Research’ John Peristiany and classified him as belonging to the ‘sociological anthropology’ paradigm (Prince Peter

1962a: 45-46). This was meant to be a positive comment since Peter, following Malinowski, considered social anthropology as ‘a comparative sociological science’ (1963c: 13). Peter’s public acknowledgments of the Centre certainly demonstrated important support and counteracted the dominant negative stereotypes of social sciences among Greek conservative politicians and elites at that time. There are indications that Peter was indirectly involved in the establishment of the Athens Centre for Social Research. It is reported that Peter was offered the Chair of the Board of Athens UNESCO committee, responsible for supervising the committee which supervised the establishment of the Centre (G.A.S.: 1962). However, this offer was not taken up.

Peter published on the importance of anthropological knowledge for Greek society (1961, 1969, 1963c), he engaged in discussions with anthropologists who worked in Greece in the 1950s and the 1960s such as E. Friedl and M. Kenna (Peter 1963b, Kenna 1970), he was a member of the Greek Anthropological Society from 1940 and published a short and rather superficial comparative note on religious beliefs in Tibet and Greece (1965). Peter’s public engagement ceased in 1967 when the military dictatorship was established. He spent the last years of his life in the banking industry. He was the only member of the Glücksburgs who was able to travel and stay in Greece during the dictatorship, a fact which confirms his complete distance from Greek politics. From 1969 onwards he lived mainly in Denmark and died in Paris at the age of 72 in 1980.

Peter’s monograph *The Science of Anthropology* received some rather negative reviews. In her review M. Kenna wrote that ‘it might have been better if this book had been left in Greek’ (1970:145). Similarly, in Rohner’s review published in *American Anthropologist*, it is argued that ‘the ethnographic portrayals of the various peoples among whom he [i.e. Peter] worked are scanty and inadequate’ (1970: 616). However, he recognises the importance of the book ‘to convince the students that anthropology has significance for Greece’ (ibid).<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> To some extent, Peter’s attempts to introduce western anthropological discourse into the Greek academia resembles with Zagorka Golubovic’s efforts in Serbia. But there are also many differences between Peter and Golubovic. For the case of Golubovic see Spasic 2008.

The publicity Peter gave to anthropological discourse, Koumaris' efforts to re-establish the Chair of Anthropology at Athens University, the development of relationships between some Greek folklorists and their colleagues in other European countries as well as the placing of Greece as a legitimate anthropological subject by British and American anthropologists lead to another attempt to institutionalize the presence of anthropology within Greek academia. According to Gizelis (2004: 30), the professor of folklore studies at Athens University Georgios Spyridakis attempted in the mid 1960s to create a 'laboratoire' (*spoudastirio*) of social anthropology under the Chair of Folklore at the School of Philosophy.<sup>26</sup> However, as Gizelis explains (*ibid*), the establishment of the Colonels' junta prohibited any such plans.

### **Modernity at last: The establishment of Greek social anthropology**

Despite these efforts in the 1940s and the 1950s, social anthropology remained at the margins of academia and outside public discourse until the early 1960s. This is understandable taking into consideration the post-Civil War context of the 1950s and the 1960s in Greece. The post Civil War decade (1949-1959) was characterized by the complete political and cultural domination of conservative ideology. This went hand in hand with political repression and overseas migration. Liberal political ideas started gaining grounds since the early 1960s. The centrist party of Georgios Papandreou gradually imposed its political hegemony and in February 1964 managed to establish its own government. A third Greek University was established in Patras and the government announced the founding of two new Universities in Crete and in Ioannina. Socio-democratic, liberal and leftist ideas flourished among the youth, the intellectuals and the artists, incorporating influences from the 1960s social movements in Europe and the Americas. The government paid special attention to the democratization process, in raising living standards and in transforming the educational system.

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<sup>26</sup> Gizelis does not provide any sources on this issue. Georgios Spyridakis succeeded Georgios Megas as the Chair of Folklore Studies at the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens. From 1964 to 1972 Spyridakis reorganized the infrastructure of the Chair and expanded its activities. As a moderate conservative, Spyridakis remained in the University during the military junta. However, he was the only professor of Athens University who did not join the ceremonial meeting called by the dictator Georgios Papadopoulos at the university.

