



Rethinking History

The Journal of Theory and Practice

ISSN: (Print) (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/rrhi20

Lepanto or Little Algiers? Public history and the cultural politics of commemoration in modern Greece

Anastasia Stouraiti

To cite this article: Anastasia Stouraiti (15 Nov 2024): Lepanto or Little Algiers? Public history and the cultural politics of commemoration in modern Greece, Rethinking History, DOI: [10.1080/13642529.2024.2425879](https://doi.org/10.1080/13642529.2024.2425879)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13642529.2024.2425879>



© 2024 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.



Published online: 15 Nov 2024.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

Lepanto or Little Algiers? Public history and the cultural politics of commemoration in modern Greece

Anastasia Stouraiti 

Department of History, Goldsmiths, University of London, London, UK

ABSTRACT

What can the Battle of Lepanto (1571) reveal about the interconnected politics of nationalism and racism in contemporary Europe? Linking memory studies, critical heritage and the history of European-Ottoman wars, this article uses the 450th anniversary of the historic battle as an entry point for rethinking the politics of commemoration in modern Greece. It takes a multi-scalar perspective which charts memory-making across different spatial and temporal scales and examines the role of mnemonic practices as articulations of Greek nationalism blended with dependence on Greece's Euro-Atlantic patrons. The article situates the 450th anniversary of Lepanto within a larger commemorative tradition and long-term development of civic rituals and representational conventions. In doing so, it highlights the dynamics of voicing and silencing that shapes public history in ways that sanitise the past and obfuscate complex historical processes. Specifically, the article shows how the erasure of the Black history of Nafpaktos (the Greek town associated with Lepanto) and portrayals of the Greeks as an anti-Islamic nation have reinforced eurocentric civilisational narratives, occluding histories of colonialism and empire that continue to cast their shadows today.

ARTICLE HISTORY Received 19 May 2023; Accepted 27 October 2024

KEYWORDS Cultural memory; commemoration; public history; nationalism; battle of Lepanto; Islam; Black history; Greece

If we were creatures only of reason, we would not believe in anniversaries, holidays, relics or tombs. But since we are also made up in some part of matter, we like to believe that it [a Christmas card] too has a certain reality. Marcel Proust, Letter to Marie Nordlinger, 1898

CONTACT Anastasia Stouraiti  a.stouraiti@gold.ac.uk  Department of History, Goldsmiths, University of London, New Cross, London SE14 6NW, UK

© 2024 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group. This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way. The terms on which this article has been published allow the posting of the Accepted Manuscript in a repository by the author(s) or with their consent.

Introduction

On 10 October 2021, the Greek town of Nafpaktos commemorated the 450th anniversary of the Battle of Lepanto (1571), the largest galley engagement of the early modern era. Fought between the Ottoman armada and the allied fleets of a Catholic Holy League in the Gulf of Patras, the battle was a major clash between Christian and Muslim powers. Although the action ended in a crushing defeat for the Ottomans, it did not dramatically alter the balance of power in the Mediterranean. The Ottomans rapidly rebuilt their navy, and the Republic of Venice concluded a humiliating peace with Istanbul in return for the cession of Cyprus and the payment of hefty war indemnities. Nonetheless, the short-lived success at Lepanto broke the spell of Ottoman invincibility and proved to have a long-lasting effect on European art and literature, which profusely celebrated the victory as an epic triumph of Christianity over Islam (Braudel (1966) 1995; Capponi 2006; Mínguez 2017).

Not unlike early modern celebrations that constructed the myth of Lepanto by projecting the unity of church and state, the 2021 Greek commemoration included a celebratory mass at the town cathedral and a quayside eulogy at the old, Venetian port attended by President of the Republic Katerina Sakellaropoulou and other government and regional officials. ‘The naval battle of Lepanto is one of the great moments in world history’, said Sakellaropoulou, after casting a wreath into the sea to honour ‘the self-sacrifice of the Christian troops’ and ‘the heroism of the Greeks, who with their participation in the naval combat proved their firm commitment to the idea of freedom’. She described how, in its victory, ‘the navy of the Christian West’ contained ‘Turkish aggression’ and ‘gave hope to the enslaved peoples of the Balkans’, triggering a series of rebellions against the Turks that ‘testify to the emergence of national consciousness’ (*Kathimerini* 2021). Adopting a similar tone, Deputy Minister of Education Angelos Syrigos used Lepanto to stress the importance of Greece’s current ‘alliances with countries like France, Egypt, Israel, and the United Arab Emirates’. ‘The Battle of Lepanto showed that alliances can stop a strong opponent’, he exclaimed in a statement to journalists. Two days later, the Turkish newspaper *Hürriyet* published an article titled ‘Lepanto Ceremonies in Greece! Same mentality 450 years later’ (BBC Türkçe 2021; Kirbaki 2021). Giving the event a different twist, the article reported that the Greek state celebrated the anniversary of a battle in which the Ottomans were defeated by ‘the Crusaders’, noting

that Syrigos made a connection between the sixteenth-century ‘Crusader alliance’ and the ‘alliances’ that Greece is trying to form against Turkey today.

What do we make of these celebrations, public statements, and counterstatements? Do they tell us more about 1571 or 2021? And why does the town of Nafpaktos commemorate Lepanto as a key episode in its history even though the battle took place elsewhere? This article takes the 450th anniversary of Lepanto as an entry point for rethinking the culture of commemoration in Greece during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Drawing on an extensive literature on national rites and ceremonies (Gillis 1994; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Koulouri 2023; McCrone and McPherson 2009; Tsang and Woods 2014), it argues that the commemorations of Lepanto must be studied through a double perspective: first, as articulations of the politics of ‘dependent nationalism’, that is an institutional practice combining traditional nationalism with dependence on Greece’s Euro-Atlantic patrons (Kazamias 2022b); and, second, as cultural resources for remaking shared myths about the past. It is precisely this double perspective that also enables us to understand how the town of Nafpaktos interacted with the local, national and international memory of Lepanto to become a primary locus of cultural heritage in the context of post-Second World War Greek tourism and nation branding.

Taking a long-term perspective that includes different anniversary celebrations of Lepanto allows us not only to historicise the construction of a commemorative tradition over an extended time span, but also to ask broader questions about the social circulation of historical knowledge. The story I outline here is partly about the remembering of Lepanto and partly about the public consumption of history as leisure and entertainment. The ensuing analysis thus considers different practices, genres and spaces of public history (from exhibitions to historical re-enactments) and their active role in the constitution of social memory. Collective memory has long been at the centre of historians’ research, but over the last three decades the ‘turn to memory’ in historical studies has shifted attention to the socio-political dynamics of remembering and forgetting, the multi-directionality and multiple scales of memory, the changing history of mnemonic practices and the mediation of memory through cultural forms and narrative schemata (Bond and Rapson 2014; Cubitt 2019; De Cesari and Rigney 2014, Erll 2011b; Olick and Robbins 1998; Rigney 2018). Centering issues of power, history and identity, the commemoration of Lepanto sheds light on the ways in which states, ruling

elites and educational institutions use anniversaries to mobilise interest in exclusionary ethnoreligious fantasies and narratives of national collective agency. Anniversary rituals of piety and patriotism tightly intertwine ideas of political belonging with public knowledge about the past and emotional allegiance to the nation. In this vein, the case study presented here provides a useful example for exploring the role of cultural practices of remembrance and material heritage in sustaining nation-making projects through which communities are made and remade across space and time.

Lepanto and the invention of modern Nafpaktos

One of the earliest commemorations of Lepanto in modern Greece was a joint Greek – Spanish celebration that took place in Patras and Nafpaktos in July 1927. Launched by General Miguel Primo de Rivera's dictatorship during a training mission for Spanish naval cadets cruising the Mediterranean, the event was covered extensively in the Greek press of the time (*Makedonia* 1927; *Skrip* 1927a, 1927b, 1927c, 1927d). The commemorative programme comprised a religious service and a wreath-casting ceremony held aboard the torpedo destroyer *Velasco* (Escrigas Rodríguez 2021). It also included an official visit to Nafpaktos by the head of the Spanish flotilla, Salvador Carvia Caravaca, and the Greek Minister for Naval Affairs, Alexander Kanaris, as well as several gala dinners for various naval officers, diplomats and Catholic Church representatives.

