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Cultural Mobilisation by the Greek Far Right: The Case of Cavafy and the Golden Dawn

Abstract: This thesis deals with the issue of cultural appropriation by the Greek far-right party Golden Dawn. Under which conditions does Golden Dawn (GD) manage to implement cultural personas and objects in its narrative, what enables it to do so, and what is the result of this practice? Can a cultural object mobilised for political purposes speak back and what does that entail for the object's political force? Furthermore, how can culture and one's way of looking at it function as a catalyst for the formation of bonds amongst men? Focusing on C.P. Cavafy's mobilisation by GD, and using concepts and insights by Bal, van Alphen, Derrida, and Puar as its theoretical background, this thesis will probe into these questions. Approaching GD's website as a museum where cultural objects are placed and viewers are invited to gaze upon them, as well as by examining performances of homophobia by GD, I argue that there is a strong aspect of theatricality in these practices. This theatricality shapes an audience, which, whether accepting or condemning what it sees, essentially serves to further foster male bonds within Golden Dawn.

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1. Introduction

Since the late 90's there has been a rise in the popularity of far-right parties, culminating in their entrance to parliamentary bodies. The impact of this tendency, although felt primarily in Europe whose wounds are still open from fascist politics, has been expanding across the globe. The war on terror, globalisation, the economic crisis of 2007-2008, and the refugee crisis, are said to have given the spotlight to far-right voices, whose reach is constantly growing. In Greece, a country going through severe economic measures following the 2009 economic crisis, and the unrelenting refugee crisis, the neo-nazi far-right party Golden Dawn,¹² up to that point largely unknown and with minimal outreach, acquired 400,000 votes in 2012. In a similar fashion to other European and American far-right/alt-right parties, Golden Dawn is a party with strong nationalistic ties and populist anti-establishment rhetoric that constantly evokes and appeals to ancient and contemporary culture and glorifies Western civilisation. In a country like Greece, where national identity largely relies on the narrative of the continuity of Greek history from ancient to contemporary times, the party's appeal to parts of ancient and contemporary Greek culture added to its popularity and contributed to the strengthening of its political power.

However, GD is currently being tried as a criminal organisation since the murder of anti-fascist rapper Pavlos Fyssas by GD member Yiorgos Roupakias in 2013.³ This trial has undeniably contributed to GD's decline in popularity: the confiscated hard-drive contents of

¹ From here on mentioned as GD.

² Psarras considers GD a Nazi collectivity and rejects the term neo-nazi, considering that it doesn't do justice in describing GD's specific ideology. Although neo-nazi is widely used to characterise modern supporters and nostalgists of national-socialism, it is important to distinguish between supporters of Hitler's vision and persons that follow it by the letter, condemning every possible diversion from it.

³ The trial also takes into account GD's assaults against Egyptian fishermen on 12 June 2012 as well as against members of KKE and PAME on 12 September 2013 (Greek left-oriented parties).

its members have been screened as testimonials and disseminated through media, making clear GD's neo-nazi affiliations, which have been constantly denied by GD through rhetorical manoeuvres. Moreover, the trial created internal conflicts in GD, culminating in several GD members leaving in order to set up their own political formations, as happened with ex-GD member Giannis Lagos who formed the party ELASYN. Although GD has fallen from grace, its rise to power should not be considered a thing of the past: there is still much to be discussed as far as GD's rise to power as a third party, as well as fall from grace are concerned. GD has been quite a complex phenomenon, and this is a ripe time to start scrutinising it.

In a lecture given at Alimos in 20/6/2019, Nikos Michaloliakos, GD's leader, addressed his party followers in a speech titled "We are the nation's last hope."⁴ Giving a short description of the party's desperate current state of affairs, he ended his speech by citing a poem by one of the most famous Greek poets, C.P. Cavafy. The poem Michaloliakos chose to mobilise is "The god forsakes Anthony" (1911), a poem that, in this instance of citation, becomes a means for Michaloliakos to contemplate power relations, coming to power and losing power, bravery against all odds, defeat and heroic posture. Although Michaloliakos claims in his lecture that "neither have we lost any Alexandria, nor has any Augustus defeated us" ("Ν. Γ. Μιχαλολιάκος Από Τον Άλιμο: Είμαστε η Τελευταία Ελπίδα Του Έθνους! Φώτο Βίντεο") (my translation), it is this very Alexandria (as a symbol of power) that GD bids farewell to.

Constantine Peter Cavafy (1863-1933) was a Greek poet, born in Alexandria, Egypt. Cavafy is probably the only Greek poet widely known enough to enter what has been termed world literature, being the most famous Greek poet outside Greek borders as well as the most cited one within them. However, his position in the canon is not easily explained. Questions

⁴ The youtube video has been made private by the account holder.

arise such as to how a diasporic, homosexual poet,⁵ writing in a peculiar manner (regarding linguistic forms as well as publishing habits) that sets him apart from other Greek poets that make up the national literary canon, come to occupy such a prominent place in the Greek cultural status quo, let alone in a far-right organization's cultural canon.

Cavafy's fragmentary corpus and the archive he left behind have been the subject of discussions and debates, puzzling philologists and readers alike. Yet a question that hasn't been posed yet is why the leader of the homophobic and xenophobic far-right party, a party whose position amounts to hateful criticism against foreigners, LGBTQ+ persons, and initiatives that approach tradition and traditional values through a critical prism, decides to cite him as a national poet par excellence, especially in such a crucial moment, a moment when their defeat is visible.

Existing scholarly analyses of far-right collectivities and the way these manifested in Greece have placed a certain emphasis on Golden Dawn. Scholars have particularly focused on the matter of GD's potential electoral body. Examining the modalities of GD's rise of power it has been argued that precarity and austerity measures affected Greek people's political choices. GD's unprecedented numbers in election polls were strongly tied with economic conditions and the dissemination of GD's fascist myths, encapsulated in the idea of the nation's current social decadence and the ideal of national rebirth (Vasilopoulou and Halkiopolou 2015: 5). Moreover, the cultural images mobilised by GD and how these affected matters of political decisions or how they revealed GD and its voter's implied worldview have also been a subject of scholarly analysis (Plantzos 2016; Hamilakis 2007; Psarras 2012). Last but not least, GD's modes of communication and dissemination of its ideals have been

⁵ I am pointing out these two characteristics out of the many one could attribute to Cavafy. These characteristics were overlooked and suppressed by those scholars who tried to produce the image of Cavafy as a national poet.

scrutinised as well, allowing a deeper understanding of what allowed and affected their success in getting elected and in disseminating their ideas (Kambouri and Hatzopoulos).

Cultural appropriation is a common term used when one examines how culture comes to be adopted and used by persons not directly related to it. For this thesis I opt to use the term cultural mobilisation rather than cultural appropriation. That is because I not only aim to discern what is mobilised, but also how, by whom, in what instances, as well as how current cultural mobilisations are situated vis-a-vis previous similar mobilisations. Cultural mobilisation captures in this instance, first of all, the attachment of a text with cultural/artistic character to a politically polemic text or speech. Appropriation points towards ownership and I will argue that what is mobilised in a way belongs already to the mobiliser, thus making it more accurate to talk of mobilising rather appropriating cultural objects. In the case at hand, however, as I will explain, cultural mobilization also entails the mobilisation of *national* culture, given GD's understanding of culture as clearly a national matter. The case of the Greek national poet Cavafy's mobilisation by GD will be the focus of my argument. The case of Cavafy, who has been established as part of national culture, makes it clear that cultural mobilisation in nationalistic GD cannot but be a national one. In GD's case, these mobilisations have their epistemological roots in philology and archaeology. The cultural figure examined in this thesis is Cavafy, a figure crucial in Greek cultural/national narratives who takes different forms depending on his diverse mobilisations. What makes GD's case unique in relation to previous mobilisations of Cavafy is that, apart from being the only homosexual national poet one finds in GD's cultural canon, GD seems disinterested in participating in a discussion or in establishing a specific critique, a specific reading of Cavafy. GD's mobilisation of Cavafy produces a Cavafy myth indeed. How does Michaloliakos' mode of citation function when situated against the existent philological tradition on Cavafy? Such an approach would

allow us a deeper understanding of the epistemological issues at play in cultural appropriation by far-right and in this case, GD. Since Michaloliakos' mobilisation of a literary cultural object involves academic disciplines related to culture, and particularly philology, I will also use my analysis of this case as an opportunity for (self-)reflection on contemporary philological approaches to Cavafy.⁶

Why we should put so much weight on the sayings by GD's leader? As Psarras has convincingly argued in his latest publication on Michaloliakos titled *Ο Αρχηγός*,⁷ GD is Michaloliakos' creation and cannot exist without him (Psarras 2018). Admittedly, GD is in disarray, and although the future will test the strength of Psarras' claim, at the moment his claim is being confirmed constantly by the testimonies and actions of GD party members. Furthermore, GD is structured according to the Führerprinzip: in other words, it is a leader-based organisation, something confirmed by GD's old statutes (which now have been destroyed by its members in their attempt to eradicate any traces of national-socialist influences), as a surviving statute that Psarras managed to acquire testifies, along with witnesses' testimonies during the trial. Therefore, it is compelling to examine the sayings of the person who managed to reign for 30 years in a neo-nazi organisation, especially one that is so keen in mobilising culture in almost every public speech or writing.

In this thesis, I ask on which terms GD manages to incorporate cultural figures into its narrative, what enables it to do so, and how its practices relate to the broader image of far-right cultural appropriation. In the literature that examines GD's cultural mobilisations, GD's

⁶ The reason I chose Philology instead of e.g. literary studies etc. is because it is a discipline with strong national connotations and still widely respected in Greece. In its curriculum, Greek philology includes Byzantine, Ancient Greek, and contemporary literature, making evident not only the narrative of the continuity of the Greek nation that it endorses, but also the Greek state's reluctance to compartmentalize the discipline into the different disciplinary fields it includes (literary studies, history, linguistics etc.).

⁷ In English it would be "The Leader" but I am inclined to believe that the best way to convey the meaning of Psarras' choice of word would be through "The Führer."

choice of cultural figures and cultural objects to disseminate has been documented thoroughly – Psarras’ account being the most consistent one, as he has covered GD for almost 30 years as a journalist - yet not analysed in a fashion that examines the phenomenon in a broader spectrum.⁸ More specifically, there is a lack of theorization regarding how GD mobilised culture, how certain cultural figures come to accompany their actions as national subjects par excellence and when culture, through cultural figures, becomes the subject of mobilisation. Under what circumstances is the sexuality of the cultural figure at hand, Cavafy, which has also largely affected his poetic work, overlooked, or acknowledged by the leader of a neo-nazi organisation, and how does this case of cultural mobilisation relate to contemporary literary approaches to Cavafy as well as to GD’s behaviour in public, beyond its leader's publications?

In Chapter one I will examine a publication of Michaloliakos on GD’s website that presents a *Letter* supposedly written by Cavafy. The letter serves to expose Cavafy’s apparent national-socialism. The epistemological grounds Michaloliakos proceeds upon are questionable. Nevertheless, Michaloliakos’ act of exposition exhibits a similarity to what a curator would do in a museum. Michaloliakos’ epistemology of showing is based upon the *Letter* as an archival piece that supposedly carries an aspect of truthfulness and authenticity. Through the notion of the curating act, I will approach GD’s website as a museum where the *Letter* that Michaloliakos’ exhibits comes to be placed. Observing that the *Letter* only serves to enhance an image that already exists, that is, of a nationalistic Cavafy, I will argue that cultural objects such as this letter serve to enhance and legitimise existing arguments, rather than

⁸ I have to acknowledge the exhaustive discussion (Plantzos, Psarras) on the use of the Spartan “κρυπτεία/crypteia,” (supposedly a rite of initiation where young Spartans would hunt the slave Helot population, it is still debated among scholars, although Golden Dawn seems to be acknowledging it as true), an inspiring piece of research that would benefit from further scrutiny of GD’s other cultural mobilisations.

present innovative ones, setting up the ground for chapter two where I examine the figure of authority that manifests through Michaloliakos' act of exposition.

In Chapter two I will examine Michaloliakos as an Arkhēologist, a term I coin in order to describe and scrutinise the figure of authority resulting from the kind of archival exposition Michaloliakos undertakes. I argue that GD's museum is a space created by the practice of Michaloliakos' Arkhēology. Moving on, I identify and scrutinise the mode of viewing that Michaloliakos invites his audience to project upon the exhibits he hangs on the walls of GD's virtual museum. I examine this mode of viewing through the notion of the gaze, a mode of viewing that does not contemplate the objects, but rather renders them mute. Michaloliakos presents the *Letter* along with a plagiarised Cavafy-bio, with minor edits. Since what Michaloliakos disseminates in the epistemological performance of his is the result of plagiarism, I argue towards an understanding of his role in the theatre of epistemologies as a prompter rather than an actor; Michaloliakos reads lines written by others and is able to claim a certain immunity from criticism to his sayings. Should someone criticise what Michaloliakos says, that would put him in the position of criticising those Michaloliakos plagiarises.

In Chapter three I examine the position that objects come to occupy in GD's museum, whether they speak back, and what that entails for an object's political force. For GD, the *Letter* is an object that apparently speaks on its own. I will argue that such objects, who speak on their own, are essentially condemned to silence. The objects' silence in GD's museum, a silence invoked both by curator and the viewers, is troubling. The viewers who are invited to gaze upon the object do not seem to be troubled by its silence nor do they question its inability to speak. In this sense, it is Michaloliakos' politically charged mobilisation of a cultural subject, in this case Cavafy, that essentially serves to de-politicise said subject.

Chapter four will examine not only what GD says, but also what it chooses to omit from its narrative regarding Cavafy and what that implies. Despite the fact that numerous incidents from Cavafy's biography, including anecdotes, could help draw a connection between the latter and nationalism, Michaloliakos uses only the *Letter* to draw this connection, although he is aware of these other incidents. Examining the case of the *Letter's* exhibition by Michaloliakos alongside the dissemination of a printed marble epigraph by ex-GD member Yannis Lagos, now a European parliament member, I will argue that what essentially gives credibility to such archival objects is their potentiality to be printed, in other words to function as archives able to be exposed, a form able to generate the effect of authenticity.

Chapter five is the last chapter of the thesis and it examines what is probably the elephant in the room surrounding GD's relation to Cavafy; Cavafy's homosexuality, or as GD presents it, 'personal life particularities.' Michaloliakos' apparently integrates Cavafy in the national canon of GD since, according to Michaloliakos, Cavafy kept said particularities confined at his house. However, a dominant branch of Greek philology, as is evident in the article Michaloliakos plagiarises, considered Cavafy to be heterosexual. Why doesn't Michaloliakos simply make use of the heteronormative version of Cavafy? This, I argue, is because the homosexual Cavafy gives GD the opportunity to perform its homophobia, which fosters bonds between homophobic GD members. Here, I examine the homophobic projection of Cavafy alongside moments where GD engages in sexist violence, both in online forums as well as in public performances of hatred, as when they assaulted actors outside a theatre performance. These homophobic instances differ yet are brought together by one specific factor; they foster bonds between men.

