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**UNESCO Chair in Cultural Policy and Management**

*Master thesis:*

GREEK CULTURAL PRESENCE IN BELGRADE.  
EXPERIENCES FROM THE NEAR PAST AND  
PERSPECTIVES FOR THE FUTURE.

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## Résumé

Les mots clés: *identité culturelle, acculturation, influence directe et indirecte, multiculturalisme, diplomatie culturelle, relations internationales, politique culturelle extérieure, coopération culturelle internationale, dialogue interculturel.*

Toute ville dans le monde entier a son passé, plus ou moins reconnaissable dans son identité moderne, visuelle et spirituelle. Ces fragments du passé deviennent souvent les éléments composants de l'offre culturelle de cette ville et les dimensions culturelles dans les relations diplomatiques modernes entre les nations différentes. A ce propos, Belgrade était depuis toujours un carrefour où les nations, les cultures et les religions différentes se sont croisées en influant l'une sur l'autre. Le multiculturalisme est une caractéristique durable de la vie quotidienne dans ce milieu jusqu'à aujourd'hui. L'objectif de cette étude et le centre de l'intérêt de l'auteur était la présence de l'identité culturelle grecque à Belgrade, sa position et son rôle dans l'histoire moderne et sa contribution potentielle au développement de la coopération interculturelle future et du dialogue entre la Grèce et la Serbie.

Après quelques vagues migratoires à travers les Balkans, les Grecs du nord de Grèce se sont installés en Serbie et au cours du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, ils ont établi avec les Zinzars le monopole du commerce et de l'artisanats en Serbie, et jusqu'à la fin du siècle, ils sont devenus les principaux commerçants belgradois. Grâce à leur propre contrôle des importations et des exportations, à une grande influence qu'ils avaient sur les Belgradois à cause des fonctions significatives dans la structure d'Etat, à un bon niveau de vie, à la religiosité, à la manière de comportement, à l'alimentation et à l'habillement, ils sont devenus l'idéal pour la population locale et ils ont joué le rôle important dans la formation de la société civile en faisant l'influence directe. En participant dans la vie de la ville comme une partie de l'élite serbe, ils étaient souvent les propriétaires des maisons de luxe, des hôtels et des cafés, mais aussi les donateurs et les bienfaiteurs, et la langue

grecque était à la mode en signifiant le raffinement social et la clé pour entrer dans la haute société.

Afin de conserver leur identité, les Grecs établissaient leurs écoles réunissant les futurs titulaires de l'élite formatrice et politique de Serbie d'un côté et les instituteurs grecs qui, par leur travail et leurs traductions des livres de la langue grecque, ont considérablement contribué à l'élargissement de leur langue et à l'amélioration de la qualité des traductions en Serbie de l'autre côté; ils construisaient leurs églises pour la plupart à Zemun; et ils luttaient pour y avoir les liturgies en langue grecque parce que ce droit leur était souvent contesté et aboli. En plus, nombre de titres de journal dans le "Citaliste" belgradois leur était disponible pour la plupart grâce aux donations des Grecs riches de Belgrade.

Par suite de la cohabitation et des contacts habituels et des aspects différents d'échange entre les deux nations, dans le processus d'acculturation ou d'imprégnation des cultures, la population locale a subi de certaines influences, pour la plupart dans le cadre de la religion et de l'alimentation, qui ont enrichi sa culture et réciproquement. Cependant, l'influence mutuelle a résulté quelquefois avec l'assimilation des Grecs, surtout dans le cas des mariages mixtes.

Les relations politiques entre la Grèce et la Serbie dans la deuxième moitié du XIX siècle ont été édifiées sur une base étroite ne permettant ni développement continu, ni dynamique suffisante, ni diversité de ces relations. Les relations discontinues et incertaines entre les deux pays peuvent être prouvées par le fait que les Grecs, à part leur consul principal entre 1868 et 1880, avaient leur chargé d'affaires à Belgrade jusqu'à 1903, tandis que la Serbie envoyait ses délégués à Athènes dans les périodes suivantes : 1883-1885, 1886-1889, 1891-1893 et 1899-1903. Cependant, malgré le fait que les contacts et les négociations fréquents découvraient des différences considérables des deux pays concernant le problème de Balkans, ils présentaient certainement une contribution à une meilleure connaissance bilatérale étant le point de départ significatif pour les négociations politiques suivantes et la compréhension à l'avenir. L'édification d'une base plus large des relations politiques menant vers l'attachement culturel était très lente, à peine avec un poème ou récit traduit, une pièce de théâtre, une conférence, etc.

Après une longue période de guerre et de troubles dans la péninsule balkanique pendant la première moitié du XX siècle, les années cinquante ont marqué le début de l'expansion de l'industrie culturelle grecque, surtout le cinéma et la musique. Grâce à la culture de masse, les artistes grecs sont devenus célèbres en dehors leur pays aussi, en faisant ainsi une influence indirecte sur le public étranger, y compris celui de Serbie. Au cours des décénies suivantes, les noms comme Melina Mercouri, Maria Callas, Mikis Theodorakis, Michael Cacoyannis, Teo Angelopoulos etc, laissant les traces dans l'histoire grecque, ont participé dans la perception de la culture grecque moderne et dans la création de son image positive en Serbie jusqu'à aujourd'hui.

Après la fin de la Guerre froide, la dimension culturelle est devenue un élément composant de la politique extérieure dans bien des pays et la culture a été considérée comme la priorité importante pour les relations diplomatiques et l'instrument vital pour une meilleure position sur la scène internationale. Bien qu'à aujourd'hui la réalisation de la coopération culturelle internationale provoque de certains débats sur sa signification et ses objectifs, de sorte qu'elle peut être interprétée comme l'intérêt national et la solidarité internationale, l'envie de connaissance et l'envie d'influence, l'intérêt culturel et les raisons économiques, l'intérêt culturel et l'envie d'une meilleure position et l'image du pays, ce qui dépend de point de vue, la Grèce présente et reste l'une de ces pays en faisant du principe de promotion d'identité la priorité dans sa politique culturelle. Il faut également souligner que l'histoire grecque et la contribution de la Grèce classique à la formation de la culture européenne ont été les arguments principaux pour son association à l'Union européenne ce qui a été illustré par les mots de Melina Mercouri "la culture est l'arme puissant dans les mains de la politique grecque".

D'un côté, la Grèce réalise sa diplomatie culturelle multilatérale en collaborant avec les institutions internationales comme UNESCO, UE et le Conseil de l'Europe tandis que de l'autre côté la diplomatie culturelle bilatérale est réalisée avec les accords et les programmes internationaux bilatéraux comme dans les relations avec la Serbie. Le document principal et la base légale pour la coopération et la conclusion des programmes périodiques sur la coopération dans le domaine de culture et de formation entre la Grèce et la Serbie est l'*Accord sur la coopération dans le domaine de science et de culture* signé en 1951, alors que la proposition du nouveau *Programme de la coopération dans le*

*domaine de formation et de culture dans la période de 2006 à 2009* est encore dans le processus de ratification.

Les artistes grecs sont présents traditionnellement aux manifestations culturelles serbes, surtout à Belgrade, comme BITEF, FEST, BELEF, BEMUS, Festival de guitare, Salon de livres à Belgrade, Joie d'Europe, Salon d'octobre etc. Il y a de nombreux exemples d'échange culturel des artistes, des experts, des expositions, des concerts et des manifestations dont certains ont une longue tradition. Un des résultats et le potentiel des ces échanges est l'échange des idées pouvant quelquefois résulter des projets interculturels dont on peut présenter un bon exemple "De valigia", un projet de 1997, où nombre d'artistes serbes ont participé, y compris le professeur Velizar Krstic, initiateur de la coopération entre les jeunes artistes grecs et serbes avec une tendance à élargir le réseau dans les pays balkaniques.

Quoique la coopération greco-serbe soit présente dans tous les trois secteurs, elle semble la plus intensive dans le secteur public incluant aussi la coopération entre les centres culturels nationaux. La fondation et l'ouverture organisée d'un tel centre à Belgrade est la conséquence de l'initiative de la Fondation hellénique pour la culture fonctionnant actuellement sous la protection du Ministère de culture de Grèce et de sa stratégie actuelle pour l'élargissement du réseau dans les pays balkaniques. Après une période d'attente des conditions préalables politico-économiques et convenables, on espère que l'ouverture du Centre culturel grec à Belgrade intensifiera la coopération culturelle existante, surtout au cas où tout le spectre de ses activités fonctionnerait, avec l'accent sur les manifestations qui aideraient la conservation de l'image positive existante de la Grèce en Serbie et qui mettraient en relief les attachements culturels existants et la mémoire culturelle entre les deux nations. Afin d'avoir une bonne position sur la scène culturelle belgradoise, le Centre culturel grec devrait choisir et appliquer de certaines stratégies. La première étape serait l'engagement des professionnels culturels qui feraient une analyse stratégique précise fondée sur le profil institutionnel et qui trouveraient les éléments positifs et négatifs. Après le débat, l'analyse et la sélection des scénarios évolutifs des stratégies correspondantes, l'étape suivante serait la planification stratégique à long et à court terme comme la personification de l'orientation stratégique de l'institution.

Suivant les coordonnées élaborées de la situation actuelle et les suggestions, les stratégies individuelles adéquates qui comporteraient leurs intérêts et perspectives collectifs concernant la coopération culturelle à l'avenir devraient être développées sur tous les deux côtés—grecque et serbe. Pour créer cette politique, les deux pays devraient reconsidérer et harmoniser leurs politiques culturelles au niveau national, régional et local. Les principales directives évolutives de la politique culturelle recommandée à tous les deux pays dans le cadre du développement de la coopération internationale seraient: la priorisation de la coopération culturelle internationale et de l'échange concernant les objectifs de leurs politiques extérieures; la priorisation du dialogue interculturelle dans tous les secteurs, ce qui présente le chemin de la coexistence multiculturelle à la coopération interculturelle; la création du concept général pour la réalisation de la politique culturelle suivant les normes européennes; le développement des instruments pour la coopération culturelle internationale et leur utilisation dans le cadre des certains stratégies et programmes; l'activation des autorités municipales dans la coopération culturelle internationale; la promotion du networking et des projets interculturels coopératifs; et le dressement du budget spécial prévu exclusivement pour la coopération citée.

Au cas où ces directives seraient suivies, un cadre législatif et institutionnel indispensable serait fondé pour le développement des relations aux champs différents comme le développement urbain et le marquage des villes menant vers le développement du tourisme culturel, puis l'échange des expériences et des exemples de bonne pratique dans le cadre de gestion des établissements culturels, l'association aux grands réseaux culturels dans le but de réalisation des partenariats et des soutiens financiers, etc.

Encore un objectif très important pour la coopération culturelle internationale en Europe sont la paix et la stabilité dans tout le continent, fondées sur la reconnaissance réciproque des différences et spécificités culturelles et appliquées par les gestes de solidarité et de respect mutuel. Les discussions, la compréhension et le dépassement des problèmes enracinés dans une multitude de différences entre les êtres humains sont appréciés et désirés. A ce moment-là, le dialogue interculturel paraît sur la scène, et "les dialogues entre les cultures et les nations n'étaient jamais plus nécessaires qu'aujourd'hui" (Romano Prodi).

## INTRODUCTION

Each city in the world has its own past, which is more or less traceable in its modern day visual and spiritual identity. Those fragments of the past often become integral components of the city's cultural offer and of the cultural dimension in contemporary diplomatic relations between different nations. In that sense, Belgrade has always been a crossroad where different nations, cultures and religions met, mutually influencing one another. Multiculturalism is a permanent characteristic of every-day life in this environment to the present day. In this research, author's interest is focused on the presence of Greek cultural identity in Belgrade, its position and role throughout the recent history and its potential contribution to the development of future intercultural cooperation and dialogue between Greece and Serbia.

After several waves of migrations across the Balkans, the Greeks inhabited Serbia mostly from the northern parts of Greece, and, during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, established along with the Tsintzars, the monopoly over the trade and crafts in Serbia, and by the end of the century they became the leading merchants in Belgrade. They had complete control over import and export trade and enjoyed a great influence in the Belgrade society, taking part in creating of Serbian civil society. By the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Greeks and Tsintzars became a part of the Serbian social elite and directly influenced the local population.<sup>1</sup> Their manner of speech, posture, clothing, alimentation and religiousness were admired and imitated. They had the most beautiful and modern houses, and they

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<sup>1</sup> In her article "Greeks in Belgrade" Jovanka Djordjevic Jovanovic (2004), quoted an interesting classification of the ways of spreading Greek culture on Serbian territories: "There were at least three ways of spreading Greek culture among Serbs. One of them is institutionalized, the second is direct or spontaneous, and the third is indirect. It is also possible to speak about vertical and linear spreading of Greek culture. Vertical reception of Greek culture by the way of spreading is institutionalized and direct, and it goes back to the Byzantine times till the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Its strongest expression was in Byzantine period, when it enriched Serbian social strata on state, religious, literary and artistic fields. During the Turkish rule, it is possible to track linear, by the way of reception – direct, spreading of Greek culture in creation of the Serbian civil society. Between the two World wars the strongest manifestation had indirect reception of ancient culture, which with certain discontinuities shows a tendency to grow until nowadays. (J. Đorđević Jovanović, *Grci u Beogradu*, Belgrade, 2004:164)

were often hotel and tavern owners, charity donors, etc. Greek language was quite fashionable as a sign of social sophistication and it was the key for entering the “high” society, especially traders’.

In order to preserve their identity, the Greeks founded their own schools, mainly in Belgrade and Nis, built their own churches, or fought for the right to conduct service on Greek language in the existing ones, and Greek newspapers were available in Belgrade’s “Chitaliste”. Through church, trade and numerous schools Greeks had an immense influence upon Slavs on the Balkans, especially the ones in southern areas. As a natural consequence of cohabitation and, consequently, different kinds of every-day contact and exchange, economical, educational, cultural, religious, marital between the two peoples, in the process of acculturation, or intermixing of cultures, local population has received certain influences that enriched its culture, and the opposite. However, mutual influence sometimes resulted with assimilation, especially in cases of mixed marriages.

Political relations between Serbia and Greece in the course of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were built on a narrow basis, which did not allow a continuous development or sufficient dynamics and diversity. Apart from a general consul between 1868 and 1880, the Greeks had a charge d’ affaires in Belgrade up to 1903, whereas Serbia sent its ministers to Athens in periods from 1883-1885, 1886-1889, 1891-1893 and 1899-1903. This fact shows how inconstant and unreliable the relations between those two countries were. However, frequent political contacts and negotiations, although revealing considerable differences in the views of the two countries concerning the Balkan problem, were nevertheless a contribution towards their better bilateral acquaintance as an important starting point for further political negotiations and understanding in the future. Dispersed and isolated information about a few translated poems or short stories, of a theatrical performance, a lecture, delivered here and there and similar data about the establishment of cultural links, as well as poor trade exchange prove how slowly a wider basis of political relations was being built.

After the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which is remembered by continuous wars and commotions on the Balkan Peninsula, the 1950s marked the beginning of expansion of Greek cultural industries, especially cinema and music. Through mass culture Greek

artists became famous outside their country and indirectly influenced their audiences, including Serbian. Names like Melina Mercouri, Maria Callas, Mikis Theodorakis, Mihalis Cacoyannis, Theo Angelopoulos, and many others, participated in perception of modern Greek culture and in creating of its positive image in Serbia to this day.

With the end of the Cold War, it has become apparent that no country can implement an optimal foreign policy without seriously taking into consideration the cultural dimension. A growing number of states acknowledge that culture is a high priority in diplomatic relations and consider it to be a vital instrument to better position themselves on the international stage. One of those countries is Greece, while the principle of *promoting identity* is predominant in its cultural policy. It is a fact that Greek history and the contribution of classical Greece to the shaping of the European culture were the main arguments for its joining the European Union, depicted in the words of Melina Mercouri, who said that “culture is a powerful weapon of the Greek policy”.

Greek multilateral cultural diplomacy is being realized through international cultural organizations, such as UNESCO, European Union and Council of Europe, while bilateral cultural diplomacy realization requires international bilateral agreements and programs. Current bilateral cultural cooperation between Greece and Serbia in fields of education and culture has been conducted according to the *Agreement on cooperation in fields of science and culture*, signed in 1959 between the Federative National Republic of Yugoslavia and the Greek Kingdom, which represents the legal basis for conclusion of periodical programs of cultural and educational cooperation, the latest of them being expired in 2004. At the moment, there is a proposition for the new *Program for cooperation in fields of education and culture for 2006-2009*.

Greek artists are traditionally present on Serbian cultural manifestations, especially in Belgrade, such as BITEF, FEST, BELEF, BEMUS, Guitar Art Festival, Belgrade Book Fair, Radost Evrope, October Salon, etc. There are also numerous examples of recent cultural exchange of artists, experts, exhibitions, concerts, events, on both sides, some of which have a few decades long tradition. Consequence of this exchange is exchange of ideas that can often result with intercultural projects, one of them being the “De valigia” project in 1997, in which took part a significant number of

Serbian artists, including professor Velizar Krstic, initiator and persistent bastion of cooperation between young Greek and Serbian artists.

However, Greek-Serbian cultural cooperation is predominantly intensive in the public sector, which encompasses cooperation between national cultural centers. An initiative for establishing of such centre was made by the Hellenic Foundation for Culture, currently working under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture, and preparations for its official opening are in progress. It is expected that the Greek Cultural centre will intensify the existing cultural cooperation, especially if it uses full range of its activities, increasing the events, which would serve the existing positive image of Greece in Serbia, and which would emphasize the existing cultural ties and cultural memory between two peoples. But, how will the founding of the Greek Cultural Centre influence the development of cultural diplomatic relations between them? What are its potential strategies?

After summing up of a multitude of research findings, the issue of Greek-Serbian cultural relations receives a more generalized and practical approach, which provokes questions, such as what are the ways to establish fruitful international cultural cooperation? What are the perspectives of that cooperation between Greece and Serbia? What would be the main cultural policy guidelines, recommended to both Greece and Serbia, in the scope of international cooperation development? What is the role of intercultural dialogue?

In order to find out the answers, during the research, different methods were used. Historical analysis, based on the suggested bibliography, functionalism, with its key term roles, structuralism approach oriented towards positions, open-ended interview, analysis of the written documents, were applied in order to get both qualitative and quantitative data and thus provide the reader with a complete and more precise diagnosis of the present situation.

# I HISTORICAL PREVIEW

## 1.1. Inhabiting Serbia

The Greeks and the Serbs have a very long history of relations. It dates back to the period when the Southern Slavs inhabited the Balkan Peninsula, throughout the period of great influence by the Byzantine Empire as a successor of the Hellenic culture. These relations became even more tight after the conquest of the Constantinople by the Turks. This is the period when the Greek colonies founded on the Serbian soil during Turkish rule become the main factor in the cooperation between the two peoples.

First mass migrations of the Greeks from continental parts of Macedonia, Epirus and Thessaly started in 1690 and were caused by the received privileges from the Austrian emperor Leopold I and signing of the Karlovac peace treaty in 1699. The second wave started after the Pozarevac peace treaty in 1718, and this wave, as well as the first one, had an economical character. Certain trade privileges and tax deductions attracted Greek traders to inhabit Austria, which used them both as military force and for their trade capabilities, and eventually gave them Austrian citizenship. The following migration waves were caused by Turkish devastation of Moschopolis in 1769, 1788 and 1821. The final mass migrations occurred between 1804 and 1830, and they were directed to the areas south of Belgrade. A significant number of Greek families came to rich and prosperous autonomous Serbia of that time. Main motives were favorable trade conditions and the possibility to gain significant property, on one hand, and failure of the Greek insurrection in Macedonia in 1821-1822, followed by the Turkish terror upon the local population, on the other.<sup>2</sup> “Economical” immigrants were usually men, who would bring their families after they have earned some assets or founded a business, while war devastations caused movements of not only men or women, but also of entire families.

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<sup>2</sup> I.A.Papadrianos, *Grci na srpskom tlu*, Belgrade, 2004:19-26

The first Greek colony was founded in the town of Nis in southern Serbia and it mostly consisted of population from western Macedonia, Giannina and Agrafa area in continental Greece. Next colony in the north direction was in Kragujevac, mostly from Thrace and Macedonia, then in Krusevac, Sabac, Pozarevac (mostly from Macedonia and Epirus), Smederevo and Belgrade. In Austro-Hungarian Vojvodina on the north, Greeks inhabited Zemun<sup>3</sup>, Sremska Mitrovica, Sremski Karlovci, Pancevo, Vrsac and Novi Sad, mostly from western Macedonia. However, the most significant colony was the one in Belgrade, made out of inhabitants from northern Greece, from towns such as Adrianopolis, Giannina, Serres, Katranitsa, Thessalonica, Kastoria, Klisura, Siatiste, Blatsa, Moschopolis, Melenika, etc.

During the 18<sup>th</sup> century Greeks and Tsintzars had the monopoly over the trade and crafts in Serbia, and by the end of the century they became the leading merchants in Belgrade. They had complete control over import and export trade and enjoyed a great influence in the Belgrade society, so that even Belgrade ‘pashas’ used to borrow money from them.<sup>4</sup> They were known both in Europe and Serbia as bankers and financial experts. With their practical and tactical behavior Greeks and Tsintzars knew how to approach Serbian authorities and they used their economical strength and marital connections to enter the sphere of public affairs. They were also post office clerks, ship owners, bakers, tailors, shoemakers, soap makers, blacksmiths, fur makers, pastry cooks, tavern and hotel owners, etc. The first brewery was opened by the Greeks in the town of Kragujevac.

However, due to the Turkish violence, rise of the revolution and epidemic of plague, on the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Greek inhabitants lost a significant part of their wealth, and now as the poor, they found themselves forced to quit their “self-isolation”. Although they recovered their social status and were financially stabilized by the 1820s, they never recovered their primacy in trade business. Nevertheless, with the defeats of the Greek revolutionaries, the number of Greek immigrants increased till the creation of Greek national state.

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<sup>3</sup> In a statistic from 1834, Greeks made one ninth of the entire town population. They came from Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly and Albania. (I.A.Papadrianos, *Grci na srpskom tlu*, Belgrade, 2004:31)

<sup>4</sup> S.Terzić, *Srbi i Grci (1856-1903)*, Belgrade, 1992:29

## 1.2. Creation of Serbian civil society

In the story about the relations between Greece and Serbia, other than political, we mustn't forget the role that Greeks and Tsintzars in Serbian towns played in cultural and mental bonding being important factors in the life of those towns and in creation of Serbian civil society. During the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, they were still an isolated, social and cultural factor. Although ethnically quite different, Greeks, Tsintzars, Albanians, sometimes even Bulgarians and Macedonian Slavs, were declaring themselves as Greeks and thought of themselves as bearers of Greek or Byzantine-oriental civilization. But in fact, behind these alleged Greeks were often hiding Tsintzars<sup>5</sup>, usually the biggest Greek patriots, which were slowly assimilated into the Serbian civil society and, as big Serbian patriots, became political officials, representatives or diplomats in Greece, Constantinople and southern parts of the Ottoman Empire etc. Their native language was a Latin idiom, very similar to Romanian language, so the Germans called them Aromun population.