The scholars who had encouraged discussions referring to anthropology, ethnology and physical anthropology in the previous decades did not participate in the 1960s social and intellectual movements in Greece. Excluding Lekatsas, all others who promoted social anthropology during the 1940s and the 1950s were associated with conservative, upper class royalists. There were even allegations towards some of them, including Peter (Travis 1999), regarding their role during WWII.<sup>27</sup> Their discourse was completely disassociated from the wider pro-liberal social, political and cultural agenda of Greek society in the 1960s. Their academic background never overcame the influence of the interwar Mitteleuropa theoretical debates (Rohner 1970) and they failed to attract new scholars.

Raising living standards especially in the countryside was a priority after the end of the Greek Civil War. This actually led in the development of some ethnographic research projects conducted by American academics in Greece during the early 1950s.<sup>28</sup> Just after the end of the Greek Civil War (1946-1949), the international organisations assisting the reconstruction of Greece required firsthand knowledge of the situation on the ground (Gizelis 2004: 26). Thus, a number of ethnographic studies of rural Greece were directly or indirectly involved in the quest of modernising the countryside. Among them it is worth noting Dorothy Lee (1955) and Iwin Sanders (1962; 1954-1955) who both had, for different reasons, an inside knowledge of pre-

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<sup>27</sup> Interestingly enough Peter was accused in 1943 by the British military authorities of pro-Nazi sympathies (Travis 1999). This is rather questionable given his active participation in the battle of Crete, in reconstructing the Greek Army in Egypt, in commanding its elite unit *Ieros Lochos*, in fighting in North Africa and in Italy. But most of the accusations regarding Peter's political views made hints towards assumed pro-Soviet sympathies. In a confidential 1944 report of the British Embassy of Athens to the Foreign Office, Peter's wife Irene 'was said to have a wild dream of a Christian Orthodox Communist Greece combined with the preservation of the monarchy (obviously with her husband as King)' (Pedersen 2004-2005: 189). This is probably one of the reasons why the royalists of Greece limited Peter's involvement in the Greek Civil War. In 1948, at the hotspot of the Greek Civil War, Peter generously contributed in financing the independent investigation of the murder of George Polk, an American journalist who 'was about to reveal incriminating reports about the Greek government and its American masters' (Pedersen 2004-2005: 191). Finally, in 1957 Peter was accused by the Indian government of being a Soviet agent (Pedersen 2007: 44). In my opinion, such reports and initiatives have to be explained not on the basis of Peter's political views but in the context of his attempts to become a king.

<sup>28</sup> Papataxiarchis (2011) explains that 'the study of social and economic structures was regarded a precondition for the efficient use of foreign resources in the recovery of the country'. In addition to Lee's work he makes references to 'the research "On American aid in action" done by William H. McNeil and other researchers on behalf of the Twentieth Century Fund in 1946-7 and latter in 1952-3 (Smothers, McNeil and McNeil 1948, McNeil 1957), the work done by the FAO mission in Greece in 1947 and the field research in rural Crete by a group led by L Allbaugh under the aegis of the Rockefeller Foundation in 1948 (Allbaugh 1953)'.

WWII rural Greece. Dorothy Lee was of Greek origins, her maiden surname was Demetracopoulou. Lee started publishing ethnographic ‘tales’ and ‘anecdotes’ on perception of religion and the supernatural in Greece from 1947 (1947, 1951) and was later involved in fieldwork in the countryside. The American sociologist Irwin Sanders was aware of the situation in rural Greece since the late 1920s (Sanders 1954–1955: 124). Sanders travelled around the Greek-Yugoslav border region next to Florina and Bitola in the 1930s. He is most widely known for his community studies in interwar Bulgaria. He returned to Greece for more systematic fieldwork in the region between Epiros and western Greek Macedonia just after the end of the Greek Civil War. The outcome of this work was published in 1954 and 1962 respectively.

Rural development was also one of the main reasons UNESCO established the Athens Centre for Social Research in 1959. This was part of a larger project which started in 1953 when UNESCO decided to include Greece in the list of countries where social sciences had to be re-established (Rafael 2003: 224). UNESCO set up a special committee in Greece to investigate the possibilities of such an endeavour. The committee decided to invite three consultants to Athens: Henri Mandras, George Gurvitch and Clement Heller.