GD hasn't managed to enter the parliament again in the national elections of 2019, while its judicial conviction is a very possible scenario. Nevertheless, GD's rise to promi-

nence the last 10 years is still a phenomenon that merits scholarly attention and analysis as it is illustrative of the cultural politics of far-right parties.

2. Cavafy's Letters

Since what has been termed the “Greek crisis,” Cavafy, whose prominent presence in Greek culture is undoubtable, has been resurfacing constantly in public and political discourse. As Daniel Mendelsohn has noticed “[i]t is to Cavafy, and not Thucydides, that some Greeks have been turning lately, trading screen shots of poems on Twitter, wondering which of his disappointed lyrics about this or that failed regime is the ‘right’ poem for the current Greek crisis” (Mendelsohn). Among those Greeks that evoke and appropriate Cavafy’s verses, one can identify members of the far-right Greek party GD.

This chapter will focus on the way Cavafy’s “archive” is presented, analysed, and cited by GD, by zooming in on a publication celebrating 150 years since Cavafy’s birth.⁹ Published on 3 January 2013 on GD’s website (“150 Χρόνια Από Τη Γέννηση Του Μεγάλου Μας Ποιητή, Κωνσταντίνου Καβάφη”) on the above-mentioned occasion, the publication includes a widely-debated *Letter* - on which I will elaborate in this chapter - as further proof of Cavafy’s hellenocentrism and national socialism. The *Letter* became a site of contestation between the far-right and persons seeking to defend Cavafy from an appropriation by the former. What concerned both sides was the issue of whether it could be attributed to Cavafy. In what follows, I will examine the *Letter* and the way it was read by Michaloliakos. On the official website of GD, authors occasionally offer expositions of what they label as ‘misreadings’ of the poet by others, claiming expertise on Cavafy and knowledge of the ‘true’ Cavafy,

⁹ Originally published on the website xrysiavgi.com. Now, following Michaloliakos’ fallout with Dimitris Vogiatzis who was responsible for GD’s website maintenance, both this site, GD’s online store, as well as GD’s youth party website are unavailable. A new domain, xrysiavgi.com serves as GD’s disseminator but it is malfunctioning, an example being the *Letter* which cannot be found in the website any more. It is difficult to pinpoint with precision who the author of GD’s web publications is, since numerous times articles are signed by different people using different nicknames; there is repetition and plagiarism, and sometimes there is no author name at all. However, the one who regularly uses Cavafy and other cultural references to “enhance” his arguments is none other than GD’s leader, Nikos Michaloliakos.

and thereby performing as ‘national philologists’ or ‘curators’. Instead of fact-checking the ‘far-right Cavafy’ in order to discredit the uses of his work in this context – which would be an easy task - I aim to scrutinize the strategies employed in this appropriation of Cavafy and their implications. I do not aspire to discern what or upon what GD thinks, but *how*, and the implications of this process; in other words, the analytic and expository actions that constitute the process of analysis of Cavafy’s works by GD members. The analysis of these acts of appropriation will bring to the foreground the relation of GD’s practices to the institution of literature, and by extension, in this specific instance, national culture.

Mieke Bal’s *Double Exposures* (1996) is the work that mainly informs my theoretical framework in this chapter. A foundational study in cultural analysis and on approaches towards cultural objects, it scrutinises the act of exposure as an act of analysing cultural objects through various disciplinary points of view, and exposes the act of analysis in relation to the one conducting such an act, laying bare what one’s way of looking into culture might entail. As Bal notices in the very first lines of her argument, exposition is an act of analysis that is at the same time a kind of public *demonstration* - a translation from the Greek word *apodeiknumai* (Bal 1996: 1). Examining the modalities of exposition in GD, I will approach GD's website as a museum. By doing so, I will argue that rather than pioneering in their presentation of Cavafy, the GD members appear to build on a pre-existing tradition in modern Greek national philology.

The historian Sarantos Kargakos was researching for information on the 1928 Korinthos earthquake when he discovered the *Letter*, signed among others by Cavafy. That *Letter* was a rather unfunny farce, published in 26/4/1928 in the Alexandrian newspaper SKRIP. Kargakos, however, took it for a real one and published a book, called *C.P. Cavafy, The Modern Egyptian Sphinx* (2009), where he examined Cavafy’s supposed flirting with fascism, a

«Σκριπ», 26-4-1928, σελ. 2



ΕΚΔΗΛΩΣΕΙΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΤΟΥ ΦΑΣΙΣΜΟΥ

ΤΗΛΕΓΡΑΦΗΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ κ. ΨΥΒΑΝΤΙΣ

Καθ' ἑκάστην ἀναγγέλλεται εἰς τὸν Ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ἑνώσεως τῶν Ἑλλήνων Φασιστῶν κ. Ψυβάντην ἢ ἰδίως εἰς τὰς ἰσχυρίας.

Εἰς τὴν Κρήτην

Ἐν Καστελλίου Κισσάμου, ἀριστὰν πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχηγὸν κ. Θεόδωρον Ψυβάντην, τὸ κριτικὸν τῆς ἰδρύσεως τοῦ ἐμῆ διαμερισματος μετὰ τῆς ἐξῆς δηλώσεως: « Ἀνάληψιν Ἀρχηγίαν Ὑμῶν θεωροῦμεν σημαντικώτατον γεγονός. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὑποβάλλομεν Ὑμῖν τὰ ὑκάθιστα συγχαρητήριά μας, βεβαιώοντες, ὅτι πιστότατα θέλομεν ὑψηροτέρα τὴν Φασιστικὴν Ἴδιαν.

Ὁ Διαμερισματάρχης
Λιωνίδας Λιωνίδης
Διηγόρος

Τὸ Ἐπιτελεῖον

Γ. Κυρ. Σπείδαρος διηγόρος, Ἀνδρ. Δ. Μπαλαμπέρος διηγόρος, κ. Ι. Λακκιδάκης κτηματίας, Γ. Κακπῆ, Β. Ι. Φραγκιαδάκης, Ν. Λακωνιτάνης, Ἡλ. Περαθοράκης, Γ. Περαθοράκης, Ἀντ. Φουρνιάρης, Μιχ. Θεοδοσιάκης, Δημ. Πακουτσάκης, Θεοδ. Μελησιονάκης, Δημ. Μυλωνάκης, Γ. Α. Περαθοράκης, Κ. Λαγκασιανός, Χ. Γιαννουμάκης, Εὐδγ. Λιουδάκης, Ἐμμ. Κατσιμανταράκης, Μιχ. Κατσιμανταράκης, Κ. Κωνιτάκης, Γ. Σαρματάνης, Ἐμμ. Μανουζάκης, Κων. Χρηστοφοράκης, Βασ. Λαγκασιάνης, Ἰωάννη: Ἀν. Λαγκασιάνης, Μιχ. Κομποσιάνης, Γεώρ. Ι. Λακωνιτάνης, Ι. Παγγ. Κοχλάκης, Παγγ. Ν. Ψωματάνης, Νικ. Σταματάκης, Γ. Β. Κορτοπυράκης, Ἐμμ. Ἀντ. Λαυσιτάνης, Μιχ. Πουλάκης, Ν. Κοντοπυράκης, Ἀν. Ἀλιγιζάκης, Βρεττὸς Κορτοπυράκης, Ἐμμ. Κουφάνης, Ν. Ἀντ. Φουρνιάρης, Ἀντ. Σουζάνης, Π. Παλουδάκης, Μιχ. Παλιουδάκης, Μιχ. Σιβαράκης, Ἰάκωβος Κ. Λακωνιτάνης, Στ. Ἐμμ. Μανουζάκης, Ἰωάν. Ἐμμ. Μανουζάκης, Γεώρ. Ν. Τσατανάκης.

Γεώρ. Στιμάδαράκης, Ἀντ. Τζανουδάκης, Ἰωάν. Μαρκουλάκης, Γεώρ. Βεργεράκης, Ἰωάν. Σουζάνης, Σ. Κ. Κωνιτάκης, Σπ. Βασιλ. Δουβιτάνης, Χρ. Ἀγρ. Λοΐτακης, Ἐμμανουήλ Α. Τερεζάκης, Κωνσταντῖνος Ρ. Μουτσάκης, Ἐμμανουήλ Γρηγ. Λιωνάκης, Ἐμμανουήλ Στέλ. Γουαλάκης, Ἐμμανουήλ Ρ. Κατσιμανταράκης, Μιχαήλ Χαϊματζάκης, Γ. Λιωνάκης, Γεώργιος Ἐμ. Καστανάκης, Γεώργιος Βιστάκης, Ἐμμανουήλ Γ. Μουσαλάκης, Ἐμμανουήλ Γ. Τσακαλάκης, Ἀντώνιος Γ. Μουσαλάκης, Ἰωάννης Ἐμμ. Καστανάκης, Νικόλαος Βολιμάκης, Ἰωάννης Ν. Τσανακάκης, Λεωνίδα: Γ. Κοκκινάκης, Ἐμμανουήλ Χοχλάκης, Ἀν. Στέλ. Γουαλάκης, Κωνσταντῖνος Ζουριδάκης, Ἐμμανουήλ Γ. Λιωνάκης, Στ. Τσουβιτάνης, ἢ Λιμπανιάνης, Ἀν. Κορτοπυράκης.

Εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν

Πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ἑνώσεως τῶν Ἑλλήνων Φασιστῶν, ἀριστὰν ἐξ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἢ κατωτέρω ἐπιστολὴ:

Ἐντιμὲ καὶ ἐνδοξῷ Ἀρχηγε, Πλήρως εὐφροσύνης καὶ ἀγκυλοκόσσεως διὰ τὴν ὑψ' ἡμῶν ἀνάληψιν τῆς ἀρχηγικῆς τοῦ Φασιστικοῦ ἀγώνος διαδηλωσάντων τὴν ἀπεριόριστον ἀφοσίωσιν μας εἰς τὰ ἰδεώδη τοῦ Φασισμοῦ καὶ ἀπεκκοχόμεθα πρὸ ὑμῶν τὴν πραγματικὴν ἰσρὸν ἡλικίαν, ἀναστολήσιν γούτρον Ἑλληνικῶ ἔθνος καὶ ἀνεκκατάστασιν ἰσρῶν καὶ κινήτων σισρῶν, ἐπιζώσιν φυλοφθόρων καὶ ἐθνοφθόρων τάσεων μακροδικρισμοῦ, κομμουνισμοῦ, δημοκρατισμοῦ.

Πρακτικολοῦμεν ὅπως μᾶς δεχθῆτε ὑπὸ τὴν ἀμιάντων σημαίων σας.

Ἡ Φασιστικὴ ὁμάς
Σωκ. Λαγουδάκης, Βασ. Ἀθανασόπουλος, Κ. Καβύρης, Γ. Πετρίδης, Σ. Γιαννακάκης, Ν. Καρδάρης, Μ. Ἀνταίος, Γεώργιος Περίδης.
(Ἐπονται καὶ ἄλλαι ὑπεγραφαί)

The Letter's image as found on GD's old website, in the new post in the new malfunctioning website it cannot be found any more.

I've transported the highlights to the translation as well (My translation). The text reads: TELEGRAPHS AND LETTERS TO MR IPSILANTIS FROM ALEXANDRIA The following letter from Alexandria was sent to the Leader of the Union of Greek Fascists.

Honourable and glorious Leader,
Full of joy and happiness for your taking over of the Fascist struggle's leadership, we declare our absolute dedication to the Fascist Ideals and our eagerly expectation of your realization of sacred causes, restoration of the Hellenic name's prestige, restoration of sacred and eternal institutions, uprooting of trends that tear soul and nation apart, such as malliarism, communism and democratism. We request you accept us under your unpolluted flag.
The Fascist team
Sok. Lagoudakis, Vas. Athanasopoulos, C. Cavafy, G. Petridis, S. Giannakakis, N. Kardaris, M. Antaios, Giagkos Peridis.

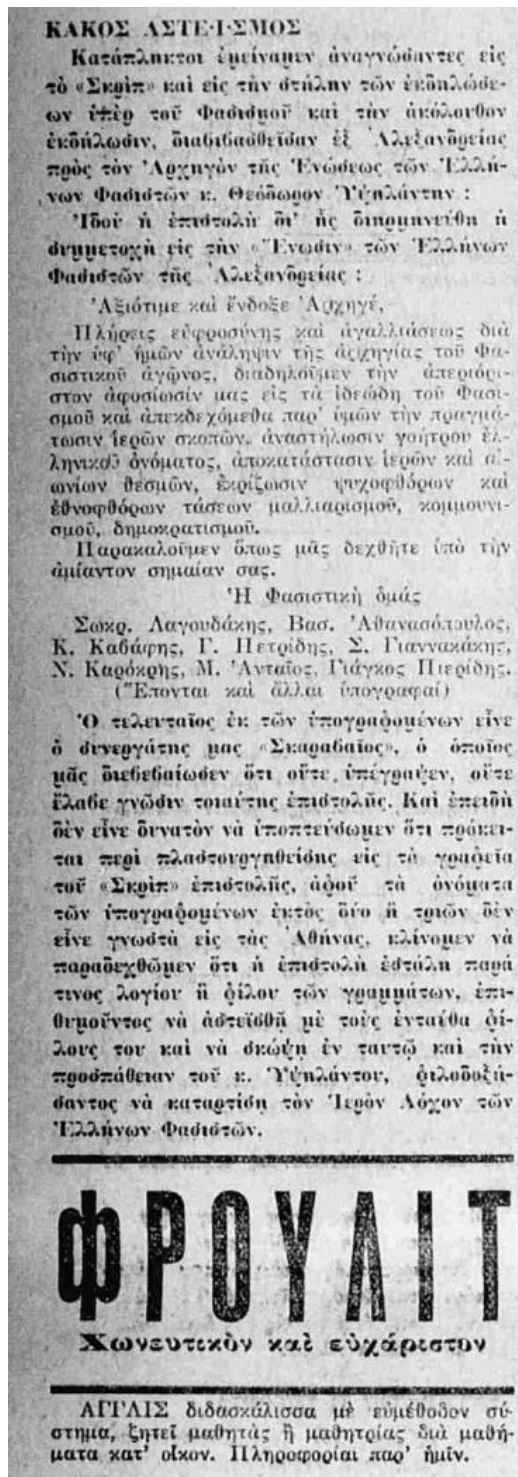
book that received practically zero attention by academics. Rather than challenging Kar-

gagos' argument itself, scholars challenged the *Letter's* discovery and substantiality and dismissed it using fact-checking (Sarantakos 2012). Despite that, the *Letter* fared better outside scholarly circles and was soon re-posted on nationalistic blogs, eventually finding its way to GD's website where it still remains, presenting Cavafy as a national socialist.

