

Greek Immigrant Authors in Germany

Niki Eideneier*

*Finally one day I made up my mind. To grasp the tiny table
to place it next to the window
to install my typewriter on it enabling
the thought to penetrate the pillage of the silence writing...*

Georges Lillis ¹

RÉSUMÉ

Traditionnellement l'Allemagne n'était pas un pays d'accueil d'immigrants mais bien de travailleurs invités (*Garstarbeiter*) dont plusieurs étaient d'origine grecque. Certains sont même devenus des écrivains exemplaires d'une littérature que certains appellent «d'immigration» parmi d'autres appellations. L'article qui suit nous offre un rare survol de la scène littéraire de la diaspora grecque en Allemagne depuis l'après-guerre jusqu'à nos jours. De plus, l'auteur traite des différentes appellations données à cette littérature des immigrants présents dans le paysage littéraire de l'Allemagne et de la Grèce.

ABSTRACT

Germany may not be considered a country of immigration but it has certainly been a country of guest workers (*Garstarbeiter*). Many of these were Greek immigrants who were writers or became writers. Their literature has been called 'immigration literature' among other labels. This article considers the various labels and describes the Greek immigrants active in the literary landscape of Germany and even Greece. The author provides a rare, sweeping overview of the scene from the early post-war period to today.

Introduction

The Federal Republic of Germany is a country of 357,027 square kilometres and 82 million people. This study focuses on the image presented

* Publisher

by the Federal Republic of Germany, hereinafter called Germany for the purposes of this article, and its non-native population after the Second World War and more specifically from 1960 onwards. The Popular Republic of Germany was a separate and a more or less inaccessible state to immigration until Reunification in 1989.

Even today, immigrants remain concentrated in the western regions of Germany, where heavy industry has traditionally dominated and employed most of the *Garstarbeiters*, or so-called foreign guest workers. The term comes from the original contracts which stated that these labourers would soon return to their countries of origin. The «invitation» extended to this massive number of foreign workers once was necessary as the native labour force could not meet the needs of Germany's rapid economic reconstruction after World War Two with the implementation of the Marshall Plan. It is estimated that, during the 1960s, the number of «imported» workers employed either legally or illegally surpassed five million in what was called Western Germany.

The Greek-German agreement «For the employment of Greek workers in Germany» was signed in March 1960. Some 800,000 Greeks worked under this agreement in the German factories; their numbers stabilized at 406,000 in 1974, according to official documents², which is estimated to be the peak of the whole period.

This immigration of Greeks took place mainly for both economic and political reasons. We have to remember that the post-Civil-War, post-Cold-War climate prevailed in every corner of the Greek nation, and the situation was certainly no better during the seven-year military dictatorship. The new political immigrants in co-operation with their compatriots, who had come to Germany before them, became active opponents of the Greek junta.

Afterwards various changes occurred, such as the massive return of Greek immigrants to their native country during the 1974-1979 period because of the economic crisis in Germany but also because of the collapse of the junta in Greece. This was followed by the 1981 accession of Greece to the European family, which enabled free population movement. Nowadays, the demographic picture of the reunited Germany is as follows: out of a total population of 82.4 million people, 75.1 million possess German citizenship,

1,948,000 Turkish citizenship, 362,700 Greek citizenship, and other ethnic minorities share the rest.³ Among the 75.1 million people holding German citizenship, there is of course a high percentage of foreigners who have obtained citizenship because of marriage with Germans or acceptance as landed immigrants. The German immigration law has gradually been amended. In this latter broad category are children resulting from 'mixed marriages' and others who for various reasons have double citizenship. Nevertheless, the exact number in this category is difficult to establish. In spite of German naturalization, those with foreign origin do maintain, even partially, their ethnic awareness and specific cultural identity.

The following reasons may help explain this cultural difference: the Federal Republic of Germany was never a country of immigration in the classical sense of the term, such as Canada, Australia and the USA. However, even if this were the case and even if it could be defined demographically as a country of immigration, Greek immigrants could not and would not be able to be massively naturalized in it, since in reality they had not been cut off from their motherland. The lack of great geographical distance, the separation of families and frequent and easy communication with the motherland made things easier. For example, nowadays television and radio replaced the experience of the early years of immigration, which consisted of waiting at the railway stations on Sundays for the arrival of trains and their newspapers from Greece. The arrival of e-mail which serves mainly the younger ones and lately, very inexpensive air fares which permit the frequent mutual visits, and secondary residences, all these facilitate Greek cultural maintenance. Many of the Greek immigrants have the economic possibility to return and re-establish themselves in Greece, but do not because their children and grandchildren have been established more or less permanently in Germany. There is another reason for the imperfect and incomplete adaptation and social integration of the Greeks in German society: the Greek government's educational policy. This policy bows to the pressure of the parents but also to partisan interests and insists on a solely Greek education. Moreover, the curriculum is not adapted to the realities of German society; that is to say, it is the same curriculum as in Greece. Obviously there are serious consequences on the psychological and academic development of the young children of immigrants.

Greek Literature in Germany

Neither numbers nor statistics shed much light on a literary landscape; however, this brief historical and topographical sketch of the recent migration from Greece was necessary to frame the conditions in which a specific literature arose. That literature is generally defined as follows: «Immigration literature is a literature that has been the result of the arrival of foreign workers to the Federal Republic of Germany. It is written in German or the writer's mother tongue and explores the reasons of the personal immigration, mainly through their experiences and what they have lived in the Federal Republic of Germany»⁴.

More becomes clear about the life of immigrants in Germany and conditions before their arrival, for example, their reasons for immigrating are not only economic but also political. At this point, immigration literature is mixed with the literature of exile, and travel itself is essentially the frame these writers are using, whether they are producing a work of fiction or a documentary.

The themes they treat differ from those of the majority of their Greek colleagues but still draw their source from Greek literature and deal with the post-war atmosphere of Greece, which they consider as the main reason of immigration. Other themes abound including nostalgia; alienation; separation from relatives; division of the family; difficulties of adaptation in their new country, exploitation from compatriots and others, hostility they are facing from locals; transfer of political passions from the motherland to the Greek communities abroad; lack of contact with the new neighbours, which dealt with the creation of ethnic ghettos-Greeks with Greeks, Turks with Turks. Hence, we witness an idealisation of the Greek way of life, but also a black and white sketch of reality. There is also, of course, the linguistic aphasia, to which at least the first generation of immigrants was condemned. Yet, this becomes the theme that guides and forms their literary expression. It is a realistic form of writing, with transgressions, however, especially in the fields of poetry and humour with a touch of conscious hyperbole towards derision.

Before continuing, we must ask ourselves if there were Greek immigrant writers; in other words, people who had been writing and publishing before their departure from Greece and their long or temporary sojourn in

Germany with other immigrants. However, we will focus on the writers created by immigration itself. Those writers left their home in order to work hard. They knew that very well, even if they consoled themselves that it was sufficient to bend in order to pick up the money lying on the streets and that in a maximum of one or two years time they would return home. Of course, that was foreseen by Germany's immigration policy. Newcomers signed two-year contracts initially since Germany was not a «country of reception of permanent immigrants», despite the fact that in the course of events, the Germans realized that it was not in the interest of their country's economy to experiment continuous change, given the difficulties of social and linguistic adaptation. Greeks experienced profoundly disdain, injustice, discriminatory treatment, poor housing, bad treatment from colleagues, contempt from the opposite sex, and all other consequences which come along with being uprooted and installed in a foreign country without enough information about the conditions, the language or culture that they would face.