Although the Battle of Lepanto took place near the Echinades islands (Curzolari), off the coast of western Greece, in the Ionian Sea, during this period the town of Nafpaktos started laying claim to its memory through public acts of commemoration that asserted ownership of the event. In 1930, the local authorities installed on the eastern tower of the port a marble plaque with the following inscription: '1571. In memory of the victors of the Battle of Lepanto fighting for freedom and Christianity'. The intensification of interest at the local level was met by a parallel accumulation of joint references to Nafpaktos and Lepanto in the national press of the period. In 1947, the newspaper *Embros* published an article titled 'Demands of a city', which highlighted the rich Venetian heritage of Nafpaktos and its potential to become a touristic site of remembrance. The author, who signed with the pen name Fortunio, was Spiros Melas (1947c, 1947a, 1947b), a well-known journalist, playwright, stage director and member of the Academy of Athens, but also a controversial figure who had advocated collaboration with the Nazis

and had for that reason been expelled from the Society of Greek Writers in 1944 and the Journalists' Union in 1945 (Karra 2010, 48). Born in Nafpaktos, Melas placed the economic regeneration of his native town at the intersection of commemoration, tourism and consumer nationalism. He drew attention to the potential of Venetian material culture as cultural heritage and commodified tourist attraction. But he also understood the significance of Lepanto for updating the Greek historical narrative with a new glorious episode, popularised through spectacles that turned citizens into 'nationalist(ic) consumers' (Volcic and Andrejevic 2016, 6). He ended his article with a call for the establishment of a Museum of Nafpaktos and a plea to Greeks abroad to contribute to the economic development of the area.

A few months later, *Embros* published a short piece on Lepanto by the poet and travel writer Kostas Ouranis (1947) that commemorated the 400th anniversary of Miguel de Cervantes's birth. Ouranis did not offer any patriotic messages and although he did mention that '1500 Greeks, slaves of the Turco-Egyptians, were freed', he focused on Lepanto's significance through Cervantes's poems and writings. Ouranis's approach would be soon sidelined by representations of Lepanto as an integral part of the Greek national narrative. In an article on 'Ancient and present-day Nafpaktos' in the newspaper *Eleftheria*, the critic Petros Charis (1956) praised its castle which, 'restored by the Venetians', watched over the sea 'as if that great and decisive naval battle of 1571 has not finished yet'. A few years later, the same newspaper linked Lepanto to the Balkan Wars in a piece on the Greek navy which extolled the participation of the Greeks in the battle of 1571 (Protonotariou 1961).

These texts provide an illustrative sample of the wider Greek public discourse on Nafpaktos and the Battle of Lepanto during the first half of the twentieth century. They mostly offer a sense of the symbolic importance of the battle in national self-definition and show awareness of the historical landscape of Nafpaktos. They also seem to confirm the view that 'the creators of much public history tend to be drawn from small cadres with highly specific agendas, even if they claim to be acting in the name of wider groups' (Jordanova 2006, 134). In fact, two years after Melas's articles, King Paul issued a decree that designated Nafpaktos as a 'tourist site' (*Government Gazette* 1949). According to an earlier decree 'Regarding tourist sites' (*Government Gazette* 1946a, 1946b), this designation meant that the town attracted the interest of travellers and, therefore, deserved tourist development and further study of its geography, history and folklore. This re-evaluation should be seen in tandem with

the revision of post-war Greek nationalism and its blending with the western ideology of liberal Atlanticism since the outbreak of the Greek Civil War and the new dependence of Greece on the United States in the Cold War, confirmed by the Truman Doctrine (Kazamias 2022b). It should also be viewed as a corollary of the emergence of a national tourism policy and the construction of new infrastructures which, aided by the Marshall Plan, aimed to develop the tourism sector in post-war Greece (Alifragkis and Athanassiou 2013; Nikolakakis 2015).

During the 1960s, the re-invention of Nafpaktos became entangled with entrepreneurial approaches to heritage and patrimony preservation, promoted by Western-oriented state elites that prioritised investment in tourism as a route to economic modernisation. Nafpaktos gained increasing public visibility as it became strategically appropriated by the hegemonic discourse of the growing leisure industry and cultural economy. As the George Papandreou government promised in 1964, virtuous planning would be the guiding principle of the tourist effort and therefore of the new public projects in Nafpaktos (*Eleftheria* 1964). In 1965, President of Parliament Georgios Athanasiadis Novas (the poet Athanas) visited his native Nafpaktos accompanied by government ministers and the president of the Greek National Tourism Organisation. The key issues were the restoration of the Venetian castle and the construction of a state-run hotel (Xenia) in a seaside area donated by Athanasiadis Novas (*Eleftheria* 1965).

The role of Athanasiadis Novas (briefly Prime Minister of Greece in July 1965) can be seen more clearly at the 400th anniversary of Lepanto celebrated by the Academy of Athens in 1971 – that is, during the Greek military dictatorship. One of the main ideological apparatuses of the state, the Academy included among its members several junta supporters, who marked the overthrow of democracy by reciting panegyrics on the anniversaries of the coup (21 April 1967). Hardly surprisingly, its special event was attended not only by academicians and foreign guests, but also by cabinet ministers and the Regent of Greece, General Georgios Zoitakis, himself a native of Nafpaktos (Academy of Athens 1972, 418; Hellenic National AudioVisual Archive 1971; *Makedonia* 1971a). The ceremonial session opened with a talk by the president of the Academy and one of the best-known Greek archaeologists of the twentieth century, Spyridon Marinatos, who was the General Inspector of Archaeological and Historical Monuments at the time, as well as an ardent enthusiast for the colonels' regime (Dimitrouka 2019–2020). In a typically patriotic tone, Marinatos (1972) linked the participation of the Greeks in the battle

to their ‘Christian soul’ and centuries-long suffering as an ‘enslaved people’. He also announced that he had invited the American professor of electrical engineering at MIT Harold E. Edgerton to carry out an underwater archaeological survey to locate the site and remains of the battle (Throckmorton, Edgerton, and Yalouris 1973).

Amplifying Marinatos’s points, former president of the Academy Athanasiadis Novas described Lepanto in his keynote address as an ‘auspicious omen of the regeneration of Greece’ that helped keep ‘the national spirit alive throughout the centuries’. In his view, the Greeks did everything they could in ‘the war against the enemy of the nation’, while their dedication to the ‘sacred cause of their independence’ was commendable (Athanas 1998, 229, 234–35). The final part of the speech projects the connection between the memory of Lepanto and collective identity construction, showing that ‘memory is valorized where identity is problematized’ (Kansteiner 2002, 184). There, Athanasiadis Novas responded to a challenging remark made by the Scottish philhellene and historian George Finlay (1856, 98) in his *History of Greece Under Othoman and Venetian Domination*:

It is interesting to observe the part which the Greeks acted in the battle of Lepanto. Their number in the hostile fleets far exceeded that of the combatants of any of the nations engaged, yet they exerted no influence on the fate of the battle, nor did their mental degradation allow them to use its result as a means of bettering their condition. The effect of mere numbers is always insignificant where individual virtue and national energy are wanting.

For Athanasiadis Novas, that was an utterly unfair judgment. Not only did the Greeks ‘spill more blood’, their ‘experience, knowledge of places [and] hope for freedom rendered their effort more essential than that of any other ally’. In his view, there was ‘no greater injustice for the Greek’ than to question his ‘love for freedom . . . the unaltered trait of his national character – always, for millennia and yesterday and today and tomorrow’ (Athanas 1998, 236).

Athanasiadis Novas’s contemporaries seem to have endorsed his paean to the Greek nation. One of them was the literary writer and politician Dionysios Romas, recipient of the Academy’s Literary Prize and the Greek State Prize for Literature in 1970 for his historical novel *The sopracomito* – the first part of a broader literary project titled *Periplous (Circumnavigation), 1570–1870* and later adapted for the screen. Narrating the story of a family from the Battle of Lepanto until 1670, the book was hailed by the

Academy as the first literary portrayal of the Heptanese [the Ionian Islands] during the Venetian rule, while its author was commended for showing how Orthodoxy ‘kept the nation upright throughout the many centuries of its historical hardships’ (Theodoracopoulos 1971, 340). In an article on Lepanto in European art, Romas (1971, 1341) not only cited the sixteenth-century Venetian historian Paolo Paruta’s praise for the martial valour of the Greeks, but also likened the Christian victory to ‘the unforgettable victories of the Greek army in Albania, where the myth of the invincible Axis Powers was first refuted’.

