

MAKRONISOS AS A *LIEU DE MÉMOIRE*:

Filmic versions of the island's landscape

[Received September 22nd 2024; accepted October 4th 2024 – DOI: 10.21463/shima.241]

Lina Rosi

University of Patras, Italy <rosia@upatras.gr>

ABSTRACT: Among the Greek islands that served as places of exile in the 20th century, Makronisos holds a prominent position due to its unique history. During the Greek Civil War in the late 1940s, a ‘rehabilitation’ camp was established on the island under army control. Physical and psychological torture was the primary method for implementing rehabilitation, aiming at ‘reforming’ young recruits and civilians who were under the sway of communist ideology. When the Civil War and its traumatic impact on postwar Greek society became the subjects of public debate during the *Metapolitefsi* (restoration of democracy), Makronisos remained a widely discussed case, and in 1989 it was officially proclaimed as a historical site. The contribution of cinema to the construction of the island as exemplary *lieu de mémoire* (‘realm of memory’) is significant. Making extensive use of archival material, filmmakers have constructed visual narratives and drawn a new mapping of the island’s natural and symbolic geography. This article examines four films about Makronisos produced over a span of nearly forty years, from 1975 to 2012, and explores the way in which each film represents the island’s status as memory place. It discusses how the different versions of the traumatic memories of the Civil War are recorded on the natural and architectural landscape of the island and how each director discovers, interprets and brings to the fore its haunted *topoi*, mapping anew the geography of collective memory, through the insistent presence of traces that the camera discovers, and transforming each film itself into a *lieu de mémoire*.

KEYWORDS: Makronisos, exile islands, Realms of memory (*lieux de mémoire*), Group of Four, Pantelis Voulgaris, Olivier Zuchuat, Ilias Yannakakis, Evi Karabatsou

During the 20th century many islands in Greece served as locations of exile for left wing citizens and political dissidents. Makronisos, in the western Aegean Sea (Figures 1 & 2) holds a prominent place among them, mainly due to its unique history as an educational ‘rehabilitation centre,’ built during the Greek Civil War in the late 1940s for the indoctrination of young soldiers and civilians who were prone to the communist ‘virus.’¹

¹ In the official propagandistic discourse, communism and communist ideology were described as a kind of delusion in which many citizens had been entrapped, or as a disease, a virus, the “red poison,” that had infected their minds. In this light, the rehabilitation camp at Makronisos was presented both as an educational institution that helped the exiles free themselves from the communist delusion and as a healing center - a hospital - where they could be cured of the “red” infection (Bournazos, 2000, pp. 120-125).

When the trauma of the Civil War and its aftermath were openly discussed in the years of the *Metapolitefsi*,² Makronisos still held a dominant position in the public debate regarding traumatic memories of the war. In 1989 it was officially proclaimed as a historical site of particular importance, a source of national self-consciousness, commemorating the spiritual strength of those who had faced physical and psychological torture. A place “registered in the realm of collective memory, overcoming the process of forgetting that... usually accompanies peoples’ traumatic historical experiences... a national monument [referring to] the very idea of the land of Makronisos, comprising its written and unwritten history that go beyond the specific geographical area” (Mantouvalou in Christakeas, 2000, p. 58).³

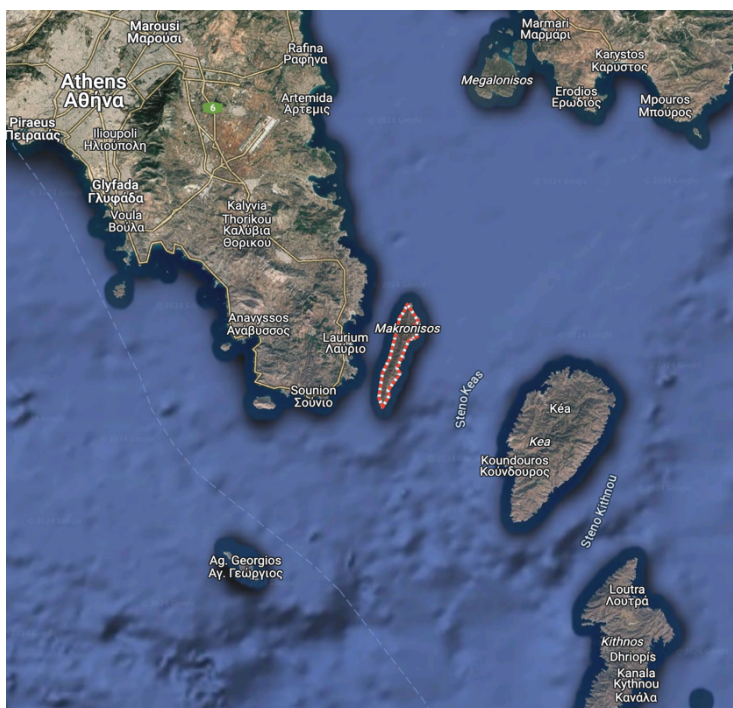


Figure 1 – Map of Makronisos and its position in relation to Athens (Google Maps, 2024).

The contribution of cinema – mostly documentaries and some fiction films – to the construction of Makronisos as an exemplary *lieu de mémoire* is remarkable. Making extensive use of primary visual and textual material (photographs, brief filmed sequences from the official military archives, written testimonies from the detainees, historical accounts and literary texts, in particular poetry), filmmakers have constructed visual narratives and have undertaken a new mapping of the island’s natural and symbolic geography.

² The term designates the period following the end of the seven-year dictatorship (1967-1974) in Greece and the transition to democracy. However, it has gradually acquired a wider significance, referring not only to constitutional transition but also to some long-term changes in official culture.

³ From the oral presentation of Professor Maria Mantouvalou, during the first conference on Makronisos held in 1993, as quoted in Christakeas (2000, p. 58). The translations from Greek and French to English in this article are done by its author, unless stated otherwise.

This article discusses selected filmic versions of Makronisos that explore the island’s status as a memory realm⁴ – a mental and a physical space associated with the traumatic memories of post-civil war Greece. Two of the films selected are documentaries: *Neos Parthenonas* (made by ‘The Group of Four’: Kostas Chronopoulos, Yorgos Chrysovoitsanos, Spyros Zachos and Thanassis Skroubelos, 1975, Greece), and *Makronisos* (Ilias Yannakakis & Evi Karabatsou, 2008, Greece); the third, *Comme des lions de pierre à l’entrée de la nuit* (*Like Stone Lions at the Gateway into Night* - Olivier Zuchuat, 2012, Switzerland-France-Greece), is described as an essay film; and the fourth, *Happy Day* (Pantelis Voulgaris, 1976, Greece), is a fiction film. The article also examines the way each film records and projects various versions of collective memory on the natural landscape of the island and explores how each director discovers, interprets and brings to the fore its haunted *topoi*, mapping anew the geography of collective memory through the insistent presence of traces that the camera discovers, transforming the film itself into a *lieu de mémoire*. The discussion follows a chronological order (based on the production date of the films), which allows us to observe the directors’ political and aesthetic handling of the traumatic memories, but also the different position Makronisos occupies at any given historical moment.



Figure 2 - Map of the island comprising the locations of the main sites of the camp (Courtesy of ASKI (Contemporary Social History Archives), Nikos Margaritis’ Photographic Archive).⁵

The exile and imprisonment of political dissidents was a common practice of the Greek state in the interwar years, during and after the Civil War (1946-1949) and during the military dictatorship (1967-1974). As Mamoulaki comments:

⁴ The term *lieu de mémoire* appears in English language translations of Pierre Nora’s books as ‘realms of memory’.

