The Indigenous Sublime

Rethinking Orientalism and Desire from documenta 14 to Highland Crete

Konstantinos Kalantzis

When the contemporary art show documenta 14 (d14) moved to Athens in 2017 claiming to embrace the periphery and destabilize Eurocentric neoliberalism, it triggered a scathing critique that its interest in the city was Orientalist and that its political agenda was contradicted by its own financial structures. This article dwells on the disjuncture between the sanguine exaltation of the native subject and the natives' own disdain. By drawing on d14's embodiment of an anthropological perspective and its celebration of tribal subaltern subjectivity, I revisit unresolved problems in the discussion of exoticism and scrutinize the nativist fantasies in which anthropology has historically participated and that reemerge today in sovereigntist movements, such as Brexit. I propose that d14's cultural investment in the South as well as Athenians' responses may be understood by considering the encounter between European tourists and shepherds in the Sfakia region of Crete from the 1960s to the present. The Sfakian scope becomes valuable in recovering the simultaneous positivity and oppressiveness of Romantic ideas concerning sublime natives. This positivity, ironically, may spark an anticolonial disdain fueled by Greeks' renewed sense of subjugation in the debt crisis and their ambivalent relationship to Europe and the concept of colonialism, the exploration of which can shed light on cultural complexities of global inequality today.

It is a mild April afternoon outside one of some 30 venues occupied by the art show documenta 14 (d14) in Athens, Greece. For months, various happenings throughout the city as well as articles in the press have been cultivating anticipation for this mega event taking place in dozens of locations and encompassing myriad performances, talks, and exhibitions—prompting some commentators to describe d14 as a pharaonic project. Documenta is an art show founded and run in Kassel, Germany, in 1955, taking place every five years thereafter and associated with avant-garde, critical modernism. News has it that Athens was chosen to host part of the show (from April to July 2017) because, in the director Adam Szymczyk's own exegesis, the city's economic crisis and malaise would offer spectators "lessons" about Europe's future (Nicolacopoulou 2017; Yalouri and Rikou 2018). Outside the building, a bustling crowd speaks in German and English. I often heard humorous accounts of d14's visitors by Athens-based Greek interlocutors who defined d14 through the lens of exoticism, a reaction this essay unpacks. Some descriptions spoke of art connoisseurs in thick-rimmed glasses having a blast under Athens's sun and a climate of rule breaking (e.g., smoking indoors despite a law prohibiting it)—some even spoke of signs of sunburn, attributing inability to cope with southern geography to otherwise politically powerful tourists. Inside the exhibition, I am trying to connect the displayed artworks with d14's stated emphasis on Athens as a place of resistance to neoliberalism and a locus of "crisis." Works from the early twentieth century seem impervious to such reading. But others hint at a veneration of spiritualist, non-Western aesthetics or at Greeks and refugees as agonistic subjects, as in the reference to blood as an ingredient of an artwork made up of objects collected at camps and rafts used by refugees.[1] A group of Greek practitioners are performing at the interstices of the venue—they are not exactly part of the inside, which in retrospect recalls a rumor I heard that certain Greek artists were invited to d14 in order to show that locals were not excluded from the show. At a corner of the building, an artist uses a machine to make imprints on notebooks out of garbage. He then sells these for €80 a piece (fig. 1).[2] I heard vexed comments about this work from both Greek and non-Greek interlocutors as signaling the "hypocrisy of the art world," which touches on the perceived contradiction between d14 (and any contemporary art institution for that matter) and a prosubaltern rhetoric. While I am chatting with a group of Greek specialists in the arts and social sciences, one of them points to artworks' captions and notes that the font used in Greek translations appears childish compared with the font used for English (fig. 2). I take the concern to express an anxiety about whether Greece is given equal status in this global art show or is taken to offer entertainment from an inferior position. Even more, that comment tacitly reacts to a tradition in various global media since the onset of the debt crisis and the country's bailout deal with

1. Guillermo Galindo's instruments and scores from the series "Exit/ἔξοδος" (2016–2017).

2. Daniel Knorr's *Βιβλίο Καλλιτέχνη* (2017), materialization.

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Figure 1. *Left*, visitors at the Athens Conservatoire, during documenta 14 engage with Daniel Knorr's *Βιβλίο Καλλιτέχνη*, 2017, materialization. *Right*, detail from Knorr's installation. Photos by the author, 2017.

the European Union (EU) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) of representing Greeks as children whose protesting against their guardian Western powers is construed as either endearingly revolutionary or mischievously ungrateful (Kalantzis 2015*a*). Conversation participants also discussed the problems of voyeurism in d14's exposition of migrants and other subalterns. This discussion reflects the exportation of poststructuralist concerns into the everyday domain, a motif of the Greek post-2010 period often called "the crisis," which d14 has magnified.

This article focuses on the controversy and reception of the contemporary art exhibition d14 in Athens. It explores what both the controversy and d14's own cultural investment in Athens are about and argues that the focus on Greece is especially useful for a critical understanding of global inequality today. This is in the light of Greece's post-2010 reemergence in the European center-periphery constellation that unleashed ambivalent experiences of power (combining desire and disdain for European hierarchies) along with Europeans' conflictual cultural investments in Greece. I illuminate these experiences by revisiting and combining the anthropological concept of segmentation with the notion of "the sublime" to account for division and reconciliation: fascination with and domination of Others. In this essay I argue that d14's discourse raises particularly a series of challenges for anthropology that force us to reconsider the staple categories of Orientalism and exoticism. These categories, often treated as truisms, exploded into the Greek public sphere, destabilizing their monopolization by academics and offering an opportunity to unpack them anew. d14 built on themes that traditionally concern anthropology—transculturation, community, and divination—and it celebrated the subaltern, embattled tribal subject, reflecting the discipline's post-1970s trajectory. Most importantly, d14 claimed to privilege local epistemology as a way of scrutinizing the Western (neoliberal) system. Condensed in its public program curator's deeming the Greek term *eleftheria* as more radical and ontologically authentic than its English equivalent "freedom," this gesture speaks to a quasi-anthropological sensibility. Compare this with Seremetakis's (1994:4) powerful ethnographic account of the politics of the senses in rural Greece in which she distinguished between the Greek *nostalghia* and the putatively standardized/stale "nostalgia." Both the quest for Other (nonmodern) ways of being and the privileging of marginal epistemologies as a way of critiquing the powerful center reflect tendencies within anthropology just before and after *Writing Culture*. They perhaps even underline Romantic epistemologies nested in Euro-American thought, such as the dichotomy between creative vitality and objectivized formality (Duarte 2015:189–190), while such a quest may, in other disciplines, even approximate ethnocentric positions (e.g., Loukaki 2014). It is a sensibility we ought to critically reengage at a moment when sovereigntist discourses appropriate the veneration of the local resisting subject in movements such as Brexit, which are characterized by exclusionary visions that oppose key anthropological tenets such as the acceptance of otherness. These movements force us to rethink the structures of the localist/nativist fantasy and anthropology's role in it.

I propose that the cultural investments surrounding d14 can be understood through comparison to the dynamics occurring in the Sfakia region of southwestern Crete, where I have been

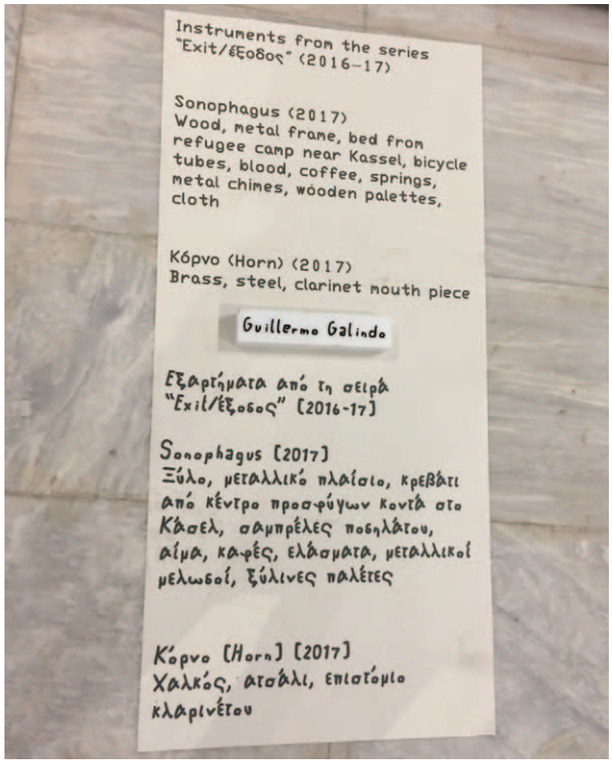

Figure 2. Caption under artwork by Guillelmo Galindo exhibited in documenta 14. The difference in font between Greek and English was commented on by some interlocutors. Photo by the author, April 2017.

conducting ethnography since 2006. Sfakia, a predominantly pastoral and tourist region, invokes a myth of highland purity and simultaneous savage backwardness. It is a place where—at least since the early nineteenth century and certainly after the beginning of the 1960s tourist era—travelers' fantasies of the highland sublime and of illegality have collided with locals' own rugged self-image. Sfakia provides a stage where experiences of desirability and North/South difference are enacted daily. We can think insightfully about Greeks' conflictual relationship to d14 as well as desire and exoticism in the art world and in encounters with Others by exploring Sfakians' relationship to Western tourists and the latter's own experiences of Sfakia.

Vernacular Allures and the Callousness of Tourism

The proper place to begin my analysis initially appears unrelated to the art world: Vangelis's farm in the Sfakia region. Overlooking a long stretch of sea and sprinkled with carob and olive trees, it is a place visited mostly by non-Greek tourists who come to buy and marvel at products such as the handmade soap, olive oil, and herbal tinctures the owner produces. During one such visit characterized by the affective intensity of the interactions between owner and travelers, a German middle-aged man, having toured the lavender- and oregano-infused landscape and finishing a plate of watermelon, explained with trembling excitement that he wanted to move to the area. His desire was far from idiosyncratic, as it sketched an escape from a vapid lifestyle characterized by physical confinement (an office job) in an industrial, bland landscape, a desire that recalls hundreds of accounts by regular tourists to Sfakia I have recorded since 2006 (e.g., Kalantzis 2019:258–268). It is a desire that adulates Sfakians by celebrating their uniqueness, although locals also consider land buying a polluting transformation of place and a betrayal of the patrilineal clan ownership of land, often read in parallel to Greece's own selling to foreigners during the post-2010 austerity phase. The cultural coding of the desire was apparent in the German man's reference to the farm owner as "the old man." Although the owner was younger than the German visitor by a few years, his role as rural producer and his long beard (an artifact of Sfakian mourning practices that the visitor likely ignored) had him assigned to a paternal/avuncular, native, and wise subject position. If we approach it as an expression of a primitivist fantasy, which Hal Foster (1996:175) identified as an undercurrent of modernist art (with traction among contemporary Western tourists; see Stasch 2014), it imagines Vangelis as having privileged access to special psychic and cultural resources. This interaction happened some months after d14 had finished its show in Athens, during which it used the journal *South as a State of Mind* as a publication outlet. During that period, I incidentally spotted a Facebook post by another German visitor to Sfakia where he noted his "pain" at having to live far from the Mediterranean. These seemingly unrelated representations of the South (its valorization by d14 as a political space and a tourist's yearning for Cretan landscapes recalling nineteenth-century Romantics' search for meaning in the natural and the mundane; see Koerner 2014 [1990]:30) raise an important question: is it ever possible to disentangle a political engagement with the South from the question of pleasure (or pain) in the South?

Some months after this encounter I was discussing with the farm owner and a group of undergraduate architecture students whom he previously took to a tour at an abandoned village, renovated by German land buyers/tourists ("the village" being the perceived locus of Greek tradition; see Kalantzis 2020*b*). My sheer mention of the term "documenta" causes the anger of my leftist student interlocutors, who explode by bringing up gentrification and exploitation. For them, d14 symbolizes a Western mechanism of signification, and this triggers their suspicion over its intent and effect. Some months earlier, other leftist interlocutors had phrased their outcry at the *Guardian*'s vacation package to Greece, which transformed the notion of crisis into a tourist attraction. So d14 is to be understood as a high moment in a decade of heightened global interest in Greece. Since 2010, the country has been extensively featured in global news and other representations defining the relationship between the North and the South in conjunction with the semantically vague but symbolically sharp term "crisis." These representations of Greece are commonly seen as delineating either a negative (Greeks as lazy and corrupt) or a positive (Greeks as resisting and hospitable) trajectory.

By d14's inauguration in Athens in April 2017 however, most Greek interlocutors (particularly left leaning) were finding any interest in Greece inherently vexing. The climate is underpinned by material anxieties concerning job security, availability of rented property and Airbnb (a tangible aspect of the influx of people curious about Greece; see Papataxiarchis 2019*a*), and a general bemusement concerning Greece's (especially Athens's) transformation into a place that attracts a new tourist audience (e.g., students and art professionals) that does not conform to the beach-seeking archetype that the term "tourist" invoked in Greece until recently. The sensibilities informing Greece's new publicity are condensed in a piece about young expats who have settled in Athens (King 2017). In it, interviewees stress Athenians' dissimilarity "to us northern Europeans," street art as a domain of "freedom," a sense of possibility reminiscent of childhood play, the attractive "abnormality" of everything, and an escape from oppressive punctuality, all in an atmosphere of fascination with cultural difference (even bureaucracy becomes an attractive marker of difference in the piece). These visitors take an interest in vernacular, daily-life elements that escape the officially polished and canonically attractive. These elements inform the sphere Michael Herzfeld (2005 [1997]:3, 9) famously described as cultural intimacy, supplying (Greeks with) a sense of common sociality and shared habits and flaws but potentially causing embarrassment when exposed to outsiders. In Greece the poignancy of such traits relates to their perceived un-Westerness, as people tend to iterate what Dipesh Chakrabarty (1992:4–6) called the "transition narrative," which takes lack as (Greece's) starting point and represents history as a process of attaining glorified values of the Euro-American nation-state—that is, order, modernity, infrastructure, lack of corruption, and so on. But the global explosion of cultural intimacy as allure during this phase goes along with cultural intimacy's repoliticization. This is evident in the fact that during the crisis, and particularly after the 2015 election of left-wing Syriza, official spokespersons on the left (including the prime minister) polemically defend cultural intimacy. Elements, such as the putatively Greek values of friendship, spontaneity, and hospitality (e.g., Douzinas 2018), are pitted against the cold, money-centered instrumentality of northerners—that is, European creditors and auditors of Greece, often labeled "Protestants" in daily commentary. Such positions may be said to parallel Sfakians' pride about indigenous animal breeds compared with European imported ones or their idea that hospitality is absent in urban (Western) centers. We may describe this notion of a southern, sensory, moral lifeworld as Greek negritude. Negritude, a conceptual paradigm originating in 1930s Paris and later articulated in the writings of authors such as Léopold Senghor, is relevant here even if its focus on race might seem inapplicable to the Greek context. The relevance draws on the fact that negritude sought to invert dominant (colonial) hierarchies by invoking essentializations of Black Africa on the level of embodied culture, thus pitting blackness against the Euro-American objectifying way of gazing at and being in the world (the gaze Jay [1988:4] identifies as Cartesian perspectivalism; Pinney 2008:393). Self-essentializations, which Herzfeld (2005 [1997]:207) has analyzed in the Greek context as compensations for the lack of real political power though these also offer momentary empowerment (Kalantzis 2015*b*:1060), are characteristic of other anticolonial traditions idealizing the nonmodern and precolonial, such as those found in India (Pinney 2008:394). Even more, a dichotomy between a mystical/sensual and an objectifying/instrumentalizing sensibility informs the history of Western thought, with the distinction between Catholicism (with its spiritual undertones) and Protestantism (with its modern rationalism; Duarte 2015: 183, 191). That distinction, analyzed by Duarte as indicating the embeddedness of Romanticism in Euro-American thought, is additionally relevant here given that leftist Greek interlocutors explicitly oppose German Protestantism to the native Greek way on the grounds of the latter's affective mode of being in the world, which resists, in that reading, the rationalist, money-centered logic of the West. At the same time, commentators from the center and the right expressing a liberal opposition to the left (and openly embracing the transition narrative) identify cultural intimacy with Greece's failure to achieve (neo)liberal modernity (see also Theodossopoulos 2013:203–204).