Meanwhile, some other attempts to establish research in the fields of economics and social sciences had already been taking place in Greece since the mid 1950s (Rafael 2003: 233-235). A group of professors from the Faculty of Law of Athens University had established the Greek Centre for Sociological Studies in 1954. This institution managed to publish the first post-WWII social sciences journal in Greece although overall its activities were limited. *Kinoniologiki Erevna* (Sociological Research) was published in 1957. The name of the journal denotes an approach quite different from the interwar Greek context of sociological debates.<sup>29</sup> Other academics, including Andreas Papandreou and Xenofon Zolotas,<sup>30</sup> established a research centre for economics and development. It was during the same period that the Royal Research Centre and the Dimokritos National Centre for Research in Physics was established.

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<sup>29</sup> For an overview of the development of sociology in Greece during the 1940s-1980s see Lambiri-Dimaki 1996 and Kokosolakis 1998. The chief editor of *Kinoniologiki Erevna* was later invited by Peristiany to become the chief editor of *Sociological Thinking*, the journal of the Athens Centre for Social Research (Sorokos 2003: 397).

<sup>30</sup> Both served as PMs during the 1980s and the 1990s.

Finally, in 1959 the government voted through the law for the establishment of Athens Centre for Social Research. Panayiotis Kanelopoulos, a German trained professor of sociology at Athens University and one of the two leading scholars of the Society of Social and Political Sciences during the 1920s, was the vice-PM of that particular government. As Papataxiarchis argues, these attempts were ‘part of the decisive turn of the government towards Western Europe, the radical improvement of Greek-French relations and the beginning of negotiations with the European Economic Community. It signaled a wider interest in indigenous social and economic research as a precondition of policy’ (Pataxiarchis 2011).

In 1961 the Centre’s administrative structure was finally established (EKKE 1989: 15) and in 1966 the Centre started publishing an academic journal. Two papers by A.R. Radcliffe-Brown were published in the first volume of the journal (Lampiri-Dimaki 2003: 197). During the first two years the Centre faced many challenges including a serious lack of regular funding. Occasional funding was secured through donations offered by government agencies. Argyriadou (2003: 257) argues that it was Panayiotos Kanelopoulos who secured most of the occasional funding.<sup>31</sup> Having first-hand experience, Campbell points out that ‘only those who have worked in these countries in universities and other institutions of higher education can fully understand the difficulties and frustrations of dealing with the problems of lack of funds, conservative institutional prejudices, and political interference’ (Campbell 1994: 19).

The Oxford trained africanist John Peristiany (1911-1987) was appointed as the first centre director. Peristiany was born in Greece but grew up in Cyprus and was educated in Paris (PhD in Law), LSE and Oxford. He conducted research among the pastoral Kipsigis and Pokot in Kenya from 1937-1938 and in 1946. In 1954 he undertook the supervision of J. Campbell who was a PhD student at Oxford. As Campbell points out, Peristiany’s decision to study Mediterranean societies was influenced by his supervisee’s interests (Campbell 1994: 17). Peristiany was somehow aware of the situation in Greek academia and the bias towards social

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<sup>31</sup> Kanelopoulos actually threatened to resign from the parliament and cause a political crisis when some ultra-conservatives argued against the need for social sciences studies in Greece (Sorokos 2003: 398-399).

sciences. He had been a member of the Greek Anthropological Society since May 1939.

Peristiany collaborated with J. Pitt-Rivers in organising a series of seminars, conferences and publications placing the study of modern Greek society in the Mediterranean context (Peristiany 1963, 1965). Thus, the Centre overcame the ethnocentric limitations which dominated the work of the Athens Anthropological Society scholars and attracted a number of young liberal and left-wing young researchers interested in the study of social sciences, including social anthropology. Their political agenda, the epistemological paradigms they followed and their enthusiasm played a crucial role in placing the foundations for the development of sociology, social anthropology, geography and social policy studies in present day Greece (Damianakos et.al. 1994, Lampiri-Dimaki 2003). As Campbell writes, Peristiany ‘gathered a nucleus of Greek social scientists, embarked on research projects, invited foreign scholars, initiated the building of a substantial working library and generally let it be known in academic circles and government departments that the Centre existed’ (2003: 434-435). It is interesting to note that none of these social scientists was associated with folklore studies. This was to be expected given that the foreign anthropologists doing fieldwork on Greece in the 1950s and the 1960s did not associate their epistemological priorities with those of the native folklorists.<sup>32</sup>

The Athens Centre for Social Research operated for only eight years. It produced a very large number of high quality research projects concerning rural societies, migration, urban development, social stratification, kinship structures, educational inequalities, patronage and the political system. A number of young Greek students were trained as research assistants. The researchers comprised mainly of sociologists, anthropologists, geographers, social policy experts, demographers and political scientists. The 1967 Junta arrested three staff members, sacked a number of others and forced most of the rest to resign. There was an attempt to turn the Centre into a propaganda mechanism and remaining research projects were abandoned.<sup>33</sup> Following

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<sup>32</sup> Twenty years later Kyriakidou-Nestoros (1978) and M. Herzfeld (1982) developed a well documented anthropological approach to the Greek folklorist domain.

