

## Performance and subversion under the Colonels' gaze: changing notions of identity in the different editions of Dido Sotiriou's *Οι νεκροί περιμένουν*

Efrosini Camatsos

American College of Greece

[ecamatsos@acg.edu](mailto:ecamatsos@acg.edu)

*This article examines the different editions of Dido Sotiriou's first novel Οι νεκροί περιμένουν, whose first edition was published in 1959 and the definitive edition, one hundred pages shorter, in 1971, when the military junta ruled Greece and strict censorship was being exercised. The first edition depicts details of the resistance movement against the Axis powers, whereas this has been cut from the definitive edition, which ends just as Greece enters the war against Italy. It will be argued that the revisions, on the one hand, address criticisms of the first edition, in an attempt to improve the novel. On the other hand, the omission of descriptions of resistance against a tyrant (something the colonels resented, for fear of comparisons being drawn to their regime) and the shifting depiction of identities of two main characters, from one that is stable (1959 edition) to one that is subtly performative (1971 edition), also inform discussions of censorship and identity during the years of the military regime.*

**Keywords:** Dido Sotiriou; junta; censorship; identity

In Greek literature of the twentieth century, it was fairly common for a later edition of a text to differ from its earlier edition. The works of Stratis Myrivilis are a key example of this: *Ο Βασίλης ο Αρβανίτης* first appeared in the newspaper *Η Πρωΐα* in 1934, was published as part of his short-story collection *Το γαλάζιο βιβλίο* in 1939 and re-published on its own in 1943. Each of the versions is different; Mario Vitti calls the first edition of 1934 a 'πρόπλασμα'<sup>1</sup> of the final edition and understands the changes as the step-by-step process<sup>2</sup> of a writer going through drafts until he finds the formula he

1 M. Vitti, *Ιδεολογική λειτουργία της Ελληνικής ηθογραφίας* (Athens 1980) 124–5.

2 Vitti writes: 'Αυτές τις επιδιώξεις μπορούμε να τις παρακολουθήσουμε βήμα προς βήμα στο πέρασμα από τη γραφή του 1934 (και 1939) στη γραφή του 1943' (*op. cit.*, 120). For a discussion on the changes between editions, see *op. cit.*, 97–125. Mackridge discusses Myrivilis' *Η ζωή εν τάφω*, which evolved into its final form from its early newspaper edition. It first appeared in the Lesbos weekly newspaper *Η Καμπάνα* in

desires and shapes his ideologies. Another example from a different writer is Dimitris Hatzis' *Το τέλος της μικρής μας πόλης*, a collection of short stories first published in Romania in 1953. Several of the stories from the collection were republished in the journal *Επιθεώρηση τέχνης* between 1958 and 1962, and the definitive edition was published in 1963. The final edition contains seven stories (as opposed to five in the first), and the stories themselves have been altered. Hero Hokwerda discusses the three versions of 'Ο Σιούλας ο ταμπάκος', one story of the collection, and traces how Hatzis' ideological changes ('ιδεολογική [...] εξέλιξη') are evident through the three versions.<sup>3</sup> Both Vitti and Hokwerda, in their discussions of Myrivilis and Hatzis respectively, attribute the changes to the evolution of the writer's views and ideas and the evolution of the writer as a writer. Peter Mackridge states that, in many instances, writers of the Generation of the 1930s considered their writings as 'έργα εν προόδω'.<sup>4</sup>

In the present discussion, the author Dido Sotiriou and the different editions of her first novel *Οι νεκροί περιμένουν* will be examined. The changes that were made between the first and the definitive edition can, in part, be attributed to her development as a writer, as some of the changes make the writing more effective by omitting redundant phrases or words. We can indeed understand Sotiriou's novel as a 'work in progress'.<sup>5</sup> However, as the significant changes between editions were made during the years of the military junta, Sotiriou's case, on the other hand, informs discussions about the censorship laws and how writers attempted to overcome them. The omission of the resistance section suggests that the text was censored, most likely by Sotiriou herself, who was by 1971 well aware of the colonels' rules and how they 'curtailed mentions of torture, the secret police, paid informers, curfews, random arrests, or house searches,' fearing associations that could be drawn between the Nazis and themselves.<sup>6</sup> Further to this, the changes between the editions of Sotiriou's novel also reveal an evolving ideology about identity. The female characters in the first edition are less restrained, more outspoken and intelligent. In the definitive edition, most of these female characters have become stereotypes; they have been silenced, and those that do speak do so to the utter surprise of the male characters, who are the strong,

1923–4 and was republished six times after that (1930, 1930/31, 1946, 1949, 1954, and 1955), with each edition from 1924 to 1930 to 1949 considerably expanded. Mackridge, 'Από κρίση σε κρίση: η ελληνική μεσοπολεμική λογοτεχνία και εμείς', in E. Koutrianou and E. Filokyprou (eds), *Μα τι γυρεύουν οι ψυχές μας ταξιδεόντας; Αναζητήσεις και αγωνίες των ελλήνων λογοτεχνών του μεσοπολέμου (1918–1939)* (Athens 2018) 24.