I want to suggest that d14's perceived connection to tourism is a key, but tacit, reason why it caused resentment among Greek onlookers. The comments my interlocutors made about d14-related northerners having a blast in Athens conjure a sense of bitterness about these visitors enjoying a familiar landscape.[3] They also relate to the sense that the West is an omnipresent, punitive eye, manifested in jokes heard throughout Greece since 2010 where people say laughingly during scenes of entertainment and conviviality that European surveyors (like German Chancellor Angela Merkel) will be enforcing harsher austerity because they see Greeks are still enjoying themselves. Bitterness about tourism further builds on a general climate, palpable even in centrist-right media pieces about how middle-class Greeks cannot afford vacations anymore, which are read in comparison to news of foreigners flooding the city. The moral idea behind the bitterness could be summarized as touring a place during a period of malaise for residents is (ethically) callous. This explains the widespread use of the term "Orientalism" to describe nominally positive representations of Greece, including those by d14 and the *Guardian*. Embittered interlocutors seem to be grasping Theodor Adorno's (2005 [1951]) idea from the 1950s that under particular circumstances, the enjoyment of beauty is deeply flawed and that in a particular world, even "picking flowers has become something evil" (112). The resentment against d14's tourists further articulates a position similar to Adorno and Horkheimer's suggestion that being entertained means giving one's consent (Claussen 2010:161). It perceives tourism as complicity with those same

3. Such bitterness is explored in studies of tourism as fundamentally informing the traveler-local nexus (e.g., Boissevain 1996).

Figure 3. Visitors at the balcony of the National Museum of Contemporary Art Athens during documenta 14 stare at the surrounding area. Note the empty building featuring graffiti in the upper image. Photos by the author, 2017.

political forces that destroy the landscape and render it a site of aesthetic enjoyment (e.g., buildings emptied because of EU-imposed austerity; fig. 3). The jocular insistence by some Greek interlocutors that d14's foreign visitors are sunburned tourists seeks precisely to unmask their pretensions of a humanitarian ethnography-style involvement, and by representing them as sun-seeking hedonists, it claims that beneath it all lies the bourgeois self-interested vocation of pleasure.

And the bitterness cuts across the spectrum. Alongside the leftist preoccupation with investors' mass-scale land buying in Athens and the subsequent proletarianization of residents, other commentaries during that same period speak to a fatigue with the external interest in the country. These comments often come from the liberal, centrist-right perspective and express an Occidentalist reaction to Greece's placement in a lineage of non-Western loci. These commentators—exasperated with Greece's putative exception from the Western norm (citing its protests, excessive graffiti, lack of infrastructures, and bureaucracy)—take offense in the singling out of the country on the grounds of what they find damaging to its image and its related exploitation by the new wave of tourists (e.g., Hulot 2018).[4] d14's own discursive positioning as "a guest" of Athens evokes tourism in an exemplary use of hospitality as a metaphor across scales (from household to the international art world) that "unmoors" the institutional affair from the specifics of time and place, making it instead a matter of "hypostasised hosts and guests" (Candea 2012:42; Papataxiarchis 2019*b*:59–60; Shryock 2012:23). This performs a symbolic reversal, since it repudiates d14's own power as the organizing institution (a host), claiming inversely that it is the one hosted by the city and its artists.

In Sfakia there is a parallel discussion among shepherds concerning a perceived external plan to control the area through strategies such as the digitization of information systems that enables property confiscations by banks without confrontation with executors. While Sfakian discussions entail ideological differences from those occurring among my Athens-based middle-class interlocutors (many Sfakians' sovereigntist discourse is framed in a masculinist, nationalist vocabulary), there are key convergences worth considering. Thus, different interlocutors, including a lawyer in Athens and a taxi driver in Sfakia, spoke with disdain about how foreign clients bargain over fees that these men interpret as a result of being considered pariah (native) debtors (like Greece itself). Another Sfakian interlocutor described German tourists' gifts to locals involved in selling houses as "beads given to Indians," a metaphor I frequently encountered among leftists in mainland Greek towns that suffered civilians' massacres by Nazi troops in the 1940s regarding German donations to the municipality today. These gifts were taken to aim at toning down local compensation claims for the 1940s atrocities and softening the memories of atrocity.

What these comments point to is that the placement of Greece in a lineage of native *topoi*—a trope used extensively by d14 in gestures such as inviting Sámi activist Niillas Somby to chant in tribal attire at the site used as torture chambers during the Greek colonels' junta—may cause resentment for ascribing exactly a pariah status. To be sure, d14's decision to move its show to Greece was (nominally) meant to trouble the Western/Eurocentric conceits in the history of art, as a commentator supportive of d14 points out (Papadopoulos 2019:305, 311). But this assignment of Greece to the non-Western periphery of native resistors creates resentment among Greek onlookers. For Occidentalist rightists, it puts Greece in the same category as non-Western lands they deem inferior, while for leftists, it signals Greece's ascription to colonized places that becomes vexing as it emanates from northern Europe (i.e., the root of that same colonialism and the site of a perceived superiority that serves, for many Greeks, as the canon to be

4. See also the debate between philosophy professor Vasso Kindi and anthropologist Michael Herzfeld in the Greek newspaper *To Vima*. Kindi (2019) critiqued Herzfeld's proposition that Greece is a cryptocolony of the West as empirically untestable and kindred to post-2010 "populist" leftist politics. Herzfeld (2019) defends cryptocolonalism's heuristic value and relates Kindi's disdain to an Occidentalist, antileftist stance averse to Greece's comparisons with the non-West, which is pertinent to what I describe here.

emulated; see Bakalaki 2006*b*:401). The complexity is that nativeness may be simultaneously desirable for people as an indication of difference from Europe (see the politicization of cultural intimacy), so the question becomes, In whose terms (and hands) is the portrayal of nativeness? The Sfakian case is valuable to think with as locals affectionately joke about their similarities to the indigenous non-West but find it offensive when they are being placed by others in the role of the premodern native (e.g., magazines representing technological artifacts as contradicting their traditional mode of being; see Kalantzis 2019:215).

Critiques of d14 and Colonialism as Everyday Language

The d14 show engendered an enormous amount of criticism that would require a separate essay to address.[5] One consistent complaint from the left was that d14 failed to deliver on its promises of heeding the periphery and that there is something inherently incompatible between a stated commitment to radicalism and an institution "oiled," as one non-Greek commentator puts it, by "neoliberal money" (Nzewi 2018:91). This complaint converses in Greece with a popular interest in the tension between rhetoric and social practice, appearance and essence, noted already by J. K. Campbell's (1964) work on the Sarakatsani (Herzfeld 2008:147). Greek leftists, for instance, are commonly accused by their opponents for secretly possessing "right-wing wallets," which is taken to annul their emancipatory rhetoric. Similarly, those who have sold land in Sfakia to foreigners may be mocked for advancing a resistance rhetoric even though they (secretly) sold it.

Beyond academia, d14 came to be viewed by Greek audiences in conjunction with terms that belong to the postcolonial phase in the social sciences—that is, exoticism, Orientalism, colonialism, voyeurism, and objectification. An emblematic instance, much reproduced by global media, was a stencil graffiti stating, "Dear documenta: I refuse to exoticize myself so you can increase your cultural capital, sincerely, oi i8ageneis [the natives]." In fact, one of its key creators, visual artist Eirene Efstathiou, presents it, in a recent exegesis, as an expression of refusal of being observed (Tulke and Efstathiou 2022). Although the argument could be made that such a contestation enhances d14's position within an art-world system that privileges embattled ethnography, Yalouri, a codirector of the "Learning from documenta" (Lfd) project (devoted to ethnographically researching d14; Yalouri and Rikou 2018), observes d14's organizers' suspicion of public ethnographic inquiries into the show (Yalouri 2021). Ethnography appears desirable as long as it does not probe into d14 itself. The issue of contestation as value is complicated further by other Lfd researchers finding that the same stencil piece's font was subsequently appropriated by d14's graphic designers for the show's materials (Grigoriadou and Samantas 2021). d14's capacity to appropriate (and create value out of) what opposes it is why some Athenian interlocutors of another Lfd researcher abstained from anything d14 related, thus obviating the dichotomy: participation or resistance (Anagnostopoulos 2021).

In any case, we ought to understand public critiques of d14's power (such as the stencil graffiti) as emerging in a particular moment in Greek history that stems from the country's perceived subjugation by the EU and the high percentage of (unemployed) graduates with humanities degrees. If, as Alexandra Bakalaki (2006*a*) argues, social science jargon was once enticing for Greek students as "sublimation of their frustrated capacity for self-expression" (272–273), the context of unemployment among young social science and humanities graduates arguably makes the Saidean/Foucaultean/Bourdieusque terminology even more attractive as a means of exorcising an all-pervasive power that feels damaging and channeling it against agents that appear to be responsible for Greece's economic malaise. And it is a quasi-postcolonial approach that becomes enticing here, as it targets the connection between representation and power whereby Greece's assignment to various symbolic roles (a monitored pariah, a pleasure periphery, and so on) is linked to cultural domination. Leftist commentaries merge older concerns about the country's peripheral position with a critique of neoliberalism targeting the selling of national property, the auditing by EU mechanisms, and so on. But the use of theory, at the hands of critics educated in the arts and humanities, also takes place in humorous ways, aside from classic leftist concerns with structure and the realpolitik. This is the case of critics organized around the 2017 Athens Biennale special event who attacked d14's poststructuralist pretensions and putative exoticism. During a satirical tour that they organized (called Klassenfahrt; fig. 4) leading to a mock tribal village in the outskirts of Athens, they played readings of texts by a fictional scholar named Kryzofksy who sounded like a cross between Deleuze and Baudrillard.[6] This group and particularly one of its commentator's critique of the

5. Critics pointed to the difficulty of d14 surpassing the political structures it purported to critique along with its German-centric orientation (Papataxiarchis 2019*b*; Yalouri and Rikou 2018) and its evacuation of contemporary Greeks from its publications (Lambropoulos 2017; Tziovas 2021:247) as well as the conversion of the city into a simplified "crisis" signifier (Papataxiarchis 2019*b*). Others argued that d14 failed to explore the crisis as a tangible phenomenon (Charlesworth 2017; Yalouri and Rikou 2018). Commentators further charged it for being unsustainable (Koehler 2018:88) and confusingly multisited, as well as for articulating didactic discourses that evaporated pleasure in art and remained nostalgically fixated on the past, removed from an actual engagement with politics (Bachtsetzis 2018; Tzirtzilakis 2017). Critics from an African(ist) perspective challenged the subalternity of Greece and d14's employment of African art (Koehler 2018:88; Nzewi 2018:9). Finally, controversy overshadowed its labor policies concerning invigilators (which d14 came to amend; see Anagnostopoulos 2021). This was received as ultimate proof of the discrepancy between (leftist) rhetoric and practice. See also Tziovas (2021:244–248) for a summary of various critiques of d14.

6. The Klassenfahrt project involved practitioners in the fine arts and humanities. For an exegesis of the project and details about its participants, see https://kavecs.com/2017/05/06/klassenfahrt/?fbclid=IwAR25vEKxzr_wcDFJlttDnMK0e2oIrHlff0dAulHzuCKPl8rCRdRcGbi5AGw.

Figure 4. Participants at the Klassenfahrt excursion were led to a mock tribal village meant to comment on documenta 14's putatively nativist approach to Athens. Photos by the author, 2017.

left as harboring nationalist communitarian fantasies (Stafylakis 2017:239–244) make some interlocutors see it as peculiarly antileftist.[7] In performing their idea that antineoliberalism ends up embracing nationalism (by pitting the native/national against the imported neoliberal), they staged a ceremony for the 2017 Athens Biennale special event (coinciding with d14) in which they parodically dressed up with attire associated with "the Cretan" figure (e.g., breeches and headscarves; fig. 5). They thus paralleled d14's stance to the exaltation of Crete as an archetype of native (anticolonial, antielite, antiurban) resistance, a persistent fantasy that has informed Greek responses to EU-IMF monitoring since 2010 (see Kalantzis 2012, 2016*b*; fig. 6). Even in this nonleftist critique, however, the argument revolves again around the term "Orientalism" (e.g., Stafylakis 2017:244, 250). In other words, the postcrisis moment, particularly around d14's time, is characterized by an enhanced public interest in colonialism and related notions of political and cultural subjection, which are expressed beyond their traditional registers (e.g., leftist commentaries concerning center-periphery relations). This dynamic further relates to the renewed identifications with the nation in the face of perceived realpolitik cruelty, explored below.

The popular diffusion of colonialism-related terms is in a way the apogee of what historian Katherine E. Fleming (2000:1223, 1228, 1230–1231) sketches as the pitfalls of employing "Orientalism" as a catchall category of stereotyping beyond areas originally considered by Edward Said, which, for her, runs the risk of losing "Orientalism's" historical and analytical specificity. But thinking about proper usage might overlook the fact that there are unresolved contradictions in what Said himself means by "Orientalism" and whether he saw it is as a discourse or as a falsity to be juxtaposed with the supposedly real Orient (Bhabha 2004*b* [1994]; Clifford 1988:259–262; Prakash 1995). From an ethnographic perspective, it is important to take this diffusion as a fruitful challenge to anthropologists' use of these terms and to understand what interlocutors mean by these phrases. Like "crisis" and "neoliberalism," "Orientalism" is a term that can become elusively all-encompassing and truistic in the hands of social scientists too, generically connoting the morally flawed.

The Orientalism-focused critique of d14 also needs to be read against the fact that since the 1990s, the scope of colonialism informs the study of modern Greek culture through the idea that the foundation of Greek self-images is conditioned by the fantasies, institutions, and authorization of the so-called great powers (European guarantors) who additionally imposed political control over the Greek state (note that the first king of Greece was Bavarian; see Calotychos 2003; Gourgouris 1996:143; Hamilakis 2007; Herzfeld 2002:902).[8] Herzfeld (2002:901–902) calls this "cryptocolonialism": an indirect dependence compensated for through aggressive (nationalist) claims to autonomy and high cultural pedestals. What I find important here is that the postbailout sequel of cryptocolonialism is less "crypto" as Greek interlocutors (not exclusively with leftist anti-imperialist sensibilities) unmask pretensions of independence by emphasizing exactly Greece's colonized state as a means of critiquing Europe.

Moreover, these terms come up in relation to d14, an institution purporting to be doing the exact opposite of Orientalism. Although there are ambiguities in Said, Orientalism emerges in his writings as a systematic representation that ascribes traits,

7. For instance, in the Indignant protests of 2011 (see Theodossopoulos 2013) and in lamenting the loss of Greece's sovereignty through EU auditing (Stafylakis 2017:239–244).