These celebratory narratives of a proud, masculine national history that used Lepanto to substantiate the myth of the nation’s unbroken continuity can be viewed in conjunction with another talk that Athanasiadis Novas had given in Venice, just a few days before the Academy ceremony. Speaking at a conference on Lepanto organised by the Fondazione Giorgio Cini following an idea he himself had proposed, Athanasiadis Novas (1974, 1, 7, 18) had presented the Battle as a defensive holy war aimed at ‘repelling the offensive of Islam to avert the danger of its spread in Europe’ and proposed the erection of a monument in memory of the ‘Unknown Oarsman’. Largely omitting fervent nationalist rhetoric, he invited the conference speakers to form a committee to promote the organisation of conferences in Nafpaktos every two or three years. Finally, he announced to those participants who would be attending the special session of the Academy of Athens that the Greek celebrations would include a trip to Nafpaktos and the Echinades islands to honour the dead ‘of both sides’.

Indeed, the day following the Academy event, foreign guests travelled to Nafpaktos accompanied by the director of the Hellenic Institute of Byzantine and post-Byzantine Studies in Venice, Manoussos Manoussacas. The local ceremony, attended by the Spanish ambassador, featured a lecture by the president of the Greek Historical and Ethnological Society, General Dimitrios N. Botsaris – scion of a leading family in the Greek War of Independence and owner of the Botsaris Tower,¹ the fifteenth-century residence of the Venetian governor of Nafpaktos – as well as a reception at Athanasiadis Novas’s house. On the last day of their trip, all participants boarded a Greek warship to visit the site of the naval engagement and cast laurel wreaths into the sea, as shown in [Figure 1](#) (Athanasiadis Novas 1972; Manoussacas 1972, 390–92).



Figure 1. Commemoration of the Battle of Lepanto, 1971. Echinades Islands, Greece. <https://www.agrinionews.gr/%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%85%CE%BC%CE%B1%CF%87%CE%AF%CE%B1-%CE%BD%CE%B1%CF%85%CF%80%CE%AC%CE%BA%CF%84%CE%BF%CF%85-%CE%B7-%CE%B1%CF%80%CF%8C%CE%B4%CE%BF%CF%83%CE%B7-%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%BC%CF%8E%CE%BD-%CF%83%CF%84/>

Important as Athanasiadis Novas's initiatives were, the association of Lepanto with Nafpaktos should not be viewed as the exclusive outcome of the clientelist practices of a self-serving political patron, who used state resources to benefit his hometown in exchange for electoral mobilisation and support. The state, a key agent in collective memory-making and the exercise of a hegemonic 'authorized heritage discourse' (Smith 2006), played a central role in this process, too. As the presence of the Spanish ambassador representing Franco's regime at the 1971 celebrations shows, the memory of Lepanto cut across national boundaries, blending the commemorative agendas of two states – two dictatorial regimes that used the battle to assert a Christian – military nationalist identity and to fashion themselves as defenders of western civilisation against communism (Hite 2012, 27–30; Hanß 2018, 30–36; Ferrándiz 2022, 209). It is not surprising, then, that the Academy of Athens celebrations were keenly promoted by leading military figures who had been actively involved with the repressive regimes of wartime and post-war Greece.

One of them was the veteran general Vassilis Stavrogiannopoulos, a native of Nafpaktos and former officer of the notorious Security Battalions – the collaborationist militias formed during the German occupation of Greece to fight against the Resistance. In an article on Lepanto published in the Greek army magazine *General Military Review*,

Stavrogiannopoulos (1972, 33) praised the Academy's ceremony, noting that it would have been unthinkable for a 'Christian state' like Greece not to 'celebrate a victory of Christianity'.² He argued that 'divine providence had chosen Greek space' as a place for 'world-historical events that change the course of history', and compared Lepanto to the Battle of Salamis (480BC) and the Battle of Actium (31BC).

Under the Colonels, this official memorialisation agenda was bolstered by historic preservation legislation that turned Nafpaktos into an authorised heritage site. In 1973, Minister of Culture and Sciences Dimitrios Tsakonas, who had also attended the Academy's event, issued a decree that designated Nafpaktos a 'historic site and landscape of particular natural beauty' (*Government Gazette* 1973). A former professor of Modern Greek Literature at the University of Bonn, Tsakonas was one of the dictatorship's principal ideologues, engaged in projects of anti-communist 'national enlightenment' (Dimirouli 2021, 185). Listing Nafpaktos as a legally protected 'heritagescape' (Garden 2006) was therefore in line with state-sanctioned pedagogy and patriotic geography. But it also resonated with the dictators' efforts to boost tourism as a valuable resource for economic growth, political consensus and international legitimacy (Nikolakakis 2017).

The definitive institutional act that would pave the way for the further nationalisation of the myth of Lepanto was a memory law that designated its anniversary as a local celebration in Nafpaktos. In June 1981, a few months after Greece formally joined the European Community as its tenth state member, the George Rallis government issued a presidential decree instructing that the battle would be commemorated annually on the first Sunday after 7 October. The administrative region of Aetolia-Acarnania (to which Nafpaktos belongs) would be responsible for organising the celebrations, including flag flying and floodlighting of public buildings and banks (*Government Gazette* 1981). The decree was signed by President of the Greek Republic Constantine Karamanlis and Minister of the Interior Christoforos Stratos, who had suggested the idea of the commemoration in the first place. Stratos, an industrialist and managing director of the Piraiki-Patraiki Cotton Manufacturing Company, had close links with Nafpaktos. Not only was Aetolia-Acarnania his parliamentary constituency, but it was also the region where many of his workers and potential voters came from (Pappas 2014, 41). Travelling across local, national and international scales, the memory of Lepanto intersected with state-endorsed histories, as well as with a well-entrenched system of patronage and electoral entanglements between centre and periphery.

What's in an anniversary? Mentions and silences

Although first established in 1981, the official commemoration of Lepanto did not become a prominent cultural event in Nafpaktos until the turn of the twenty-first century. This limited interest was reflected in the brief references that Lepanto received in the national curriculum textbooks throughout the twentieth century. From the interwar years until the 1980s, short sections in both primary and secondary education textbooks mentioned in passing the defeat of the sultan in the context of a wider narrative linking Euro-Ottoman conflict to Ottoman rule in Greece. Occasionally, these references added that internal divisions had not enabled the Europeans to take full advantage of their victory and crush the Ottomans but said nothing about the role of the Greeks in the Battle itself (Antipatis, Alexiou, and Katsadimas 1956, 3, 7; Koulikourdi 1982, 68; Lazarou 1934, 6, 8; Theodoridis and Lazarou 1972, 56).

In recent decades, national political imperatives, especially Greece's EU membership, and the growth of heritage tourism have contributed powerfully to this resurgence of interest in Lepanto and its meanings. Public and private sector synergies and communication media have further propelled the battle into high public visibility. Part of its appeal has been the way the focus on Lepanto as a European victory affords an occasion for reasserting Greece's allegiance to Europe. In a period in which changing perceptions of Europeanisation were shaping discussions about the cultural identity of the country (Tziovas 2021), Greek participation in Lepanto became another version of Greece's story of convergence with Western modernity. During the 1990s, this narrative gained further traction as the transnational memory of Lepanto was articulated in joint Greek – Spanish commemorative initiatives, including the construction of monuments and other material inscriptions of remembrance in the port of Nafpaktos – from the marble plaque in memory of Cervantes in 1998 to the plaque in memory of the fallen Spanish soldiers, the statue of Cervantes and the cultural park named after him in 2000. Within the same framework of cultural diplomacy, Venice, Regensburg, Croatia, Malta, Messina and Sicily placed their own plaques, multiplying the memorial signs that link Nafpaktos with the historic battle.

Today, anniversary celebrations typically include the historical re-enactment of the Battle, the litany of an icon of the Virgin and Child, a eulogy in memory of the fallen soldiers and the casting of wreaths in the sea to the sound of the local orchestra. Religion and nationhood are closely intertwined in Greece, and the Orthodox Church holds a prominent place

in the commemorations with masses and memorial services that grant Lepanto the status of a sacral event. At the same time, religious rituals are part of a wider, multi-day programme of cultural happenings geared at selling Nafpaktos as a tourist destination – from concerts and parades to sailing races, from chess tournaments and exhibitions to themed heritage walks. In effect, the recent public history of Lepanto has been shaped by processes of commodification and consumption that exemplify wider trends in contemporary popular engagement with the past (De Groot 2009). Jointly supported by the state and industry actors such as Hellenic Petroleum, the municipal authorities have taken up the Venetian heritage of Nafpaktos as a legitimising discourse to sustain redevelopment plans that reconstitute Lepanto in market terms. In this regard, ephemeral material, such as anniversary flyers and festival brochures, can serve as a key resource for getting an idea of the scheduled events, as well as for studying the mediated promotion of history as a consumable product. Likewise, some of the smallest items of popular culture, postage stamps commemorating Lepanto, convey political messages about Greek national identity and the wider story of European unification. In 1971, the post office of Nafpaktos marked the 400th anniversary of Lepanto with a special commemorative stamp (*Makedonia* 1971b), while in 2017 the Hellenic Post released 10 stamps and a special souvenir envelope featuring a photo of Cervantes’s statue in Nafpaktos and the 12 stars of the European Union flag, as shown in *Figure 2*.