Nevertheless during the dictatorship in Greece, we find the temporary presence in Germany of certain writers, especially those who chose to exile themselves abroad, such as Vasilis Vasilikos, who was then living in Italy and for a certain time in Western Berlin. Other examples include Periklis Korovesis or the poet Fontas Ladis, who wrote the verses of the song of Mikis Theodorakis' *Grammata apo ti Germania (Letters from Germany)*. However, their presence was combined mainly with visits for political purposes. They sought either to meet friends from Greece who were also self-exiled in Germany or to create contacts with the Greek Editorial Board of the Radio Station of Bavaria and the Radio Station *Deutsche Welle*. The programs of those stations adopted a vehement position against the junta and were regularly informing the Greeks of both Germany and Greece. They often invited Greek authors in exile to their programs, thus further sensitizing their numerous listeners to the situation in Greece.

In spite of that, these visitors do not seem to have drawn serious inspiration from the life of Greek immigrants. Perhaps one exception is Vasilikos in his *Magnitofono I (Tape recorder I)* and *Magnitofono II (Tape recorder II)*. Yet, both these books remained more or less unnoticed. Other more important subjects were absorbing them and political action as well. The first important voice came from Hungary. It was the voice of the great

novelist Dimitris Hatzis (1914-1981) who wrote the novel *To diplo Vivlio* (*Double Book*) (1972).⁵ Note that he had also resided in East Germany. Its subject was the life of a Greek worker of the AOUTEL Company in Stuttgart. The main character relates his life in first person to a writer who in turn reports it to his readers combining it with the life of the hero during the post-war and post-civil-war periods in Greece, thus explaining also the reasons of immigration. Some have contested the authenticity of its content, since it is the story of a story and not the experiences of Hatzis himself. Nevertheless, this book remains a truly sensitive masterpiece, especially because the author had experienced immigration first hand under. *Diplo Vivlio* certainly constituted one of the main books read by upcoming Greek writers in Germany and contributed significantly to their literary education. Yet, other writers from mainland Greece had also been dealing with the subject of the new massive immigration and its consequences. At a point when the official Greek institutions and their policies seem to have forgotten the immense human potential lost without presenting any reaction and later seen only as a source of foreign currency, a correcting factor of its wretched economy, some authors concentrated their energies on the orphan families left behind or the evacuated villages of northern Greece or the returning immigrant, who ill and tired comes back with his old Mercedes, a sad remnant of the high hopes of departure. Key examples from this category include Petros Markaris with his theatrical work *Oi filoxenoumenoí* (*The Guests*) not yet published in Greek though produced at a theatre in Thessaloniki; Yiorgos Skourtis, with his one scene play *O metanastis* (*The immigrant*); Lili Zographou with her novel *Theodoula antio*, (*Theodoula, good bye*); Maro Douka with her novel *Sa fotoromantso* (*Like a photo love story*).⁷

The First Generation

The first Greek immigrant anthology with fiction texts, but mainly poetry, which had been previously published in special revues or anthologies containing texts of foreign writers of various ethnic origins had been published in German and in Germany with the title *Dimitrakis '86 – parakalontas gia mia patrida – (Dimitrakis, Praying for a Country '86)*⁸. Also included were characteristic texts on the immigration of Greek writers from the mainland. Overall the existing texts of Greek immigrant writers were few

and difficult to find, but also they did not correspond to literary criteria.⁹ On the issue of literariness, it is in my opinion a very young literature and because of that, one can't judge all the texts with the same criteria. What is important is the personal itinerary of each writer, which the reader and the critic must take into account. There exists more mature texts and less mature ones, in order not to use the terms «good» and «less good».

Already in 1977 the writer, scientist, sociologist and immigrant himself, George Matzouranis had returned to Athens and published there the book entitled, *Mas lene Gastarbeiter** (*They call us Gastarbeiter*). This book used interviews or personal testimonies of the Greeks of Germany. In its preface, he notes that of the Greeks who migrated to Germany 85% were farmers and only 7% were urbanites. Their educational level was low in that fewer than half of them had completed their basic education. On the other hand, they constituted Greece's best human capital. Some 90% of those immigrants were in the 18-to 35-year-old bracket and their health was excellent. This book was later republished and completed with the title *Ta paidia tou Notou* (*The Children of the South*) and then followed by *Opou ki an eimai xenos* (*Wherever I am I feel like a foreigner*), which included interviews of immigrants returning to their homeland. Since it is a dictated text, it follows the oral tradition of the Greek people. It is a direct, simple document with astonishing sincerity and the real literary qualities of a fairy tale.

Indeed, the tale as well as the demotic song became the literary tools and baggage of the first immigrant writers, which they carried naturally, given that these were what they had heard in the agricultural society of their youth. Some of these self-educated poets even had the courage to publish their own poems by their own means. This was the case for Manolis Filippakis (Dusseldorf), Leonidas Hasiotis (Bielefeld), Vagios Fasoulas (Furth) Stavros Stavrinidis (Heinsberg). The latter immigrated first to Holland and, in 1966, he came to Germany. In a pure literary vein, Stavrinidis has under his belt a small collection of short stories, *O Lohias Bekovits* (11), (*Sergeant Bekovits*), participation in various anthologies of fiction, a long autobiographic novel in manuscript form. Another interesting example is Fanis Fantenis who wandered the seas of the globe, ended up in Berlin, published in Greece and has been listed under the category of literature of immigration.

An admirable case is that of Eleni Delidimitriou-Tsakmaki (Munich), simple worker till she took her pension, she started writing very late, but with determination and in so charming a way, with such a tension and profoundness in her deceptive, seemingly simple way of writing, that her success surprises nobody. She has written two novels in Greek, translated and published also in German, a series of short stories in various anthologies, a novella, plays often presented and a publication with interviews-testimonies of her own initiative and care, as well as a book for children that put her on the front lines both qualitatively and quantitatively.

While reading I got asleep. A profound sleep with so many dreams. Who knows how much time I was sleeping at the same spot on my own hand. It had become so numbed, that when I tried to lie on the back, it dropped parched on me and I was frightened. With my other hand I took my wrist and it seemed to me like a snake, like hot meat and I wasn't feeling it like mine. I started to hit it on the wall to kill it. Once I had hit it many times, I let it go and I tried to stand up. My hand though fell again unconscious on me. I grasped it again from the wrist and I started to hold it tightly and more firmly. To strangle it I thought, as it seemed to me like the head of a snake and I pursued to hit it on the wall. «Help» I cried loudly...

Panini koukla (Cloth Doll, p.124).