By the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Greeks and Tsintzars became a part of the Serbian social elite. Their calm and clear manner of speech, their dignified posture, their clothing, alimentation and religiousness were admired and imitated. Serbs would often say among themselves "religious as a Greek" or "pleasant and sensible as a Greek"<sup>6</sup>. They had the most beautiful and modern houses in Belgrade, Zemun, Nis, Sabac, Smederevo, Pozarevac and other Serbian towns, some of which still exist today. They were owners of the best taverns and hotels in Belgrade, in which started the first 'balls' in Serbia. Greek language was quite fashionable as a sign of social sophistication and it was a key for entering the "high" society, especially traders'. There were three mayors of

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<sup>5</sup> "It seems that the parameters for defining ethnicity of the Greek-speaking Tsintzars, who's part in spreading of Greek culture on Serbian soil is undoubted, are two-syllabus and three-syllabus last names, and literature and archive material in which beside the name there was an ethnical definition." (J. Đorđević Jovanović, *Grci u Beogradu*, Belgrade, 2004:158)

<sup>6</sup> I.A.Papadrianos, *Grci na srpskom tlu*, Belgrade, 2004:99

Greek origin in Zemun and one in Belgrade, and each of them contributed to the wellbeing of his town, as well as to its modern infrastructure and beauty.<sup>7</sup>

Greeks were known as charity donors, who gave large amounts of money to help municipalities they lived in, to give higher education to the children of Greek and Serbian traders, to Greek and Serbian schools, to build a hospital for poor traders in Belgrade, etc. The biggest donor was Dimitrije Anastasijevic Sabov from Naousa, a rich trader, who provided scholarships to the poor Greek and Serbian children from the Srem county, who economically supported every Greek or Serbian spiritual undertake and turned his home to a gathering venue for intellectuals. However, his biggest economical and moral contribution was to the founding of the first Serbian Gymnasium in Sremski Karlovci in 1792, which encouraged some other wealthy Greeks also to help founding of this orthodox school<sup>8</sup>.

Greeks were also called “Fanners”, as an allusion to the wealthy Greek families, which ruled the Constantinople Patriarchy and played a significant political and economical role. This is a justified comparison and it shows the importance of the role they played in development of towns into a civil society.

### 1.3. Preserving cultural identity

Greek traders and the church clergy took care that Greek culture and literacy were preserved and developed in Belgrade. Greek colonists in Serbia insisted from the very beginning on having their own churches and services conducted on Greek language. Although the Serbs were opposed, the Greeks were usually able to conduct their intentions because of the great influence they enjoyed in the political power. In order to comprehend better the religious life of Greek colonists, one should have in mind that the areas north from the Sava river were under the jurisdiction of the Mitropoly of Sremski Karlovci, while the southern areas were under the Patriarchy of Constantinople.

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<sup>7</sup> Ioannis Kaligrafou Kiritsas, Constantine Athanasiou Petrovic and Panagiotis Morfis in Zemun, and Constantine Koumanoudis in Belgrade (I.A.Papadrianos, *Grci na srpskom tlu*, Belgrade, 2004:105-107).

<sup>8</sup> I.A.Papadrianos, *Grci na srpskom tlu*, Belgrade, 2004:102-105

Consequently, in northern towns like Novi Sad, Vrsac, Chakovo, Ruma and Zemun, where two Greek churches were built, there was a constant dispute on the language of the services because of the resistance and pressure by the Mitropoly, who insisted that the services are conducted on Serbian. On the other hand, Belgrade Mitropoly and other orthodox churches have had distinguished Greek priests, who fought for the rights of their people and defended them from the catholic propaganda. Service in Greek was conducted in the church of the Belgrade Mitropoly.

Another aspect of preserving of the Greek cultural identity in Serbia was education. According to their economical power, Greeks in Diaspora founded their own schools and staffed them with Greek teachers. Otherwise they tried to cover their educational needs with private tutors, which didn't always have proper education for that purpose, so the tutors were mainly priests, traders, craftsmen or even travelers who passed through the country. At that time both men and women were taught how to read and write. Greek language was taught in Greek primary and secondary schools, which were financed by the Greek municipality, and later in Serbian primary and secondary schools and University. There is not much preserved data on the Greek schools in Serbia, however, the best known were the ones in Zemun and in Novi Sad. Beside them, other Greek schools existed in towns of Belgrade, Vrsac, Sabac, Negotin, Smederevo and Valjevo<sup>9</sup>.

The most significant was the Greek school of Zemun ("Zemunska skola"). Because of its important geopolitical position, the Serbian town of Zemun has been attracting the attention of the inhabitants of Turkish-occupied Greek territory from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. They started to inhabit it and gradually established one of the most flourishing Greek colonies in the northwestern Balkans.<sup>10</sup> In the beginning, the Greeks of Zemun<sup>11</sup> had their children educated by private tutors, who taught their students both Greek and Serbian language, which would later be essential to them in their future careers, or at the school maintained by the town's Orthodox community, intended for all

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<sup>9</sup> I.A.Papadrianos, *Grci na srpskom tlu*, Belgrade, 2004:76

<sup>10</sup> At the time of its greatest strength, at the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century, Zemun's Greek community numbered more than a 1,000 individuals out of a total population of 9,000. In other words one ninth of the population was Greek.

<sup>11</sup> Most of the Greek emigrants in Zemun were Tsintzars, speakers of a Latinized idiom. (Papadrianos, *Grčka škola u Zemunu i Srbi*, Thessaloniki, 1996:282)

orthodox children. In 1794, the Greeks of Zemun founded their own community school, called “*Ellinomouseion*”, which rapidly won a good reputation. The school offered three levels of study, and was attended not only by the children of Greeks, but also by the children of Serbs, Hungarians and Germans of Zemun, Belgrade and other towns. The school and its library were financed from a fond, based on the donations of the Greeks of Zemun, and school’s administrative director was usually one of the wealthiest Greeks in town.

Some of the teachers also made an important contribution to the intellectual life of the Serbs in general. One of them was Ioannis Touroundzas, who taught there from 1806 to 1810. Among his students was Sima Milutinovic Sarajlija, who became a celebrated poet and used in his work Greek literary sources. Another was Georgios Zahariadis, who taught at the school from 1799 to 1806 and from 1810 to 1820<sup>12</sup>. One of his students was Ilija Garasanin, who became Serbia’s greatest political mind of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Zahariadis was also a writer of works addressed to the young Serbs. In 1803 he published a Greek-Slavonic dictionary and in 1816 the “Greek grammar”. He also translated some works by Plutarch and Isocrates in 1807 and 1808 for the benefit of young Serbs.

In 1802 the School of Zemun had 88 students, in 1823 it had 123, being the second largest Greek school in Europe (after Trieste, and before Vienna)<sup>13</sup>. However, since the 1840s it started losing its reputation. It operated until 1876, when lack of students forced on its closing down. In 1879 the Greeks donated the school’s substantial funds to their Serbian “brothers”.

First traces of the Greek municipal school in Belgrade date back to 1718, when it was under the auspices of the orthodox mitropolitan Mojsije Petrovic. One of school’s teachers from 1830-1832 was Georgios Zahariadis, already mentioned as a teacher in the school of Zemun, and also being a teacher in the Greek school of Sabac. In 1848 the Greeks in Belgrade expressed their interest to give their children a higher education by the fact that a private Greek school has been opened, beside the municipal school. In

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<sup>12</sup> In 1811 he even became a principal of the school.

<sup>13</sup> I.A.Papadrianos, *Grčka škola u Zemun i Srbi*, Thessaloniki, 1996:290

1858 there was another attempt to open a second private Greek school, finally approved in 1859<sup>14</sup>. It was closed in 1884 because of the small number of students<sup>15</sup>.

Knowledge of Greek language was necessary in 18<sup>th</sup> and the first half of 19<sup>th</sup> century in order to enter higher circles of society and state. Therefore, it was not only taught in Greek schools, but in Serbian schools as well, such as Serbian popular school, Trade school and Gymnasium in Belgrade, or Gymnasium in the town of Kragujevac<sup>16</sup>. In wealthy Serbian families and on the courts of dynasties Karadjordjevic and Obrenovic was a common practice to have Greek private tutors, who were famous as good diplomats and connoisseurs of Balkan and foreign languages<sup>17</sup>. For example, we know that first tutor of Karadjordje's son Aleksije was Rodofinikin<sup>18</sup>, and the sons of Milos Obrenovic<sup>19</sup> had teacher Constantine Ranos. Prince Milos's most talented daughter Savka learned and knew Greek language.

Greek newspapers were available at Belgrade "Chitaliste" (reading room), so the Greek speaking population had the opportunity to inform itself about the latest events in Greece. These newspapers were usually presents or borrowed from the local Greeks and Tsintzars. Between 1840s and 1890s these institutions all across Serbia received over 230 titles on 14 different languages, and solely on Greek "Amalthia" ("Αμάθεια"), "Ellada" ("Ελλάδα"), "Eon" ("Αιών"), "Chronos" ("Χρόνος"), "Chimera" ("Χίμαιρα"), "Isocratis" ("Ισοκράτης"), "Neologos" ("Νεολόγος"), "Telegrafos" ("Τηλέγραφος").<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, Serbian newspapers had a special column, called "Grecija" (Greece), which provided information about the situation in Greece and about the life of Greeks in Ottoman Empire and other European towns.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> This private Greek school attended Vladan Djordjevic, future president of the Serbian government (see 1.7.).

<sup>15</sup> I.A.Papadrianos, *Grci na srpskom tlu*, Belgrade, 2004:71-76

<sup>16</sup> I.A.Papadrianos, *Grci na srpskom tlu*, Belgrade, 2004:78-82

<sup>17</sup> Because of his skills and knowledge of foreign languages, Petar Ichko or Ichkoglou was Karadjordje's negotiator with the Port, and prince Milos's collaborator, as the Head of Belgrade traders and in charge of trade and diplomatic affairs. Thanks to his cunningness "Ichko's peace" was signed, which provided certain autonomy to Serbia.

<sup>18</sup> Constantine Rodofinikin was a diplomatic representative of Russia among Serbian insurgents, who was of Greek origin, from island of Rhodes.

<sup>19</sup> Although prince Milos never openly supported the Greek revolution, he showed his affection by buying off Greek slaves and by issuing licenses for Greeks to beg in Belgrade in order to save their children from the slavery. (J. Đorđević Jovanović, 2004:164) His sons in law were also of Greek origin.

<sup>20</sup> J. Đorđević Jovanović, *Grci u Beogradu*, Belgrade, 2004:165

<sup>21</sup> S.Terzić, *Srbi i Grci (1856-1903)*, Belgrade, 1992:30

Greek books and themes were also present in Serbian literature and publishing. On one hand, there were classical themes and mostly translations of ancient Greek philosophers, and on the other, there were books for learning Serbian or Greek language, such as dictionaries and grammars, written by different Serbian and Greek professors in Belgrade, Zemun, Kragujevac, etc.

#### 1.4. Acculturation process

Mutual influence between cultures is old as the culture itself. This process of mutual intermixing of cultures is known as acculturation. The theory of acculturation claims that when two cultures come in contact, each of them in this exchange process starts to resemble with the other. According to Radoslav Djokic, under the process of cultural contact should be considered the possibility of connecting “two or more relatively independent cultural entities, no matter if they are cultures on the same or different levels of historical development. Specificities that enrich each culture are a precondition for their mutual attraction, or rejection. Actually these specific characteristics of one culture represent the factor of motivation for other cultures to establish a contact with it”.<sup>22</sup> This author also claims that national cultures, although relatively independent as entities, have a constant tendency to touch and influence one another in different ways. This represents a unique cultural process based on human need to bond with nature, to conquer and rule nature’s courses. “Still”, says Djokic, “the national factor does not disappear in this general process”, but it plays a significant role in constituting of a cultural entity. So, “the more one national culture is opened towards universal processes and values, the more developed and influential it becomes”.<sup>23</sup> It is important that the cultures are in constant contact, to influence and to receive influence, because these contacts accelerate cultural development of each country.

If we take into consideration the long period of cohabitation and, consequently, different kinds of every-day contact and exchange, economical, educational, cultural,

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<sup>22</sup> R.Đokić, *Prožimanja kultura*, Belgrade, 1976:29

<sup>23</sup> R.Đokić, *Prožimanja kultura*, Belgrade, 1976:22

religious, marital between Greeks and Serbs, the process of acculturation comes as a natural consequence. In this case interaction between the two cultures was spontaneous and natural, and therefore it was not premeditated, nor directed by certain social, political or state organizations and mechanisms.

In the course of every-day life some Serbian customs eventually suffered certain changes. According to the theory of mutual interaction of cultures, “bigger influence will be exercised upon those cultures, which had less developed significant and specific characteristics” and “which haven’t succeeded to accelerate creative forces in their culture”.<sup>24</sup> For example, Serbian traditional family celebration, “slava”, under the influence of celebration of the Greek name-day, became a manifestation of social life, with a large number of guests and a splendid feast with many delicious things to eat and drink. In time, some Greek families “abandoned” the name-day and accepted “slava”, which meant basically change of the celebration name, but the essence of the ritual remained the same.

Greeks kept the tradition of sophisticated Byzantine cuisine, enriched with oriental dishes and big variety of spices. Significant number of those dishes found its place in Serbian cuisine as well.

Sometimes the processes of adoption and rejection do not exclude each other. In fact, the process of adoption contains elements of rejection and the opposite. These two processes intermix and contribute to the variety of cultural contacts.<sup>25</sup> For instance, in the sphere of religion and religious practices, Greeks came across a strong resistance among Serbs. They disapproved of the disrespectful behavior of Greek men, who didn’t take off their hats in churches with female choirs, and of religious services on Greek language. Therefore prince Milos gave order in 1827 to annul Greek services and church singing. On the other hand, some practices, like a certain manner of church singing, or institution of the red box, or charity “plate”, were maintained. The collected charity money was used for renovation of churches, schools, to help local widows and the poor, etc. Greeks in Belgrade were also known for their Christian charity and benefaction.

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<sup>24</sup> R.Đokić, *Prožimanja kultura*, Belgrade, 1976:32

<sup>25</sup> R.Đokić, *Prožimanja kultura*, Belgrade, 1976:37

When a more intensive research of the literature of Balkan peoples started in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with special attention given to Serbian and Greek folk songs, an undoubted similarity was observed. Nevertheless, it was difficult to establish mutual dependence of the themes and motives, and their Greek, Serbian or any other genetic priority. Balkan neighbors, living under similar circumstances, often fighting against the same enemy and under each other's religious influence, consequently received and nourished 'foreign' elements mixed with their own. The first collector of Serbian folk songs was Jernej Kopitar (1780-1844), who was also the first Slav that wrote about the first anthology of Greek folk songs by French philhellene and linguist Claude Fauriel (1772-1844). He pointed out the similarities between Serbian and Greek folk songs. Aware of these similarities, Fauriel made a solid basis for further research. According to him, custom songs, love songs, narrative songs (ballades and romances) and historical cycles show many identical themes, motives and details. Very similar are also songs of lamentation, wedding songs, "dodole" songs and haiduc (klephtic) songs<sup>26</sup>. Serbian and Greek folk songs were firstly translated on German, French and Russian language.<sup>27</sup>

The reasons for certain similarities are possible to find in the movements for liberation of Balkan peoples, which have been started considerably earlier than the first Serbian insurrection in the region of Sumadija (1804) and the Greek insurrection for independence (1821). Almost immediately after the Turkish conquest, the movements of Haiduks and Klephts, together with those of Uskoks and Armatols have become the only form of struggle against the conqueror, which in time turned into large popular rebellions and insurrections. At that time, "everything that was heroic in the people and which could offer resistance, with arms in hands, to the Turkish violence, was concentrated in Haiduks, Klephts and Armatols... And as the folk songs circulate today, so circulated formerly also the Haiduks and Klephts themselves, the bands of insurgents and leaders of insurrections-from Starina Novak to Haiduk Veljko, Karadjordje, Stanoje Glavas and Jakov Nenadovic in the first Serbian insurrection, and from Christos Milionis to Andruca Odysseus, Georgis Karaiskakis, Theodoros Grivas, Athanasios Diakos and

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<sup>26</sup> Greek klephtic and suliotic songs are the most often translated. Vojislav Rasic, philhellene, published a book on that topic, with some of his own translations.

<sup>27</sup> M.Stojanović, *Antologija novogrčkog narodnog pesništva*, Belgrade, 1991

Markos Botzaris in the Greek revolution.”<sup>28</sup> The insurgents are endowed with all the positive traits, great physical and moral strength and exceptional beauty, so force and beauty of the people they belong to and fight for are embodied in him.

As for the differences, according to Miodrag Stojanovic, klephtic songs are usually short, dramatically concise, with a lot of dialogues, while in haiduk songs there are no developed descriptions of heroic battles. Serbian folk songs are epic, with dominant bravery and sacrifice, and modern Greek songs look like haiduk ballads and have more of a lyric character.<sup>29</sup>

## 1.5. Assimilation

Another definition of acculturation states that it is “a set of phenomena came out of constant and direct contact between groups, individuals, members of different cultures, including transformations in original cultural patterns of one or both groups...”<sup>30</sup> However, according to Radoslav Djokic, in this definition should be pointed out the difference between acculturation and cultural change, because it is only an aspect of that change, and also between acculturation and assimilation, which is only one of its phases (Đokić, 1976:43). Mutual influences did not always have the form of cooperation or development stimulation, but very often they had a form of cultural assimilation.

Important years for the process of assimilation are 1830, when an independent Greek country was created, and 1832, when Serbian church got its autonomy from the Patriarchy in Constantinople and the first Serbian mitropolitan was elected. Serbian became the official language and Greek was suppressed as language of the Balkan traders. The process of assimilation of Serbs was practically reversed. The outnumbered Greeks lost their position of town rulers and we find the reasons in the motives that brought them in Belgrade in the first place. Those motives were the need to survive and financial profit. With the disintegration of Ottoman Empire Greeks lost their main

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<sup>28</sup> M Stojanović, *Serbian and Greek folk songs on insurrections*, I grčko-srpski simpozijum, 1979:281

<sup>29</sup> *Glasnik Društva srpsko-grčkog prijateljstva* 7-8, Beograd, 2007:40

<sup>30</sup> Definition is taken from the Memorandum on acculturation created by Redfield, Linton and Herszkovic. (R.Đokić, *Prožimanja kultura*, Belgrade, 1976:43)

market, Serbian traders and craftsmen started to suppress foreigners in order to recover dominating role, and technical innovations created a strong competition and higher criteria for the goods on the market. Family tradition of inheriting trade and crafts (“from father to son”) started to disappear.

Mixed marriages also played a significant role in the assimilation process. When the Greeks started to receive Austrian citizenship, they were forced to marry Serbian women or women from mixed Greek-Serbian marriages. On the other hand, Serbs also married Greek women, but, in both cases, the language that was spoken and taught to the children was Serbian, and very rarely Greek. Serbian women would also transfer their family celebration (‘slava’) on the husband, which would make them Serbs. This way children from these mixed marriages would become fanatic Serbian patriots and some of them were even posted on important positions in the Serbian state structure<sup>31</sup>.

Outside of Greek municipalities, such as Belgrade, Zemun or Novi Sad, in villages around Belgrade and smaller places in Serbia, with a smaller number of Greeks, changing of last names started even earlier. The loss of family name could be considered as a first step to assimilation on one hand, and as a desire of the inhabitants to preserve their ethnical identity, on the other.<sup>32</sup>

One of the first public disputes about assimilation of Greeks in Serbia of that time was written by Matija Ban<sup>33</sup> and published in “Serbian newspapers” in 1857, as a smaller study called “Serbs and Greeks”. On the occasion of polemics between “Serbian newspapers” and Greek newspapers “Philopatris” (“Φιλόπατρις”) from Athens and “Imera” (“Ἡμέρα”) from Trieste about “disappearance of Greeks on Serbian soil”, he expressed his view about Greek pretensions on the Balkans and their relationship with Serbs. Although both sides stressed the need for two countries to meet each other better and affiliate, Greeks accused Serbs of “serbization”, of neglecting the Greek language and ungratefulness towards Greeks for their military, scientific and trade contributions.

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<sup>31</sup> I.A.Papadrianos, *Grci na srpskom tlu*, Belgrade, 2004:34

<sup>32</sup> There are some records about names like Ivan Grković in Grocka, or Ilija Grković in Dobanovci etc. The phenomenon of modifying of family names by adding *-ić* on the end, or by translating, will be continued in the 20<sup>th</sup> century as well

<sup>33</sup> Matija Ban was active in the field of national propaganda, and had experience with the Greek environment and mentality, since he lived in Constantinople for a period of time and married a Greek woman. His definite role, as government’s confidential person, is still unknown. (Terzić, 1992:97)

Matija Ban wrote that assimilation of Greeks on Serbian soil is “a natural thing”, as much as the hellenization of Slavs who live on Greek soil.<sup>34</sup> He explained that learning of French, German and Turkish languages corresponds to Serbian state, political and trade interests. On the other hand, Greek traders from Zemun were mediators in trade with products from the Balkan countries under the Turkish rule and the Middle East, which were exported and sold in central and western Europe. For example, for the transport of pottery they used caravans, which would first arrive in Belgrade, and then across the river Sava went to Zemun, which was Austrian territory, and eventually to other Austrian trade centers, especially Budapest and Vienna. Therefore, Serbian traders learned Greek and the opposite. Those who wanted higher and classical education visited Latin schools in Hungary and German schools in Vienna, because they had no use of modern Greek in developing of national literature. The ideas of affiliation of the two “newly reborn” nations and development according to European civilization, of forgetting the past and establishment of strong and loyal friendship, dominated Matija Ban’s work and came as resistance towards Greek policy of hellenization of Slavs in Turkey.

