
Zorba's Cinematic Dance: Global Fame, Local Claim Beyond Studios and Screens

Pateraki M.¹, Mountakis C.²

¹D.P.E.S.S., National & Kapodistrian University of Athens

² Department of Sport Management, University of Peloponnese

In memory of Michalis, Stelios and Philipposⁱ

Introduction

The film “*Zorba the Greek*”ⁱⁱⁱ by Michalis Cacoyiannis was released in 1964. The film was based on a well-known novel “The Life and Times of Alexis Zorba” by Nikos Kazantzakis, written almost twenty years before. The first screening of this film in Paris on 3rd March 1965 was an important media eventⁱⁱⁱ, which closed with a Cretan folk dance group performing on stage. The commercial impact of the film was accompanied by a special enthusiasm for the dance and for Mikis Theodorakis’s music which swept the world^{iv}. As Giannis Bakogianopoulos^v commented a year later “... the mixture of hasaposervikos and Cretan dance at the end of the film, with Theodorakis’s music, under an incomprehensible name (which we ended up using even in Greece), became a fashionable dance throughout Europe”^{vi}.

In the 1960s the film *Zorba the Greek* was part of the attempt for the international recognition of the cinematic movement in Greece. However, most important was the promotion of Greece by the Greek government as a peripheral area of Europe which can be explored by other Europeans or generally the citizens of the ‘West’. Zorba invited tourists to an exciting ‘authentic’ way of life, to a ‘sacred journey to a world free of the constraints of work, time and conformity’^{vii}. Although films can have a lot of interpretations, this one was depicted as a representation of a pure, old, “authentic”,

“innocent” way of life^{viii} that anyone could find under the ‘light’ of the Acropolis. Far from being innocent, there are a lot of scenes that depicted living in hard and difficult social contexts rather than something pure and “authentic”. Following Dean MacCannell,^{ix} it seems that Zorba’s ‘staged’ invitation suggesting also at guests what else can be explored ‘backstage’.

This double sign is well addressed by Magda Zografou and Mimina Pateraki’s (2007) argument that Zorba’s cinematic dance is flitting between global fame and local claim. Discussing this negotiation the authors argue that Zorba’s dance is an invention with political connotations^x. As an ‘invented tradition’ Eric Hobsbawm in his influential and classic work on history defines “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*^{xi}, which automatically implies continuity with the past ... with a suitable historic past”^{xii}. Hobsbawm argues that there are also small-scale and perhaps less dramatic novelties which qualify as ‘invented traditions’^{xiii}. In any case, they are distinguished by three different purposes, the establishment of social cohesion and collective identities, the legitimisation of institutions and social hierarchies and socializing people to particular social contexts. These functions are usually interconnected. The legitimisation of an action is closely related to “political negotiations as such of national and ethnic identities”^{xiv}.

Drawing upon the aforementioned argument we explore Zorba’s cinematic dance as a ‘small-scale invented tradition’ which is staged and performed by Cretans in order to legitimate their local demands and interests in tourism. This paper addresses the way people in Chania, Crete negotiate the locality of this invention by embodying the prestige of Zorba’s cinematic dance. Following Magda Zografou and Stavroula Pipyrrou discussion on dance and difference it will be argued that people claim its ‘Cretanness’ through a ‘game of differentiation and sameness’^{xv} in order to enforce their association to ‘significant cultural stuff’^{xvi} with great touristic interest^{xvii}. Such demands underline that people’s identities are in motion and tend to be fluid and transformed strategically by their interests through several exclusions and inclusions. Still this has to be accepted and recognized by others too^{xviii}.

Ethnographic data was gathered through interviews carried out in Athens and in Chania, Crete. Interviews were conducted in the form of an open questionnaire^{xix} as well as being recorded by S-VHS-C movie camera (digital process) after

interlocutors' permission^{xx}. Our interlocutors were involved in the production of the film having different positions of work and narrate their testimonies about the period of film production and the period afterwards. The analysis of this ethnographic data is based on theoretical tools of oral history where memories of people's daily life are treated as a research field of social history^{xxi}. Alongside, we adopt methodological tools of visual anthropology and our analysis follows "external narratives"^{xxii} which are "the social context of production and social relations which the image is embedded any time of viewing"^{xxiii}. In this paper we focus on the constructed social dialogues that came up^{xxiv}. For this reason, we adopt the notion that different subjective truths which are defined historically and are underlined by social and political guidance can help us to a deeper understanding^{xxv}. Such analysis can guide us beyond film text^{xxvi} as well as beyond studios and theatres^{xxvii}.

The social context of production

The 1950s was a period of reorganization for Greece after a long lasting time of successive disturbances. The Second World war, with the Greek-Italian war (1940), the German Occupation (1941-1944), and finally the Civil War (1946 -1949), had rapid consequences on the economic and political situation resulted in a conflicting environment, pushing in the internal and external migration as a pivot of financial support^{xxviii}. The economic progress during 1950s and 1960s which was based on the flow of both state and private foreign capital could not sustain the economic and social balance. During this era of social conflict social dialogue was growing through polar derivations^{xxix} under strong conflicts producing a rather vague content expressed by the question "do we belong to the West or to the East?"^{xxx} More specifically, following different starting points about Greek identity definition ('We' / 'Others') different constructions moved towards dynamic and static concepts. Thus, there was a 'shifting of the axes of reconstruction of national identity', where, the 'significant past' constructs 'myths' dressed by 'folk tradition' and negotiated as 'authentic national culture'^{xxxi}.

During this era of social conflict cinema in Greece was established and a close relation was cultivated between people with Greek cinema and the definition of 'Greekness' during that time^{xxxii}. Despite the import of subtitled films from the West, cinema in Greece was growing into a western context and gained international

attention with films like ‘*Stella*’ (Cacogiannis, 1955) ‘*Never on Sunday*’ (Jules Dassin, 1960) and ‘*Zorba the Greek*’ (Cacogiannis, 1964)^{xxxiii}. However, the vast majority of Greek films had faced undervaluation by Greeks intellectuals and critics^{xxxiv}. The main argument was based on two axes; first, that cinema in Greece of that period was acting as an ideological tool in order to enlighten dominant ideology and second, its massive acceptance by the audience, especially of the “lower class” could not correspond to the prerequisites of “high art”^{xxxv}.

The film ‘*Zorba the Greek*’, depicted its own ‘Greekness’ and proved to be the most controversial film of the year. Kazantzakis^{xxxvi} was a strong advocate of popular language and he was searching the Greek consciousness in people’s everyday life entering a progressive, dynamic concept about ‘Greekness’. His novel was written during German Occupation in 1943 and explored and projected ‘Greek people’s remarkable powers of endurance despite repeated disaster’^{xxxvii}. Until 1963 the novel was well-known in Europe and America and had already been proposed for as a film, which finally happened when Michalis Cacogiannis accepted the offer^{xxxviii}.