⁵ B.E.T.O. (Second Sappers Battalion), A.E.T.O. (First Sappers Battalion), ΚΕΝΤΡΟ (Officers Presentation Centre), Γ.Ε.Τ.Ο. (Third Sappers Battalion) and Σ.Φ.Α. (Athens Military Prison).

islands played a crucial role in the development of this particular phenomenon. Not only the political conditions but also the geographical distribution of the country with hundreds of islands, was essential for conceiving and realising the practice of political punishment and exclusion. (2015, p. 57).

Actually, from the total of over “one hundred locations that served as prisons or exile places” almost one third were Aegean islands, some of them deserted, others scarcely populated and in each case a different system of incarceration and supervision was used (Pantouzou, 2015, pp. 236-237).

Of all the exile locations in the Aegean islands, Makronisos is in many respects exceptional. As an uninhabited island at a close distance from Athens, located in the south-east part of Attica, opposite the port of Lavrio, it served as a prison during the Balkan Wars (1912-13) and as a refugee camp after the Asia Minor War (1922) (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 208). However, its name became widely known after World War II, when in 1947 it was chosen as the “ideal place to set up a number of state-run, military concentration camps to ‘re-educate’ the left-wing conscripts” (Hamilakis, 2007, pp. 208-209). In 1947, Greece was in the midst of a civil war, and the initial aim for the construction of the camp was to rehabilitate the young recruits through physical torture and psychological violence in order to eradicate any sympathy for communist ideology from their minds. The various buildings – constructed by the detainees under harsh conditions – included: “elaborate residences for the military commanders, churches, open-air theatres, monuments of various kinds, and even a soft-drinks factory” (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 210).

The state widely advertised the project for propaganda purposes, emphasising the stories of the ‘rehabilitated’ soldiers who had signed what was referred to as the “repentance statement.” Many right-wing politicians and intellectuals in Greece as well as their foreign allies shared the dominant view of the military and political authorities that Makronisos was an educational reformation centre and not a concentration camp, as claimed by the communists. Yet, the extreme violence experienced by the detainees, combining physical with psychological and mental torture, was described in detail in their testimonies, clearly showing that from the first days of its operation Makronisos served as a concentration camp. At some point, military and political authorities, evaluating the ‘rehabilitation’ methods as effective, decided to also transfer large numbers of political prisoners – male and female – to Makronisos.⁶

When the Civil War ended in 1949 with the victory of the state army, the mission of reforming that part of Greek society, which allegedly suffered from the communist “virus,” was no longer imperative. Besides, the inhuman methods that were systematically implemented on the prisoners had by then become known to the wider public in Greece and abroad, causing a serious blow to the official propaganda. The government of Nikolaos

⁶ There is extended bibliography for the history of Makronisos and the exile islands during the period in question, comprising studies and published testimonies from political prisoners. A valuable source that also includes a rich collection of visual material is the Digital Museum of Makronisos. See also the pioneer study on Makronisos by Nikos Margaritis (1966), a former detainee, who was the first to organise an archive, comprising historical information, testimonies, textual and visual material; Voglis & Bournazos (2009); Bournazos & Sakellaropoulos (2000); Bournazos (2000); Voglis (1999); and Hamilakis (2007, especially pp. 205-241).

Plastiras, who won the 1950 elections, promised to work towards national peace and reconciliation. As a result, Makronisos was no longer used as a camp for citizens.⁷

Over the years, the island was not only deserted but many traces of its former use were intentionally destroyed.⁸ This condition of a desolate landscape, haunted by the material traces of its past, became an important factor when the trauma of the Civil War became the subject of public debate. Former detainees as well as left-wing historians and intellectuals claimed the right to re-map the island as one of the most prominent memory realms for the history of Greek communism and the resistance to the postwar authoritative regimes. In this light, Makronisos can be considered an exemplary geographical and symbolic territory on which memory wars were fought.

From the early years of the *Metapolitefsi*, many left-wing historians, intellectuals, and artists were involved in a systematic effort to revise the official narrative of recent Greek history from which they were excluded as enemies of the nation or as a diseased (infected) group that must be kept apart from the 'healthy' members of Greek society, the national patriots (*ethnikofrones*).⁹ The developments in the academic field of history, in particular those concerning collective memory, and the re-evaluation of primary sources, such as personal testimonies, significantly contributed to the process of rereading recent history and revising the archive of the national narrative.

It is within this framework of reclaiming a position in the field of the official national history that the archives of the exile islands and of Makronisos were written and communicated as a product of collective memory. Hamilakis, having conducted a number of interviews with former *Makronisiotés*,¹⁰ observes that:

it very soon became clear to me that their recollections of the experience relied on a number of mnemonic topoi, personal experience being one; others were narrations of personal experiences by other people, the newspaper reports, memoirs, the party documents, and the speeches and stories circulated in the subsequent commemorative ceremonies.... The whole experience of exile and imprisonment at Makronisos was, and was perceived and felt as, collective experience, and it has been mostly narrated and commemorated as such. (2007, pp. 213-214).

In comparison to other exile islands, Makronisos has gained the status of a prominent realm of memory (*lieu de mémoire*),¹¹ a material and symbolic space, an open archive "where

⁷ From 1950 Makronisos was no longer used as a camp for political exiles. It remained in operation until 1957 only for the military and was finally abandoned in 1961 (Voglis & Bournazos, 2009, p. 62).

⁸ The official explanation for the demolition of many buildings in Makronisos was that they contained valuable materials which were costly and difficult to obtain. However, beneath this rational explanation we might also detect an effort to erase the traces of the camp's violent history.

⁹ For an accurate definition of the etymology and semantic range of the term, see, for example, Van Steen (2005, pp. 353-354).

¹⁰ The term *Makronisiotés* refers to those who were exiled to Makronisos, following the typical form of nouns derived from placenames in Greek. It is often used by former prisoners as a confirmation of their shared identity.

¹¹ As Bournazos (2000, pp. 144-145) explains, its distinctive aspect lies in its practice of extremely cruel physical torture in a camp that was exposed in the media for propagandistic reasons.

memory crystallizes and secretes itself,”¹² according to Pierre Nora’s description (1989, p. 7). Nora’s concept of *lieux de mémoire* has had a significant impact in history and memory studies, offering a useful tool for rethinking the writing of history, in particular national history, and reconsidering the complex association of memory and history and the way in which different temporalities interact within the present. One of the most significant aspects of a *lieu de mémoire* is its performative quality: it is a concept based on a:

rhetorical perception of space and memory... It is constructed and must be constantly reconstructed... What defines the lieu de mémoire is after all that it is a point where disparate mnemonic paths intersect. (Hartzog, 2014, p. 141).

Examining Makronisos as a *lieu de mémoire* in the selected films, we explore a different reconstruction in each of them, informed by the imperatives of the present and the specific “mnemonic paths” each filmmaker follows, all of which are related to the contested territory of national history. This is a point that Greek historian Iliou underlines, explaining the importance of the official recognition of Makronisos as a historical place: its stories not only can become part of the national history of the period, but also the material reconstruction of the island can facilitate the physical contact of the present with the traces of the past, and “activate the memory of history” (2007, pp. 297-298), a process involving various practices that aim to keep the archive alive and functional.