The “Educated” Ones

Also present in this first generation of immigrants are the «educated» and even «intellectual» writers. In this category, belongs the ‘steel worker’, as Vaggelis Sakatos (Opladen) calls himself. Engaged politically in unions, but also possessing a theoretical education, Sakatos is a prolific writer on a variety of themes in historic, sociological, literary, and theatrical works. Other writers were scientists in various fields. Their presence in Germany was not imposed by purely economic reasons, and their working relation with their country of destination was, of course, different. Some in this category have written hidden autobiographies; for example, Doctor Georgios Spyrou (Hamburg) who emphasizes the effort of reconstituting a

youth hidden in the drawers of memory. Others write with a great dose of nostalgia such as the novelist Antonis Hristodoulis (Saarbrücken, linguist-philologist), the poet Zacharias Mathioudakis (Stuttgart, political scientist, journalist), the poet Iakovos Papadopoulos (Hamburg, economist). George Kafousias (Stuttgart) already in Germany from 1957, had written a lot in both languages. Actually, much of his work remains unpublished. Thymios Gazis (chemist, Frankfurt), is an example of a scientist who writes in a philosophical mood as the education that he brought with him and his further occupations have influenced him deeply. There is also the poet Thodoris Vlahodimitris (Hamburg, classical philologist) and Garefis Deligkas (Schorndorf, physician), who considers his poetry to be the result of his social activities. Among the best most influential poets is Georges Papoulias (Nuremberg, diplomatic service). He saw in his immigrant compatriots the human dimension of a drama which began in the motherland and continued at their new place of residence in a new setting and with new scene-setters.

*From the reserve I recall again/my first role/as Santcho Pantcha
of the indigenous/from the archives I pull out/shadows of the
moon blooded knees/red grenades/I approach in a distance of a
kiss/I caress its square glass/I pierce him/I bend into him and I
look/It's not me.*

Oi pente ypikootites (The Five Citizenships, p.56).

With scientific exactitude, the neurologist-psychiatrist and historian Antonis Rizos (Bochum) writes equally dynamic scientific studies, literary essays, but also poetry of high quality. He publishes very little, but we could call him a *poeta ductus*, as he always bears in mind the fate of fallen Hellenism.

Chryssafis Lolakas (Stuttgart) constitutes a special case. On one hand, the first volume of his trilogy *Oso aplonetai o ouranos (As far as the sky is spread out)* written directly in German reveals a great talent. Yet, his work cannot be classified as the literature of immigration because it could be lawfully claimed by the literature of exile. On the other hand, already in 1965, he had written a novel in Greece dealing with immigration and in the same critical

spirit and caustic language. He came to Germany as a political refugee because of the junta and made an oath not to write in Greek ever again because he was deeply hurt from the situation in his motherland. He did return to Greece after the dictatorship, but his literary traces have been lost, although perhaps we will hear from him again. Costas Karaoulis (Wurzburg) also migrated for political reasons. Having presented his first literary work in Greece, he continued a literary career in Germany, writing and publishing in both languages, living near Greek immigrants and sharing the life of other *Garstarbeiters*, who nourish his imagination and realistic style. Dimitris Kosmidis (Stuttgart) immigrated in 1961 for political reasons and very soon developed his literary activities as a writer, translator and journalist. Mitakos Kouspakeridis (Cologne), is another Greek immigrant writer who managed to get out unharmed from gambling and the activities of the underground in Germany.

George Kromydas (Bonn), a particular case, whom we could compare to the younger Antonis Sourounis, presents himself as a writer of the «underground». He came in Germany before 1961 to escape from his family with its restraining love, to study and to discover himself. Unfortunately or fortunately, he falls into the world of gambling, from which he emerges as a great writer. In his trilogy for the Greek *Kimona* he describes with a lot of bitter humour and caustic German language, his own life and that of other immigrants, as well as that of those who stayed in the motherland and their civilisation. He writes poetry as well as prose, long and short novels directly in German. Recently he tried to write in Greek but with great difficulty. Lastly, we must mention the political scientist, Miltiadis Papanagnou (Munich). Having published two collections of novels in Greek and many novels in German anthologies and revues, he is considered an excellent immigration novelist. He was one of the enthusiastic supporters of the *Polikunst*. Papanagnou returned to Greece after 25 years as an immigrant and continues to follow the activities of his compatriots in Germany and encourage his young colleagues with the same enthusiasm.

We must also mention Alexandros Schinas (Cologne-Essen), a recognized writer in Greece, who handles the two languages superbly but may not easily be included in immigration literature since his published work has another perspective and his other written works belong more to the field of journalism.

If with the term «first generation» we mean the immigrant-writers who arrived at different dates and for various reasons in Germany, not because their parents were immigrants, not those born in Germany and, of course, those without a professional occupation for living, then we must also explore a second group of known writers. These authors have defined and cultivated more conscientiously and more effectively the immigration literature produced in Germany. These writers, most of them scientists, know Greek but also the German perfectly well. They are of the same age as the first group, or younger. They have been born and educated in Greece with a purely Greek and literary education. They are the ones who write in both languages and still maintain relations with the Greek publishers, as they translate German literary works while often succeeding in having their own work published in Greek, too.

Obviously there has been greater interest in the past few years in the broader dissemination of modern Greek literature abroad and especially in Germany. This was demonstrated at the Frankfurt Book Fair in 2001, when Greece was the country of honour. Naturally, Greek writers in Germany did not remain indifferent to this attention. After all, traditionally they have helped to negotiate with the German literary authorities in charge of Greek writers, they have suggested which books to translate into German, given the fact that as specialists of the two cultures, they know which offer quality and promise commercial success for German publishers. They also often accompany Greek authors and benefit from these visits during which they may well become interpreters and translators for their visiting colleagues. Thus they live very closely with modern Greek literature and contribute to making it known. In this way, Greek literature becomes European and international, escaping a narrow pigeonhole. For them, the label literature of *Gastarbeiter* does not apply at all, even if they do not hesitate to make the simple labourers be heroes in their works. A typical example is that of the philologist and translator Dandi Sideri (Munich). Her novel *I patriða tou Giorika* (*The Motherland of Giorika*) is a lyrical novel with strong eroticism between an «educated» woman and a worker.

You became hump-backed always following the same movement of your hands in Hall III of BMW for twenty one years now. No, you don't say no, you are humble, you don't revolt, you don't raise your eyes to the beauties, whichever would bring to you, per chance, your day, which is your night. The all night shifts, all life long sentries, dig treacherous underground passages in your brains, destroy your mental balance. The chronic migraine, chases your dreams, breaks cuts into pieces sounds made of glass in your temples...

(p.73).

Sideri, a poet, has divided her time between Greece and Germany over the past few years. In fact, Athens' publishers are indebted to her for many German poets in Greek. She also has published simultaneously in Greek and German a tasteful, yet peculiar booklet containing texts written by her, in both languages, according to her inspiration and the captured representations which provoked them.

The most known and successful Greek writer is undoubtedly Eleni Torosi (Munich). She came to Germany as young girl in her twenties at the time of the junta to escape imprisonment as she had been involved in the student movement. Immediately she became a collaborator of the Greek program of Bavaria radio. Very soon, she began to write bilingual tales for Greek children as well as German ones, which broadcast on German as lullabies. She started a bright career at the beginning as a writer of books for children in German, and little by little, as if her writing was following the age and development of her own children, she went on writing books for older children, for adolescents and, since a few years, for adults. With her parables, her subtle symbols, always having as subject the specific position of immigrants' children in the society, with her playful and plenty of humour language, her pedagogical dexterity and her pleasant presence she contributed the most to the intercultural education of Greek children in Germany whom she visits at their schools at all levels of education, telling them old and new stories in a way that she alone possesses, and broadens the horizon of all the students regardless of their ethnic origin. Her books easily found publishers in German, and she is possibly the sole immigrant writer

who convinced the publishing establishment in Greece to publish her translated into Greek. She did the translation herself, thus highlighting the «double gendered literary nature» of immigrant literature. Eleni Torosi already made her debut in Greek, as well, following now the reverse road in search of a German publisher for her German translation. The collection: *I ballanta ton portokalion* (*The Song of Oranges*) has drawn again its thematic from the immigrants, without being limited to it:

The last time that my mother visited me in Germany was at the end of January, five years before she died...