## 1.6. Establishing of diplomatic relations

The first attempt to establish diplomatic relations between Kingdom of Greece and Principality of Serbia have been recorded during 1837-1838, when a certain Manakis, “Greek royal servant” visited prince Milos offering himself to become the first Greek consul. Intrigued by the idea, Milos<sup>35</sup> wrote to the Greek minister Zografou and expressed his wishes to establish cordial relations with “the Greek people of same faith”.<sup>36</sup>

By the end of 1840s Greek government wanted to open a consulate in Serbia, but this suggestion was denied by the prince Alexander Karadjordjevic. Since prince

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<sup>34</sup> S.Terzić, *Srbi i Grci (1856-1903)*, Belgrade, 1992:96

<sup>35</sup> In 1837 prince Milos made a donation for founding of the University of Athens. He also kept on his court a picture of the Greek king Oton I, who awarded him with a Saint Savior medal in 1839. (Terzić, 1992:27)

<sup>36</sup> S.Terzić, *Srbi i Grci*, Belgrade, 1992:27

Alexander was under the influence of western forces, especially Austria, the most probable reason is suspicion that the consulate would be under the influence of Russia and that way it would enable the increase of Russia's influence in Serbia. Consequently, Serbian and Greek national states and their national ideologies by the middle of 19<sup>th</sup> century developed separately from each other, without mutual influence or interaction, in spirits of Slavism and Hellenism, as two opposite national tendencies.<sup>37</sup>

The first Greek consul in Serbia was Dosko, accredited in 1868, and he performed that duty until 1880. In his diplomatic mission Dosko was focused on political developments among Serbs and political actions of the Serbian government towards neighboring Turkish provinces. However, he was accused of not accomplishing anything in order to affiliate two countries on the political field, or in their better cultural acquaintance and connecting.

Apart from the general consul (1868-1880), the Greeks had a representative in Belgrade till 1903, whereas Serbia sent its ministers to Athens in periods from 1883-1885, 1886-1889, 1891-1893 and 1899-1903.<sup>38</sup> The first Serbian official minister in Athens, Sava Grujic, was not proclaimed in 1882. According to Slavenko Terzic, this fact shows "how inconstant and unreliable the relations between two countries were. Still, frequent political contacts and negotiations were a contribution towards their better acquaintance as an important starting point for further political negotiations and understanding in future. Among the Serbian personalities engaged in fostering these relations were prince Mihailo Obrenovic, Ilija Garasanin, Jovan Ristic, Stojan Novakovic, Vladan Djordjevic, Svetomir Nikolajevic, Jovan Koumanoudis<sup>39</sup> and Firmilijan Drazic<sup>40</sup>; on the Greek side Marko Renieris<sup>41</sup>, Alexander Kumunduros,

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<sup>37</sup> S.Terzic, *Srbi i Grci (1856-1903)*, Belgrade, 1992:27

<sup>38</sup> Serbian ministers since 1882 were Ljubomir Kaljevic, Vladan Djordjevic, Svetomir Nikolajevic, Zivojin Balugdzic, Jovan Ducic and others.

<sup>39</sup> Jovan (Ioannis) Koumanoudis was a governor of National Bank, publisher of "Traders' newspaper", and a representative and negotiator of the Serbian government in Athens in 1862. He helped the opening of the second private Greek school with his political influence. (Papadrianos, 2004:126)

<sup>40</sup> Firmilijan Drazic was a student of theology on the University of Athens and at the same time unofficial delegate of the liberal Jovan Ristic, who reported on the every-day life of the modern Greek society (1879). This "small Greek biography", as Ristic called it, was very useful for Serbian statesmen and their orientation, and it is the first detailed Serbian testimony about the new Greek state and its political, economical and cultural circumstances from a close range. (Terzić, 1992:232)

<sup>41</sup> Renieris was a governor of National Bank and later a member of the Board of the "Society for spreading Greek education", founded in 1869.

Charilaos Trikoupis, Alexander Zaimis<sup>42</sup> and Leonidas Vulgaris worked on the same lines.”<sup>43</sup>

## 1.7. Developing of cultural dimension

During the 1880s and 1890s relations between Serbia and Greece started to develop on more modern bases, bases for graduate connecting of two national states in fields of economy and culture. Although this cooperation did not develop according to any plan, still it strengthened international relations and contributed to mutual acquaintance. For instance, soon after Serbia became a kingdom, in 1882, Athens theatre visited Belgrade and performed in the premises of the “Big brewery” a Greek tragedy *Fatherland, father and son* by T.Orfanidis, professor of the University of Athens. The play was well accepted by the Belgrade audience.

Svetomir Nikolajevic (1844-1922), professor of general linguistics and literature in the High school<sup>44</sup>, one of the founders of the Radical party, president of the government (1894) and later minister in Athens (1903), significantly contributed to the rise of interests for ancient and modern Greek culture. In his house in the center of Belgrade he founded a “Society of Saint Sava”, where he formed and gathered a hellenistic circle, being a “convinced and enthused hellenist” himself. To this hellenistic circle also belonged Vojislav and Dragutin Ilic, and Vojislav Rasic. Nikolajevic wrote articles on modern Greek poetry and gave lectures about lord Byron and Riga Pheraios<sup>45</sup>. On one hand, he wanted to meet Serbian audience with Greek spiritual heritage, and on the other, he worked on political affiliation of two peoples and establishing of Serbian-Greek friendship. He established a board to achieve these goals and to build a monument in honor of Riga Pheraios, Greek poet and revolutionary. He also proposed that one small street in the centre of Belgrade was named after Riga. His follower, Vojislav Rasic,

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<sup>42</sup> Zaimis was a Minister of internal affairs and justice, and also a member of the Board of the “Society for spreading Greek education”, founded in 1869.

<sup>43</sup> S.Terzić, *Srbi i Grci (1856-1903)*, Belgrade, 1992:401

<sup>44</sup> First established university in Serbia in 1804.

<sup>45</sup> He was the writer of the first Serbian monograph about Riga Pheraios, visionary of the cooperation of all Balkan peoples for liberation from the Turkish slavery.

continued with spreading of philhellenic spirit, by giving lectures on the Greek history and Serbian-Greek cooperation in the past, and publishing translated Greek poetry (1891). In one of his lectures he expressed his attitude that the Balkans should belong to Balkan nations and that Greeks and Serbs should live in harmony.<sup>46</sup>

Another follower, famous Serbian poet, Vojislav Ilic, was inspired by the ancient Greek heritage and ancient motives. In 1889, as an official of the Serbian consulate he visited Greece and he was thrilled by the ancient sites. He expressed enthusiasm both for ancient and modern Greeks.

In 1884, in Athens was founded the “Society for eastern alliance”, which had as an objective preparation of the agreement of Balkan nations on political and cultural cooperation. In 1890, a society with a similar objective was founded in Belgrade. Some kind of scientific cooperation was also established during the 1880s. For instance, Serbian scientific society cooperated with the Greek archeological society in Athens, and after some time Constantine Papanicolaou, historian and one of the leading personalities in cultural and scientific life of the country, was elected for a member of the Society.

Stojan Novakovic (1842-1915), eminent scientist and Serbian minister in Constantinople (1886-1891), studied Greek cultural and historical development, their relations towards Slavs, their religious and political role in Ottoman Empire and national aspirations. As a politician, he was mostly active in internal affairs, especially as Minister of education and religious affairs, when his reforms in education, culture and science left a trace in Serbian culture. In his critical study “*Greece and the Greeks*” (1874), Novakovic observed that there are no useful historical-ethnographic studies about nations and countries in domestic literature, which should exist at least in case of those who concern Serbia. His attitude was that one should meet and study social and cultural development of its ally, in order to estimate each other’s strength. He concluded that Greece is stronger, since it had a bigger number of newspapers, magazines, primary and secondary schools, universities and libraries, due to its well-developed trade and patriotism of wealthy Greek colonies in Europe, who help the development of education and culture.

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<sup>46</sup> “And we, Greeks and Serbs, who have always had the biggest influence on the Balkans; who have been heroically defeated, but even in Turkish slavery heroically saved our name and pride, and finally with our own strength defended ourselves; we, who have organized the first states and freed some of our land from the Turks, we, who have got far in every sense of our education, -let us agree, and in our harmony the Bulgarians will also see their savor, but only later.” (Terzić, 1992:244)

He also stressed the influence of the Patriarchy in Constantinople and “Fanners” in spreading of Greek political and cultural influence on the Balkans. Novakovic was generally interested in moments that defined similar destiny of Balkan peoples both in past and present times, such as ethnical mixtures and mutual cultural intermixing, as well as their differences.

Another Serbian minister in Athens (1891-1893), Vladan Djordjevic<sup>47</sup>, was also thrilled by his first encounter with the Greek capital, with its University and City Hall Libraries, big squares, streets, palaces and hotels, summer theatres, Acropolis, etc. He made connections with Greek people and managed to enter Greek cultural and political circles during his stay. His reports to Serbian government contain small disputes about Greek internal, financial, political and cultural issues, recorded with the smallest details and dialogues. In his study “*Greek and Serbian education*”, printed in 1891, he wrote:

“Having to work, under my official duty, on strengthening of friendly relations between our states, truly loving Serbia and Greece, I have studied the history of relations between Serbian and Greek people, of relations that last since our people inhabited the countries they live in today, so, ever since the era of Byzantine emperor Heracles till today. During these long centuries of our mutual relations, I have found a lot of friendship, as well as mutual fight, I have found a lot of beneficial cultural influences of one people towards the other, as well as few damages, I have found a lot of bright and a lot of sad happenings, I have found centuries of destruction, fraternal compassion and mutual help, of equal efforts for political and cultural resurrection of both peoples, until they fought their way to today’s new national states, in which virtues and flaws are almost identical, until they rose up with their proper effort to today’s ideals for future.”

Jovan Ducic, great Serbian poet and the first ambassador in the history of Yugoslav diplomacy, was promoted into a fourth-class secretary after a two-years service in Rome, in 1914, and he was transferred to the ministry in Athens to join minister Zivojin Balugdzic.<sup>48</sup> When asked about his diplomatic work, Ducic would say:

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<sup>47</sup> V.Djordjevic was a medical doctor, a mayor of Belgrade, a Minister of education and religious affairs, owner and publisher of the magazine “Otadzina”, interested in medicine, literature, history and journalism. He had a Tsintzar origin.

<sup>48</sup> Ducic was posted in Athens on two occasions, from 1914 to 1918 and from 1922 to 1924.

”Form and style make a writer, and this is what a diplomat needs to concur in a foreign state sympathies for his own country. Countries that post writers in diplomatic service have nothing to lose, they can only be on the gain.” (Dučić,1991:7)

During his stay on the “divine soil of Athens”, as he described it, he was trying to comprehend social and spiritual life of the country, and to remember only what is the most valuable and characteristic for the people. His opinion was that a diplomat should unconditionally know national characteristics, and that “diplomacy has to establish not only economical and political relations, but it has duties on the cultural and moral field as well; and if it has ethical soul, it cannot neglect this.”<sup>49</sup>

## 1.8. Greeks in Serbian literature

In the mid Balkans “Greeks” were giant constructors. According to the widespread tradition, these representatives of a long gone, higher civilization were imagined as spirits with supernatural powers. Common life on the Balkans, especially under Turks, brought in folk beliefs some other elements. Since Greeks often owned schools, shops, or churches, Bulgarian proverb “Wolfs in the mountain, Greeks in the church”<sup>50</sup> provides certain connotations about their role. In areas under Austrian administration “Greek” stood for a trader, grocer.<sup>51</sup> Testimonies of oral and written literature usually describe cunning but eventually outsmarted Greeks.

In Serbian literature there is a series of typified characters such as Sterija’s<sup>52</sup> Kir Janja<sup>53</sup>, or Kir Geras by Stevan Sremac, or Kir Trpko by Milovan Glisic, followed by Kir Lambra and Kir Nusa from a novel by Dragutin Ilic, “*Hadzi Disa*”. Their image of Balkan traders, extremely thrifty, ready to cheat on every occasion, even physically similar to Serbs, became a stereotype. Greek characters usually provoke mocking, or

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<sup>49</sup> J.Dučić, *Diplomatski spisi*, Belgrade, 1991:31

<sup>50</sup> In Serbian translation: “U gori vuci, u crkvi Grci.”

<sup>51</sup> S.Slapšak, *Svi Grci nazad!*, 1985:54

<sup>52</sup> Jovan Sterija Popovic knew very well Greek and Tsintzar traders since childhood, because his father was one of them. His characterization of Kir Janja was based on the use of every-day language of these traders and their cultural conscience based on Greek education.

<sup>53</sup> In some studies Kir Janja is not consider to be a typical Greek, but a typical Tsintzar.

even pity, while Greek women, such as Dafina from the novel “*Seobe*” by Crnjanski, are honest, cunning, brave and hardworking. Greek priests are usually seen as greedy. Greeks in folk songs are not heroes; they are unreliable, rich, greedy and hedonists. Isidora Sekulic in her book “*Hronika palanackog groblja*” (“A chronicle of town’s graveyard”) gives a more subtle approach<sup>54</sup>, following the disappearing Zemun and destinies of Greek traders families.

Numerous examples in literature point out that “Greek” was not only an ethnicity definition, but also an orthodox sign, a sign for occupation of a trader or a shop owner, for a town inhabitant, by a peasant, and for a good singer.<sup>55</sup>

## 1.9. Reception of Hellenism in Serbian literature

According to Svetlana Slapsak<sup>56</sup>, reception of Greek literature in Serbian literature of modern times is a contradictory and interesting phenomenon, almost systematically neglected by Serbian literary critics, as well as the Greek ones. However the positions of Greek and Serbian literature coincide. Ever since they gained their national independence, Serbian reading audience and her writers simultaneously met classical and modern Greek literature, because the outburst of national literature, based on new literary language, shadowed the tradition of direct connecting of medieval literature. The biggest part were critiques, which from a standpoint of cultural theory offer variety of interpretations. Trying to define forms and periods of reception of classical and modern Greek literature, or of hellenism as integrated cultural complex, Svetlana Slapsak used the term “aspect”. There are four aspects, which include contacts of the two literatures and cultures, since national independence till the World War II.

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<sup>54</sup> J. Đorđević Jovanović, *Grci u Beogradu*, Belgrade, 2004:169

<sup>55</sup> J. Đorđević Jovanović, *Grci u Beogradu*, Belgrade, 2004:170

<sup>56</sup> S.Slapsak, *Svi Grci nazad!*, Belgrade, 1985:119

## 1. Aspect. Continuing direct contacts

The idea of literacy on Balkans is firmly connected with Greeks. The very beginnings of modern Serbian literature depended greatly on the existing local Greek schools, teachers and priests in Serbia, especially in the parts administrated by Austria. The reception of ancient Greek literature, and the forming of the Serbian classicism took place simultaneously with the reception of the contemporary literature of the Greeks. The translations that appear are not only based on Plutarch, fables, or proverbs, but also on some modern texts. The success of the Greek revolution gives a new quality to reception, a sense of equality of two national cultures, far from unlimited admiration for immortal classic values. "Serbian newspapers" (*Novine Srbske*), a journal that formed a good part of public opinion in post-revolutionary Serbia, during the 1950s and 1960s informed its readers about Greek political situation, but also about news in literary life. This journal does not recall the greatness of ancient Greece, but it is more interested in the situation in the neighborhood.

## 2. Aspect. Political and historical coincidences and the complex of late romanticism

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, linked with Greece on the political ground, Serbia produced a number of diplomats who were eager to familiarize with Greek culture and literature, and considered their duty to present to their own people what they had learnt in Greece. Critics like Svetomir Nikolajevic, Vladan Djordjevic<sup>57</sup>, Vojislav Rasic<sup>58</sup> or Dragutin Anastasijevic<sup>59</sup> could not escape apologetic accent in everything they wrote about modern Greek literature. Although all these amateurs of literature lived in Athens in the period of passionate literary and linguistic discussions, although they knew

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<sup>57</sup> Vladan Djordjevic wrote a comparative study about Dositej Obradovic and Adamantios Korais, under the title "*Grčka i srpska prosveta*" (Greek and Serbian education).

<sup>58</sup> Vojislav Rasic wrote an anthology of translations from Greek liberation poetry, called "*Iz grčke slobodijade*".

<sup>59</sup> Dragutin Anastasijevic translated the best-known modern Greek novel "*Lukis Laras*" by Vikelas, in 1913. He started his career as the first professor on the newly founded Department of Byzantology. He always stressed the importance of knowledge of Greek language, in order to use original Byzantine sources.

Psicharis and Palamas, their sympathies were on the side of romanticism. Considered secondary critics, they represent literary conservatism.<sup>60</sup>

### 3. Aspect. The changed vision of Antiquity and scientific approach

Severely criticizing the book on modern Greek prose by Svetomir Nikolajevic<sup>61</sup>, the leading Serbian critic, Jovan Skerlic draws in 1905 a complete program of inter-Balkan linguistic, literary and cultural studies. As one of the editors of “Srpski knjizevni glasnik” (Serbian Literary Messenger), Skerlic represented the new critical approach and its values. He encouraged a group of young scholars, educated in Austria and Germany to establish a new, critical image of Antiquity and its natural continuity on the Balkans. Two of them, who wrote reviews for “Srpski knjizevni glasnik”, were Nikola Vulic and Veselin Cajkanovic. The new approach attacks inferiority towards classic values, the way of treating contemporary Greeks only as brothers-in-arms, and implies continuity and complexity of Balkan civilizations, putting the ancient and the modern Greek literature in the same position regarding the Serbian receptor.

### 4. Aspect. Utopia of Balkan symbiosis

Shortly before the World War I, expressionist and futurist ideas emerged in Serbian literature. The idea of balkanocentrism marked both political and literary movements, promising a larger reception of all Balkan literatures. The topic of young writers and critics<sup>62</sup> are full of new Balkan symbols and descriptions of classics with a new signification of profound belief in the possibility of interaction and progress of different, but symbiotically determined cultures. After the war this concept survived in avant-garde movements, on one side, and in second generation of classic philologists at

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<sup>60</sup> On one side, the reviewers of classics excluded anybody younger than Euripides from their topics, and on the other side, supporters of modern Greek literature saw only heroic side of Greek character. (Slapšak, 1985:121)

<sup>61</sup> Svetomir Nikolajevic wrote a book “*Pripovetka u Grka*”, a synopsis of translated modern Greek prose.

<sup>62</sup> Dimitrije Mitrović, Rastko Petrović

the University of Belgrade<sup>63</sup>, on the other, who cultivated an interdisciplinary study of Balkan phenomena, projecting them to the modern times.

Young hellenists had some the highest positions in cultural and literary life and their field was very much respected in wider audience as well. They had opened doors of all scientific and literary magazines, daily newspapers and revues. In 1934, Milan Budimir and Petar Skok founded an international magazine *Revue des etudes balkaniques*, which can be measured with the most famous international scientific magazines. It gathered most of the outstanding European scholars working on Balkan problems. Work of the hellenists on close connecting of scholastic classic tradition with balcanological research, their perception of Hellenic culture as the biggest contribution of Balkan cultural symbiosis, and their reviving of classical education on Serbian soil, has a particular significance. Critical contribution of the hellenists can be seen as their thematic innovations and new research subjects, and as methodological innovations, new approaches and techniques, which enriched theoretical fund of Serbian literary critique.

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<sup>63</sup> Milan Budimir, Milos Djuric, Anica Savic Rebac, Nikola Vulic, Veselin Cajkanovic, Henrik Baric

## 1.10. Expansion of the Greek cultural industry and its international influence in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century

### 1.10.1. Greek film industry

After the World War II, when artistic production barely existed<sup>64</sup>, Greece faced the Civil War<sup>65</sup>, which meant continuation of internal struggles, isolation and censorship. During the disturbed period to the end of the Civil War, few films were made. Many artists had rough times dealing with prosecutions, hunts and deportations. Normal film production begins to take off during the 1950's. Greek Cinema begins a steady ascendant course and it attracts the public, which is eager to fill the movie theatres. The Greek Popular Cinema<sup>66</sup> developed and some of the internationally famous movies were made and later exported abroad. At the beginning of the 1950's many exquisite films released helped new filmmakers to surface onto the Greek Cinema scene, such as "Bitter Bread" (*Πικρό Ψωμί*) (in 1951 directed by G. Grigoriou), "Magic city" (*Μαγική Πόλις*) and "The Dragon" (*Ο Δράκος*) (in 1953 and 1956, both directed by N.

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<sup>64</sup> Throughout the German Occupation two important films are produced, "The voice of heart" (*Η φωνή της καρδιάς*) (1943, directed by D. Ioannopoulos) and "Claps" (*Χειροκροτήματα*) (1944, directed by G. Tzavelas). In both films, Dimitris Horn, a theatre actor, makes his first cinematographic appearance drawing much attention to him. Basically these two films launch a new highly creative period for Greek Cinema. The "Claps" help talented director Tzavelas emerge and allowed some of the best films in Greek Cinema to be produced.

<sup>65</sup> The Greek civil war of 1945-1947 was really a continuation of struggles born during the Second World War. In 1936 Colonel Ioannis Metaxas dissolved the Greek parliament and established himself as dictator under the restored monarch of Georgios II. The Greek and Yugoslav Communist parties succeeded in mobilizing large-scale partisan resistance and placing real military pressure on German, Italian, and Bulgarian occupation forces. The insurgency resulted in 100.000 killed, 700.000 displaced persons inside the country, and catastrophic economic disruption. It left deep political division in Greek society between leftists and rightists. The civil war inflicted worse damage on Greece than the Second World War itself, and even by the 1990s the wounds had not entirely healed.