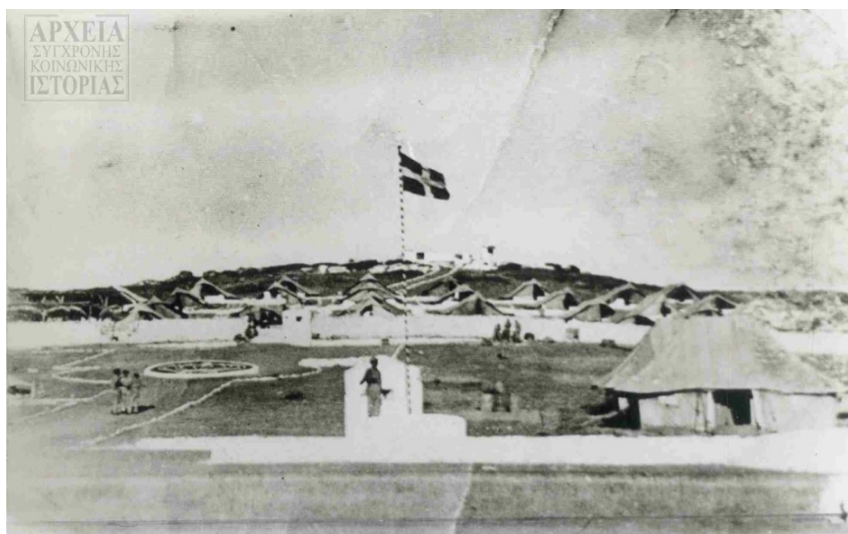


Figure 3 - The First Special Conscript Battalion (Courtesy of ASKI (Contemporary Social History Archives, Nikos Margaritis’ Photographic Archive).

¹² Pierre Nora provides a detailed description of the realms of memory, arguing that they “are simple and ambiguous, natural and artificial, at once immediately available in concrete sensual experience and susceptible to the most abstract elaboration. Indeed, they are lieux in three senses of the word- material, symbolic, and functional... it is also clear that lieux de mémoire only exist because of their capacity for metamorphosis, an endless recycling of their meaning and an unpredictable proliferation of their ramifications” (1989, pp. 7, 18-19).



Figure 4 - Aerial view, Third Sappers Battalion (Courtesy of ASKI (Contemporary Social History Archives, Nikos Margaritis' Photographic Archive).

The reference to the performative aspect and the physical experience through which realms of memory, such as Makronisos, are being reconstructed and refigured, brings to the fore the importance of their spatial aspect. Memory is “embodied and sensual... it links the deeply private with social even official practices”, as Taylor (2003, p. 82) aptly claims, adding that collective memory, in particular, is always localised. To further clarify this idea, she quotes Connerton who argues that:

Groups provide individuals with frameworks within which their memories are localised and memories are localised by a kind of mapping. We situate what we recollect within the mental spaces provided by the group. But these mental spaces ... refer back to material space. (1989, p. 64).

Mamoulaki presents an interesting argument regarding the relationship between “space, materiality, memory and identity,” examining how the “experiential constitution of space through everyday practices of memory” is linked to “the institutional construction of memory” (2015, p. 59). The intersection of the interpersonal and the institutional in the case of Makronisos sheds light on the different mnemonic paths that have been formed and have left their traces on the island. These are material or metaphorical paths or trails, that the camera follows creating in each film a distinct mapping of the island’s space. This process of cartography, of mapping and remapping the mnemonic territory in either material (geographical) or symbolic terms, as the visual narrative unfolds, provides us with a broader perspective on how each film re-constructs the *lieu de mémoire*.

The notion of mapping and cartography is often described in film analysis as a process in which history, visual plot and ideology intersect through the editing of film images or the use of geographical maps. Moreover, the exploration of cartography in films is often associated with an attempt to challenge and revise the official mapping, to draw maps that defy the dominant perception of imposing and fixing official boundaries. Michael Holden, in his thesis focusing on the spatiality of Holocaust memory, explores how “contemporary

cultural, creative works... employ maps and processes of mapping in their quest to remember” (2020, p. 32) and uses some concepts from cartographic studies, which are applicable also to the mapping process the films about Makronisos use. These are concepts that designate practices that resist traditional cartographic methods. The first is “countermapping,” a process describing “acts of mapping that attempt to reclaim the processes of cartography by, or on behalf of, those who are in some way disenfranchised” (Holden, 2020, pp. 45-46) and the second is “fluid cartography,” a process of mapping which is “deeply relational, and [aims] at understanding instead of controlling” (2020, p. 49). In most of the films discussed we can identify both practices, which are linked to the ideological and artistic intentions of the filmmakers.

Exploring the cinematic representation of Makronisos presupposes a particular viewpoint regarding the relationship between cinema and history. In this context, I follow Robert Rosenstone who argues that:

It may seem counter intuitive, even downright insulting to suggest the film as a new form of historical thinking. Yet living in an increasingly visual age, we must be prepared to at least entertain such a notion. (2006, p. 163).

Films are not only primary sources for the historian to study and interpret, but should also be seen as agents of history.¹³ Therefore, when examining the way each film designates the map of Makronisos, my aim is not only to observe how the geographical and historical ‘reality’ is represented in the filmic narrative but also to understand how each filmmaker imagines the material specificity of the space, transforming the film into a *lieu de mémoire*.

The first two films were produced, shortly after the fall of the military junta in 1974, during the early *Metapolitefsi*, a highly politicised period. This era marked the end of a long period of authoritarian regimes and the systematic persecution of left-wing and communist citizens,¹⁴ as well as the abolition of censorship, especially concerning the revision of recent history in public discourse.

The documentary *Neos Parthenonas* belongs to the category of activist cinema which focused on capturing political protests and social movements, a popular trend in the early *Metapolitefsi* (Soldatos, 2002a, pp. 123-124). The film premiered in 1975 at the 16th Greek Film Festival in Thessaloniki and was deemed a very interesting compilation of valuable archival material, though overshadowed by the directors’ political objectives. Many years later, a restored copy of the film was released,¹⁵ and in 2018, *New Parthenon* was screened along with a recent film on Makronisos, *H nixta t’Agi Antoni [Makronisos B11]*, directed by Thanasis Skroubelos, a member of the Group of Four.¹⁶ These two films’ release occurred at a period

¹³ Thanouli (2021, pp. 26-28). The relations between film and history and, in particular, those between the academic fields of history and film studies date from the beginnings of cinema, so the relevant bibliography is extensive and even a brief overview exceeds the scope of the present article.

¹⁴ The persecution of political dissidents, especially communists, dates back to the 1930s. It was systematically practiced in the first postwar decades, a period described by historians as one of frail democracy and culminated during the seven-year military dictatorship (1967-1974).

¹⁵ *Neos Parthenonas* was restored by New Star. I would like to express my sincere thanks to Velissarios Kossivakis and Markella Makri of New Star for allowing me access to the film.

¹⁶ The film is set in a deserted building on Makronisos, the memory place to which Periklis and Sara return and meet an unknown man, Antonis, a former persecutor. During the night they remain on the island, and stage an imaginary trial in an attempt to revive the traumatic past and condemn Antonis.

when Greece was going through a financial and political crisis, and there was a noticeable trend to return to history (Papanikolaou, 2017, pp. 38-51).