3 H. Hokwerda, 'Το τέλος της μικρής μας πόλης: Δύο γραφές', *Αντί* 298 (1985) 33–9.

4 Mackridge, 'Από κρίση σε κρίση', 24.

5 Tsakiri, in her biography of Sotiriou, mentions the changes between the editions, ascribing them to the author's attempt to improve the novel: 'Για την ιστορία, σημειώνουμε ότι, αρχικά, το βιβλίο είχε εκατό σελίδες περισσότερες, γιατί έδινε γεγονότα και από την Αντίσταση. Επειδή, όμως, αυτές παραφόρτωναν τη διήγηση, [...] η Διδώ αποφάσισε να τις κόψει.' S. Tsakiri, *Διδώ Σωτηρίου: Από τον κήπο της Εδέμ στο καμίνι του αιώνα μας* (Athens 1997) 219. For examples of some of the omissions of redundant phrases between editions, see E. Camatsos, *The Female 'I' in Modern Greek Prose Fiction, 1924–1962* (New York 2013) 217–18.

6 G. Van Steen, *Stage of Emergency: Theater and Public Performance under the Greek Military Dictatorship of 1967–1974* (Oxford 2015) 94.

patriarchal, military heroes responsible for the nation's victories. A closer reading reveals the characters of the definitive edition to be partaking in a 'performance' of expected roles on a surface level, but a subtext can also be discerned. Thus identity has become something changeable, and performance has become the means through which censors are 'tricked', showing it to be a powerful tool of expression and subversion.<sup>7</sup>

## The junta and censorship

The military junta of 1967–74 initially enforced preventive censorship (1967–9), which was used as a 'control mechanism before publication or production takes place'.<sup>8</sup> The colonels, in this initial phase of 'λογοκρισία', issued strict rules about what was and was not allowed to be published, asking authors or publishers to submit their works to the censorship office for approval. Some writers published during this period, some chose to remain silent, while others published their works abroad.<sup>9</sup> Many writers with left-wing backgrounds chose the path of dignified silence, what became known as the 'authors' silence'; however, refusing to publish also meant not being able to protest against the regime.<sup>10</sup> In 1969, the colonels replaced the preventive censorship law with a New Press Law, which came into effect on 1 January 1970, and which required editors, publishers and authors to bring their own work into line with the 'Revolution of 21 April'.<sup>11</sup> This appeared to be a relaxation of the initial censorship, but the new law 'proved to be a mere token liberalization of the earlier censorship legislation, and the freedom enjoyed after 1969 was but a relative one'.<sup>12</sup> Writers broke the 'authors' silence' in 1970 with their response to this press law, namely the volume *Δεκαοχτώ κείμενα*, published by Nana Kallianesi at the publishing house Kedros which she and her husband had founded in 1954 and which had become the home for leftist writers and thinkers. Kallianesi was one of the progressive publishers who rose to the challenge of publishing politically charged material during the years of the junta, thereby helping to reclaim 'the autonomy of the Greek publishing world'.<sup>13</sup> The title of the volume itself parodies the junta's requirement that titles of texts must correspond to the content.<sup>14</sup> This collection consists of poetry, short stories and essays, and contributors (most of whom belonged to the 'conservative ranks'<sup>15</sup>) included Nikos Kasdaglis, Alexandros Argyriou, D. N. Maronitis, Lefteris Poullos, Stratis Tsirkas,

7 In her book *Kassandra and the Censors: Greek Poetry since 1967* (New York 1998), 15, K. Van Dyck argues that two forms of literature emerged from the years of the junta, a representational one and a performative one.

8 Van Steen, *Stage*, 107.

9 R. Beaton, *An Introduction to Modern Greek Literature* (Oxford 1999) 262–3.

10 Van Steen, *Stage*, 101.

11 *Op. cit.*, 106–20.

12 *Op. cit.*, 118.

13 *Op. cit.*, 104.

14 *Op. cit.*, 103.