<sup>66</sup> "Greek popular cinema was born and developed during the decade 1950-60, a period of generalized social change in Greece. It is better known as Old Greek Cinema, in contradistinction to the cinema that appeared after the restoration of democracy in 1974, which is characterized as New Greek Cinema. The difference between these two forms is reflected in their public. The film repertoire of the former is directed at a mass audience, whereas the later, which is influenced by foreign currents, addresses an intellectual audience. The principle genres developed in Greek popular cinema, were the social drama and 'a renewed comedy adapted to the need to project a petit-bourgeois world', which encompassed a large part of the social, economic, political and cultural life of Greece." (E.Karpodini-Dimitriadi, M.G.Meraklis, *Laughter and tears in the Greek popular cinema (1950-1960)*, Athens, 1996:219)

Koundouros), “Stella” and “A Girl in Black” (*Το Κορίτσι με τα Μαύρα*) (in 1955 and 1956, both directed by M. Cacoyannis), as well as “The Counterfeit Coin” (*Κάλπικη λίρα*) (in 1955 directed by G. Tzavelas).<sup>67</sup>

Throughout the period of the 1960’s, the Greek cinema enters an era of huge success and achievement. Many more production companies are established, raising the number of films released into epic quantities, equivalent with those of international film releases.<sup>68</sup> This was the beginning of expansion of the Greek film industry, when Greek cinema opens up its borders. New young and talented artists started to emerge and to cross the borders of their country, becoming international stars, thanks to their talent and artistic work. Their international fame reached Serbia (or Yugoslavia of that time) as well, and indirectly influenced the perception of popular Greek culture. Several Greek films are awarded or nominated with prizes and honors. Nikos Koundouros was awarded with the Silver Bear Award at the Berlin Film Festival for directing “Young Aphrodites” (*Μικρές Αφροδίτες*) (1963), and “Zorba the Greek” (*Αλέξης Ζορμπάς*) by Cacoyannis, received three Academy Awards. During the 1960s, Yugoslavia imported 10 Greek movies (1960-1, 1961-1, 1965-3, 1966-1, 1967-3, 1969-1)<sup>69</sup>, including some of the already mentioned ones. In 1969, one film was imported, “Les perles grecques” (*Οι θαλάσσιες οι χάνδρες*) (1967 by I. Dalianidis), and eight was shown including it, “Red lanterns” (*Τα Κόκκινα Φανάρια*) (1964 by V. Georgiadis), “Electra” (*Ηλέκτρα*) (1962 by Cacoyannis), “Zorba the Greek”, “The Counterfeit Coin”, “Yannis the Greek” (*Ψαρογιάννος*) (1967 by V. Mariolis), “Sirtaki” (*Διπλοπενιές*) (1966 by G. Skalenakis), “Fear” (*Φόβος*) (1965 by C. Manousakis).<sup>70</sup>

However this promising course was unexpectedly interrupted, when the censorship and the events that occurred during the Dictatorship in Greece caused an

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<sup>67</sup> As for the thematic repertoire of popular cinema, the subjects mainly draw on the “social and moral problems” confronted by rural Greeks who, as internal immigrants, increasingly gravitated to the capital in search of a better life. As a result the Greek films of this period almost always resorted to a melodramatic treatment and to a solution acceptable to the audience. (E.Karpodini-Dimitriadi, M.G.Meraklis, *Laughter and tears in the Greek popular cinema (1950-1960)*, Athens, 1996:219)

<sup>68</sup> Over a period of fifteen years the Greek cinema produced some 1200 films, mainly melodramas and farces-comedies. Only in 1964-65, there were 45 melodramas, 31 farce-comedies and 19 films of other genres made, then in 1965-66, there were 53 melodramas, 19 farces-comedies and 28 of other genres, and in 1966-67, 35 melodramas, 33 farces-comedies, and 51 films of other genres. (E.Karpodini-Dimitriadi, M.G.Meraklis, *Laughter and tears in the Greek popular cinema (1950-1960)*, Athens, 1996:220)

<sup>69</sup> *Kinematografija u Srbiji 1969*, Institut za film, Belgrade, 1971:47

<sup>70</sup> *Kinematografija u Srbiji 1969*, Institut za film, Belgrade, 1971:96

artistic stagnation and many filmmakers to leave the country<sup>71</sup>. Two films by Theo Angelopoulos, “The Reconstruction” (*Αναπαράσταση*) (1970), that won most of the awards in Thessalonica Film Festival and “The days of 1936” (*Μέρες του ‘36*) (1972), as well as the “Proxenio of Anna” directed by Pantelis Voulgaris and “Evdokia” (*Ευδοκία*) (1971) by Alexis Damianos, showed the rest of the world that the Greek cinema has a lot of potential. The change of regime is marked by the masterpiece of Theo Angelopoulos, “The Traveling Players” (*Ο Θίασος*) (1975). Television replaces cinema and its increasing popularity numbs the minds of the public, who inevitably stop going to the movies.<sup>72</sup> During the 1970s only four Greek films were imported<sup>73</sup>, and they were shown together with the films from the late 1960s, approximately 2-3 per year of the latest ones.

The 1980s were mostly owned by the dominion of VHS. The biggest production of bad quality films, released directly to VHS, took place during this period. All the movie theatres unavoidably shut down and were turned into super-markets and shops. The Greek Cinema went through a period of inactivity and hibernation. Yugoslavia imported six films during the 1980s<sup>74</sup>, which weren’t only melodramas, musicals, or comedies, but also new genres, such as crime or adventure films, start to dominate.

The last decade of the last century is marked by the entry of new filmmakers in the field, who managed to blossom the absent artistic sensitivity and creativity. With the help of the already established top Greek filmmakers, who stand for the constant values of our cinema, they managed to make the public fall in love with cinema once again. Since 1995, among few Greek films imported to Yugoslavia, the most frequent were the

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<sup>71</sup> The only big productions that occur are of the producer James Parish. They have historical, warfare and patriotic themes and have exclusive support from the colonels of the dictatorship.

<sup>72</sup> Thus three new categories of cinema are formed during this period. The first category of films is of which quality is of no importance and are funded by the government, the second category are films made by the filmmakers, who with their artistic discipline and pride attempt to make films that would concern the public, trying to lure them back in the movie theatres and the third category, films that are personal, experimental, with low budget, trying to articulate a different and pioneering film language, without often succeeding.

<sup>73</sup> Imported were “Love in the rhythm of bouzouki” (*Αγάπη στο ρυθμό του μπουζουκιού*) by A. Sakelarios in 1971, “Teacher with blond hair” (*Η δασκάλα με τα ξανθά μαλλιά*) by Dinos Dinopoulos and “Lieutenant Natasha” (*Υπολοχαγός Νατάσσα*) by N. Foskolos in 1974, and “Iphigenia” (*Ιφιγένεια*) by M. Cacoyannis in 1976, which was shown on Belgrade’s FEST ’78. (*Kinematografija u Srbiji 1971, 1974, 1976*, Institut za film, Belgrade, 1973, 1976, 1978)

<sup>74</sup> Imported were “The oil conspiracy” by A. Kalia in 1980, “Emmanuelle queen bitch” by I. Milonakos in 1981, “Nathalie by” I. Milonakos in 1983, “Rebetiko” by C. Feris in 1985, “Black Aphrodite” by S. Philipstein and “Love, lust and ecstasy” by I. Milonakos in 1986. (*Kinematografija u Srbiji 1980, 1981, 1983, 1985, 1986*, Institut za film, Belgrade, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1987, 1988)

ones made by Theo Angelopoulos, such as “Ulysses’ gaze” (*Το βλέμμα του Οδυσσέα*)<sup>75</sup> in 1995 or “Eternity and a day” (*Μία Αιωνιότητα και μία Ημέρα*) in 1998, which won numerous international prizes and often participated on Belgrade film festivals.<sup>76</sup>

The Greek films still face major problems in the field of distribution and marketing. It is interesting that even since the 1950s the import of Greek films in Yugoslavia never surpassed 0,9% of the total import, considering the domination of especially American, but also French and Italian film industries. From 1944 to 1994, a total of some 20 Greek movies imported. However, some of them managed to remain in the memory of Serbian people and promote Greek cinematography and Greek culture as well. The latest ones that became a big success are *Safe Sex* by Michalis Reppas and Thanassis Papathanasiou (1999), *Politiki Kouzina* by Tassos Boulmetis (2003), *Nyfes* by Pantelis Voulgaris (2004), *El Greco* by Yannis Smaragdis (2007), etc.

#### 1.10.2. Greek music industry

During the early 1950s the Greek music, or certainly what was possible to hear in the mass media of radio and films, was the music based on the bouzouki, or “laika”, with sounds that the Greeks from Asia Minor brought with them back in the 1920s. The Greek soft music with flavors of western European sounds, the most representative of which came from the songs of Manos Hadzidakis and Mimis Plessas that was sung by famous performers like Nana Mouschouri, Tzeni Vanou, Giannis Vogiatzis and others, was also very popular. Also, during this time, the music of famous duos and trios like the Katsamba Brothers and Trio Athena became fashionable. Their particular sound was an imitation of Spanish and Mexican music, which they transformed into Greek. There was also another kind of music, the Greek folk music, or “demotica”, which unfortunately

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<sup>75</sup> In 1994, Angelopoulos began shooting Ulysses' Gaze, throughout the Balkans. Writing about the film, which starred Harvey Keitel, Andrew Horton says, "«Ulysses' Gaze is a triple odyssey. On one level it is a search for the roots of Balkan cinema and, really, of cinema itself. It is also a voyage through the history of the Balkans, leading up to and including the ongoing tragedy of Bosnia. Finally, it represents a man's individual journey through his life, his loves and his losses.» Ulysses' Gaze won the Grand Jury Prize and the International Critics' Prize at Cannes and was named "European Film of the Year" by the critics.

<sup>76</sup> Other shown films were “Gentleman in gray” (*Ο κύριος με τα γκρι*) by P. Hoursoglou in 1997, “From the end of the city” (*Από την άκρη της πόλης*) by C. Yannaris, “Let women wait” (*Ας περιμένουν οι γυναίκες*) by S. Tsiolis and “Voulkanizer” (*Βουλκανιζατέρ*) by S. Goritsas in 1998. (*Kinematografija u Srbiji 1996-2000*, Institut za film, Belgrade, 2001)

awakes negative memories for many older Greeks as Demotica was promoted as Greek nationalist music during the seven years under the dictatorship.

“Laika” developed from the “rebetika”, which was popular among the underclasses during the 1940s and 1950s. It was not well known to the masses until around the 1970s when George Dalaras and many others reproduced many old “rebetika” songs. This coincided with the making of the famous Greek film, “Rebetico”, the story of Marika Ninou one of the first woman singers of this genre, which popularized this kind of music even more. It is said that it was Manolis Chiotis who brought the bouzouki music close to the middle-class again. He was probably the best virtuoso of the bouzouki and created unforgettable songs using for the first time in modern Greek pop music the styles of jazz, samba and many latin music elements integrated with his bouzouki.

From the end of the 1950s onwards, the Greek “laika” became more and more popular. Greece was slowly recovering from the two wars, so it was the beginning of its economic development. More and more Greeks could afford to buy radios and record players. The Greek record companies, seeing the potential of “laika”, signed contracts with singers, musicians and composers and the mass production of popular Greek music really began to rise.

The 1960s saw the absolute domination of “laika”, and great performers became known in all Greece. Names such as Grigoris Bithikotsis, Stelios Kazantzidis, Stamatis Kokotas, Manolis Angelopoulos, Marinela, Giota Lidia, Doukisa, Poly Panou, Panos Cavalas with Ria Kourti, Viky Moscholiou were all singing the songs of famous composers like Vasilis Tsitsanis, Giannis Papaioannou, Markos Vamvakaris, Giorgos Zambetas, Giorgos Mitsakis, Apostolos Kardaras and many others.

In the middle of the 1960s, the Greek New Wave music, which was inspired by western ballads and styles that were first introduced in Paris, became the favorite music style of the young Greek intellectuals. The Greek music scene developed towards western ballads, blues and rock.

Of course, the composers that made the Greek music known internationally are Mikis Theodorakis with his famous “Zorba the Greek”, Manos Hadzidakis with “Never on Sunday”, and Stavros Xarhakos with his music in the film “The Red Lanterns”. Another great composer, Vangelis Papathanasiou, left Greece with Demis Roussos in the

late 1960s to set up the famous group, Aphrodite's Child in Paris, which was the beginning of their international careers.

From the 1970s and 1980s onwards, the Greek music became more and more distant from the original sounds of the 1950s and 60s. This decade saw the introduction of new sounds and digital recordings with sound effects, pushing away the original folk instruments and delegating the bouzouki sound to a backing role. Later the Greek groups might never made such world stars like Vangelis and Demis Rousos, but they have created many good bands and singers with their music and sound being inspired from the British and US rock music mixed with Greek folk sounds.

### 1.10.3. Greek literature

The best-known Greek novelist outside Greece is Nikos Kazantzakis (1883-1957). All his novels, and his *Odyssey*, epic poem that he regarded as his magnum opus, have been translated into the majority of European languages. Several have been successful in film adaptations with international directors and stars, such as Cacoyannis with Alan Bates and Anthony Quinn, Jules Dassin, Scorsese. The novels that helped him gain his international reputation are “Zorba the Greek”, “Report to Greco”, “Christ Recrucified”, “The Last Temptation”<sup>77</sup>, “Freedom and Death”, “The Fratricides”, etc.<sup>78</sup>

In the field of literature, two Greek poets who certainly deserved international acknowledgement are the two Nobel Prize winners, Georgios Seferis (1900-1971) and Odysseas Elitis (1911-1996). In 1963 Seferis became the first Greek author to be awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. From his collections of poetry most famous are “Strophe” (‘Turning point’), “Mythistorema”, “Logbook” I, II and III, also his journal “Days” and a novel “Six nights on the Acropolis”. Elitis, as one of the most outstanding international figures of the 20<sup>th</sup> century poetry, received his prize in 1979. His best-known works are collections of poetry “Orientations”, “Sun the first”, “Axion Esti”, etc, and essays “The Monogram” and “The Oxopetra Elegies”.

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<sup>77</sup> The Last temptation is a historical novel of the life of Jesus, which was banned by the Catholic Church when it first appeared in French in 1954. This novel and the 1989 Martin Scorsese film based upon it have provoked accusations of blasphemy from Christians of many denominations.

<sup>78</sup> *Greece, Books and writers*, by group of authors, Athens, 2001:158-161

From other translated modern Greek authors in Serbia we should mention names like Kostas Asimakopulos, Petros Charis, Dido Sotiriou, Kiki Dimoula, Tasos Athanasiadis, Vasilis Vasilikos, Stratis Mirivilis, Ilias Venezis, but also Alexandros Papadiamandis, Georgios Vizinos, and many others.

#### 1.10.4. Modern Greek artists without boundaries

##### - Melina Mercouri

An actress, who dominated the “golden age” of Greek cinematography and later continued to play an important role on the Greek cultural and political scene, Melina Mercouri (1920-1994) represents one of the great women figures of Greece in the 20th century. She was a great theatre<sup>79</sup> and film actress of international fame and the parts she has portrayed have made cinema history. In 1953 she received the Marika Kotopouli prize and in 1955 she started her cinema career with the film "Stella", directed by Michalis Cacoyannis. The film received special prize at the Cannes Film Festival in 1956, where she met her future husband, the American filmmaker, Jules Dassin. From 1957, she played the leading part in many Dassin films, such as "He who must die", "The Law", "Never on Sunday", "Phaedra", "Topkapi", etc. In 1960 she received the best actress prize in Cannes for "Never on Sunday" and the film also won five Oscar nominations, while the music composer Manos Hatzidakis was awarded the Academy Award for Best Song, “Children of Piraeus” for the same film. In 1970-1973, she starred in Jules Dassin's movies "Promise at Dawn" and "The

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<sup>79</sup> Her first big success in the theatre was the role of Blanche Dubois in Tennessee William's "A Streetcar Named Desire", staged by Karolos Koun's Art Theatre in 1949. During 1949 - 1950, she worked with the Art Theatre in plays by Aldus Huxley, Arthur Miller, Philip Jordan, Andre Roussin. She then appeared in Paris, in boulevard plays by Jacques Deval and Marcel Achard. While in Paris she met Jean Cocteau, Jean-Paul Sartre, Colette, and Francoise Sagan. After 1955 she returns to Greece and stars at the Kotopouli-Rex theatre in many of the plays of the classical repertoire, like Shakespeare's "Macbeth" and Anouilh's "L'Alouette". During 1956 - 1967, she continued her stage career with Tennessee William's "The sweet bird of youth" under the direction of Karolos Koun. Unforgettable roles followed in Brecht's "Threepenny Opera", directed by Jules Dassin (1975) after 15 years of absence from the Athenian stage and as "Medea" in Euripides's tragedy directed by Minos Volanakis (1976). During 1979 - 1980 she starred in Tennessee William's "Sweet Bird of Youth", directed by Jules Dassin and she interpreted Clytemnestra's part in "Oresteia" staged by Karolos Koun's Art Theatre in Epidaurus. (See [www.melinamercourifoundation.org](http://www.melinamercourifoundation.org))

Rehearsal". Melina Mercouri has starred in about 60 plays in Athens and in 19 movies by renowned directors.

After the colonel's coup in April 1967, Melina Mercouri immediately joined the struggle against the dictatorship. She traveled all over the world to inform the international public about the dictatorial regime in Greece. During the seven years of the dictatorship she was best known as one of the most "visible" and severe critics of the military regime. Despite all the threats and difficulties, she continued to fight until the fall of the junta with speeches, interviews, recordings, marches, concerts, and hunger strikes.

She was also a politician who left her mark on Greek culture. Her international fame and appeal brought her in contact with the great European leaders and she never missed the opportunity to promote Greece. In 1981, Melina Mercouri was appointed Minister of Culture. While being on that position she started the campaign for the return of the Parthenon Marbles presently in the British Museum. At the same time, she gave special attention to the restoration of the Acropolis monuments and held an international competition for the design of the New Acropolis Museum. She commissioned a study for the integration of all the archaeological sites of Athens, but she gave priority to the protection of Greece's recent architectural heritage. She gave full support to the completion of the Athens Hall of Music. Melina Mercouri introduced free access to museums and archaeological sites for Greek citizens and organized a series of impressive exhibitions of Greek cultural heritage and contemporary Greek art in all five continents. In 1989, she supported the Thessalonica Byzantine Museum project, the largest Greek museum built in Greece in the 20th century. She established the Municipal Regional Theatres and contributed to the creation and operation of Municipal Conservatories. She was also a great supporter and promoter of Greek cinema. One of her greatest achievements as Minister of Culture was the establishment of the institution of the Cultural Capitals of Europe, with Athens being chosen as the first capital in 1985. After Melina Mercouri's death in 1994, a Foundation carrying her name was founded, with the aim to continue her work, especially concerning the initiative to bring back the Parthenon marbles to their country.

- Maria Callas - “La Divina”

Another artist who marked the fifth decade of the last century in the field of classical music, but continued to concur international fame in the decades to come as well, is Maria Callas (1923–1977). She was an American-born Greek soprano and perhaps the most renowned opera singer of the 1950s. Her repertoire ranged from classical opera seria to the bel canto operas of Donozetti, Bellini, and Rossini, and further, to the works of Verdi and Puccini, and in her early career, the music dramas of Wagner. Her remarkable musical and dramatic talents led to her being hailed “La Divina” or “The God-Given”.

Born in New York, she received her musical education in Greece and established her career in Italy. Callas considered her Greek career as the foundation of her musical and dramatic upbringing. Callas's most distinguishing quality was her ability to breathe life into the characters she portrayed. In 1952, she made her London debut at the Royal Opera House in *Norma*, where she returned in 1953, 1957, 1958, 1959, and 1964 to 1965. With the same fantastic role Callas made her American debut in Chicago in 1954. In her final years as a singer, she sang in *Medea*, *Norma* and *Tosca*, most notably her Paris, New York, and London *Toscas* of January–February 1964, and her last performance on stage in July 1965, at Covent Garden.

From October 1971 to March 1972, Callas gave a series of master classes at the Juilliard School in New York. These classes later formed the basis of Terrence McNally's 1995 play *Master Class*. Callas staged a series of joint recitals in Europe in 1973 and in the United States, South Korea, and Japan in 1974 with the tenor Giuseppe Di Stefano and the tour was an enormous popular success. These were at the same time her final public performances.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> The press triumphed in publicizing Callas's allegedly temperamental behavior, her rivalry with Renata Tebaldi, and her love affair with Aristotle Onassis. Her dramatic life and personal tragedy have often overshadowed Callas the artist in the popular press. (See [www.callas.it](http://www.callas.it))

- Mikis Theodorakis

In the field of music, another internationally famous artist is Mikis Theodorakis (1925- ), who went back to Greece and to his roots, to genuine Greek music, and with his song cycle "Epitaphios", he started a cultural revolution in his country. With his marvelous works based on the greatest Greek and world poetry, such as "Epiphania", "Little Kyklades", "Axion Esti", "Mauthausen", "Romiossini", "Romancero Gitan", he gave Greek music back its dignity and, while developing his concept of metasymphonic music, he was soon recognized internationally as a musician of genius. Mikis Theodorakis is undoubtedly Greece's greatest living composer.

The year 1960 marked the beginning of a very productive period for Theodorakis. He began setting Greek poetry to music and creating a new wave of sophisticated popular song. Other young composers were encouraged to follow the lead an exciting new wave of Greek music began.

During the Military Dictatorship (1967-74), Theodorakis himself was imprisoned. An international solidarity movement, headed by such figures as Dmitri Shostakovitch, Leonard Bernstein, Arthur Miller and Harry Belafonte managed to get Theodorakis freed and his sentence converted to exile in 1970. In 1983 Theodorakis was awarded the Lenin Prize for Peace. He continued composing symphonic and choral works and giving concerts. Worldwide, he gave about a thousand concerts as part of his struggle for the restoration of democracy in Greece and he became a universal symbol of resistance against dictatorship.<sup>81</sup>

After the fall of the Colonels, Theodorakis returned to Greece, and, as a minister in the conservative government, he dealt with cultural and national issues. He suggested a Pan-European meeting at Delphi with the participation of world leaders, philosophers, scientists and artists to discuss the problem of peace, of post-industrial society and the third world countries. He conceived the meeting at Delphi as an "Olympiad of the Spirit," a centre where every European country, and eventually the countries of the rest of the

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<sup>81</sup> In 1976 Theodorakis formed the Movement for Culture and Peace, and toured Greece giving concerts and holding discussions. Many young people, irrespective of their political orientation, were organized in this movement, but it did not last. In 1977 in Crete Theodorakis organized a conference with the title "Culture and Socialism" in which such world figures as Francois Mitterrand and Roger Garaudy participated. (See [www.mikis-theodorakis.net](http://www.mikis-theodorakis.net))

world, would have a place of their own, and where every year contests of poetry, music, theatre, etc. would be organized. This remains one of Theodorakis's dreams, although he did organize meetings in 1988 in Germany attended by well-known European writers, philosophers, lawyers, politicians and artists, where he discussed cultural and social problems within the European community. In 1993, he was appointed for another two years General Musical Director of the Symphony Orchestra and Chorus of the Hellenic Radio and Television. Touring with them, he was honored by the United States Senate for his services to culture and humanity.

Mikis Theodorakis is also committed to heightening international awareness of human rights, of environmental issues and of the need for peace. In 1999 Theodorakis made an appeal against the NATO bombing of Serbia, which was carried out without consultation with the United Nations. He also gave a concert in Belgrade and met with Milosevic to discuss the restoration of Peace in Kosovo.

Mikis Theodorakis has written more than 1000 songs and song-cycles, unforgettable melodies that have become part of the immortal heritage of Greek music.<sup>82</sup> He also composed music for the films, such as "Ill Met by Moonlight" (1960), "Honeymoon" (1960), "The Shadow of the Cat" (1961), "Five Miles to Midnight" (1961), "Elektra" (1962), "Phaedra" (1962), "Les Amants de T rue l" (1964), "Zorba the Greek" (1964); "Z" (1969), "Stage of Siege" (1972), "Serpico" (1973), "Iphigenia" (1977/78) and "The Man with the Carnation" (1980).