The best-known reaction to GD's use of this letter, still available online, came from Nikos Sarantakos, a Greek blogger commenting on issues of translation, literature, and linguistics. Sarantakos dedicated two articles as a response, one in 2010 and one in 2012. He only had to search in the online library of the Greek Parliament to find a Declaration in the Tuesday version of *Ταχυδρόμος (Postman)*, 1.5.1928, where some of the individuals that purportedly co-signed the *Letter* announced their dissatisfaction with the distasteful farce. Sarantakos also attached the .jpg file from the online database for all the readers to see. Both Kargakos and his fact-checkers, that is, those who criticised his discovery in discussions that took place on online blogs, focused on the *Letter* from the newspaper SKRIP, in order to discuss whether or not Cavafy was a national-socialist. Instead of settling the matter by looking at Cavafy's poetic corpus, the focus was on whether the *Letter* was real, and whether it was rebuked afterwards by the outraged Alexandrians who were considered to be the signers of the fascist declaration. The arguments countering Kargakos' position revolved around the fact that the letter was a farce, that Cavafy would never sign something like that, or that a scholar dealing with Cavafy should never fall for it (Sarantakos). A question that arises here is this: in what sense can an exposed archive be considered real, true, present, reliable?

The article on GD's site celebrates 150 years from the author's birth¹⁰ and is accompanied by a short and conventional biographical note of Cavafy. This note is to a great degree

¹⁰ There are numerous similar posts on GD's website, celebrating an "x" amount of years after the birth or death of cultural figures, under the "Culture" column.



The image of the Declaration in the Tuesday version of *Ταχυδρόμος* (*Postman*), 1.5.1928. It is as found on Sarantakos' website (2012). The text reads: BAD JOKE

We stood in disbelief having read in “SKRIP” and in the column of Declarations of support to Fascism and the associated event, sent from Alexandria to the leader of the Union of Greek Fascists, Mr. Theodoros Ipsilantis: Here is the letter through which the participation in the “Union” of the Greek Fascists of Alexandria was transmitted:

[The Letter is attached]

The last signer is our partner “Scarab,” who assured us that neither did he sign, nor was he aware of such a letter. And since it is not possible to assume that it is a letter forged in the office of “Skrif,” since the signers' names apart from two or three are not known in Athens, we are inclined to concede that the letter was sent by a scholar or friend of letters, aiming to joke with his friends and also mock through this Mr Ipsilantis' attempt, who aspired to establish the Sacred Band of Greek Fascists. (My Translation)

plagiarised - almost copy-pasted – from another text that has been slightly edited.¹¹ The plagiarised piece, whose writer is Manuel Savidis, can be found both on the website of Ikaros Publications, under Cavafy’s entry in the author’s section, as well as on the old website of the Cavafy Archive (Savidis). In Michaloliakos’ use of this bio, it is still possible to identify his personal touch, in other words, Michaloliakos’ edits. The bio, being posted on a far-right website, seems to be celebrating Cavafy’s national-socialist beliefs, and proceeds by seemingly openly condemning Cavafy’s sexual identity that it considers as incompatible with GD’s norms, allowing a far-right point of view to emerge from the plagiarised text. Although it looks similar to a condemnation, the easiness of how Cavafy’s sexuality, a troubling factor for GD, is overlooked hints at an indifference of sorts. This aspect is undoubtedly an addition of Michaloliakos; Savidis makes no explicit mention of Cavafy as a nationalist. Cavafy’s national-socialist beliefs are celebrated in Michaloliakos’ article, which simultaneously talks of Cavafy as a nationalist - the author speaks, in fact, in the name of Nationalism. In Michaloliakos’¹² own words, “[i]t is possible that the particularities of C. Cavafy’s strictly personal life might be absolutely dismissed by Nationalism, yet Hellas doesn’t give away a Greek to the sickly anti-hellenic status quo, especially when he [the Greek] keeps these particularities to himself with constraint and decency” (“150 Χρόνια Από Τη Γέννηση Του Μεγάλου Μας Ποητή, Κωνσταντίνου Καβάφη”) (My translation).

How can we read this conflation between Nationalism and national-socialism? If one

¹¹ Another piece that Michaloliakos plagiarises can be found, without the author’s name, at <https://astrospalio.gr/2019/04/28/4183/>. This text and Michaloliakos’ are almost identical and both plagiarise Savidis’ piece. Michaloliakos’ version has added elements regarding Cavafy’s sexuality and national-socialism and is therefore probably more recent: it is essentially a combination of both Savidis’ and the other plagiariser’s article.

¹² The article is not signed by Michaloliakos. However, Michaloliakos is the most common citer of Cavafy, as well as the one that drafted the response to the letter’s fact-checking, a response written in the same style as the article examined here. Therefore, for the purposes of the thesis, I shall be addressing this article’s author as Michaloliakos; what is more, under no circumstances would an article conflicting with Michaloliakos’ interests have ever been published on GD’s website.

celebrates someone's national-socialist beliefs, why speak of nationalism and not national-socialism to begin with? Here it is important to clarify what nationalist and national-socialist comes to mean for GD. To declare oneself a national-socialist in 2019 would raise eyebrows, if not alarm the police. During the mid '90s when GD was in the process of self-legitimisation through legalisation, GD had to drop the term national-socialist from its vocabulary of self-descriptions (Psarras 268). That does not mean that it repelled the ideology. In numerous interviews, Michaloliakos, when asked of his political orientation, did not hesitate to describe himself as a nationalist, a term that in GD's understanding comes to be conflated with national-socialist. As he said during his apology on 6 November 2019 during GD's trial when asked about his ideology:

It is popular nationalism. I've declared that since 1993, and what is more, I am not an impostor. I was honoured the last years by hundreds of thousands of Greeks and I am a nationalist, I am a nationalist. Nationalism is not international. It is not related with the German one, with anything. Nationalism cannot be a copy of the German or the Italian¹³ (@GoldenDawnWatch) (My translation).

When Michaloliakos, who is also the author of the article about Cavafy, speaks of 'nationalism,' those belonging to GD's ranks understand that he means national-socialism. There is ample footage of GD's meetings as well as numerous publications where national-socialism

¹³ GD's trial could not be recorded by video, therefore the only documentation of it possible is by initiatives such as GoldenDawnWatch. GoldenDawnWatch attends every sessions and publishes every statement by the participants online in text. The entire proceedings of the trial are available at GoldenDawnWatch's Twitter and Facebook feed.

is celebrated by the party. Therefore, Michaloliakos is by no means dismissing German national-socialism. But rather than focusing on what Michaloliakos says, it is more important to focus on what his aforementioned statement, the one that takes place inside a court of justice, does, besides being a confirmation of his national-socialist belief to his circle of initiates.

It is such a nationalism, or national-socialism, that the author supposedly exposes by ascribing it to Cavafy. In the author's own words: "[h]is [Cavafy's] sole political statement, and, moreover, a national-socialist one, was the fact that he had signed in 1928 a letter supporting the "Union of Greek Fascists," along with other remarkable Alexandrians, published in the well known newspaper of the time, SKRIP" ("150 Χρόνια Από Τη Γέννηση Του Μεγάλου Μας Ποιητή, Κωνσταντίνου Καβάφη") (My translation).

I consider what happens on GD's website in relation to Cavafy to be a multifaceted exposition. GD doesn't simply transcribe the *Letter*; they present us a .jpg photo of it as proof of its undeniable truth. This exposition thus happens through an exhibition of sorts that involves two subjects; apart from Cavafy co-signing the letter, there is also the exhibitor. As Bal argues in *Double Exposures*: "something is made public in an exhibition, and that event involves bringing out into the public domain the deepest held views and beliefs of a subject" (Bal 1996: 2). In this case, two exposures take place: Cavafy's supposed relation to national-socialism/fascism, and the author's (i.e. Michaloliakos') ability to perform as a philologist - to produce, in other words, a specific 'Cavafy'. As an object, this specific 'Cavafy' seems to have a peculiar position: his silence and the background against which it is exhibited, as I will explain in the following, are troubling. What does GD' website turn into through the author's expository act?

One could very well consider xrisiavgi.com a museum of sorts, (albeit one that is not particularly open to radical approaches towards its exhibits). In museums, the objects in the

expositions do not talk (or make sounds in general, unless one is in a multi-sensory installation), but may talk back in our attempts to scrutinise them. Yet, in this specific instance of archival exposition, Cavafy, who supposedly talked in the past through the *Letter*, which is by all means declamatory, is now silent. Despite the fact that silence could still be a modality of speaking, in this instance, the supposed ‘archive’, the *Letter*, speaks instead of Cavafy, and what is more, it legitimises a specific archival approach towards his work’s analysis. As Bal notes: “[e]ven though obviously, objects cannot speak, they can be treated with enough respect for their irreducible complexity and unyielding muteness—but not mystery—to allow them to check the thrust of an interpretation, and to divert and complicate it” (Bal 2002:4 45).

Here, Michaloliakos’ treatment of a piece of archive, the *Letter*, essentially amounts to a disrespectful analysis of a cultural object, that being none other than the connoted subject, Cavafy. It is certainly not an instance of allowing the object to speak back; rather what we witness is the denial of Cavafy’s capacity, as a cultural object, to check the thrust of an interpretation, as this capacity is transferred to the *Letter* itself, an archival piece. What is more, such a practice will essentially serve to counter any possible attempts of interpretation and scrutinisation of Cavafy’s poetic corpus or/and biography. Should such attempts of interpretation be directed at Cavafy, the *Letter* will keep returning as proof of Cavafy’s national-socialism. Rather than a complication of sorts, what takes place is a simplification, boasting truthfulness through the authority resulting from the disseminated archival ‘credibility’. In the end, the *Letter* renders any potential attempt at interpretation irrelevant.

The projection of the archival image of the Letter can be conceptualized through what Bal terms ‘epistemologies of showing.’ In the beginning of her argument, Bal, preoccupied with expositions and museums, scrutinises gestures of showing, which she considers to be speech acts or at least analogous to them (Bal 1996: 3). As Bal mentions, when she examines

positivist epistemologies, “the that’s how it is aspect connects the object with an epistemology, anchored in a belief, almost tautologically referred to as positivist, that what you see must be real, true, present, or otherwise reliable” (5). The positivist epistemology in an exposition would primarily betray an unwavering confidence in one’s approach towards the subject at hand, whose presence serves as an argument in itself. Such an epistemology is anchored in a material subject that one must be able to see. In the case at hand, the exhibitor’s (Michaloliakos’) gestural showing highlights, and relies upon, the *Letter*’s visibility and presence. This object, the *Letter*, has to be seen in order for the truth it supposedly expresses to be propagated. Therefore the exhibitor is in need of an archive since only that seems to give solid and non-contestable value to the appropriated poet.

However, what happens when another piece of archive serves to expose the falsity of the Declaration letter, as was the case with the subsequent statement in the magazine *Tachydromos* that the fact-checkers exposed? In other words, what happens when the object resists a particular interpretation through related “real, true” objects, the presence of which counters previous finds?

In an article published on 7 May 2017, Michaloliakos argues in an underlined text that “[n]ever did Cavafy refute this letter [meaning the *Letter*] and yet, some critics, leftists of course, rush without any evidence whatsoever and write that this letter was forged” (Michaloliakos 2017) (My translation). Here, not only does Michaloliakos reject the letter Sarantakos attached as evidence, despite it being a .jpg file as well, but he also highlights that Cavafy never refuted it either. It is an evasive rhetorical strategy; since Cavafy is not signing the *Ταχυδρόμος* letter, that letter is not Cavafy’s. Fact checking as well as exposing another part of the archive seemingly did not affect GD’s position regarding Cavafy in the least.

It is evident that GD makes use of rhetorical tricks when necessary, as it does in this particular case towards the cultural object of Cavafy. Expository acts that take place in museums are also acts of authority, and authority serves to establish or highlight something already conceived. Apparently, the archive, in this instance, the Letter, only serves to enhance, or more precisely, authorize Cavafy's already conceived image by GD. The fact that GD's utilisation of Cavafy takes places through a modality that I see as akin to a museum exhibition and exposition, along with the way GD treats archives, is telling not only of how GD looks at culture, but also of how GD understands and makes use of authority. I consider what takes place in GD's mobilisation of Cavafy to be an Arkhēology of sorts, a term that I will clarify and focus on in the following chapter.

3. Michaloliakos as an Arkhēologist

Having argued that the archive authorises an already conceived image, in this chapter I will examine one of the figures resulting from such an act of authority, namely the one conducting the act of analysis, whom I label as the Arkhēologist. Jacques Derrida's *Archive Fever* (1995) has been a seminal text in contemplating the notion of *archive* with its numerous implications, primarily regarding the motivations that compel one to mobilise and return to archives as well as the implicit categorisations and vicissitudes that comprise an archive. Derrida highlights, in a pun that is lost in translation, what it means to be “en mal d’archive,” “in need of an archive”. To examine and to further probe matters of cultural mobilisation in GD's case, as they manifest in the case of the *Letter*, I will use Ernst van Alphen's elaboration on the notions of the gaze and the glance as he lays them out in *Art in Mind* (2005), and Jasbir Puar's utilisation of the notion of “assemblage” for approaching subjects, which she unravels in her publication *Terrorist Assemblages* (2007). I coin the term Arkhēology to probe into Michaloliakos' modalities of cultural mobilisation and examine not only the relationship between archive (here, Cavafy's *Letter*) and arkhēology, but also the ‘museum’ that results from it and the relationship between the museum and its viewers, i.e., GD's website and GD's followers respectively. As Derrida notices, “the meaning of “archive,” its only meaning, comes to it from the Greek *arkheion*: initially a house, a domicile, an address, the residence of the superior magistrates, the *archons*, those who commanded” (Derrida 2). I will argue that the museum resulting from the authority of arkhēology can be considered a unique space, in a similar fashion to the house of the Archon. In my argument, the house/museum is GD's website, the Archon is Michaloliakos, and the audience/GD's members are the non-authority yielding persons residing in such a house.

I here come back to the idea of GD's website as a museum, following Bal's metaphorical understanding of it, in which the *Letter* is exhibited. I treat this situation of archival manifestation by GD as a metaphor where the subject that exhibits acts as a national curator. He, with an emphasis on the gender (a point that I come back to in the chapters to come), hangs objects with a supposedly non-debatable truth-status, such as the *Letter*, on the wall, here an internet website, at the same time claiming epistemic authority and situating the poet, Cavafy, within his far-right ranks. To hang a letter on an internet wall constitutes an exposition, creating both an exposure and an argument. There is a narrator, exposed objects and a viewer. Such a museum would be, in GD's worldview, a national one. In the exhibition "National Poets" presented, as it were, on GD's website, the *Letter* can be found next to similar letters and declarations by two other Greek national poets appropriated by GD, Kostis Palamas and Angelos Sikelianos. The *Letter* is thus not an isolated instance.