15 *Ibid.*

Spyros Plaskovitis, and Thanasis Valtinos. The volume was prefaced by the poem ‘Οι γάτες τ’ άη Νικόλα’ by George Seferis, which had been published in other languages but never in Greek.<sup>16</sup>

Dido Sotiriou was asked by Stratis Tsirkas to write a piece for this volume and she submitted the monologue ‘Πολιτεία κωφολάλων’,<sup>17</sup> which describes a man who, following an earthquake (Sotiriou’s metaphor for the junta) and the blinding/muting of an entire society, checks himself into a mental hospital and who, at the conclusion, ‘άνοιξε μια μια όλες τις πόρτες και βρέθηκε ξανά πίσω στη ζωή’.<sup>18</sup> It is a text that is bold, both in its thin disguise of the regime and in that it negatively describes the inertness of individuals in society and their failure to react or awaken. It is, however, no more daring than some of the other texts that were included. For example, Valtinos’ ‘Ο γύψος’ is about a man who finds himself in a surreal hospital and, at the conclusion, is in a full body cast which begins to suffocate him.<sup>19</sup> However, Alexandros Kotzias, one of the editors, refused to include Sotiriou’s piece in the final volume, for reasons ‘unknown’.<sup>20</sup> Kallianesi’s position on the inclusion of Sotiriou’s piece has not been recorded. Herein, we can discern an ambivalence surrounding Sotiriou, who had spent years as part of the Left, working as a journalist and as a spokesperson for women’s rights,<sup>21</sup> and had become the first female chief editor of the Communist Party newspaper *Ριζοσπάστης*. Sotiriou was, however, expelled from the Party in 1947, following her return to Athens from Thessaloniki as a result of an illness.<sup>22</sup> Her novels were popular and widely read, as she had acquired the identity of a writer of the Asia Minor Disaster, especially following the publication of *Ματωμένα χόματα* in 1962. This book was also praised by the Left and claimed as its own.<sup>23</sup> At

16 The prologue of *Δεκαοχτώ κείμενα* reads: ‘Κρίναμε ταιριαστό να προτάξουμε τιμητικά στα δικά μας κείμενα ένα ποιήμα του Σεφέρη, δημοσιευμένο σε ξένες χώρες αλλά ανέκδοτο στη γλώσσα του.’

17 E. Pappa in D. Sotiriou, *Θέατρο* (Athens 1995) 10.

18 Sotiriou, *Θέατρο*, 126.

19 This text concludes with ‘Ενοιωσα το στόμα μου να γεμίζει από την πηχτή υδαρή μάζα του γύψου. Η γεύση του δεν ήταν εντελώς δυσάρεστη, αλλά είχα κιάλας αρχίσει να ασφυκτιώ’: T. Valtinos in *Δεκαοχτώ Κείμενα* (Athens 1970) 180.

20 Tsakiri writes: ‘Ο Αλέξανδρος Κοτζιάς αρνήθηκε να τη συμπεριλάβει.’ Tsakiri, *Διδώ Σωτηρίου*, 260. In the prologue to this publication, Pappa also mentions the unknown reasons for its not being included in the *Δεκαοχτώ κείμενα* (Pappa in Sotiriou, *Θέατρο*, 10). This offers an interesting area for further study, as what is omitted and silenced can provide insight into the mechanisms of censorship.

21 In November 1945, Sotiriou, together with Chrysa Hatzivasileiou, attended the International Congress of Women, as members and representatives of EAM, the Communist-led National Liberation Front. See M. Poulos, ‘So that life may triumph: Communist feminism and Realpolitik in civil-war Greece’, *Journal of Women’s History* 29 (2017) 67.

22 According to Tsakiri, *Διδώ Σωτηρίου*, 189, the charge against her was ‘Εγκατάλειψη θέσεως’. Tsakiri goes on to say that the allegation behind this charge was that Sotiriou had been afraid because she was not a worker but a member of the bourgeoisie.

23 Sotiriou writes of an article she read in a newspaper in 1967: ‘Η κύρια ειδηση ήταν ότι βρέθηκε φοβερό υλικό στα γραφεία του κόμματος. Και τι έλεγε ανάμεσα σε άλλα; Οτι η Διδώ Σωτηρίου έβγαλε ένα ωραίο βιβλίο, τα *Ματωμένα χόματα* και πρέπει να προωθηθεί’ (Sotiriou, quoted in Tsakiri, *Διδώ Σωτηρίου*, 248).

the beginning of the junta period in 1967, Sotiriou checked herself into a mental clinic for three weeks in order to avoid being arrested<sup>24</sup> ('Πολιτεία κωφάλλων' is based upon this experience). One gets the sense that the military regime, while wanting to put Sotiriou into the category of 'Left', was unable to do so, due to her popularity as a writer who was herself a refugee from Asia Minor and who represented a chapter in Greek history (the Asia Minor Disaster) that united Greeks. At the same time, however, there was a need to censor her, or to keep her at a safe distance because of her associations with the Left.<sup>25</sup> Did the other writers or editors of *Eighteen Texts* fear that she was too radical or that her writing pushed the limits and would lead to the censorship of the whole volume? While the answer may never be clear, it is important to note that Sotiriou's first attempt to publish under the dictatorship was censored by the editors of the volume. Sotiriou's piece was bold and explicit in its critique of the regime, allowing one to argue that in any subsequent attempts to publish, Sotiriou would take a different (and more subtle) approach in her challenge to the oppressors.