<sup>33</sup> The collapse of social science research and the silencing of social scientists during the 1967-1974 period resembles the situation in Turkey during the 1971 and the 1980 coup d’ etats (see Tandoğan 2010: 98, Demirer 2010).

the collapse of the junta in 1974, the Centre was renamed the National Centre for Social Research (EKKE) and expanded its operation. Peristiany briefly returned to Athens to act as the Director of EKKE.

### **A tabula rasa anthropology?**

The generation of post-1974 academics who established anthropology in Greece completely disassociated themselves from the work of the Athens Anthropological Society, Peter, the ethnocentric folklorists and the Greek Historical and Ethnological Society. Post-1974 Greek anthropologists traced their origins from the work of foreign anthropologists in Greece and the networks built up in the Athens Centre for Social Research. This was not the outcome of a planned strategy but rather the result of the significant differences between the socio-political context and the epistemological agendas of the 1930s-1950s and that of the post-1974 period. Building anthropology in Greece on a tabula rasa basis provided the post-1974 Greek anthropologists with the possibility of relating their discipline with the sociocentrism prevailing in social sciences after the 1974 re-establishment of democracy in Greece (Papataxiarchis 2011). In addition, by establishing ‘an anthropology without guilt’ (Peirano 2007), they were more able to capitalize upon their training in the USA, the UK and France in order to situate themselves as ‘native anthropologists’ of an already legitimate anthropological subject, Greece.<sup>34</sup> In a post-1974 context it was only the work of Lekatsas and Karavidas which was positively acknowledged as a native pre-anthropological discourse. Developments in the field of folklore studies in Greece actually contributed to this process.<sup>35</sup> However, analysing post-1974 Greek anthropology, as well as the anthropology of Greece, is beyond the aims of the present analysis.

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<sup>34</sup> Furthermore the training of post-1974 Greek anthropologists ‘abroad’ provided them with a social capital allocating them in privileged position compared with the remaining Greek-trained folklorists inside academia.

<sup>35</sup> The ethnocentric agenda prevailed in folklore studies during the 1967-1974 dictatorship. As a result, folklore studies faced a setback during the 1980s (Papataxiarchis 2011). A number of senior academics employed in the ‘Sections’ (*Tomeis*) or ‘Laboratoire’ (*Ergastiria*) of Folklore Studies in the Universities of Thessaloniki and Ioannina gradually adopted a more anthropological orientation (Nitsiakos 2008, Papataxiarchis *ibid.*) to such an extent that today it is not possible to recognize serious epistemological differences between their teaching and research agendas and those of the three Departments providing anthropological studies in Greece. It is worth mentioning that there is no Department offering an undergraduate program in folklore studies in Greece.

The attempts to develop the knowledge of others started with the establishment of folklore studies in late 19<sup>th</sup> century Greece. It was during the 1920s that the quest for ethnology became important for the modernisation of the state due to the need to administer its expanding number of internal others. This was a process closely related to the interference of the international community which turned ‘minority protection’ into an international rather than an internal affair of the state. In examining these developments it is useful to take into consideration Cowan’s anthropological adaptation of dependency theories (Cowan 2007).<sup>36</sup> Such an approach allows us to situate ‘dependency’ not on economic and international relations power balances but on identity politics. Cowan focuses on otherness based on what has been perceived as national or/and ethnic minorities. Therefore, the modernizing quest for ethnology in the 1920s should be understood as a process covering both internal and international needs of a ‘supervised state’ (Cowan *ibid*).

The quest for ethnology in the 1920s, alongside with other initiatives described above, lost their use value due to the exchanges of populations which took place in the late 1920s. From the early 1930s onwards the study of otherness turned into an exclusive study of sameness at the hands of ethnocentric folklorists and physical anthropologists. This obviously signified a retreat of the state elites to the safe locus of a purely ethnic nation-state and their fears for a democratic modernization of the country. It is this context which provides a structural explanation of the failure of the various attempts for an institutional accommodation of social anthropology in Greece in the 1940s and the 1950s. The Athens Anthropological Society discussions on *kinoniki anthropolyia*, Koumaris’ correspondence with the Athens University authorities, Kasimatis’ public intervention, Peter’s numerous lectures and other activities in Greece as well as Spyridakis’ preparations for a laboratoire of social anthropology lacked any use value for the administration of otherness and the modernization of the state.