8. For a recent reengagement with this topic, see also the 2023 research colloquium "Decoloniality, Inclusivity and the Greek Past." The presentations are available at https://www.blod.gr/events/apo-apoikiakes-proseggiseis-symperilipsi-parelthon-ellada/.

Figure 5. Members of the Heart and Sword Division, the curatorial team of the 2017 Athens Biennale special event "Waiting for the Barbarians" critical of documenta 14's putative embrace of Greekness are dressed up as nativist figures at the Biennale event (photo by the author, April 2017). Inset shows members of the Heart and Sword Division posing as nativist figures (copyright Nyssos Vasilopoulos).

such as despotic politics, ignorance, and backwardness, that are counterposed to the West. This system of subject production enables the physical colonization of the areas under discussion as the Westerner comes to govern the despotic, uncouth Orient (Said 1978:94). d14 by contrast claims to be emphasizing the fluid, contemporary, and historically specific Athenian present, which is not ascribed to a receding past but promising to offer lessons "about the future." This strategy appears a far cry from the attribution of inferiority, pastness, and inadequacy that Said (1978:7), historian Ronald Inden (1986:411), and others (see also Clifford 1987; Fabian 1983) diagnose as key Orientalist tropes. If anything, Athenians in d14's discourse appear agonistic, embattled, even mystically resistant, while Athens is meant to be immediately experienced rather than remotely studied, as in most of Said's (1978:215) examples. The idea of Athens offering lessons into/from the future also recalls a modernist avant-garde trope (see Krauss 1981) in its desire for the unwritten, radically new, and cutting edge, which d14 claims to grasp.

Yet there are aspects of Orientalism, which different Greek commentators seem to be attributing to d14, worth considering. Among them is the problem of (d14) denying agency through representation, which Said drew critical attention to by using Marx's phrase from the *Eighteenth Brumaire* as an epigram of his 1978 book: "They cannot represent themselves, they must be represented" (see also Said 1978:6). Discussions with people attending d14's public events, replete with diagnoses about Greece's crisis of democracy, indicated interlocutors' vexed sense that d14 was authoritatively representing Athenians' own lives. Their reaction was reminiscent of Trinh Minh-ha's (1987:139) critique that the West tries to define Others' realities, even tutoring them about their need to de-Westernize themselves. If, as I argued earlier, the from-above ascription of colonized status to Greeks triggers their disdain, then the claim by the show's advocates that d14 offered Greece material benefits (e.g., renovation of infrastructures and global art scene visibility; Papadopoulos 2019:317) becomes injurious, as it highlights both dependence and the old problem that critical theory calls "coercion" (Adorno and Horkheimer 1997 [1944]:167). The Sfakian case can be particularly illuminating, as it shows how coercion in Greece may coexist with an anticolonial sentiment. Thus, a Sfakian middle-aged interlocutor who viciously critiqued her kin for selling land to foreigners asked me whether I could convince these buyers to purchase a certain farming good that another relative of hers produced. This takes us back to the tension noted by Greeks concerning rhetoric and practice, arguably heightened during the crisis. For instance, a critique leveled against leftist anticolonialism by centrist liberals was that its proponents had their money in German banks or were relying on German commodities and EU amenities in their daily life. But the instance also points to the ambivalence in Greek experiences of power on the global scene, where desire for inclusion in hierarchies of value is in tension with the desire to reject these same structures.

Figure 6. Men wearing traditional attire at the commemoration of the commencement of the Greek War of Independence at the Thymiani Panagia Church in Sfakia, Crete. This attire is associated with the figure of "the Cretan" nationally, used in various domains (from anti-austerity protests to food products) to signify nativeness, resistance, and tradition. Photos by Giorgos Georgilakis, 2021.

Nationalization, Antivisualism, and the Left

As hinted in the introduction, a number of d14's artworks featured tribal themes. Two straightforward materializations of spiritualist non-Western aesthetics include Algirdas Šeškus's black-and-white photographs of a Tibetan shaman at work and Beau Dick's gigantic Kwakwa̱ka̱'wakw-style (Pacific Northwestern) masks (fig. 7). This conjuring of the spiritual non-West was drawn into a semantics of resistance by works that sided with the subaltern, as in *The Tempest Society* by Bouchra Khalili, which celebrated Greek protesting while phrasing a critique of official migration policies. The veneration occasionally combined with a post–*Writing Culture* reflexive tone, as in Nathan Pohio's display of archival photos depicting an encounter between Māori representatives and members of the British crown ca. 1905, which may be taken as a self-critical comment on the relationship between d14 (as a hegemon) and the local art scene. Works in d14 thus point to a symbiosis between modernist (in keeping with the signification of Athens as the future) and postcolonial perspectives along with the attachment of political truth to the native subject (for Foster [1996:174–179], an undercurrent of ethnography-oriented art). But if d14 used the periphery as a place of innovation (an inversion of classic Western hegemony; see Pinney 2008:400) and professed to break with Eurocentrism and identify with the underclass, what does it mean to speak of Orientalism here?

It is instructive to recall a scene from a workshop of the "Learning from documenta" (Lfd) project. During a discussion with artists and academics at a packed auditorium, a young German volunteer of d14 said that from an anticapitalist perspective "we all" (that is both Germans and Greeks) are colonized "by capital," as we do not control the monies concerning the show. Members of the audience responded swiftly.

Figure 7. Visitors look at installations by Beau Dick at the Athens National Museum of Contemporary Art during documenta 14. Photos by the author, April 2017.

Two Greek women angrily insisted on the need to differentiate between Greeks and Germans. Greeks were in crisis as a result of austerity policies introduced by Germany after all, one said. Although this audience was different from my leftist interlocutors in the town of Kalavryta in the Peloponnese, there were comparable elements. Kalavryta leftists also insist on inserting the national line. They want to remind onlookers who the 1940s perpetrator was—the town was destroyed and its entire male population slaughtered by Wehrmacht troops in 1943. They fiercely react to any notion that downplays the Germanness of Nazism or implies Germans were the victims of Nazism too, as such ideas undermine the clear distinction between Germans (as perpetrators) and Greeks (as resisting victims). And there is continuing relevance of this slaughter for many people today as they envision the German-imposed austerity as a sequel of the 1940s occupation, proving Germany's commitment to cruel domination. In these interlocutors' historical imaginary, the 1940s perpetrators were executioner ancestors of present-day executors of austerity policies (see Kalantzis 2023).

In that same event, two Greek scholars presented d14 as an ideological state apparatus, rendering (German) realpolitik palatable, hence celebrated by German politicians across the spectrum. Some German postgraduate students later spoke to me about their frustration with Greek leftists' putative insistence on nationality. At the same time, Greek practitioners who collaborated with d14 refuted the national character (Germanness) of the institution and spoke about its egalitarian, multicultural administrative structure in which, some argued, the Germans had no commanding role. The question of collaboration with a German institution is key. Not only does it connote complicity with a dominant cultural mechanism (see also Yalouri and Rikou 2018) but it also evokes historical connotations of the much-despised figure of the "collaborator" with German authorities in the 1940s (entangled since 2010 in public discussions about whether to enforce or reject German-derived austerity policies). Thus, my Kalavryta leftist interlocutors critiqued Greeks' ties with d14 on the grounds that any collaboration will result in softening (national) claims for reparations for 1940s atrocities perpetrated by German troops. "Collaboration" on d14's cue may further enhance a sense of dependence, as it highlights that those making the rules of the game come from a powerful external mechanism.

Against seeing the tension between interlocutors insisting on nationality and those downplaying it as a difference between progressive (internationalist) politics and regressive (nationalist) politics, it is important to understand this reemergence of nationality as a meaningful category in the Greek crisis. I have elsewhere argued that in the 2010–2015 period, young middle-class antinationalists found ambivalent pleasure in aggressive anti-Western performances traditionally associated with nationalist (rural or lower-class) Greeks (Kalantzis 2015*b*). This was in the face of EU-imposed austerity and of non-Greek commentators identifying them with Greece's putative vices (e.g., corruption). That period featured the recontextualization of daily experiences through a national lens (where a German girlfriend is jokingly referred to as the "German chancellor") and the embodiment of positions that oppose middle-class self-images yet offer, as jokes, an enjoyable counterresponse (Kalantzis 2015*b*).

Underlying these transgressions and critiques of d14 that emphasize nationality is not a straightforward identification with institutional nationhood but rather the evocation of the historically embedded vision of Greece as a pariah exploited by (European) great powers (see also Kirtsoglou and Theodossopoulos 2009:86). Many Greek interlocutors after 2010 stress that non-Greek partners, bosses, and colleagues, especially abroad, address them as national representatives and attribute their shortcomings to national traits (e.g., a supposed lack of punctuality). In the same period, I have also recorded stories about personal Greek-German relationships breaking down because the German partner reportedly accused the Greek of flaws, like those stereotypically attributed to Greece in the international media after 2010 (e.g., corruption). In these stories, the offended Greek partner brings up the Nazi past as a counterattack. What is important in these stories is that the urge for identification with nationality overrides the Greek interlocutors' own antinationalism. The people defending Greece do so only in the face of realpolitik hegemony (embodied in their partner's nationalized cruelty), as they are otherwise fierce critics of phenomena such as corruption that their German interlocutor was castigating. More broadly, nationhood surfaces as a way of making sense of the European debt crisis. German interlocutors in d14 told me, for instance, that critiques of d14's own debt and its anti-Nazi commentary were attributed by disgruntled German viewers in Kassel to the fact that the curator was Polish and that the show took place in Greece (in this view, a place prone to accumulate debt). In the heightened Greek sensitivity regarding the asymmetry permeating the relationship to Germany, d14's internationalist profile may thus seem suspect (especially for leftist critics of globalized austerity) for concealing intra-EU power struggles and Greece's victimization under the pretext of collaboration.

But d14 as an exhibition featured references to the colonial encounter, even to Germany's appropriation of Greek antiquity, which could be taken as critical comments on the asymmetry between centers and peripheries and of that between Athens and d14, as with Nathan Pohio's black-and-white images of the encounter between Māori and British officers. Similarly, Dick's masks and activist performances emerge historically out of an attempt to repoliticize (Pacific Northwestern) tribal aesthetics and expose a painful colonial history while engaging the challenges of recontextualizing tribal objects in Western gallery spaces (including the possibility "of being misunderstood as yet another Native spectacle" [Townsend-Gault 2016:75], which is pertinent to d14's effect in Athens). So a crucial distinction needs to be made here between curatorial intention (captions in d14 outlined some of these issues regarding Beau Dick) and the audiences' experience. Most critics of d14 as a colonial institution did not focus at all on exhibited artifacts. One may attribute this bypassing of objects to d14's copious production of

texts in events and publications, which may have overshadowed it as an exhibition of material things and contributed to d14 viewed as a unitary discourse above all else (see also Tzirtzilakis 2017).[9] But I argue the sidestepping of objects and images by critics also points to an important epistemology of a particular leftist political imaginary in Greece today. In the definition of the crisis as a meltdown of social welfare and the exposure of people to precarity, the priority shifts toward hands-on political and economic involvement (e.g., the food co-ops explored insightfully by Theodoros Rakopoulos [2014]). This renders attention to the arts and visual culture—as ways of grasping crisis—superfluous, even naive and complicit. This sensibility, as recorded especially among older leftist interlocutors, is enhanced by a preexisting suspicion of contemporary art as a domain not only murky in its content and intentions but also synonymous with the self-same neoliberal financial structures responsible for crises and dispossession.

This opens up an old problem of resilient attitudes to the visual as secondary (and linked to superficial entertainment; MacDougall 2006:228) that was intrinsic to Marx's own distinction between the base (where key operations determining sociopolitical experience take place) and the superstructure (the epiphenomenal visible that conceals the workings of the base that the scholar needs to make bare). It characterizes anthropology's own history given that amateur ethnographers' initial enthusiasm with cameras was followed by an aversion to images during the discipline's professionalization and its emphasis on the invisible and structural (an antivisualism that resurfaces in different forms, for instance, with *Writing Culture*'s critique of detached observation; Morphy and Banks 1997:9; Pinney 2011:15, 108–109). The Greek iteration of this epistemology is further embedded in the conviction that contemporary art is incapable of inducing social change and is generated by the same mechanisms sustaining neoliberal hierarchies and politics.[10] We might think of this stance through Jay Ruby's (2000) aphorism about the political limits of documentary filmmaking, dictating that "if you want to change the world put down the camera and pick up the gun" (199).

The favoring of the base (system/economics) shapes the perception of d14 as a machine with a single vision and a bureaucracy to serve it, what Said (1978) would call "coincidence between geography, knowledge and power" (215). Crete offers a good comparison here because while Sfakians are eager to disavow Germany as a colonizing force, they embrace, given their nostalgic veneration of their ancestors, the historical photos brought to them by returning German tourists visiting the region since the 1960s (Kalantzis 2023:159–173). Sfakian pleasure in photographs is not the only reason they admit these tourists in their social spheres, but it does, by way of comparison, show that d14 was not able to seduce its critics, who remained devoted to a critique of (invisible) system rather than look at and succumb to actual artworks.[11]

d14 and the Problem of the Positive

A difficult area with Saidean theories of Orientalism that d14 confronts us with is what to do with cases of fascination and stated positivity for the Other. Does this destabilize or merely reproduce power? Said was aware of the complications introduced by authors (e.g., Louis Massignon) manifesting nuance and sympathy for the Orient or by vacillations between delight and contempt within Orientalism, but as Clifford (1988:262, 269), Bhabha (2004*b* [1994]:102, 105, 107), and Prakash (1995: 206–208) note, he subordinated these instances to the totalizing system that Orientalist authors were deemed as ultimately serving or even attributed empathies with Others to an author's individual "genius." The resort to notions of systematicity as a solution to the problem of positivity (also replicated by Inden 1986:430, 442) recalls Greek critics representing d14 as a German machine that is in principle hegemonic and thus not affected by any positive content. Drawing on critical readings of Said that stress the inherent instability in enunciations of power (Bhabha 2004*b* [1994]:95, 102; Prakash 1992:179, 183), I argue that we need to push the analysis beyond the conclusion that d14 simply constitutes Orientalism and actually understand what these cultural investments in the Other do for those involved and what they entail politically.

One approach is to think through Don Kulick's (2006) deliciously provocative question, "What is the nature of the pleasure that anthropologists derive from the powerless (934)?" d14 is not comprised of anthropologists per se, but its privileging of the local, embattled subject from the perspective of a Western metropolitan onlooker assumes this quasi-anthropological subject position.[12] Kulick's question is important to address, especially as the "suffering subject" has become a primary locus of contemporary anthropology. For Joel Robbins (2013:454, 455), it was a way of overcoming the challenges of (*Writing Culture*–style) critiques of the discipline's entanglement in colonial objectification, and it resulted in abandoning cultural relativism—discovering Other ways of being—for a universalist certainty over what is morally good and bad. Kulick's (2006:935, 942) Freudian reply to his question—extendable to d14 though not ethnographically verifiable—is that the nature of the anthropologists' pleasure in suffering is masochistic, a result of anthropologists desiring recognition by the dominant capitalist system yet repressing this and replacing themselves imaginarily with those

9. For possibilities of certain d14 artworks to move beyond binaries, see Strecker (2022).

10. Notably, that attitude coexists with an active scene of conversations between art practitioners and social scientists (e.g., Panopoulos and Rikou 2016).

11. In Alfred Gell's (1996) famous metaphor for art, this could be seen as d14's failure to entrap its spectators (see also Rikou and Chaviara 2016:47–48).