### 1.11. Greeks in modern Belgrade are a "hidden minority"?

Hidden minorities are usually described as "small (in-) groups, which consider their common descent relevant, and which tend to have both the same cultural traits and

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<sup>82</sup> Some of his most famous works are "Sto Perigiali", "Kaimos", "Aprilis", "Doxa to Theo", "Sotiris Petroulas", "Lipotaktes", "Stis Nichtas to Balkoni", "Agapi mou", "Pou petaxe t'agori mou", "Anixe ligo to parathiro", "O Ipnos se tilixe", "To gelasto pedi" "Dendro to dendro", "O Andonis", as for individual songs, "Epitaphios", "Archipelagos", "Politia", "Epiphania", "The Hostage", "Mykres Kyklades", "Mauthausen", "Romiossini", "Sun and Time", "Songs for Andreas", "Mythology", "Night of Death", "Ta Lyrika", "The Quarters of the World", "Dionysos", "Phaedra", "Mia Thalassa", etc., as for song cycles. He has also composed numerous symphonic works, cantatas and oratorios, ballets, operas and music for stage.

the same boundaries with their surroundings as officially recognized minorities”.<sup>83</sup> What is particular about them is that they either do not want to identify themselves as ethnically different from their surrounding in public or there is no intention for their recognition as ethnic minorities by the state they are living in. The reasons are usually their small size or the lack of their own intellectual elites. Their existence can also be seen as “a consequence of their (often only initial) reserve to fully comply with the dominant nation building of a given region or state also in private life: this concerns the different language, religion, rituals etc.”.<sup>84</sup> Their resistance has apparently lost its power, while nowadays identities tend to be multiple, especially under the influence of mixed marriages and modern media.

The nation building on the Balkans was very complex, since these regions were constitutionally multicultural and multiethnic. National and ethnic affiliation was treated according to alleged common origin. Hidden minorities were too small to get broader political attention from their possible “mother nations”, as if they were official ethnic minorities. Consequently, the gradual assimilation of hidden minorities often was not a result of intention, but of neglect, or in most cases a specific form of modern national colonization.

It seems that Greeks were destined to be hidden. According to the population records from 1838, they were counted as “Christians” or “others”<sup>85</sup>. Other records say that there were 109 respected Greek families in Belgrade, in the first half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, mostly from northern Greece. According to the Greek historical studies, the following migrations were divided into waves, such as *Early migrations* 1873-1899 (15,000 Greeks immigrated), *the Big wave* 1890-1917 (450,000), *the Last wave* 1918-1924 (70,000), *Closed door* 1925-1946 (30,000), *Postwar movements* 1947-1965 (160,000), *Reduced immigrations* 1980-1989 (25,000).<sup>86</sup> Comparing to these waves, migrations of Greeks to Serbia were not of such mass character, but more of a long-term tradition. Some traces of their life on the Serbian soil can be found in some memoirs, letters and travel memoirs of the foreign passengers who saw them.

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<sup>83</sup> C.Promitzer, *Skrivene manjine na balkanu*, Belgrade, 2004:23

<sup>84</sup> C.Promitzer, *Skrivene manjine na balkanu*, Belgrade, 2004:23

<sup>85</sup> J. Đorđević Jovanović, *Grci u Beogradu*, Belgrade, 2004:161

<sup>86</sup> J. Đorđević Jovanović, *Grci u Beogradu*, Belgrade, 2004:157

Migrations continued in the 20th century, mostly as a consequence of war destruction and political argues. There were also several waves: after the exodus from Turkey 1913-1914 and 1922-1923, from Bulgaria 1918-1928, and after the World War II 1945-1949. In the period from 1950 to 1957, which followed the Greek civil war<sup>87</sup>, 25,766 emigrants came from Greece. The issue of Greek refugees was solved in 1952, when they could choose whether they want to go back home, or stay and renounce Greek citizenship. New Yugoslavs had the possibility to bring their families, and to build houses, pay taxes and find jobs with certain relieves. Between 1950 and 1957, 8,929 Greeks accepted Yugoslav citizenship, while the other 17,000 were waiting for a better political moment to return to their country. During the '60ies, most of them returned, some stayed and some left on East or West. A small part of the Greek minority in Belgrade are these Greeks, who eventually got back their Greek citizenship and today is a member of "Riga Pheraios" Society.

In 1971 there were 232 Greeks in Belgrade, in 1981 - 250, in 1991 - 260, and in 2002 – 255 of them. These mild oscillations could point out several things, such as new migrations from Greece, or migrations inside the country, or their wish to declare themselves as Greeks, as a minority. Migrations that occurred during the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and in the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> have had as a motive studies or business organization, mostly in Belgrade. These students and businessmen are mostly only temporary inhabited and therefore they could not be considered as a part of minority, regardless of their huge number. However, in order to preserve their identity, the Greeks in Belgrade stick together, help each other and found societies, which help them to stay in contact with their "mother country" and with other Greeks in Diaspora.

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<sup>87</sup> The Greek Communist Party came to support Stalin and subsequently, so Yugoslavia ended its support of the Greek rebels in July 1948. Rather than stay in Greece, those of the fighters who survived and tens of thousands of other leftists chose exile in camps in neighboring communist countries and in the Soviet Union. After 1949, National Liberation Front (NOF) fighters retreated into Yugoslavia and with them went that part of the Slavic-speaking population who did not share the Greek national identity. (See chapter 1.11., footnote 55)

## II CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL RELATIONS

### 2.1. Cultural diplomacy

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, the act of cultural diplomacy is “the furthering of international relations by cultural exchange; the act of publicizing and exhibiting examples of one’s national culture abroad”. But today it is a lot more.

The beginnings of official conducting of cultural diplomacy are usually connected with France, although similar activities can be noticed in the history of international relations of other countries, such as Germany, Great Britain, Netherlands, Spain and Portugal. And although this activity was implemented by governments for centuries, the term itself came into use in United States in the mid 1960s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In this country “public diplomacy” became the object of interest and overcame the boundaries of the traditional, official diplomacy because of its influence over its image in the world and over the public opinions in other countries. At the same time, it tried to positively influence the shaping of external politics and conduct of international relations between governments.

The poet and critic T.S. Eliot commented on the increasingly tight relationship between administrative system and the cultural sphere, the phenomenon which became a 20<sup>th</sup>-century obsession. In 1948 he wrote:

“We observe nowadays that ‘culture’ attracts the attention of men of politics: not that politicians are always ‘men of culture’, but that ‘culture’ is recognized both as an instrument of policy, and as something desirable which is the business of the State to promote. We not only hear, from high political quarters, that ‘cultural relations’ between nations are of great importance, but find that bureaux are founded, and officials appointed, for the express purpose of attending to these relations, which are presumed to foster international amity. The fact that culture has become, in some sense a department of politics, should not

obscure in our memory the fact that in other periods politics has been an activity pursued within a culture, and between representatives of different cultures.”<sup>88</sup>

Public diplomacy is also characterized as a form of “mild power”, of factor parallel to traditional military, economic and political bases of diplomatic power. Nevertheless, arts and culture can give its own contribution to the public diplomacy. According to Margaret J. Wyszomirski<sup>89</sup>:

“Arts and culture can play a significant role in shaping of international image. When a country consciously tries to influence its image in the world, then those efforts are often regarded as cultural diplomacy. Therefore, cultural diplomacy can be considered a subcategory of public diplomacy. Arts and culture, as well as the media that spread images of every-day life and values across the planet, today have increasing influence over the image of each nation in the world and, consequently, they represent more and more important factor in the context in which official diplomatic relations are being developed.”

Culture is considered to be “an immense source of power capable of shaping, changing and influencing the perceptions of public communities”.<sup>90</sup> From a wide perspective, it can be used to neutralize ethnic and religious prejudices and create a climate of tolerance, respect and understanding among nations, religions and entire regions, being an essential medium for peaceful and tolerant interaction. From a narrower point of view, culture is both a diplomatic tool and a bridge that connects diplomats with their audiences.

### 2.1.1. Cultural dimension in contemporary international relations

From an economic, military, technological, scientific and environmental point of view, the process of globalization makes our world more uniformed and standardized. On one hand, we have information and communication technology, global mass media and other aspects of modernization, which provide good preconditions for multinational dialogue and interaction, while on the other hand, we have traditional values, which put a

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<sup>88</sup> R. Bereson, *Lying Abroad*, Buffalo, 2007:12

<sup>89</sup> Wyszomirski, Margaret Dž. i Šnajder, Sintija P.: *Kulturna diplomatija*, Belgrade, 2006:3

<sup>90</sup> <http://www.culturaldiplomacy.org/>

culturally restrain such dialogue. With the end of the Cold War, foreign affairs are no longer strictly conducted according to ideological motives, but have instead been substituted somewhat by those of culture. Apparently no country can implement an optimal foreign policy without seriously taking into consideration the cultural dimension. Cultural matters affect foreign policy agendas and are they are incorporated into every-day work of Ministries of Foreign Affairs and their diplomatic representation abroad.

In terms of vocabulary, not all countries use the same term for cultural diplomacy and its field of action, such as France or Greece. In fact, the most common term is international cultural relations (used in countries such as Australia, Canada, Singapore and United Kingdom), followed by cultural (and/or educational) exchange (America, Japan) and international cultural policy (Austria, Sweden, Netherlands).<sup>91</sup> In Serbia, international cultural cooperation is the most frequent term.

#### 2.1.2. Tools of cultural diplomacy

The principal objective of cultural diplomacy is to positively influence public and high level opinion in a foreign state. The communication with foreign audiences is carried out by using a variety of tools, including intercultural exchange programs, educational exchanges and scholarships, international cultural programs and projects, programmed cultural visits of artists (painters, dancers, musicians etc.), international broadcast of cultural events, symphonies, concerts, etc., international culture related conferences, symposia and workshops, as well as language promotion, through language learning programs and institutions, support of infrastructure in form of cultural institutes, centers or forums abroad, cultivation of ties with foreign journalists, academics, key foreign leaders, etc., and publications.<sup>92</sup> Naturally, this variety of tools differs from country to country, some of them being more advanced in the conduct of cultural diplomacy than the other.

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<sup>91</sup> Vizomirski, Margaret Dž. i Šnajder, Sintija P.: *Kulturna diplomatija*, Belgrade, 2006:17

<sup>92</sup> Vizomirski, Margaret Dž. i Šnajder, Sintija P.: *Kulturna diplomatija*, Belgrade, 2006:21-22

## 2.2. Cultural diplomacy in Greece

Greek cultural diplomacy is an integral part of its external politics, which aims at promoting of Greek culture abroad. Greece considers its culture the main component of its international image and tends to create a precise image of contemporary Greece. Other terms used for cultural diplomacy activities are international cultural cooperation and exchange, or international cultural relations.

Therefore, one of the main issues and priorities of the Greek cultural policy is “promotion of international cultural cooperation and exchange as a tool for strengthening the relations of Greece with other countries, such as other EU member-states, neighboring countries, major international actors and countries with a strong Greek Diaspora, in the context of the goals of Greek foreign policy, and the pursuit of synergies between cultural activities in Greece and abroad”.<sup>93</sup>

In this context, integrated initiatives, such as the Greek Cultural Months or the Greece in Britain program, and events such as archaeological exhibitions in major international museums, have been given priority over isolated small-scale activities. The main instrument for this policy during the four-year period leading to the Athens 2004 Summer Olympic Games has been the Cultural Olympiad, an ambitious program of cultural events in Greece and abroad intended to promote access to different cultural traditions under the motto "*Towards a Culture of Civilizations*", including international events and exhibitions during the period of the Olympics. Additional instruments, such as encouragement of co-productions for film, and showcase events to promote awareness of Greek artistic products to international markets, have been launched recently.

### 2.2.1. Objectives and priorities

Some of the objectives and priorities of Greek cultural diplomacy are illustrated in the official statement of the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs Theodoros Kasimis:

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<sup>93</sup> <http://www.culturalpolicies.net/>

“As Minister of Foreign Affairs responsible for Greek Diaspora and foreign cultural-educational affairs, I would like to underline special interest of the country, and especially of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, for promotion of Greece on the international stage through external cultural policy.

In today’s era, era of globalization, of disappearing of old separating lines, of rapid developments, but also of multicultural trends and specialties, cultural diplomacy can contribute significantly to the strengthening of country’s international image, with multiple benefits in conducting of our external politics.

Within this framework the Greek education and cultural heritage, as well as contemporary artistic and spiritual creativity, can function as powerful weapons by creating frames of wider understanding and positive confrontation of our national positions by the international public. At the same time they promote as an instrument of essential contact and constructive dialogue on world level, contributing, through their universal dimension, to peace and stability, and creating a climate of mutual understanding.

Therefore, transformation of our inexhaustible cultural resources into works, ways of thinking and practices represents essential contribution to vital development and quality of life. At the same time it functions as a conductor of cooperation between nations, as a mild but still efficient weapon of our external policy.”<sup>94</sup>

The principle of *promoting identity* is predominant in Greek cultural policy, as shown by the emphasis on the diachronic unity of Greek cultural heritage and on the prevalent views expressed both in policy documents and in public debate about the uniqueness and distinctiveness of Greek culture. It is a fact that Greek history and the contribution of classical Greece to the shaping of the European culture were the main arguments for its joining the European Union, depicted in the words of Melina Mercouri, who said that “culture is a powerful weapon of the Greek policy”.<sup>95</sup>

As for the planning and allocation of resources to international cultural cooperation and exchange programs, they are increasingly linked to foreign policy priorities and goals to support democracy and institution building in the region of southeast Europe, on one hand, and, to strengthen cultural relations and encourage

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<sup>94</sup> <http://www.mfa.gr/>

<sup>95</sup> G.I.Christogiannis, *Ελληνική πολιτιστική διπλωματία*, Athens, 2002:78

understanding of contemporary Greece among major international partners, on the other.<sup>96</sup>

## 2.3. Multilateral cultural cooperation framework

### 2.3.1. UNESCO

UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization) is a specialized agency of the United Nations, founded in 1946. UNESCO's objective is to help its today's 191 Member States, among which are also Greece and Serbia, "in preparing their policies while reconsidering the relationship between tourism and cultural diversity, tourism and intercultural dialogue, and tourism and development".<sup>97</sup> In this way, the Organization proposes to contribute to the fight against poverty, protection of the environment and mutual appreciation of cultures.

Collaboration of Greece with UNESCO is monitored and carried out by the specialized UNESCO Office within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Greece is represented on the UNESCO's World Heritage List by fifteen cultural and two mixed sites and has presented a varied Tentative List. The sites are closely monitored for accidents and the adverse effects of meteorological conditions on their conservation.

Greece demonstrated its interest in heritage management by creating the Melina Mercouri Prize in collaboration with UNESCO. Awarded every two years, this prize rewards outstanding examples of action to safeguard and enhance the world's major cultural landscapes. Greece also contributed to the restoration of the National Museum in Kabul Museum and other Afghan heritage sites. The fight against the illicit trafficking of cultural property is a matter of great concern of Greece, which was a member of the Intergovernmental Committee for Promoting the Return of Cultural Property to its Countries of Origin from 2003 to 2007.

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<sup>96</sup> <http://culturalpolicies.net/>

<sup>97</sup> <http://www.unesco.org/>

Greece decided to strengthen its cooperation with UNESCO in the field of cultural by ratifying in January 2007 the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage as well as the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions.

In Serbia the Ministry of Culture and the Office for Ethnic Minorities are responsible for monitoring the implementation of the *UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions*. Serbia has four cultural sites on the World Heritage List. In 2006, the World Heritage Committee decided to extent the Dečani Monastery by adding three religious complexes the Patriarchate of Peć Monastery, Gračanica Monastery and Church of the Virgin of Leviša. This site, now known as "Medieval Monuments in Kosovo", is inscribed on the List of World Heritage in Danger.

In the framework of the flagship program of the UNESCO Venice Office, "Art and Culture at the Service of Reconciliation", Serbia participates in various workshops, conferences and seminars devoted to enhancing cooperation and dialogue between countries of South-East Europe through the restoration and conservation of their cultural heritage. More specifically, Serbia has participated in the Third Ministerial Conference on Cultural Property in South-East Europe organized in Ohrid in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

### 2.3.2. European Union

The success of the European unification in the past fifty years has relied mainly on cooperation of political and economic character, while the cultural dimension has been generally neglected. With the signing of the Maastricht Treaty, the EU has embarked on the development of its cultural dimension. The "cultural clause", known as article 151, outlines an ambitious program for developing cultural cooperation within the Union and with third countries as well as the integration of cultural concerns into other fields of Community action. Ten years after the introduction of a cultural competence for the EU, the European Council has reiterated its support for the cultural dimension of European

integration, calling on Member States and the Commission “to regard culture as an essential component of European integration”.<sup>98</sup>

The European Union is a very successful example of how states that were once fiercely antagonistic towards one another can gradually transform their relations through increased interdependence and a sense of common fate. Often the argument is made that the Union lacks a common culture around which Europeans can unite, but in fact within the diversity of their cultures they share ideas, norms and values, which together constitute an abstract culture in which Europeans view each other as partners.

In 2000 European Parliament and the Council of Europe launched a five-year program called “Culture 2000”.<sup>99</sup> Program “Culture 2000” should be mentioned as a good example of a EU initiative, because it contains basic principles of cooperation between European countries in the field of culture and it has enabled many multilateral cooperation projects. The accent is put on the importance of “culture” for European unification and on the strengthening and promotion of European way of life, but also on the role of European culture in the process of globalization. Culture’s positive contribution to professional employment, especially of the youth, and the need for respect of “minor” languages and cultural groups within the Union is also underlined, as well as the wish for cooperation in the field of culture with countries of central and eastern Europe and Cyprus. “Culture 2000” was supposed to end in 2004, but it was extended for another two years until 2006, and its main objectives were promotion of intercultural dialogue and equal understanding of culture and history of European peoples, strengthening of creative activities and cooperation between artists and other cultural institutions, strengthening of new cultural expressions and organization of symposia and seminars on European history and culture, of music, theatre, visual arts, literary festivals, and exhibitions, language learning, use of Internet and modern equipment in schools etc. The initial amount envisaged for this program was 167 million euros.<sup>100</sup>

“Culture 2000” granted support to 1078 cultural co-operation projects, which involved operators from three countries or more, and 406 grants were given to publishers

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<sup>98</sup> D.Dodd, M.Lyklema, K.Dittrich-Van Weringh, *A Cultural Component as an integral part of the EU's Foreign Policy?*, Amsterdam, 2006

<sup>99</sup> EU has also launched programs such as “Kaleidoscope” and “Ariadne” in 1990’s.

<sup>100</sup> G.I.Christogiannis, *Ελληνική πολιτιστική διπλωματία*, Athens, 2002:115

in support of literary translations, finally amounting 213,3 million euros during six years. The 1078 projects were composed of 921 annual, which received an average of 117 thousand euros, and 157 multi-annual ones, which received 681 thousand euros.<sup>101</sup> Greece won 24 annual projects and 7 multi-annual ones, while 11 cultural organizations from Serbia <sup>102</sup> out of 63 cultural organizations from non-member, non-accession countries in Eastern Europe had the opportunity to be included as co-organizers or associates in “Culture 2000” projects. With 51 translation grants (9,5%) Greece leads the list (followed by 45 Italian and 41 Norwegian projects), and it is represented by nine publishers respectively among the frequent winners (*Agra, Apgads Atena, Travlos, Polis, Kastaniotis, Alexandria, Patakis, etc.*).<sup>103</sup> Out of 493 instances of eastern cooperation in western projects in seven years, Greece has had 14 couplings, on 12 projects<sup>104</sup> out of 31 in total (38,7%), and its cooperators were from Bulgaria (on 6 occasions), Poland (on 2 occasions), Estonia (2), Czech Republic (1), Romania (1), Slovakia (1) and Slovenia (1)<sup>105</sup>. However, the 58 instances of cooperation reached by Austrian organizations have been established within the framework of 38 projects, which represent impressive 53,5% out of the total 71 projects that the country initiated over the seven years (Italians engaged eastern co-organizers in 33,5% of their projects by making 101 couplings).<sup>106</sup> On the other hand, out of 191 instances of western cooperation in eastern-led projects, Greece has made 2 couplings with Hungary and 3 couplings with Romania (2,6%).<sup>107</sup>

A new culture specific program for the budgetary period 2007-2013 might bring about some modest improvements, but the EU’s administrative rules and practice remain at odds with the modus operandi, tempo and customary cash flow of many cultural operators in Europe and the total sum of 408 million euros, reserved for 2007-2013, corresponds in no way to the needs, interests and ambitions of operators in 27 countries

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<sup>101</sup> *Culture 2000 under Eastern Eyes*, A statistical analysis, Budapest, 2007:4

<sup>102</sup> In 2000-0, in 2001-0, in 2002-1, in 2003-3, in 2004-4, in 2005- 2, in 2006-1, which puts Serbia on the third place, behind Russia (17) and Croatia (15).

<sup>103</sup> *Culture 2000 under Eastern Eyes*, A statistical analysis, Budapest, 2007:30

<sup>104</sup> Out of 348 projects where western leaders chose eastern co-organizers in seven years, Greece has had 12 projects (3,4%), 5 of them being in the field of heritage, 3 in the field of performing arts, 1 in the field of visual arts and 1 in the field of literature.

<sup>105</sup> Greece hasn’t made couplings with Hungary, Latvia and Lithuania.

<sup>106</sup> *Culture 2000 under Eastern Eyes*, A statistical analysis, Budapest, 2007:13

<sup>107</sup> Out of 191 instances of western involvement in eastern-led projects by target country, Denmark had 37, Italy had 30 couplings, France had 27, UK 21, Austria 20, etc.

of the EU and their colleagues in candidate states (Croatia, Macedonia, Turkey) and in countries of the European Economic Area (Iceland, Norway and Switzerland). (Klaic, 106)

Much of the EU budget lies in the so called structural funds, which aim to reduce the disparity of socio-economic conditions in which EU citizens live, as measured per region rather than by country. Before 2004, Greece, Spain, Portugal and Ireland profited greatly from these funds used for their infrastructural development, urban revitalization and some rural investment. The expectation is that much of the flow of those funds will shift towards the new member states in Central Europe, but that the funds available will yield fewer euros per habitant, require more national resources and be run on a stricter regime criteria.... Since those funds seek to improve conditions in a given region, they cannot have a direct benefit for international cultural cooperation. But they could help develop or revitalize facilities (cultural centers, residencies, venues, museums, etc.) that may in turn one day be engaged in international cultural projects. (Klaic, 108)

Within the European framework, the Serbian Ministry decided to participate actively in all the programs relevant to the region such as MOSAIC and the Integrated Rehabilitation Project Plan; the latter conducting a survey of the architectural heritage (2003-2006), establishing the PIL (Prioritized Intervention List) and working on a feasibility study for the creation of an Institute for Conservation and Restoration. The Ministry is also implementing projects within the framework of the CARDS program (INTERREG III).