The Zorba’s cinematic dance beyond studio and screen

The staged cultural stuff

Following the analysis of Zografou and Pateraki (2007), this cinematic dance was the result of the combination of a melody for a traditional dance from Crete called *syrtos* and a *hasapikos* dance, along with a well-known song based on the *rebetiko* genre, “*Strose to stroma sou gia dyo.*” At a surface level there is the ‘oriental cloak’ of the choreography, connecting the local-traditional with oriental urban-folk which has a deeply European orientation, offering a balanced movement between East and West. The authors claim that “the image of Zorba – himself the embodiment of conflicting identities – is a hybrid invention, a ‘third locus’ (Bhabha 1994) projecting a Greek identity which is neither here nor there and does not truly comply with the type of binary distinctions proposed in the past (e.g., Hellenes/Romii^{xxxix})”. The supposed contrast by Kazantzakis between the “man of intellect” and the “man of action,” accommodates the premise of collaboration between them and not one’s overcoming^{xl}.

However, Zorba’s cinematic dance was dressed with another cloak, that of commercial success which illustrated it with care-free inspiration. Its enormous glory

activated a new prestige which expanded the ‘revitalization of its celebration’ due to recreational shows providing it as “staged authenticity”^{xli}. Thus, even though at the beginning Cretan people did not like Cacoyiannis’s depictions of the way of living on their island, still they did not stay intangible of its commercial success. As Jeremy Boissevain^{xlii} points out, generally, communities have been quick to seize the commercial opportunities that tourism presents. Especially peripheral areas “imply one of the most striking characteristics of tourism, that is, the way it promotes self-awareness, pride, self-confidence and solidarity among those being visited”^{xliii}. Especially Cretans as we will see further they have already based their identity on pride, self-confidence and solidarity.

Based on Erving Goffman’s (1959) concept of front and back stage in social life, MacCannell suggests that “staged authenticity” is a facet of the ‘front stage’ of cultural tourism. That is, “a meeting place of hosts and guests or customers and service persons” while at the same time there is the backstage “where members of the home team retire between performances to relax and to prepare”. As Boissevain points out about MacCannell’s argument “these back regions are normally closed to outsiders. Their mere existence implies their possible violation. The back region is somehow more ‘intimate and real’ as against the front regions ‘show’. It is consequently viewed as more ‘truthful’, more ‘authentic’. The back region is where the tourist can experience true authenticity and achieve an oneness with his host”^{xliv}.

It is obvious that Zorba’s cinematic dance both on screen and theatre ‘staged’ an ‘authenticity’ providing thus “gazing upon it as a ‘living’ museum”^{xlv}. Thus, its commercial success, established it as stereotypical image^{xlvi} resulting in a univocal view for Greek dance. It becomes clear that dance amongst other ‘cultural stuff’ can be at the front of articulating of inventions which can serve a range of negotiations amongst people’s interests. However, even if it is providing as a ‘living museum’, as a kind of authenticity it suggests what else may be explored ‘backstage’ bringing this game to the centre of the social negotiation.

‘The game of differentiation and sameness’

We will explore the ‘game of differentiation and sameness’ as it has been proposed by Zografou and Pipyrrou^{xlvii}. Exploring the relationship between history and the collective dancing identity the authors argued that “communities draw inspiration

from their historical past and through their dance manifestations they suggest new political possibilities”^{xlvi}. Discussing about Pontians (refugees from Anatolia) and Cretans they argued that “following different ‘paths’ within the Greek State Pontians and Cretans alike seek to promote through their dance their ‘Pontian-ness’ and ‘Cretan-ness’ respectively, but above all and most importantly their ‘Greek-ness’”.

Let us follow their argument for the case of the Cretans. They state that Cretan identity is a “powerful local identity” which is based on the representation of “heroism and resistance”^{xlix} combining the feeling of isolation as a border area and the glorious past. Although being Cretan is of priority for Cretan people at the same time this identity is distinctively Greek as it can compose the significant Archaic past with the recent as a locus of resistance against Ottomans and Germans as well during dictatorship in Greece. This results in an extra Cretan localism with many cases of illustrations which is easily to be found in the Cretan improvised *distichs* (*mandinadhes*) as well in Cretan dancing tradition. Amongst others cases is the renaming of the Hasaposerviko dance as the Nturnerakia. The second part of the word, Serviko, refers to a non-Cretan Greek identity, and as such it could not be adopted, instead it had to be re-named^l.

According to the two authors^{li} people can “construct their signs of difference by privileging or devaluing aspects of their “cultural stuff” in direct relation to national politics^{lii}”. In our case, as far as concerning cinematic Zorba’s dance it is interesting to note that as it could not be renamed, Cretans were quick to adopt it as a culturally significant “product” for the Greek tourist industry^{liii} but yet “branded” as heavily Cretan. Thus, they embodied its prestige contesting it as primary Cretan.

The embodiment of prestige

Let us see how our interlocutor, the teacher, embodied the prestige of Zorba’s cinematic dance by performing verbally and bodily his meeting with the director in Chania, his knowledge about Kazantzakis, and his teaching. Due to such vast regional variations in Greek dance and dancing identity on the one hand and a united Greek ethnos on the other, it is appropriate to combine Cretan-Greek dance identity into the same context. The teacher showed us the reference in a local newspaper to his lessons with Quinn and told us about his meeting with the director in order to arrange these lessons. He introduced us to this as follows:

“Yesterday evening, I asked for “Fragkosyriani”^{liv} to be played. I wanted to remember the dance. With this song the dance “came up”. When we performed Zorba’s dance there was no syrtaki melody yet. I had a small record player with the song Fragkosyriani –This is the history of syrtaki.

When we met, me and Cacogiannis, he asked me:

C. “do you perform Greek folk dances?”

K. “I perform a range of 30-32 Greek dances”.

C. “What about urban folk dances?”

K. “Yes, I know hasapiko, hasaposerviko, zeibekiko”.

C. Look, This is what I want: Have you read Kazantzakis’s “Zorba”?

K. “Yes I have, I don’t remember a lot but I know about it”.

C. “What do you know about it?”

K. “Let’s see ... He was a Boehm man, an adventurer, a ladies man, who wanted to work, to enjoy women ... I believe that he would have wanted to express everything he does through dance, because dance is nothing other than expressing your interior emotions, whether it is your sorrow, your longing or your joy”.

C. Ok, we will manage it.

The teacher gave us some details about the lessons: “we started with the Kalamatianos – we had almost finished with it and he insisted on another dance. After the Kalamatianos we went on to the Syrto Chaniotikos, which we persisted on, although this didn’t excite him as much – I preferred to teach him rather than demonstrating the dance. I taught him and we danced together. Next, we worked on the Pentozali. We completed the whole procedure surrounding this dance, which he found difficult, but he finally managed it – imagine how sore my shoulders were! (You know how the Pentozali is danced! Demonstrating the grip on the shoulders). He was a big fellow; I was dripping with sweat by the time we finished the lesson. When he actually danced the “scissors” of the Pentozali (from which the steps of Zorba’s dance are derived) I got so carried away that I turned and kicked him ... and then broke into another sweat for fear of one of his beefy fists knocking me down ... But, seeing my reaction, he just patted me on the shoulder, said “Good, good”, and we carried on.