Figure 2. Greek postage stamps commemorating the Battle of Lepanto, 2017. <https://www.greekgastronomyguide.gr/nafpaktos-anatoli-enos-neou-touristikou-proorismou/>

As part of the 2018 celebrations, the anniversary programme included a public discussion among MPs, academics and journalists on ‘Greece between East and West: Geopolitical Perspectives’. Similarly, the 2021 programme featured a debate among former and current government ministers, MPs, foreign ambassadors and regional officials on the contemporary relevance of Lepanto (Municipality of Nafpaktia 2021). Although such high-level political debates and speechmaking sparked renewed interest in the past, they ultimately reduced Lepanto to a readily digestible ‘lesson from history’ in support of self-satisfied discourses on European values and traditions. Other events stressed instead the educational benefits of commemoration by including among their stated aims the promotion of peace and intercultural understanding. For instance, the 2018 anniversary programme featured the first exhibition in Greece of the great Lebanese artist, writer and poet Etel Adnan, whose work was celebrated through the events shown in [Figure 3](#). Born to a Greek Orthodox mother and Muslim Syrian father, Adnan was praised in press releases as a living example of cross-cultural dialogue (J.F. Costopoulos Foundation 2022).³ Similarly, the re-enactment of the Battle in 2019 was overlaid with panels reproducing details from Pablo Picasso’s *Guernica*. Irrespective of the intended anti-war messages, we need to grasp how hard it is to draw pacifist insights from a mock battle striving to portray the destruction of the Ottoman fleet, especially when Turkish representatives are conspicuously absent from the guest list.

History is not something that belongs to the past, these commemorative events suggest. As the slogan on the front cover of the 2021 anniversary programme shown in [Figure 4](#) said, ‘Nafpaktos stands here, witness to her history’. This proud statement casts all, including visitors and tourists, as ‘witnesses’ to the history of the town. Memory is inseparable from lived experience, and participation in performative rituals and ceremonies becomes a key mode of bearing witness to the past (Gardner and Hamilton 2017, 11). In this regard, the commemoration of Lepanto is not simply a means of establishing a living connection with a single historical event, but an act of testimony to the town’s entire history. Obviously, terms such as *witnessing*, *testimony*, *ritual*, *soul* and so on – which, incidentally, appear also in theoretical texts on memory – are not ‘the vocabulary of a secular, critical practice’. Intimately tied to identity politics, they are however common features of the popular discursive mode of ‘memory as re-enchantment’ (Klein 2000). Nafpaktos ‘has been standing for 3,000 years’, said Mayor Vasilis Gizas, linking Lepanto to the 1829 liberation of the town from the Turks

1-7.10.2018

heylepanto!

Δήμος Ναυπακτίας

ΕΠΙΘΕΩΡΗΣΗ ΑΘΗΝΗΣ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ

Lepanto 1571



Χαρτιά | Papers
Etel Adnan

Είσοδος ελεύθερη

Etel Adnan, *Forêt* / (detail), 2015
india ink on paper
leprello 25 x 11 cm - open 273 cm
courtesy: Galerie LeLong & Co.
photo: Galerie LeLong & Co. © Etel Adnan

1.10 Διαβάζοντας την Etel Adnan, II. Βιβλιοπωλείο Adagio II, 8.30μμ.
Ανάγνωση κειμένων και συνάντηση με την μεταφράστρια των βιβλίων της Adnan, Βασιλική Γκέτσιου

2.10 Etel Adnan, Εξόριστες λέξεις, 2007. Ίδρυμα Μπότσαρη, 8.30μμ.
Προβολή του ντοκιμαντέρ και συζήτηση με την σκηνοθέτη Βουβούλα Σκούρα.

3.10 Σμύρνη: μουσικός κοσμοπολιτισμός. Ίδρυμα Μπότσαρη, 8.30μμ.
Μουσική βραδιά με τους: Ελένη Αναγνωστοπούλου, Φώτη Αναγνωστόπουλο, Σπύρο Δελέγκο, Γιάννη Παναγιωτόπουλο. Επιμέλεια: Σπύρος Δελέγκος.

6.10 Ξεναγηση στην έκθεση της Etel Adnan **Χαρτιά | Papers.** Ίδρυμα Μπότσαρη, 6μμ.

3-7.10 Ξεναγήσεις, εργαστήρια, συναντήσεις. Ίδρυμα Μπότσαρη, 11πμ-1μ & 6μμ-8μμ.

ηλεκτρονικές / info bonjourheyheyparis@gmail.com / info@nafpaktos.gr / 26340 38635 / FB: heyheyparis

επιμέλεια / curated by Magda Cirillo

με την οικονομική υποστήριξη / with financial support by

οργανοποίηση / a coproduction of

heyheyparis | AMI | 

HELLENIC REPUBLIC
Ministry of Culture and Sports

THE J.F. COSTOPOULOS FOUNDATION

ευγενική χορηγία / kind support by

Galerie LeLong & Co.
Kathartes Galleries
ΕΠΙΘΕΩΡΗΣΗ ΑΘΗΝΗΣ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ

OLYMPIA ODOS
MINISTRY OF THE REPUBLIC OF GREECE


Figure 3. Etel Adnan, 'Χαρτιά/Papers', exhibition poster. Nafpaktos, Botsaris Foundation, 2018.

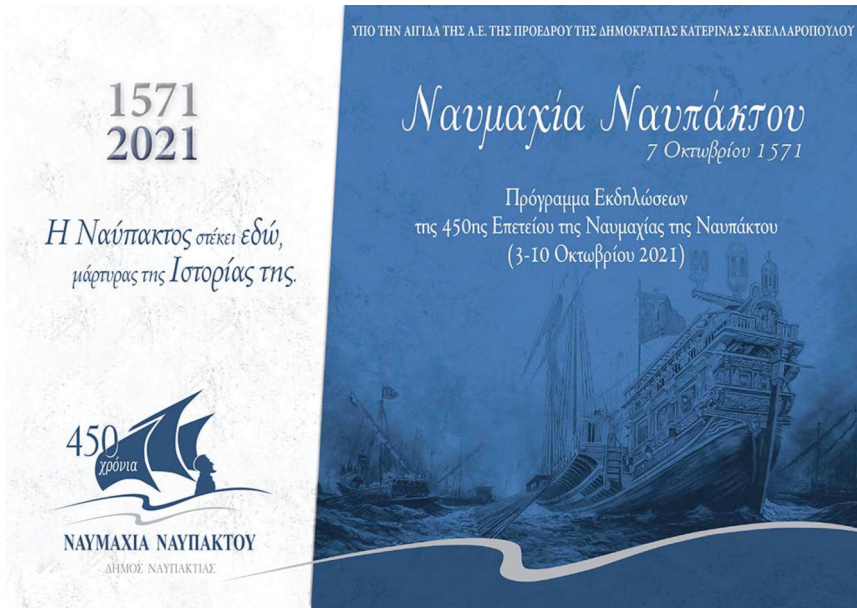


Figure 4. Official souvenir programme in commemoration of the Battle of Lepanto, Municipality of Nafpaktia (2021).

(Municipality of Nafpaktia 2021). In the context of the bicentennial of the 1821 Greek Revolution, Lepanto spoke to the idea of national continuity and, in doing so, became a powerful, quasi-theological prefiguration of the birthday event of modern Greece.