The first two weeks she was a real example, to follow, model of discretion and politeness. After that the difficulties began.

The first differences arguments began, when she was starting to change the plates position on the shelves, because, according to her, the position she was choosing was more practical. The big problems however were presented, when she was going out into the streets wearing her slippers and dressing-gown in order to explore the neighbourhood or when she was entering the nearest supermarket twice a day to gape at the shelves. I was trying to explain her, of course in vain, that nobody goes out like that here in Germany, that she was exposing me to the neighbours. «Why do you care about these people my child» she was responding raising indifferently her shoulders, «these are all foreigners!». And she was continuing unrestrained her explorations. A few days later she was starting the famous search in the rubbish containers of the neighbourhood. «What these Germans throw away» she was murmuring «brand new objects, every day!»

(*I Masela*, p.89.)

The writers Napoleon Lazanis (Dusseldorf), Petros Kyrimis (Bonn), Sakis Porikis (Offenbach) can be included in this group that we have called the “Educated”. They share the same characteristics, e.g., departure for Germany, return to Greece, continued cultivation of the muse of immigration. Napoleon Lazanis, topographer, engineer, and anxious spirit,

came for inexplicable unknown reasons to Germany, worked three years there, went back to Greece, came back to Germany again, worked five more years as a small restaurant owner, and finally went back to Greece permanently where he continues to write and translate German literature into Greek. In Germany, he came as if drawn by the fate of immigrants, as a magnet, in order to experience firsthand this life and transubstantiate it very soon in a modern abstract text as a real monument to present and future generations. His novel, *Diadromi (A Journey)*, written and published in Greece before leaving for Germany was acclaimed by critics yet he did not establish his reputation because he left for Germany. Apart from his novella *Oi Psarades (The Fishermen)* which still «takes place» in his motherland, the Lake of Ioannina, all his following works are drawn from his immigration experiences, his personal ones as of those living around him.

On the opposite side of the coast, the one covered by fog. The man sees the fog and dreams. He likes too much to dream. And he knows, dreaming is wasting his time. He doesn't have time. His mind to his compatriots. He fell on them one day but they didn't greet each other. He only had the time to see their eyes. In their minds the sun hidden. An old sun. Forgotten. A small peace of charcoal thrust in the ashes.

(*Ego, o Petros*, p.173, and followings. *Me, Petros*).

In Greece, they did not pay as much attention to Lazanis as they probably should have. Perhaps because he is not the man who chases publicity, or because his themes and very personal way of writing do not facilitate broad recognition. Yet, he is one of the most important contemporary voices. Equally essential is the contribution of Petros Kyrimis. He writes exclusively and obstinately only in Greek—short novels, poetry, theatre, books for children, scenarios for television, and lyrics for songs—some of his short stories have been translated into German for various anthologies as well as his novella *H kardia tou kotyfa (The Heart of the Blackbird)*. In reality, he does not pay as much attention to the public he addresses as to himself. He writes to obtain catharsis first for himself, expressing his personal pain and despair, even if his protagonists are third persons. He has read a lot of German literature in translation. Lately, he has been living in Greece, but

Germany and its experience will be chasing him everywhere. Sakis Porikis constitutes a special case. He came to Germany with his brother in order to study while working and returned to Greece permanently after more than thirty years of migration. He also writes lyrics. Little published, he uses magnificently the languages with the experienced, sensitive eye of a sociologist and poet. Porikis analyses and presents his characters in a penetratingly sharp manner with great humour. He has a perfect knowledge of Greek, especially contemporary theatre.

With six published collections of poems in German, Eva Boura (Berlin) cultivates an existential poetry. Having lived as an immigrant in England, she transpires to cosmopolitanism, on the one hand, and a profound solitude on the other hand. She does not have immigration as a subject but rather solitude, silence, and melancholy. This is for her a return to the ego, to its recognition. With a similar profile, Aris Christidis came to Ashaffenburg where he wrote some very beautiful pieces with a very critical spirit, short stories and theatre.

Another phenomenon is Georges Valasiadis (Frankfurt). He arrived in Germany from Constantinople as a «refugee». He had Turkish citizenship during the difficult years 1962/1964, and he had even served in the Turkish army. He became an active member of the Greek cultural community but also of the cultural community at large. He started writing slowly but steadily, publishing at the beginning in anthologies. His first novel *Kai sta Tavatla hioni*, (*And in Tavatla Snow*), which had tremendous success in Greece, was followed by the second, *Hamam*. They are both available in Turkish and are awaiting a German publisher. Another, equally interesting case is the Cypriot Glafkos Koumidis (Cologne). An architect and psychologist by education, a painter by profession, he sees writing as a parallel art to his painting, complementary, but also an autonomous activity. In his paintings, he is influenced by Byzantium, but also modern and even surrealistic art. This same influence can be discovered in his writings, which become more accessible if we consider them in a speaking picture.

The Second Generation

The ages of these writers vary greatly as the biographic information suggests. The eldest were born a little bit before WWII, and the younger ones

in the mid-1950s. Age however, is not the determining factor for what links them is the personal experience of immigration. Without their parents serving as mediators between two worlds, having received their inspiration and education somewhat in Greece already, they associate these two worlds in the way they write about immigration. Characteristics which decrease in intensity a little among the younger, second-generation of writers defined as follows: born in Greece or in Germany; raised until a certain age in Greece near their grandparents because their parents had emigrated when they were infants. Their parents were supposed to return soon, but this was not the case hence the anxiety to leave Greece, which in turn created difficult situations in an unknown country.

Let us look, however, at how they coped with this illusion, this particularity, as well as many analogous fates which they share with the first generation «from the Bosphorus to Gibraltar». In fact, this phrase was the title of a beautiful program for foreign listeners of the 'Radio of North Rhinania' in Westphalia. The highlighted aspects of the Greek experience in Germany were the following:

- a) Germany functioned as a space that sharpened the critical spirit of Greeks towards their motherland, which they faced with love but also distance. This criticalness becomes especially important when the subject turns around the returning to the motherland.
- b) A foreign country, Germany, is the space where their capacity of observation in relation to the native has been sharpened hence the Germans could learn a great deal for about themselves by reading Greek authors.
- c) Greek writers in Germany conquered the foreign country as a space of historic review and shook off the prejudices and preconceived ideas. Especially in the trilingual book, the *Kalimerhaba*¹², which we published together with the author of Turkish-Kurdish origin Arzu Toker ten years ago. The average reader sees not only the will of reconciliation between two very hostile peoples, the Greeks and the Turks, but also the great occasion that literature offers to span the gap between them, erase misunderstandings and build bridges of conciliation.
- d) Immigration, especially to Germany, gave to the usual themes of literature other almost existential perspectives.

- e) Immigration to Germany, in this instance, reinforces the intercultural aspect in literature of the Greek-immigrant writers as they realize that the injustice is repeated also in their own motherland.
- f) Greek immigrant writers acquired a cosmopolitanism which is evident not only in their relationship with the German majority, but mainly with the local Turkish minority. One could say, arguably, they represent foreigners collectively.