### 2.3.3. Council of Europe

Council of Europe was founded in 1949 aiming to promote closer relations between its members and to foster European political and cultural heritage. As a part of Western Europe, Greece is one of the members, along with Cyprus, Turkey, Serbia and some other eastern European countries. Treaties that are signed within the framework of the Council of Europe consider human, cultural and social problems.

Serbia became the 45th member of the Council of Europe on April 3, 2003.<sup>108</sup> After the handover of the chairmanship from San Marino, the Republic of Serbia held the Chairmanship of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe during the period May – November 2007, under the slogan “One Europe, Our Europe”.<sup>109</sup> The Serbian Chairmanship was marked by numerous events<sup>110</sup>, organized in Strasbourg, Serbia<sup>111</sup> and around Europe, with the main goal of promoting the core values of the Council of Europe, such as human rights, democracy and the rule of law, as well as enhancing the security of persons (especially combating terrorism, organized crime and corruption), building a more humane Europe towards more active participation of all citizens through fostering of European identity and unity based on shared fundamental values, and respect for our common heritage and cultural diversity. Also building the capacities of local communities and individuals and strengthening co-operation and good neighborly relations through full respect of values and implementation of the Council of Europe standards in South Eastern European countries thus fostering the European perspective of the Region.<sup>112</sup> Within the cooperation agreement with the Council of Europe, three conventions have been signed in September 2007: *European Landscape Convention*, *Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society* (Faro convention) and the *European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage* during the Central Celebration of the European Heritage Days in Belgrade.

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<sup>108</sup> In 2003 Serbia was still a member of the State Community of Serbia and Montenegro, which disintegrated in 2006. After the declaration of independence of Montenegro, the Republic of Serbia was accepted as a member on the next meeting of the Committee of Ministers.

<sup>109</sup> The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Council of Europe member states hold the Chairmanship of the Committee of Ministers, the executive body of the Council of Europe, on a rotating basis in alphabetical order, for a six-month term.

<sup>110</sup> *European Heritage Days*, European flag day, conference "Bringing Local and Regional Authorities Together for Greater Democratic Cohesion", 6<sup>th</sup> Ministerial UN Conference "Environment for Europe: Building bridges to the future", regional conference on "the protection of children against violence", seminar "Promoting democracy and active citizenship; the role of the NGOs and civic society", conference on *Durable Solutions for Roma Refugees, IDPs and Returnees in the Balkans*, Regional ministerial conference on intercultural dialogue, etc.

<sup>111</sup> During the period May – November 2007, Belgrade hosted several meetings of the Council of Europe principal bodies, notably the Bureau and the Standing Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly on 23-25 May 2007, the 1000th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies on 22 June 2007, the Sub-Committee on Cultural heritage of the Parliamentary Assembly on 21 September 2007 and the Sub-Committee on Refugees of the Parliamentary Assembly on 28 October 2007. (*Report on the Serbian Chairmanship of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe*, CM/Inf(2007)45 9 November 2007)

<sup>112</sup> *Report on the Serbian Chairmanship of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe*, CM/Inf(2007)45 9 November 2007

## 2.4. Bilateral cultural cooperation framework

The Greek approach to international cultural cooperation is informed by its history and heritage, its geopolitical position and regional relationships, as well as traditional policy commitments and major events affecting its recent and current priorities. International cultural relations, understood in the sense of relations in the arts and heritage, involve the Ministry of Culture. On the other hand, bilateral issues with Turkey, and with northern neighbors, are often within the scope of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Elements of cultural diplomacy involving inter-faith and religious instruments come under the authority of the Ministry of Education and Religious affairs. Special services, such as the General Secretariat of Greeks abroad, and the Special Service for Development and Cooperation, belong to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Institute of Intra-cultural Education is under the patronage of the Ministry of Education. The Hellenic Foundation for Culture is under the Ministry of Culture. Policies regarding the integration of economic immigrants, as well as of the Muslim minority and the Roma, are coordinated by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Public Administration and Self-Government, and involve the cooperation of local and regional government.

Another significant organ for promotion of the Greek cultural diplomacy, beside already mentioned ministries and institutions, are departments of classical and modern Greek studies in high educational institutions abroad. Classical studies are usually under the patronage of the adequate cultural institution abroad, while departments of modern Greek studies are financially supported from the Greek state budget, according to the number of their activities and the number of students. Those activities include teaching of Greek language and history, through lectures, student exchange, competitions and publications, which promote Greek literature. This kind of financial support is also provided for institutes abroad, which promote Greek culture, and usually are founded on the initiative of Greek communities abroad or dynamic temporary inhabited Greeks, such as Greek Institute for Post-Byzantine Studies in Venice, Centre Culturel Hellenique in Paris, Center of Greek studies in Alexandria of Egypt, Association des Amis de la Grece

in Paris, Griechisches Theater Wuppertal in Germany, Boston University ALEA III, Association Cultural Hispano-hellenica in Madrid, Greek Institute in London etc. These institutions organize theatrical plays and concerts, periodical publications, lectures and other cultural activities.<sup>113</sup>

## 2.5. Cultural cooperation in the public sector

### 2.5.1. (Inter) Governmental cooperation

Since 2000, responsibility for foreign cultural relations in Greece has been transferred from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Ministry of Culture. This concerns all major issues in bilateral cultural relations, such as the campaign for the restitution of the Parthenon Marbles. Nevertheless, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as well as the Ministry of Education, are involved together with the Ministry of Culture in running a large number of bilateral cultural agreements and programs, providing a framework for some actions in international cultural relations (mainly scholarships, exchange of personnel in the arts, etc.).

Bilateral cultural cooperation is based on bilateral agreements, signed by the governments of both countries, and programs, which include responsible ministries, such as the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Information and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with a coordinating role. Cooperation between the Republic of Serbia and the Republic of Greece in fields of education and culture has been conducted according to the *Agreement on cooperation in fields of science and culture*, signed in 1959 between the Federative National Republic of Yugoslavia and the Greek Kingdom. A proposition for a new agreement in the field of culture has been made in 2004 by the Serbian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but it still hasn't been commented and ratified by the Greek party. The Agreement from 1959 represents the legal basis for conclusion of periodical programs of cultural and educational cooperation, the latest of them being expired in 2004. There is a

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<sup>113</sup> G.I.Christogiannis, *Ελληνική πολιτιστική διπλωματία*, Athens, 2002:108

proposition for the new *Program for cooperation in fields of education and culture for the period 2006-2009*, which is still in the process of ratification, due to certain changes in Serbian legislation.<sup>114</sup>

The two governments signed the Agreement in Athens on June 18, 1959, with the aim to develop mutual cooperation in the above mentioned fields, convinced that it will strengthen the existing ally relations between the two countries. In the text of the Agreement it is emphasized that the governments will “encourage and support collaboration between institutions for scientific research, professional associations and cultural organizations, exchange of artistic performances and other cultural manifestations”.<sup>115</sup> Both sides will give certain benefits to scientific workers of the other party in terms of research and studies in institutes, archives, libraries and museums in their country. They will also encourage giving of scholarships and other forms of material help to scientific experts and artists of the other party, for the purposes of specialization and scientific research, as well as collaboration of radio and television stations and cinematographic institutions, according to the legislation of the respective countries. Monitoring and annual programmatization was assigned to the Commission of eight members, four of them being Greek and other four Serbian, elected by the corresponding governments.

This Agreement has a rather typical character, similar to other bilateral agreements of that time. Its rigid structure does not contain any specific attributes of a certain country, nor does it mention any foreseen financial support. However, it is a legal basis, which is automatically prolonged for a period of five years, after its first expiry date, five years after signing. Already mentioned programs concluded on this legal basis have a different character, because not only do they provide general conditions, but also financial conditions for cooperation, or in other words foresee certain reserved resources for realization of the program activities. These programs are the next step towards conclusion of new bilateral agreements, specially designed for each country and more

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<sup>114</sup> Direkcija za medjunarodnu kulturnu, prosvetnu, naučnu, tehnološku i sportsku saradnju, Ministarstvo spoljnih poslova Republike Srbije, *Informacija o kulturnoj, obrazovnoj i naučnoj saradnji sa Grčkom*

<sup>115</sup> *Uredba o ratifikaciji sporazuma o saradnji u oblasti nauke i kulture između Jugoslavije i Grčke*, "Službeni list FNRJ - Dodatak", br. 6/60

practical in terms of financial support. Programs are especially important in educational field, because of the details considering student exchange, while in the field of culture, for almost every bigger event or project a special contract is being made and signed, with all the conditions and necessary details.

In the *Program for cooperation in fields of education and culture for 2002-2004* signed between the Republic of Greece and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in Article 15, both governments state that they will “encourage further development of cooperation in fields of art and culture”, and, according to this, they will “encourage exchange of individuals, ensembles and exhibitions, as well as cooperation between organizations in fields of art and culture”.<sup>116</sup> In the following articles two parties are engaged to encourage exchange of 3-4 expert from different fields of art to a period of 7 days, exchange of publications in the field of culture, of writers and literary translators; to encourage cooperation between museums, publishing houses, artistic societies and associations, between institutions responsible for conservation, preservation and protection of cultural heritage (especially considering the treasures of the monastery Hilandar at Mount Athos and medieval monasteries on Kosovo), and between Belgrade Cinemateque and Greek film archive; to encourage organization of at least one exhibition of photography and ethnography, on each side, of different cultural manifestation, and to provide information and invite one another to organized events in fields of art and culture, etc. The Annex of the Program provides all the financial details on the occasion of exchange of people or exhibitions, where usually the guests cover the traveling costs, and the host finances their stay, costs of the program and gives daily payments.

#### 2.5.2. Cooperation through national cultural centers

As more advanced form of bilateral cooperation, establishment of a cultural center in the host country has become a common practice. The Hellenic Foundation for Culture operates under the supervision of the Greek Ministry of Culture. Since its foundation in

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<sup>116</sup> *Program saradnje izmedju Savezne Vlade Savezne Republike Jugoslavije i Vlade Republike Grčke u oblasti obrazovanja i kulture za 2002, 2003 i 2004. godinu*, Ministarstvo spoljnih poslova (MFA)

1992, the Hellenic Foundation for Culture has created Branches in Odessa, Alexandria and Berlin, and there are Offices of Representatives in London, Moscow, Vienna, Brussels, Washington and Beijing. In 2008, it is planned to found Hellenic Houses of Culture in Trieste, Belgrade, Bucharest, Tirana and Sofia, with priority development on the Balkans. It is active in organizing events aimed at promoting Greek language, literature, art and culture abroad, in producing publications that serve this same goal, and, in monitoring, evaluating and coordinating the study of Modern Greek abroad. The Foundation offers lessons in the Greek language, organizes cultural events, publishes books and has public libraries in the Branches. Signing of a special agreement that would define establishing and functioning of the new cultural centre of the Hellenic Foundation for Culture in Belgrade is expected.<sup>117</sup>

## 2.6. Cultural cooperation in the civil sector

### 2.6.1. Philhellenic societies - way to preserve cultural identity

Based on the chapter 1.11, it is possible to conclude that the Greek minority in Belgrade needed to find a way to preserve their cultural identity, to stay in touch with each other and with their “mother country”. One of those ways was through founding of different philhellenic societies, as a civil initiative, which exist and function to this day.

The descendants of families from Greek colony in Belgrade and the “newcomers” wanted to stick together, to help and meet each other, so they founded societies.

The first Greek society in Belgrade was founded in 1922. Its regular members were Greeks. There were twenty founders.<sup>118</sup> They would meet in one house in Sarajevska Street, in the centre of Belgrade, there they would read Greek press and books, celebrate “Blagovesti” and take care of their members. The World War II interrupted the work of the Society, and after the war its work was forbidden. The house

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<sup>117</sup> Founding of a cultural centre, although not specifically, is foreseen in the official Agreement from 1959.

<sup>118</sup> Mihailo Kukulides, Pavle Kacenik, Sima Basa, Thodor Papatheodorou, Janko Karamić, Periclis Barberi, Dimitrije Karamić, Djordje J. Karamić, Nikola Mucopulos, Rista Censtepulos, Nikola Kazandzis, Anastas Lazarević, Vasa Panaiotis, Panajot Delia, Panta Belojanić, Djordje Kacanin, Trandafil Trandafilović, Nikola Nusopulos.

belonged to the Greek Embassy. Not until 1996 did the Society under the same name and with same objectives continue its work.

The Society joined descendants of old Greek families, emigrants from the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (90%) and the students and businessmen, who came more recently (10%). Members of the “Riga Pheraios” Society mostly had Serbian last names (70%), which were made by adding *-ić* on the Greek basis, or by translation, or they were completely different. This change included receiving of Serbian citizenship, because of political or economical reasons. Most of the emigrants originally came from northern Greece. The Society was aware of the significance of language in preservation of ethnical identity, so it organized courses of Greek language for adults. They also had the idea to open a school for the youngest, which was not realized.

Even today the Society members gather in a small Greek church of the Belgrade Mitropoljy for Sunday services, for big Christian holidays, for celebration of “Blagovesti”, for national celebrations on 25<sup>th</sup> of March and 28<sup>th</sup> of October, etc.

#### 2.6.2. The Society of Serbian-Greek friendship

In the spring of 1991, in Belgrade was founded *the Society of Serbian-Greek friendship* on the initiative of a certain circle of people closely connected with Greece, either by their professional calling, either by their personal sensibility. The intention of this philhellenic Society was to recover or develop cooperation in cultural, scientific, spiritual and economic sphere, and to improve mutual understanding and create trust. Main objectives of the society were defined in its Statute (*Article 5*)<sup>119</sup> as the following:

- to promote and nourish cultural, spiritual, scientific, economic and other relations;
- to contribute to mutual understanding between two peoples;
- to participate in common actions and cooperate with organizations, institutions and individuals for the benefit of Serbian and Greek people.

The president of the Society was academic Dusan Kanazir, at the same time president of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU). The Executive Board of the Society formed a Secretariat as an operational body, which would meet once a week

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<sup>119</sup> *Glasnik Društva srpsko-grčkog prijateljstva 1*, Belgrade, 1991:10

in order to coordinate current businesses and follow the activities of the Society in all aspects, such as relations with Greece, relations with public media, founding of branches and relations with different societies, publishing, relations with economic organizations, tourism, relations with Greek students, etc. The Society published its yearly *Chronicle* (“Glasnik”), both on Serbian and Greek, which was at the same time a kind of promotional material.

It is important to have in mind that the early 1990s, the period when the Society started to function, was extremely difficult because of the political situation in the country. Lack of funding was one of the major problems for the Society, because the membership was relatively cheap, and considering the number of members, insufficient for covering of necessary costs. It basically depended on the sponsors from different fields that had interest from advertising on the “Greek market”, such as hotels, banks, transport companies, tourist agencies, etc., and their donations. For some ideas and projects it had to “wait for better times”, in order to accomplish them.

Nevertheless, already during the first year of its existence, *the Society of Serbian-Greek friendship* managed to make some significant steps within all its sections. It had almost 700 members. It published its second *Chronicle* and prepared other publications from organized cycles of lectures “Serbia and Greece in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century” and the other dedicated to professor Milos Djuric (see 1.10.). A press conference has been held in order to inform the public about these lectures. Some plans have been made in order to organize an exhibition of photography “A hundred years of Olympic photography in Serbia” in collaboration with the Serbian Olympic Committee in 1993. There were some meetings with the representatives of Greek students in Belgrade, so they would be familiar with the activities of the Society and aware of its readiness to help them during their studies. New branches of the Society have been founded in Pozarevac and Pancevo, and, in the first half of 1993, Sombor, Novi Sad, Arandjelovac, Topola, Gornji Milanovac, Indjija, Jagodina, Paracin, Negotin, Bujanovac, Cacak and Nis were expected to join them. A course of Greek language in the premises of the Society has initiated and 31 students attended it. First steps towards founding of a reciprocal Society of Greek-Serbian friendship in Athens have also been made, and its future founder participated in deliveries of humanitarian help from Greece for the people who have suffered the war in

former Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Society also helped a humanitarian concert, held in Sava Center, under the slogan “Greece sings for Serbia”, with famous Greek singers and folklore troop.

The next year, 1993, was even more difficult for the Society, but thanks to the enthusiasm and great efforts of its members it managed to survive. A new cycle of lectures about the relations between Greeks and Serbs in the 18<sup>th</sup> century has been held, and an appropriate press conference. The course of Greek language continued. Beside the usual poetic jubilees, the 125<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the opening of the Greek consulate in Belgrade has been celebrated in the City Hall with a large number of eminent guests. New branches were opened in Arandjelovac, Topola, Gornji Milanovac, Vrnjacka Banja, Cajetina, Indjija, Jagodina, Paracin, Nis, Sombor, Smederevo, Novi Sad, Sremski Karlovci, Babusnica and Beska. Planned exhibition of photography was postponed for 1996 and the Society changed its premises. Sending of humanitarian help from Greece was continued, which was probably one of the biggest tasks and the most important achievements of the Society.

Although the Society survived those difficult years, unfortunately, its fifth *Chronicle*, which was a double edition and referred to years 1995 and 1996, was published in 2004, because of already mentioned lack of resources. And the next one, which referred to 1997 and 1998, appeared in 2007. The first one was dedicated to the founding of the Department of Modern Greek Studies at the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade. The founder of the Department is professor Miodrag Stojanovic, one of the members and founders of the Society, classical philologist, historian of literature, translator and scientific advisor of the Balkanological Institute of SANU. The second one was dedicated to the 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Riga Pheraios’ death, to the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Dyonisios Solomos’<sup>120</sup> death and 160 years since publishing of the first Greek schoolbook in Serbia, written by Vukasin Radisic in 1837. Another issue, dedicated to 1999, has been prepared and waits for its time.

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<sup>120</sup> Dyonisios Solomos was a famous Greek poet. Lyrics of one of his poems became part of today’s Greek national anthem.

### 2.6.3. European cultural networks

Networks are a special type of connecting of individuals, groups or organizations, which in the field of cultural management also represent a form of international cultural cooperation. In the field of cultural policy, network represents “a response of the civil sector to the state controlled and hierarchically organized international cooperation, which gave priority to national institutions, and neglected projects, artists and individual initiatives”.<sup>121</sup> They first appeared during the 1980s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when a recruited cultural infrastructure in many countries started to organize international manifestations independently from “national centers”. Wishing to communicate with each other directly, cultural workers founded the first European cultural network, called Informal European Theater Meeting (IETM). By the 1990s networks became the only form of modern international organizing independent from state and international bureaucracy, very much appreciated by the European Union and the Council of Europe, which by 2000 founded and supported networks in practically every domain of arts and culture. They recognized in the networks an immense potential for development of the European cultural space as well as European identity. The Council of Europe created the Forum of European Cultural Networks, which has as objectives to allow mutual acquaintance and cooperation between European networks and to define new cultural policy strategies, with network as one of the key elements. The best known European networks in the field of culture, besides IETM, are European Forum for Arts and Heritage (EFAH), European Network of Cultural Administration Training Centers (ENCATC), European League of Institutes of the Arts (ELIA), Association for Manuscripts and Archives in Research Collections (AMARC), etc.

Joining some of the European cultural networks represents the most efficient way to seek appropriate partners for international cooperation. The Hellenic Foundation for Culture is a member of the European Union National Institutes for Culture (EUNIC), which represents a partnership of national institutions for culture, engaged beyond their national borders and operating with a degree of autonomy from their governments. The

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<sup>121</sup> M.Dragičević Šešić, B.Stojković, *Kultura-menadžment, animacija, marketing*, Belgrade, 2004:346

EUNIC membership currently includes organizations from 19 EU countries and it is intended that this will grow in time to include national institutes for culture from all the member states.<sup>122</sup> It is an attempt to seed networks and stimulate consortia forming. The total operating budget of the current EUNIC membership is 2.2 billion euro a year.

The purpose of EUNIC is to create effective partnerships and networks between the participating organizations, to improve and promote cultural diversity and understanding between European societies, and to strengthen international dialogue and co-operation with countries outside Europe. Besides HFC, other members of the EUNIC Europe are also Alliance Française, British Council, Goethe- Institut Zentrale, Instituto Cervantes, Estonian Institute, Culture Ireland, Det Danske Kulturinstitut, Lietuyos Institutas, etc.<sup>123</sup>

## 2.7. Cultural cooperation in the private sector

There are hundreds of private foundations across Europe, set up by reach families and private business corporations and in some exceptional cases by governments themselves. Greek tycoon family foundations, such as Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation and Lambrakis Foundation, are examples of international cooperation, not only in the field of culture.

The Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation is simultaneously a charitable organization and a multibillion-dollar empire, which grants scholarship money and funds philanthropic projects. According to the Will of the late Aristotle Onassis<sup>124</sup>, the Public Benefit Foundation's purpose is to provide funds in fields of medicine,

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<sup>122</sup> With the resources of these institutions working more closely together, EUNIC will have an impressive reach: its members have more than 50,000 staff, working out of 8,000 offices, in more than 200 countries. And it is set to grow, with the intention that membership will include the national institutions from all 27 EU member states.

<sup>123</sup> EUNIC operates at two complementary levels. The first level consists of the heads or director-generals of the national institutions. The second level comprises clusters of national institutions for culture, based in cities across Europe, co-operating together in common projects. EUNIC Brussels represents both the first and second levels.

<sup>124</sup> Established in 1973 by Aristotle Onassis in memory of his beloved only son, Alexander Onassis, it is based in Liechtenstein, with main offices in Athens.

education, literature, religion, science, journalism, art, and exploration. Furthermore, it seeks to promote and encourage Hellenic culture and studies.

In 1994, the Foundation launched a new program for the awarding of Cultural Prizes to winners of International Competitions.<sup>125</sup> The prizes for all four Cultural Competitions (theatre, music, choreography and painting) are accompanied by a monetary award. As an appreciation of the work performed by University Chairs dedicated to Hellenic Studies outside of Greece and the difficulties encountered by them, the Foundation extends its support, either independently or in association with other institutions involved in similar activities, to established University Programs of Greek Studies which have accomplished important and consistent work. The Foundation has sent Greek philological and literature books to academic university chairs abroad. Also, libraries and schools of the Greek communities are offered basic books, teaching manuals for the Greek language and technical equipment with an emphasis on those communities under adverse conditions. In November 1996, within the frame of promoting the Hellenic civilization outside of Greece, the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation funded the construction, equipment and operation of a library dedicated to Ancient Greek and Roman Art in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, which has been operating since 2000. This project was named “The Onassis Library for Hellenic and Roman Art” in the Department of Greek and Roman Art as a part of the Museum’s general ambitious plan to renovate and present the restored halls for Ancient Greek and Roman Art.