12. d14 also directly invited collaborations with anthropologists (see https://www.documenta14.de/en/calendar/23403/voice-o-graph).

the system punishes, which affords atonement for the guilt of identifying with the powerful. In the context of the refugee crisis in Greece, Heath Cabot (2019*a*:265–266) has similarly questioned recent ethnographic emphases on destitution, urgency, and victimhood, which she argues universalize pain rendering "crisis" ahistorical (see also Rozakou [2019:79] on how such ethnographies may enhance the "opacity" of the described sites).

Thinking about global representations of Greece after 2010, one discernible genre calls for sanguine identification with the Greeks as a suffering population (see also Kalantzis 2016*a*:5, 8). But "sanguine" does not mean devoid of hierarchy. There are other historical examples to think with, such as the MoMA art show on primitivism in 1980s New York, famously the subject of James Clifford's (1988:189–214) devastating critique and the so-called indigenous media debate in 1990s anthropology (Ginsburg 1991; Turner 1992; Weiner 1997; for a critical overview, see Boyer 2006). In both cases, critical questions are to be raised about the extent to which the tribal party is given equal standing as the Western cultural producer. For instance, were indigenous videos ever judged in the same terms as Western ones, or did they remain the curious, even if fascinating, experimentations of tribesmen with cameras? Rather than thinking about positivity or negativity, we might benefit from probing into the desire for Greece to be a revolutionary front against EU-imposed neoliberalism, especially concerning the position it ascribes to the Greeks and the expectations it underpins. Arguably, it is a desire for difference of the Greeks compared with populations in the EU. But to what extent can this desire exist if crisis becomes affluence? This is a key contradiction of the fascination with the embattled subject: it relies on the existence of conditions it purportedly opposes. If malaise were replaced by middle-class comfort, d14 would have hardly chosen Greece as a venue (not to deny that such comfort remains for some, but they remain outside of the scope of the call for attention to crisis).

So the desire for and veneration of Greece (Athens, in particular) as it occurs through d14 is a desire that Greeks be in a particular position: embattled, in crisis. I argue that the most poignant aspect of Orientalism and of Others' representation is exactly the expectation that the represented subjects occupy a particular position and perform in it as anticipated. Sfakia offers a valuable comparison. Sfakians are glorified in myriad representations as rugged and traditional, but when they claim the modern, they cause the discontent of onlookers who then classify this as a selling out of tradition or as false mimicry of modernity (Kalantzis 2019:209–245). Thus, a pair of journalists who toured the area in 2007 and told me of their amazement at the hospitable tradition of locals later published an article in which they playfully noted that some Sfakians even use Bluetooth headsets or are cinephile fanatics (Kalantzis 2019:215). Any disruption to their model of rural tradition that Sfakians must occupy is immediately highlighted as incongruous. In this regard, d14's representation of Athens contains those represented within a particular semantic framework of crisis, which enables the very desire for them.

Romanticism, Segmentation, and the Indigenous Sublime

But there is more to be made of d14's and its guests' enthusiasm about Athens and the question of positivity in exoticism. In thinking what it does and whether it destabilizes the predominant power dynamics, it is instructive to consider it in comparison to Sfakia's tourists' experiences. An illuminating adoration of "resistance" comes from a German man returning to Sfakia since the 1970s and owning land there. In various Facebook posts and interactions with locals, he celebrates their resistance to external forces (from German occupiers of the 1940s to wind turbines reportedly benefiting German companies to the EU's terms for Greece to stay in the eurozone). His endorsement of resistance exceeds a political geography of the left-right axis (he often said he is not a leftist). Importantly, he opposes powers that Sfakians identify as structurally homologous to the man himself (both he and those powers are German).

Compare his position to a poem written by a British woman in her 60s whom I have known since 2007. She explained that the poem reflects on the 2015 referendum on whether Greece would accept the EU-proposed austerity measures, which Cretans were against by an overwhelming majority.

> The Deaths! The Debts!
> Crete retreats from a cruel world. . . . .
> And is better for it. . . . .
>
> Susan Shorter, 2015 (original punctuation)

The poem iterates the author's fascination with Sfakians' mourning practices, which she often presented to me as indicating an organic proximity to death and physical adversity, uncharacteristic of the residents of the industrial North, and which she recontextualized here as proud defiance against the bureaucratic norms of the EU. The fascination with Sfakians as mourners is a distinctive genre emerging in various tourist photos from the 1960s onward (fig. 8). These images and the exegeses their photographers offer often focus on the contrast between black clothes and white beards of men and are enmeshed in a fascination with what these photographers see as a culturally specific attitude to dying marked by deep respect for the deceased, allegiance with the patriline (e.g., blood feuds dictating vengeance for one's loss), and an acceptance of human finitude (see also Malaby 2003:138). The aestheticization speaks to elements of European Romanticism, although the latter hardly constitutes a single cohesive movement (Wells 2018:2). Elements that resonate in this approach include fascination with the mystical, an interest in blood and soil, anti-industrial sentiments, adoration of the natural and the faraway, nostalgia for a lost past, and infatuation with death (Koerner 2014 [1990]:29; Wells 2018:2, 3).

These elements translate into sensibilities found among my non-Greek interlocutors, whose fascination for Sfakia ideologically rests on the notion that locals are rooted in a warrior tradition and simple lifestyle safeguarded by their White Mountain enclave habitat. Such ideological elements had become

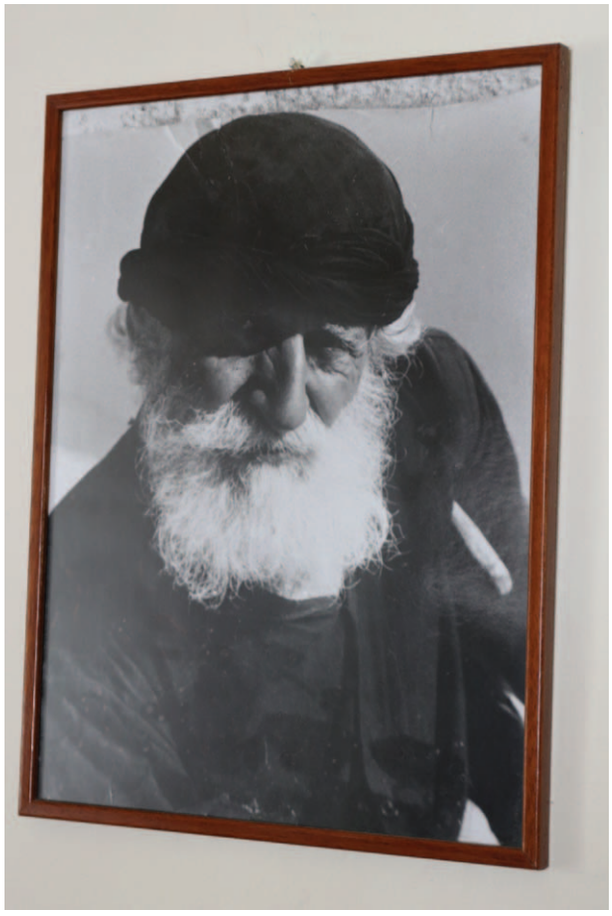

Figure 8. Portrait of Vaggelis Athitakis taken in the late 1960s or 1970s by a passing German tourist at a highland Sfakian village. His daughter, who has had the image on her living room wall for decades, explained that her father often attracted tourists' photographic interest on account of the contrast his white beard made with his black clothes (both artifacts of mourning). She speculated that the contrast was especially striking for visitors given that they encountered him at the village cemetery where he spent part of his day (see also Kalantzis 2019:181–182, 196–197). The emphasis on mourning as an object of attraction is replicated by amateur and professional photographers of Sfakia I have interviewed over the years. Original photo by unknown, ca. 1970. Photo with the frame by the author.

problematic by the 1960s, when the first German tourists arrived in Sfakia, as Romanticism was being linked to Nazism. I propose that Sfakians operated as a sort of displaced subject, where the veneration of rootedness, community, the mountainous sublime, and tradition was possible for German onlookers because it avoided the vexing connotations of Romanticism by steering the cultural investment to Cretans. There are ethnographic indications to my proposition, as in the suggestion by a Sfakian critic of tourists' land buying that a certain German enthusiast was fond of Sfakians because he endorsed their stature and purity as if they are Aryan highlanders, which opens up an issue I pursue elsewhere: the ways in which Sfakians' own racialist ideas of patrilineal purity and cultural distinctiveness have collided with those of outside spectators (Kalantzis 2019:179–204). One ought to consider this imaginary in light of a longer history testified, among other, by the fact that in official 1940s Nazi propaganda, only Greek shepherds were considered heirs of ancient/archaic values (which Nazis claimed as their own), whereas the other residents of southern countries were seen as having been contaminated (see Bopp 2019). But it would be reductionist to see 1960s German tourists as enacting a crypto-Nazi fantasy in Sfakia, acting, that is, like Leni Riefenstahl whose interest in the African Nuba continued, according to Susan Sontag (1975), Nazi ideologies such as the triumph of community and the victory over the weak.

A key complication to this hypothesis in Sfakia emerges from the critical, antiwar political position many such tourists expressed and especially from their cultural identification with the Other that structurally bears on d14's own position. Post-1960s German tourists adored Sfakians as resisting warriors, a concept that accommodates metaphorical resistance to modernization and the alienation it supposedly brings. The notion of resistance, however, drew on the idea that Sfakians fought extensively against historical invaders, implying that Sfakians are celebrated for fighting against those tourists' own forebears. This is enforced by the fact that a number of these German visitors had kin (fathers, uncles, etc.) stationed as military staff in Crete during World War II. The adoration of Sfakia partly compensated for the fact that these tourists feared that they would be seen by locals in unfriendly terms because the 1940s occupation was so recent, and in fact, many Germans still note their surprise at Sfakians' warmth despite that history. I will describe this dynamic by revisiting the old anthropological concept of segmentation, which here refers to Germans' contextual identification with the external smaller unit (Sfakia or Athens) against the larger, internal, and familiar one in the face of a threat emanating from inside (German elites' neoliberalism, Nazi ancestors). A German, in other words, adores the Sfakian shepherd/warrior who fought against his (German) forebears/compatriots. I first observed this sensibility in my 2006–2007 fieldwork when Sfakia's tourist enthusiasts fiercely defended locals against the accusations of barbarity that their compatriots allegedly made (Kalantzis 2019:266–267). This stance has been enhanced since 2010 when Greece entered the global stage as a debtor. For instance, different German visitors told me about their clashes with their compatriots, phrasing derogatory views of Greeks as lazy tax evaders and how they invoked their intimate knowledge of place and people to supply examples of Greeks' higher morality and hospitality. Some even presented their visit as an aid to a destitute country (recall some of d14's supporters' positivity about augmenting Athens's art infrastructure). The parallel I am drawing here is one between German tourists of the 1960s and 1970s, European regular tourists of the present, and d14's ideological position vis-à-vis Athens. In all these cases, one can read an affective invitation of identification with the (resisting) native subject in defiance of the elites of the inviter's own national background and of the economic and political conditions that materially sustain the inviter's own lifeworld. The term "segmentation" draws on Evans-Pritchard's and later his students' exploration of Nilotic, West African, and

Middle Eastern political systems through an emphasis on the relative deployment of alliances among different units (segments) according to shifting criteria (see Herzfeld 1987:156). In a critical reformulation of the model, Herzfeld (1987:157–163) maintains that segmentation was narrowly applied to societies without state structures (deemed exotic) even though its description of multiple levels of social differentiation, contextual antagonism, and alliance is ubiquitous in European statism and even the EU itself, albeit concealed under a rhetoric of unanimity. The actions of the Germans I am referring to point to the role played by affect in segmentation as well as to antihierarchical evaluations of difference/equivalence, which recalls the reappraisal of Evans-Pritchard's model by Karp and Maynard (1983:488–489). German actors in Sfakia or d14 defy the (nationalist) demand that they (as small units) be subordinated to the nation-state, creating instead affective alliances with Greeks by drawing on their political commitments (e.g., internationalist antineoliberalism). In Evans-Pritchard's terms, they are demonstrating segmentation's capacity for fission, which contrasts with the stance of those (otherwise antinationalist) Greeks, described earlier, who defend Greece in the face of Germany's hegemony (what Evans-Pritchard [1940:148] would call "fusion"; Kalantzis 2015*b*:1060). It is the sense of German and EU bullying, as Herzfeld (2022:76–78) has more recently argued, that motivates Greeks to reconcile internal differentiations, an attitude he connects to other expressions of solidarity in Greece (e.g., toward migrants) following the debt crisis, in a society otherwise characterized by internal agonistic tensions.

I want to further dissect the cultural interest in the native subject and consider what I argue is a key ingredient, that is, the concept of the sublime in the post-eighteenth-century use of the term to represent things elevated and rare. Following Edmund Burke's 1757 reworking of the concept, the "sublime" relates to a "pleasurable feeling of horror" deriving from the subject's post facto relief while pondering this experience from a safe distance (Murphy 2016:183; White 1993:509, 510). Hiking the White Mountains, a symbolically central activity of devoted tourists to Sfakia, combines this marveling at purity and noble beauty with the relief of surviving. This is nicely encapsulated by a picture shared with me by a couple of German mountaineers following their crossing of the White Mountains in 2007 (fig. 9). It iterates a motif I frequently encountered in non-Greeks' mountaineering images of Sfakia and visualizes their references to danger (e.g., the sharp, icy rocks they described to me). In the image, the hiker is contained by a colossal sinister landscape, and he is not exercising the kind of commanding vision we associate with imperialist travel and Cartesian perspectivalism (Jay 1988:4). He is shown instead swallowed by an enormous mass of snowy rocks. His subjection to the powers of the landscape rather than his control over it denies the modality of distanced observation that Heidegger (1977 [1935]) called the "world picture," which various scholars have historically linked to colonialism's drive for quantification and objectification through visual control (see Pinney 2008:387, 397).