### Sotiriou, performance, and the different editions of *Οι νεκροί περιμένουν*

Sotiriou wrote three texts during the early years of the junta period (1968–9): two plays, 'Περιπέτεια δίχως τέλος', 'Στον πλανήτη Γη όλα πάνε καλά', and the aforementioned monologue, 'Πολιτεία κωφάλλων'. These were published together many years after they were written, in 1995, in a volume entitled *Θέατρο*. Interestingly, the first two were the only plays she ever wrote. The fact that they were written during the early years of the junta, when censorship was at its most stringent, suggests this medium, the theatre, became, for Sotiriou, a way to express herself during these years.<sup>26</sup> The rejection of her monologue for the volume of 1970 is also important in that it allows for the argument that Sotiriou had to find more subtle means to communicate her message to her readers. The revisions made to *Οι νεκροί περιμένουν*, which mark her second attempt to publish during the years of the junta, are informed by this move towards theatricality and reveal characters who are role-playing on the surface.

The first and second editions of *Οι νεκροί περιμένουν* were published in 1959 and 1962 respectively. The first edition (a) was published in Athens by Kedros; there

24 See Tsakiri, *op. cit.*, 46–51. Sotiriou's sister Elli Pappa did not escape this fate and spent most of the years of the junta in jail or in exile, leaving her son Nikos (the child of Nikos Belogiannis) in the care of Sotiriou and her husband Platon.

25 None of Sotiriou's books were included in the list of banned books issued by the junta in 1971. See L. Axelos, *Εκδοτική δραστηριότητα και κίνηση των ιδεών στην Ελλάδα* (Athens 2008) 167–73.

26 Van Steen discusses the subversive role of theatre and performance during the junta years in both her article 'The story of Ali Retzo: Brechtian theater in Greece under the military dictatorship', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 31:1 (2013) and also her book *Stage of Emergency*. She writes that 'Theater and performance became weapons for the rebellious younger generation to use when waging war against tyranny' (*Stage*, 75) and argues that Greek theatre 'assumed the role of fiction and offered itself up as a site of cultural and political renewal' (24).

followed a second edition (b), published in Bucharest by Πολιτικές και λογοτεχνικές εκδόσεις. The novel was also published in Romanian (1961) and Russian (1962). The two Greek editions are virtually the same, with a few minor changes,<sup>27</sup> and include events from the German occupation and the Greek resistance. The definitive edition appeared in 1971 and is a hundred pages shorter than the previous editions, concluding just as the Greeks enter the war against the Italians. This edition (c) was the second by Kedros and the third overall. All subsequent editions (photographic reprints of the 1971 edition) have been published by Kedros.

The only references made to the revisions of *Οι νεκροί περιμένουν* in Sotiriou's archives are the following: the proofs of the text exist until page 175, where the versions begin to differ; the later pages of the proofs for the third edition are missing and there is a handwritten note: 'εδώ θα μπει η συνέχεια από σελ. 171 "οι δουλείες του θείου Γιάνγκου" κλπ έως σελ. 175 ... και μετά τη σελ 175 η σελίδα 170 ή 171 και τα συμπληρωματικά χειρόγραφα που θα είναι το τέλος του βιβλίου'.<sup>28</sup> This is followed by a handwritten page labelled 171 and the words 'το τέλος βιβλίου' at the top.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, on a separate list of the publication history of the novel, the typed text for the third edition has a handwritten note in the margins which reads 'επίσης από την έκδοση αυτή δεν συμπεριλαμβάνεται πλέον το κεφάλαιο της κατοχής'.<sup>30</sup> It remains unclear if the revisions to the third edition were made so as to conform to the press law. As Gonda Van Steen notes in her work on the theatre and public performance under the military junta, plays which 'featured uncanny historical parallels to the Nazi Occupation and Civil War [...] were banned or aborted in rehearsal';<sup>31</sup> it is thus highly probable that Sotiriou chose to take out the sections of her novel featuring the Nazi occupation and the Greek resistance in order to avoid rejection of its publication in an act of self-censorship.<sup>32</sup> However, if this is the case, it is puzzling that Kedros continues to publish only photographic reprints of the 1971 edition and has never returned to or republished the first edition.<sup>33</sup>

27 For example, in the 1959 edition, Part 2, the chapter number 4 is skipped, so that chapter 3 is immediately followed by chapter 5; thus, in Part 2, the chapter numbers reach '18' (this also occurs in the definitive Kedros edition). The chapter number '8' too is skipped in edition (a). In the 1962 edition, these editorial errors have been corrected, and there are only 17 chapters to Part 2. Camatsos, *The Female 'I'*, 216.