The Group of Four (Chronopoulos, Chryssovitianos, Zachos and Skroubelos) chose the title *Neos Parthenonas* as an ironic allusion to the name that the right-wing politician Panagiotis Kanellopoulos had (allegedly?) used for Makronisos, comparing the classical miracle of the Parthenon with the ‘miracles’ of cultural reformation on Makronisos.¹⁷

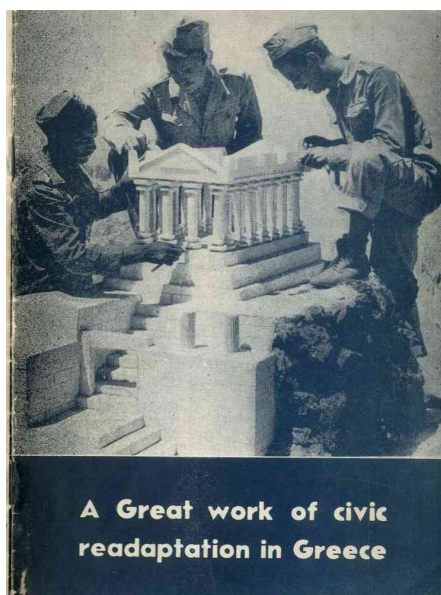


Figure 5 - Propagandistic leaflet in English. The photo is often used as an illustration of the characterisation of the island as the “New Parthenon” (Courtesy of ASKI Contemporary Social History Archives – ASKI Library).

Neos Parthenonas was created in the heat of the moment of political transition to democracy and for that reason the ideological objectives of the Group of Four are clear from the first to the closing shot of the film: to present the silenced history of Greek communists and left-wing citizens who had been under constant persecution for over thirty years. Makronisos serves as the landmark symbolising the physical and moral annihilation of the defeated of the civil war. In this light, we could describe their creation as a countermapping process

The theatrical setting, representing the interior of one of the tents where prisoners used to live then, is haunted by different traces of the past and the present: masks, photos, and objects of *arte povera* style (which refer to the Skroubelos' work as visual artist). The protagonists read testimonies aloud, and the main plot (the trial) is interrupted by the interference of visual material from the archives or from the *Neos Parthenonas*. The film is dedicated to Dimitris Tatakis who was tortured and executed in Makronisos on January 1950.

¹⁷ Hamilakis (2007, pp. 214-215). Although Kanellopoulos had denied responsibility for coining this term and there is no specific record of it, more often than not is a phrase attributed to him. Its regular use may also be associated with a well-known photograph found in the official archives, showing three soldiers working on a replica of the Parthenon.

aiming to show on screen what was hidden by the official narrative and the visual material promoted by the military and political authorities.

The documentary is one of the first films to show actual footage from the island and visual material (mainly photographs) from the ex-prisoners' archives. It starts with a close shot of a sculpted figure (reminiscent of an ancient soldier), which was one of the classic style artifacts the detainees created, followed by a shot of a washed-out Greek flag, painted on the wall of one of the remaining edifices. The next shot, taken from a boat approaching the shore of Makronisos, shows the island's hill with some of the buildings. Then, the camera takes us to a terrace, somewhere in the city, and the first interviewee begins to speak about his experience of torture on the island.

The focus of the historical narrative lies on the violence and inhuman conditions that prisoners suffered on Makronisos and other exile islands.¹⁸ The main information is provided by the interviewees who describe and critically comment on the most important events related to the history of Greek communists, from Metaxas' dictatorship in the late 1930s to the 1973 students' uprising. There is a coherent structure defining this narrative: traumatic memories from Makronisos and comments on the historical events by the interviewees alternate with actress Anna Vagená's solemn and distant voice-over providing information on these events. The narrative is illustrated by relevant visual material: actual footage from the island and from the events described, photographs, newspaper extracts, paintings and other material related to the prisoners' cultural activities.

The directors establish the censored and silenced history of Greek communists and project the heroism and patriotism of their collective struggle. In telling their story, the interviewees speak from the perspective of the present and as they recall the events they sometimes also point at their own miscalculations, seeking to understand how they ended up being the defeated of the civil war, while at the end of World War II they were the indisputable winners, representing the largest part of the population in the Resistance movement.

In this first attempt to outline Makronisos as a *lieu de mémoire*, the filmmakers insert archival material that illustrates the interviews and focuses less on the re-mapping of the island's natural and architectural landscape. The footage and still photos from the island in most cases convey the distance of a monument. For the Group of Four who travelled to the island at that time, it was a kind of pilgrimage to a memory place of high significance that had not been recognised as such.

The rapid succession of images creates an impression of immediacy, a need to show and carefully support the events with evidence, the personal and collective experience of exile. It is as if the camera rushes to record the 'real space,' being for the first time free to show everything that has been censored or silenced. In addition, material from the official archives is placed next to the verbal and visual fragments from the ex-prisoners' archives, exposing the falsity that the state propaganda communicated, a method that was extensively used in many documentary films on Makronisos.¹⁹

¹⁸ The documentary presents also several photographs and footage from Giaros (or Gioura), another uninhabited island located in the Cyclades. Both the geography of the island and the harsh conditions that the prisoners suffered in Giaros are similar to the conditions that the exile prisoners experienced in Makronisos.

¹⁹ In addition to the major events (Liberation, the Battle of Athens, shots with the partisans of the Democratic Army, the meeting with foreign politicians) the film also presents everyday scenes showing

In the film's final scene, a lengthy shot shows the massive repatriation of the exiled (sometimes in the early 1950s), as a boat enters the port of Piraeus and hundreds of friends and relatives are standing on the dock welcoming them, a silent scene accompanied by a well-known partisan song. As the music gradually fades, the sound from the 1973 student's uprising against the dictatorship is heard. Through the montage of these last shots, the filmmakers connect the communists' struggles of the past (the Resistance movement during World War II and the Civil War) with the recent struggle (against the colonels' junta), seen from the perspective of the present, the political moment of the *Metapolitefsi*, a moment that bears an optimistic outlook for the future.



Figure 6 – Still from *Happy Day* (Pantelis Voulgaris, Greece, 1976).

One year after *Neos Parthenon*, in 1976, another film about Makronisos premiered at the 17th Greek Film Festival in Thessaloniki, *Happy Day* directed by Pantelis Voulgaris. The film also focuses on violence and persecution in the exile islands. However, the Makronisos of Voulgaris is a different realm of memory, less a monument to the heroic resistance of the ex-detainees and more a natural landscape transformed into a metaphorical stage where the absurd violence and harsh conditions of a concentration camp are exposed.

The film received many awards at the festival,²⁰ but its reception was mixed, the major point of criticism being its politics: by assigning a metaphorical aspect to such a traumatic event, involving forced exile, persecution, torture and humiliation of thousands of people, the film failed to name and denounce the perpetrators. We should bear in mind that in the politically charged period of the *Metapolitefsi*, the 'defeated' of the civil war and those persecuted for

various cultural or other activities, such as fashion shows, that highlight (albeit simplistically) the frivolity of everyday life during a time when a large part of Greek society was persecuted, imprisoned or executed.

²⁰ It received awards for Best Film, Best Director, and Best Music (for Dionysis Savvopoulos's score). Soldatos (2002a, p. 138).

decades wished their stories to be heard and the identity of those responsible for their suffering to be revealed.²¹ However, it is exactly because of this metaphorical aspect that Makronisos in *Happy Day* acquires its most emblematic version as a *lieu de mémoire* and that the film itself becomes a cinematographic realm of memory for that particular historical moment, in the first years of the *Metapolitefsi*, in a way similar to Theodoros Angelopoulos's *O Thiasos* ('The Travelling Players', 1975).²² There is no other film from that period to map in such precise and profound way the landscape of the island and transform it into an exemplary *lieu de mémoire*. As Papatheodorou aptly argues, "Voulgaris abandons the rhetoric... concerning the historical description of the epic struggles of the Left and explores instead the possibilities for a critical rewriting of history in a dialogical and paradigmatic way, avoiding both the monumentalised representation of history and the sacralisation of memory" (Papatheodorou, 2007, p. 126).²³

The experience of exile, and in particular Makronisos, attracted the director's interest long before he decided to make *Happy Day*. Voulgaris had already conducted extensive research into the relevant archival material and by the time the shooting began, he had also acquired first-hand experience of exile, spending eight months in the prison on Giaros island. Voulgaris has often said that from the first moment he thought of making a film about Makronisos, he had decided to avoid a photographic reproduction of the conditions in this notorious camp. A factor in his choice was an indirect prerequisite from the Greek Centre of Cinematography that was going to finance the film, that he should avoid any clear references to people or events.²⁴ But a deeper reason was Voulgaris' interest in the cultural aspect of the propagandistic feasts and spectacles that were organised and promoted in Makronisos as an exile *topos*, which also formed an integral part of the official policy promoting the nationalistic discourse. As a result, he emphasised the metaphorical representation of the experience of exile, of the violence and absurdity that regulated the system of a concentration camp such as Makronisos.