The leap to present-day Athens is illuminating because the kind of veneration that d14 invited includes the element of pain and danger (as in the reference to crisis and malaise) and thus evokes the (Burkean) sublime. In a relevant instance, a British undergraduate student who picked Athens during d14 as the destination for an exchange program on the grounds of "crisis" narrated to me the astonishment and strength certain protests by anarchists ("opposing various things") ignited in her. Having

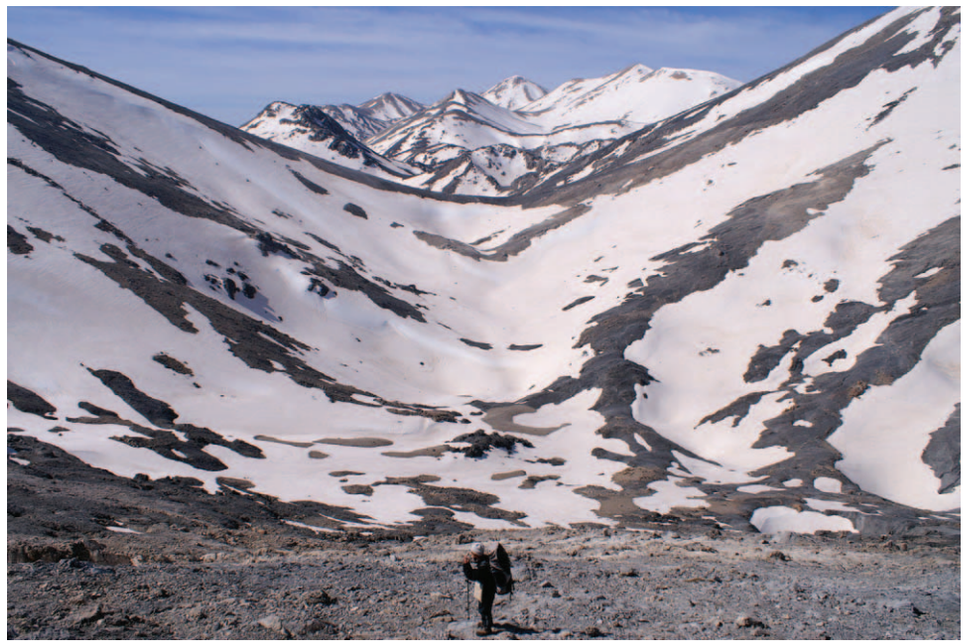

Figure 9. Hiker in the White Mountains of Crete. The motif of the solitary hiker enveloped in the mountainous landscape recurs in images taken by non-Greek visitors in Sfakia. Photo by Klaus Teuchert, April 2007.

returned from the field, she was describing her Athenian experience as entailing danger and pain ranging from police arrests and tear gas thrown during the protests to being mugged in "seedy" parts of the city she frequented. If the sublime is indeed central to these experiences, then we are offered an alternative reading of the much-circulated imagery of urban unrest coming from Greece after 2010. Such photographs of riots are perhaps then not just pedagogical devices to make European populations conform to austerity measures and reject the protest-frenzied Greeks (which is one reading; Knight 2013), but they become an alibi for certain audiences to enjoy the fantasy of transgressing and revolting. My proposition builds on Michael Taussig's (1993:200–201) analysis of the famous scene in Robert Flaherty's 1922 film *Nanook of the North*, in which the Inuit hero is taking a bite at the record playing in the phonograph (Pinney 2011:69). On a first level, this image highlights the uncouthness of the primitive who cannot grasp the workings of Western technology. But drawing on Taussig's proposition that this image is a "contrivance" not of the primitive Nanook but of the primitivist filmmaker, this image serves on another level as an alibi for the disenchanted Westerner (Flaherty) to enjoy the magic that inheres in technology. This position helps us recalibrate the question of lack: here it is no longer that of Greece's un-Westernness (feared by Greek Occidentalists) but of Westerners' disenchanted lifeworlds. This sense of lack agrees with statements by many tourists of Sfakia, particularly northern European semipermanent residents of Crete, who materially enact, by living in Crete, a fascination with the tenets of the Greek negritude, which many Greek antinationalists dismiss as parochial. The expats also frequently sketch in a Latourean fashion their fellow Europeans' imprisonment in a disenchanted, joyless life that triggered their own desperate desire to escape (see Latour 1993:114). They insist on their compatriots' condemnable fixation with punctuality, money acquisition, and lack of spontaneity, hospitality, and free time outdoors and with friends around the table, elements they say are characteristic of Cretan life. Many of these expats express fascination coupled with terror for Sfakian masculinist performances (e.g., public celebrations replete with gun shootings) and are enthralled by blood feuds that they seek to observe from insider positions, for instance, by gingerly asking their hosts sensitive questions and participating in rituals such as funerals. The amazement and pleasure in being temporarily inside can be paralleled to sentiments expressed by northern Europeans living in Athens around the time of d14 who, like the aforementioned British student, were drawn to (and occasionally fearful of) sites of activism and rioting as well as Athens's inner-city landscapes, which they attached to notions of political resistance.

Recent commentators on Burke stress that the value of his 1757 *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* lies in showing how the astonishment coupled with horror (fundamental to the sublime) produces a humbling position that enables empathetic moral connection to the world and its Others (Binney 2013:644, 651) as well as understanding of human finitude through affective aesthetics (White 1993:523; but see Murphy 2016). Here, one could fruitfully parallel the (segmentary) political stance of a middle-aged Belgian hiker to that of a German interlocutor in his 30s visiting d14. The hiker, a long-term enthusiast of Sfakia, told me that he often defended Sfakians against other Europeans' accusations that blood feuds signal backwardness by exclaiming that in Belgium people murder each other over a pack of cigarettes (Kalantzis 2019:266). The German art visitor pointed to a wall filled with graffiti and told me that he finds it a moving sign of rightful discontent against the ruthless economic measures imposed by Europe on Greece (fig. 3). Fueled by segmentary dynamics, the sublime here becomes a question of sympathetic political identification.

One aspect of that veneration of Others is the launching of cultural critique of one's own background (the neoliberalism funding d14, the stiff life back home, etc.). This trope historically characterizes one strand of the European encounter with the tropics. The "Learning from Athens" rubric would be, following that reading, a descendant of the exaltation of Tahiti as a lush, healing landscape with gracious, healthy residents in the writings of Louis Antoine de Bougainville (see Smith 1950:79–82). These impressions conversed with a particular climate in the eighteenth century among segments of the European upper classes that saw the South Seas as a "last terrestrial refuge" where men lived in perpetual happiness surrounded by the gifts of a "bountiful nature," a notion that received a decisive blow by missionary evangelists whose influence was being consolidated in the late eighteenth century (Smith 1950:90–92).

The enthrallment with noble savages speaks to one tradition of Orientalism, whereby the non-West serves as the positive inspiration and appealing antithesis of the West, an aspect rather downplayed by Said himself and that some authors have emphasized as defining the cross-cultural encounter and laying out possibilities of egalitarianism and self-critique (Kapferer 2013: 817–818; Schwab 1984). Of course, as noted earlier, positivity may coexist with hierarchy. One relevant example is Denis Diderot's reproduction of the colonial assumption of the Pacific's inevitable conquerability along with his ascribing Tahitians animalistic closeness to nature and intellectual inferiority, all while he featured an indigenous critique of eighteenth-century colonial abuses, and he idealized Tahitians' material/sexual state (McAlpin 2017:290, 294–295, 300). Comparably, nineteenth-century British traveler Robert Pashley's (1989 [1838]:222–223, 245–251) exaltation of Sfakians' martial skills and knowledge of place and history was mixed with a civilizational rejection of their superstition and gendered intrasocial violence. Similarly, the nineteenth-century Western attraction to desert mirages underlies the Orient's designation as a place of opacity and bad politics opposed to Western, Christian transparency and visibility (Pinney 2018:63–65, 115). In such cases, fascination with Otherness may coexist with superciliousness and the conviction that this primitive Otherness is ultimately destined to vanish.

These historical tensions within primitivism notwithstanding, the affective segmentation and the indigenous sublime that I

locate in Athens and in Crete point to a political potential encompassing self-critique and identification with Others that occasionally constitutes more than just a fleeting sympathy that is subsumed under hierarchy. One key ingredient of the critique against the falsity of one's own cultural background that d14 and tourists to Crete invoke is the notion that the indigenous Other constitutes an originary, superior version of the self to which one ought to return. This sensibility is palpable in different historical accounts of Others, such as traveler Sydney Parkinson's observation that the Tahitians were "in constitution what the ancient Britons were before civilisation" (in Smith 1950:79) or military leader and spy Arthur Rowan's description of an oasis near Cairo in which he notes that it is possible there to "find ourselves anew, and communicate once again with the old, forgotten things of lost wisdoms" (in Pinney 2018:120). In Sfakia, the contact with origins is further enacted by tourists' annual return signifying a visit to one's own past (the 1960s or their childhood vacations in Crete), often featuring the request to stay in the same room as when they first visited. One Sfakian hotelier recalled that a German woman always claims upon entering his small establishment that she feels she has returned home. The trope of the Other as a return home is captured by novelist Gustav Flaubert's (2007:51) travel impressions from nineteenth-century rural Greece through his idea of reliving there childhood memories and unremembered primal experiences or German Indologist Max Mueller's reputed statement that India offers the feeling of a return to an old home. Without losing sight of European historical commentators' (or specifically Indo-Europeanists'; see Ram-Prasad 2023) racialism, one notion to be extrapolated here concerns the Orient and the vernacular nonclassical as a starting place out of which Europeans have been exiled and where everything can be discovered anew.

The parallel between d14's Athens and tourists' Sfakia is striking, as both articulate natives as residing in spheres from which the non-Greek onlooker has been forcibly removed by neoliberal modernity: in that sense, Athenians offer emancipatory political lessons, and Sfakians offer tradition as a meaningful lifeworld. Sfakians, according to one German interlocutor's description, attracted her parents by leading a simple (*einfach*) lifestyle, and in her words, she has been "infected by love" for that place, which signifies a return to her own childhood memories. This recalls the interview of expats mentioned at the beginning of this article in which one Dutch designer found Athens evocative of her childhood neighborhood where kids could play freely. In my 2006–2007 fieldwork I encountered precursors of this fantasy, pronounced by an English middle-aged regular to Sfakia who often said that his coastal vacation destination reminded him, in its safety and emphasis on family and quietness, of the London neighborhood of his childhood, a statement almost identical to that of another Englishman in 2017 concerning his highland Sfakian habitat and its similarity to the "England of his childhood." Ever since Fabian's work (1983), anthropologists have rightly become sensitive to the political implications of attributing Others to a time different from that of the Western metropolitan commentator. It is not accidental perhaps that the latter English commentator was a staunch Brexit supporter. But complicating the hypothesis that allochronization amounts to just demeaning the native Other (the Briton was actually dismissive of his compatriots opting for coastal leisure), his Brexit desire largely encompassed a fantasy of returning to a bounded, authentic place that opposed the hegemony of Germany and its elites, very much like his imagined Sfakia. This man wanted through Brexit a return to that supposedly innocent childhood, which shows how exclusionary and hierarchical the political results of a desire for return to purity may be. What makes his desire strangely relevant to d14 is the placement of Greece in a position of difference: a utopic space of unraveling neoliberalism and its elites.

To be sure, the segmentation I have been describing needs to be taken seriously as regards its radical political potential, as the case of the antifascist German activists of the AK Distomo team shows. Devoted to assisting residents of a town in central Greece that suffered a slaughter of some 223 residents by the German SS in 1944, their contribution includes campaigns, legal assistance, and annual visits. The affect involved in their project was particularly clear to me when, during a late-night discussion with members of the group, one of them broke down in tears while explaining the German state's indifference to Greek townships afflicted by Nazi atrocity. In a recent visit, some members reached Distomo by trekking a nearby mountain during which they marveled at the awesome emptiness, reopening how a sublime sensory experience is entangled with a politics of the South. At another site they support, these mountainous excursions entail veneration of guerillas who fought against the Germans in the 1940s using the same paths. The segmentary logic is further enhanced by the fact that some members of the group revisit kin ties to army officials of the 1940s through their activist work. The Greek audience seems particularly sensitive to the AK's segmentary alliances inasmuch as these openly clash with the group's official/national identity. Thus, at a recent campaign where activists held banners and distributed pamphlets at an archaeological site, Greek onlookers kept asking how it is possible that though they are Germans they support a Greek cause. In 2017 the AK team, in a gesture of identification with the small external unit versus the interior larger, intervened in d14's program and reprimanded the show for choosing an inauguration date in Kassel that coincides with the anniversary of the Distomo civilians' massacre by the SS without acknowledging this history (fig. 10). So the conjuring of Greece as a political utopia has the capacity to go in radically different directions: nationalist Brexit and antinationalist activism. And both of these directions show that pleasure in the (landscape) sublime can be a fundamental part of the sanguine political investment.

Conclusion

This article is an invitation to revisit Orientalism and explore what people mean by it and what experiences it unleashes. Dwelling on Greeks' dismissal of a formally antihegemonic exhibition (d14) as Orientalist, I have argued that the comparison

Figure 10. Members of the AK Distomo collective together with survivor Argyris Sfontouris demonstrate in Kassel against documenta 14's choice to inaugurate the exhibition in Germany on the same day as the 1944 Distomo massacre anniversary. Note the picket signs displaying names of Greek towns that suffered from German Nazi violence as well as the banner depicting Maria Pantiska, a woman photographed in the aftermath of the Distomo slaughter by *Life* magazine photographer Dmitri Kessel. Copyright Christina Gericke, 2017.

between the role of d14 in Athens and the meeting between tourists and locals in Sfakia, Crete, illuminates the affective and hierarchical dimensions of encounters with subalterns. The article speaks to a historical moment (the post-2010 crisis) characterized by many Greeks' disdain of the Westerners' gaze conceived as colonial surveillance, but it also probes into a long-standing blind spot in theorizations of exoticism, that is, fascination with Others. I argued that Greek critical reactions to d14 were informed by two intersecting sensibilities. First, the privileging of (invisible) economic/political structure over (visible) artworks, whereby d14 becomes synonymous with neoliberal realpolitik and art becomes secondary or even complicit with softening the intra-European structural violence. This operates along with a moral approach to tourism as callous entertainment. Second, an aversion for the ascription of a quasi-tribal status (the Greek as resisting native), which commentators immersed in arts and humanities terminology exorcized as Orientalism and which, in some iterations, even harbored discontent about d14 denying Greeks a European status. The postcolonial terminology used by critics allowed a connection between power and representation, setting up a question that has traditionally troubled Sfakians: who represents whom and in whose terms. I also argued that a critical focus on Greece today provides an entry point to key oscillations in experiences of global inequality, where European hierarchies can be simultaneously desired and despised and where fascination with Others underlines complex investments and may trigger these Others' disdain.

The easy proposition would have been that d14 simply displaced eighteenth-century noble savage fantasies onto antineoliberal struggle or that it reinscribed, despite its poststructuralist tone, primitivism's historical tensions, such as the slippery connection between adoration and superciliousness. However, this fails to probe into what exactly the fantasy is and how it is experienced by its subjects. I thus explored the political potential of European onlookers' positivity for Others (Sfakians or Athenians) by reworking Burke's notion of the sublime and the anthropological concept of segmentation. These allow us to understand the creation of empathetic connections with those Others whom one marvels at and to grasp the possibility of alliances with them vis-à-vis one's own formal national background. Segmentation also becomes crucial for understanding national identification among antinationalist Greeks, which happens in the face of perceived EU hegemony in the crisis. Volatile ingredients of sympathy, adoration, horror, the desire for reenchantment, and self-critique suffuse segmentation and this indigenous sublime. Yet I also argued that it is crucial to address power even in positive embraces of natives, and this is where one realizes that exaltations of embattled subjects may hinge exactly on a desire that these subjects be in crisis or that they conform to a particular version of subalternity. The admiration of Others complicates Orientalism as a negative representation, adding components such as pain, pleasure, and utopia, but it may also leave power structures intact and offend those represented. The utopia involved in this dynamic can furnish radically different political imaginaries; a strange commonality between them is that the insistence on the desired object's difference and the pleasure in its sensory affordances can become both empowering and oppressive.

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Comments

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Going Native with the Natives: Greece and the Refugee Sublime

Back in 2006, when I began my dissertation fieldwork on the Greek asylum procedure, I too encountered an Athenian sublime. For me, this meeting with both beauty and horror was inextricable from Greece's position as a border country of Europe and Athens's emergence as a hub for mobile people, a great many seeking the protection of asylum. As for both the tourists in Kalantzis's account and for a great many anthropologists, encounters with Otherness defined much of my fieldwork. The "Others" that shaped my field were manifold and relationally constituted: not just the Greek language, Greek practices, and people but also wild and often violent things that I witnessed, particularly regarding the treatment of migrants. There were also those who, themselves, were positioned as Others in Athens: border crossers.