28 EΛΙΑ, Sotiriou archives, Folder 12.1.

29 *Ibid.*

30 *Op. cit.*, Folder 30.1.

31 Van Steen, *Stage*, 94. Van Steen discusses two plays about the resistance that were banned, Gerasimos Stavrou's *Καληνύχτα Μαργαρίτα* and Dimitris Hatzis' *Μαργαρίτα Περδικάρη*. See Van Steen, *Stage*, 137.

32 For a discussion on self-censorship and its long-ranging consequences, see Van Steen, *Stage*, 117.

33 In a discussion with current editors at Kedros, I was shown a copy of the novel (definitive 1971 edition) in which Sotiriou had made hand-written changes and given them to Kedros for a new edition of the novel. These changes by Sotiriou do not mention a return to the first edition, suggesting that Sotiriou herself preferred the definitive edition. Although discussions about a new edition have been undertaken (either to republish the first edition or to publish another edition with Sotiriou's changes to the definitive edition), no decision about this has been made by Kedros at the time of publication of this article.

Reception of the first edition was favourable:

Με το μυθιστόρημα «Οι νεκροί περιμένουν» της Διδώς Σωτηρίου, μπορούμε να πούμε χωρίς υπερβολή ότι η νεοελληνική πεζογραφία, ευτύχησε ν'αποχτήσει ένα εκπληκτικά ώριμο έργο, να πλουτίσει μ' ένα βιβλίο, ορόσημο κι αφετηρία μαζί, για μια περίοδο πιο σταθερής άνθησης. [...] είναι ένα βιβλίο βαθύτατης κι αγνότατης ανθρωπιάς. Ένα έργο εξαιρετης ποιότητας που δεν τιμά μόνο την συγγραφέα του, αλλά και καθολικώτερα τον άνθρωπο και τη νέα λογοτεχνία μας.<sup>34</sup>

[...] Το μεγάλο προσόν του βιβλίου της Σωτηρίου είναι που οι άνθρωποί της δεν είναι αντρείκελα. Έχουν σάρκα, κόκκαλα, καρδιά και νου. Ταλαντίζονται μέσα στην τρομερή δίνη των γεγονότων.<sup>35</sup>

Τα γεγονότα σου δίνονται ζεστά, παραστατικά με όλο το βάρος της πικρής τους πραγματικότητας.<sup>36</sup>

These and other reviews are positive.<sup>37</sup> The only negative review of the novel, or more specifically, of the second part of the novel, was by Dimitris Raftopoulos, a literary critic whose opinion carried significant weight, who wrote: 'Μέσα στις ίδιες σελίδες υπάρχει ένα περίφημο μυθιστόρημα κ' ένα κατασκευάσμα εγκεφαλικό ανυπόφορο [...] Πολύ καλύτερα θα ήταν τα πράγματα αν η Διδώ Σωτηρίου έκλεινε το μυθιστόρημα της στην πρώτη περίοδο της προσφυγιάς στον Πειραιά.'<sup>38</sup> Raftopoulos' critique of the second half is harsh and unforgiving: 'Ούτε στην επεικέστερη κριτική δεν μπορεί ν' αντέξει αυτό το μέρος του βιβλίου',<sup>39</sup> and he writes that he hopes the author learns her lesson and in the future avoids 'δύσκολες συνθέσεις'.<sup>40</sup>

In all definitive editions of the novel, the back cover includes excerpts from both the aforementioned reviews by Levantas and Vrettakos (amongst others), despite the fact that they were written for what is essentially a different novel. Additionally, after the definitive edition was published, the left-wing writer Elli Alexiou praised the novel without referring to the changes made between editions.<sup>41</sup>

34 H. Levantas, *Το περιοδικό μας* 7-8 (1959) 200–1.

35 K. Porfyris, *Αυγή*, 16 Jan. 1959.

36 N. Vrettakos, *Ανεξάρτητος Τύπος*, 6 May 1959.

37 For example, see the reviews: S. G., *Ακρόπολις*, 19 Jan. 1959, D. Klaras, *Βραδυνή*, 11 Feb. 1959, 'Ο Eranistis', *Ανεξάρτητος Τύπος* 10 Jan. 1959, and 'Ο Vivliofilos', *Γυναίκα*, 21 Jan. 1959.