In this light, Andreas Fragias's novel *O limos* ('The plague', 1972), provided him with the appropriate central idea around which to construct the scenario. The novel's focus lies on rendering palpable the absurd atmosphere of a concentration camp, a dystopic universe where anonymous people follow the voice of a loudspeaker that gives orders throughout the day monitoring the power relations of the inmates.²⁵ An attentive reading of both the novel

²¹ For the film's reception at the time, see, for example, Dimopoulos (2002, pp. 49-54); Soldatos (2002b, pp. 59-61). Many years later, Voulgaris returned to Makronisos and discussed with Yiannakakis about the shooting of the film, providing some very interesting retrospective comments. In this documentary he also referred to the early reception of his film, saying that he could understand the negative reaction expressed by those who had a personal traumatic experience in the exile islands, and were disappointed because they expected to recognise their story on the screen (Yiannakakis (2009-10). Many thanks to Lizianna Delveroudi for suggesting the film.

²² The cinematic representation of the traumatic years of 20th century Greek history is the focus of several films produced during the *Metapolitefsi*. Among the relevant studies, see in particular Mini's thorough discussion of Angelopoulos' *O Thiasos* within the framework of this group of films (historical panoramas) (2016, pp. 135-139).

²³ For an interesting analysis of the way Voulgaris uses the filmic language in order to render the physical and spatial experience of the camp, see Potamitis (2007, pp. 117-127).

²⁴ This is why the film starts with this statement: "The space, the time and the characters in the film are imaginary." The information comes from a television documentary on the director (part of a series of documentaries broadcast by the state television (ERT) on Greek film directors) (Voulgaris, 1997).

²⁵ For a systematic and comprehensive analysis of the reworking process and the transition from the novel to the film, see the relevant chapter in Migga (2019, pp. 255-310).

and the film reveals the accurate imprint of the real events that triggered the metaphoric or allegorical images. The impression of an unspecified no man's land with no symbols referring to a recognisable historical context is also related to a dominant tendency during the dictatorship which many theatre artists and writers followed, the use of absurdist techniques in order to cover an intelligible (for most readers and spectators) ideological or political position. Allegory in a certain way became the ally of political commitment.

In *Happy Day Voulgaris* avoids documentarist details in the representation of everyday life by subtly removing any distinctive feature from the setting, the actors' costumes and the objects, ascribing to them an elusive – or in some cases allegorical – dimension. Moreover, as the narrative focuses on the idea of a spectacle, on the way in which everyone in the camp performs and is under the constant surveillance of the others, the filmic space often creates the impression of a theatrical setting, an aspect enhanced by the central subject of the film: the preparation of a feast for the Great Mother.²⁶

The emphasis on the theatrical and spectacular aspect of the camp is not only associated with the director's interest in the nationalistic feasts the military authorities organised but also reflects the performative logic that informed the everyday activities imposed on the prisoners, especially those related to punishment and repentance. In this context it is not coincidental that Makronisos had four open air theatres designed to host cultural performances (such as theatre productions) but also, and most importantly, instructive shows. Those included educational speeches, such as the scene in *Happy Day* where a (loudspeaker) voice describes about the dangers of venereal diseases to a rather indifferent audience which applauds without really listening, and in particular the repentance speech made by those who had signed the declaration.



Figure 7 – Still from *Happy Day* (Pantelis Voulgaris) showing the theatre and detainees listening to reformation speeches.

²⁶ The Great Mother is a clear reference to Queen Frederica of Greece. In a very interesting ironic twist, the role is performed by Zorz Sari (1923-2012), a well-known left-wing author and actress.

The most interesting aspect concerning the theatricality the authorities promoted as an effective educational method lies in the way the theatrical performances operated as seemingly promoting the propagandistic discourse on the educational importance of the camp and at the same time as an activity that allowed prisoners to undermine this discourse and indirectly empower, through performing the plays, their identity.²⁷ In *Happy Day* Voulgaris hints to this ambiguous experience prisoners had in the scene of the feast. He creates a spectacle composed of various fragments, each related to a particular cultural field more or less familiar to both the performers and the spectators of the show: popular television aesthetics, popular music, school theatre patriotic production, and the kitsch aesthetic that characterised the propagandistic use of ancient Greek civilisation.



Figure 8 – Still from *Happy Day* (Pantelis Voulgaris), scene of welcoming the Great Mother.

Although metaphor or abstraction define the filmic representation of Makronisos in *Happy Day*, a closer look at the various activities and scenes depicting the everyday conditions in the camp indicates that they nonetheless maintain a marked historical accuracy, reflecting the director's thorough research on the relevant archives. However, the strongest bond connecting the film's fiction with reality is the "live" presence of the island's landscape.²⁸

Voulgaris admits that he was careful in selecting a limited number of locations fearing that the island (bearing the traces of this traumatic past) could overshadow the film's fictional events (Liappa, 1976, p. 46). In fact, most scenes are shot in certain locations such as the small beach with a hidden cave, which is both a recreational space for the guards and the location where the bodies of murdered prisoners are discovered. The sea is not only visible

²⁷ "Van Steen (2005, p. 384). Theatrical activities are also a subject that many ex-prisoners discuss in detail. We should bear in mind that among the detainees were actors, directors, playwrights and painters.

²⁸ As Migga suggests, referring to the anonymity and deprivation of identity of the inmates, in both Fragias' novel and Voulgaris' film: "The only authentic and effective voice is that of the silenced but ever-present historical intertext. Hidden beneath the inarticulate characters appears Makronisos itself as the narrator" (2019, p. 309).

but also audible in many scenes, especially through the sound of the waves. Sometimes the director captures the sea by using long shots showing the shore of Lavrio, pointing at the distance of the island from the mainland and invoking the sense of isolation from the city, or the 'free world.' On some other occasions, the shots focus on the vast open sea. The sound of the wind is a common element in most films about Makronisos, a characteristic that the ex-prisoners always point out in their testimonies. The bare, rocky environment of the island is another location that Voulgaris uses, emphasising the contradictory proportions of human bodies within the context of the rocky mass of stones.

While the island's natural landscape is mostly depicted realistically – recreating not only the sound and visual environment but also its 'temperature' – in the case of the architectural landscape (buildings and other constructions), the director chooses long shots making them look like parts of a theatrical setting.²⁹ Very few scenes are shot in interior spaces: the investigation offices, the tents and the house of the chief commander. Most of the locations on which the activities take place are external³⁰: the theatre, the vast arena, the isolation cell and the 'wire,'³¹ spaces that represent landmarks on the map of the camp.

With *Happy Day* Voulgaris explores and attempts to design with his camera a map of Makronisos on which the memory landmarks of its past as 'the Greek Dachau' are not only traced but also established, creating one of the most valuable cinematographic *lieux de mémoire* in recent Greek history.