On the other hand, the thematic of this generation is not free from the traumatic experience of separation from parents during their young or adolescent years. Note also that this theme has been studied scientifically as the 'ego and the others'. These children were forced to live in Greece with their grandparents while their parents were working in Germany. Hence, a certain nostalgia, but the thematic of nostalgia is also present in German literature. We have to ask the question: is there a Greek or a German literature? The writers have asked this question themselves and those who have studied them without a simple answer. We can only say that there is still an immigration literature, perhaps with 'new prescriptions'.

How is immigration literature treated in general? Oddly enough, many of the literary critics in Germany are also immigrants themselves. They studied in the philological or sociological fields, because immigration themes were very important to them as well¹³. The first scientific study on the Greek writers in Germany¹⁴ was written by a German researcher, Herbert Michel and was bearing the characteristic title *Odysseus in the Waste land*¹⁵. In this study, the search for identity is discussed with reference to works having immigration as a main theme. They are written in prose primarily although their writers are not all necessarily immigrants.

Aglaia Blioumis, a Greek immigrant of second generation in her recent Ph. D. thesis¹⁶, which constitutes the first complete scientific study for this literature, studies a long series of debatable themes which are discussed and find their response at first in a theoretical perspective. She makes a choice of certain literary works of Greek immigrants, but also of German writers who deal with immigrants, aiming to clarify the image of the «foreign» as well of «the indigenous» especially from the multicultural and intercultural point of view, as this appears through these literary works. One important point is that: interculturalism explores new possibilities for the understanding of

civilisations, in order to help surpass superficially essential ways of thought and superficially in appearance objective norms of the «mine». The different characteristics, though, must remain visible, because otherwise every kind of specificity disappears.

The much-discussed term *Gastarbeiter-Litteratur* which was the first definition of this literature should give and has more or less given its place to the term *immigration literature*. This is the choice of Blioumi who goes through various other definitions such as: literature that hurts, e.g., literature of anger, foreign literature, literature of the foreigners in Germany, literature in a foreign country. These definitions are used mainly for the Greek literature of Germany, in conjunction and as a continuation of the corresponding older term—literature of immigration.

The more important argument used in favour of the term *immigration literature* is the hypothesis that the language of writing becomes almost exclusively German. Note that this is very relative for the Greek second-generation. Only two cases of these numerous writers fit this seriously: Fotini Ladaki (Cologne) and Thalia Androni (Cologne). Again, their capacity as writers is difficult to wrest from their biography. The first was born and raised in Greece. Fotini Ladaki came to Germany in order to study psychology, and her parents had been there a long time. She is a child exclusively of the second generation. Fully equipped, with Greek education, she gradually was integrated completely. In parallel with her successful studies and her professional activities, she did research, painting and literature as well. Poems of hers have been published in the collection bearing the title *Giudice*, while short stories of hers have been included in anthologies. She has a strongly surrealist, deeply psychoanalytic writing style, which does not deal only with themes of immigration and used German perfectly as her sole medium of expression thus far. Thalia Androni, a child of a 'mixed marriage', spent her childhood in Greece, expresses herself in German but her long lyrical short story *Mira-Mare* reveals the anguish of the search for identity and her fate-muse.

Exactly the contrary happens with the others. Older and with more years in Germany, Antonis Sourounis (Frankfurt), is one of the most accomplished, successful, and recognized writers in Greece as well. In fact he returned there at the beginning of the 1980s and did not dare or want to write in German, despite his fine knowledge of the German reality and

psyche as well as the country's underworld. In spite of the fact he had visited almost all the countries of the world and been inspired by unique themes, he uses an extremely rude language with profoundness. Greeks of Germany will not leave him in peace, it seems, so he always returns back to his own transubstantiated experiences as an immigrant. Whether his production consists of short stories or novellas, tales or novels – the novel *O horos ton rodon* (*The Dance of Roses*) has been translated and published in German from a big German publisher - someone from its heroes whether Noussis, or Gas the gangster, refers to a multifaceted Sourounis and with a pure Greek idiosyncrasy. A prose writer but also having already experienced poetry, Leonidas Panayiotidis (Ludenscheide), has demonstrated with his relatively containing few pages collection of short stories which has been published in a German translation, a subtle capacity of characters' observation and reactions not only to the intercultural but to the multicultural intuition: *Liga ekatosta kato apo tin epifania* (*A Few Centimeters below the Surface*) and here are plowed the ruptures and the patches of our reactions. Tryfonas Papastamatelos (Aachen), a peculiar literary presence, belongs to the second generation. He was born in Greece, came to Germany at age 12, studied and then settled in Greece. There we lose all trace of him, but he has left us a collection of poems in a «reconstructed» artificial childish German language, which reacts to pure experiences and pure sentiments.

Finally, we turn to three of the most promising poets of the Greek immigration in Germany. Their main characteristic is the constant to-and-fro between the two worlds: Germany and Greece. The older poet, Costas Giannakos (Munich), was born in Greece, went to school there, followed his parents to Germany, studied there and has brilliant cultural and translation activities, with exchanges between German and Greek intellectuals and writers. His way of writing has been gradually transformed from Greek to Greco-German, then to German-Greek and finally to German. Its contents and messages also followed the same itinerary, but we note a conscious indifference to countries of origin. Nevertheless, his preoccupation with Greek poets and knowledge of the German poetry are visible and consciously highlighted.

Mihalis Patentalis (Dusseldorf) and, the youngest of all three, Georges Lillis (Bielefeld) were born in Germany, raised in Greece, where they graduated from schools and universities only to return to Middle Europe, more than ready to conquer poetically their country of birth.

*The sky tonight rained sun./This is an occasion, I thought, and
I took the small paper boat/I folded the ocean to hold it in it./I
emerged from it out of the water.*

(Michalis Patentalis).

*I secure my steps./Old olive trees offer their shadow./to the
burned church./The history I think sometimes/must have also
put her thin hand here too./The world doesn't belong to us. We
belong to it.*

(Georges Lillis).

In conclusion, even the second generation of immigrant writers are undoubtedly of Greek origin and in their majority of Greek education. Many have done their secondary and university studies in Germany inside its multicultural life with its proper contradictions. Their reading experiences are in Greek; however, once they have been integrated in German society, which is more cosmopolitan than the Greek, and, of course, mainly German. Despite that situation, they search for their roots with almost a certain «moaning» for their existentialist problematic. They also take refuge in books coming from Greece which are translated into German. They favour and benefit from the existence of bilingual publications, too. They come almost into direct contact with Greek literature, navigating, even transforming it in their own literary production in conjunction with their German experiences. It is an interbreeding of a new form. Aware of their origin and with a romantic sentiment of a lost paradise, these young writers put forward a sort of literature, often with anxiety, that is bilingual, but in German with a more perfect writing. This writing is characterized by a search of the “soul mate” in the literature of the “now-distant motherland” but also by the access that their German-European and multicultural education offers them. They often translate Greek literature into German and German literature into Greek, thus contributing the most in the exchange of ideas and values without fruitless containment and worthless reference to their «glorious» past. A clearly cosmopolitan perspective infuses their work. In the end, with the assurance of their knowledge, theoretical and direct, they act effectively for the solidification of the European idea, withholding in a way, the specificity and dissipating the divisive ethnic and religious differences.