38 D. Raftopoulos, 'Διδώ Σωτηρίου «Οι νεκροί περιμένουν»', *Επιθεώρηση Τέχνης* 52 (April 1959) 225. T. Doulis also voices a similar criticism, but this was published in 1977, after the definitive edition appeared, and he does not mention the revisions: 'The Dead Wait leaves the impression of being a "diptych", a long and interesting work that is really two novels.' Doulis, *Disaster and Fiction: Modern Greek Fiction and the Asia Minor Disaster of 1922* (London 1977) 196–7.

39 Raftopoulos, 'Διδώ Σωτηρίου', 224.

40 *Ibid.*

41 E. Alexiou, *Ριζοσπάστης*, 28 Feb. 1975, 4.

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I have discussed in detail the differences between the editions of *Οι νεκροί περιμένουν* elsewhere and related them to gender;<sup>42</sup> in this essay, I would like to focus upon the characters of Zisis and Niovi, using the changes in the presentation of their characters between editions to show the shift towards a performative identity that pays lip-service to traditional gender roles allowed by the junta (physically strong men and quiet women who supported the men in their roles to bring glory to the nation)<sup>43</sup>, while at the same time subverting them.

In the first edition, the characters of Zisis and Niovi are fully developed (according to Raftopoulos, these two characters are idealized and didactic<sup>44</sup>) and their roles in the resistance movement are central to the second part of the novel. Both are participants in the resistance, and after Zisis is taken to the Merlin Street prison, tortured and killed (a 301–3), Niovi retreats to the mountains to continue the fight. It should be noted that scenes of torture, oppression, and women who directly participated in the resistance are themes that the junta censored.<sup>45</sup>

The two editions (first and definitive) are identical until the first appearance of Zisis (a 177 and c 212). An initial look at the differences between editions reveals that Zisis, in the first edition, is a character whose central role in the novel is as a resistance fighter, with a background in Asia Minor, whose father was killed by the Turks. When he is first introduced, he describes himself as part of the community of refugees, using the ‘we’ pronoun (‘Ο τόπος ο δικός μας είναι πια εδώ’ (a 177)), something which Niovi notices: ‘Η Νιόβη πρόσεξε με κατάπληξη εκείνο το «εμείς»’ (a 179). Zisis is shy, soft-spoken, addressing his mother as ‘μητέρα’ (a 177), and he later expresses his love and feelings for Niovi explicitly (‘– Σ’ αγαπώ! της ψιθύρισε και της έδωσε το πρώτο αγνό, ερωτικό του φιλή’ (a 196)). In the definitive edition, his background as an Asia Minor refugee is omitted, and, when he is introduced, he refers to his mother as ‘μάννα’ and the narrator refers to her as ‘γριά’ (c 212). Having Zisis use the word ‘μάννα’, instead of the more respectful ‘μητέρα’, makes him more aggressive (in the junta’s beliefs, this meant more masculine) and less polite or sensitive.

It is worth putting the two versions of the relevant passage side by side:

Ένας νέος που ήταν ξαπλωμένος σε μια πολυθρόνα και φαινόταν αδιάφορος στη συζήτηση, άνοιξε τα μάτια του και είπε σιγανά:

– Μητέρα δε σου εξήγησα πως πρέπει να το πάρεις απόφαση; Ο τόπος ο δικός μας είναι πια εδώ. Όσο ζούμε με την αυταπάτη του γυρισμού προκοπή δε θα δούμε.  
(a 176–7, my emphasis)

42 Camatsos, *The Female ‘I*, 216–30.

43 The junta’s ideology favoured God, the nation, and traditional family structures, and the colonels urged filmmakers, for example, to ‘keep to innocent, sentimental stories, preferably chaste romances ending in a church marriage’ (Van Steen, *Stage*, 116).

44 Raftopoulos, ‘Διδώ Σωτηρίου’, 224–5.

45 Van Steen, *Stage*, 94.



Ένας νέος που ήταν ξαπλωμένος σε μια πολυθρόνα και διάβαζε, έκλεισε τα βιβλίο του επιδειχτικά, σηκώθηκε και με κάποια αδημονία, είτε στη γριά:

– Μπρε μάνα! Δεν τα είπαμε χίλιες φορές; Ξέχασέ τον πια αυτόν το γουρισμό, να 'συχάσεις και συ κι οι άλλοι που σ' ακούνε. (c 212)

Another blatant change is the reversal of characteristics in the following description: 'Ο Ζήσης θα βάλει την ποιητική του έξαρση κι ο Σωτήρης το εμπορικό του δαιμόνιο' (a 205) becomes 'Ο Ζήσης θα βάλει το εμπορικό του δαιμόνιο και ο Σωτήρης την ποιητική του έξαρση' (c 231) in the definitive edition. This aligns with the dictators' version of history, in which 'Military leadership, muscle power, and victory are valorized over any intellectual or artistic achievements,'<sup>46</sup> thereby making Zisis into their type of hero, someone who is not interested in intellectual pursuits but rather in capitalist gain.