Makronisos, Ilias Yannakakis, Evi Karabatsou (Greece, 2008)

Some thirty years later, in 2008, in *Makronisos*, Ilias Yannakakis and Evi Karabatsou revisit the history of the exile island in an attempt to explore the traumatic heritage of the civil war and exile from the perspective of their generation.³² Yannakakis has explained that his interest in the history of Makronisos dated back to the late 1980s when he started reading the books of Nikos Margaritis. Some years later, he visited the island to attend a theatrical performance and had the opportunity to remain on the island for many hours and felt lured by its aura. It was after this experience that he decided to make a film on its history. In 2006, he and Evi Karabatsou started working on the film, doing archival research and conducting interviews (Yannakakis, 2020).

For the generation of both film directors, the traumatic legacy of the Civil War is one of the ideological issues that remained present in public discussion of national history, although the dominant tendency at that period was rather that of reconciliation but not forgetting, an idea clearly expressed by almost all the interviewees. As Yannakakis explains, their intention was to explore the impact of the traumatic memories of Makronisos in the present. In the film this was depicted from a detached rather than ideologically committed- perspective.

²⁹ Voulgaris recalls his reaction when he saw the shabby buildings in Makronisos and decided to make minor repairs and use the scaffold as part of the setting (Yiannakakis, 2009-10).

³⁰ Often these places are marked (whitewashed), and the white lines, as they are filmed from distance, create the impression of the camera framing the various spaces.

³¹ The term 'wire' (*syрма*) refers to "a notorious barbed-wire isolation sector... a cage-like structure for those inmates that were considered to be 'unredeemable'" (Hamilakis, 2007, p. 210). It was usually placed to remote locations, and prisoners were exposed to extremely harsh conditions (both in terms of the tortures inflicted and to the weather conditions, heat, cold or strong winds).

³² The film was premiered at the 2008 Thessaloniki Film Festival where it received the audience award.

In fact, this idea informs the construction of the documentary in terms of the different subjects discussed, the choice of the interviewees and the 'contrapuntal' logic that defines the film's montage. The documentary is an exploration of Makronisos as a *lieu de mémoire*, that revisits the archives and attempts to see the historical events from a distance and understand their impact in national memory. The film is structured in successive chapters covering the different stages in the life of the prisoners and some major events, such as the 1948 murder of hundreds of young military inmates.³³ The majority of interviewees are representatives of the ex-prisoners, a former commander represents the side of the perpetrators, and two members of a group, which is rarely included in the Makronisos narratives, the permanent residents.³⁴

The film begins with a text providing general information on the history of the camp and a brief shot of different locations of the island (rocky shores, remains of the buildings) taken from the sea (a common shot of Makronisos). It closes with three interviewees who return to the island and attempt to locate their traces, and who conclude their itinerary singing a popular song from that time while sitting on a wall by the sea. The real landscape seems to frame, in this way, the memory material which informs the narrative.



Figure 9 – Still from Makronisos (Ilias Yannakakis, Eva Karabatsou) - the return to the island.

³³ The first chapter ('Reception') focuses on the way the newly arrived prisoners were treated. The role of the Commander is the subject of the following chapter ('The Commander'). 'Repentance declarations' discusses the most crucial part of the torture inflicted on prisoners, which determined their psychology and position in the camp and defined their interrelations. In 'A Meeting' the directors introduce Leonidas Kyrkos, a former leader of the left-wing party K.K.Es., who narrates his own experience in parallel with Commander Skaloubakas. The presence of the 'permanent residents' sheds light on a different, less known aspect of the island. One section is dedicated to the most atrocious event that took place during those years, the murder of three hundred young recruits ('Bloody events'). While the Commander attempts to refute these events, his efforts are undermined by the words of a former colleague, Eleftherios Miliadis, a unique case of a former Commander who signed a letter admitting the atrocities he was responsible for committing ('Confession'). The film closes with the 'Return' of the three interviewees to the island.

³⁴ In fact, the directors met with the members of one of the families who live on the island and work as livestock farmers and beekeepers.

The most remarkable feature of the documentary is the contrapuntal logic that defines the montage of the successive scenes, creating the impression of a constant dialogue between diverse perspectives and different temporalities. This dialogue is developed both textually (the topics that the interviewees discuss and the historical information from the archives) and visually (the way archival footage or photographs ‘converse’ with the shots). *Makronisos* becomes in this light the surface on which the memory wars on the civil war and its heritage are projected.

This dialogue is firstly associated with the way the directors communicate the information on the different topics they present. The fragments of the official presentation of the life in Makronisos are followed by extracts from testimonies which refute this information. This shot succession is framed also by a visual opposition: the clear, bright shots from the official footage are juxtaposed with scenes of the island shot with various filters. Similarly, the different views are juxtaposed when the ex-prisoners comment and refute what the other side – represented by Commander Skaloubakas – claims. Another noteworthy aspect of this contrapuntal logic is the self-referential use of archival material, which also results in a distinctive confrontation of the different temporalities. This involves the observations the interviewees make as they explain, remember or comment on the archival material (photos, letters, paintings, objects or other memorabilia). At these points, the camera records these random moments where the different temporalities intersect, producing an interesting image of how memory works and how collective memories are formed.

The directors of *Makronisos* address the film to their generation, those who did not have a first-hand experience, the generation of “post-memory” that, as Hirsh describes, comes:

after those who witnessed cultural or collective trauma bears to the experiences of those who came before, experiences that they ‘remember’ only by means of the stories, images, and behaviours among which they grew up. But these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to seem to constitute memories in their own right. (2008, pp. 106-107).

The ideological distance from the events – which is not an emotional or affective distance³⁵ – allows us to define the mapping of Makronisos that the directors attempt as forming a version of ‘fluid cartography’. The aim is not to provide an alternative mapping and insert it in the domain of the national memory but to present the island as a territory “where charting is equated with inscribing and translating, where different identities, times and locations come together” (Holden, 2020, p. 49).

Comme des lions de pierre à l’entrée de la nuit (‘Like Stone Lions at the Gateway into Night’), Olivier Zuchuat (Switzerland-France-Greece, 2012)

Comme des lions de pierre à l’entrée de la nuit by the Swiss director Olivier Zuchuat premiered in 2012. It was screened in Greece a year later and received mostly positive reviews.³⁶ The initial motivation for making a film about Makronisos was, as Zuchuat explains, his reading

³⁵ On the contrary, critics often describe the emotionally charged reaction of the audience. This is something that Yannakakis also underlines (2020).

³⁶ For more details on the film’s premiere in various festivals, see the official site: <http://comedeslionsdepierre.net/?lang=en>

of Yiannis Ritsos poems that were written while he was exiled on the island.³⁷ Zuchuat decided to make a film and attempt:

to confront the mental images created in his mind while reading the poems with the images of the present, those of the ruined camp of Makronisos. To try and discover in these piles of stone and cement traces of what had happened there, and then confront them with the words in the poems, doing a work of cinematographic archaeology... It is a memory film that attempts to combat oblivion at a time when, in Greece, we observe the revival of nefarious nationalistic discourses. (Zuchuat, 2021, p. 17).



Figure 10 – Still from *Comme des lions de pierre à l'entrée de la nuit* (Olivier Zuchuat).