The history of the modern Greek nation is bound with archaeologists and philologists who put great efforts into drawing connections between the contemporary and the ancient Greeks, a practice that still continues. How does Michaloliakos stand amongst practitioners of the aforementioned disciplines? Although certainly not a progenitor of Michaloliakos, Adamantios Korais (1748-1833) is a Greek scholar credited with having played a crucial role in bringing to life the institution of the Modern Greek nation. In 1803, Korais gave a public lecture in the Parisian Société des Observateurs de l'Homme titled *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation en Grèce*, where he talked about the Greek nation in an exemplary attempt of nation-building. Korais has also been examined as a historical figure along the notion of museology, albeit of a different kind. In his incisive study *Dream Nation, Enlightenment, Colonization and the Institution of Modern Greece* (1996), Stathis Gourgouris touches upon the subject. Elaborating on Korais' lecture, Gourgouris argues that it came to function as "an ac-

tivist, perhaps invasive, prefiguration of a cultural institution — which is to say, the institution of a national audience, or better yet, beyond the halls of the Parisian Société, the induction of one's audience to the formal ranks of the Nation” (112). Similar to what Gourgouris describes, Michaloliakos also introduces his audience into the formal ranks of his coalition, by ‘educational visits’ to GD's imaginary museum. Gourgouris argues about Korais that “his writings have an imaginary interlocutor, a collective subject, whom they construct as they instruct.” To bring this quote to the subject at hand, in the *Letter's* case it is Michaloliakos’ museological pedagogy that is crucial for producing nationalistic subjects as well as for allowing said subjects to maintain their subjectivity. The subjectivity of GD members is inseparably bound with their nationalistic feelings, which in this case are fostered through their connection to national culture. GD’s museum comes to function as a factory of GD’s members.

What sort of museum is GD's museum exactly? Elaborating on Korais’ museology, Gourgouris remarks that “[i]ndeed, it seems perfectly appropriate to readopt Korais’ nomination and consider the sum of his enormous oeuvre under the name *The Hellenic Museum*. In this museum, Korais’s linguistic exhortations stand as the most treasured of archaeological artifacts” (112). The notion of museum is crucial in my argument and it is important to highlight that museums, and in these instances, national museums, are spaces strongly related with institutions; not only are such places sanctioned, but they also serve in institutionalisation. Korais attempted to bring into life and institutionalise the Greek nation through his epistemic actions, while Michaloliakos borrows epistemic authority that exhibits an institutional aura. As Gourgouris remarks, Korais “attempts to institute the representational framework upon which neohellenic nature and history could be articulated and displayed in a coincident and symbiotic fashion” (112). Spaces constructed through epistemic formations such as mu-

seums can be considered to be frameworks of representation, where those represented come to be presented and therefore present. In the museum, the represented, are also connoted through the exhibits. When a national subject gazes at the exhibits at a national museum, that subject gazes at a representation of the collectivity it is a part of. However such representational frameworks, such as museums, are agonistic places, that come to be instituted after disciplinary arguments and contest over epistemic authority. GD's curating acts are not interested in instituting such representational framework, since they lack this agonistic behaviour. That might seem contradictory since GD presents an opinion, an object, supposedly against something else, something that is forgotten, or neglected; this is not true, since such a position would require engagement with the other side, and GD exerts no interest in doing so. As I will argue shortly, they are interested in simply presenting objects which exhibit a specific ability to speak on their own. Furthermore, in GD's museum it is not only the artifacts that are of analytical interest; nor are GD's linguistic exhortations treasured archeological artifacts. What I consider to be of crucial importance is the curator organising the exhibition, whose authority I plan to investigate.

To further probe matters of authority in philological performativity, I coin the term Arkhēology. I argue that it is Arkhēology that Michaloliakos actually practices, a term resulting from the combination of *Philology* with the terms *Archive* and *Arkhē*. For the term *Arkhē* I take my cue from Derrida, who notices in the very first lines of *Archive Fever* that “*Arkhē*, we recall, names at once the *commencement* and the *commandment*”(1). It is such an origin, such an *arkhē* that both establishes an authority, as well as attempts to trace origins, deeming origins a means of approaching cultural objects; all of this is done by an archival trace. With such a statement, I do not mean to reduce the agency, that archaeological artifacts have; that would be short-sighted, given the potential the unearthing of such artefacts has for causing

uproar, as well as for legitimising and establishing authority (Hamilakis 40-41). I highlight the notion of origins an archive boasts of and their ability to provide authority, but primarily, the authority that emerges before one proceeds with contemplating the archive. Although the archive can be in flux, the Arkhōn is a set figure: against the archive's plasticity, the Arkhōn maintains his posture. In Arkhēology, which in my understanding is different from Archiveology,¹⁴ the Arkhē in the sense of authority exists already; it comes from a person in a seat of a certain kind of power. Michaloliakos is an Arkhōn par excellence; he is leading an organisation that is structured through the *Führerprinzip*, and the Arkhōn's house in this instance is the political formation of GD. But what about the results of Michaloliakos' Arkhēological endeavours, and what notions of authority, of Arkhē are highlighted through his acts?

I've treated Michaloliakos as a curator and a philologist, and these are performative roles that serve to highlight his role both as Arkhōn and as mediator in its numerous modalities. What ties them together however, is the fact that they come to mediate messages from a person in authority to his audience. In the *Letter's* case, Michaloliakos performs as a philologist by mobilising the *Letter*, an archival piece related somehow to the poet Cavafy, in order for Michaloliakos to make a point about Cavafy's poetics. His philological performance, which I see here as a theatrical role the philologist is capable of playing, seems crucial for this cultural mobilisation. Arkhēology in the *Letter's* case is not an interpellating act that introduces Cavafy into GD's ideological formation since it is not simply Cavafy's introduction in GD that is at stake. I am talking of cultural objects, not subjects, although GD seemingly transcends such dichotomies. The Arkhēologist seems to be constructing a canon, a nationalistic literature corpus for his readers, in other words, his followers. By composing and piecing

¹⁴ I am aware of archiveology being a term ideologically charged since Catherine Russel's *Archiveology* (2018) but my aim is not to invoke it by any means; in Greek these two words would sound the same, but I want to distinguish them.

together fragments, he offers a concrete, complete work, one that is above all, worth gazing at. The viewers are thus invited to *gaze* upon the objects; but what exactly is the mode of looking that the viewers proceed upon, as it flows from the curator's invitation to gaze? I will defer the examination of this gazing to first lay out the site at which such this gazing takes place.

Having mentioned viewers, museums, and houses, it becomes evident that I consider Michaloliakos' epistemological performativity, Arkhēology, to be not only temporal, but spatial as well. Arkhēology differs from the act of exposition; the latter is a speech act that doesn't necessarily have to be about archives. The former is a way to describe the mobilisation of archives and their relationship to authority. Both have discursive undertones, in the sense that they quite literally explicitly address the viewers and invite them to Look! The museum manifests through the speech act of exposing. To examine matters of audience I go back to Michaloliakos' act of hanging Cavafy on a wall, deeming the *Letter* as worth gazing, a gesture of showing that has a specific audience. It is not the act of hanging by itself that is the speech act. It is that Michaloliakos essentially says two lines through his gesture of showing, through this exposition. "Look!" and "That's how it is!" As argued already through the theoretical excursion to Bal, the act of hanging and by extent, exposing, is a discursive act. As Bal argues, "in expositions, a "first person," the exposer, tells a "second person," the visitor, about a third person," the object on display, who does not participate in the conversation (Bal 1996 3-4). The persons at the speech act at hand correspond to Michaloliakos, GD members, and the *Letter*, respectively, and it is this very relationship that allows the museum to manifest. In a museum there are viewers, in a house, there is family. How are these members of GD's family and viewers of Michaloliakos' museum invited to view and think upon the *Letter*? Appar-

ently, as I will shortly argue, Michaloliakos does not simply say: Look! He essentially says: Look in this specific way!

In order to examine the homosocial¹⁵ gaze, van Alphen makes use of Norman Bryson's distinction between *gaze* and *glance*, stating that the *gaze* is "the look that ahistoricizes and disembodies itself and objectifies or takes hold of the contemplated object" (99). The glance, on the other hand, "is the involved look where the viewer aware of and bodily participating in the process of looking, interacts with the painting and does not need, therefore, to deny the work of representation" (ibidem). Here, Bal's elaboration of Bryson's position regarding the *glance*, as presented by van Alphen, can be productive for the reading of the GD's museum visitors. Regarding the *glance*, Bal argues that "the awareness of one's own engagement in the act of looking entails the awareness that what one sees is a representation, not an objective reality, not the 'real thing'" (1991, 142). This remark is productive for two reasons. It allows us to completely bypass the notion of intentions and beliefs as far as the curator/Arkhēologist is concerned, since it is impossible to discern what Michaloliakos' opinion of Cavafy's poetry or the *Letter* is exactly the way it results from Michaloliakos' mobilisation of Cavafy. It is highly likely Michaloliakos is aware and considers the *Letter* a farce, despite arguing against it, as well as that he only uses Cavafy due to the latter's status as a national poet. Moreover, it allows us to examine what Michaloliakos' curating acts set in motion. Michaloliakos' invited viewers, GD's supporters, watch the *Letter*, which is presented as an objective reality, as a real thing: they are *gazing* at it, and not *glancing* at it. The audience neither questions the exhibits, nor is it invited to think along with them. The audience's mode of viewing is an ahistorical look that serves to bring a subject into being. In this instance, Cavafy comes into being as a national socialist, thanks to the *Letter*; an object. This

¹⁵ Homosociality is a concept that will be introduced and examined in chapter 5.

objectification takes place for political purposes. Apparently, Arkhēology's authority, as exercised by Michaloliakos, and essentially its epistemology is an epistemology of a gestural showing, as presented already using Bal's theory on the previous chapter, addressed to *gazes*. The objects stand to be vulnerable and non-respondent not only to the curator, but also to the 'visitors', a vulnerability and muteness that is crucial in highlighting matters of authority.

In the epistemological performance that takes place between the Arkhēologist and the text, as is evident in Michaloliakos's case, the person in authority does not need the object to respond for him to confirm his authority. What guides Michaloliakos exploration of the cultural object is not a narcissistic academic tendency; it is not a theoretical worldview that Michaloliakos confirms through his narrow-minded analysis. In other words, what is important is not whether Michaloliakos is a good philologist; Michaloliakos is not a philologist to begin with, let alone a national philologist; he only performs as such and the object's muteness is a confirmation of his authority. Therefore, it is crucial to ask whether Michaloliakos' Arkhēology actually produces a *Cavafy*, or is trying to simply enhance a political argument by employing a cultural figure in a political publication. Disciplines, among them philology, produce *readings* of poets. What does Arkhēology produce? Of course Michaloliakos is not versed in postmodern literary theory and would never acknowledge "Cavafy" as a result of his poetic corpus, but rather deems the poetic corpus a result of Cavafy (its origin). But it is clear that GD's mobilisation of Cavafy constitutes an *act* of production of the poet's persona.

Acts involve actors, but to simply attribute the role of an actor to Michaloliakos would not be accurate since he is in a position of authority; an Arkhōn. That Arkhōn is able to claim a specific externality from criticism, his Arkhē being invulnerable to it. We could thus consider Michaloliakos in this epistemological theatre as a prompter, rather than an actor. This position needs to maintain a slight connection with 'reality,' established through the ar-

hive's materiality, which is impossible to ignore, as well as paths already opened by practitioners of the performed discipline of philology, whose publications could be considered the book such a prompter reads from. In this instance, the contents of the book are not simply the plagiarised articles of the anonymous author and of Savidis that Michaloliakos reads from; by extension, it is a dominant tradition in national Greek philology. In order to disseminate a version of Cavafy, Michaloliakos will plagiarise Savidis; for another poet Michaloliakos will plagiarise a different scholar. While it is not possible to discern exactly which specific scholar the inspiration of GD is derived from, it is certain that queer or post-colonial approaches to Cavafy are not part of GD's scholarly repository. A prompter, reading plagiarised texts or not, is also in charge of his audience's memory. When the actors – in this instance, GD's supporters - are in danger of forgetting, the prompter Michaloliakos doesn't hesitate to remind them their lines, not only the lines they have to say, but also the lines they belong to ideologically. As a prompter, Michaloliakos is in possession of a book, of the script, and he prompts, he mobilises, his followers, who are on the stage, or, in other words, his audience.

Michaloliakos as a prompter is keen to warn his audience against loss of memory. In order to remind those who are likely to forget, Michaloliakos claims, for example, in a polemic article on the occasion of 84 years since Cavafy's death, that once more no one remembered the famous poet. According to him, "should it have been another talentless songwriter of the Left, definitely many events and hommages would have taken place in his memory" (Michaloliakos 2017) (My translation). It so happens that 2017 saw the initiation of the Cavafy summer school by the Onassis Foundation, following the latter's acquisition of the Cavafy Archive in 2012, during which leading scholars gather every summer to provide seminars on Cavafy. Not only is Cavafy remembered, but there is also keen interest in new approaches to him, supported by institutions. Michaloliakos' claim about forgetting is thus

unfounded; Cavafy has been growing in popularity in recent years. Michaloliakos, however, still feels compelled to warn against forgetting Cavafy. He never directly addresses the left and philologists as such, even though his statements refer to them. His call to remember essentially addresses GD supporters. If the latter cease to remember, if they don't keep in memory the specific version of Cavafy they should keep alive, if their model of Cavafy doesn't persevere, then these "left critics" will have it their way. As a prompter, his role is closely tied with acts of commemoration against forgetting, so even if no one forgets, the prompter will invent the forgetfulness he wants to address.

In what sense then is one who self-assumes the authority of an Arkhē as Michaloliakos in actual need of an archive? Michaloliakos is not in need of an archive in the sense that he will produce a reading after thorough examination of archival material. As Derrida has noted, "The *arkhe* appears in the nude, without archive. It presents itself and comments on itself by itself" (92-93). He continues by stating that "[t]he archeologist has succeeded in making the archive no longer serve any function": indeed, for the product 'Cavafy,' Cavafy's archive as presented by GD, "comes to *efface itself*, it becomes transparent or unessential so as to let the *origin* present itself in person" (Derrida 93). I propose to probe further into matters of Arkhē by replacing the Derridean archaeologist with the Michaloliakean Arkhēologist. Moreover, I opt to read the "itself" in the "to efface itself" as if it was an object's political self. Such a political self involves its ability to yield afterlives and contradict one's predetermined gaze, values that neither the *Letter* nor its connoted product, GD's 'Cavafy,' can boast whatsoever. Concluding, the origin that presents itself in person is none other than the Arkhē of the person conducting the Arkhēological act. To efface, however, does not mean that something is simply removed. The moment one proceeds upon the act of Arkhēology, the archivist

and the archive become effaced in order to give birth to a new figure, revealing the Arkhēologist.