The insertion of the Battle within a linear narrative of nationhood was formally represented at the temporary exhibition *Lepanto 1571: 450 years since the greatest victory of the Christians* held at the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens (18 September 2021–29 April 2022). Part of its anniversary programme *From the Fall of Constantinople to the Greek Revolution, 1453–1821*, the exhibition presented Lepanto as a turning point in a continuous history of ‘revolutionary movements staged by Greeks against the Ottomans that culminated in the Greek War of Independence and the resurgence of 1821’ (Byzantine & Christian Museum 2021). As Minister of Culture and Sports Lina Mendoni stated in her opening speech, Lepanto marked the long journey to national regeneration, demonstrating ‘the strong spirit and militant attitude of the Greeks against the domination of the infidel Ottomans’ as illustrated in the exhibition poster (Figure 5). Using the occasion as an opportunity for patriotic virtue signalling, she commended the wealthy shipowners of Crete and the Ionian islands and contrasted the seamen who voluntarily



Figure 5. 'Lepanto 1571, 450 years since the greatest victory of the Christians', exhibition poster. Athens, Byzantine & Christian museum (2021).

joined the Christian navy with those that were supposedly recruited into the Ottoman fleet against their will. Alluding to the *realpolitik* of the Holy League, she also stressed that the Greeks ‘believed they could shake off the Ottoman yoke with the help of the Christian West’ but, ‘unfortunately, were quickly proven wrong’ (Naftemboriki 2021).

Framed in terms of a perpetual struggle between Greeks and Turks, this renewed emphasis on Lepanto as a sort of evolutionary bridge that connects 1453 and 1821 serves to redeem modern Greek history from the taint of four centuries of alleged Ottoman backwardness. The underlying assumption that Europe and the Ottoman Empire were two irreconcilable entities works to westernise the Greek national narrative by associating early modern Greece with the Western powers that fought the Ottomans – on Greek waters and with the crucial support of the Greeks. Lepanto thus becomes another step along Greece’s long road to Euro-Atlantic modernity, or ‘The Road to the West: From Homer to Cervantes’, according to a funding bid submitted by the Ministry of Culture and Sports Greece (2021) to the Council of Europe’s *Cultural Routes* in the framework of Greece’s so-called *Recovery and Resilience Facility*, a stimulus package created to ‘support modernisation’. A key cultural site of the proposed route, Nafpaktos was recently allocated funds for the maintenance and restoration of its port (Municipality of Nafpaktia 2022).

But the memory of Lepanto has not been simply a cultural resource deployed to legitimise local community aspirations and validate claims to the EU budget. By mythologising the past as a moral struggle between good and evil, it has persistently reproduced an ‘antagonistic mode of remembering’ that, after the economic crisis and the rise of extreme right neo-nationalist movements, has dominated political discourse, news media and popular culture across Europe (Erl 2011a; Bull and Hansen 2016). In effect, the memorial culture of Lepanto is closely interwoven with what Rogers Brubaker (2017, 1208) calls ‘the civilizational preoccupation with Islam’, namely a distinctive configuration of European nationalist-populist discourse that promotes liberalism ‘as an identity marker of the Christian West vis-à-vis a putatively intrinsically illiberal Islam’. As former President of Greece, Prokopis Pavlopoulos, declared in an official video produced for the 2020 anniversary of Lepanto, ‘Europe will never tolerate insults against representative democracy’ (Municipality of Nafpaktia 2020). Similar inaccurate historical analogies and anti-Islamic arguments have repeatedly used Lepanto to construct unreflexive antagonistic memories that project a defensive vision of

Europe as the absolute antithesis of a racialised ‘Muslim world’. As officials of the island of Cephalonia put it in October 2021, when they unveiled a new monument to the dead soldiers of Lepanto, the victory ‘freed Europe from the expansionist policies of Islam’, while the ‘union of Christian forces can be seen as an early example of cooperation in defending European values’ (Wilkinson 2021).

The rhetorical employment of Lepanto as a moral-didactic guide for political action is evident in the ways the Battle has been used to add a historical layer to Greece’s foreign policy. In a video-recorded message to an event on *The Greek Revolution of 1821 and Spanish Philhellenism* organised by the Greek Embassy in Spain in November 2021, Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs Nikos Dendias stressed the close historical relations between Spain and Greece and argued that in 1571 Don Juan ‘was guided by the very same ideals that inspired the Greek Revolution’. Dendias then referred to the common challenges facing the two countries today, including political instability in their broader neighbourhood and the instrumentalisation of migration (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Greece 2021a). In a more explicit statement, Dendias referred once again to Lepanto as a positive historical *exemplum* to stress Greece’s centuries-long ties to Spain during the visit of the Spanish Foreign Minister, José Manuel Albares Bueno, to Athens in December 2021. After noting that the Battle happened on the same day as his birthday, he described it as ‘Christian Europe’s bulwark against the expansionist plans of the Ottoman empire’ and linked it to present-day Greek foreign policy to argue that Turkey ‘is a destabilizing factor in the Mediterranean’ (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Greece 2021b). In fact, Dendias invoked Lepanto as a historical precedent to express concern over Spain’s intention to strengthen its military cooperation with Turkey, perceived as yet another national security challenge from Greece’s regional rival.

One need not resort to politicians’ false equivalences to see that the manipulation of Lepanto is closely intertwined with a fragmentary historical reading that conflates the town of Nafpaktos with the site of the Battle, and silences ‘what it [Nafpaktos] became in the seventeenth century – a “little Algiers”’ (Castellano 1837, 564; Miller 1908, 363; Sathas 1865, 34). According to the French traveller Jacob Spon (1678, vol. 2, 30), a large number of corsairs had taken refuge in Nafpaktos, which was called ‘the little Algiers’ because many Moors (*Mores*) lived and married there and had ‘children as black as in Barbary’. His travel companion, the English scholar George Wheler (1682, 300, 37, 301), who translated parts of Spon’s account, noted that ‘there are not many

Christians here, the greatest part being Turks and Jews, and hath been a very great harbour for pirats. This was the residence of the famous corsair, Durach-Bey, who made the ships and barques of the Christians in these parts tremble' and who had several galliots of the island of Lefkada under his command. While in Lepanto, Wheler witnessed the ceremonial entry of the pasha of the Morea who had arrived by boat, escorted by kettle-drums, hautboys 'and another string'd instrument, play'd on by a moor'.

Evidence drawn from other sources sheds further light on the presence of black African and Turkish pirates in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Nafpaktos. 'Lepanto, formerly called Naupactus, and now by the Turks Einabackti . . . is well peopled, being a nest of pirats', wrote the English merchant Bernard Randolph (1686, 12, 13), adding that they often raided the islands of Zakynthos and Cephalonia, and even 'the coast of Apuglia, and take poor country-men, bringing them to miserable slavery'. As the Greek monk Efthymios notes in his *Chronicle of Galaxidi* (1703), 'many persecuted corsairs from the parts of Barbary and Algiers were gathered in Epachtos [Nafpaktos]', the most notorious being someone 'with a Christian mother and Turkish father, called Duratzibei' who, around 1660, guarded the Gulf of Corinth and controlled all its ships 'by sultanic firman' (Sathas 1865, 215, 226). The early eighteenth-century official historiographer of the Venetian Republic Pietro Garzoni (1705, 212) similarly described Nafpaktos as a 'nest of pirates' and, copying Spon, added that some called it 'little Algiers' for 'the infamous profession of the corso' and 'the many Moors born there by African parents'.

Not all sources are deployed to tell stories and not all stories are deployed to write history. As Raphael Samuel (2012, 381–2) aptly remarked, 'our understanding of the historical past is constructed not so much in the light of documentary evidence, but rather of the symbolic space or imaginative categories into which representations are fitted'. Involved in these selective operations are various forms of voicing and silencing that provide differential degrees of historical relevance to produce hegemonic memories. The occlusion of the Black history of Nafpaktos sidelines the town's diverse and multiple legacies, conjuring up a mythic vision aligned with the interconnected optics of European nationalism and racism. It is worth noting that this neglected history is not an isolated case but an example of the conspicuous absence of race as an analytical category in modern Greek studies – a problem highlighted in recent discussions of the

ways in which normative whiteness has framed Greek historical memory and nationhood, denying the complexity of the past (Greenberg and Hamilakis 2022; Kazamias 2022a). ‘Commemorations sanitize further the messy history lived by the actors’, Michel-Rolph Trouillot (2015 [1995], 116–18) contends. Although they bring historical events to public attention, they reconfigure them by subjecting them to dominant regimes of representation that normalise unequal social arrangements. As Trouillot notes, celebrations ‘impose a silence upon the events that they ignore, and they fill that silence with narratives of power about the event they celebrate’.