The director conducted extended research on the history of the camp made a thorough exploration of the archives before embarking on his own mapping of the island's landscape, seen as a place haunted by memory traces that come to life in the visual and in the sound scape of the film. Zuchuat underlines the importance of the Makronisos memory at a time when the extreme right reappeared on the Greek political stage,³⁸ trying therefore to place his film within the context of the particular moment in Greek political life. Besides, by using, Giorgio Agamben's well-known description that the camp is the space that is opened when the state of exception begins to become the rule as a motto, in the beginning of the film, he

³⁷ Yannis Ritsos (1909-1990) was a prolific Greek poet, who participated in the Resistance movement during World War II and as a member of the Communist Party, was arrested and exiled during both the Civil War and the dictatorship. His poetry is often but not exclusively overtly political, and he is therefore often considered to be the official poet of the Left.

³⁸ When the financial crisis erupted in Greece in the late 2000s and Greek society encountered a number of serious financial, social and political problems, there was a spectacular rise in the popularity of extreme right-wing groups. This culminated in the formation of Golden Dawn, a neo-Nazi political party that adopted openly racist and violent practices, especially against immigrants. For more information, see Karpozilos (2018).

also places his film in the field of what Jean Cayrol has termed “concentrationary art” (see Pollock & Silverman, Eds., 2019 for discussion). In this light, as Hollweg aptly suggests, *Comme des lions de pierre à l’entrée de la nuit* belongs to the group of films that explore the concept of the concentrationary, “not only with regard to the past, but also to other systems of violation against the human in the present” (Hollweg, 2020, p. 17).

In the field of memory studies, the exploration of the concentration camp as an exemplary territory haunted by the successive memory of traumatic events has often attracted the interest of artists and scholars. Within this context, we may see the director’s encounter with the space of Makronisos (both the physical and the poetic landscape) as an effort to discover the traces of history and allow his spectators not so much to think but to experience them. In her discussion on a series of contemporary photographs of deserted concentration camps, Baer develops some interesting ideas concerning the way in which these photographs invite the viewer to experience rather than analyse them, mobilising a process of emotional and not exclusively cognitive contemplation.³⁹ Baer explains that the memory realms, which these photographs (or in our case the film) invoke, invite their viewers to have an “auratic experience of place” and rethink their position towards the traumatic memories haunting these spaces (2013, p. 419, 422).

The film’s title *Comme des lions de pierre à l’entrée de la nuit*, deriving from Ritsos’ poem ‘Oi gerontoï’ (‘The Old Men’), has a rich array of connotations, in particular when associating the stone lions (the sculptures that decorated one of the gates in the island, replicas of ancient Greek art) with the idea of ruins, “in their function as symbolic guardians of a culture’s most treasured objects or values” (Hollweg, 2020, p. 22). Hollweg connects the title to Agamben’s phrase in the beginning of the film and traces an intertextual reference to Alain Resnais’ documentary, *Nuit et brouillard* (‘Night and Fog’, 1956):

Resnais’ film starts with travelling shots that transform a few non-descript fields and a barbed wire fence, somewhere around Auschwitz, into the former concentration and extermination camp. When Zuchuat’s camera travels along the camp ruins on Makronisos, it forms a belated extension of Resnais’ treatment of Auschwitz in the 1950s. (2020, pp. 23-24).

Zuchuat selected tracking and panoramic shots as the most appropriate techniques in order to combine the words of the poems with the landscape of Makronisos. The regularity of the camera movements creates a “hypnotised space... that allows imagination to work, between presence and disappearance, between memory and oblivion” (Zuchuat, 2021, p. 18). The interweaving of poetry with the island’s natural landscape that creates this sort of “hypnotised space” is violently interrupted by the two dominant elements of the film’s soundscape, the metal voiceover that speaks the words of authorities and the wind sound.

The director creates an inspiring memory landscape, where the visual and auditory elements work together to make memory traces tangible for the duration of the film and allows spectators to immerse themselves in this “hypnotised space” without losing at any moment their contact with history. The film’s narrative unfolds through this distinctive coexistence of the verbal and the visual that develops in three alternating parts.

³⁹ “These photographs... silently question the reliance on historical context as an explanatory framework. They situate us specifically in relation to something that remains off the map of historicist readings” (Baer, 2013, p. 420).



Figures 11 & 12 - Stills from *Comme des lions de pierre à l'entrée de la nuit* (Olivier Zuchuat).

The first part refers to the natural landscape of the island, comprising many night shots, usually focussing on the rocks, the sea and the various ruined buildings. Apart from tracking and panoramic shots, Zuchuat often opts for still shots especially when he focuses on details such as a door, a tree, or the corner of a ruined wall. A characteristic trait in his filming of buildings is capturing empty windows which create the impression of eyes (an extension of the camera lens) that oversee the silent landscape. These shots are often paired with readings of excerpts from poems or other literary texts.

The second part – which we might describe as the part of the archives – is dominated by the metal voice over that speaks a text based on official records and excerpts from the newspapers of Makronisos⁴⁰ and by the voice of actors reading poems, letters or testimonies

⁴⁰ Part of the “educational” programme in Makronisos was the publication of newspapers by the inmates, which promoted the various activities and overall work done in the camp, the most renown were *Skapanefs* (*Sapper*) and *Anamorfosis* (*Reformation*), both of which can be found in the Digital Museum of Makronisos and ASKI Library [<https://www.makronissos.org/efimerida-periodiko/>].

of ex-prisoners.⁴¹ This auditive material is usually accompanied by photographs from the official or the detainees' archives, which are used in two ways: sometimes they serve as documents, while in other cases – such as when the camera focuses on prisoners' portraits – take on a haunting dimension, similar to the one that the director usually assigns to the physical landscape.

The third part lies outside the realm of memory. The shots usually come from the opposite shore, the port of Lavrio, and are accompanied by information about the history of Makronisos. This part conveys the perspective of an outsider, with the texts presented in French rather than in Greek, as in the other parts. It can also be seen as the part referring to the present, as suggested in the film's final shot, where a number of tourists enjoy the sun and the small beach by the port of Makronisos.

Conclusion

When we consider places as a memory territory to be surveyed, that means to explore, investigate and organise traces, often having to deal with their imminent loss and record their absence, and to imagine the appropriate mise en scène and narrative that will do them justice. Every film that delves into the memory of places and attempt to write their cinematic history needs to confront a series of questions related to the process... of rendering these traces alive and bringing them to the present, inventing a representation that allows the different temporalities to coexist... Sometimes places have not preserved prominent traces of the events, great or minor, that took place there. But these spaces still carry a memory, and... there are other spaces where this memory can be preserved... these are photographic, filmic, or video images... Film takes over, and becomes in its turn a lieu de mémoire. (Bretèque & Trias, 2021, pp. 15, 16, 22).

In the cinematic versions of Makronisos as a *lieu de mémoire* we notice several traces to which most films insistingly return, in an attempt to “do justice” to the hundreds of exiles who experienced these inhumane conditions in this national reformation camp. Some of these traces are discovered in the individual stories documented in the former prisoners' interviews, some others in their photographs and some in the literary texts they wrote during their imprisonment. The experience of physical and psychological suffering, the statements of repentance, the solidarity and everyday life in the camp are subjects that come up regularly. The natural landscape often plays a dominant role, revealing the filmmakers' effort to discover, restore and understand the atmosphere of the camp: the rocks, the constant sound of the wind and the sea. Nature is often juxtaposed with the architectural remnants of the buildings. The past invades the present through the use of archival material. But the most significant contribution of these films is undoubtedly that they achieve to “activate the memory of history” and remap its haunted locations.

⁴¹ Hollweg provides an accurate description of this sound: “Manufactured by Zuchuat and his sound team in the studio, [it] is based on memories of former prisoners. It draws attention to the amplifying technology and, more significantly, becomes a sonic emblem of ‘the concentrationary’” (2020, p. 27).