The next day we went over the dance again and he asked me for something else, so we started practising the Hasapikos. When we finished the Hasapikos I was so glad that he was doing well that I started to practise the scissors of the Pentozali very fast –

and that was how syrtaki came into being – through the connection of the two dances. Actually, they were connected by those who were present when he danced during the shooting of the film or by himself. I did not see the dance.” (He meant that he was not present at recording time).

The teacher tried to induce Quinn to the conceptual dimension of the dance, placing emphasis on shaping his body kinesis (facial expressions, arm and leg movements). He recognized his guidance in Quinn’s cinematic performance.

As I told you, during our lessons we did not know what would be the music for the film. I taught Quinn several dance movements focusing on Cacogiannis’ instructions, mainly hasapikos and pentozalis. When I later saw the film I recognized what I had taught Quinn. This is Zorba’s dance, our hasapikos with the scissors of pentozalis; what I taught him.

It is obvious that the teacher’s choice of repertoire (Kalamatianos, Syrto Chaniotikos, Pentozalis) illustrated a certain tendency about ‘formal’ Cretan dancing tradition that was cultivated after Crete’s incorporation in Greek State^{lv}. Furthermore, the manipulation of locality in Zorba’s cinematic dance is greatly manipulated. According to Jenkins,^{lvi} Zorba's dance was included in Cretan ‘cultural stuff’ as ‘our own’. Its name ‘syrtaki’ came from syrto, ‘our’ syrto and it was underlined that ‘there was no syrtaki before’ this. Furthermore the writer of the well-known novel, the famous Nikos Kazantzakis, is also Cretan. His agency (Stelios) as the teacher who prepared and initiated the actor to local cultural context is very important, ‘giving birth’ alongside the famous Zorba’s dance.

Picture 1. Picture was taken in 1964 during the visit to Eleftherios Venizelos’s grave in Chania.

The stuff of the film was accompanied by the dancing group which later danced in the first screening of the film. The fourth person from the left near by Michalis Cacogiannis (with white coat) is the dancer, Philippas (dressed in local Cretan clothes). The first person right, behind Antony Quinn is the teacher, Stelios (research photo archive).

The ‘staged authenticity’ of Zorba’s dance

Let’s follow the dancer’s path of negotiation. He focused on his numerous staged performances around the world as well his presence on the ‘first performance’: *“I have danced Zorba’s dance a million times, oh, yes a million times. Photos, many photos, sometimes I cannot even remember the places. All over America, Europe, Italy, Spain, United Kingdom, Russia ... this dance belongs to the film. I was there and I know it and I also know how to do it. A lot of people say that they know it firsthand. I am performing Greek dances, Cretan and urban-folk repertoire for many years. We also danced for the film ... I was there when the film was recorded. You can ask Lassally, the cameraman, he knows very well.*

The dancer explained to us that *“the shooting of the dance began to unfold to the accompaniment of Theodorakis’s music relayed through a loudspeaker. “It starts slowly, as the hassapikos, and gets faster like the hassaposervikos, the tempo of this music increasing. As far as the movements are concerned the steps are the hassapikos steps, going from slow to fast”. It is hassapikos dance and syrtos, our syrtos, the local Cretan”.*

Here there are some more associations to ‘Cretan stuff’, such as the famous composer Mikis Theodorakis and the well-known Koutsourelis’ syrtos. According to the director it was on his instructions that Theodorakis created a kind of medley stitched together by familiar popular musical motifs from previous compositions by Theodorakis, tailored to fit the *Koutsourelis’s Syrtos*. Alongside, the director argued that his choice of dance was based on the fact that *hasapikos* was easier for a foreign actor to perform and more visually impressive than that of *zeibekikos*^{lvii}.

Once again, as the teacher did, the dancer focused on the locality of the dance, ‘*our syrtos, the local Cretan*’. There was also a slight game on how they put together local cretan syrtos and pentozalis with hasapikos. They incorporated the hasapikos as Greek in order to explain how this is an element of Zorba’s dance. However, as there was a

mixture of local Cretan and Greek-Cretan motifs they emphasized locality in a broader context that included people and place. The dancer also focused on his close relations with people who participated in producing the film and especially Antony Quinn providing the ‘informal’ and close relation challenging our interest: *“I was taxi driver and I was “component” of the production. Do you understand what I mean? (He is laughing). We were together everywhere. The director, actors, operation team and me, we were together for work, for food, for fun. Me and Anthony (Quinn) we were good friends. We were very close to each other”*.



Picture 2. The dancer, Philippas (research photo archive)

It is obvious that locality held a significant place in his narrative in his words. He performed Zorba’s dance all over the world following its global fame. He embodied the prestige of Zorba’s dance addressing that it is a local Cretan – semi Cretan-traditional artifact contesting in this way his claims about local social recognition.

We can understand this better if we see what happened with another symbol of the Greek state, Syrtos Kalamatianos, well known as a Pan-Hellenic dance. Zografou and Pipyrrou have argued about Pontians and their relation to it that “there is a game of differentiation and sameness”. The authors discuss the case of the incorporation of Syrtos Kalamatianos, as Pan-Hellenic dance, by Pontians as an attempt to adopt meaningful local dances in order to enforce their presence as members of Greek

society. This is happening “while also Pontians carefully cultivating their difference”. Thus their interests are amongst “the elements that were perceived as belonging to a pan-Hellenic repertory, bringing them under the same nationalistic umbrella as other Greek populations”. “Similarly, in their attempt to connect themselves with ancient Greek ideals, the cornerstone of Greek nationalism, Pontians readily recognized a number of their dances as “pure” and “authentic” remnants of a Hellenic past when all Greeks shared a common dance repertory”^{lviii}.

As our informants argued, Zorba’s cinematic dance was made in Crete incorporating the local tradition, thus it was claimed to be not just Greek, but Cretan as well. More precisely, they claimed that it is primarily Cretan. This is something that they know better than anyone else. Both the teacher and the dancer in different ways insisted that they really know for granted. This manifestation, “*I am [the one who matters] and no one else*” according to Herzfeld is ‘effectively synonymous with self-regard, egohismos’^{lix}. Discussing about this in Cretan context Herzfeld addresses it as *a canon of being different*: that is being different is what that matters. This is basically constructed by their widely acknowledgement of their role to the history of Greece, their border area and their separate geographic position^{lx}. Cretans, claiming that can stand for Greece as Greece stands to Europe^{lxi}, embody the prestige of the glorified cinematic dance negotiating that if Zorba dances and invites European tourists to Greece then it is Crete that makes the invitation first. Thus, Cretans included very carefully Zorba’s cinematic dance from the very beginning to their formal staged performances on first screening of film “Zorba the Greek” in Paris on 3rd March 1965. Their presence that night demonstrated their interests in enforcing the promotion of their island through the film in the global tourist market.

As the dancer told us, they included in their performance local Cretan dances and urban-folk repertoire, concluding with Zorba’s dance. They performed it separately from the local Cretan repertoire but they put it in a very significant position of their performance – at the end. It is obvious that paraphrasing Herzfeld ‘a successful performance of Zorba’s dance concentrates the audience’s attention to the performance itself’^{lxii} which is suggesting everybody what else can be explored ‘backstage’.