The uni-dimensional identification of Nafpaktos with Lepanto draws on such dynamics of presences and absences in syntony with present-day hierarchies of race and religion. The erasure of the town’s role as a centre of Black Muslim corsairing and slavery, as well as the reduction of corsair activity to an unholy war between Islam and Christianity, serve to perpetuate essentialist constructions of the Euro-Greek self, based on a double-edged amnesia with regard to both European colonial history and the centrality of the Ottoman Empire in the making of Europe. In effect, this selective remembering overlooks the changing views of the Ottoman empire in current scholarship (Baer 2021; Goffman 2002) and reiterates a broader orientalist exclusion of ‘the Turks’ from Western civilisation, typically exemplified in the debate over Turkey’s entry to the EU (Deringil 2007) and its supposed inability to live up to European values – ironically at a time when the EU is paying the Turkish government to block refugees from heading westwards. In a similar vein, mythic religious framings of Lepanto elide the imperial objectives of early modern European states in North Africa and the east Mediterranean, as well as Spain’s expansion to the Americas during the reign of Philip II – a period of violent colonisation and economic exploitation of the New World. To be fair, references to the self-interested priorities of the Catholic states did appear in the public discourse on Lepanto. Such statements, however, were limited to reproducing the notion of Western ingratitude towards Greece (which offered so much to European civilisation), reactivated during Greece’s debt crisis. My argument, instead, focuses on a more basic issue: the commemorative work that aligns Greece with Lepanto as a European event sustains the ‘colonial aphasia’ (Stoler 2011) of contemporary European politics, obscuring histories of colonialism and empire that continue to cast their shadows today.

Conclusion

The 450th anniversary celebrations of Lepanto in Greece in 2021 brought together several broad cultural and political themes: state commemoration; public history; and the relationship between cultural heritage and the politics of memory. Anniversaries, as Tyler Stovall (2017) incisively put it, are ‘dates on steroids’. They ‘permit us to consider the local and the global at the same time’, ‘facilitate an intensive, microhistorical study of a given event’ and ‘mobilize . . . public interest in that event and in history in general’. To this we must add that anniversaries have never been only about history. Through a careful orchestration of mentions and omissions, they typically stage the past for mass consumption to tell stories about who we are in the present. Driven predominantly by presentist agendas, they mobilise symbols and feelings about historical events within concrete regimes of power of which they form a vital part and whose legitimacy they strive to reinforce. Although, of course, the past does not always conform to attempts by memory entrepreneurs to manipulate it (Brubaker and Feischmidt 2002), the selective operations of anniversary celebrations ultimately gain authority from the material and symbolic power of the state.

From government-issued postage stamps to mock-battles, the various artifacts and practices that mediated the meaning of Lepanto in the Greek public sphere relentlessly emphasised Greece’s role in Europe by turning Nafpaktos/Lepanto into a site of memory and Nafpaktos/Little Algiers into a site of forgetting. Both during the military dictatorship and in 2021, state elites and dominant social groups reiterated the standard clichés about the indomitable spirit of the Greeks and their love of freedom as the key factors that secured a major Christian victory and stopped the expansion of Islam in the continent. Greek participation was not a mere footnote to the history of victors; it was said to be its primary ingredient. Significantly, the 1971 and 2021 anniversaries coincided, respectively, with the 150th and bicentennial anniversaries of the Greek Revolution. In both instances, Lepanto gained added symbolic significance as part of the national success story, as another tale of patriotic sacrifice and achievement, to be proudly celebrated whenever the occasion arose. In both instances, commemorative discourse reiterated exceptionalist formulations of Greek identity, which lifted the event out of its historical context to project Greece’s unique cultural heritage and muster national pride.

While these parallels point to persistent cultural patterns that frame mnemonic practices through path-dependency and genre memory (Olick 1999), the different anniversary commemorations of Lepanto also reflect significant processes of change in Greek history during the last 100 years. In the 2021 anniversary, self-congratulatory narratives of Greek heroism and honour must be understood in conjunction with Greece's ongoing debt crisis and the continuing surveillance regime imposed on the country's economy. Tied up with feelings of humiliation, resentment and injustice, reassertions of Greek moral superiority and selfless sacrifice in the cause of Europe offered a sense of discursive empowerment against orientalist and 'crypto-colonial' (Herzfeld 2016a, 2016b) images of the Greeks as lesser Europeans – as inadequate or unworthy members of European modernity – deployed by EU technocrats and foreign media to legitimise austerity. At the same time, representations of the Greek people as an anti-Muslim force in European history must be viewed in relation to Greece's current role as guardian of 'Fortress Europe' and the wider context of border militarisation, migration control and racial citizenship within which Greek politics has been enmeshed since the EU backlash against refugees and other displaced people in 2015.

Seen in a comparative perspective, the Greek commemoration of Lepanto raises important questions about the place of early modern European – Ottoman wars in contemporary public discourse, including the uses to which their memory is put, particularly in relation to the rise of xenophobia and highly politicised concerns about perceived threats to European identity. It is interesting to observe how some of these remote wars and battles – now decontextualised and caricatured – act as a memory template within which the relationship between Islam and Europe has been conceived for the past 20 years, as the global 'war on terror' fed state-sponsored Islamophobia in the United States and beyond. On 7 October 2017, for instance, Polish Catholics gathered at designated locations along the country's borders for a rosary prayer for the salvation of Poland and the world. The demonstration commemorated Lepanto as a Muslim defeat and was supported by the Polish Church and the ruling Law and Justice Party, a right-wing populist organisation that opposes the presence in Europe of asylum seekers and refugees from the Middle East and Africa (Kotwas and Kubik 2019).

To sum up, Lepanto has become repeatedly mired in the interconnected politics of nationalism and racial capitalism across Europe. Its popular commemoration is less about critical historical analysis than about the reassertion of a Eurocentric civilisational discourse that ends up reinforcing

a neat division between a Christian ‘West’ and a Muslim ‘East’. Obviously, the challenge for the historian is to go beyond current agendas that either suppress the deeply entangled histories of early modern Europe and the Ottoman Empire or reproduce the whitewashed narratives of former colonial European powers, unwilling to reckon with their imperial past (Stouraiti 2003). Furthermore, celebrating Europe’s shared traditions must not trivialise the internal divisions and disconnections that countered them. That said, the integrity of the past – how it actually happened – was not at issue here. The afterlife of events and the past’s persistence in the present were the prime concern of this article. For 450 years, in a wide variety of contexts and for a wide range of purposes, the commemoration of Lepanto shows that what Braudel called ‘surface disturbances’ still matter.

Notes

1. Today the Botsaris tower houses the Museum of the Demetrios and Egli Botsaris Foundation, which features a permanent exhibition on Lepanto.
2. I am grateful to an unknown soldier of the Greek Army Command who kindly digitised this article for me.
3. Special reference was made to Izmir, the place of origin of Adnan’s mother. Associated with the Asia Minor catastrophe (1922), the city is the lost homeland par excellence in Greek historical culture.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Notes on contributor

Anastasia Stouraiti is Senior Lecturer in Early Modern History at Goldsmiths, University of London. She is the author of *War, Communication, and the Politics of Culture in Early Modern Venice* (Cambridge University Press 2023).

ORCID

Anastasia Stouraiti  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-1962-1873>

References

Academy of Athens. 1972. “Εκτακτος πανηγυρική συνεδρία της 12ης Οκτωβρίου 1971 προεδρία Σπυρ. Μαρινάτου. Εορτασμός επί τη συμπληρώσει τετρακοσίων