Trends and Themes

The next questions are technical but nonetheless essential as literature is destined to be read or also heard. Furthermore, nobody writes alone, cut off from his colleagues and especially, in this case, from colleagues with the same presuppositions or anxieties. Greek artists-writers, among others of «foreign origin», occupy in Germany a distinctive position given them by literary critics, although not always given with great enthusiasm and objective criteria. The critic¹⁷ has finally been obliged to deal – as long as it has been dealing with and deals with the literature of foreign writers of this country-facing it merely as a sociological document and as a massive phenomenon and not individually. This happened mainly because they themselves raised their voice in a dynamic way. Indeed this still happens during readings, where they are invited usually by social workers to illustrate activities of any kind related to the immigration problems or as an alibi to inertia and ignorance, even on the behalf of leftist and progressive natives, of the cultural offer from the countries of the *Gastarbeiter*s.

The foreign artists themselves have a tradition of common migration of twenty years already. In fact in 1980 they organized themselves in *Polikunst* (Multiethnic Artistic and Literary Association) and generated the interest of other cultural organisations through their activities. There were some journalists and critics, who were writing always with «sympathy» resulting from partially and because of some sort remorse, because of the behaviour of the larger German society towards foreigners. The artists addressed themselves to a very large public, as the language used was German. The *Polikunst* was around for seven years with gatherings, exhibits, book presentations and even a publishing program. *Polikunst* was dissolved afterwards for unknown reasons.

On the other hand, Greek writers in Germany managed to create the Union of Greek Writers of Germany, which was necessary in order to a) be acquainted with one another, as they live dispersed in a large country b) use their Union as an officially recognized organization of public interest which can ask and accept economic support and grants from government foundations and services c) be mutually influenced in literary laboratories, where positive criticism may be given and early reading contacts with specialists may take place d) organize common, if possible, bilingual events to sensitize as large a public as possible. Note this audience should be

composed of compatriots as well as German readers and «receptors» of the literature e) initiate public discussions and claim in this manner that their works be introduced not only in literary discussion, but also in the literary education of youth, regardless of their origin as all are subject to the German educational system. This is a way to fight racism in advance; in other words, literature as a means against racism. This is actually a program suggested recently at the European Union by Greek educators from Aachen and there are good possibilities of it being approved and funded.¹⁸

In order to understand the trends and thematics of immigration literature one is also obliged to take into account the biographies of the writers. In doing so, we must draw the following bitter conclusion: the close relation of these two factors for the production of literary works leads to marginalization of immigrant writers by the critics and the literary establishment. They think that it is easy to discover the biography of the author behind the work, limit themselves to it and refrain from the use of aesthetic measures and criteria. Of course it may be that the critics are not able to apply aesthetic measures and criteria, but also that they fear a comparison would lead to surprises. The fact is, however, that literature of immigration does not always mean «pain of immigration» or «complaints for the hard position adopted by the native», as was illustrated by a series of anthologies with various themes¹⁹, in which participated not only Greeks but also other writers of foreign origins, and even sensitized German writers.

The natural evolution of the literature of immigrants in Germany; i.e., that of the Greeks, would be influenced by the «hegemonic civilisation», or *Leitkultur*, as is the - disputed- word of the receiving country. I suggest, however, with all due respect to the analogies, that the opposite has occurred. As has the everyday life of Germans been influenced by the everyday culture of immigrants, e.g., taverns functioning until late at night, coffeeshop tables outside as soon as the warm sun arrives, and a tendency to disturb the perfect order. By the same token, there exist influences of immigrant literature in German literature, e.g., excessive imagination is not necessarily excluded, the myth and the tale are no longer resisted, very clear and systematic language with perfect syntax is no longer mandatory, and the neighbour may be German, Turkish, Greek or of South Asian origin, without the need to exalt his exotic attributes but the desire to try to understand him, as a normal human being, with all his faults and his malice without idealization. Of

course, citizens of foreign origin in Germany do receive influences from their motherlands as well as from the new home. In fact, they may not be able to specify which of the two is the stepmother!²⁰ They also are influenced by their fellow immigrants, their way of life, their way of thinking and reacting. The Greek writers of Germany live and work, but also have a literary action of writing inside the confrontation of cultures and tradition(s). This forced confrontation has given them an «interculturalism» which is a newly acquired view of things. The result is an approach of the cultures, a transformation of the «tradition» which they brought with them. There is an eagerness to escape from the tower or the four walls of their house, in order to discover the new world that surrounds them. All this has been possible thanks to the careful transfer of intellectual goods followed by the careful transplantation to a new reality, where those goods enrich and will be enriched, thus bearing more fruit. The contribution of Greeks in drawing the literatures of the various regions of Europe closer within a new, multifaceted European literature where specificities are not going to be hidden is an obvious effort which by its very nature is «condemned» to success.

As an Epilogue: The Third Generation

The third generation has already begun to take shape with the young people studying in German universities after completing their studies in the German school system (usually with excellent marks!). For the time being, we do not know; however, the future lies before them and we optimistically expect a great deal from them in the field of literature.

NOTES

1. Yiorgos Lillis, *Oti vouliazei einai exo apo to frourio mou*, in *I hora ton koimomenon ydaton*, (*What sinks is outside my castle in The Country of Sleeping Waters*), Athens Mandragoras, 2001, p.11 and on.

2. These numbers have been advanced, based on statistics, by G. Matzouranis in his book: *Ta paidia tou Notou*, (*The Children of the South*), Athens, Gutenberg, 1990, p.11.

3. See *Bericht für Ausländerfragen über die Lage der Ausländer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Berlin und Bonn, September 2002.
4. Monika Frederking in *Literatur türkischer Migranten in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Berlin, Express Edition 1985, p.1.
5. Dimitris Hadjis., its translation into German: D.Hadjis, *Das doppelte Buch*, Cologne, Romiosini 1983.; Dimitrios Hadjis, *Das doppelte Buch*, Berlin (Ost) (Volk und Welt) 1985.
6. In German, *Fremdgeblieben*, Cologne, Romiosini, 1988.
7. I have mentioned only these texts which are translated in German and have been published. See note 8.
8. Niki Eideneier (Hrsg.),Dimitrakis '86-umeine Heimat bittend, Köln, Romiosini, 1985
9. Carmine-Gino Chiellino, *Die Reise hält an – Ausländische Künstler in der Bunderepublik*, München, Beck 1988, p.181.
10. Athens, Themelio,1977 and in German Man nennt uns Gastarbeiter, Frankfurt a. M., Zambon, 1985, Giorgos Matzouranis, *Ta paidia tou Notou, (The Children of the South)*, Athens,Gutenberg, 1989. Giorgos Matzouranis, *Opou ki an eimai xenos, (Wherever I am I feel foreign)*, Athens, Kastaniotis, 2000.
11. See general bibliography.
12. Niki Eideneier/Arzu Toker (Hrsg.), Kalimerhaba, Köln 1992, (Romiosini) (greek-german-turkish), p.300 and following.
13. See the poet and scientist of Italian origin, Gino Chiellino, *Literatur und Identität in der Fremde*, Augsburg, Bürgerhaus Kreblesmühle 1985, and: Carmine (Gino) Chiellino, *Interkulturelle Literatur in Deutschland*, Stuttgart, Weimar, Metzler Verlag 2000, who knows Italian immigration literature primarily and draws his conclusions from it. Nonetheless his perspective and comments concern more or less all of us.
14. Exception made of a small study of Michael Elsaesser, “Griechische Migrantenliteratur – ein Überblick”, in R. Ehnert/R. Hopster, *Die emigrierte Kultur*, Band 1, Frankfurt-Bern-New York–Paris, Peter Lang 22, 1988, p.157-186.
15. Herbert Michel,*Odysseus im wüsten Land-Eine Studie zur literarischen Verarbeitung des Identitätsproblems in der griechischen Migrantenliteratur*, Cologne,Romiosini 1992.