Conclusion

In this paper we explored how people negotiate their association to ‘significant cultural stuff’ through a ‘game of differentiation and sameness’ in order to demand local claims for social recognition. It became clear that dance amongst other ‘cultural stuff’ can be at the front of articulating national inventions which can serve a range of negotiations amongst people’s interests. However, even if it is providing as a ‘living museum’, as a kind of national authenticity it suggests what else may be explored ‘backstage’ bringing this game to the centre of the social negotiation. Drawing upon the concepts of invention of tradition and staged authenticity we explored Zorba’s cinematic dance as a ‘small-scale invented tradition’ suggesting that it is staged and performed by Cretans in order to legitimate their local demands and interests in tourism.

People in Chania, Crete negotiate the locality of this invention by embodying the prestige of Zorba’s cinematic dance and by adopting it in staged performances of Cretan dancing repertoire cultivating at the same time both its nationality and its locality. They embody its prestige by “revitalizing its celebration” which is ‘heavily’ and primary Cretan enacting a local manifestation for recognition and enforcement. It is interesting to note that as it could not be renamed, Cretans were quick to adopt it as a culturally significant “product” for the Greek tourist industry but yet “branded” as heavily Cretan. They focus on certain ‘heavily’ Cretan elements of Zorba’s cinematic dance as the writer, the novel text, people actions (teaching, dancing), certain traditional music and dance motifs as well Cretan land. They claim its ‘Cretanness’ through a ‘game of differentiation and sameness’ established by their self regard and self knowledge revealing that the way people define ‘ours’ cultural stuff tends to be fluid and transformed strategically by their interests through several exclusions and inclusions.

We would like to thank Daniel Knight for his valuable comments on this work. We would like also to express our deepest appreciation to the two readers for their helpful comments as well to Dimitris Goulimaris for his encouragement during the editing of the paper.

References

- ⁱ Unfortunately, Stelios Katsivelakis was passed away in 2002, Michalis Cacoyiannis in 2011 and Philippos Skarantonakis in 2012. We will remember both the three of them with deep respect and love.
- ⁱⁱ It was financed and distributed by the American company 20th C. Fox.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Th. Agathos, *Apo to "Vios kai Politeia tou Alexi Zorba" sto "Zorba the Greek*, Aigokeros, Athens, 2007, p.98.
- ^{iv} As *Le Figaro* reported, Francois Patrice "launched" the dance on 24th March 1965, a day before the Greek Independence Day in a Paris club made up to look like the Acropolis, reprinted in Greek newspaper "*Liberty*", Agathos, "Vios", p.101.
- ^v Cinema critic in Greece
- ^{vi} Agathos, "Vios", p. 102.
- ^{vii} Jeremy, Boissevain, Introduction in *Coping with Tourists: European Reactions to Mass Tourism*, Volume 1, Berghahn Books, UK, 1996P. 2
- ^{viii} Eva Stefani, *Oi anaparastaseis tis Elladas stis ethnografikes tainies xenon dimiourgon:1960 - 1980* adimosieuti didaktoriki diatrivi, Panteion University of Social and Political Sciences, Dept. of Media, Athens, 1997; Th. Agathos, "Vios", p.98.
- ^{ix} Boissevain, "Coping", p.8.
- ^x Zografou & Pateraki 'The invisible dimension of Zorba's dance', *Yearbook of Traditional Music*, Vol.39, 2007, pp.117-131
- ^{xi} The underline is ours.
- ^{xii} Eric Hobsbawn, Introduction in *Invention of Tradition*, eds Eric Hobsbawn and Terence Rangers, Cambridge Unoversity Press, 198, p. 1.
- ^{xiii} Hobsbawn, "Introduction", pp. 5-8.
- ^{xiv} Hobsbawm "Introduction", pp. 12.
- ^{xv} Zografou & Pipyrou, "Dance and Difference:Towards an individualization of the Pontian Self" under publication in *Dance Chronicle*.
- ^{xvi} Zografou & Pipyrou, "Dance".
- ^{xvii} Jane, Cowan, *Dance and Body Politic in Northern Greece*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1990; Lizbet, Torp, Zorba's Dance, the history of a dance illusion and its tourist value, *Ethnografika*, 8, 1992, pp 207-210.
- ^{xviii} Richard, Jenkins, *Imagined but not Imaginary:Ethnicity and Nationalism in the Modern World*, in *Exotic No More*, ed. Jeremy MacClancy, The University of Chicago Press, London, 2002, pp.:120-121.
- ^{xix} Anna, Lydaki, *Piotikes methodoi tis Kinonikis Ereunas*, Athens:Kastaniotis, 2001, pp. 222-225.
- ^{xix} Paul, Thomson, *Fones apo to Parelthon. Oral Historia*, Athina, Plethron, 2008.
- ^{xix} Alongside with external narratives we compose analysis of a "system of popular literature, covers of music disks, cards and posters, gossip, legends, memories, and activities supporting stars" and cinematic zorba's dance, see in Dickey, "Cinema "p.41.
- ^{xix} The study of visual mediation has provided a significant work on how people conceive their lives and respectively construct their views about them. Banks, Marcus & Morphy, Howard, "Introduction" in Banks, Marcus & Morphy, Howard (eds) *Rethinking Visual Anthropology*, Yale, 1997, 1-36, p.1; Sarah, Pink, Sarah: *Doing Visual Ethnography*. London,2007, p.9. A detailed review in Mimina, Pateraki *I symvoli tis optikis antropologias sti meleti tou xorou*, under publication, in Epistimi tou Xorou
- ^{xix} Ginsburg F., Abu-Lughod L., Larkin Br., *Introduction* in *Media Worlds. Anthropology on new terrain*, eds Ginsburg F., Abu-Lughod L., Larkin Br, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2002, p. 20; MacDougall, David: "The visual in anthropology" in Banks, Marcus & Morphy, Howard: *Rethinking Visual Anthropology*, Yale, 1997, 276-296, p..283; Abu-Lughod Lilian, "Egyptian Melodrama – Technology of the Modern Subject?" στο Ginsburg F, Abu-Lughod L, Larkin B, (*επ.*) *Media Worlds*, Berkeley, 2002,115-133.
- ^{xix} Clifford James, Introduction in *Writing Culture. The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*,(eds.), Clifford J. & Marcus G., California Press, London, 1986,pp.17-18.
- ^{xix} Sarah, Pink, Enganging the senses, 2006, pp. 29-30.
- ^{xix} Ginsburg F., Abu-Lughod L., Larkin Br., "Introduction".
- ^{xix} Richard ,Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p.174.
- ^{xix} An extensive anthropological work on Greek national identity binarism has been made by Michael Herzfeld through his long-lasting fieldwork in Rodos and Crete, see Michael, Herzfeld, *H*

Anthropologia mesa apo ton kathrepti, trans in Greek by Rania Astrinaki, 1998, Athina, ekdoseis Aleksandreia.