- ετών από της Ναυμαχίας της Ναυπάκτου.” *Proceedings of the Academy of Athens B* 1971 46: 418.
- Alifragkis, S., and E. Athanassiou. 2013. “Educating Greece in Modernity: Post-War Tourism and Western Politics.” *Journal of Architecture* 18 (5): 699–720. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13602365.2013.838285>.
- Antipatis, N., E. Alexiou, and D. Katsadimas. 1956. *Ιστορία της Νεωτέρας Ελλάδος* (ΣΤ’ Δημοτικού). Athens: O Sofos Kentavros.
- Athanas, G. 1998. *Ιστορικά μελετήματα*. Nafpaktos: G. & M. Athanasiadis-Novas Foundation.
- Athanasiadis Novas, G. 1972. “Εκθεσις του ακαδημαϊκού κ. Γ. Αθανασιάδη Νόβα περί συμμετοχής του εις την υπό της εν Βενετία Fondazione Cini οργανωθείσαν διεθνή σύνοδον από 8^{ης}-10^{ης} Οκτωβρίου.” *Proceedings of the Academy of Athens B* 1971 46: 398–399.
- Athanasiadis Novas, G. 1974. “Discorso introduttivo.” In *Il Mediterraneo nella seconda metà del ‘500 alla luce di Lepanto*, edited by G. Benzoni, 1–18. Florence: Leo S. Olschki.
- Baer, M. D. 2021. *The Ottomans: Khans, Caesars and Caliphs*. London: Basic Books.
- BBC Türkçe. 2021. *Times: İnebahtı Deniz Savaşı'nın 450. yılı Yunanistan'da coşkuyla kutlandı*. October 11.
- Bond, L., and J. Rapson, eds. 2014. *The Transcultural Turn: Interrogating Memory Between and Beyond Borders*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Braudel, F.(1966) 1995. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. Translated by Siân Reynolds. Vol. 2. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Brubaker, R. 2017. “Between Nationalism and Civilizationism: The European Populist Moment in Comparative Perspective.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 40 (8): 1191–1226. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2017.1294700>.
- Brubaker, R., and M. Feischmidt. 2002. “1848 in 1998: The Politics of Commemoration in Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44 (4): 700–744. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417502000336>.
- Bull, A. C., and H. L. Hansen. 2016. “On Agonistic Memory.” *Memory Studies* 9 (4): 390–404. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750698015615935>.
- Byzantine & Christian Museum. 2021. “Περιοδική έκθεση - ΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΟΣ 1571: 450 χρόνια από ‘τη μεγαλωτάτη βιτώρια των χριστιανών’.” https://www.byzantinemuseum.gr/el/temporary_exhibitions/?nid=2627.
- Capponi, N. 2006. *Victory of the West: The Story of the Battle of Lepanto*. London: Macmillan.
- Castellano, P. 1837. *Specchio geografico-storico-politico di tutte le nazioni del globo*. Vol. 7. Rome: Mezzana.
- Charis, P. 1956. “Παλιές πολιτείες: αρχαία και σημερινή Ναύπακτος.” *Eleftheria*. July 12.
- Cubitt, G. 2019. “History of Memory.” In *Debating New Approaches to History*, edited by M. Tamm and P. Burke, 127–158. London: Bloomsbury.
- De Cesari, C., and A. Rigney, eds. 2014. *Transnational Memory: Circulation, Articulation, Scales*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

- De Groot, J. 2009. *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Deringil, S. 2007. "The Turks and Europe: The Argument from History." *Middle Eastern Studies* 43 (5): 709–723. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00263200701422600>.
- Dimirouli, F. 2021. "Can Dead Poets Speak Back? C.P. Cavafy, Cold War Propaganda, and the Greek Dictatorship." In *The Greek Military Dictatorship: Revisiting a Troubled Past, 1967-1974*, edited by O. Anastasakis and K. Lagos, 164–197. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Dimitrouka, N. 2019–2020. "Ο ρόλος και οι δράσεις του Γερμανικού Αρχαιολογικού Ινστιτούτου Αθηνών στην Ελλάδα στη διάρκεια της Δικτατορίας (1967-1974)." *Modern Greek Studies Online* 5:105–116.
- Eleftheria. 1964. "Αρετή και προγραμματισμός: βάσις δια την τουριστικήν ανάπτυξιν." July 19.
- Eleftheria. 1965. "Τουριστικά έργα θα εκτελεσθούν εις Ναύπακτον." May 11.
- Erlil, A. 2011a. *Memory in Culture*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Erlil, A. 2011b. "Travelling Memory." *Parallax* 17 (4): 4–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13534645.2011.605570>.
- Escrigas Rodríguez, J. 2021. "La división de contratorpederos en Lepanto en 1927." *Revista general de marina* 281 (11): 693–701.
- Ferrándiz, F. 2022. "Francisco Franco is Back: The Contested Reemergence of a Fascist Moral Exemplar." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 64 (1): 208–237. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S001041752100044X>.
- Finlay, G. 1856. *The History of Greece Under Othoman and Venetian Domination*. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and sons.
- Garden, M.-C. E. 2006. "The Heritagescape: Looking at Landscapes of the Past." *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 12 (5): 394–411. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13527250600821621>.
- Gardner, J. B., and P. Hamilton. 2017. "The Past and Future of Public History: Developments and Challenges." In *The Oxford Handbook of Public History*, edited by J.B. Gardner and P. Hamilton, 1–22. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Garzoni, P. 1705. *Istoria della Repubblica di Venezia in tempo della Sacra Lega contra Maometto IV*. Venice: Gio. Manfrè.
- Gillis, J. R., ed. 1994. *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Goffman, D. 2002. *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Government Gazette. 1946a. "Decree of 6 May 1946. A/N. 147, 6 May."
- Government Gazette. 1946b. "Royal Decree of 29 October 1946. A/N. 324, 30 October."
- Government Gazette. 1949. "Royal Decree of 31 August 1949. A/N. 202, 9 September."
- Government Gazette. 1973. "Ministerial Decree of 18 December 1973. B/N. 1486, 27 December."
- Government Gazette. 1981. "Presidential Decree of 8 June 1981. A/N. 153, 17 June."

- Greenberg, R., and Y. Hamilakis. 2022. *Archaeology, Nation, and Race: Confronting the Past, Decolonizing the Future in Greece and Israel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hanß, S. 2018. "Objects That Made History. A Material Microhistory of the Sant Crist de Lepant (Barcelona, 1571-2017)." *Forum Kritische Archäologie* 7:18-46.
- Hellenic National AudioVisual Archive. 1971. "Εορτασμός της 400ής επετείου της Ναυμαχίας της Ναυπάκτου από την Ακαδημία Αθηνών στην Αθήνα", Newsreel T11313 http://www.avarchive.gr/portal/digitalview.jsp?get_ac_id=3366.
- Herzfeld, M. 2016a. "The Hypocrisy of European Moralism: Greece and the Politics of Cultural Aggression - Part 1." *Anthropology Today* 32 (1): 10-13. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8322.12224>.
- Herzfeld, M. 2016b. "The Hypocrisy of European Moralism: Greece and the Politics of Cultural Aggression - Part 2." *Anthropology Today* 32 (2): 10-13. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8322.12238>.
- Hite, K. 2012. *Politics and the Art of Commemoration: Memorials to Struggle in Latin America and Spain*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Hobsbawm, E., and T. Ranger, eds. 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- J.F. Costopoulos Foundation. 2022. 27 Σεπτεμβρίου 2018/Εκθεση 'Etel Adnan Χαρτιά/Papers.' <https://costopoulosfoundation.org/%CE%AD%CE%BA%CE%B8%CE%B5%CF%83%CE%B7-etal-andan-%CF%87%CE%B1%CF%81%CF%84%CE%B9%CE%AC-papers/> .
- Jordanova, L. J. 2006. *History in Practice*. London: Hodder Arnold.
- Kansteiner, W. 2002. "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies." *History & Theory* 41 (2): 179-197. <https://doi.org/10.1111/0018-2656.00198>.
- Karra, A. 2010. *Ο Σπύρος Μελάς και το θέατρο της εποχής του: συμβολή στη μελέτη της δραματουργίας του*. PhD thesis, University of Thessaloniki.
- Kathimerini. 2021. "President Attends Commemoration of Naval Battle." October 10.
- Kazamias, A. 2022a. "Dependence and Transposition: Orientalist Representations of the Arabs in Modern Greek Culture." *Journal of Greek Media & Culture* 8 (2): 161-184. https://doi.org/10.1386/jgmc_00056_1.
- Kazamias, A. 2022b. *Greece and the Cold War: Diplomacy and Anti-Colonialism in the Aftermath of Civil Conflict*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Kirbaki, Y. 2021. "Yunanistan'da İnebahtı törenleri! 450 yıl sonra aynı zihniyet." *Hürriyet*. October 12.
- Klein, K. L. 2000. "On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse." *Representations* 69:127-150. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2902903>.
- Kotwas, M., and J. Kubik. 2019. "Symbolic Thickening of Public Culture and the Rise of Right-Wing Populism in Poland." *East European Politics and Societies* 33 (2): 435-471. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0888325419826691>.
- Koulikourdi, G. 1982. *Νεώτερη Ευρωπαϊκή Ιστορία*(Γ' Γυμνασίου). Athens: Organismos Ekdoseos Didaktikon Vivlion.
- Koulouri, C. 2023. *Historical Memory in Greece, 1821-1930: Performing the Past in the Present*. New York: Routledge.