REFERENCES

- Baer, U. (2013). To give memory a place: Contemporary Holocaust photography and the landscape tradition. In M. del Pilar Blanco & E. Peeren (Eds.), *The Spectralities reader, ghosts and haunting in contemporary cultural theory* (pp. 415-443). Bloomsbury.
- Bournazos, S. (2000). To “Mega Ethnikon Scholeion Makronisou” 1947-1950. In S. Bournazos & T. Sakellariopoulos (Eds.), *Istoriko topio kai istoriki mnimi. To paradeigma tis Makronisou* (pp. 115-145). Filistor.
- Bretèque, F. A. de la, & Trias, J. P. (2021). Mémoire, lieux, écriture, histoire: traces. In F. A. de la Bretèque & J.-P. Trias (Eds.), *Mémoire des lieux et écriture cinématographique de l'histoire* (pp. 11-23). Presses Universitaires de Perpignan -Institut Jean Vigo.
- Christakeas, V. Eisigisi (2000). In S. Bournazos & T. Sakellariopoulos (Eds.), *Istoriko topio kai istoriki mnimi. To paradeigma tis Makronisou* (pp. 55-63). Filistor.
- Connerton, P. (1989). *How societies remember*. Cambridge University Press.
- Digital Museum of Makronisos. <http://www.makronissos.org/>
- Dimopoulos, M. (2002). Simeioseis gia to *Happy Day* kai mia parexigisi. In B. Kolonias (Ed.), *Pantelis Voulgaris* (pp. 49-54). Aigokeros.
- Hamilakis, Y. (2007). *The nation and its ruins: antiquity, archaeology and national imagination in Greece*. Oxford University Press.
- Hartzog, F. (2014). *Kathestota istorikotitas. Parontismos kai empeiria tou chronou* (Transl. D. Kousouris). Alexandria.
- Hirsch, M. (2008). The Generation of postmemory. *Poetics Today*, 29(1), 103-128.
- Holden, M. J. (2020). *Mapping memory: cartography in contemporary Holocaust culture*. Doctoral dissertation, University of York.
- Hollweg, B. (2020). Lessons from Makronisos: “Fictions” of the Camp in documentary practices. *Filmicon*, 7, 16-44.
<https://filmiconjournal.com/journal/article/page/107/2020/7/3>
- Iliou, P. (2007). *Psifides istorias kai politismou tou eikostou aiona*. Polis.
- Karpozilos, K. (2018). Golden Dawn: from the margins of Greece to the forefront of Europe. In E. Doxiadis, & A. Placas (Eds.), *Living under austerity: Greek society in crisis* (pp. 67-89). Berghahn.
- Liappa, F. (1976). *Happy Day*. O Pantelis Voulgaris mila gia tin teleftaia tou douleia. *Anti*, B 45, 46-47.
- Mamoulaki, E. (2015). From poetic anamnesis to political commemoration: grassroots and institutional memories of the Greek Civil War on an Aegean island. In G. Carr, & K. Reeves (Eds.), *Heritage and memory of war: responses from small islands* (pp. 55-74). Routledge.
- Margaris, N. (1966). *Istoria tis Makronisou* (Vol. I and II). Self-publication.
- Migga, N. (2019). I filosofia tis afigisis apo ton logo stin eikona: kinimatografikes metafores neoellinikon pezografimaton gia ton emfylio. Doctoral dissertation. Aristotle University of Thessaloniki.
- Mini, P. (2016). The historical panorama in post-1974 Greek cinema: *The Travelling Players, Stone Years, Crystal Nights, The Weeping Meadow*. *Journal of Greek Media & Culture*, 2(2), 133-153.
- Nora, P. (1989). Between memory and history: les lieux de mémoire. *Representations*, 26, 7-24.
- Pantzou, N. (2015). War remnants of the Greek archipelago: Persistent memories or fragile heritage? In G. Carr & K. Reeves (Eds.), *Heritage and memory of war: responses from small islands* (pp. 234-254). Routledge.
- Papanikolaou, D. (2017). Archive trouble. In K. Botanova, Ch. Chryssopoulos & J. Cooman (Eds.), *Culturescapes: archaeology of the future* (pp. 38-51). Christof Merian.

- Papatheodorou, Y. (2007). Efialtika senaria gia eftyhismenes meres: Gia to *Happy Day* tou Panteli Voulgari. In F. Tomai (Ed.), *Istoria kai politiki sto ergo tou Panteli Voulgari* (pp. 117-127). Papazisis.
- Pollock, G. & Silverman, M. (Eds.) *Concentrationary art: Jean Cayrol, the Lazarean and the everyday in Post-war Film, literature, music and the visual arts*. Berghan.
- Potamitis, N. I. (2007). O gymnos kai o nekros: Exairesi kai epinoima sto *Happy Day*. In F. Tomai (Ed.), *Istoria kai politiki sto ergo tou Panteli Voulgari* (pp. 117-127). Papazisis.
- Rosenstone, R. A. (2006). *History on film / Film on history*. Pearson Longman.
- Soldatos, Y. (2002a). *Istoria tou ellinikou kinimatografou*, Vol. 2 1967-1990. Aigokeros.
- Soldatos Y. (2002b). Sto dromo tis parexigisis. In B. Kolonias (Ed.), *Pantelis Voulgaris* (pp. 55-66). Aigokeros.
- Taylor, D. (2003). *The archive and the repertoire: performing cultural memory in the Americas*. Duke University Press.
- Thanouli, E. (2021). Meletontas tin istoriki anaparastasi ston kinimatografo: ergaleia kai ennoies. *Theater Polis*, 5-7, 25-37.
- Van Steen, G. (2005). Forgotten theater, theater of the forgotten: classical tragedy on modern Greek prison islands. *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 23(2), 353-354.
- Voglis, P. (1999). *Becoming a subject: political prisoners during the Greek Civil War*. Berghahn Books.
- Voglis, P., & Bournazos, S. (2009). Stratopedo Makronisou 1947-1950. Via kai propaganda. In Ch. Hadjiiossif (Ed.), *Istoria tis Elladas tou 20ou aiona*, vol. D2 (pp. 51-81). Vivliorama.
- Yannakakis, I. (2020). Spotlight ston Ili Giannakaki: Milontas gia ti Makroniso kai ton Emfylio 7. *Cinobo*. <https://www.cinobo.com/journal/articles/ilias-giannakakis-milontas-gia-ti-makroniso-kai-ton-emfylio/>
- Zuchuat, O. (2021). Quelques auto-interrogations et des tentatives de réponses... *Olivier Zuchuat. 3 films* (Booklet included in the DVD edition). JHR films.
- Zuchuat, O. (n.d.) *Comme des lions de pierre à l'entrée de la nuit*. <http://comedeslionsdepierre.net/?lang=en>

FILMOGRAPHY:

- H nixta t'Agí Antoni [Makronisos B11]*. (2018). Directed by Thanasis Skroubelos [film].
- Happy day*. (1976). Directed by Pantelis Voulgaris, P. [film].
- Neos Parthenonas*. (1975). Directed by the Group of Four (Kostas Chronopoulos, Yorgos Chrysovitsanos, Spyros Zachos & Thanassis Skroubelos) [film].
- O Erotas ton proton planon: Pantelis Voulgaris*. (1997). Directed by Pantelis Voulgaris [TV series]. <https://archive.ert.gr/7259/>
- Pantelis Voulgaris, mnimes exorias* (2009-2010). Directed by Ilios Yannakakis [TV documentary]. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=819S1dBITXs>
- Makronisos* (2008). Directed by Ilios Yannakakis & Evi Karabatsou [film]. <https://youtu.be/CkF9e7tIDKE>