^{xix} During the decade of 70's due to the prevailing theoretical view which was focused on theoretical dualisms there is a movement on the study of Greek identity by Greek scholars (Tsoukalas 1977, Mouzelis 1980, amongst others). This movement based on Marxist structuralism connects the construction of Greek identity with its peripheral position in to capitalism economy as well with the mediate position of Greece between central European metropolis and the rest world. Even though this perspective is based on an outside boundary of Greece 's dependence for the construction of Greek identity it gave forward on discussion about Greek consciousness and how European ideology underlies it and how this is projected by an extrinsic double connotation: Greece as a birthplace of European culture and East as profane. Hertzfeld denies dualisms as 'outside (world system)/ inside (greek society)' or 'bottom (base) / up (superstructure)', 'dependence/ resistance' and discusses on Greek national identity as a synthesis of opposing cultural poles as 'Romioi' and 'Hellenes' by pointing out that this is an ambiguous dialectic practice (Papataxiarchis ,Eisagogi sto Herzfeld, H Anthropologia, xvii-xx ; Herzfeld, H Anthropologia, p.121).

^{xix} See further Eric,Hobsbawn and Terence, Rangers, *I epinoisi tis paradosis* trans in Greek by Thanasis Athanasiou, 2004,Themelio, Athens; Benedict, Anderson, *Fantasiakes Koinotites*, trans in Greek by Pothiti Chantzaroula, ,1997, Nefeli, Athens. For an influential discussion on ideological construction of Greek national identity by Greek scholars, see in volume 'Hellenism and Greekness'(ed) by D.G.Tsaousis. Some ideas as Leontaritis's are influenced by the classical work of Antony Smith , Theories of Nationalism (London 1971) as well Raymond Williams 'Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory' in New Left Review, 82. see also note 29 in this text.

^{xix} Constadinidis, "Greek", pp.4-6.

^{xix} Stratos, Constadinidis, "Greek Film and the National Interest: A Brief Preface" in *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Vol. 18,2000, pp.4-6.

^{xix} Sotiris, Dimitriou, H Politiki Diastasi sti Texni , ekd. Savvalas, Athina,2009, p.270; Dimitris,Eleftheriotis, Interruptions in open air cinemas: Greek culture and cinema in the 1960s.[Optikoakousitiki Cultura](#), 1 , 2002,, pp. 167-180 p.168.

^{xix} Lydaki Mesa, p.80.

^{xix} Kazantzakis is a well-known author to Greeks and non Greeks and its novel is one of the most multi-translated texts of Greek literature. Agathos, "Vios"

^{xix} Peter Bien, Nikos Kazantzakis's Novels on Film, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Greek film, special edition by Stratos Constadinidis

^{xix} Co-producers were Michalis Cacoyiannis, scriptwriter and director of the film, and Anthony Quinn. The technical equipment of the Greek company Finos Films was used in making the film. Filming began in March 1964 and lasted about seven months. The main bulk of the footage was shot on locations in Crete, specifically in the area of Chania. The principal location was the beach at Stauvros, Akrotiri, where the dance scenes were filmed also. Anthony Quinn played the role of Alexis Zorbas and Alan Bates played the author. The main female roles were played by the actress Lila Kendrova, as Madame Hortense, and Irene Pappa, as the widow. Other participants were Yiorgos Fountas, who played Mauvrantonis, Sotiris Moustakas, who played the village idiot, and Eleni Anousaki, who played Zorba's girlfriend in Herakleion. The Director of photography, Walter Lassally was awarded an Oscar for this film, while the sets were designed by Vassilis Photopoulos. Mikis Theodorakis composed the music and Mikes Damalas was the sound engineer. Around 300 extras took part, among them Cretan musicians and dancers.

^{xix} Hertzfeld, "Anthropology",p.121.

^{xix} Mario, Vitti, *Istoria tis neoellinikis logotechnias* [History of modern Greek literature], Athens, Odysseas, 1978, p.304.

^{xix} Dean, MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken Books, 1976.

^{xix} Boissevain, "Coping", p.11.

^{xix} Boissevain, "Coping", p.6.

^{xix} MacCannell 1976:94-99 in Boissevain, "Coping", p.11.

^{xix} MacCannell, "The Tourist", p. 72.

^{xix} Michael, Herzfeld, *Anthropology though the Looking – Glass-Critical Ethnography at the Margins of Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987; Cowan, "Dance"; Torp, "Zorba"; Magda, Zografou, Parelthon kai Paron: O choros stin Ellada mesa apo ta keimena Dytikon periigiton kai laographon, *Praktika Iov Panelliniou Synedriou Laikou Politismou*, Serres, 1999, pp. . Mimina,

Pateraki, “H atheati pleura tou Zorba” Diatmimatiko metapyxiako programma spoudon, TEFAA, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2002, see also for the structural analysis of the choreography.

^{xix} Zografou Magda and Pipyrou Stavroula, “Dancing in History: Socio-Political Aspects of Dance Identity of Two Distinctive Groups in Greece,” *Studia Choreologica*, vol. 10 (2008): 25–41.

^{xix} Zografou Magda and Pipyrou Stavroula, “Dancing in History: Socio-Political Aspects of Dance Identity of Two Distinctive Groups in Greece,” *Studia Choreologica*, vol. 10 (2008): 25–41.

^{xix} Michael, Hertzfeld, *The Poetics of Manhood: Contest and Identity in a Cretan Mountain Village*, Princeton University Press, Oxford, 1985, p.7.

^{xix} Zografou and Pipyrou, “Dancing”, p.32.

^{xix} Zografou & Pipyrou, “Dance”.

^{xix} Fredrik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1969, p. 13.

^{xix} Besides domestic space and leisure, culture has become a major commodity in the tourist industry, see in Boissevain, “Coping”, p.11.

^{xix} Well- known song from rebetiko genre which is performed as hasapikos dance.

^{xix} which had its own genealogy until then. That is, even though there is a certain perspective about Cretan dancing repertoire which is well depicted on staged performances, Zografou & Pipyrou “Dancing”.

^{xix} (Jenkins 2002:120 - 121)

^{xix} This issue is explored by Zografou & Pateraki ‘The invisible dimension of Zorba’s dance’, *Yearbook of Traditional Music*, Vol.39, 2007, pp.117-131.

^{xix} “Such decontextualized dance in Greece was a result of the workings of Greek nationalism, which stressed a uniform and linear spatio-temporal continuity between ancient Greeks and present subjects, with ancient Greek mythologizing at the center of its conceptualization. Thus, dances such as *Syrtos Kalamatianos* were comfortably incorporated into Pontian dance celebrations not only as a result of the Greek educational curriculum, which Pontians and non-Pontians shared, but also because *Syrtos Kalamatianos* is perceived as a pan-Hellenic dance with ancient Greek origins.” Zografou & Pipyrou, “Dancing”.

^{xix} Herzfeld “Poetics”, p.11

^{xix} Herzfeld “Poetics”, p.11.

^{xix} Herzfeld “Poetics”, p.7.

^{xix} Herzfeld “Poetics”, p.11.

^{xix} Anna, Lydaki, *Piotikes methodoi tis Kinonikis Ereunas*, Athens:Kastaniotis, 2001, pp. 222-225.