In addition to its permanently-established operating programs, the Foundation has provided important financial aid to many cultural, medical, educational and environmental activities in Greece and abroad, and has also substantially supported separate projects, such as grant to the Greek National Gallery for the purchase of "Saint Peter" and "The Entombment of Christ" by Domenikos Theotokopoulos (El Greco), donation for the relief of refugees and victims of conflicts in the Balkans (Serbia-Kosovo) through the Athens and Albania Holy Diocese respectively, restoration of the

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<sup>125</sup> The first International Competition, for the composition of an original work for theatre, was held in 1997 and the second in 2001, when the Foundation decided to establish two more International Competitions, one for original music for choreography, and one for original choreography. In 2003, the Foundation announced an International Competition for an original painting. (See [www.onassis.gr](http://www.onassis.gr))

bell tower of St George's Church at the Institute of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Studies in Venice, financing of the creation of the "Aristotle Onassis" Cultural Park at the Athens Concert Hall, complete renovation of the Orthodox Church of Evangelism in Alexandria of Egypt, humanitarian aid for earthquake victims in Mexico (1986), Armenia (1988), India (1993), Iran (1997), Turkey (1999), India (2001), Peru (2001), Iran (2003) and Southeast Asia (2004), grant to the Greek State for the relief of earthquake victims in Greece (1999), financial support to the victims of the terrorist attack of the 11th September 2001 in USA, Onassis Cardiac Surgical Centre in Athens, construction of a school in Buenos Aires, support of the American Hospital in Paris, creation of a specialized medical library and database for the rehabilitation of the disabled at the K. Abu Raya Rehabilitation Centre in Ramallah of Palestine, and many others.

Increase of economical parameters and improvement of the public image represent an attractive 'bait' for private companies interested in penetration of foreign markets, or in better sales on their national market. On the other hand, cultural richness represents an important factor for increase of foreign trade, followed by the influx of foreign capital to the country. In other words, participation of private stakeholders in cultural life, either in form of investment or sponsorship, and representation of their country abroad are ways to conduct cultural diplomacy.

Today, penetration of the private sector in cultural production is becoming one of the most important phenomena. Benefactors, sponsors, donors, collectors are becoming more and more present. Therefore, the state should find ways to encourage private initiative by giving significant incentives to companies, institutions and sponsors in order to strengthen creative production of their citizens, in a framework that would guarantee public interest, quality and intellectual rights to the authors.

Two important examples of successful and fruitful cooperation between public and private stakeholders, which sponsored cultural activities within the framework of cultural diplomacy, were conducted by the Greek MFA with programs of cultural manifestations "Art-Union-Europe", organized during the Greek presidency in the Council of Ministers of EU, in 1994, and "Greece in Britain", organized during the

British presidency in 1998. Both programs had serious support and big influence not only within EU member states, but also in other countries. Greece succeeded to promote itself in the way it deserved, through culture and art.<sup>126</sup>

## 2.8. International cultural projects

### 2.8.1. Legacy of an artist

A practical example of international cooperation between Greek and Serbian artists, which resulted with numerous common projects, is the story of Velizar Krstic, professor on the Academy of Fine Arts in Belgrade and a successful artist, both in Serbia and abroad.

Led by his love and interest for the ancient Greek culture, Velizar Krstic found himself in Athens in 1979, supported by a scholarship from the Greek government, and, as one of rare foreign students, attended the Art Academy. Contacts and friendships he made during his stay on the Academy, as later turned out, were crucial for the development of future cooperation between the two countries in the field of art. In 1985, his friend Manolis Senadakis founded the Art Academy in Thessalonica and started intensive cooperation with professor Krstic and his students in Belgrade, in terms of mutual visits. Soon after, other Greek and Serbian professors joined the idea, despite the skepticism that existed. Due to the general political situation in Greece and its isolation, modern Greek artistic scene was unknown in Serbia, and the opposite with a few exceptions. On the other hand, modern art was merely emerging in Greece, so it didn't have renowned and popular representatives.

In time the Academy in Athens grew and enriched, so it was prepared to help its Serbian colleagues and their people in a crucial historical moment. During the Civil war in Bosnia in 1990s, thanks to the connections that professor Krstic made previously, it took care of the children from ex-Yugoslavia, by organizing their stay in Greek families for several months. Humanitarian aid and donations for artists, in terms of artistic

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<sup>126</sup> Z.Kosmidou, *Πολιτιστική διπλωματία*, ΒΗΜΑ, 30/08/1998, page B06

material, came from all across Greece. For the same cause, a very successful exhibition of children's drawings, journalistic photography and one installation was organized in 1993 in the city of Kapnomagazo by the Serbian party. Greek humanitarian spirit didn't disappear even during the bombing of Serbia in 1999. A bus full of artists from Greece came in that period and brought aid to the Artist Association in Belgrade. An amount of 30 thousand dollars was gathered from selling of 70 paintings of Greek artists, and given to the health centre "Majka i dete" for new modern technical equipment. When the political situation in Serbia was stabilized, the cooperation continued. Greek artists started coming to artistic residencies in Serbia, such as Sicevo or Deliblatski pesak, because they didn't have any. This cooperation became official when an appropriate agreement was signed between the University of Arts and the Aristotle University in Thessalonica, which predicted mutual exchange of students. Two students had the chance to stay in Greece or Serbia for three months, each semester, and the professors had the right to visit with ten other students.

The crown of all exhibitions was Serbian participation and special national presentation in the European Capital of Culture project, in 1997, when Thessalonica was elected to organize it. At that time Krstic was working as a visiting professor at the Academy in Thessalonica. In that period 90 artists from Serbia, including him, had the honor to exhibit their works in the premises of the Thessalonica Fair, and to promote their country. In the summer of 1997, Belgrade saw the first international exhibition for a long time, called *De Valigia*, at the first remaining platform of the Belgrade Railway station. *De valigia* was a project of 33 Yugoslav artists, within the framework of the Cultural capital of Europe, who presented their visions of suitcases - the journey or dream of a journey. Works of art were loaded on a train leaving Thessalonica, with Stockholm being its final destination, as the cultural capital of Europe in 1998. On other stations of its journey through Europe new railcars were supposed to be added. The concept of a suitcase and a train symbolized new art and cultural links, the artist as a free nomad without a country, optimistic concept of Europe without borders, visas and cultural barriers.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> M.Dragičević Šešić, *Borders and Maps in Contemporary Yugoslav Art*, available at [www.kultur.at/3house/verlag/jugo/text/sesic.rtf](http://www.kultur.at/3house/verlag/jugo/text/sesic.rtf)

During 1997, Greeks made their own Center for graphics, called “Ilios”, according to the already existing one in Serbia. Collections made in these workshops were later exchanged, but this time with Bulgarian participation. After the Biennale of graphics, which gathered artist from Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria, a period of Balkan connecting, cooperation and networking was initiated. Through this “friendly” approach Macedonia also joined the project, and the Balkan idea started to grow.

Professor Velizar Krstic still plays a significant role in this segment of Serbian-Greek cultural cooperation and continues to nurture this valuable friendship with the Greek people, who showed so many times his humanity and solidarity. “We were so close”, he says, “but still so far away. We didn’t really know each other, because of the dictatorship, the ideology, the Macedonian issue...” However, he believes that this connecting of people and artists can contribute to destroying of prejudices, lowering of Serbian vanity and creating of a realistic picture of our modern lives. “It is spreading of horizons, it is a public interest, not personal.”<sup>128</sup> The idea of a common project, Balkan Biennale, with artists from Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia, also continues to live and wait for a right moment to be realized to action.

#### 2.8.2. Intercultural exchange and cultural manifestations

In terms of realized forms of intercultural exchange in the recent period, there should be mentioned exhibitions of Vladimir Velickovic in 2004 and Marina Abramovic in 2007 in Athens, exhibition “Pirotski cilimi” (“Carpets from Pirot”) in Athens in 2005, performance of the ensemble “Renesans” on the occasion of project “Patras-European capital of culture 2006”, etc. In the field of literature, important was publishing of translations of the “History of Serbia” and “Serbian folk fairytales”, of novels “Tomb of Boris Davidovich” by Danilo Kis and “Time of wonders” by Borislav Pekic, which received a special prize for translation from the Greek association of translators. In 2007, a three-day manifestation dedicated to the culture on the Balkans, aiming to encourage cultural cooperation of Greece with its neighboring countries, was held in Athens, on

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<sup>128</sup> Conversation with professor Velizar Krstić, Belgrade, August 23, 2008.

which occasion the National theatre orchestra from Belgrade performed and thirty Serbian authors were presented.

In December 2007, in Athens the Belgrade Municipality signed a *Contract on cooperation in revitalization, conservation and reutilization of Nebojsa tower*<sup>129</sup> with the European centre for Byzantine and post-Byzantine monuments (EKBMM) from Thessalonica. For this purpose, in 2008, the Greek Embassy in Belgrade donated 1,4 million euros. However, this project is still far away from realization, because of different ideas about the concept of its future functioning between Greek and Serbian sides.

In 2008, Greek soprano Dimitra Teodosiou performed as a guest in Belgrade National Theatre, on the occasion of 30<sup>th</sup> jubilee of Maria Callas' death. Serbia had its national stand on the 5<sup>th</sup> International Book Fair in Thessalonica, with the biggest number of publications after Greece. It is planned for Greece to be the honored guest of the Belgrade Book Faire in 2009 and to present at least ten new translations. The Greek Embassy in Belgrade organized a literary evening dedicated to Serbian translations of works of three biggest living poets Kiki Dimoula, Giannis Kodos and Giannis Varveris. It also supported promotion of the translation of the "Royal chamber" by Tassos Athanasiadis.

Greek artists are traditionally present on Serbian cultural manifestations, especially in Belgrade, such as BITEF, FEST, BELEF, BEMUS, Guitar Art Festival, Belgrade Book Fair, The Joy of Europe, October Salon, etc.

## 2.9. Language as a cultural policy instrument

Language is one of the basic instruments of cultural policy towards foreign countries, or, in other words, its promotion and spreading is one of the main tools of cultural diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy is a two-way process of communication, in which

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<sup>129</sup> Nebojsa tower is situated below the Kalemegdan fortress in Belgrade, and it represents the place where famous Greek revolutionary and poet, Riga Pheraios, was imprisoned and executed by the Turks. Thus, it is a valuable monument in terms of city's cultural memory.

one country represents its values to another country. Gifford Malone<sup>130</sup> pointed this out by saying:

“If we want to succeed in our intentions to come across understanding for our society and politics, first we have to understand motives, culture, history and psychology of the people that we want to communicate with, and, of course, its language.”

Through language learning programs and institutions, as well as support of infrastructure in form of cultural institutes, centers or forums abroad, some western European countries managed to enter foreign cultural scenes and to awake the interest among foreign citizens for their respective cultures. These are British and French models of cultural policy, where these countries occupy first places on the international scale, in terms of their financial support to cultural diplomacy activities. For example, 109 offices of the British Council, which promotes United Kingdom abroad through educational programs, language learning courses, art, science and different informative services<sup>131</sup>, received only from their Ministry of Foreign Affairs 136 million pounds in 2000-2001, 157 million pounds in 2002-2003, and 170 million pounds in 2003-2004.<sup>132</sup> On the other hand, 151 French cultural centers in 2000 received 237 million francs, with additional funds from donations of their embassies amounting another 157 million francs. The same year 219 offices of the *Alliance Française*, financed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, received 80 million francs of operational donations, 159 million francs for staff expenses, and other 7 million in immovable assets.<sup>133</sup>

In Serbia, teaching of modern Greek language is institutionally established at the Department of Modern Greek Studies at the Faculty of Philology of the University of Belgrade, founded in 1995. It is a Department of Modern Greek Language and Literature, which besides pure language and literature, in its study program also contains subjects like ancient and modern Greek history, ancient Greek language, laography, balkanology, etc. This Department contributes to cultural exchange, by sending of its students on

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<sup>130</sup> Vizomirski, Margaret Dž., Šnajder, Sintija P.: *Kulturna diplomatija*, Belgrade, 2006:7

<sup>131</sup> During 2000, British Council organized more than 3.000 artistic events abroad, and in 2002 it included 16.000 people in the process of exchange. (Vizomirski, Margaret Dž., Šnajder, Sintija P., 2006:98)

<sup>132</sup> Vizomirski, Margaret Dž., Šnajder, Sintija P.: *Kulturna diplomatija*, Belgrade, 2006:97

<sup>133</sup> Vizomirski, Margaret Dž., Šnajder, Sintija P.: *Kulturna diplomatija*, Belgrade, 2006:68

various and numerous scholarships all across Greece, where they attend summer language schools and their programs. It is also an authorized center for conducting of exams of modern Greek Language for foreigners, which are held on a yearly basis and under the supervision of the Greek Language Center in Thessalonica. On several occasions, the Department has organized seminars and conferences, which were attended by Greek and Serbian professors, colleagues, philhellenists, students and many others.

The modern Greek Language is being taught for twenty years in the Department of Classic Studies of the Faculty of Philosophy of Belgrade, as well as in five municipal schools, at the same time with the Ancient Greek Language. Since 2000, the modern Greek language is also taught in the Department of Slavic Studies of the University of Nis, and in 2007 it was introduced, as a course for employees, in the Diplomatic academy of the Serbian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, with the support of the Greek Embassy in Belgrade. Except for the mentioned public institutions, classes of modern Greek are being conducted in a few private Institutes for foreign Languages.

In the same spirit, the Serbian language is taught in the Department of Balkan, Slavic and Eastern Studies of the University of Macedonia and in the Department of Balkan Studies of the Aristotle University of Thessalonica. In 2007, a decision has been made that the Department for Slavic Languages is to be founded at the University of Athens, and its first student are to be enrolled in 2008/2009.

Another institution, which will give the opportunity to wider public to learn Greek language, will be the Cultural Centre of the Hellenic Foundation for Culture in Belgrade. It is supposed to promote the already developed relations between the two countries in the field of education. It will have departments for learning of Greek Language and cultural events are to be organized in collaboration with the local educational and cultural institutions. Its official opening is expected in November this year, and it is intended to be integrated, as a multifunctional type of institution, in the cultural life of Belgrade and to be a cell of cultural progress and cultural cooperation.

### III INSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM

#### 3.1. Current situation and operational framework

Establishment of cultural centers in the host country has become a common practice for countries aiming to strengthen the existing aspects of bilateral cooperation. In that sense, since 1992, the Hellenic Foundation for Culture has been quite active and efficient organ of the Greek cultural diplomacy, considering the number and the geographical position of its branches and offices across the world, as well as their programs and activities. Cities where branches are situated are cities that have had for decades a significant Greek minority percentage, while the offices represent spreading of the network across Europe to other continents. The latest development strategy is oriented towards the Balkans, which for Greece represent an area of common historical and cultural heritage, on one hand, and an interesting new market full of economical potentials on the other.

Considering the shared past that Greece and Serbia, especially Belgrade, have, which has been elaborated in the first chapter, one could wonder why did Belgrade have to wait for a Greek cultural centre for so long. What are the reasons for such undertake to take place in this particular moment? The answer is not so difficult if one bears in mind the turbulent times and the transition period, which marked the last two decades in the western Balkans. Beside the difficult political circumstances and often changes of regimes and governments (which included different political parties), economical factors also played their role. Establishment of a cultural centre certainly requires significant financial resources and careful strategic planning. As public institutions national cultural centers are entitled to resources from the state budget, or more precisely to the percentage destined to the field of culture. In Greece, this percentage is very low; it is less than 2%.

The same reasons could explain why Serbia has only one national cultural centre abroad, the one in Paris, with less than 1% of its budget destined to culture.

Official opening of the Foundation's office in Belgrade is expected to occur on November 6, 2008, and it will be dedicated to the great Greek poet Constantine Cavafy. However, its establishment and functioning will be defined in a special bilateral agreement, which will be signed between the two governments. This technicality is still in process, because of the ongoing changes in the Serbian legislation, as well as the recent change of authorities, whereas the Ministry of Culture took over the complete responsibility over the cultural centers. The future agreement will automatically provide the possibility of opening a counterpart cultural-informative centre in Greece.

As in other foreign cultural-informative centers in Belgrade, it is almost obligatory that the Centre organizes language learning activities. However, modern cultural centers have the possibility to expand the spectrum of their activities to the maximum, and create competition among other city's cultural centers, while the first ones, such as French Cultural Centre and British Council started as information centers, which only provided books and press materials on their native language. For instance, during the 1970s, according to the authorities given in the first signed bilateral agreements, language courses in the British Council were conducted only for special groups (businessmen, exchange students and workers) free of charge, since this activity as such was considered as competitive for domestic private language institutes. Profit made out of language courses could have been invested only in development of the center's activities in the host country, but not as a source of incomes for the foreign country.

It is expected that the Greek Cultural centre will intensify the existing cultural cooperation between Greece and Serbia. In order to find its place on the city's cultural scene, it would be recommendable that it uses full range of its activities, intensifying the events, which would serve the existing positive image of Greece in Serbia, and which would emphasize the existing cultural ties and cultural memory between two peoples. In those terms, the first planned activity of the Centre, the exhibition "Stolen history" about the stolen treasures from the countries with ancient civilization, is beyond any doubt the right choice.

### 3.2. General institutional profile of the Hellenic Foundation for Culture (HFC)

The Hellenic Foundation for Culture (HFC) aims at promoting of Greek culture and disseminating of Greek language throughout the world. The HFC carries out its activities through branches in Alexandria, Berlin and Odessa, through offices of representatives in London, Moscow, Vienna, Brussels, Washington and Beijing as well as in other cities and countries through cooperation with cultural and educational institutions engaged in activities relating to the Greek culture. The HFC coordinates exhibitions, concerts, lectures, dramas and other major cultural events and promotes Greek artists abroad, including cultural months and weeks, anniversary celebrations, film festivals, concerts, etc. The Foundation also plans and coordinates the participation and representation of Greece in international cultural events (i.e. major visual arts exhibitions, International Book Fairs etc), and publishes books relating to its activities, both in Greek and other languages. It also collaborates with museums, universities and with other cultural centres and bodies, both in Greece and abroad to plan and develop additional Greek related cultural programs. Furthermore as a legal body, HFC is entitled by the Greek Ministry of Culture to negotiate and sign multicultural agreements following the Greek cultural policy goals and to implement these agreements accordingly.

The HFC is a member of the European Union National Institutes for Culture (EUNIC), which represents a partnership of national institutions for culture, engaged beyond their national borders and operating with a degree of autonomy from their governments.

HFC is also the head of the Greek National Network of the *Euro-Mediterranean Anna Lindh Foundation for the Dialogue between Cultures*, working to promote intercultural dialogue between Greek organizations active in this field and their counterparts in the Euro-Mediterranean region. It also participates in the project “*Small languages, great literature*”, which supports translation of South European literature into popular European languages.

### 3.3. Organizational structure

The Hellenic Foundation for Culture has been founded as public institution under the patronage of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1992. Since 2002, it lies under the patronage of the Ministry of Culture and its organizational structure is precisely defined, with its established hierarchy and decision-making process. The character of this structure is predominantly vertical and it includes:

- The Executive Board, which has the exclusive responsibility of organizing, recruiting and managing the institution and its Annexes and submits an annual report over HFC's priorities and activities for discussion to the authorized parliamentary committees.

- The Executive Secretariat, which mission is to assist the Executive Board in its work and is based on a logical division of internal bodies – departments.

The President of the Executive Board is actually the key person of HFC and he plays a crucial managerial and coordinating role.<sup>134</sup> He is the personal choice of the Minister of Culture in accordance with the Prime Minister's wish, while the Board is substantially recruited following his proposals and preferences. The current President of the Executive Board is Georgios Babiniotis, professor of Linguistics and ex Rector of the University of Athens.

The corresponding person of Executive Board's President, in terms of management and coordination, on the level of Annex is the Director, who is directly referred to the Executive Board for approval of the program planning and the financial review or for legal consultation. He is assisted by the Vice Director who is in charge of

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<sup>134</sup> Initially there was a General Assembly, which had an exclusively advisory role over the HFC's activity, planning and strategy and was meeting in plenum regularly on an annual basis, while every four years was electing the new Executive Board and was adopting the administrative and financial report of the previous Board and the budget of the next. The General Assembly was being constituted by regular, honorary and corresponding members, all of them granted to participate as recognition of their exceptional activity in the field of arts and sciences or of their offer to society. Soon this General Assembly was lost its electoral right, which was granted to the political power and gradually was declined falling into negligence.

the library and the educational issues, the Secretary who is in charge of the documentation and his local Assistant who is in charge of the communication with local society. Additionally there are some occasional external collaborators in organising cultural events.

This is a typical organizational structure for a public institution, quite inflexible to comply with international activity. In general terms, the decision-making process and typical internal flow of communication follow these time demanding bureaucratic channels. Nevertheless the most serious organizational anomaly is the personnel shortage in local level, regarding managerial, program and artistic responsibilities.

### 3.4. Decision making process

Decision making process is arranged in detail by the Article 19 of Law 2026/1992 and its following amendments and it is subjected to firmly established procedural provisions. The matrix of the decision making process is time demanding and it is performed on local and central level. The Director receives artistic and scientific proposals, submitted directly to him, concerning the program drafting and he is the only one to decide whether or not these proposals are in accordance with the Executive Board's standards. The activities program and financial reviews are defined on the Annex's level and they are forwarded to the Executive Board to be debated, eventually modified, approved or rejected. Program's approval is a necessary premise, because its realization depends exclusively on the headquarters' budget, except if realization is feasible on a no budget basis or can be achieved through reorienting a part of the general expenditures budget.

The decision making process has to follow the organizational chart regarding the President of the Executive Board in central level and the Director of the Annex or office in local level. Despite their ability to consult each other, they perform a highly centralized coordinating role, illustrated in the final decisions. Otherwise this apparently inevitable practice could be avoided if additional governing or consultative bodies were established. In central level it also seems crucial that the Executive Board constitutes a rather

lethargic decision making body, whose members participation has to conform with their main activities (all members of the Board are eminent personalities from cultural or scientific sphere).