Sotiriou's use of the word 'επιδειχτικά' (c 212) in the revised edition is something which upon a first reading might go unnoticed. Nevertheless, examined together with the changes in Niovi's character, the performative aspect of these revised characters becomes clear. In the first edition, Niovi immediately turns to Zisis: 'Αυτή η φράση κίνησε το ενδιαφέρον της Νιόβης κι άρχισε μια ζωνρή συζήτηση με τον άγνωστο νέο' (a 177). In the definitive edition, Niovi turns instead to the narrator, Aliko, and whispers, '– Δεν μου λες; Επίδειξη κάνει ο νεαρός;' (c 212), and it is the father who engages in the initial discussion of politics with Zisis. Again, we see the use of the word 'επίδειξη' with reference to Zisis, emphasizing that he is partaking in a display or show of sorts. Niovi is described as playing the expected role of a woman: 'Η Νιόβη έβαλε τα γέλια. Ως τώρα δεν είχε πει λέξη. Παράσταينه το κοριτσόπουλο που ακούει και δεν έχει δικές του απόψεις' (c 214). When she eventually joins the discussion after a period of silence, Zisis looks at her with surprise: 'Δεν το περίμενε πως κείνο το αμίλητο μικροκαμωμένο κορίτσι μπορούσε να 'χει τέτοιου είδους ενδιαφέροντα' (c 214). The word 'έκπληξη' is used again a few paragraphs later: 'Η παρέμβασή της ήταν μια πολύ ευχάριστη έκπληξη για το Ζήση' (c 215). Zisis, in the definitive edition, expresses surprise at the intelligence of Niovi, who acts the way she is supposed to act (a small, quiet girl) and is, in fact, something else (an intelligent woman). These changes seem to bring the male-female characters into alignment with the junta's stereotypical images of males as the heroes and women in auxiliary roles, acting as 'humble physical helpers [to the] soldiers engaged in real action.'<sup>47</sup> However, these roles are only surface-level (thus appeasing the censors who were interested only in the obvious, superficial reading<sup>48</sup>), and a subtext can be discerned. Just after Zisis and Niovi meet, they engage in a conversation which is presented as a script. The narrator disappears and the text reads:

46 *Op. cit.*, 180.

47 *Op. cit.*, 178.

48 *Op. cit.*, 157.

Νιόβη: Συχνά αναρωτιέμαι μήπως κι είναι σκέτη απάτη η ανεξαρτησία μας [...]  
 Ζήσης: Και φτάνουνε και σε αποκλεισμούς και κατοχές κι εμφύλιες έριδες! [...]  
 Νιόβη: Σκλαβάκια μας θένε, δε χωράει αμφιβολία.  
 Ζήσης: Και όσες φορές δεν μας βρίσκουνε αρκετά υπάκουους, μας παρασύρουνε  
*τελεσίγραφα και εκφοβιστικές διακοινώσεις.* (c 216, my emphasis)

Before and after this section, dialogue between the characters is in its standard format, with the use of a dash to introduce the speaker. In the above passage, however, Niovi and Zisis are characters in a play, with their names followed by a colon and the words they are scripted to say. We read their dialogue directly, with no mediating narrator, and it is as if this section has been emphasized with its script-like text. The actual words, however, reveal an awareness on the part of the characters of the roles they are asked to play and that failure to play these roles (in this case, the role of ‘σκλαβάκια’) will lead those in power to engage in intimidation tactics.

In the first edition, as stated earlier, Zisis is tortured and killed in prison. Niovi engages with the struggle by going to join the resistance in the mountains. The novel ends with the following passage:

Και ακούστηκαν απ’ όλους τους τάφους των εκτελεσμένων, φωνές ζωντανές:  
 – Θα περιμένουμε!  
 Και απ’ όλους τους δρόμους του κόσμου ακούστηκαν βήματα. Βήματα  
 ανθρώπων που τραβούσαν μπροστά... (a 307).