^{xix} Paul, Thomson, *Fones apo to Parelthon. Oral Historia*, Athina, Plethron, 2008.

^{xix} Alongside with external narratives we compose analysis of a “system of popular literature, covers of music disks, cards and posters, gossip, legends, memories, and activities supporting stars” and cinematic zorba’s dance, see in Dickey, “Cinema “p.41.

^{xix} The study of visual mediation has provided a significant work on how people conceive their lives and respectively construct their views about them. Banks, Marcus & Morphy, Howard, “Introduction” in Banks, Marcus & Morphy, Howard (eds) *Rethinking Visual Anthropology*, Yale, 1997, 1-36, p.1; Sarah, Pink, Sarah: *Doing Visual Ethnography*. London,2007, p.9. A detailed review in Mimina, Pateraki *I symvoli tis optikis antropologias sti meleti tou xorou*, under publication, in Epistimi tou Xorou

^{xix} Ginsburg F., Abu-Lughod L., Larkin Br., *Introduction* in Media Worlds. Anthropology on new terrain, eds Ginsburg F., Abu-Lughod L., Larkin Br, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2002, p. 20; MacDougall, David: “The visual in anthropology” in Banks, Marcus & Morphy, Howard: *Rethinking Visual Anthropology*, Yale, 1997, 276-296, p.283; Abu-Lughod Lilian, “Egyptian Melodrama – Technology of the Modern Subject?” στο Ginsburg F, Abu-Lughod L, Larkin B, (επ.) *Media Worlds*, Berkeley, 2002,115-133.

^{xix} Clifford James, Introduction in *Writing Culture. The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*,(eds.), Clifford J. & Marcus G., California Press, London, 1986,pp.17-18.

^{xix} Sarah, Pink, Enganging the senses, 2006, pp. 29-30.

^{xix} Ginsburg F., Abu-Lughod L., Larkin Br., “Introduction”.

^{xix} Richard ,Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p.174.

^{xix} An extensive anthropological work on Greek national identity binarism has been made by Michael Herzfeld through his long-lasting fieldwork in Rodos and Crete, see Michael, Herzfeld, *H Anthropologia mesa apo ton kathrepti*, trans in Greek by Rania Astrinaki, 1998, Athina, ekdoseis Aleksandreia.

^{xix} During the decade of 70's due to the prevailing theoretical view which was focused on theoretical dualisms there is a movement on the study of Greek identity by Greek scholars (Tsoukalas 1977, Mouzelis 1980, amongst others). This movement based on Marxist structuralism connects the construction of Greek identity with its peripheral position in to capitalism economy as well with the mediate position of Greece between central European metropolis and the rest world. Even though this perspective is based on an outside boundary of Greece 's dependence for the construction of Greek identity it gave forward on discussion about Greek consciousness and how European ideology underlies it and how this is projected by an extrinsic double connotation: Greece as a birthplace of European culture and East as profane. Hertzfeld denies dualisms as 'outside (world system)/ inside (greek society)' or 'bottom (base) / up (superstructure)', 'dependence/ resistance' and discusses on Greek national identity as a synthesis of opposing cultural poles as 'Romioi' and 'Hellenes' by pointing out that this is an ambiguous dialectic practice (Papataxiarchis ,Eisagogi sto Herzfeld, H Anthropologia, xvii-xx ; Herzfeld, H Anthropologia, p.121).

^{xix} See further Eric,Hobsbawn and Terence, Rangers, *I epinoisi tis paradosis* trans in Greek by Thanasis Athanasiou, 2004,Themelio, Athens; Benedict, Anderson, *Fantasiakes Koinotites*, trans in Greek by Pothiti Chantzaroula, ,1997, Nefeli, Athens. For an influential discussion on ideological construction of Greek national identity by Greek scholars, see in volume 'Hellenism and Greekness'(ed) by D.G.Tsaousis. Some ideas as Leontaritis's are influenced by the classical work of Antony Smith , Theories of Nationalism (London 1971) as well Raymond Williams 'Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory' in New Left Review, 82. see also note 29 in this text.

^{xix} Constadinidis, "Greek" , pp.4-6.

^{xix} Stratos, Constadinidis, "Greek Film and the National Interest: A Brief Preface" in *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Vol. 18,2000, pp.4-6.

^{xix} Sotiris, Dimitriou, H Politiki Diastasi sti Texni , ekd. Savvalas, Athina,2009, p.270; Dimitris,Eleftheriotis, _Interruptions in open air cinemas: Greek culture and cinema in the 1960s.*Optikoakousitiki Cultura*, 1 , 2002., pp. 167-180 p.168.

^{xix} Lydaki Mesa, p.80.

^{xix} Kazantzakis is a well-known author to Greeks and non Greeks and its novel is one of the most multi-translated texts of Greek literature. Agathos, "Vios"

^{xix} Peter Bien, Nikos Kazantzakis's Novels on Film, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Greek film, special edition by Stratos Constadinidis

^{xix} Co-producers were Michalis Cacoyiannis, scriptwriter and director of the film, and Anthony Quinn. The technical equipment of the Greek company Finos Films was used in making the film. Filming began in March 1964 and lasted about seven months. The main bulk of the footage was shot on locations in Crete, specifically in the area of Chania. The principal location was the beach at Stauvros, Akrotiri, where the dance scenes were filmed also. Anthony Quinn played the role of Alexis Zorbas and Alan Bates played the author. The main female roles were played by the actress Lila Kendrova, as Madame Hortense, and Irene Pappa, as the widow. Other participants were Yiorgos Fountas, who played Mauvranonitis, Sotiris Moustakas, who played the village idiot, and Eleni Anousaki, who played Zorba's girlfriend in Herakleion. The Director of photography, Walter Lassally was awarded an Oscar for this film, while the sets were designed by Vassilis Photopoulos. Mikis Theodorakis composed the music and Mikes Damalas was the sound engineer. Around 300 extras took part, among them Cretan musicians and dancers.

^{xix} Hertzfeld, "Anthropology",p.121.

^{xix} Mario, Vitti, *Istoria tis neoellinikis logotechnias* [History of modern Greek literature], Athens, Odysseas, 1978, p.304.

^{xix} Dean, MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken Books, 1976.

^{xix} Boissevain, "Coping", p.11.

^{xix} Boissevain, "Coping", p.6.

^{xix} MacCannell 1976:94-99 in Boissevain, "Coping", p.11.

^{xix} MacCannell, "The Tourist" , p. 72.

^{xix} Michael, Herzfeld, *Anthropology though the Looking – Glass-Critical Ethnography at the Margins of Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987; Cowan, "Dance"; Torp, "Zorba"; Magda, Zografou, Parelthon kai Paron: O choros stin Ellada mesa apo ta keimena Dytikon periigiton kai laographon, *Praktika Iov Panelliniou Synedriou Laikou Politismou*, Serres, 1999, pp. . Mimina, Pateraki, "H atheati pleura tou Zorba" Diatmimatiko metaptyxiako programma spoudon, TEFAA, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2002, see also for the structural analysis of the choreography.

- ^{xix} Zografou Magda and Pipyrou Stavroula, “Dancing in History: Socio-Political Aspects of Dance Identity of Two Distinctive Groups in Greece,” *Studia Choreologica*, vol. 10 (2008): 25–41.
- ^{xix} Zografou Magda and Pipyrou Stavroula, “Dancing in History: Socio-Political Aspects of Dance Identity of Two Distinctive Groups in Greece,” *Studia Choreologica*, vol. 10 (2008): 25–41.
- ^{xix} Michael, Hertzfeld, *The Poetics of Manhood: Contest and Identity in a Cretan Mountain Village*, Princeton University Press, Oxford, 1985, p.7.
- ^{xix} Zografou and Pipyrou, “Dancing”, p.32.
- ^{xix} Zografou & Pipyrou, “Dance”.
- ^{xix} Fredrik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1969, p. 13.
- ^{xix} Besides domestic space and leisure, culture has become a major commodity in the tourist industry, see in Boissevain, “Coping”, p.11.
- ^{xix} Well- known song from rebetiko genre which is performed as hasapikos dance.
- ^{xix} which had its own genealogy until then. That is, even though there is a certain perspective about Cretan dancing repertoire which is well depicted on staged performances, Zografou & Pipyrou “Dancing”.
- ^{xix} (Jenkins 2002:120 - 121)
- ^{xix} This issue is explored by Zografou & Pateraki ‘The invisible dimension of Zorba’s dance’, *Yearbook of Traditional Music*, Vol.39, 2007, pp.117-131.
- ^{xix} “Such decontextualized dance in Greece was a result of the workings of Greek nationalism, which stressed a uniform and linear spatio-temporal continuity between ancient Greeks and present subjects, with ancient Greek mythologizing at the center of its conceptualization. Thus, dances such as *Syrtos Kalamatianos* were comfortably incorporated into Pontian dance celebrations not only as a result of the Greek educational curriculum, which Pontians and non-Pontians shared, but also because *Syrtos Kalamatianos* is perceived as a pan-Hellenic dance with ancient Greek origins.” Zografou & Pipyrou, “Dancing”.
- ^{xix} Herzfeld “Poetics”, p.11
- ^{xix} Herzfeld “Poetics”, p.11.
- ^{xix} Herzfeld “Poetics”, p.7.
- ^{xix} Herzfeld “Poetics”, p.11.
- ^{xix} Zografou Magda and Pipyrou Stavroula, “Dancing in History: Socio-Political Aspects of Dance Identity of Two Distinctive Groups in Greece,” *Studia Choreologica*, vol. 10 (2008): 25–41.
- ^{xix} Michael, Hertzfeld, *The Poetics of Manhood: Contest and Identity in a Cretan Mountain Village*, Princeton University Press, Oxford, 1985, p.7.
- ^{xix} Zografou and Pipyrou, “Dancing”, p.32.
- ^{xix} Zografou & Pipyrou, “Dance”.
- ^{xix} Fredrik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1969, p. 13.
- ^{xix} Besides domestic space and leisure, culture has become a major commodity in the tourist industry, see in Boissevain, “Coping”, p.11.
- ^{xix} Well- known song from rebetiko genre which is performed as hasapikos dance.
- ^{xix} which had its own genealogy until then. That is, even though there is a certain perspective about Cretan dancing repertoire which is well depicted on staged performances, Zografou & Pipyrou “Dancing”.
- ^{xix} (Jenkins 2002:120 - 121)
- ^{xix} This issue is explored by Zografou & Pateraki ‘The invisible dimension of Zorba’s dance’, *Yearbook of Traditional Music*, Vol.39, 2007, pp.117-131.
- ^{xix} “Such decontextualized dance in Greece was a result of the workings of Greek nationalism, which stressed a uniform and linear spatio-temporal continuity between ancient Greeks and present subjects, with ancient Greek mythologizing at the center of its conceptualization. Thus, dances such as *Syrtos Kalamatianos* were comfortably incorporated into Pontian dance celebrations not only as a result of the Greek educational curriculum, which Pontians and non-Pontians shared, but also because *Syrtos Kalamatianos* is perceived as a pan-Hellenic dance with ancient Greek origins.” Zografou & Pipyrou, “Dancing”.
- ^{xix} Herzfeld “Poetics”, p.11
- ^{xix} Herzfeld “Poetics”, p.11.
- ^{xix} Herzfeld “Poetics”, p.7.
- ^{xix} Herzfeld “Poetics”, p.11.
- ^{xx} Anna, Lydaki, *Piotikes methodoi tis Kinonikis Ereunas*, Athens:Kastaniotis, 2001, pp. 222-225.