The Arkhēologist, as I will argue, is a figure combined, or rather, assembled, of an ideologically charged counterpart. In order to investigate what the Arkhēologist is composed of, I turn to Jasbir Puar and her approach towards the male turbaned Sikh. I am taking my cue from Puar's *Terrorist Assemblages*, where she examines how queer bodies manage to be incorporated in the national canon while depending at the same moment on produced Orientalised terrorist bodies. Apart from coining the notion of homonationalism, which will be examined in chapter 5, Puar uses Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's concept of *assemblage* from *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (1988) to delve into the figure of the male turbaned Sikh body and how it is demonised by queer South Asian diasporas. In Puar's view, the Sikh stands as an assemblage of physical and metaphysical parts; the body and the turban respectively. Borrowing this idea from Puar, I here argue towards an understanding of the Arkhēologist as an assemblage of the body and the archive. In the same way that a turban is a piece of cloth, this specific archive comprises pieces of paper. Neither this archival piece nor the turbans start as such; rather they derive their eventual status through production into their ideologically and affectively charged versions. In a similar fashion that a turban has to be tied and pieced together into its theological and affective form, the archive, pieced together from scrambles becomes an affectively charged substance. The archive cannot exist without the Arkhōn. Unlike the Sikh however, the Arkhōn boasts an ability to bring forth the site of the house where the archive resides – a 'museum' in the case of Michaloliakos and the *Letter*.

GD's mobilisation of Cavafy and the pompous announcement of Cavafy's nationalistic ideals, exhibit an *archival fever*. Yet this *fever* is by no means innovative; it is repetitive

and nostalgic. Such a fever is, in Derrida's words, "to have a compulsive, repetitive, and nostalgic desire for the archive, an irrepressible desire to return to the origin, a homesickness, a nostalgia for the return to the most archaic place of absolute commencement" (91). GD is in need of an archive, here the *Letter*, it is longing for it, even if it sometimes remains elusive, should one take into account the fact that the *Letter* was a farce. The assemblage is formed, the archive might anarchive itself and let the origin present itself in person, yet it still remains distinctly visible and crucial; should it be detached from the Arkhōn's body, the Arkhōn will surely raise a fever. Moreover, should we consider the scholarship that enables GD to project GD's views as a part of Cavafy's archive in a broader sense, then indeed, GD is in dire need of it in order for its cultural mobilisations to take place. Nostalgia hints at homecoming and homes change owners every now and then. Michaloliakos is the Arkhōn that is now in the house where Cavafy's archive resides. But he may very well have taken the place of a previous owner; after all, Michaloliakos' analysis of Cavafy consists of plagiarism. In that absolute commencement that Derrida mentions one could situate the *Letter*; in other words, Cavafy's nationalistic ideal which anchors upon every citation GD mobilises. Therefore, although my aim is not to trace origins, it is important to ask whether a homecoming is completed when GD comes back to the common trope of the hellenocentric Cavafy, which is his most important value in GD eyes; Michaloliakos would not plagiarise and only slightly edit a text he disagrees with to begin with. What is more, apart from exposing the *Letter*, Michaloliakos unintentionally exposes past Cavafian scholarship; Michaloliakos' modalities of unearthing do not differ when we compare what he did for the *Letter* and the articles he plagiarised. Just as the archive lends its institutional force to Michaloliakos, past scholarship also serves to enhance GD's positions. In this manner, we may very well consider past publications on Cavafy to be an extension of Cavafy's archive. The nostalgic returning of an archive

is twofold; we can return to it and it can return to us. On the one hand, GD returns to the archive of Cavafy, on the other, problematic approaches of Greek national philology towards Cavafy are ripe for the taking through plagiarism by GD and resurface, return to the spotlight. Are GD's poetic-political orientations aligned with Greek philology's past analyses, in other words, do the past analyses come back to haunt us through GD cultural mobilisations? There are two words in Derrida's quote that I consider to be crucial for delving into GD's mobilisations; "desire" and "nostalgia". In houses and places where interaction between audience is developed and encouraged, bonds develop, setting up the ground for examining such bonds in chapter 5.

I will defer the exploration of the affective relationships that exist in the archival home, which also seems to be a place of returning, until I have examined in the next chapter how exactly cultural objects are treated by GD and what that entails for said objects' ability to speak back and maintain a political substance.

4. Do Cultural Objects Talk (Back)? Michaloliakos, Cultural Analysis, and Myths

So far I have analysed the *Letter* in the context of the Derridean concept of the archive, and presented the notion of Arkhēology, as well as the process of authority production as a result of it. I have conceptualised this process through the figure of the Arkhōn/prompter. As became evident, Arkhēology produces a specific version of cultural objects, making it relevant to probe not only into the modalities of production that GD proceeds upon, but also into what these entail for a cultural object's status. In this chapter, I consider the "artist" (both as a real person and as the subject that emerges from the oeuvre) as a "cultural object" that can be constructed, appropriated and mobilised by others to different ends. Bal's stance that the "object speaks back" will be the backdrop against which I will examine Mihaloliakos' mobilisation of "Cavafy". Next to this, Walter Benjamin's aesthetisation of politics from *The Work of Art in the Age of its Technological Reproducibility* (2018) and Stathis Gourgouris' elaboration on the poetic and the political from *Perils of the One* (2019) will allow me to examine what is at stake when a cultural object comes to lose its voice and what that entails. Arguing that GD's political mobilisation of Cavafy is not just a means of aesthetically enhancing its credos, I will examine notions of the poetic and the political in Cavafy and the *Letter* and how the mobilisation of the *Letter* serves to mute Cavafy; I will delve, in other words, into what is at stake when an object cannot speak back, when it comes to lose its political potentiality while at the same time it is made into a political medium of speech.

In her landmark publication *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities* (2002), Bal states the humanities scholar should "never just theorize but always [...] allow the object 'to speak back'" (45). Consequently, "[t]his is how we can learn from the objects that constitute our area of study. And this is why I consider them subjects" (ibidem). Bal is primarily concerned

about the object's vulnerability to the narcissistic tendencies of academic gazes, but her understanding of an object's ability to speak back opens up new possibilities of interpretation and can be further extended into matters of an object's political life. Bal hints at this by considering objects as subjects; should they be considered subjects, they can also be political. Moreover, she notes that "the maker of an object cannot speak for it" (45). So far I have attempted to show that in GD's case, the *Letter* speaks not only for Cavafy, but instead of Cavafy. Rather than an allocation of agency in GD's take on Cavafy, there is a complete removal of 'speech,' a muteness of sorts, resulting in a subject's, here none other than Cavafy's, objectification.

When one browses through the 'Culture' and 'Ideology' columns on GD's website, Walter Benjamin's notion of the 'fascist aesthetisation of politics,' which he contrasts with communism's politicisation of art (2018, 996), comes to mind. Benjamin is an indispensable companion when thinking about cultural mobilisation conducted by neo-nazi formations; he can thus still be productive in approaching GD's case. Benjamin does not necessarily talk about art as simply an enhancer of fascist politics. His argument is aimed towards how fascism, through spectacle, gives masses the potentiality of expression without necessarily solving the problems fascism capitalises upon (Benjamin 995). Apart from numerous pedagogical/informative publications on cultural matters, almost every political publication of GD, particularly by Michaloliakos, is accompanied by a cultural object. In the *Ideology* section of GD's website, an article titled "The Poetic Aspect of our Idea" accompanied by Caspar David Friedrich's "Wanderer above the Sea of Fog," an image with powerful nationalist connota-

tions, exemplifies GD's fascist aesthetization of politics.¹⁶ I am slightly twisting Benjamins' article in my attempt to talk about the political counterpart of cultural objects and about Michaloliakos' expository acts. Said acts mobilise GD's members. In this mobilisation, GD's members, who are able to sustain their subjectivity as long as they comply to GD's norm, are mobilised and experience a sort of expression when gazing at subjects connoted by cultural objects. The example here being none other than GD's audience and the subject Cavafy, the latter being the connoted subject of the *Letter*. What is more, Cavafy as a cultural object is denied the potentiality of emancipation from Michaloliakos' cultural politics.

In his monograph *Perils of the One* (2019), an investigation of monarchical and unitary thinking, Gourgouris elaborates upon Benjamin. As Gourgouris argues, "only if one effaces the basic dialectical entwinement of the poetic with the political at all levels of human/social activity does one practice a fascist aesthetisation of politics, whose unacknowledged content, after all, is to depoliticize society, indeed to anaesthetize society to politics" (2019, 4-5). Gourgouris talks about multiple levels of human social activity, but my focus has been cultural mobilisation. In order to bring this back to my argument, I argue that the aforementioned effacement of the entwinement between the poetic and the political, identified by Gourgouris, is what takes place when Michaloliakos practices Arkhēology. This might initially seem as a contradiction; how can it be that the object at hand, a cultural object mobilised for political purposes whose political force derives from a politically engaged declaration be considered a non-political one? Objects that refuse to talk: are they political objects, and what happens when there is a political use of an objectified artist/oeuvre, whose muteness along

¹⁶ Particularly notions of environmental determinism, where a nation is explained and understood as a result of its natural landscape. However, the "Wanderer in the Sea of Fog" doesn't gaze at Olympus or the Pindus mountain-range. Therefore one comes to question which landscape is the one that essentially shapes contemporary GD national imaginary. Is it the Neda waterfalls where GD's militaristic camps took place? Or is GD's topos of Hellenism to be situated somewhere in the German landscape?

with the complete removal of its potentiality for meaning making and intervention renders it a non-political one?

I opt to read Bal's notion that "the object speaks back" as an acknowledgment, among other things, of the pitfall of such a fascist aesthetisation. Bal's notion that "the object speaks back" differs from the common statement that some objects are *supposed to* talk by themselves, exhibited as 'masterpieces,' or that objects *actually talk* by themselves and not in a dialectical manner in the first place. The epistemology behind such approaches eventually renders objects mute. As I argued earlier, silence does not necessarily hint towards muteness. This muteness is actually an effacement, since to mute an object is not only about taking away its ability to speak; rather it is to separate the poetic from the political, to deprive the object of its potentiality to resist, and thus of its ability to occupy a political space, which is also a space of potential resistance to appropriation. My argument here is not exactly to say that the object should have the last word against any analysis aimed towards it; as I stated earlier, GD interpretations are based on supposed proof, and indeed they seem to have the last word no matter what. I mention proof, since what is presented is an affectively charged material carrying connotations of archive, truthfulness, and authenticity. Therefore, in GD's worldview, objects don't talk back, they prove, they dictate.

What sort of objects are these, objects whose readings have already been produced, but are now muted? The object's initial status, the *Letter's*, might have been a farce, but the connoted object, Cavafy's hellenocentrism, was very real, meaning, it had already been produced by a certain strand of Cavafian criticism. Still, GD hasn't produced any monographs on Cavafy, nor does it seem interested in doing so. As Michaloliakos produces and inserts - via his quasi-philological performance, via a "narrativization" - peculiar versions of cultural objects into GD's literary canon, it is useful to go back to Bal. As Bal mentions, "[n]arrativiza-

tion is a highly effective way of inserting myth models into the stories of everyday life” (Bal 1996: 5). “Narrativization” does not make explicitly clear whether such an act has to come from a position of authority, be it an institutional or epistemological one, yet Bal’s analysis is helpful in directing our gaze towards examining not only the narrator and narrative as an act of the narrator, but also how narratives come to function as catalysts, without having to examine notions of truthfulness or authenticity behind them.

In the narrative GD produces through the Letter, what sort of myth models are brought into the fore? In the *Letter's* case, the myth model produced is the Nationalist Cavafy. Michaloliakos is not a trained philologist. But his philological performance seems to be crucial in the process of mobilising cultural objects to political ends. The way Michaloliakos produces a reading of Cavafy, however, is different from the production of such readings in the academic world. Academic readings are numerous and fight for sovereignty. There are as many approaches to Cavafy as schools of literary theory and as many readings as there are readers. Different approaches fight for dominance over Cavafy’s poetic body through different readings. All of them can be criticised, questioned, improved, or forgotten. GD, who is aware of criticism towards its approaches, imposes specific meanings and interpretations on the poetic corpus of poets in its literary canon, claiming dominance over this poetic corpus, without necessarily participating in a discussion. GD also claims dominance through the poetic corpus, using said poems in order to enhance its cultural capital and further promote its political agenda and aestheticize its practices of dissemination, i.e., to aestheticize the way GD exerts its political theses. What is more, GD is completely indifferent to criticism. Michaloliakos’ narrative introduces a myth model of the cultural objects at hand, in this case, Cavafy and the *Letter*. Ending this point about myths, and coming back to an object’s ability to speak back, I argue that the lack of this possibility of the object speaking back in GD’s nar-

rative, along with the GD's invulnerability to external criticism, serve as the effacement of the object's political aspect, as seen in the *Letter's* case, giving the *Letter*; and the Cavafy behind it, a mythical status.

We can here return to Benjamin's notion that the reply to fascist aesthetisation of politics is the politicisation of art. Paradoxically, as we saw, GD's politicisation of art apparently renders cultural objects non-political. Rather than politicising objects by mobilising them for political reasons, one should allow the objects to retain their political force. To politicise an object, here Cavafy, is to recognise its potentiality of emancipation from our analytic gaze. Otherwise we fall into the pitfall of the fascist aesthetisation of politics, as Michaloliakos so masterfully does.

Since myths have to be introduced as well as established, it is important to see how GD does this with Cavafy. The mythical model 'Cavafy' wasn't something that GD had to establish from scratch; GD reinforces and builds upon something that existed already. Cavafy, having undergone production by Greek philology, was already a poet, a respected poet, a national poet, and in GD's worldview a nationalistic one. What sets Cavafy apart from other Greek national poets is his exceptional popularity and citationality, of which GD is well aware. GD is indeed plagiarising and this could be considered a borrowing of sorts. However, what could be more productive is to focus on how philological scholarship enables GD to integrate Cavafy and mythicize him. That would allow us at the same moment to avoid the shortcomings of finding 'sources,' which GD seems to be indifferent towards to begin with; after all, Michaloliakos is shameless in his plagiarising acts, barely editing his texts. Without Greek philology's corpus, GD would not be able to mobilise cultural objects. To consider Greek philological publications as something that enables, in a present tense, would bring in fore the power connotations. With that I do not want to bring up matters of agonistic readings

by disciplinary practitioners fighting for sovereignty upon meaning making through their publications. Rather I want to stress that myths 'are' and have to be maintained in order to persevere, even though GD argues that some figures, such as Cavafy, are forgotten; the myths' verbal tense therefore not only highlights matters of potentiality and citationality, but also makes matters of ownership questionable, since what is at hand is an enabling of sorts.