In contrast, the definitive edition ends just as the Occupation begins, thereby not allowing any room for characters who resist the oppressors or for dialogue such as Zisis’ call as he is taken to prison: ‘μην τα φοβάστε τα θρασύδειλα σκυλιά. Το αίμα δεν σκοτώνει τον πόθο της λευτεριάς, τον φουντώνει!’ (a 297). Aliki mourns Aunt Ermioni’s death for several months (this is described in the third edition in one short paragraph), and Niovi comes to pull Aliki out of her mourning: ‘– Να ξεμάθει! Ν’ ασχοληθείς με κάτι. Να βρεις το δρόμο σου, να δράσεις. Δεν μπορεί να μένεις πάντα θεατής. Έχουμε αξιώσεις από σένα. Είσαι ένα πνευματικό κεφάλαιο’ (c 246, my emphasis). The use of the word ‘θεατής’ to describe Aliki enters this scene only in the definitive edition; in the first edition, it reads: ‘Να ξεμάθει! Ν’ ασχοληθείς με κάτι δύσκολο, δημιουργικό. Να βρεις το δρόμο σου, τον προορισμό σου. Τότε και μόνο τότε θα νοιώσεις σιγουριά, χαρά κι ικανοποίηση απ’ τον εαυτό σου’ (a 205). The addition of the word ‘θεατής’, with reference to Aliki, further emphasizes the performative role of Zisis and Niovi. She as the narrator has been watching the play put on by Zisis and Niovi, but it is now time for her to enter into a more active role herself. This invitation to action by Niovi to Aliki can also be understood as Sotiriou’s attempt to urge readers to become active citizens rather than mere passive observers and to engage in a resistance against the oppressive regime of the junta, something she had also tried to do in her monologue for *Eighteen Texts*. The final chapter of the definitive edition contains a plurality of voices with no clear source, calling out:

- Θα 'χουμε λέτε, πόλεμο;
- Πόλεμο;
- Πόλεμο!
- Ναι, πόλεμο!
- Ποιος τα λέει;
- Διαδόσεις.
- Προπαγάνδες. (c 248)

The script here lacks specific characters who are speaking the words, making it more immediate for the reader, and in this way, making the reader an active participant in the reading. It ends with the dead calling out (the reference to the executed, which appears in the first edition, is now omitted, and the dead are now the dead of the past in general), and Sotiriou has added a second 'θα περιμένουμε!', further emphasizing the call to action:

- Βγήκαν και οι νεκροί από τους τάφους για συμπαράσταση.
- Θα περιμένουμε!
- Θα περιμένουμε! (c 250)

## Conclusion

The novel *Οι νεκροί περιμένουν* was significantly altered between its first edition of 1959 and the definitive edition of 1971. There are most likely two reasons for this editing: firstly, Sotiriou wanted to address the problems of the first edition that Raftopoulos had pointed out, and more specifically, the weakness of the second half of the novel. Secondly, it would be naïve to ignore the publication date of the revision, during the years of the junta, and to overlook the fact that the omitted sections are of events that the regime did not want to bring to the forefront of people's memories.

A close look at the changes gives us an insight into the possible [self]-censorship that was exercised. As the text existed before the dictatorship, the changes that were made to its publication in the junta years allow us a glimpse into how authors were able to get around the censors and the means they employed to do so. The changes that were made with the characters of Niovi and Zisis suggest that Sotiriou was attempting to bypass the censorship that may have been imposed on the text; as such, identities were shown to depict what was acceptable but at the same time were also shown to be performative. Identity shifted from something that was stable to something that was changeable, and there are sections of the revised edition in which we can discern a subtle subtext that would not be picked up by the junta's censors, who were interested in readings on a simple and obvious level, and which we can argue is Sotiriou's attempt to communicate with her readers in a more inventive way. The novel, which continues to be published by Kedros, has never been republished in its original version. Perhaps this was because Kedros preferred the less expensive method of reprinting the text photographically. Alternatively, perhaps it was Sotiriou herself who, in the post-junta

years, decided that she did not want to reprint the more overtly politically committed conclusion of the first edition, or that the revised edition had indeed improved the novel. Whatever the reason, the first edition of the novel portrays the period of the Greek resistance, with torture scenes, deaths of resistance fighters, and strong female characters who played central rather than auxiliary roles, and its erasure from the pages of literature highlights a continued awkwardness surrounding this period of modern Greek history.

*Efrosini Camatsos is both an academic scholar and a writer of fiction. She has been teaching literature and writing in universities for the past seventeen years, currently at the American College of Greece. Her book The Female 'I' in Modern Greek Prose Fiction, 1924–1962 highlights her interest in Greek women's writing and narrative techniques of marginalized voices. Her first novel, Beneath the Surface, the tragicomic story of a Greek woman who helped the Nazis confiscate olive oil, was published in Greek as Μονοπάτια της Μνήμης, and her second, The Duct-Tape Diary, a bildungsroman set in Mississippi, is forthcoming. She spends her time between Athens and Lesvos.*