- ^{xxi} Paul, Thomson, *Fones apo to Parelthon. Oral Historia*, Athina, Plethron, 2008.
- ^{xxii} Alongside with external narratives we compose analysis of a “system of popular literature, covers of music disks, cards and posters, gossip, legends, memories, and activities supporting stars” and cinematic zorba’s dance, see in Dickey, “Cinema “p.41.
- ^{xxiii} The study of visual mediation has provided a significant work on how people conceive their lives and respectively construct their views about them. Banks, Marcus & Morphy, Howard, “Introduction” in Banks, Marcus & Morphy, Howard (eds) *Rethinking Visual Anthropology*, Yale, 1997, 1-36, p.1; Sarah, Pink, Sarah: *Doing Visual Ethnography*. London, 2007, p.9. A detailed review in Mimina, Pateraki *I symvoli tis optikis antropologias sti meleti tou xorou*, under publication, in Epistimi tou Xorou
- ^{xxiv} Ginsburg F., Abu-Lughod L., Larkin Br., *Introduction* in Media Worlds. Anthropology on new terrain, eds Ginsburg F., Abu-Lughod L., Larkin Br, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2002, p. 20; MacDougall, David: “The visual in anthropology” in Banks, Marcus & Morphy, Howard: *Rethinking Visual Anthropology*, Yale, 1997, 276-296, p.283; Abu-Lughod Lilian, “Egyptian Melodrama – Technology of the Modern Subject?” στο Ginsburg F, Abu-Lughod L, Larkin B, (επ.) *Media Worlds*, Berkeley, 2002, 115-133.
- ^{xxv} Clifford James, Introduction in *Writing Culture. The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, (eds.), Clifford J. & Marcus G., California Press, London, 1986, pp.17-18.
- ^{xxvi} Sarah, Pink, Engaging the senses, 2006, pp. 29-30.
- ^{xxvii} Ginsburg F., Abu-Lughod L., Larkin Br., “Introduction”.
- ^{xxviii} Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p.174.
- ^{xxix} An extensive anthropological work on Greek national identity binarism has been made by Michael Herzfeld through his long-lasting fieldwork in Rodos and Crete, see Michael, Herzfeld, *H Anthropologia mesa apo ton kathrepti*, trans in Greek by Rania Astrinaki, 1998, Athina, ekdoseis Aleksandreia.
- ^{xxx} During the decade of 70’s due to the prevailing theoretical view which was focused on theoretical dualisms there is a movement on the study of Greek identity by Greek scholars (Tsoukalas 1977, Mouzelis 1980, amongst others). This movement based on Marxist structuralism connects the construction of Greek identity with its peripheral position in to capitalism economy as well with the mediate position of Greece between central European metropolis and the rest world. Even though this perspective is based on an outside boundary of Greece ‘s dependence for the construction of Greek identity it gave forward on discussion about Greek consciousness and how European ideology underlies it and how this is projected by an extrinsic double connotation: Greece as a birthplace of European culture and East as profane. Hertzfeld denies dualisms as ‘outside (world system)/ inside (greek society)’ or ‘bottom (base) / up (superstructure)’, ‘dependence/ resistance’ and discusses on Greek national identity as a synthesis of opposing cultural poles as ‘Romioi’ and ‘Hellenes’ by pointing out that this is an ambiguous dialectic practice (Papataxiarchis ,Eisagogi sto Herzfeld, H Anthropologia, xvii-xx ; Herzfeld, H Anthropologia, p.121).
- ^{xxxi} See further Eric, Hobsbawn and Terence, Rangers, *I epinoisi tis paradosis* trans in Greek by Thanasis Athanasiou, 2004, Themelio, Athens; Benedict, Anderson, *Fantasiakes Koinotites*, trans in Greek by Pothiti Chantzaroula, 1997, Nefeli, Athens. For an influential discussion on ideological construction of Greek national identity by Greek scholars, see in volume ‘Hellenism and Greekness’ (ed) by D.G.Tsaousis. Some ideas as Leontaritis’s are influenced by the classical work of Antony Smith , *Theories of Nationalism* (London 1971) as well Raymond Williams ‘Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory’ in *New Left Review*, 82. see also note 29 in this text.
- ^{xxxii} Constadinidis, “Greek” , pp.4-6.
- ^{xxxiii} Stratos, Constadinidis, “Greek Film and the National Interest: A Brief Preface” in *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Vol. 18, 2000, pp.4-6.
- ^{xxxiv} Sotiris, Dimitriou, H Politiki Diastasi sti Texni , ekd. Savvalas, Athina, 2009, p.270; Dimitris, Eleftheriotis, Interruptions in open air cinemas: Greek culture and cinema in the 1960s. *Optikoakousitiki Cultura*, 1 , 2002,, pp. 167-180 p.168.
- ^{xxxv} Lydaki Mesa, p.80.
- ^{xxxvi} Kazantzakis is a well-known author to Greeks and non Greeks and its novel is one of the most multi-translated texts of Greek literature. Agathos, “Vios”
- ^{xxxvii} Peter Bien, Nikos Kazantzakis’s Novels on Film, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, Greek film, special edition by Stratos Constadinidis
- ^{xxxviii} Co-producers were Michalis Cacoyiannis, scriptwriter and director of the film, and Anthony Quinn. The technical equipment of the Greek company Finos Films was used in making the film.

Filming began in March 1964 and lasted about seven months. The main bulk of the footage was shot on locations in Crete, specifically in the area of Chania. The principal location was the beach at Stauvros, Akrotiri, where the dance scenes were filmed also. Anthony Quinn played the role of Alexis Zorbas and Alan Bates played the author. The main female roles were played by the actress Lila Kendrova, as Madame Hortense, and Irene Pappa, as the widow. Other participants were Yiorgos Fountas, who played Mauvranonitis, Sotiris Moustakas, who played the village idiot, and Eleni Anousaki, who played Zorba's girlfriend in Herakleion. The Director of photography, Walter Lassally was awarded an Oscar for this film, while the sets were designed by Vassilis Photopoulos. Mikis Theodorakis composed the music and Mikes Damalas was the sound engineer. Around 300 extras took part, among them Cretan musicians and dancers.

^{xxxix} Hertzfeld, "Anthropology", p.121.

^{xl} Mario, Vitti, *Istoria tis neoellinikis logotechnias* [History of modern Greek literature], Athens, Odysseas, 1978, p.304.

^{xli} Dean, MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken Books, 1976.

^{xlii} Boissevain, "Coping", p.11.

^{xliii} Boissevain, "Coping", p.6.

^{xliv} MacCannell 1976:94-99 in Boissevain, "Coping", p.11.

^{xlv} MacCannell, "The Tourist", p. 72.

^{xlvi} Michael, Hertzfeld, *Anthropology though the Looking – Glass-Critical Ethnography at the Margins of Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987; Cowan, "Dance"; Torp, "Zorba"; Magda, Zografou, Parelthon kai Paron: O choros stin Ellada mesa apo ta keimena Dytikon periigiton kai laographon, *Praktika Iov Panelliniou Synedriou Laikou Politismou*, Serres, 1999, pp. . Mimina, Pateraki, "H atheati pleura tou Zorba" Diatmimatiko metaptyxiako programma spoudon, TEFAA, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, 2002, see also for the structural analysis of the choreography.

^{xlvii} Zografou Magda and Pipyrou Stavroula, "Dancing in History: Socio-Political Aspects of Dance Identity of Two Distinctive Groups in Greece," *Studia Choreologica*, vol. 10 (2008): 25–41.

^{xlviii} Zografou Magda and Pipyrou Stavroula, "Dancing in History: Socio-Political Aspects of Dance Identity of Two Distinctive Groups in Greece," *Studia Choreologica*, vol. 10 (2008): 25–41.

^{xlix} Michael, Hertzfeld, *The Poetics of Manhood: Contest and Identity in a Cretan Mountain Village*, Princeton University Press, Oxford, 1985, p.7.

^l Zografou and Pipyrou, "Dancing", p.32.

^{li} Zografou & Pipyrou, "Dance".

^{lii} Fredrik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1969, p. 13.

^{liii} Besides domestic space and leisure, culture has become a major commodity in the tourist industry, see in Boissevain, "Coping", p.11.

^{liv} Well-known song from rebetiko genre which is performed as hasapikos dance.

^{lv} which had its own genealogy until then. That is, even though there is a certain perspective about Cretan dancing repertoire which is well depicted on staged performances, Zografou & Pipyrou "Dancing".

^{lvi} (Jenkins 2002:120 - 121)

^{lvii} This issue is explored by Zografou & Pateraki 'The invisible dimension of Zorba's dance', *Yearbook of Traditional Music*, Vol.39, 2007, pp.117-131.

^{lviii} "Such decontextualized dance in Greece was a result of the workings of Greek nationalism, which stressed a uniform and linear spatio-temporal continuity between ancient Greeks and present subjects, with ancient Greek mythologizing at the center of its conceptualization. Thus, dances such as *Syrtos Kalamatianos* were comfortably incorporated into Pontian dance celebrations not only as a result of the Greek educational curriculum, which Pontians and non-Pontians shared, but also because *Syrtos Kalamatianos* is perceived as a pan-Hellenic dance with ancient Greek origins." Zografou & Pipyrou "Dancing".

^{lix} Hertzfeld "Poetics", p.11

^{lx} Hertzfeld "Poetics", p.11.

^{lxi} Hertzfeld "Poetics", p.7.

^{lxii} Hertzfeld "Poetics", p.11.