16. Aglaia Blioumi, *Interkulturalität als Dynamik: Ein Beitrag zur deutsch-griechischen Migrationsliteratur seit den siebziger Jahren*, Tübingen, Stauffenburg-Verlag 2001, p.240. The translation is mine.
17. See, for instance the article of F. J. Raddatz, In mir zwei Welten, journal Die Zeit 26,24.6. 1994, p.45.
18. Very interesting is also the initiative of the Laboratory of Intercultural and Immigration Studies-EDIAMME (Education Department of the University of Crete in Rethymno) to prepare an anthology with literary texts of Greek immigrants through the world, in order to introduce them to Greek schools and classes abroad. Let's hope that another anthology will follow with texts of immigrants of other ethnic origin, as the immigration is an international phenomenon, in order that the acquaintance and avoidance of racist discrimination to be done systematically, something that should be taught, absolutely and in the Greek schools also.
19. See for instance Polikunst (ed.), *Lachen aus dem Ghetto*, (Klingelbach: Mandala, 1985, L. Costa Hölzl-E. Torossi (eds), *Freihändig auf dem Tandem*, (Kiel: Neuer Malik, 1985, N. Eideneier-A. Toker (eds), Kalimerhaba, (Köln: Romiosini, 1992) N. Eideneier (ed.) *AIwerden ist ein Köstlich Ding?* (Köln: Romiosini, 2000).
20. See Michali Gana: *Mitria Patrida, (Stepmother motherland)*, Athens, Kastaniotis 1989.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andronis Thalia, *Mina-mare. Erzählung*, (Cologne: Edition Sonderlich, 2001).
- Boura Eva, *Gefrorence Nächte. Gedichte*, (Berlin: Corvinus Presse, 1996).
Tätowierung meiner Zeit. Gedichte, (Berlin: Corvinus Presse, 1996).
- Christidis Aris, *Tous elegktes pois tous elegchi (Who Controls the Controllers)*, in Gianacacos, C./Gerogiorgakis, St. (eds) *Deutschland, deine Griechen... Eine Anthologie*, (Greek-German), (Cologne: Romiosini, 1998).
- Christodoulis Antonis, *Roda t'ouranou (Roses of the Sky)*, novel, (Athens: To Elliniko Vivlio, 1986).
- Delidimitriou-Tsakmaki Eleni, *I panini koukla (The cloth doll)*, (Athens: Lampsis, 1993) and in German, *Die Stoffpuppe* (Cologne: Romiosini, 1994).
I apofasi pou den parthike (The decision that was not taken), (Athens: Lampsis, 1994); and in German: *Die ewige Suche nach der Heimat*, (Athens: Lampsis, 1994);

- Aris, der Sohn des Emigranten*, (Greek-German), (Cologne: Romiosini, 1999).
Tà dentra pou then rizosan (*The trees than have not been rooted*), (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 2001).
Mama, na xanarthis!... (*Mother, Come Again!...*), (Athens: Dromon, 2004).
- Deligkas Garefis, *I poria kai to soma. Poiitiki trilogia* (*The walking and the body. Poetic trilogy*), (Thessaloniki: Avakio, 2001).
- Fantemis Fanis (pseudonym of Dimitris Andriotis), *Argo salparisma* (*Slow Setting Out*), (Athens: E70/Planitis, 1973).
Oi trompetes (*The Trumpets*), (Athens: Iridanos, 1983).
- Fasoulas Vaios, *Sta hnaría tis zois* (*On the Trace of Life*), (Athens: Self-publication 1999).
Lavirinthos tou pathous (*Labyrinth of Passion*), (Fürth: Self-publication, 2001).
- Gazis Thymios, *Metaxi synoron/Niemandsländ*. Pioimata grammena sti Germania, (Poems Written in Germany), (Athens: Pyli, 1982).
Afiognosia (*Knowing One's Self*)/Selbsterkenntnis, (Greek-German), (Frankfurt: Self publication, 2001).
- Gianakakos Kostas, *Frühe Dämmerung*, (Greek-German), (Cologne: Romiosini, 1989).
Traum in meinem Traum, (Greek-German), (Cologne: Romiosini, 2000).
Das Licht berühren, (Greek-German), (Cologne: Romiosini, 2003).
- Kafoussias Georg (unter dem Pseudonym Georg Elixis), *Spuren im Sand der Zeit*.
 Novel.
Das Geheimnis der marmornen Steine. Erzählungen, kai ta dyo horis topo, Both without place of publishing, publisher and date.
- Kosmidis Dimitris, *Der Muschel zugeflüstert. Gedichte, Weissach im Tal* (Alkyon, 1991).
Die Botschaft der Zikaden. Gedichte, Weissach im Tal (Alkyon, 1995).
- Koumidis Glafkos, *Von Stiftern und Anstiftern. Zwei literarische Betrachtungen der byzantinischen Ikonenwelt aus heutiger Sicht*, (Cologne: Romiosini, 1995).
Verrückte Kausalität. Gedichte, (Cologne: Romiosini, 2001).
Treli etiotis (Fool Reason), Nicosia, (Self-publication, 2004).
- Kouspakeridis Mitakos, *Ti Romiosini na tin kles* (*You must pity Romiosini*), Thessaloniki (Self publication, 1996).

Krommidas Giorgos, *Ithaka* (Bonn: Die Mücke, 1989).

Der Ölberg, *Sankt Augustin* (Avlos, 1996).

Die Flügel der Rotkehlchen (Bonn: Free Pen, 2001); and others.

Kyrimis Petros, *I kardia toy Kotsifa*. (*The Heart of Blackbird*) novella, (Athens: Kastaniotis, 1997); and in German, *Das Herz der Amsel* (Cologne: Romiosini, 2000).

Istories tou prin ke tou meta, (*Stories from Before and After*), (Athens: Indiktos, 2003).

Ladaki Fotini, *Giudice*. Gedichte, St. Michael. (Österreich: Bläschke, 1984).

Lazanis Napoleon, *Diadromi* (*Journey*) (Athina: Gnossi, 1987).

Oi psarades (*The Fishermen*), (Athens: Odysseas, 1989); and in German, *Die Fischer*. Novelle, (Cologne: Romiosini, 1989).

Ego o Petros (*Me, Petros*), (Athens: Patakis, 1993).

Ichni siopis (*Traces of Silence*), (Athens: Odysseas, 1991); and in German, *Spuren des Schweigens*, (Cologne: Romiosini, 1997).

Lillis Giorgos, *I hora ton koimomenon ydaton* (*The Country of Sleeping Waters*), (Athens: Mandragoras, 201).