Therefore, to say that GD claims, or appropriates Cavafy is not enough to describe the mechanisms at place. You claim something that you don't already own and assume that it belongs to someone else or is public domain. Apparently GD, considering itself an ambassador of Greece and Nationalism, believes it already owns "Cavafy", since according to Michaloliakos, "Hellas doesn't give away a Greek to the sickly anti-hellenic status quo". You cannot give away something you don't possess; the product Cavafy belongs to nationalism, no matter who the Arkhōn of the archive might be. However, questions of ownership, implied in the notion of appropriation, are complicated. Where or to whom do poets belong, or who owns poets? So far I have argued that for GD, ownership precedes interpretation. GD's take on the subject expands upon this, and allows us to consider ownership as a privilege of the meaning-maker, an act that renews one's ownership. Cavafy's archive belongs to the one that makes sense of it. Interpretation follows and renews ownership. Yet GD's interpretations and analyses, at least in Cavafy's case, do not surprise any potential reader and consist mostly of plagiarism, so one could wonder if GD's take on Cavafy actually belongs to GD itself.

I have argued both that epistemological (here, philological) performativity plays a crucial role in bringing into life myth models of cultural objects as well as that some cultural objects produce these myths. Moreover, I argued that there is the necessity of the act's repetition in order for the myth to continue existing. However, examining the modalities that bring such myth models to life, a question arises. Is Cavafy a myth machine, with Michaloliakos

simply being the person that presses the machine's 'on' button? To further examine GD's Cavafy, in the following chapter I will trace blatant omissions in the way that GD constructs its version of Cavafy and what these entail.

5. Object not Found, and the right to be printed - Neglected facts in GD's "Cavafy" and the objects' paper afterlives

Besides paying attention to what GD says about Cavafy, it is also worth examining what GD does not say. It must be mentioned that this is not an excursion guided by my expectations. To probe into something that I would expect GD to do while it does not would mean that I fall into the epistemological category of an expert, a position similar to the fact-checking approach, which I try to avoid. To delve into such omissions in GD's narrative without performing as an expert, I will make use of Edward Said's notion of *contrapuntal reading*, which is the theory that underlines my exploration in this chapter. Said calls for reading the "cultural archive," "not univocally but *contrapuntally*, with a simultaneous awareness both of the metropolitan history that is narrated and of those other histories against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts" (51). In what follows, I will attempt such a reading of GD's cultural archive, in this instance, GD's cultural mobilisation of Cavafy. Instead of being a reading of expectations, it will be a reading of awareness. Even though they do not have the same materiality as letters, publications and photographs, the imaginaries and stories surrounding the archive are just as important. For that reason, it is important to see which 'stories' GD does not use in the process of incorporating Cavafy in its ranks, even though these stories are not incompatible with GD's political agenda.

Following Said's mode of reading, I identify parts from Cavafy's archive that share the same potentiality towards mobilisation by GD but are nevertheless excluded; only the *Letter* makes it into GD's narrative. Rather than questioning GD's knowledgeability from the point of an expert in order to assess these omissions, I will attempt to identify what allows the mobilisation of specific parts from Cavafy's archive; using the case of the *Letter* and a printed image that ex-GD member Yannis Lagos brought to the Europarliament, I will argue that

GD's cultural mobilisation unsettles the boundaries between materiality and immateriality, allowing new modalities of materialisation to come forth, through which materiality emerges as a potential rather than a given. Finally, through the aforementioned cultural mobilisations, I identify an indifference from GD's part towards institutionalisation, which I understand as the participation in an agonistic relationship with practitioners of disciplines fighting for sovereignty upon meaning making. GD's goal being apparently solely the attraction of followers through affective appeal and the aesthetic enhancement of its positions.

One of the most commonly known anecdotes by philologists and persons versed in Greek literature, was Cavafy's meeting with Filippo Tommaso Marinetti (1876-1944), famous Italian Futurist poet who affiliated himself with the Italian fascist regime; students are made aware of this meeting in high school in Greece. What is more, when delving into Cavafy's library, one finds copies of books by another Italian poet with fascist affiliations, Gabriele D'Annunzio (1863-1938),¹⁷ whom Cavafy was aware of, though it probably was an under-explored interest. Finally, in a letter addressed to Alekos Sengopoulos (1898-1966) dated 6th November 1918, the latter being an acquaintance of Cavafy that would later inherit his archive, Cavafy notes that he attended a lecture on D'Annunzio, admitting that he has only read a bit of his work (Cavafy to A. Singopoulo). In a different and more material note, Cavafy might not have been a Nobel laureate, but was awarded the Silver Medal of the Order of the Phoenix by the Greek government during Theodoros Pagkalos' dictatorship (1925-1926) in 1926, which he accepted (Silver Medal of the Order of the Phoenix and accompanying letter by the Consul General of Greece in Alexandria, Marinos Sigouros). Curi-

¹⁷ Cavafy's library is available at <https://cavafy.onassis.org/ideal-library/>, with D'Annunzio's books being found under the "Books in French" section.

ously, neither this meeting with Marinetti, nor Cavafy's knowledge of D'Annunzio or his award during the dictatorship are mentioned on GD's website.

Why are these incidents not mentioned in GD's attempts to present an image of a national-socialist Cavafy? Having mentioned the Führerprinzip as well as GD as a straightforward Nazi formation, one could argue that since GD seems to be following a pure Hitlerian line, Marinetti's futurism or D'Annunzio's poetics could be rejected by GD due to their relationship to the Italian fascist regime. Yet there are other instances where GD members do cite Marinetti and D'Annunzio, and take pride in their fascist tendencies (Michaloliakos 2014). The absence of the Greek dictator Pagkalos' award to Cavafy, which is also referenced by Savidis in the article Michaloliakos plagiarises, from GD's narrative, is equally puzzling.

Apparently, what these instances lack is the materiality the *Letter* has, as well as its ability to surface from the archive. By evoking materiality, I do not mean to take an internetic photo's substance literally; if one were to examine the .jpg's materiality, then the focus would shift towards the hard-drive's or the server's materials, materials whose plasticity could very well emulate the plasticity of the facts propagated by GD. I argue that a different materiality emerges in internetic publications and cultural mobilisations, one that carries a certain potentiality. The *Letter*, as well as another example I will present in the paragraphs to come, acquire their materiality not only through their existence as digital archives; they can be printed and function as material archives, they can be touched when printed and generate the affect of authenticity as well as enhance the claim of the person disseminating them. In this instance, GD's awareness of the potentiality lurking in internetic archives and how they can materialise highlight GD's affective politics of truth and authenticity.

The *Letter* has the potentiality of producing an affective "truth," whose ability to be touched, as a physical object, and seen, as a museum exhibit, produces affect. This brings up

the matter of post-truth politics and the way they have been developing in populist and far-right coalitions. In an article examining post-truth politics and protest, Boletsi briefly touches upon the notion of post-truth, arguing that “[t]ruth in the post-truth age has not exactly become invalidated or irrelevant, as many have argued, but the mode of its production and its understanding have shifted: it is generated as *affect* or *public sentiment*. This understanding of truth has been captured by the terms “felt truth” or “truthiness” (Boletsi 15). The *Letter* stands as a fact, despite the fact that it is a farce, but the *Letter*’s true status arises from its materiality and ability to be ‘felt’ when grasping/gazing, as well as by its production into an object of epistemology. Therefore, pseudo-epistemic performativities, as evident in Michaloliakos’ Arkhēology, produce affects. Still, one could argue that such materiality as a potentiality to be printed is not necessarily exhibited in the *Letter*, which remains in digital form. As I will demonstrate, GD does not mobilise such cultural objects only in their digital forms.

To show how this works, I will delve into another example that shows in striking terms how such an affective materiality of printing can be utilised to political ends. Instead of Michaloliakos, the protagonist in this case is ex-GD member and now member of the European Parliament Yannis Lagos, now leading the political formation ELASYN with other ex-GD members. In a meeting in the European Parliament, Lagos printed on a sheet of paper a marble epigraph with the inscription “ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΝ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΝ”, that translates roughly to “Thessaloniki, Philipp’s Queen”, and while showing it to everyone, he proceeded to make his point (“Γ. Λαγός τους ξεφτίλισε στο Ευρωκοινοβούλιο: Προκαλώ έναν σκοπιανό να διαβάσει αυτή την επιγραφή!”).

Lagos claimed Greece’s ownership of the marble epigraph and by extension, of the

Macedonian cultural heritage. The basis of his argument was that he is able to read this inscription while the “Skopjans” (a derogatory term for citizens of North Macedonia commonly used by Greek nationalists), are unable to do so. It is important to note that Lagos doesn’t proceed with translating the archaic Greek epigraph, which could confirm his ability to read ancient Greek. Lagos simply mentions his ability to read it; this act initially highlights the continuity of ancient Greek and Modern Greek. Moreover, it invites a reading along the lines of the notions of glance/gaze that I mentioned before. Lagos’ performance invites two different sets of viewers, the members of the Europarliament, but also GD’s members. Both are invited to *gaze* upon the printed image. Lagos invites GD members to a reading based on affective relations where interpretation comes secondary; what matters is GD’s members ability to relate, to recognize a part of themselves in the cultural object, as well as be awestruck by the object’s aura of authenticity and truthfulness. When an object has text written on it, one could very well argue that the object speaks. When Lagos proceeds in reading aloud this epigraph, the object comes to acquire its voice through its disseminator. Still, the object that supposedly speaks on its own, is voiced by someone who effaces himself during the reading of the object’s content. Lagos comes to efface himself, and lets the epigraph speak, while at the same time condemning it to silence. However rather than arguing that Lagos projects a speech act to the epigraph, I want to stress that Lagos’ epistemological performance does not differ much from Michaloliakos’ exposition of Cavafy’s *Letter*. Lagos, instead of placing the object in an imaginary museum, quite literally, takes an object from a museum in order to expose it in the European Parliament, mediated through the printer. Rather than establishing the museum as Michaloliakos did, Lagos carries the museum with him. Lagos speech acts are of the same positivist epistemology as Michaloliakos’; Look! and That’s how it is! Claiming truth and expertise upon his audience, Lagos does not only address the members of the Eu-

ropean Parliament, but moreover, the persons watching his performance through Youtube, which now counts over 100,000 views. Michaloliakos exposition of the *Letter* uses said object to address a specific audience, GD's members. Lagos on the other hand performs his exposition of the epigraph, an object, to address the European Parliament in order to reach another audience, in order to reach another interlocutor, GD's members and potential followers. Said followers have flooded with their comments the video, all of them recognising Lagos' honest claim and argument regarding the epigraph. Lagos, whose gender, as a male, evident not only in the tone of his voice that is characterised by didacticism and refusal to negotiate, is greatly appreciated by GD's members and viewers of the Youtube video. These viewers also proceed in a polarisation between Lagos and the other member of the European Parliament, Maria Spyraiki, who as a woman stands as receiver of sexist remarks and violence, against the male Lagos' claim, making this view of the marble epigraph a gendered one.

It is through this act of exposing that Lagos not only disseminates a printed .jpg from an online database, but also proceeds to claim ownership through his ability to make use of it due to his knowledge of Greek. This case raises the question of how exactly cultural objects come to be mediated and how their materialities shift as a result. Initially distinctly material, they get digitalised and printed. Although the Greek far-right's major instrument in this mobilisation for cultural claims in the Euro-parliament and 'weapon' against counterarguments is, curiously, the printer, the objects do not necessarily need to be printed to function as they would when printed. However, I argue that they derive their importance from this potential. The physical manifestation of an archive enhances its potentiality to be used in a positivist epistemology of gestural showing, of a call for the gaze of the interlocutors upon the exposed archive. When archival/cultural objects get printed and exposed in their physical form to an audience they are able to transport that audience in the space of a museum, granting the per-

son exposing them epistemic authority, an authority that plays a crucial moment in appealing to the audience's affect.

The *Letter*, again, is, in GD's worldview, able to speak by itself. However, the aforementioned anecdotes that could boast the same potentiality are nowhere to be found. Furthermore, the potentiality of printing is not the only thing that ties the *Letter* with the marble epigraph Lagos disseminated; both were cultural objects that circulated widely within online internetic circles. Apparently, this potentiality becomes manifest, in the sense of archival exposition, only when it is presented by someone who poses as a figure of authority –here, Michaloliakos and Lagos respectively; to come back to the prompter allegory, the prompter doesn't necessarily write the book he reads from, he only has to pick up the references from somewhere else. Michaloliakos picks up some parts from Savidis' bio of Cavafy and Lagos from internetic discussions. It seems that both the *Letter* and Lagos' epigraph have a high potentiality to cause unrest, to mobilise, judging by GD's keen interest in them. This doesn't mean that GD unearths literally, in the sense that it presents something previously unknown; the *Letter*, as well as the inscription circulated, were discussed widely before they ended up at GD's cultural archive. This contradicts in a sense GD's role as a prompter, as someone who reminds against forgetfulness, standing vigil over forgotten culture. GD depends greatly upon others from which it derives references, as evident in Michaloliakos' plagiarism of Savidis and Lagos's use of the epigraph.

The material part of the Arkhēological assemblage therefore needs to build up on an already existent discussion. What is more, neither Michaloliakos nor Lagos seem to be interested in finding a way to initiate a discussion, or even participate in one. Their aim is not the establishment of a foundational critique that will shape the others' foundations and understanding slowly, in other words they do not aspire towards an institutionalisation of their cri-

tique; it is rather a polemic and contemporary participation in a discussion that shows no interest in engaging with its audience. Instead of agonistic, it is polemic. Initially appearing as an anti-establishment, or anti-institution, GD doesn't seem to be interested into changing, working with, or abolishing institutions; the practices GD proceeds upon seem to be solely interested in attracting followers with their highly affective cultural mobilisations.

6. Homonationalism and the Homosocial in GD

In the first chapter, I briefly referred to Michaloliakos' hinting at Cavafy's personal life, and particularly Cavafy's homosexuality. In this chapter, I turn to the notion of homonationalism by zooming in on two quotes by Michaloliakos that underline GD's approach towards the problematic of Cavafy as an object with – in their eyes - a troubling sexuality. In Michaloliakos' own words, “[Cavafy] was a nationalist but his innate modesty and his guilty conscience regarding his problematic personal sex life made him detached and led him into personal isolation marked by dignity in an aristocratic manner even during the truly difficult personal moments” (“150 Χρόνια Από Τη Γέννηση Του Μεγάλου Μας Ποιητή, Κωνσταντίνου Καβάφη”) (My translation). In the same article, as Michaloliakos speculates, “[i]t is possible that the particularities of C. Cavafy's strictly personal life might be absolutely dismissed by Nationalism, yet Hellas doesn't give away a Greek to the sickly anti-hellenic status quo, especially when he keeps these particularities to himself with constraint and decency” (ibidem) (My translation). In order to unpack these quotes I will delve into what “problematic personal sex life” as well as “particularities” entail, but also how they relate to GD's homophobic narrative and practices. I will turn again to Puar's and Van Alphen's works, which are the theoretical framework that will guide my exploration. Moreover, the *gaze*, as the mode of viewing that Michaloliakos invites his supporters to adopt in GD's imaginary museum, will allow me to examine aspects of homosociality in GD's cultural mobilisations. Here, posing that thought and affect are distinct but related, I argue that should art invite viewers to think along with it, then art also functions as a catalyst for affective bonds, establishing collectivities among the bodies that engage with it through the mode of viewing - in this instance, though the *gaze*.