To conclude, the establishment of social sciences in Greece from 1959-1967, including anthropology, should be understood as one aspect of the modernizing

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<sup>36</sup> Cowan suggests to question ‘what would happen if we situate studies of a state’s relations to its internal Others much more explicitly within the context of relations between states, as well as of the special state’s relations with supranational institutions?’ (Cowan 2007: 556).

visions of K. Karamanlis and G. Papandreou late 1950s – mid 1960s governments. The study of otherness was once more assigned to those who were able to ethnographically document it. The foreign anthropologists working on Greece had, by that time, provided strong indications of the use value of anthropological knowledge. However, the modernising agenda in this context did not focus on ethnic or national minorities as had happened in the 1920s. With very few exemptions, it was the modernising of the Greek peasantry where the anthropologists were asked to contribute.<sup>37</sup> This is understandable given that the great majority of Greece's population was living outside urban centres.<sup>38</sup> In addition, as explained above, peasants were considered as the epitome of oriental backwardness. Given that the Athens Anthropological Society scholars, Peter and the folklorists lacked such a perspective, the 'know-how' had to be imported from Oxford and Paris. However, it would have been a mistake to conceptualize this context as a developmental process: the 1967-1974 dictatorship proves that modernity involves many possibilities.

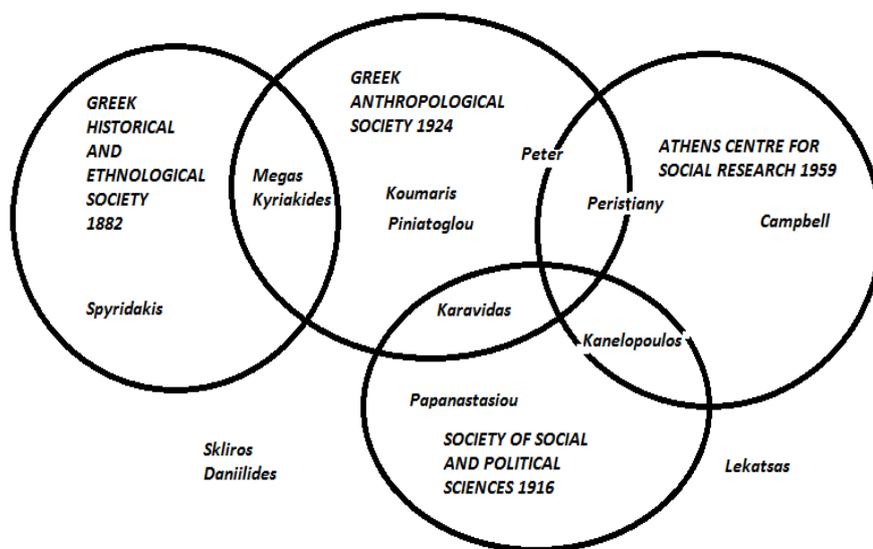
Understanding the study of otherness in the pre-1967 Greece requires taking into consideration the relationship between the local and the international socio-political context as well as the incorporation of anthropological knowledge within them. We focused on these processes not as abstract *modus operandi* but as the trajectories of real people in actual time and space. We provided a detailed description of these trajectories to highlight the building of social and academic networks, of policy agendas and of epistemological paradigms subject to specific structural limitations. Enmeshed between changing perceptions of otherness in a 'supervised state' struggling for modernization, between networks of scholars in Athens, London, Oxford, Vienna, Berlin and Paris, the development of anthropology in the 1940s-1960s Greece offers a useful insight into the understanding of modern Greek society and academia.

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<sup>37</sup> This may lead us to expand Cowan's (2007) understanding of the 'supervised state' in order to incorporate additional versions of otherness such as that of the peasantry.

<sup>38</sup> According to the 1951 census, 63,2% of the Greeks lived outside urban centers and were defined as 'rural' or 'semi-urban' populations.

**Diagram 1: Institutional and personal networks**



**Note:** The diagram includes only the names of persons mentioned in this paper.

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