Sto skotathi meteoros (*Hanging in the Darkness*), (Athens: Melani, 2003).

Lolakas Chrisafis, *So weit der Himmel reicht*, (Cologne: Romiosini, 1989).

Mathioudakis Zacharias, *Unter der Platane von Gortyna. Kretische Prosa und Lyrik*, (Weissach im Tal: Alkyon, 1989).

An iche o Adis omorfies. Poiimata, mythoi ke diigimata apo to horio mou (*If Adis Hell had beauties. Poems, Tales and Novels from My Village*) (Greek-German), (Weissach im Tal: Alkyon, 2002); and others.

Matzouranis Giorgos (ed.), *Anamesa se dyo kosmous-Sygrafeis sti Germania me elliniko diavatirio*, (*Between Two Worlds, Writers in Germany with a Greek passport*), (Athens: Kastaniotis, 1995).

Panagiotidis Leonidas, *Ein paar Zentimeter unter der Oberfläche*, (Cologne: Romiosini, 1995).

Papanagnou Miltiadis, *Oi xenoi*, (*The Foreigners*), Novels, (Athens: Themelio, 1979).

Lazogermanoi (*Lazogermans*), (Athens: Stochastis, 1985); and in anthologies.

Papadopoulos Iakovos, *Land des Regenbogens*, (Greek-German), (Hildesheim: Edition Collage, 1989).

Der Geschmack der blauen Küsse. Gedichte, (Greek-German), (Cologne: Romiosini, 1998); and many others.

Papastamatelos Tryfon, This collection has never been published but has been included partially in Biondi Franco and alias (eds) *Im neuen Land*, (Bremen: Südwind-Gastarbeiterdeutsch, 1980).

Papoulias Giorgos, *Oi pente ypikootites enos ypnovati (The five citizenships of a sleep-walker)*, (Athens: Smili, 1991).

Ena kalokairi gemato eidiseis (A Summer Full of News), (Athens: Dodekati Ora, 1985); and others.

Patentalis Michalis, *Die Kurzsichtigkeit einer Stadt*, (Greek-German), (Cologne: Romiosini, 1998).

Gilete contour – 18 Gedichte und eine Kuh, (Greek-German), (Cologne: Romiosini, 2002).

Porichis Sakis, he published in anthologies, such as Gianacacos, C./Gerogiorgakis, St. (eds) *Deutschland, deine Griechen...* (Cologne: Romiosini, 1998); and Matzouranis Yiorgos (eds) *Anamesa se dyo kosmous (Between Two Worlds) op.cit.*

Rizos Antonis, *Pasatempos (Pasatempos)*, (Thessaloniki: Ta tetradia tou Riga, 1981).
Ta xorkia (The Exorcism), (Thessaloniki: Entefktirio, 1998).

Odiporou filoxenia ke xeprovodisma (Traveler's hospitality and Farewell), (Thessaloniki: Entefktirio, 1995).

Sakkatos Vaggelis, *I paragka (The Shed)* Theatrical play, unpublished.

Plisiazontas pros to telos tou aiona mas-Tò hroniko mias epochis (Approaching the end of Our Century-The Chronicle of an Era), (Athens: Papazisis, 1991).

Choris diavatio (Without Passport), Athens (Stravonas) 1996; and in anthologies.

Schinas Alexandros, *Anafora periptoeseon (Reference to Circumstances)* (Athens: Self-publication, 1989); and others.

Sideri Danti, *hinter dem Schlaf höre ich mich besser/psio ap tous ypnous me akouo pio kathara (Asleep I hear myself more clearly)*, (Cologne: Romiosini, 2001); and in anthologies.

Sourounis Antonis, *Oi sympektes (The Fellow Players)*, (Athens: Dogivan, 1981).

Meronychta Fragkfourtis (Days and Nights of Frankfurt), (Athens: Ypsilon, 1982).

O horos ton Rodon (The Dance of Roses), (Athens: Kastaniotis, 2000); and in German, *Der Rosenball*, (München: Piper, 2001).

Gus o gangster (Gus the Gangster), (Athens: Kastaniotis, 2000).

Spyrou Giorgos, *O Tzolos (The Tzolos)*, Short story, (Paiania: Symvoli, 1997)

O Tzolos 2 (The Tzolos 2), Short story, (Paiania: Symvoli, 1997).

Stavrianidis Stavros, *Lochias Bekovits (Sergeant Bekovits)*, (Thessaloniki: Paratiritis, 1998); and in other anthologies.

Styliotiis Kostas, *Tag-und Nachtbilder. Gedichte-eine Auswahl 1944-1956. Nach dem griechischen Original*, (Eschentried: Self-publication, 1987).

Torosi Eleni, *To oniro tou Pagkanini (The Dream of Paganini)*, (Athens: Exantas, 1993).

Koumpotrypes ke elefantos (Button Holes and Elephants), (Athens: Patakis, 1998).

Gangster, Dollars und Kojoten, (Holzkirchen: Engl & Lämmel, 1999).

Zauberformeln, Erzählungen (Greek-German), (Köln: Romiosini, 2002).

O Melanios Trechantiras taxidevi (Melanios Thechantiras is travelling), (Athens: Patakis, 2001).

I Balanta ton portokalion (The Song of Oranges), (Athens, Exantas, 2002); and others.

Valasiadis Georgios, *Kai sta Tatavla hioni (And in Tatavla Snow)*, (Athens: Gavriilidis, 2002); and in anthologies.

Vlachodimitris Thodoris, *Land aus Stein. Gedichte*, (Greek-German), (Hamburg: Hansischer Gildenverlag, 1975).

Der andere Weg. Gedichte (Simera kai avrio), (Greek-German), Athens, 1986; and others.

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blioumi Aglaïa, *Interkulturalität als Dynamik: ein Beitrag zur deutsch-griechischen Migrationsliteratur seit den siebziger Jahren*, (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 2001).

Elsaesser Michael, *Griechische Miranternliteratur—ein Überblick, in Ehnert, R./Hopster, R., Die emigrierte Kultur, Band 1*, (Frankfurt-Bern-NewYork-Paris: Peter Lang, 1988), p.157-186.

Michel Herbert, *Odysseus im wüsten Land. Eine Studie zur literarischen Verarbeitung des Identitätsproblems in der griechischen Migrantenliteratur*, (Cologne: Romiosini, 1992).

Niarchos, Th./Fostieris, A., *I lexi*, Volume 110, July-August 1992, *I elliniki logotechnia tis diasporas*. Afieroma. (Volume dedicated to the Greek Literature of the Diaspora), Athens, 1992.

Society of Writers, *Logotechnia ke Metanastefsi*, Praktika Symposiou (*Literature and Immigration*), Minutes of a Congress, Athens 2001.

University of Ioannina, Department of Philosophy, Second International Scientific Congress (*Kos 4-7 August 2000*), *O Ellinismos tis Diasporas. Ta provlimata tis neas genias (Hellenism of the Diaspora, The problems of the New Generation)*, Ioannina 2001.

University of Crete, Department of Education, Laboratory of Intercultural and Immigration Studies (E.DIA.M.ME.), Damanakis M./Mitrofanis G. (eds) *Logotechnia tis Diasporas ke Diapolitismikotita (Literature of the Diaspora and Interculturalism)*, Praktika diimeridas, (Rethymno: E.DIA.M.ME., 2004).