Cavafy, both the actual person who lived in Alexandria and the one resulting from his texts, is gay. Despite the fact that there are multiple narratives, myths, anecdotes, etc., surrounding Cavafy's sexuality, they are nowhere to be found in GD's narrative. Some of these narratives are actually catalogued in Savidis' article that Michaloliakos plagiarises. Apart from situating Cavafy's homosexuality in the domain of 'testimonies,' Savidis also mentions a famous heteronormative anecdote about Cavafy. In Savidis' own words, "[Cavafy's] unusual concern for Aleko [Singhopoulo] (later his designated heir), coupled with their facial resemblance, led some people to speculate that Singhopoulo was Cavafy's illegitimate son. This hypothesis is certainly valid, especially since Rika Singhopoulo (Aleko's first wife) notes that Cavafy was bisexual into his thirties" (Savidis). Michaloliakos is aware of that; he reads what he plagiarises. But the only reference we come across in his speech concerns Cavafy's "particularities" and "problematic sex life." As with the anecdotes that GD ignores or omits in its attempt to integrate Cavafy in their nationalist narrative, the informed reader could here wonder why, since there is a heteronormative myth of Cavafy, especially one that involves an son/heir, GD doesn't make use of it.

Yannis Papatheodorou has made an exhaustive analysis of the multiple sexualities attributed to Cavafy and how they were formed by criticism. Cavafy wasn't always a Greek national poet. He had to be integrated into what we could consider the Greek national literary canon but the word integration doesn't do justice to the mechanisms at play as to how Cavafy became canonised; Cavafy was produced into Cavafy the National Greek poet. Therefore, Greek criticism, in its attempt to incorporate Cavafy in the Greek national canon of poets, attempted to overlook Cavafy's homosexuality, cure it, or even consider it of minor importance to the latter's oeuvre in an attempt to preemptively minimize the force of new scholarship that would foreground this aspect (Papanikolaou 54). Needless to say, the different

Cavafy-personas were at least as many as Cavafy's multiple sexualisations, which included compulsive masturbation, homosexuality, and heterosexuality. By sexualisation I refer to the allocation of a specific sexuality to a cultural object through literary interpretation or utilisation of biographical information. As Papatheodorou rightly cautions, although he examines Cavafian scholarship and not far-right coalitions, "the subject at hand is not the 'de-mythification' of the Cavafian scholarship myths, but to understand how they were formed as systems of knowledge, with their own criteria of truth and validity" (Papatheodorou 252) (My translation). Can we speak of such systems of knowledge in GD's case? Does GD sexualise Cavafy, or produce a (a)sexualised Cavafy, taking the baton from Greek philology?

Surprisingly enough, GD has the most radical approach towards Cavafy's sexuality; it simply does not seem to care; as long as Cavafy keeps it to himself, confined to his house, it is fine. In Michaloliakos' own words, Cavafy is acceptable "when he keeps these particularities to himself with constraint and decency." This becomes less surprising once we recall GD's cultural practices. As mentioned already, GD does not aim at establishing an institutional narrative of Cavafy through its critique of cultural figures, since it does not engage into agonistic dialogue with other practitioners of the discipline. On the other hand, Greek philology's approaches to Cavafy have institutional aspirations and it is these specific aspirations that guided the shaping of Cavafy's homosexuality by a group of philologists; it was easier for Cavafy to be integrated into the national poets' canon if he was considered as heterosexual, bisexual, or compulsive masturbator. GD who apparently has no interest in institutional aspirations, unlike Greek Philology, integrates the national poet Cavafy in its own canon not despite the latter's sexuality, nor by engaging in an elaborate discussion around his sexuality; GD simply shows indifference towards the subject, along with a certain degree of censoring. Of course none of Cavafy's poems that are explicitly homoerotic are to be found on GD's

website but this should not come as a surprise to any reader. After all, Cavafy's poems are used to aesthetically enhance an already existing argument; although the presence of semi-naked men doing exercises in GD's military camps in Neda waterfalls¹⁸ could bring to mind some of Cavafy's poetic images, GD's does not seem to consider such poems fitting.

Is Cavafy's homosexuality already implied in Michaloliakos' reading of the poet/persona Cavafy? Apparently, when Michaloliakos talks of Cavafy's sexuality, he does not simply proceed upon a biographically informed reading of the latter's poems. To read a poet while being aware of his homosexuality is different that to recognize that homosexuality in his poetic corpus. In Michaloliakos' 'reading,' sexuality is somehow attached to Cavafy and the question of how such an attachment comes to take place manifests itself. The readings GD proceeds upon regarding Cavafy's sexuality are twofold. One reading has already been presented based on the above-mentioned quotes by Michaloliakos: this is the biographically informed reading of Cavafy as a subject with a problematic sexual life. The other reading, which follows from other uses of Cavafy by GD, projects Cavafy as an asexual object. In the numerous citations of Cavafy that GD chooses to use in its mobilisations of him, one encounters poems that, probably in GD's own eyes, have nothing to do with desire. Among these are "Waiting for the Barbarians," (1904) "Thermopylae," (1903) "Poseidonians," (1906) and the "City," (1910) poems that talk of barbarians, of heroic sacrifice, of Greekness and the Greek language, and of gaining and losing power respectively, as presented by GD. Notably, in the anonymous article that Michaloliakos plagiarises, the author initially involved the poem "Longings," (1904) a poem that talks of desire. Michaloliakos, probably troubled by the sub-

¹⁸ In Neda waterfalls, GD has been organising military camps to form bonds amongst its members. There, they are trained in military exercises and use of weaponry, they do sports, spend time together. What is more, they also swear an oath to GD, through a highly performative ceremony, under GD's higher ranking members. During the court, as testimonials were screened numerous photos from confiscated hard drives that presented all these men semi-nude, doing exercises, and enjoying the outdoors.

ject at hand, edited that out of his text, providing an article written from a heterosexual point of view for heterosexual readers. It seems that although the feeling of nationalism is attached to Cavafy and is proudly exhibited by GD, the same cannot be said for Cavafy's homosexuality as far as the poems are concerned, which, although acknowledged, are omitted. Nationalism informs Michaloliakos' readings of Cavafy, while homosexuality does not.

Therefore, although not sexualised in its mode of reading, Michaloliakos' implicitly homophobic act of editing Cavafy's bio which he adds as a description next to the *Letter*, does actually shape relationships between GD's subjects. The men gazing at the *Letter's* position in GD's imaginary museum are invited to gaze along each other, forming affective bonds through this manner. The gaze I have examined so far in Michaloliakos analysis is a gaze that did not allow the poet to speak back. Michaloliakos' curatorial act is not homosocial in its analysis or in the mode of viewing it invites, but it can be considered homosocial in how it makes the audience, GD's members, relate to each other and their leader. The *Letter* initially serves as a catalyst for Cavafy's integration into GD's national canon, yet the *Letter's* exposing and hanging primarily serves to integrate GD's heterosexual subjects and foster homosociality between GD (predominantly male) members. Even though GD initially seems indifferent towards Cavafy's problematic sexuality, such a sexuality remains crucial and this becomes evident by examining whether GD's intermale bonds could also develop from a heterosexual version of Cavafy.

Since I have talked already of myth-building and myth-making the question regarding Cavafy's sexualisation reformulates itself. Why doesn't GD make and use a Cavafy myth model in its own image, a heterosexual one that is? Since GD is so interested in presenting and fostering heterosexuality amongst its members and leaders, how can Cavafy's myth model, a model suffering from the problematic of a homosexuality, continue to be mobilised

by GD? When what is at stake is the crux of GD's narrative, nation and sexuality, that question reverberates louder. To answer that I initially go back to the notion of the non-arbitrary quality of the myth models. When GD builds upon theories put forth by others, the problematics and the shortcomings remain. The book that the prompter reads, to come back to the prompter allegory, provides the prompter with arguments, feeding in that way GD's cultural arsenal, but some facts that do not align with the prompter's ideals have to be dealt with. Surprisingly then, as presented already, despite the fact that they could have chosen to project a heteronormative Cavafy, they opted for the troubling homosexual Cavafy. Does that mean that Cavafy is actually accepted as a homosexual body worth of protection by GD? Is this seeming indifference towards sexual deviation hinting at an acceptance of sorts?

Jasbir Puar in her book *Terrorist Assemblages* coined the term *Homonationalism*, a tool widely used to examine the modalities behind some queer bodies' entrance to the nation state. Puar's argument is not only simply about integration as progress. For Puar, *homonationalism* comes to portray how some queer bodies come to be protected by nation states, the latter claiming sexual exceptionalism through the simultaneous production of terrorist bodies of Orientalised Islamic Others. Expanding her argument, Puar notices that “[h]omonationalism is thus a structuring facet of modernity (rather than an aberration or “liberalism gone bad”) and a historical shift marked by the entrance of (some) homosexual bodies as worthy of protection by nation-states, a constitutive and fundamental reorientation of the relationship between the state, capitalism, and sexuality” (Puar 230). GD is by no means not a nation-state but, still, to examine an ultra-nationalistic coalition along the notion of *homonationalism* can be productive. So far I have attempted to present GD as an anti-institutional party, whose occasional cultural mobilisations do not aim towards an institutionalisation of its positions on issues of culture. No matter how vague the rhetoric of welcoming Cavafy is, whose homo-

sexuality does not conform to GD's worldview, it is certain that GD is acknowledging Cavafy as a homosexual. Michaloliakos' statement points towards a sort of entrance of Cavafy's homosexual body in the category of those worthy of protection. On the one hand, what GD considers to be Cavafy's erotic particularities come to be accepted since Cavafy is a national subject par excellence, as long as such particularities are confined to the private sphere of his home. On the other, GD clearly demonises other homosexuals who do not "[keep] these particularities to [themselves] with constraint and decency" ("150 Χρόνια Από Τη Γέννηση Του Μεγάλου Μας Ποιητή, Κωνσταντίνου Καβάφη"). Does the moment that Cavafy's sexuality comes to be accepted by GD constitute an instance of homonationalism? And to what degree can we speak of an acceptance of Cavafy's homosexuality?

What is at stake here is not whether GD accepts or condemns homosexuality as such since it is not a matter of integration or assimilation; the condemnation of homosexuality is certainly a given for GD. *Homonationalism* is also about integrating queer subjects in order to demonise supposedly less progressive Orientalised others. Since the case is GD's sexual exceptionalism, the demonised ones are non Greek, or come to take the place of non-Greek due to their non compliancy with GD's worldview; to be Greek for GD apparently means to have a specific sexual orientation, viewed as exceptional. Sexual exceptionalism hints towards narratives of excellence and GD's narrative in this instance is strictly a narrative of heterosexual men with 'normal' families. Michaloliakos performs his family status whenever possible in public, as husband and father of a daughter. Michaloliakos' daughter, Ourania, took the baton from him regarding GD's leadership during her father's imprisonment. Cavafy's erotic particularities might be, according to Michaloliakos, condemnable by nationalism, but Cavafy becomes an exceptional queer subject not only due to his supposedly patriotic feelings, but because Cavafy keeps said particularities to himself and with restraint.

Therefore, Michaloliakos presents as condemnable and demonises homosexual and queer subjects that are explicit in their personal life, while he deems Cavafy worthy of protection.

So far I examined men confessing and confirming their heterosexuality, albeit implicitly, through homophobia, but the sexual exceptionalism in GD is not performed solely through homophobia. Such exceptionalism can also be highlighted against what is deemed as condemnable, enhancing the condemnation of diversions. Cavafy might be presented as homoerotic, a status troubling for GD, but that further highlights the importance sexuality plays for the role of a national poet. GD's cultural canon, and by extent the national writer, hinge upon heterosexuality as well as upon the oppression of any diversity. As Puar also observed, the nation, and by extend, the national writer, are built in an analogous relationship with homosexuality, a relationship that as evident in Cavafy's case in GD, can be converse. Michaloliakos, through Cavafy's cultural mobilisation, performs his homophobia, thereby aligning himself with his homophobic audience. It is for this reason that GD's use of the homosexual Cavafy in the end comes to be more productive for GD's inter-party relationships than if GD would have mobilised a heteronormative Cavafy.

Of course, GD has a long history of demonising people for their sexual preferences and it doesn't rely only on Cavafy as a medium to do so. In what follows, I will delve into two instances of homophobic speech acts that are not related to cultural objects but are addressed towards subjects. The first exemplary instance is found in the Greek Indymedia, an independent online forum. In a now famous forum thread called "ΜΙΧΑΛΟΛΙΑΚΟΣ + ΚΥΠΡΟΦΙΛΙΑ = LOVE," (MICHALOLIAKOS + NIS [The Greek National Intelligence Service] = LOVE, My translation), multiple GD and ex-GD members entered into a cybernetic conflict, fostered by participating anonymous trolls (Oxia 2003). In 23 October 2003, many years before GD would find itself in the parliament, the user OXIA (Greek name for the viper snake)

created a forum thread and posted a document that, according to the author, purportedly proves Michaloliakos' and two other persons' relationship to the Greek National Intelligence service. This was another instance of archival exposition, whose gestural showing did not differ much from Michaloliakos' exposition of the *Letter*. This one, however, enraged GD and GD's former comrades more than expected. In the countless comments that followed, one encounters two famous GD members. Stefanos Gkekas, now leader of another far-right coalition active in Greece titled ARMA entered the discussion, along with Harris Kousoumvrīs, who, following his fallout with GD, wrote the anti-GD book *Demolishing Golden Dawn's Myth* (2004). A heated debate that spans numerous pages and involves countless comments finds GD former and current members, apart from cursing at each other and calling each other a traitor, proceeding upon calling each other with the female counterpart of their name, in an attempt to feminise their internetic enemies; e.g. Stefanos Gkekas is addressed with the female version of his name, 'Stefania' and Harris Kousoumvrīs is called 'Haroula.' This is one form of the sexist violence GD proceeds upon, one that is attributed to Greek subjects. It is derogatory and explicitly homophobic, an act that serves to demonise those it addresses. It provokes, since it is addressed towards other homophobes, and simultaneously situates the receivers of said sexist violence in the group of bodies that GD considers non-canonical. At the same time that GD accuses males of delving into homosexual behaviour, other males situated amongst the indymedia forum's audience, enhance their comradeship. However, GD members, by proceeding upon making numerous sexist remarks towards Stefanos Gkekas' sexual orientation using as excuse the latter's comradeship with other far-right males and especially Horst Mahler (German former member of the Red Army Faction that afterwards became a neo-Nazi), essentially repeat accusations that a similarly minded person could address at them. Such comradeship, although not much different from the one GD exhibits in the mil-

itary camps at Neda falls, stands to be ridiculed and GD seems to have no problem in doing so. Performing its homophobia by writing comments on an internetic forum, GD addresses its own members as much as it does its former ones; the condemnation of former comrades serves as an embrace of the current ones.