Because Athens was my "field," where I explicitly conducted research, it was the site where I acquired firsthand knowledge of the injustices that asylum seekers experience as they seek protection: the absurdity of legal processes, squalid conditions, lack of support, and the violence of police. None of these factors are unique to Athens, of course. Still, in Athens I encountered some version (or vision) of what I imagined was the "real." This was not the proto, more real human that some tourists find in the figure of the Sfakian farmer but a real that tacitly grabs many novice (and even more experienced) ethnographers: the sense of encountering raw, even unfiltered insights grounded on the experience of "being there" (that authoring tendency of anthropology).

While I indeed felt horror at many of these insights, there was also a burgeoning sense of love. I met people who transformed me (Greeks and various other Others), and I was transported by the dark streets near Omonoia Square to hidden spaces where many people on the move made their homes and communities. I also came to love the routinized grunge that I traveled in my daily movements: the chaos of Athens, where I too found an elective home (not unlike the tourists who find a sense of home in Sfakia).

I was an anthrotourist held in thrall by the Athenian sublime. I felt a little bit like a trailblazer too. In the mid-2000s, there were not so many like me around. The crowds of international artists, activists, and researchers would come later, around the time of documenta 14 (though there were always classics scholars and archaeologists). I felt a bit like I had "discovered" the wonders of Athens, at a time when the city was largely associated, in the tourist imagination, with traffic and bad air. Visitors from northern Europe or the United States most often stayed just a day or two to see the Acropolis or bypassed the city entirely on the way to the islands (or indeed to Crete).

I was also working on topics that, in dominant currents of Greek life at the time, were atypical, marginal, and even Other: inmigration and refugees. In 2015–2016, when more than a million people crossed into Greece, the humanitarian and refugee industries became key venues for voluntary and even paid employment for Greeks across a variety of sectors. But in the mid-2000s these were specialized niches, at the margins of mainstream professional life. When I explained my research to Athenians who asked casually what I was doing there, I received nods and occasional expressions of interest, but I almost never heard accounts of experiences with similar kinds of issues. As a foreigner (and in my own way an Other), the fact that I was doing research on other Others in Greece seemed somehow appropriate.

Shortly after I completed my dissertation fieldwork, however, Greece came on the scene of global attention and concern, as Kalantzis describes. The economic crisis, austerity, and the social ferments that accompanied this period launched Greece and Greeks into the global imagination in binary—and indeed, Orientalist—images: lazy, tax-avoidant pariah on the one hand and brave, unruly revolutionary on the other. So not just anthrotourists but anarchotourists, art tourists, and others descended on Athens with their own dreams of the real. My language here is ironic, but at the time I was dismissive and even scornful of these newcomers. I assumed that they were opportunistic, even exploitative—lacking language and cultural knowledge that I had

amassed over time. But in truth, my attitude was (to draw on Kalantzis's use of Evans-Pritchard and, later, Herzfeld) an affective segmentary move away from those like me. With the arrival of the other tourists, I sought to align myself with the natives.

Another segmentary sea change was also taking place. As the refugee crisis of 2015–2016 layered onto the existing crises of austerity, a great many of the natives aligned themselves with the other Others: the Greeks rallied behind the refugees. While significant numbers certainly joined the xenophobic right, the Greek welcome of refugees went mainstream and viral—at least in the earlier days. Pictures of Greek grandmothers with refugee babies hit front pages everywhere. In 2016 everyone I knew in Athens was engaged with refugees in some way: through voluntarism, solidarity and mutual aid, or, increasingly, formal employment. Some Athenian interlocutors recounted to me that Greeks had themselves experienced displacement and emigration—so they could understand the predicaments of new arrivals. Others stated that the precarity and exclusion Greeks faced under austerity made their struggles similar to those that refugees faced: Greeks were "internal refugees." Newly arrived refugees were positioned as Others, but Greek empathy drew new lines of segmentation and connection.

Documenta 14 brought this segmentary shift into full realization. As Kalantzis describes, many native leftist Athenian critics invoked self-orientalizing tropes as German (and other) interlopers arrived. But in doing so, some Greek critics also placed themselves in the same boat as refugees and border crossers themselves (see Cabot 2020). Elsewhere I have written of the political potentialities of such alignments and alliances between precaritized Greeks and seekers of refuge (Cabot 2019*b*). But there is also something sinister about the Greek encounter with the refugee sublime. Native alliances with refugees were indeed about empathy. Still, ideas of shared struggle, and the adoption of a mantle of victimhood against an orientalizing gaze, also risked erasing diverse experiences and needs and neutralizing constitutive power asymmetries. In Kalantzis's relational dyad of Orientalist and Other, had Greeks themselves become the co-opting tourists in encounters with refugees?

While Kalantzis's article focuses on the relatively binary relations between privileged outsiders and Athenian and Sfakian locals, it is fruitful to extend the model to consider how those who are objects of Orientalist desires may also come to leverage or even weaponize such tropes. As Kalantzis urges, we must hold in tension the multiple faces of Orientalist tropes; the dynamic, relational ways in which segmentation takes place; and the ambivalent possibilities of the sublime.

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Konstantinos Kalantzis lays open the scalar complexity of the anthropologist's entailment in the world of modernism, nationalism, and reflexivity. He does this with an old anthropological tool/concept—segmentation—paired with determination not to let either scalar pole overcome the other, as he juxtaposes debates over an international art exhibition in the Greek national capital with the dynamics of international encounter in the romanticized Cretan villages where he has conducted research. While the exhibition invoked images of the remote and the primitive, its organizers and critics alike (although in very unlike ways) invested it with global significance. In keeping with his scalar balancing act, Kalantzis responds to the resulting clash of perspectives by refusing to reduce the one solely to the terms of Romantic exoticism and the other to those of postcolonial critique.

Given the sprawling nature of his topic, Kalantzis also resists some tempting byways offered by his material. While such parsimony is laudable in an already complex argument, it does risk occluding significant elements of the visual evidence. In figure 5, notably, the hints of parody exceed even what he describes as such. Cretan villagers, while proclaiming respect for literacy, parallel Kalantzis's "leftist epistemology" in despising those who depend on it. The actors, however, dressed in costumes now almost never worn in Cretan villages, hold paper documents (presumably scripts or programs). Moreover, they perform on a stage flanked by neoclassical columns that recall the archaizing self-image imposed on Greece by the colonial powers. The setting thus enhances the mutual entanglement of autoexoticism with postcolonial posturing; neoclassical architectural elements, especially poignant in Greece, are a common marker of lingering cryptocolonialism worldwide. The image also expresses the scalar tension between local pride and nationalism and between the intimacies of village culture and nationalist affectations of self-display.

Kalantzis demonstrates how difficult it must be, within encompassing contexts of the segmentary international order, for those who are domestically the most sincere antinationalists to avoid becoming nationalists themselves. The visual rhetoric of columns and papers also turns localists into nationalists as well—but nationalists entrapped in cryptocolonial logic. How, then, has an idealized Crete, so distinctive within the Greek nation-state and yet so easily co-opted into a cryptocolonial scenario, become the idiom for national resistance to cryptocolonialism?

The answer lies in a combination of historical circumstances and the peculiarities of local social relations. Crete, in 1913, was not the last territory incorporated into the Greek nation-state; the Dodecanese followed only in 1948. The western and central highlands of Crete, however, had contested Ottoman rule with particular ferocity and were notably resistant to the imposition of state law. The persistence of large patrilineal clan blocs paradoxically enabled both stronger opposition to state control through the efficient mustering of large groups of affines and a more massive entanglement with the Athens-based political establishment through high-stakes electoral bribery—the Cretan tail wagging the Greek dog (Herzfeld 2022:27–29, 53–56). Urban middle-class ambivalence toward the stereotype of the male Cretan also accords with Kalantzis's scalar argument.

Reciprocally, and opportunistically, Cretans have often leveraged the stereotype into the national project (see especially Kalantzis 2012, 2015*a*, 2019).

This pragmatic coherence also emerges clearly in Kalantzis's agile linkage of populist critiques of "leftists with right-wing wallets"—the Greek term "oiling" (*ladhoma*) translates into "greasing palms" in English—to the local dynamics of concealment and display among rural populations (including both Campbell's [1964] Sarakatsani and Kalantzis's own Sfakian informants). Inasmuch as concealment often serves to announce rather than to hide the existence of a secret (as opposed to the secret itself; Herzfeld 2009), urban Greeks' apparent embarrassment over their rambunctious rural compatriots perhaps deliberately proclaims what it affects to conceal. Exoticism, after all, does demonstrably sell.

Critics have pinpointed ironies in both d14's and some domestic leftists' self-representation as resisting colonialism. Not only has the wild side of Greek culture long earned financial rewards abroad (*Zorba the Greek* was an international blockbuster) but it also builds on the voyeurism that the d14 proponents, ironically like state officials, disavowed—a voyeurism that, as "dark tourism" (see Robb 2009), pays handsome rewards precisely because it feeds off the excitement of moral panic. That tourism moreover is not predominantly foreign; it mostly attracts members of the domestic middle class that most obviously benefits from the scalar tension between the despised local and the adulated national (see Herzfeld 2022:22–23). Such voyeurism seeks out part of what middle-class actors, in subjecting Greek national identity to the neoclassical model in the early and mid-nineteenth century, attempted to hide from potentially critical outsiders. One of its targets is the reserve of ferocious Cretan violence on which, at times of national crisis and in the logic of segmentation, the state can ferociously turn against external enemies.

Another dimension of that culturally intimate space is the specter of collaboration with the enemy. Collaboration, as Kalantzis notes, is a potent metaphor in Greece, evoking wartime collusion with the Nazis. The associated stereotype of Germans, now reinforced by the perception that German extractive capitalism is sucking away the nation's environmental resources (see Argenti and Knight 2015), has even deeper historical roots than the Nazi occupation. Reminders of the cultural engineering that subjected modern Greece to the neoclassical vision appear in many imposing official buildings—mostly designed by nineteenth-century German architects—in central Athens. The parodic representation of Cretan heroism on a stage so ostentatiously flanked by neoclassical columns thus recalls—and implicitly mocks—cryptocolonialism's durable shadow.

Kalantzis's daring scalar acrobatics deserve emulation. His approach offers a vindication of anthropology's global relevance. His vision exhorts us not to abandon either the small-scale initial framework of ethnographic investigation or the panoramic and theoretically generative perspective of critical comparison but instead to insist on their necessary complementarity. Only thus can we recognize agency that, still enmeshed in the legacy of colonial bullying, nevertheless repeatedly—if not always successfully—defies it.

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This article puts forward a complex and bold argument that has many different components. The use of segmentation is interesting and can be framed as a critique of the essentializing oppositions and dualisms that mask the diversity of attitudes within the West or South—in this case Germany or Greece—and that obscure the dynamic and contested internal natures of such imagined entities. The people who are nested within such spaces use their own segmentary processes and have different histories that are, in this case, revealed in the context of German attitudes to the difference of the "Other" of Sfakia. A complementary process of fusion occurs when the presumed hegemony of outside forces, manifest in documenta 14, "motivates Greeks to reconcile internal differentiations." In the context of my own research on the Yolngu people of northern Australia's encounter with the Australian state, we can see similar processes in operation, where in order to gain recognition of their rights and maintain their relative autonomy in opposition to the state, Yolngu have consciously acted as a polity (Morphy and Morphy 2013). They have also used "art" consciously as a means of persuasion. The success of their entanglement with the sublime has been facilitated by external segmentary processes that can be located in changing Western engagements with the art of Other cultures.

The comparison between the Sfakian sublime and the Athenian documenta 14 can be seen as part of an ongoing but intermittent process of engagement within the disciplinary histories of anthropology and art history with the aesthetics of non-European cultures. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, these emergent disciplines shared many things in common but gradually moved apart (Morphy 2007; Westermann 2005). Arguably, comparative anthropology and cultural relativism attempt in different ways to close the difference between cultures though processes of cross-cultural understanding, interpretation, and appreciation. Appreciation may include an aesthetic response to or positive valuation of peoples' modes of life, cosmologies, material worlds, and so on. The anthropology of material culture has often struggled with the categorization of things as art precisely because of the danger of subsuming them reductively within a Western category. Art history by contrast has until recently been part of a process of separating aesthetic forms from outside the presumed trajectory of Western art by placing them in distinct categories (such as "primitive art") and locating them in different institutions (such as ethnographic museums).

In response to Don Kulick's question, "What is the nature of the pleasure that anthropologists derive from the powerless?" my answer would be to challenge the premise and replace it in

turn with questions that anthropologists do ask. How is it that people find pleasure in their lives? How do they value things? If I could value things as they do in their society, how could I communicate that value so that others might share it? If as anthropologists we adopt a comparative perspective, then our process of translation requires translating not simply from one cultural context to another but potentially across multiple cultural contexts, creating shared understandings that allow difference to exist and be appreciated, acknowledging different space-times and the disruptions of colonial histories, yet at the same time not distancing people from the present—to engage with what Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2006) refers to as "metacultural processes."

Art history has also become increasingly comparative and engaged with the problem of moving away from a Eurocentric conception of fine art centered on the ahistorical succession that leads from Mesopotamia to European modernism toward a stance that acknowledges the complexities of world histories and complex spatiotemporal intersections. The hegemony of the category "Western fine art" is breaking down, and the emergence of concepts such as world art history and the global contemporary have become central to the agenda of exhibitionary festivals such as documenta and the many rotating Biennales. The existence of different local histories and cultures, religions, and economies inevitably generates conflicting perspectives at higher levels of encompassment. But ideally perhaps those larger entities (e.g., the global or national) should create the space for the agency of people with different backgrounds to act in the world in continuity with their own segmentary sets of values and aspirations.

The relative autonomy of aesthetic response from peoples' beliefs and values enables festivals like documenta 14 to thrive while encompassing cultural forms from outside the previous province of Western art history. The danger is that reducing the works to form alone may become a mode of appropriation, reflecting a tension between cultural relativity and diversity. However, engagement with the cultural production of people existing outside one's own time-based systems of evaluation ("fascination with Others") is a way of making people aware of differences that, rather than setting people in the past, challenges the essentialism of the present; it engages with people across time through affective responses. This is exemplified by members of the AK Distomo team, whose "sublime sensory experience" of the surrounding mountains became "entangled with a politics of the South." And once engaged with the sublime, the possibility of entering a discourse opens up, just as the Distomo team intervened at the opening of the exhibition at its second venue in Kassel.

In this case the German visitors experienced the sublime, but we do not know whether that was the intention of those who produced that effect on them. Nigel Fabb (2022) argues that in many cases people consciously use their own capacity to create the "surprise" of the sublime to influence the way they are seen by others. The Yolngu people we have worked with consciously aim to reproduce sublime experience when the sound of a song (*manikay*), the effect of light emanating from a painting (*miny'tji*), and the expressive energy of a dance (*buŋgul*) come together in ceremonial performance. They use the same techniques and aesthetic effects in artworks produced and ceremonies performed for non-Yolngu audiences. In those external contexts, their aim is partly to prompt those in the audience to ask, How does the art or performance mean, how is it valued, what do the artists want to achieve? Their interventions through art contribute to changing understandings of contemporary art in Australia yet also act in the local political arena to support recognition of rights in land and sea (Morphy 2007).

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Kostas Kalantzis provides a compelling overview of how multiple discourses over power and representation emerge in contemporary Greece. The scope of the article is admirably ambitious in its attempt to chart and connect different forms of ethnonational essentialism within a variety of geographical and institutional spaces. His main story is set around various reactions to the Kassel-based art exhibition documenta 14 as it capitalized on postcrisis Athens to stage part of its show. Through the voices of some of its Athenian critics, Kalantzis effectively demonstrates how the artistic motivation of "Learning from Athens" (as the Athenian portion was entitled) echoes the orientalizing fantasies that have long characterized the relationship between foreigners and locals in Kalantzis's field site of Sfakia. Yet, as Kalantzis insightfully suggests, the North/South schisms enacted between locals and foreigners in Sfakia and Athens can also extend to (leftist) Athenian locals, global nativist movements (most notably that attached to Brexit), and the colonial legacy that continues to lurk in anthropological practice.

Unfortunately, the insidious forms of the tourist gaze or local figurations of Euro-American power will not be new to anyone familiar with the ethnographic literature on Greece. As this audience well knows, the Greek nation-state was principally founded on Romantic European projections tied to geopolitical power struggles that have shaped the course of Greek history to the present day. As Kalantzis's and others' work suggests, Crete's rugged landscape coupled with its history of resistance serves as both an icon and an index of resistance, purity, and danger that scale up to characterize Greece as a whole. Here Kalantzis conceptualizes the "indigenous sublime" as a powerful way to connect foreigners' experience of thrill in Sfakia's mountainous terrain to that of the tear gas–suffused streets of Athens. And, as he observes, part of the frisson of mastering the terror of nature or state violence lies in the promise of recovering something more authentically human that has been purportedly lost in the "modern West" or "neoliberal North." To emphasize this latter point, Kalantzis draws from Evans-Pritchard's classical

model of segmentary lineage systems to sketch how oscillating identifications of victim and oppressor are anchored to oscillations of local, national, and international identifications. While Kalantzis's text points to a structure of ambivalence enacted by local Sfakians and Athenians, his focus on the "indigenous sublime" remains centered on the fantasies of European expats, artists, and tourists.

Kalantzis proposes to go beyond a simple narrative of how older myths of the noble savage are reworked in neoliberal resistance by unpacking the fantasies' contents and how they are experienced by subjects. While I am unclear why tracing the transformation of myth through historical conditions is "simple," I am struck by what seems like an unresolved tension in what is particular to Greece and what belongs at the level of Orientalism or other such large-scale critiques of Western or European thought. That is, in attending to the empirical particularity of Europe and Greece, some of the theoretical concepts he draws on (e.g., subalternity, negritude) appear overstretched. On the other hand, Romantic formulations of lost selves projected onto chronotopes of "Otherness" (including a Cretan imaginary) can equally apply to Athenians of many different stripes. Here, I think an expanded focus on the dialectical formation of foreign/native structures of ambivalence as explored by postcolonial thinkers (e.g., Bhabha 2004*a* [1994]; Fanon 1982; Mbembé 2001) could be instructive in developing the internalization of hierarchical logics that Kalantzis points out.

This conundrum calls to mind an encounter I had in 2011 while working on a Greek documentary on the Parsi community in Mumbai. The crew went to watch a Bollywood film at a theater where we appeared to be the only Western (read: white) tourists in the audience. As the national anthem played before the screening, everyone stood up except for two leftist crew members who had deep political commitments against nationalism. A verbal altercation ensued as several incensed members of the audience accused the crew of acting like exoticizing colonizers. In this case, to what extent does the "indigenous sublime" characterize the Greek artists? Clearly, this is a very different case with different historical relationships involved, but it calls into question the complex, abstract nature of power easily obscured by a schismogenesis of victimhood.

In this way, I find Susan Gal and Judith Irvine's work on fractal recursion more useful than Evans-Pritchard's because it recognizes the performative, contingent dimensions of structural logics. Gal (2002) writes, "Once a dichotomy is established, the semiotic logic forms a scaffolding for possibilities of embedding and thus for change, creativity and argument. In these nested dichotomies, there is always some skewing or redefinition at every iteration" (85). I have found this theorization helpful in my own work on the emergent Chinese imaginary in Greece as chronotopes of East/West, North/South, and Europe/Greece get refigured in the wake of the rise of Chinese economic and political power (Rosen 2015).

Ultimately, as Kalantzis aptly contends, Greece provides an informative site to explore the vicissitudes of inequality within and outside of Europe. Of course, this sentiment also reflects the principal contention of documenta 14, namely, that there is something to be "learned" from Athens. In this way, Kalantzis's article provocatively compels its readers to consider the question, What (if anything) makes an anthropological project so different from an (apparently tone-deaf) artistic one? In thinking about how value and reputation are produced through forms of critique that are ambivalently and abstractly linked to economic and institutional power, the comparison between art and anthropology is worth serious consideration. We are not just dealing with fantasies (however important they are) but with economic and structural transformations that make things like the splitting of epistemic categories (such as essence/appearance, local/global, concrete/abstract more stark; see Comaroff and Comaroff 2000; Harvey 2019; Postone 1996). For instance, in our own field, the psychic rewards that Kulick (2006) and Cabot (2019*a*) observe in anthropology also need to be grounded in the larger political-economic context of the capitalist university (Graeber 2014) and its role in social production that guide who, what, and how we research.

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For readers whose interest in the contemporary art world is a passing one, it is hard to understate the significance of documenta. While the Venice Biennale exceeds it in terms of sheer scale and "media miles" (and is more closely linked to both the history of the Grand Exposition and the present of the art market), documenta dominates it in terms of its overarching conceptual power. Here, then, is where the frameworks of contemporary art are created and upheld. Here is where the fault lines of the global art discourse derive.

While the international art world thus flocks to the small town of Kassel every five years to digest and absorb the newest avant-garde, the disturbing origins of documenta have rarely been publicly discussed. Typically presented as an event that, as Oliver Marchart (2022) has suggested, "brought back light and civilization to Germany" (100) following World War II, both redeeming and reeducating the nation after the degeneracy of the prior decades, an exhibition at the German Historical Museum in 2021 brought this hegemonic take into question. It found not only that the quinquennial's inaugural curatorial committee in 1955 included 10 former Nazis within its founding 21 members but also that its cofounder and "art historical mastermind," Werner Haftmann, had been a wanted war criminal and member of the SA who tortured and murdered Italian partisans during the war (Marchart 2022:99). While documenta is thus commonly presented as an exhibition that used modern art to rehabilitate the German nation, it can in fact be understood as a project not of "healing and recovery" but of "covering up" (Marchart 2022:104). Like the official art world as a whole, the

relationship between artistic and political structures, whatever the actual forms being presented, must be understood as not just intertwined but fundamental.

Of course, the Athenian leftists discussed by Kalantzis in his elegant, persuasive, and incisive account of documenta 14 (d14) could have told you much of this already. For them, the institutional structure of documenta would inevitably outweigh its professed politics, highlighting the "incompatibility," as Kalantzis recounts, "between rhetoric and social practice, appearance and essence." As such, while any claimed National Socialist foundations may have at that time of d14 been made only metaphorically (the Germans as invaders to Athens as their ancestors were to Sfakia), documenta's existence as an artifact of the German state (let alone its €42 million budget) would always come to exceed its artworks or curatorial concepts alone. Origins, whether historical or geographic, can thus never truly be ignored (as they apparently have been by documenta to date).

While seemingly impossible, documenta 15, having just culminated as I write, somehow managed to elicit an even more controversial response than its previous iteration. Yet Kalantzis's account of d14 can provide us with a powerful position from which to help examine this. Inviting the renowned Indonesian collective Ruangrupa to Kassel to organize the exhibition, the first time in documenta's history that both a collective and anyone of Asian descent had curated the quinquennial, d14's "cultural investment in the South," as Kalantzis terms it, could in d15 be argued to have been returned to the historical center. Rather than the ostensibly non-Western Greeks, however, here Ruangrupa and their associated artists from the art world peripheries could be seen to have been positioned as the "positive inspiration and appealing antithesis of the West," the Indonesian collective (like the Athenians whom we were supposed to be learning from in d14) providing the disenchanted Westerner with the "emancipatory political lessons" they needed (let alone, it should be added, with entertainment). The curatorial method of *lumbung* that Ruangrupa chose as the overarching concept of d15, then, a term "rooted in principles such as collectivity, communal resource sharing, and equal allocation," could here be seen in relation to the values of "friendship, spontaneity, and hospitality" that the Greek notion of cultural intimacy was likewise understood to espouse. In a cooperative gesture critical to Ruangrupa's longevity in Indonesia (and thus understood by the curators as an everyday mode of practice), the curators thus invited hundreds of different collaborators and community groups to participate in d15, endeavoring to present an exhibition of true social and artistic horizontality. It focused on artistic ways of working rather than on artworks in themselves, on the shared over the individual, process over practice, outsiders over insiders.

So far, so great, it would seem. Yet origins, be they Athenian or Germanic, are of course still critical, and the bubbling culture war in Germany, with the enduring rise of the AfD and the recent federal resolution designating the Palestinian BDS movement as antisemitic (let alone the negative reception that d14 had garnered locally), led to outlandish accusations of anti-Jewish racism—due, it would appear, to the mere presence of Palestinian artists within the project—before d15 had even begun. When these accusations were, depressingly, backed up by the appearance of similarly outlandish, *Der Stürmer*–style antisemitic caricatures in a large mural by Indonesian collective Taring Padi (revealed in the central square of Kassel at the public opening of the exhibition), things quickly unraveled. While the artists' first response claimed more context was needed, positioning them within a larger anticolonial rhetoric (before latterly apologizing), the wider documenta organization seemed completely unprepared—for either the original weaponizing or the latter appearance of antisemitism. Having at first vigorously defended Ruangrupa from the false accusations, documenta now appeared shell-shocked that their "embattled subjects" had not come to "conform to [the] particular version of subalternity" that they desired. After the director of the Anne Frank institution in Frankfurt, Meron Mendel, was hurriedly brought in as an advisor to the project, Mendel resigned after just two weeks in the role, claiming that the management had no clear plan of action and—in particular after not inviting Ruangrupa to a public forum on antisemitism that he himself had initiated—that they had treated the Indonesian curators' with "a neo-colonial attitude" (Mendel in Hauenstein 2022)

Irrespective of the continuing back-and-forths (in which Jews themselves seem to be sidelined, existing solely through the role of pickle in the middle), what is clear is that documenta as an institution failed to prepare the artists and curators they were hosting for the battleground context they would be entering. As the artist Hito Steyerl claimed in a public letter following her own withdrawal from the exhibition, documenta as an institution had shown themselves unable to either "mediate and translate complexity" or "facilitate a sustained and structurally anchored inclusive debate" (Steyerl in Di Liscia 2022). The same lack of care locals in Athens reported at d14 was thus (surely not coincidently) replicated at d15. As such, without discounting the manner in which Ruangrupa (at that point exhaustedly) resorted to the reductive binary of friend/enemy after a committee of academics revealed further cases of alleged antisemitism in the exhibition or likewise ignoring the relationship between anti-imperialism and antisemitism (in Taring Padi's case, as mediated via the intertwined Dutch and German colonial histories of Indonesia), the farce at d15 seems, now, all too preventable. Was it not, just as Kalantzis argued at d14, "Romantic ideas concerning sublime natives" that enabled documenta to fail everyone involved so spectacularly? Was it a positive Orientalism that, for all its apparent virtues, not only comes to "leave power structures intact" but continues to "offend those represented"?

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Kalantzis knows that anthropologists are vexed by what they do, and his essay derives much of its affective power from this

discomfort. He reminds us that we are fascinated by difference but wary of Othering. We realize that anthropology's history and most potent effects are overdetermined by its problematic relationship (critical and collusive) with the modern, the West, the city, the empire. Yet we are drawn to remote areas (and marginalized people) even when we work in metropolitan centers. If we were to convert Kalantzis's analysis into a transparency and place it over the past and present of anthropology, would we be Germans or Greeks? The question might not be the right one to ask, but any attempt to answer it produces fascinating results. For every social type Kalantzis describes, in Athens or Sfakia, there are analogs among ethnographers. Advocates. Avant-gardists. Local elites struggling to control how outsiders represent them. Subalterns hoping to represent themselves. Metropolitans breaking ranks with their own kind. Romantics and picture takers. Escapists, antinationalists, rebels. In short, anthropologists are very German and very Greek, and as Kalantzis shows us, when Greeks and Germans encounter each other as such, they are doing things anthropologists do, often for similar reasons. This typological overlap allows Kalantzis to develop critiques of the discipline that are directed through—and, of necessity, are applied to and by—the people he works with and writes about. This concentration of effort produces uncanny results.

As someone who works in Arab and Muslim communities, I am familiar with the representational dilemmas Kalantzis describes. In both Mediterranean and Middle Eastern settings, ethnographers contend with diverse forms of Orientalism, political economies in crisis, well-intentioned but condescending "helpers" from the Global North, the curse and relentless allure of exoticism. In both regions, the orientalized party is heir to a high culture—religious, political, artistic, intellectual—that once outshone and overpowered the orientalizing party. This reversal is moralized as progress and loss (or theft). Across both regions, what is portrayed as essential difference, as Otherness, is variation within a discursive field that includes both parties (and whose unity can be reasserted as, say, the Abrahamic tradition or in the Mediterranean as Western civilization). The past weighs heavily on the present. Germany and Greece can be, and have been, enemies. No one is allowed to forget this. They are both exemplars of the West, of Europe, but in unequal and historically divergent ways. For Kalantzis, these simultaneities, and their conflicting historicizations, pervade Greek/German encounters. Insults can come from either side; acts of identification can as well. Both can bring pleasure and pain. I suspect Kalantzis feels both. He has acquired a taste (and tolerance) for both, and this affective stance allows him to criticize Orientalism in dialogical, emotionally complex ways.

I am overusing the word "both." Is this because Kalantzis presents a swirl of oppositions, each prone to reverse its charge or fractalize in practice? Is it because he invokes structural(ist) concepts like segmentation, which fizz and fuse across a German/Greek binary? Is it because he wants to have his difference and eat it too, debunking d14 while luxuriating in it, displaying cringeworthy German stereotypes of Sfakians while suggesting that tourists and locals encounter each other on terrain that is imaginatively rich and ambiguous? Yes. Kalantzis is working both sides. All sides. I like this approach. I also admire his decision to engage Orientalism as an ideology with positive and negative variants, emanating from internal and external sources. Orientalism travels with us to the field, and it awaits us there. In Jordan self-consciously sophisticated Arabs called the Bedouin I lived with "Red Indians." In Detroit I encounter anti-Arab stereotypes in diverse media of cultural representation, and malign exclusion is not always the point of their display. They appear in museum exhibits to educate against racism and in civil liberties activism as reasons to mobilize. It is standard practice, in Arab and Muslim American studies, to examine the form and function of Orientalist and Islamophobic stereotypes. Making them go away is not always the intent, nor will it be the result, of critical engagement. Greek activists who dressed up in "tribal" costumes and performed "primitive" rituals as a critique of d14 understood the value of the Orientalist motifs they reproduced. "This," Kalantzis observes, "is a key contradiction of the fascination with the embattled subject: it relies on the existence of the conditions it purportedly opposes."

A sense of ambivalence, or transgression, is central to Kalantzis's work, whether his topic is offensive jokes (made by Greeks about Germans and by Germans about Greeks) or the guilty pleasure that comes from displaying what one is criticizing, harnessing and riding along on its negative power (and knowing when to jump off).[13] There are obvious risks here. Institutional review board protocols and acts of solidarity with those we study will do little to avert them; the ethnographic sublime comes from taking and surviving these risks. Kalantzis is wise to reclaim segmentation, a model widely dismissed as mechanical despite its ability to organize human relations and give shape to structures of feeling, at every level of social complexity. It is not opposition, balanced or asymmetrical, that interests Kalantzis so much as the possibility of opting out of a position or identifying against it. The best ethnography grows out of these exceptional states. It is awareness of segmentation—as grammar, affect, and interpretive frame—that allows Kalantzis to incorporate such a multiplicity of positions, and people, in his analysis. It is a generous approach, giving place and giving rise to contradictory views. Kalantzis never claims neutrality. His approach offends and affirms. I am still not sure how the sublime relates to the formalism and logical constraint of segmentary models, but insofar as these models produce limits, and margins, they hold out the possibility of spaces and times that are ordered differently. This compels me to ask, How could Kalantzis move more of his analysis into those alternative spaces?

13. For an unconventional (and funny) discussion of jokes, see Kalantzis's conversation with Pooyan Tamimi Arab and Rehan Yeh at https://cssh.lsa.umich.edu/2022/07/02/is-it-ok-to-laugh-pooyan-tamimi-arab-konstantinos-kalantzis-and-rihan-yeh-discuss-the-analytical-power-of-jokes/. For his solo act, see Kalantzis (2015*b*).

Reply

I am grateful to the commentators for engaging my essay with such generosity and for offering inspiring readings. I hope that my response will elucidate some of the issues they raised and that it will further our engagement on the nexus of power, representation, and Orientalism.

My piece examines an art show, documenta14 (d14), seen through the lens of a region (Sfakia) that stands as an archetype of rugged rurality. Through this crosstalk, I attempt to rethink the problem of Orientalism, which informs geographies of global inequality. I argued that the constellation is messy and volatile—an arena where the affective combines with the hierarchical—and I would emphasize that this understanding came as a result of prioritizing ethnography and heeding the unpredictable rather than, as Herzfeld accurately observes, subsuming the topic under (convenient) theoretical rubrics. This is an ethnography whose primary materials are, as Shryock perceptively notes, pleasure and pain and one that conjures a certain bothness: people both revolt and reproduce, admire and subjugate. Binaries of power resistance are explored only to the extent that they mean things to my interlocutors.

That would be a first response to Rosen's reference to a "schismogenesis of victimhood" (Cabot also mentions dyads/binaries but recognizes that ambivalence is central to my account of Orientalism's "multiple faces"). Although I tried to deconstruct a power-resistance analytic, its presence might be unavoidable for some readers, given that Orientalism summons a victimized Orient and a powerful Occident that represents it (an irony here being that Athens and Sfakia are glorified for their nonvictimhood). Rosen's reading might also indicate the difficulty we have with utilizing ambivalence as an analytical lens (something I try in Kalantzis 2019). In a way, it seems that ambivalence eludes an affirmative thesis.

Shryock provides another hint as to why dyadic readings might persist, by reminding us that segmentation has been historically attached to a rigidity that lacks the performative fluidity Rosen approves of as expressive of contemporary anthropology. I am thus elated that most commentators appreciated that in my utilization of segmentation, I tried to exceed its baggage and account for the volatile, contingent ground of d14 and Sfakia. The readers offer wonderfully persuasive examples of how segmentation may frame their own experiences, including Cabot's powerfully reflexive account of her position against Athens's new tourists (or Greeks' identification with refugees, even though she cautions us about its political limits), Morphy's exploration of Yolngu addresses to Western audiences, and, of course, Herzfeld's identification of segmentation as a key logic of the nation-state and as something embedded in contextual politics, a conceptualization that has been instrumental to my rethinking of segmentation. Finally, Shryock's and Schacter's critical accounts of Bedouins stereotyped as "Red Indians" and the recriminations around anti-imperialism and antisemitism also provoke us to consider segmentation's analytical potential.

I referred earlier to "the problem" of Orientalism to signal that something is unresolved, even in the core of Said's own model. Yet that unresolvedness is lost whenever anthropologists with a tacit Foucaultean understanding of representation as power use terms such as "exoticism" to exorcise it as a negative signification and then quickly move on, abandoning a zone of complexity and, indeed, ambivalence. This latent Foucaulteanism informs most accounts of visuality, hence the popularity of terms such as "the tourist gaze," used here by Rosen (perhaps a nod to Urry 1990). Going beyond the equation of vision with social control is a challenge I confront throughout my work, most recently as a member of the PhotoDemos collective that seeks in photography political communities that defy normative hierarchies (Pinney and the PhotoDemos Collective 2023).

So truistic uses of Orientalism have two problems. First, they elude the complexity of exoticism by assuming a uniform objectification purported by every observer (this is the "simplification" I would have performed if I had merely stated that d14 rehashed primitivism, to respond to Rosen). Second, they evade the exploration of the exact ways through which power operates (assigning it a "theological effect" in Hirschkind's [1991:283] critique of Mitchell's *Colonizing Egypt*; Pinney 2008:387). Recall the German hiker in the essay (fig. 9): is his gaze that of a commanding colonizer ("a co-opting tourist" in Cabot's terms), or does it enable submission to an uncanny landscape? Might it do both, and how are we to assess this?

My aspiration was that the combination of segmentation and the sublime would address these two problems. It would ethnographically do justice to observers' fascination but also to power beyond a normalization of the positive and the negative. I attempt to heed, as Shryock captures it, "a multiplicity of positions, including" people with empathetic connections with those they represent, for instance, the AK Distomo team that Morphy singles out as interventionist politics of the South (a politics that continues to be researched in relation to d14 and beyond, some interventions stressing Greece's complicity with colonial hierarchies of nation and race; see Boletsi and Papanikolaou 2022; Decolonize Hellas 2022; Fotiadi 2022; Greenberg and Hamilakis 2022; Strecker 2022).

I would address Rosen's impression that my account points to the "internalization of hierarchical logics" by invoking Morphy's important question about whether the sublime is intentionally produced by those being looked at. Although not as "art," this becomes a daily matter in Sfakia where residents have to constantly negotiate observers and their representations, from journalists and tourists to eighteenth-century travelogues and ubiquitous postcards, many of which they reference when discussing Sfakia. Figure 8 serves as an example of how their own self-staging, here as mourners in black and white, becomes inseparable from external Romantic expectations. But rather than seeing this as an internalization and subsequent reproduction of the gaze (a model that is ultimately more dichotomizing and deterministic than the assumed structuralism of segmentation), I want to understand Sfakia (and d14's Athens) as a sphere where observers' impressions and local idioms become entangled in a

synergistic, but also confrontational, hierarchical arena (see also Kalantzis 2019:191–204).

So to pause and ask what Orientalism entails is a consequential gesture. It allows us to unpack experiences in a conflictual, oscillating arena and to account for desire in all of its ambivalence. Perhaps this is most poignant in relation to the nation. Herzfeld uses the apt expression "how difficult it must be" to refer to the antinationalists who, after the Greek crisis, come to defend the nation in a sphere of pain and pleasure. Taking cue from Cabot's reflexive candor, I would stress that Greek peers and I found ourselves immersed after 2010, besides economic difficulties, in a terrain traditionally faced by Sfakians. There was constant demand to appear in a certain way (even rumors of northern European journalists asking bystanders in disappointment why they appear unaffected by crisis) and a flooding of comments by international observers that equated national traits with personal lives. This is the era of repoliticized cultural intimacy (Cabot might call it weaponization of Orientalism), the transformation of Crete into an icon and index of resistance (to recall Rosen's apposite hint to visuality) and the slippery humor of middle-class subjects who reproduced offensive material they otherwise rejected, for the pleasure they afforded vis-à-vis a sense of German/European surveillance (Kalantzis 2015*b*). My own position of writing could be labeled, borrowing from Melanie Klein, "depressive," an acceptance that the observers' (and austerity enforcers') relentlessness is not separate from the flaws of "the Orientalized," apparent in moments of breakdown, and part of an oscillating continuum of self-blame and blaming Others. Here, a simple exorcism of Orientalism just did not cut it.

The practitioners dressed up as natives stand out, as Shryock notes, in their understanding of the power of reproducing the Orientalism they mock. Herzfeld offers a powerful analysis of that scene by turning our attention to neoclassicism. To second his reading, the performance did take place at a derelict hotel that was designed by Ernst Ziller, a key figure of cryptocolonialism's "cultural engineering." To think this together with Rosen's comment on internalization, I would raise the question of how to account for those Greeks who instead of resisting (something we anthropologists favor) adore neoclassicism. Can we do so, that is, without resorting to colonized-consciousness analytics? This question concerns the relationship between external authorization and the image that a peripheral society has of itself, an issue on which Herzfeld (e.g., 2002, 2004, 2005 [1997]) has offered crucial insights and something that concerns me throughout my work. Perhaps the relationship is easier to approach but also complicated in traditionalism/nativism because of its association with resistance. The use of German general Karl Krazeisen's portraits of 1821 fighters by the bank of Greece and by a fugitive ex-member of the "17th of November Revolutionary Organization" convicted of terrorism to lay a claim on primordial polity serves as a compelling example of simultaneous reliance and defiance (Kalantzis 2016*b*:28–29). To return to Herzfeld's final point, what would agency look like in this imagination economy where disavowal depends on the idioms articulated by those against whom one reacts?

The Cretan attire of the performers is a good place to think about this question. It has boomed in Cretan locales as ritual dress and also in commercial, televisual arenas. The parodists of the essay were addressing an urban crowd eager to laugh at nativism, but elsewhere, that dress fuels fantasies of resistance and rootedness, including, among anti-austerity protesters, German enthusiasts, and Sfakian traditionalists who proudly claim they shudder upon wearing it. That resistance treads on slippery ground. Herzfeld reminds us that Cretan violence is usable by the state, through segmentation, (while the nativists, whom Herzfeld [2022] calls "subversive archaists," can marshal it against the state). We also ought to remember that traditionalism is shaped by official mechanisms (e.g., nationalist historiography). But Crete today accommodates cultural investments ranging from nationalist traditionalism to antinationalist communitarianism, with people in each idiom editing out the connotations of Cretanness that troubles their vision. It is in slipping beyond such expectations and in the pleasure it offers to its performers that I would locate the force of Sfakians' traditionalism. It sometimes produces a recalcitrant alterity that partly conforms and partly breaks with dominant significations of the rural (2019:146–147).

Herzfeld is also right to remind us of the commercial character of exoticism. Heeding exoticism's local iterations may again lead to unexpected paths through, as with Sfakians who decommercialized and deconstructed commercial postcards that depicted their ancestors as anonymous shepherd types (Kalantzis 2019: 101–106). This does not signal an absolute break from dominant signification but a simultaneous subjection and critique, not unlike the context of d14. "Agency" here, if the term applies, is conditioned, relative, momentary unlike any notion of a consistent, "good" resistance.

Hierarchy and (denied) coevalness between centers and peripheries are tenacious issues in the contemporary art world, as Morphy and Schacter show. One remembers the critical description of belated periphery notions that underlie traditional Western art history by founder of *Third Text* Rasheed Araeen (1989): "our Bauhaus, their Mudhaus." The fact that Araeen was invited to participate in d14 (part of the institution's critical self-image, the mix-ups of which Schacter documents suspensefully around d15), along with the fact that Greek interlocutors were displeased with the ascription of difference while they simultaneously sought out that difference and spoke of colonialism, is what adds complexity to this field.

A theme of the essay that commentators picked up concerns anthropology's kinship to d14 and tourism. Schacter's strategy of providing an anthropological disclaimer about art and politics and then reminding us that Greek critics of d14 would have told us the same serves as a great entry point into this kinship. Shryock crucially locates ambiguity at the core of the discipline's attitude to alterity before inviting us to engage the hilarious exercise of figuring out whether anthropologists would be Germans or Greeks (see also Kapferer 2013:816). Another commonality between anthropologists and this essay's protagonists

is disdain for tourists as pursuers of pleasurable alterity checklists (anthropology's dreaded cousins; Alneng 2002; Kalantzis 2020*a*:361–362; but see Stasch 2019). Although some protagonists, such as AK Distomo, are close to anthropological political commitments, idolizations of the native's point of view in political projects such as Brexit are reminders of uncomfortable kinship. At stake in the idealization of Athens or Sfakia is an old philosophical problem that concerns anthropology as much as it concerns the study of the postcolonial condition. I am referring to the claim of retrieving forms of alterity that are not accounted for by dominant theory or derived from or even translatable into Eurocentric categories. Transfigured into an anticolonial context, can this invocation of incommensurable alterity ever avoid the (self-)essentializations that inform nationalism, and what are its implications for anthropology that seeks to capture the culturally distinctive?

Another key ingredient shared by anthropologists with Greeks and Germans is affect. It emerges in many of the commentators' accounts (from Cabot's experience in Athens to Morphy's appreciation of the Yolngu sublime). I am referring to that "something that resonates, that has a quality of urgency, absorption, movement" (Mazzarella, forthcoming). In keeping with the empathetic connections enabled by the sublime, affect emerges in multisensory "atmosphere(s)" that disrupt boundaries and allow for a certain alignment between those that encounter one another (Brennan 2004:10). Pointing to affect is one reply to Shryock's invitation that I move into spaces beyond the "logical constraint" of segmentary models. Segmentation sets the framework for understanding the Greek-German field, while the sublime helps us move toward those other spaces. Take the encounter between German tourists and Sfakians who host them over the years, despite the formal opposition to Germany and other Greeks' expectation that they punish them. Here photography, exchanged between the parties, opens up something akin to Walter Benjamin's optical unconscious, pointing to a field of exchange that, as Shryock (2008:410–411) has shown in relation to hospitality, disrupts formal conventions of belonging (Kalantzis 2023:166–173).

Rosen's final call to turn to "economic and structural transformations" and the political economy of the capitalist university recalls again the kinship between anthropology and its interlocutors. Rosen seems to ultimately forsake the emphasis on performative contingency for "the base" as the determinant of social experience. In a way, she sides with the Marxists annoyed by d14 who might exclaim with Rosen, "enough with fantasies and superstructures" (see also anthropologists questioning the self-authorization of indigenous media projects or participations in d14; Papataxiarchis 2019*b*; Weiner 1997). Even though I would reply to Rosen that fantasies are not immaterial and can well inform the creation of "stark" structures, I still find her remarks important because they point to unspoken, indeed unconscious, intentions that Kulick associated with desires for recognition in capitalism by a growing anthropology of the weak (a context we would likely describe today with references to "audit culture" and "neoliberalism;" see Shore and Wright 2015). Morphy's ethnography-oriented response to Kulick notwithstanding, Rosen's remarks encourage us to ponder how stated antineoliberal commitments may be complicated by practices that partake in neoliberal logics at other levels, for instance, the institutional importance placed on claims of reinventing the discipline, flexible contracts taken with hopes of a permanent position, or our pursuit of articulating critiques in forums that are ranked for their "impact." This is a final glimpse into our kinship with the context of d14 and Sfakia, as we inhabit positions that slip between agency and co-optation.

I was graced by the commentators with insights from which I learned and was humbled by their use of my essay as a way to illuminate other fields: Cabot's exploration of her involvement in the refugee context; Herzfeld's explications of the entanglements of state, cryptocolonialism, and agency; Morphy's analysis of the sublime's role in cultural difference and colonial histories; Schacter's decoding of d15 and Germany's culture wars; Shryock's deconstructive look at anthropology and Orientalism in US-Arab and Bedouin contexts; and Rosen's critical commitment to an ethnography that dissects power. I thank them and hope this conversation will be enjoyable to others marveling at and questioning the exotic.

—Konstantinos Kalantzis

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