- Lazarou, A. 1934. *Η Νέα Ελληνική Ιστορία* (ΣΤ' Δημοτικού). Athens: I.N. Sideris.
- Makedonia. 1927. "Μία επέτειος. Ο ισπανικός στόλος δεν θα έλθη ενταύθα. Τελεταί και δεξιώσεις." July 26.
- Makedonia. 1971a. "Η 400ή επέτειος της ναυμαχίας της Ναυπάκτου." October 6.
- Makedonia. 1971b. "Αναμνηστικά γραμματόσημα από την ναυμαχία της Ναυπάκτου." October 9.
- Manoussacas, M. I. 1972. "Εκθεσις πεπραγμένων του εν Βενετία Ελληνικού Ινστιτούτου Βυζαντινών και Μεταβυζαντινών Σπουδών κατά το έτος 1971." *Proceedings of the Academy of Athens B* 1971 46: 366–393.
- Marinatos, S. 1972. "Εκτακτος συνεδρία της 12^{ης} Οκτωβρίου 1971 επί τη συμπλήρωσει 400 ετών από της Ναυμαχίας της Ναυπάκτου. Προσφώνησις." *Proceedings of the Academy of Athens B* 1971 46: 162–165.
- McCrone, D., and G. McPherson, eds. 2009. *National Days: Constructing and Mobilising National Identity*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Melas, S. 1947a. "Ταξίδι στη Ναύπακτο." *Embros*. April 19.
- Melas, S. 1947b. "Θέλητρα της Ναυπάκτου." *Embros*. April 20.
- Melas, S. 1947c. "Αιτήματα μιας πολιτείας." *Embros*. April 22.
- Miller, W. 1908. *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204-1566)*. New York: E.P. Dutton and Company.
- Mínguez, V. 2017. *Infierno y gloria en el mar: Los Habsburgo y el imaginario artístico de Lepanto (1430–1700)*. Castellón: Universitat Jaume I.
- Ministry of Culture and Sports Greece. 2021. <https://digitalculture.gov.gr/2021/05/pente-emvlimatikes-politistikes-diadromes-sto-tamio-anakampsis/>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Greece. 2021a. <https://www.mfa.gr/en/current-affairs/statements-speeches/minister-of-foreign-affairs-nikos-dendias-address-via-video-recorded-message-at-the-event-the-greek-revolution-of-1821-and-spanish-philohellenism-organized-by-the-greek-embassy-in-spain-10-11112021.html>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Greece. 2021b. <https://www.mfa.gr/en/current-affairs/top-story/minister-of-foreign-affairs-nikos-dendias-statements-following-his-meeting-with-spanish-foreign-minister-jose-manuel-albares-bueno-athens-14122021.html>.
- Municipality of Nafpaktia. 2020. Ο Δήμος Ναυπακτίας τιμά την 449η Επέτειο της ιστορικής Ναυμαχίας της Ναυπάκτου | ΔΗΜΟΣ ΝΑΥΠΑΚΤΙΑΣ (nafpaktos.gr).
- Municipality of Nafpaktia. 2021. «450 Χρόνια Ναυμαχία Ναυπάκτου». www.nafpaktos.gr/el/blog/«450-χρόνια-ναυμαχία-ναυπάκτου».
- Municipality of Nafpaktia. 2022. "1.775.000 ευρώ για τη στερέωση και αποκατάσταση του Λιμανιού της Ναυπάκτου από το Ταμείο Ανάκαμψης." <https://www.nafpaktos.gr/en/node/2451>.
- Naftemboriki*. 2021. "Εγκαινιάστηκε η έκθεση Ναύπακτος 1571 – 450 χρόνια από τη 'μεγαλωτάτη βιτώρια των χριστιανών'." September 17.
- Nikolakakis, M. 2015. "Representations and Social Practices of Alternative Tourists in Post-War Greece to the End of the Greek Military Junta." *Journal of Tourism History* 7 (1–2): 5–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1755182X.2015.1062567>.
- Nikolakakis, M. 2017. "The Colonels on the Beach: Tourism Policy During the Greek Military Dictatorship (1967-1974)." *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 35 (2): 425–450. <https://doi.org/10.1353/mgs.2017.0026>.

- Olick, J. K. 1999. "Genre Memories and Memory Genres: A Dialogical Analysis of May 8, 1945 Commemorations in the Federal Republic of Germany." *American Sociological Review* 64 (3): 381–402. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000312249906400304>.
- Olick, J. K., and J. Robbins. 1998. "Social Memory Studies: From 'Collective Memory' to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices." *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1): 105–140. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.soc.24.1.105>.
- Ouranis, K. 1947. "Για την 400^η επέτειο του Θερβάντες. Η Ελλάδα στη ζωή του Θερβάντες." *Embros*. October 12.
- Pappas, T. S. 2014. *Populism and Crisis Politics in Greece*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Protonotariou, V. 1961. "Το ελληνικόν ναυτικόν γράφει την ιστορία μας: από τα αρχαία χρόνια έως σήμερα επρωτοστάτησε στις ιστορικές εξορμήσεις του έθνους." *Eleftheria*. December 14.
- Randolph, B. 1686. *The Present State of the Morea*. Oxford.
- Rigney, A. 2018. "Remembrance as Remaking: Memories of the Nation Revisited." *Nations and Nationalism* 24 (2): 240–257. <https://doi.org/10.1111/nana.12388>.
- Romas, D. 1971. "Τα μεθεόρτια." *Nea Estia* 90 (1063): 1338–1348.
- Samuel, R. 2012. *Theatres of Memory*. London: Verso.
- Sathas, C. N. 1865. *Χρονικόν ανέκδοτον Γαλαξειδίου*. Athens: Ek tou typografeiou Io. Kassandreos kai Sas.
- Skrip*. 1927a. "Η ναυμαχία Ναυπάκτου." July 26.
- Skrip*. 1927b. "Η ναυμαχία της Ναυπάκτου." July 27.
- Skrip*. 1927c. "Ο εορτασμός της ναυμαχίας της Ναυπάκτου." July 28.
- Skrip*. 1927d. "Αι εορταί της Ναυπάκτου. Επίσημος δεξιωσις εις τας Πάτρας. Θερμαί ελληνοισπανικαί εκδηλώσεις." July 29.
- Smith, L. 2006. *The Uses of Heritage*. London: Routledge.
- Spon, J. 1678. *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece, et du Levant*. Lyon: Antoine Cellier le fils.
- Stavrogiannopoulos, V. 1972. "Η Ναυμαχία της Ναυπάκτου μεταξύ Χριστιανικού στόλου και Οθωμανικού στόλου (7 Οκτ. 1571)." *General Military Review* (12);3–34.
- Stoler, A. L. 2011. "Colonial Aphasia: Race and Disabled Histories in France." *Public Culture* 23 (1): 121–156. <https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-2010-018>.
- Stouraiti, A. 2003. "Costruendo un luogo della memoria: Lepanto." *Storia di Venezia-Rivista* 1:65–88.
- Stovall, T. 2017. "Happy Anniversary? Historians and the Commemoration of the Past." *Perspectives on History*. <https://www.historians.org/perspectives-article/happy-anniversary-historians-and-the-commemoration-of-the-past-april-2017/>.
- Theodoracopoulos, I. N. 1971. "Report on the Activities of the Academy During 1970." *Proceedings of the Academy of Athens B* 1970 45: 324–344.
- Theodoridis, C., and A. Lazarou. 1972. *Ιστορία Ελληνική και Ευρωπαϊκή των Νέων Χρόνων* (ΣΤ' Γυμνασίου). Athens: Organismos Ekdoseos Didaktikon Vivlion.
- Throckmorton, P., H. E. Edgerton, and E. Yalouris. 1973. "The Battle of Lepanto Search and Survey Mission (Greece), 1971-72." *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 2 (1): 121–130. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1095-9270.1973.tb00495.x>.

- Trouillot, M.-R. (1995) 2015. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Tsang, R., and E. T. Woods, eds. 2014. *The Cultural Politics of Nationalism and Nation-Building: Ritual and Performance in the Forging of Nations*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Tziouvas, D. 2021. *Greece from Junta to Crisis: Modernization, Transition and Diversity*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Volcic, Z., and M. Andrejevic, eds. 2016. *Commercial Nationalism: Selling the Nation and Nationalizing the Sell*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wheler, G. 1682. *Journey into Greece*. London: William Cademan, Robert Kettlewell, and Awnsham Churchill.
- Wilkinson, I. 2021. "Greeks Claim Victory Over Turks at Lepanto." *The Times*. October 11.