The other incident of this form of sexist violence through the attribution of sexual orientations condemnable by GD and the performance of homophobia, took place not in an internetic forum, but outside a theatre. On 11 Oct. 2012, outside theatre Xytirio in Athens, around a hundred people demonstrated against a play performed there, with numerous GD members and GD's elected PM, Ilias Panagiotaros, being among them. The play at hand was a staging of Terence McNally's *Corpus Christi*, a play presenting Jesus and the apostles as gay men, directed by a Greek-Albanian artist. Panagiotaros, screaming and cursing outside the theatre, in a big line of curse-words, also addressed the actors through the by now following famous statement: "Fucked Albanian Assholes" ("Ματ Χυτήριο Θεατρο") (My translation). The racist and homophobic insults by Panagiotaros were not only directly addressed to the director, nor did Panagiotaros only derive them from themes evident in the theatrical play. It was an act of othering through a simultaneous allocation of homosexuality and the Albanian nationality, the latter also serving as a derogatory charged term used by GD members to discriminate against low-income workers. Through this act of double othering and homophobic performance, Panagiotaros propagated his own heterosexuality and strengthened his collective bond with his fellow GD members. Sexual exceptionalism in GD therefore is not only distinctly homosocial, but it is also a way of promising heterosexual comradeship amongst its members.

The theatre show *Corpus Christi* might have attempted to bring some issues to the fore, but GD in response also put up a performance, a theatre of sorts, of its own outside the

actual theatre. What makes Panagiotaros' homophobic illocutionary speech act against the actors distinct from Michaloliakos' edit of Cavafy's bio and the *Letter's* exposition is that his interlocutors differ. While Michaloliakos as a first person told his audience about the third person that was on display, that being none other than the *Letter*; Panagiotaros tells his audience about the actors. The first, second, and third person, correspond to Panagiotaros, audience, and actors, respectively. In a similar fashion to Lagos' exposition of the epigraph, Panagiotaros addresses the actors in order to appeal to a different audience, the one that is present, and that one that watches him through Youtube. By engaging in homophobic violence, Panagiotaros interpellates the inactive audience that does not condemn his behaviour into his ideological coalition. In Panagiotaros' case, the acts of cursing and daring facilitate the interpellation of like-minded persons, as well as those that are in a homological relationship to Panagiotaros, integrating such individuals into the latter's ideological formation. Panagiotaros' act relies upon the uptake of the audience which will either sanction, his position enhancing his argument, or criticise him.

As far as the events outside Xytirio theatre are concerned, Panagiotaros' act relies upon two different uptakes to it in order to achieve its political goal. The first is the one that he very much endorses and encourages; the persecution of persons and the commitment of violent acts. However, Panagiotaros' performance is one that is recorded on camera, in order to be later released online at youtube, where GD seems to be particularly committed in disseminating its material. Having an apt knowledge of his act's recording, of the fact that he is archived and will be later available online, he behaves and makes an archive of himself according to what he wishes to project and expose in GD's cybernetic platforms.

The second uptake is the rejection of Panagiotaros' act. Those outraged by it, at the same time that they condemn GD, at the same time they further foster and enhance GD's

popularity amongst its current and potential members. Panagiotaros' homophobic speech act in a sense requires and relies upon the condemnation of a part of his audience in order to cause outrage and attract popularity. GD has a history of building upon moments where it was condemned for its actions, particularly instances of physical assault towards others; its condemnation only saw its numbers rising, something that GD is very well aware of.

What I attempted to show is that although these two events are distinctly different, in Michaloliakos and the *Letter's* case being a cultural mobilisation, while in Panagiotaros' case being a mobilisation because of culture, in both instances homophobia comes to be performed in front of a specific audience. Through this performance of homophobia, both Panagiotaros and Michaloliakos contribute to the formation of homosocial bonds between men who declare and perform their heterosexuality, either by the way such men join Panagiotaros in screaming against and persecuting queers, or bear witness to such actions, or attend GD's imaginary museum. Unlike Michaloliakos' witnesses, who are not literally present, Panagiotaros' are very much present and real. Both types of audiences, however, imaginary or not, whether they accept or condemn what reveals itself before them, benefit GD's ideological agenda. To conclude, both the highlighting or the attribution of homosexuality to others (through Panagiotaros' hate speech) and the allocation of a different gender (in the Indymedia forum) serve to strengthen the bonds between GD members.

Last but not least, another catalyst in forming and strengthening the bonds between GD men, is the way they look at culture, especially a culture they consider their own and claim or renew their ownership of. If the gaze that the Arkhēologist invites towards cultural objects, as I argued in chapter 2, is a gaze of disembodiment and objectification, the gaze that Panagiotaros invites his fellow GD members to project upon others is not very different. Moreover, when Panagiotaros looks at a theatrical performance taking place at Xytirio the-

atre, he also looks at culture in a sense. After all, Panagiotaros responds to a theatrical performance. GD's approach towards culture requires the mode of looking of the *gaze*. Panagiotaros' gaze indeed disembodies and objectifies again, in a different yet similar manner to Michaloliakos' case: where the *Letter*, as an object is used to disembody and objectify Cavafy, in this instance, Panagiotaros also uses an object, should the theatrical script be considered such, in order to disembody and objectify the actors. What GD members see when they gaze at queer subjects, diverse Others, Cavafy and the *Letter*, not only defines GD's members heterosexual identity but also allows the subjectivity of GD's members' to be maintained so long as they redeem themselves as bodies worthy of protection by GD; such an acceptance is realisable so long as GD's members are explicit and/or performative about their heterosexuality.

How different is the result of Panagiotaros' shouting outside a theatre performance from Michaloliakos' Arkhēological act, as far as their audience, consisting of GD members, is concerned? I argue that there is not much of a difference, in that both practices seem to entail a homosociality of sorts. These male practices function as a renewal of promises given by men to each other, promises of heterosexuality, that both entail a sort of regulation; the regulation and censorship of a literary corpus correlates in a sense with the regulation and persecution of bodies who are considered not worth integrating. A reciprocity becomes evident; from cultural mobilisation in order for the homosocial collectivity to come to existence, I identify a mobilisation because of culture, where the outrage towards diverse Others forms and fosters bonds between men.

I have argued that how GD gazes at art comes to function as an affective catalyst for the fostering of homosocial bonds amongst its members, which I approached through Benjamin's notion of fascist aesthetisation of politics, along with Gourgouris' anaesthetisation of

society to politics. However, even if culture and society come to be anaesthetised, at the same moment, these men who play the crucial role of those conducting the anaesthesia actually feel a lot; should Cavafy not be able to feel through anaesthesia, by having been anaesthetised to politics, to reformulate Gourgouris point, that does not mean that those gazing upon him, GD's members, won't be able to feel for each other. It so seems that the anaesthetisation of politics, by making objects dumb and numb, as evident in GD's mobilisation of Cavafy, thus serves to strongly aesthetise, to make the persons becoming political through this mobilisation to come closer and feel. The way GD looks at culture, be it Cavafy, or the actors at theatre Xythrio, in combination with the homophobic acts involved is a catalyst for the formation of comradeship amongst GD's members; in the house of GD where the Arkhōns reside, the bonds are familial, and are maintained by constant acts of renewal.

7. Conclusions and Afterthoughts: Golden Dawn's Trial

So far I have tried to examine what happens when members of a far-right coalition, in this case GD's current and some former members, gaze at culture. I probed into the modalities of appropriation and what enables GD to mobilise specific cultural objects: in other words, under which conditions GD manages to integrate cultural figures into its narrative and how this happens. Michaloliakos use of the *Letter*; Lagos' use of the epigraph, and Panagiotaros' use of the theatrical performance at Xythrio were scrutinised. Cultural mobilisations, as in the *Letter* and the epigraph, or mobilisations that take place as reactions to a cultural event, as in the case of Panagiotaros and Xythrio, have a highly performative aspect. Michaloliakos, via the *Letter*, addresses and creates an audience; the website functions as a museum, teaching and integrating viewers into GD's ranks, an audience that can also be considered imaginary, or one that comes into existence through pedagogy. Lagos, via the epigraph, addresses the European Parliament in order to address another audience, that of his potential and current followers. He does so by uploading his speech to YouTube. By exposing his speech as a museum object, he appeals to the affect of potential voters and followers. Finally, Panagiotaros used the theatrical performance at Xythrio to address GD members who were present or would watch the recorded video of his performance on YouTube later; at the same time that he addressed those that will condemn his actions in order to cause outrage, he aimed to enhance his, and by extension, GD's, popularity.

I established the notion of Arkhēology to delve into matters of authority and archives and to scrutinise the relationships between epistemic authority and cultural objects. Extending this analysis, I examined what is at stake when the objects do not 'speak back'. As seen in the *Letter*, the mobilisation of a cultural object for political purposes paradoxically renders it

a non-political one. The ability of an object to speak back would grant it its potential after-lives and highlight its political force. Cavafy, as seen through the *Letter's* mobilisation, is silent, and that silence is an allegory of his non-political status. I argued that the *Letter*, as a cultural object in digital form, comes to be exposed on an internetic wall whose functions are akin to that of a museum. On the other hand, an actual museum object, an epigraph, which quite literally speaks since it involves writing, is 'exhibited' by Lagos in the European parliament. This exposition links the epistemic authority of the curator, explicit in Michaloliakos' act, to Lagos' ability to 'read' the epigraph and disseminate its truthfulness and unquestionable authority. In order for the epistemic performance to take place, such objects need to be printed or be able to be printed in physical form, in other words they need to be able to function as archives in a broader sense - a potentiality that grants them value and worth in the eyes of GD.

The crux of my argument is that there are bonds, bonds that form when those addressed gaze at cultural objects. Michaloliakos and Lagos, by exposing certain cultural objects, and Panagiotaros by gazing at a cultural object he deems condemnable, are those setting in motion the bonding procedure. These bonds, due to the homophobic performance in Michaloliakos' and Panagiotaros' case, as well as in the exercise of male authority that is evident in Lagos' case, are primarily bonds established among men. These are strengthened and fostered, establishing themselves, at least in GD's case, under the supervision and encouragement of the Arkhōns, these being Lagos, Panagiotaros, and Michaloliakos. Arkhōns reside in a specific 'house' and I argued that GD is such a 'house,' i.e., a place where a family resides, in order to account for the affective relationships formed. The Arkhōns, by performing homophobia and demonising others, further enhance and establish a heterosexual GD. In the house of GD, these men promise themselves to each other and are bound by comradeship.

Having examined how GD archives itself and performs in its cultural mobilisations, I tried to set up the theatrical or performative ground in order to lay the foundations for the sake of a potential approach of a different stage. GD has been on such a stage, on trial, and since its failure to enter the parliament in July 2019, the immunity status they were granted has been lost. Cavafy, who was silenced, in the end had the last word. Cavafy's poem that Michaloliakos chose to recite in the Alimos lecture, "The god forsakes Anthony" (1911), is a poem of loss of power and fall from grace, as Michaloliakos aptly reminds us. Fortunately, this loss took place just before the apologies, which are now complete. In GD's apologies, GD's members, due to stress, fear, internal conflict, miscommunication, or misunderstanding on how to setup their apologies, confessed to the accusations surrounding the communications of Fyssas' murder, confirming the suspicion of an organised murder, thereby creating fertile ground for conflict inside GD.

A trial can be considered a theatre of sorts, where performances take place by those called to testify. In other words, the trial's theatre can be understood as a theatre where previous identities and authorities, such as the ones that were maintained within the house of GD, became undone. Michaloliakos, originally an *Arkhōn*, comes to be dispossessed of this authority and takes on the role of the accused, although he is not expected to comply with any metaphysical notions of justice; as is known, the accused do not need to take an oath of honesty. He is invited to provide a narrative, an *apodeixis*, a proof of his innocence. Although familiar with expositions, GD's members are invited into a different situation, where conflicting narratives serve to confuse rather than to further bond them. The space this time might not be the museum, the European parliament, or *Xythrio*; it is the house of law, where there are again actors, performances, and an audience. GD's house is a place where performances function as catalysts for the formation of male bonds. On the other hand, the house of law is

the place where performances not only shape but renegotiate such bonds, they bring in public vicissitudes in narratives and create conflict. One is compelled to ask, then, how are these bonds renegotiated when they enter the court of justice? All these men that bonded, that were tied by an omertà, a code of silence for their criminal activities, started betraying fellow members and having second thoughts about their comradeship when they appeared in court. Michaloliakos especially, did his best to make the testimonies of his followers appear conflicting and contradictory during his apology. Apparently, even GD members are objectified, and cannot speak back, in a fashion similar to the cultural objects mobilised for political aims. When a person gets inside a coalition such as GD, to become political, in other words, to take part in a political formation such as GD, essentially stands for a silence of sorts, for the fading away of that person's voice and ability to speak back. The object's truthfulness and the epistemology of gazes that GD's Arkhōns invoke and act upon foreshadow not only how GD deals with bodies it deems not worthy of integration, but also how GD deals with those it integrates in its ranks.

That is why, should one examine how GD functions in spaces it establishes by itself, it is equally important, now that the possibility of future research arises with the trial's closure approaching and by extent, GD's possible condemnation, to examine spaces where GD is introduced to by an external force. To see how GD performs in a place of its own choosing is as important as examining how it performs in a place it finds itself unwillingly.

What I have tried to show in this thesis is that GD is a coalition, much like many other far-right and alt-right formations, that is primarily preoccupied with issues of culture, issues that play a crucial role in bonding its members. As I argued, apart from exploring how GD performs discipline and epistemes in their cultural mobilisations, now that GD is expecting its condemnation, it is equally important to examine the performance of these people in the trial.

GD's cultural mobilisations could be considered a mirror upon which us as practitioners of the discipline of Humanities can self-reflect on our own practices of appropriation of cultural objects. Even more, the trial of GD, can be considered a mirror for Greek society and for the whole world now that the far-right is rising. Only when we will have thoroughly examined and self-reflected upon both instances can perhaps we ask not only the question "How did we end up in this situation?," but also "How can we never end up here ever again?"

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¹⁹ All English translations from Greek are mine.

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