In current practice there is an ongoing debate over prioritization and proportionality of selected cultural activities in terms of national versus international, multicultural versus intercultural, heritage versus modern cultural production, scientific versus artistic, literature versus visual arts, verbal versus visual. This debate reflects the role that the relevant educative origins of the coordinating persons play in defining the programmatic mission. However, the drafted policy of the decision-making process should be coordinated with each Annex or office's special socio-cultural circumstances.

### 3.5. Delegation of duties and responsibilities

The initial hierarchical structure of HFC has been modified and it became even more centralized. The Ministry of Culture performs a detached supervisory role over HFC, while the Executive Board consists of the President, the Vice-President, the Treasurer and ten members<sup>135</sup>, nominated by the Ministry of Culture for a period of four years. They meet regularly on a monthly basis in order to discuss institutional policy priorities; to adopt, modify or reject the Annexes' reports and programs and to coordinate and monitor the programs' functioning. The President plays a crucial role in the Executive Board, since he has the exclusive authority to represent the institution publicly, to gather the members of the Executive Board, to enter and present issues for discussion, to implement the decisions, to control and supervise the whole institutional structure and its human resources, referring himself directly to the Minister of Culture.

The Executive Secretariat assists the Executive Board, without any decision making power. It just has an advisory role and employs 27 persons. It consists of the following bodies:

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<sup>135</sup> Two of the members function as representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs.

- Financial Service and Personnel Department, which supervises all financial and accounting procedures, as well as possible reorganization of employment positions in HFC and its Annexes.

- Programming Department, which has the responsibility of elaborating the submitted program proposals, ensuring that these proposals correspond to the overall institutional image and its financial potentials.

- International Relations Department, which initiates cooperation of headquarters and Annexes with the Greek Diaspora, the diplomatic authorities and international cultural networks. For the time being this department is directly involved with the HFC's expansion to the Balkans through establishing Hellenic Houses of Culture in Belgrade, Bucharest, Sofia and Tirana respectively.

- Publications and Information Department, which is responsible for publishing activities and multimedia projects (presentations, book promotions).

- Press Office, which works for the promotion of the institutional profile and its programs by providing information through press bulletins and web site updating, distributing brochures and press material, organizing press conferences etc.

- Scientific and Educational Affairs Section, which provides scientific and educational assistance and consultation concerning HFC's activities.

- Supplies Department.

Only the Director of the Annex or office is appointed directly from the headquarters and has the main responsibility of planning, decision-making, coordinating of programs and accounting. The other employees are considered as local staff, their wages being paid from the central service. The first two being of Greek origin are the Vice Director and the Secretary. Other employees are usually of local origin, and they function as the connecting link with the local society, facilitating the communication with local authorities and cultural stakeholders, as well as the premises' maintenance and of events' technical assistance. There are also external collaborators, employed on a non-regular basis and paid from the Annex or office's budget, who are usually teachers of Greek language or assistants for special events.

Over viewing this delegation of responsibilities, an adequate number of new personnel is needed in order to alleviate and divide logically and effectively duties, as

well as new fields of activities, which would be conducted in a stimulating way, such as marketing activities. This new energy could constitute a creative and productive element for the institution. It would also be of great importance if new personnel would be well-equipped with experience and expertise in the fields of cultural policy and cultural management, so the old institutional practice of learning by doing and tailor made programming could be replaced with the strategic-project planning logic, based on the latest trends in cultural policy. Additionally, a flexible body should be shaped in order to conduct strategic planning and evaluate the work progress and the achievements of each Annex or office.

### 3.6. Information flow

#### 3.6.1. Internal information channels

Clear channels of information are necessary preconditions for high-quality decision-making. At the same time the information system has a communicative role, an information-analytical role, an archive and documentation role, and an internal monitoring and control role.

Corresponding to the organizational structure and running parallel to the procedural institutional functioning, informational flow within HFC is quite dynamic and based on a standard combination of officially written announcements with interpersonal e-mail and oral communication. In central level internal information exchange is carried out through the regular monthly meetings, functioning as tools for disseminating of the information and coordinating of the proposed activities. In local level the personnel members usually meet each other on a daily basis, exchanging ideas through informal meetings.

### 3.6.2. External information channels

In central level the Press Office is responsible for the external distribution of information. The most important tool for external communication is the HFC's web site. Its main concept includes documenting and memorizing of already performed cultural events. Furthermore, there is no sign of interaction with the audience, since there is neither applying possibility to the mailing list, nor any space for comments and proposals. The Press Office relies much more on traditional channels of information, such as press releases or conferences. Archiving and documentation function is carried out within each of the Departments, by creating adequate databases.

In local level there is a subdivision in HFC's web site concerning the Annexes and offices with their general description and contact information, but there is no updating over program information. Within their premises textual advertising material (booklets or leaflets) is usually being distributed. The institution should develop links with local newspapers and TV stations, not only on occasion of major events, while the monthly programs should be published in the local newspaper's cultural section, magazines, city cultural guides, tourist guides, etc., thus being accessible to the local population, tourists and foreign residents. Additional advertisement, including displaying of posters on its entrance and on billboards across the city, distributing leaflets on universities or other cultural centers, sending personal invitations and cultivation of ties with local journalists, cultural professionals, academics, key leaders, etc., is also very important. It should be incorporated in an adequate PR and marketing strategy, which would be implemented by a specialized local staff unit, according to the local market conditions and demands.

### 3.7. SWOT analysis

The following SWOT analysis table should be regarded as incomplete and merely illustrative, since it is based on the experiences of other HFC's Annexes and offices, in terms of general characteristics and policies. This especially refers to strengths and weaknesses, which are depending on internal factors of each institution. Having in mind that the Belgrade office is yet to be opened, it is still uncertain if the same policies and strategies will be implemented and in which degree (e.g. how many local people will be employed, under which terms, for what purpose, of which professional profile, what will be the final Center's visual identity after renovation, how it will be advertised, etc.).

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+ Multidisciplinary character of the institution (diversified program in the fields of science, cultural heritage, language, literature, theatre, music, cinema, visual arts)</li> <li>+ Uniqueness in offering Greek language classes for local population</li> <li>+ Activation in the publishing field for the dissemination of Greek literature among Serbian audience</li> <li>+ Opportunities for young local artists and performers to express their creativity</li> <li>+ Opportunities for intercultural exchange of individuals, ideas and artistic expressions</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Exclusive dependence on public authorities and public funds</li> <li>- Lack of financial sources diversification and fundraising or sponsoring activities</li> <li>- Predominance of tailor made programs and lack of strategically planned projects</li> <li>- Absence of concrete PR and marketing concept and of adequate competencies</li> <li>- Absence of commercial activities and visible identity (recognizable name, defined logo)</li> <li>- Lack of monitoring and evaluation bodies</li> <li>-Lack of local staff</li> </ul>

OPPORTUNITIES	THREATS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>+Developing cultural policy in Belgrade</li> <li>+Growing number of foreign foundations and programs as a result of the opening towards Europe and the World</li> <li>+Establishment of partnerships on regional and international levels</li> <li>+Development of cultural tourism in Serbia</li> <li>+Competitiveness in the Belgrade cultural sphere</li> <li>+ Active participation in cultural networks through partnership and collaboration</li> <li>+ Increased financial support</li> <li>+ Recruiting of new staff, particularly experts</li> <li>+ Expansion of activities</li> <li>+ Program orientation towards the elaboration of Greek contribution to the collective memory of Belgrade</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Still undefined cultural policy in Serbia and in the City of Belgrade</li> <li>-Degraded position of the cultural institutions in Serbia</li> <li>-A small number of private sponsors and foundations in Belgrade and Serbia to support cultural activities</li> <li>-Economically unstable situation in the country</li> <li>-Inadequate laws in cultural field</li> <li>-Competitiveness in the Belgrade cultural sphere among foreign cultural centres</li> <li>- Low participation of local population in cultural activities and predominance of Greek-speaking audience</li> <li>- Low media coverage of cultural events</li> </ul>

### 3.8. Institutional positioning

The HFC' Annexes and offices are multidisciplinary public cultural institutions, aiming at the promotion, presentation and dissemination of Greek culture and language, supporting and fostering cultural and educational events that facilitate this goal. The spectrum of cultural activities covers the fields of cultural heritage, language, literature, theatre, music, cinema and visual arts (including painting, sculpture, installations, multimedia and photography).

The map covers the usual activities of the HFC's Annexes and offices, with special attention to the activities in the Annex of Alexandria, and of other organizations, institutions or societies in Belgrade, in all three sectors, which are operating in the same fields. The first horizontal line shows the main activities of the Annex.

HFC – Office in Belgrade	Cultural heritage promotion	Foreign languages teaching and education	Visual arts presentation and dissemination	Spectacular arts (cinema, music, theatre)	Animation / Communication
Public sector	National Museum Ethnographic Museum Museum of Contemporary Arts (MSU) Konak knjeginje Ljubice Konak kneza Milosa Historical museum of Serbia Museum 25.maj Military Museum House of Legates Historical Archive of Belgrade Institute for protection of monuments of culture of the City of Belgrade	Faculty of Philology of Belgrade Faculty of Philosophy of Belgrade Goethe Institute French Cultural Centre British Council The American Information Centre The Italian Institute for Culture Institute Cervantes City Library National Library	National Museum Museum of Contemporary Arts (MSU) The Salon of MSU Museum of Applied Arts Students' Cultural Centre Cultural Centre of Belgrade Cultural Centre Dom Omladine Art Pavilion Cvijeta Zuzoric Foreign Cultural Centres	Sava Centre Philharmonic Orchestra Kolarac The Musical Youth of Serbia Kinoteka Public commercial cinemas Foreign Cultural Centres National Theatre Yugoslav Drama Theatre Belgrade Drama Theatre Atelier 212 Terazije Theatre	Newspapers Politika <a href="http://www.beograd.org.yu">www.beograd.org.yu</a> <a href="http://www.art.magazin.co.yu">www.art.magazin.co.yu</a> Srpski kulturni magazin <a href="http://www.glasnik.org">www.glasnik.org</a>

Civil sector		Society of Serbian-Greek friendship	Remont O3one Gallery Centre for Cultural Decontamination Cultural Centre Rex	'Dah' Theatre	Ludus magazine
Private sector		Private educational centers	Free lancer artists Gallery Beograd Gallery Pero Gallery District Gallery Zepter Art Point Gallery	Private commercial cinemas, music clubs Madlenianum	<a href="http://www.nadlanu.com">www.nadlanu.com</a> <a href="http://www.yellowcab.co.yu">www.yellowcab.co.yu</a> <a href="http://www.cityfocus.co.yu">www.cityfocus.co.yu</a> <a href="http://www.popboks.com">www.popboks.com</a> TV Art Radio-TV B92
Professional associations			Gallery of the SANU Gallery of the ULUS Singidunum Gallery (of ULUPUDS) Gallery of the Faculty of Fine Arts		

Over viewing the map, it is possible to conclude that the future Greek Cultural Centre has a lot of competitors in fields of visual arts presentation and dissemination, and of 'spectacular arts'. This fact requires careful and strategic program selection that would differentiate the Center's cultural offer from the competition's, but that would simultaneously be directly connected with HFC's aims of promotion of Greek heritage and culture. On the other hand, despite the representative number of foreign cultural centers in Belgrade, which are engaged with language learning and other informative and educational activities, the distinctiveness of Greek language and the raising demand for

its knowledge among the local population gives the opportunity to the Centre to attract a significant audience attention.

### 3.9. Strategic planning

In order to better position itself on the Belgrade's cultural scene, Greek Cultural Centre should choose and implement adequate strategies. The first step is to engage adequate cultural professionals that would carry out a detailed strategic analysis, based on the institution's profile, and locate the positive and the negative key points. After the discussion, analysis and selection of developmental scenarios and corresponding strategies, the next step is making of a strategic plan of longer or shorter duration.

In the case of Greek Cultural Centre, according to examples of other offices, some of the potential strategies could be the strategy of diversification of financial resources, very often in cases of public institutions, the strategy of programs commercialization and the spread of services, the strategy of audience development and market expansion, the strategy of inter-sectorial linkage, the strategies of networking and orientation towards partnerships and co-productions, etc.<sup>136</sup> However, due to the lack of precise data about the future structure, program and organization of the Centre in Belgrade, these strategies will not be further elaborated, but they will serve only as an illustration and inspiration for the future strategic planners.

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<sup>136</sup> M.Dragičević Šešić, S.Dragojević, *Menadžment umetnosti u turbulentnim okolnostima*, Belgrade, 2005:102

## IV PERSPECTIVES FOR THE FUTURE

In the previous chapters was examined the long, rich and inspiring historical basis of cultural relations between Greece and Serbia, expressed through Greek presence in Belgrade's multicultural environment. Establishing of diplomatic relations in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century was a solid base and the first stage in the course of development of modern public diplomacy, which in time pointed out its cultural aspect and multiple benefits of its conduct. In time, practicing of cultural diplomacy, on both bilateral and multilateral levels, entered the agendas of states across the world, sometimes under different definition, but always with the same goals, including these two countries.

Nowadays, conduct of so-called international cultural cooperation provokes certain debates over its true meaning and objectives, so it can be interpreted both as national interest and international solidarity, wish for cognition and wish for influence, cultural interest and economical reasons, cultural interest and desire for better positioning and image of the country, depending on the point of view. At any case, it is important to overview some of the key elements of this cooperation in order to determine its potentials and create strategies for its promotion.

### 4.1. Cultural policy framework

Cultural diplomacy could also be treated as foreign cultural policy, or cultural policy towards countries abroad. In the previous chapter, it was pointed out that one of the highest priorities of Greek cultural policy is “promotion of international cultural cooperation and exchange as a tool for strengthening the relations of Greece with other countries, such as other EU member-states, neighboring countries, major international actors and countries with a strong Greek Diaspora, in the context of the goals of Greek foreign policy, and the pursuit of synergies between cultural activities in Greece and abroad”. The mechanisms of its conduct are well developed and there

is a strong intension to create new strategies towards different areas of the world, such as the Balkans and Southeastern Europe.

According to the Compendium of cultural policies<sup>137</sup>, the necessary priorities for all levels of public policy making in Serbia, created in 2001, were “decentralization and désetatisation of culture, establishing an environment to stimulate the market orientation of cultural institutions and their efficient and effective work, setting a new legal framework for culture (harmonization with European standards), multiculturalism as one of the key characteristics of Serbian society and culture, re-establishing regional co-operation and ties, and active co-operation in pre-accession processes to the Council of Europe, European Union and World Trade Organization”. However, the above priorities were never officially approved in the Serbian Parliament.

In September 2007, the new Ministry of Culture has officially expressed its own aims and priorities, according to which the cultural system aims to guarantee the absolute freedom of artistic expressions, equality for all cultures in Serbia, preservation of cultural diversities and minority identities, respect for intellectual or artistic property and its European character. One of the main objectives has been defined as “internationalization of Serbian culture through active participation of artists and art works in different events, networking and collaborative arts projects, in the region, Europe and the world”.

Cultural diplomacy in Serbia is led independently by each level of government, sporadically, without plan or general concept, mostly based on traditional established links. Even existing contracts are not seen as an obligation for strategic actions, so cultural diplomacy is mostly merely responding to demands from abroad. It can be said that instruments of international cultural cooperation are not developed and used within certain strategies and programs.

It is very difficult to make an assessment of trends in public financial support for international cultural cooperation, because there is no specific budget line or current statistical data, and projects are supported through "disciplinary" categories. Therefore, it is not certain if they had an international component and if they got public financing for this component.

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<sup>137</sup> See [www.culturalpolicies.net](http://www.culturalpolicies.net)

## 4.2. Intercultural dialogue

Interculturalism as a component of cultural policy represents a philosophy and a practice of encouraging of equal development for different cultures through mutual exchange of different contents of cultures in contact. Policy of interculturalism encompasses pointing out of similarities and differences in different cultures, while guaranteeing their right on culture, on one hand, and acquainting with other cultures, while removing prejudices and stereotypes about others and yourself, on the other.

Despite the fact that intercultural dialogue represents one of the main trends and priorities of the European cultural policies, especially in countries with multicultural societies, it is not one specific issue or a priority of cultural or other policies in Serbia. It is mentioned in the discourse of international organizations only, and practiced in some NGOs. Therefore, it can be said that the main actors addressing the issue of intercultural dialogue are coming from the third sector associations, public institutions supported by international donors from the third sector, or, to a smaller extent, from the culture industries. There are no government programs to support trans-national intercultural dialogue, nor any specific government support for the trans-national activities of young people.

## 4.3. City branding and cultural tourism

The most important actor in international cultural cooperation is the city of Belgrade, creating and financing the most important international events in Serbia for each domain of art as well as for different generations and types of audiences. “The active role of municipal governments in international cultural cooperation (and not only in capital cities and capitals of major regions) reflects the fact that cities are entangled in mutual competition for tourists, investments, jobs, affluent individual and corporate taxpayers, both nationally and internationally. The cultural infrastructure and panoply of international cultural events taking place in a city are seen as indicators of quality of life,

as markers of overall climate and of the attractiveness of a city for creative individuals and dynamic businesses to settle in. City politicians would state that they support international cultural cooperation in order to advance young talent, attract it to the city and to enrich their own audience, especially in the cities of markedly multicultural demography. Here again, cultural developmental, social, economic and political motives become intermingled.” (Klaić, 2007:44) In this sense, Belgrade as a multicultural environment, active in the sphere of culture, has an immense potential to become an international cultural tourism destination, attracting masses of tourists and bringing significant income and attention to the national market, and a meeting point for international artists and cultural workers, creating a new European artistic scene and taking part in the process of cultural networking.

#### 4.4. Cultural management perspectives

According to Dragan Klaić’s opinion, cultural organizations expect that international involvement will make them better known and appreciated abroad, but also that it will endow them with some additional prestige at home, perhaps even strengthening their position within the cultural system, in their immediate environment. Nevertheless, he emphasizes that a cultural organization can expect to upgrade its own professional competence through international cooperation, learning from the manner in which other cultural organizations operate elsewhere. “Comparison, the power of example, innovative solutions, alternative models and practices may all be quite inspiring for both individuals and institutions involved. But even the very best cultural organization has sufficient reason to work internationally, not only in order to sustain its exemplary role and confirm it again and again, but as a matter of professional solidarity as well: by sharing some of its experience and offering its own ingredients of excellence to other peer organizations and individual professionals, thus contributing to the professional development of the field on an international scale.”<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> D.Klaić, *Mobility of Imagination*, Budapest, 2007:40

This is something that is most certainly applicable in the case of Greek and Serbian cultural organizations and institutions, one of them being the future office of the Hellenic Foundation for Culture in Belgrade. Once it is embodied in Belgrade's cultural life, it can strengthen its position not only through official communication with other domestic and foreign cultural institutions in Belgrade, but also through cooperation on common projects, exchange of experiences between their personnel, exchange of personnel itself, giving them the opportunity to visit foreign cultural institutions, joint educative seminars and trainings, participation in the same international cultural networks, and finally through conclusion of different short-term and long-term agreements on cooperation and exchange.

#### 4.5. From networking to finances

Networking has become a very popular strategy among cultural organizations across Europe (see 2.6.3.). Cultural organizations also sometimes engage internationally on grounds of economic needs and expectations. Mostly, they seek to find in the international arena the resources they cannot find at home, to advance their cultural aspirations and projects by connecting with potential partners who have additional means to help realize them. This pooling of resources on a European scale is a necessity for smaller, subsidized, not-for-profit organizations, but also for the commercially oriented cultural organizations, in film production, for instance, where the needed capital cannot be gained from a single source. Co-financing and combined investment are very basic forms of international cultural cooperation in both for-profit and not-for-profit sectors (Klaić, 2007:42-43). Therefore, networking would be a good choice of strategy for cultural organizations in Serbia as well, because it gives the opportunity of approaching EU countries from a cultural aspect, of using EU funds dedicated to culture and of establishing connections with colleagues across the world, which can result with exchange of experiences and ideas or more dynamic mobility of cultural operators.

#### 4.6. Recommending cultural policy guidelines

Based on the elaborated present situation coordinates and suggestions, adequate individual strategies should be developed, both on Greek and Serbian side, which would embody their common interests and perspectives in terms of their future cultural cooperation. In order to create these strategies, the two countries should revise and harmonize their cultural policies on national, regional and local levels. The main cultural policy guidelines, recommended to both Greece and Serbia, in the scope of international cooperation development would be:

1. Prioritization of international cultural cooperation and exchange in the context of goals of foreign policy;
2. Prioritization of intercultural dialogue in all sectors, as a path from multicultural coexistence to intercultural cooperation;
3. Creation of a general concept in leading of cultural diplomacy according to European standards;
4. Developing of instruments of international cultural cooperation and their use within certain strategies and programs;
5. Activation of municipal governments in international cultural cooperation;
6. Promotion of networking and collaborative intercultural projects;
7. Creation of a specific budget appointed exclusively to international cultural cooperation.

Another very important objective of international cultural cooperation in Europe is the objective of peace and stability across Europe, built on mutual recognition of cultural differences and specificities, reinforced by gestures of solidarity and mutual respect. Talking to each other, understanding each other and overcoming problems, rooted in the multitude of differences between people, are valued and wanted. This is when intercultural dialogue takes place, and “dialogues between cultures and peoples have never been needed more urgently than it is today” (Romano Prodi).<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>139</sup> A.Karsten, B.Kuntzel, *Forum on Intercultural Dialogue*, available at [www.coe.int/t/e/ngo/public/Intercultural%20Dialogue.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/e/ngo/public/Intercultural%20Dialogue.pdf)

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Dina Dotlić was born in Belgrade, Serbia, on July 21, 1983. She graduated in 2006 from the Department of Modern Greek studies on the Faculty of Philology of the University of Belgrade. Since then she is working as an assistant in that Department and teaches modern Greek language in the first and the second year.

In 2007, she enrolled in the postgraduate program *Cultural policies and management in culture* on the University of Arts, in cooperation with the University of Lyon 2, under the auspices of UNESCO, according to the one-year program. After passing all the exams from both semesters, she started working on her master thesis under the guidance of professor Milena Dragičević Šešić.

During her graduate studies, she attended educational summer programs on the University of Athens and the Aristotle University in Thessalonica, as a bursar of the Greek government. In the past few years she was engaged as a translator, cultural attaché and coorganizer in different domestic and international cultural and sport events, seminars, exhibitions, manifestations, etc. The most important was probably the Eurovision contest in Belgrade in 2008, when she worked as a host of the Greek delegation, making it a part of her internship.

Her hobbies are dancing, reading, cinema, travelling, singing in choirs, etc. She participated as an actress and a dancer, in a bilingual play "Ismena" by Greek author Yannis Ritsos in 2004, 2005 and 2006, with numerous performances in Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria.