

CHRISTOS K. CHRISTODOULOU

THE MANAKIS BROTHERS

THE GREEK PIONEERS OF THE BALKANIC CINEMA



ORGANIZATION FOR THE
CULTURAL CAPITAL OF EUROPE
THESSALONIKI 1997

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STATEMENT FROM AMBASSADOR G. ELEFThERiADiS, +1993

“Since my friend Lakis Stavroyiannopoulos has been in touch with you, I will tell you the following:

In 1956 I was sent by the Greek Foreign Ministry to Skopje to organize the consulate there. I was the first diplomat from Greece to have an official position there, resulting from the improving relations between Greece and Tito. There was still a very strong Greek presence in Skopje at that time, mainly Vlachs who were intensely nationalistic despite the oppression they suffered.

I had some very discreet contacts with Miltiadis Manakis who mentioned his cinematographic and photographic archives and offered to sell them to Greece, to his homeland, to use his own words.

I saw a portion of the archives and was convinced of their value to our nation. From then on I made many endeavors to convince my Ministry of the worth of what Miltiadis Manakis was offering! No one paid the slightest attention and indeed certain parties attacked my initiative, saying it was putting Greek - Yugoslavian relations in danger. I carried on my

attempts for many years under many governments. In order to keep the matter open I promised Miltiadis Manakis to get his adopted son admitted into the Cadet School, which moved him deeply. Unfortunately, I wasn't able to do anything. No one in Athens seemed to understand. Manakis grew very bitter. He suddenly cut off all contact with me. I later learned he gave his archives to the authorities in Skopje for a pittance.

I was speechless when I learned that the first moviemaker in the Balkans who was Greek by origin and in consciousness -he even held a Greek passport- was being rejected by his own country both because of the climate of the time and the Romanising tendencies of his family. Today this seems to be monstrous behaviour, plain stupidity, what can I say!

I am telling you this now since you are putting out your book on the Manakis brothers, with the pre-condition that you will only publish it after my death!”

(Narrated in the Autumn of 1990).

PREFACE BY NIKOLAOS MARTIS

With this book Christos Christodoulou has further confirmed his already major offering to the promotion of the history, the customs, the traditions, the touristic and archaeological sites and all other activities in Macedonia, brought to particular fruition in his television programmes for ERT, "ERT in Northern Greece" and "ET 1 Across the Country" during the years 1978 - 1991.

In his book Mr. Christodoulou mentions the valuable cinematographic and photographic archives (of historical, political and ethnic significance) of the brothers Yannis and Miltos Manakis from Grevena which are unknown to the Greek people and are now the property of the authorities in Skopje. During my term as Minister of Industry from 1958 to 1961, when at my initiative I brought the cinema under the authority of the Ministry of Industry, I briefly mentioned the great contribution made by these two brothers at the inauguration of the First Thessaloniki Film Festival in 1960.

The brothers Yannis and Miltos Manakis from Avdela, Grevena were pioneers not only in Greece but throughout the Balkans; before their death they produced 67 documentaries and 12.500 photographs that dealt with Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly and the Balkans in general.

This material is in the town of Monastir (Bitola) which has always been a center of Hellenism and came under the control of Serbia in 1913.

The photographs and the documentaries of the Manakis

brothers recorded the historical form of the Macedonian Struggle, the Balkan Wars and so much else.

Mr. Christodoulou's persistent and patient collection of material of interest to Hellenism and his description of important historical events and critical national struggles has not only brought to the attention of the Greek and international public the pioneering work of the Manakis brothers but at the same time has shed light on a contemporary facet of the problem.

The authorities in Skopje exhibit the work of the Manakis brothers as their own historical, cultural and intellectual heritage thus violating not only elementary rules among nations but also directives concerning the ownership of intellectual property.

This book by Mr. Christodoulou, for which I most warmly congratulate him and which is most properly being published in English by the Organization for the Cultural Capital of Europe Thessaloniki '97, is a spur to political and intellectual leadership to denounce internationally this new activity of the authorities in Skopje and to pursue the return of these archives of such historical value to Greece, the loss of which I am forced to admit, rests first and foremost on our own shoulders.

Nikolaos Martis
Former State Minister

INTRODUCTION

In 1971, I read a series of four articles on the Manakis brothers by my friend and colleague Kostas Stamatiou, in the newspaper *Ta Nea*. This was the first I had heard of these pioneers in the art of cinema photography in the Balkans.

The extraordinary thing was that these two youths from a Vlach village near Grevena were doing in the Pindus mountains what the Lumière brothers were doing in Paris and Edison was doing in America at approximately the same time.

I subsequently studied their lives and their work in depth and my investigations resulted in articles in *Makedonia*, *The Sunday Vima*, *Epikaira* and programs on ERT I. Despite all the attention drawn to these men and their work, however, the Manakis brothers have not won official recognition in Greece.

No responsible authority has ever acknowledged that these two young Vlachs from the Pindus were not only pioneers but even more, their work constituted an important chapter in the history of the reciprocity of influence and confrontation that has marked the Balkan peoples. We in Greece have indeed let slip a remarkable opportunity unlike the authorities in Skopje. Now, however, in a period when sincere efforts towards trans-Balkan rapprochement are being made, it is time to recognize the real magnitude of what the Manakis brothers - and particularly the younger brother, Miltos - did for the people of this region.

This project arises naturally out of the rich complexity of the lives of these two men: their origin, their ideology, their work and their coverage of the entire Balkan peninsula, over a period of more than sixty years.

By some fortunate chance, the publication of this book

coincided with the European Year of Television and the Cinema. But, anniversary or not, I could never have completed this biography, this exploration rather, of the Manakis brothers, without the active assistance of Vasilitsa, the association of Avdelites which is located in Tyrnavos, and of my friend Christos Papayannis in particular. I thank them all. The effort these people have made to promote national recognition of their worthy compatriots - the founding of a museum, the creation of a cinema centre in Avdela and the notable events organized around them each year - are the only real activities being carried on anywhere in Greece, and they ought to be generously supported.

I would also like to thank for their help Professor Eleftheria Nikolaidou of the University of Ioannina; Zisis Verros, veteran of the Macedonian Struggle; Mrs. Olga Styliou, niece of the Manakis brothers; my colleague Chr. Zafiris; the architect V. Kolonas; Mrs. Violetta Papathanasiou, the President of the Association of Monastirians in Thessaloniki and its Director, Fotos Lambrinos.

Finally, I would like to extend special thanks to my good friend, colleague and close associate Kyriakos Yeorgiou for his unceasing assistance, support and encouragement throughout the execution of this work.

One final word: The historical notes included, where necessary, in this biography are intended to give the reader a clearer picture of the life and times of the Manakis brothers.

Athens, April 1988

BOOK - MONUMENT ON THE MANAKIS BROTHERS

Today I am writing with particular emotion and justifiably so. I have in my hand and am leafing through a book looking at it from all angles and enjoying it so much. This album brings to life two Greeks we were ignorant of for so many years, two brothers who were the pioneers and the Greek fathers of the Balkan Cinema whom I happened to discover, completely by chance, in 1971. I am speaking of a beautiful and very important book:

CHRISTOS A CHRISTODOULOU, "*The Photogenic Balkans of the Manakis Brothers*", with 120 photographs. Edition Paratiritis, Thessaloniki 1989. 165 pages, large format (Greek version).

Today I read with a good deal of surprise that in 1960 the Minister of Industry at that time, **Nikolaos Martis**, while inaugurating the First Festival of Greek Film at Thessaloniki - the festival that was to experience such a stormy course-mentioned the Manakis brothers as the **Greek pioneers of the cinema in the Balkans**. Though I was present at the inaugural events at the Olympion on Aristotelous Square I remember no such comment. Did Martis himself, as a Macedonian and Member of Parliament from Kavala know the Manakis brothers? Or was his short speech written by some one from Thessaloniki who had known, or heard of, one of the two brothers, **Yannakis** (1878 - 1954) who had spent the last fifteen years of his life in that town? Who knows? In any case, after this Ministerial mention, Christodoulou states the "case was left, unjustly and basely, to official oblivion".

Of necessity I will have to talk about myself (I wrote an article for the Dedication to the Manakis brothers in the "Paratiritis" magazine). While in Paris in 1969 I purchased the **Encyclopedia of the Cinema** by **Roger Boussinot** which had just come out. Two years later while looking for material on the seventh art in Yugoslavia, -our neighbouring country was all the rage at the Festivals because of the sudden appearance of **Dusan Makavegief** and his erotic and heretical films- I stumbled by chance on the following paragraph:

"In 1905 a photographer from **Bitolia** (Monastir) by the name **Milton Manaki** introduced a movie camera and made the first meters of film: feasts and various events that took the form of **newsreels** when they dealt with the uprisings of villagers in (Turkish - occupied) **Macedonia**. Most of these films, which are part of a Yugoslavian film library, were warmly received throughout Europe. Their fame was such they received letters that were addressed simply "Manakis, the Balkans!"

It made me think. Milton = Miltos, Miltiadis. Manaki in French = Manakis. Macedonia, Monastir (then polyethnic, Greek primarily). I turned to page 1003 of this encyclopedia and saw with amazement that he also had a brother co-worker "Yannakis" who has been born in **Grebenitse** = Grevena. So I concluded that the two pioneers of the Balkan cinema, the brothers Miltiadis and Yannis Manakis from Grevena at the time of the Metropolitan Aimilianos, were unquestionably of Greek origin!

After recovering from my discovery I wrote my first emotional

article in TA NEA in 1971. It was followed I remember, by phone calls and messages from all over Greece: old people who had known the Manakis (or Manakia), relatives and friends from their village of Avdela, Grevena -where Thodoros Angelopoulos was later to shoot scenes for his **Alexander the Great**- neighbours of Yannakis from Thessaloniki, photographers who had kept albums of post-cards of these pioneers, our correspondent in Larissa Mr **Vounatsos** who in his turn came up with traces of the Manakis in his area - it was a deeply moving "mobilization" of volunteers of memory and chance to all together resurrect these cinematographers from "a Vlach village in Grevena who were doing in the Pindus what the Lumiere brothers in Paris and Edison in America were doing at more or less the same time".

(Christodoulou)

But events moved rapidly at the beginning of the 1970s. From the demonstrations at the Law School to the uprising at the National Technical School in Athens, from one slaughter to another culminating in the partitioning of our beautiful Cyprus. Everyone went mad and who had time to read the "fine print" of art or think about the Manakis brothers and their films.

THE VLACHS OF THE PINDUS

But during all the years, a young man, restless and a lover of northern Greece as well as a good colleague and friend, reporter and television organizer and producer, **Christos Christodoulou** had taken the resurrection of the Manakis to heart. He dug into the archives, travelled to the sources, the places where the two pioneers from Avdela lived and worked, collected files, material, photographs, and recollections. And now he has given to this undeserving and anti-intellectual Greece a superb album - a **monument** the country has chosen not to extol, too involved with showy fiestas of small, bitter and vain and brainless cliques.

As Christos Christodoulou says, "Despite all the attention drawn to these men... the Manakis brothers have not won official recognition in Greece.

"No responsible authority has ever acknowledged that these two young Vlachs from the Pindus were not only pioneers but even more: a chapter in the history of the reciprocity of influence and confrontation that has marked the Balkan peoples.

We in Greece have indeed let slip a remarkable opportunity unlike the authorities in Skopje. (tragic underlining is mine)

"Now, however, in a period when sincere efforts towards trans-Balkan rapprochement are being made, it is time to recognize the real magnitude of what the Manakis brothers -and particularly the younger brother Miltos- did for the people of this region.

"This project arises naturally out of the rich complexity of the lives of these two men: their origin, their ideology, their work and their coverage of the entire Balkan peninsula, over a period of more than sixty years".

The book by Christodoulou is divided into two main sections:

1. Avdela and its environs; the Vlachs of the Pindus and the problem with the "Romanisers"; the origin and the family history of the Manakia or Manaka or Manakis or Maniakis; the two brothers and their relationship to "History in the making", with photographs and the cinema, until they finally settled in Monastir.

2. As photographers and cinematographers, the Manakis brothers are mentioned in various documents (with changes in the last name) in Monastir during the Turkish occupation, and in regard to the uprising of the young Turks, World War I, Thessaloniki, Macedonia, their moviehouse in Monastir: acme, decline and bankruptcy, the last days of the one and then the other; a catalogue of films.

After the Epilogue there are three Appendices: the unpublished diary of A. Topalis from Monastir (excerpts). The names of clients of the brothers that have survived (1898 - 1912) and a catalogue of post-cards and photographs taken by the Manakis brothers (1898 - 1912).

Christodoulou without any hint of chauvinism traces the roots of the Manakis brothers. He also of necessity touches on the subject of the Vlachs of the Pindus, the apparently superficial yet nonetheless real problems there. World War II and the "Romanian" presence in the broader region around the Grevena - Monastir axis.

There is moving testimony concerning their Greek origins and abundant evidence on the family's Hellenocentric attitude. Their ancestor was certainly **Anastasis Michaloglou Manakis** who fought at Messolongi. The family lived in Parga, Doliani, Metsovo and during the persecutions of Ali Pasha, they took

refuge in Avdela, Grevena. Avdela was a large village of 1.500 residents and the births of the brothers are recorded in the village register: 18/5/1878 for Yannakis and 9/9/1882 for Miltiadis. But it must be faced that the Turkish - occupied Balkans of the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century was an ethnic, religious and racial chaos and the father of the Manakis brothers **Dimitrios** was regarded by the Greek intelligence service as **“probably a fanatic Romaniser”**. So the children were of necessity sent to Romanian schools but things were even more confused. Yannakis became a teacher in a Romanian school -Arts and Calligraphy- but in the end he chose to live and die in Greece. Miltos would run away from the Romanian school and perhaps became a fighter in the Macedonian struggle. There is a picture of him at 18 but did he perhaps become a victim of or a convert to the Bulgarian Exarchate? He would spend his whole life photographing and making films throughout Balkans and would die well - recognized in Yugoslavian Monastir. The brothers were both Greek subjects and were united for many years by their interest in photography and the cinema but Miltos would end up with a certain amount of glory from Tito and the authorities in Skopje while Yannakis would be disregarded by the Greeks in the post civil war destruction. Yannakis taught photography to Miltos; Miltos had the talent for the “art of the century”, but was also able to glide past borders: he approached autocrats, photographed Charles II of Romania, Sultan Mechmed V of the Ottoman empire, Alexander of Serbia, Constantine of Greece as well as Eleftherios Venizelos.

“He lived through all kinds of regimes - governments, revolts and wars. He adapted with complete ease to the change from a bourgeois and royal dictatorship to socialism. He went from being a court photographer to the official photographer of Tito!”

AT MONASTIR

The fact that Yannakis was a teacher for years -and indeed on his death certificate from 1954 he is called “a retired teacher”- gave the brothers a steady income. They could afford to travel all over the Balkans and take pictures constantly. According to Miltos, from 1898 to 1912 they left their home base -originally Ioannina and then later Monastir- 276 times and took 1.839

“poses” in 78 different inhabited areas. Landscapes, feasts, fairs, as well as historical events, figures and groups of Macedonian fighters of all kinds; these became professional photographs with their “seal” - the album - and were sent of delivered by hand to clients scattered through the Balkans.

In Bucharest in 1905, on one of their trips via Thessaloniki and Constantinople, they saw their first movie projection.

Bucharest was then called the “Paris of the Balkans” and the rich capital of Romania had all the goods of civilization. Yannakis -as Miltos was to confess later- couldn’t sleep. “I’m not going back to Monastir - he said- without a movie camera. “Suddenly, maybe on the Orient Express, he was in London. He returned triumphantly with a Bioscope 300, the invention of Charles Urban and the latest word in cinematic technology!

If the first film that the Manakis brothers made -as confirmed by Boussinot- had their 117 year old grandmother as its protagonist, in the following years they continued to go back to their village with their camera- Avdela celebrated Ascension day on August 15 and all its villagers gathered on its heights after spending the winter, as they do even now, on the plain of Tyrnavos; they all played the part of “extras” along with the dozens of celebrating livestock breeders, not counting the women and children dressed up in their lovely uniforms and costumes.

Finally, continually expanding their subject matter and their outdoor studio where the August sun took care of the lighting, they were to make dozens of films. Miltos Manakis, who wrote down this harvest in 1955, numbered it -and submitted it to the Yugoslavian state- at 67 films with the most varied of titles: “Hurriyet” (“Freedom” in Turkish), “Hanging”, “The Reception of the Greek King in Bitolia in 1918 and the Crown Prince Paul (?) by General Baiovic”, “The Sultan in a Mosque”, “Coming out of the Mosque at Toumbe cafe”, “Villagers quarreling over land”, “Vlach Wedding in 1906” (Chatzigogos), “Panorama of the Town of Grevena, “Butchers, Skinning Animals”, “Clash at the Boundaries between Two Villages”, “Parade of Girls and Soldiers in Thessaloniki and so and so forth.

BANKRUPTCY - THE END

During the period between the wars the Manakis brothers, now

permanent residents of Yugoslavian Bitola, **opened a cinema**. An outdoor, summer one at first and then a modest winter place. In 1921 they bought a lot for 300 gold pounds. They borrowed money and built a “luxury” moviehouse, at least for the backward Balkans of the time: 373 seat in the pit and 200 in the boxes and balconies. But there was little clientele and getting films from Belgrade and Zagreb expensive. A crisis. Gradual decline. The epilogue:

“One evening in 1939, during a projection, the film that was playing caught fire and in a while the whole building was reduced to ashes. After the fire the Manakis brothers were left with neither property nor financial resources. The two brothers never got over this blow, not to the end of their lives”.

They declared bankruptcy for debts of less than 300.000 dinars. Their fortune may have been estimated at 1.190.000 but who was buying real estate or photographic and cinematographic material just as World War II was beginning?

The brothers went their separate ways. They split up whatever was left and Yannakis came to Greece where he died. At the

height of the Greek civil war he lost his only child, Dimitris, to tuberculosis in Thessaloniki. He was only 22.

Miltos, who lived until 1964, at least tasted glory if in extremis. In Yugoslavia.

Let me repeat. This is an important and valuable book. Objective. It touches me in a personal and even sentimental way and makes me feel terribly sad (cinematographically) - but that's another story.

NOTE: There are some incredible things. Like the picture on page 53 the Manakis brothers took in 1900. A school excursion, in row-boats, on Lake Ioannina. Without almost certainly having ever seen it did not Thodoros Angelopoulos “reproduce” it 80 years later with the help of G. Arvanitis and M. Karapiperis in his film called “The Hunters”? Could this be called the “metaphysics” of the cinema? *

KOSTAS STAMATIOY
Journalist

* Translator's note: The article above was published in newspaper “TA NEA” on June 24th 1989 and it was about the Greek edition of the book , which was out before the English one.

CHAPTER

ONE

In 1905, in the village of Avdela in the Grevena prefecture, Ioannis and Miltiades Manakis filmed the first motion pictures ever taken in the Balkans.

This was a remarkable event, and one of tremendous historic and political significance but, although the brothers are now recognized as the fathers of the art of the cinema in this region, no one in any of the Balkan countries - with the exception of Yugoslavia - has ever attempted to find out more about these men or to assess their work to any extent. And yet documents, material evidence pertaining to their lives, exist in Bucharest, Skopje, Thessaloniki, Monastir (now Bitola), Grevena, Ioannina and in Istanbul. The whole affair assumes its proper magnitude if one takes into consideration the following facts:

One, that although the two brothers were natives of the district of Grevena, they spent much of their lives in Monastir.

Two, that they were indisputably of Helleno-Vlach descent and, Three, that some foreign researchers have made discrete attempts to quash anything relating to their national origin, the motive for their activities and the importance of their work.

Seen in this light, the case of the Manakis brothers acquires not only an historical dimension but a definite political one as well. As is usually the case with pioneers, the brothers have been claimed as native sons by many places, while the conclusions drawn about them are frequently the result of oversight, lack of appreciation or exaggeration and thus the essence of the achievement of these two men, which is a copious body of original work comprising photographic and cinematographic material of tremendous ethnological, historical and artistic value, has been deliberately slighted.

These documents, reflecting a period of over sixty years, cover

the entire Balkan peninsula and belong to all its peoples.

It may well be that at certain periods their subject matter tends to favour some particular area, Ioannina for instance, or Monastir, Philippoupoli or Avdela. But this is entirely due to circumstance, whether it concerns their lives or is a matter of historical conjuncture.

Not that the brothers did not make their ideological choices at an early age. But in their work the dominant factor appears to be the rules of their art and their profession. This also explains the distance between their personal lives and their work.

Yannakis Manakis - and in particular Miltos Yannakis - were endeavoring to capture on film a new era, a brand new century. They recorded with perceptive aesthetic acuity the faces and events of a Balkan peninsula in turmoil, with little interest in factors extraneous to the matter at hand. They did not care, for instance, who were friends and who were enemies, what belonged to their own people and what was foreign, what X's or Y's political persuasion was. They criss-crossed the crumbling Ottoman Empire ceaselessly, moving through Turkish and Greek territory, recording faces, families, landscapes, weddings, customs, political changes, fairs and festivals, revolutions, battles, official ceremonies, sultans, kings, prime ministers, bishops and insurgents.

Thus, their extant work - some 12,500 photographs and 70 units of film footage - bears the indisputable stamp both of a work of art and of documentary evidence.

This body of work, which covers incredible events in all corners of the Balkans, entitles them to full honour and recognition. Without the inspired films and photographs of the Manakis brothers, the descriptions of many historic events of our century

would be inconceivably poorer, the features of numerous important personalities from this area forgotten, the old faces of dozens of towns and villages lost, and the ethnological diversity of the Balkans recorded merely in inanimate form.

The lives of the Manakis brothers display for anyone who takes the trouble to study them all the characteristics of an adventure story, reflecting the contradictions, the contrasts and the conflicts of the Balkans and their peoples at that time. Very little is known in Greece of the life and the circumstances of the two brothers. There are two reasons for this. One is that they moved away from their birthplace very early, settling in an area which was ceded to Serbia by the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913, the same area which after 1945 was rebaptised "Yugoslav Macedonia". Moreover, this is where they left the fruits of their labours of sixty years, some of it undeveloped and unpublished. The second reason is that no competent Greek authority identified or consequently appreciated the importance of this body of work in time.

The recognition accorded them by the Yugoslavs and the title of Pioneers of the Balkan Cinema, was both just and shrewd. Unfortunately, however, it was almost too late in coming, for the elder of the two brothers, Yannakis, was already dead, having succumb to a stroke in Thessaloniki in 1954. Miltos was old and ill, suffering from chronic diabetes.

Their archives, which consisted of photographic and cinematographic material, plus many written documents, were purchased by the Yugoslav government. This was a gradual acquisition and covered the decade between 1955 and 1964. The cataloguing of the photographic material, with special emphasis on the films, was begun in 1961.

Miltos had long tried to persuade the authorities in Belgrade and Skopje of the value of his archives. He did eventually live to enjoy not only the proceeds of the sale but also the glory of recognition. For a while Ioannis had lived alone, penniless and unknown, in Thessaloniki. Miltos was celebrated by the Yugoslavs - and with good reason - as a genuine pioneer.

The recognition accorded him of course embraced his brother as well. The motives behind it, however, were not entirely free of political calculation. Very cleverly, and almost imperceptibly, neither denying nor stressing the Helleno-Vlach origins of the two brothers nor the details of their lives, the Yugoslavs simply

assimilated them into their own multi-national patchwork.

In this way they managed to kill two birds with one stone:

- they reinforced the autonomous cultural role of the "nations" forming the Yugoslav federation, the so-called "Macedonian" nation in particular, and,

- they claimed for themselves the role of pioneers of the cinema for the entire Balkan area.

But to be fair, one must admit that although the work of the Manakis brothers deals with and belongs to all the peoples of the Balkans, they themselves, their families, and their ancestors, must belong to one people, must originally come from a place. It is only natural that everything - all the different phases and contradictions of their lives and circumstances - points in the final analysis in one direction: to Greece.

And their Greekness is in fact the key to their personal and professional behaviour.

Of the approximately 12,500 photographs taken by the two brothers, about half, according to Skopje, have not been identified. Of the content of the cinematographic films that have never been developed we know nothing, and it is extremely unlikely that we ever will. Those who own them claim that the chemical composition of these old negatives is unknown, which means they cannot now be developed. Hundreds of feet of undeveloped film are thus still waiting to reveal their secrets.

But apart from this photographic material, the Manakis brothers also left a host of written documents, in both Turkish and Greek. This material is in Skopje as well and never has been made available for study. In spite of that it is still possible to approach the lives and the work of the two brothers via the material they left scattered behind them and through the not inconsiderable body of information that can be assembled by the patient researcher from the various places in which they lived.

The Skopjians have created exemplary archives of the photographs and the cinema films acquired from - or pointed out by - Miltos Manakis. They have also put together a voluminous, but one-sided, incomplete and somewhat fanciful bibliography of the two brothers.

There is, unfortunately, no bibliographical material in Greece. Even historical studies of the cinema in Greece have ignored

the two brothers despite the fact that there is abundant and indisputable documentary proof of their Greek ancestry and the hellenocentricity of their chosen subject matter. Obviously, the authors were haunted by fears of accusations of chauvinism.

Ioannis Manakis brought part of their photographic archives - mainly rare historical and personal photographs - with him when he and his son moved back to Greece. Their birth certificates, the ruins of their father's house and the family lands still exist in Avdela. Most of their relatives, moreover, have always lived in Greece.

Their family tree is readily traced back into the Vlach villages of Epirus. The brothers were certainly direct descendants of Anastasis Michaloglou Manakis, from Anilios near Metsovo, who was a member of the Filiki Etairia* and who did so much for the nascent Greek state.

The earliest traces of this family are found in Parga, and after that in Doliana and Metsovo. After the persecutions of Ali Pasha, branches of the family turned up in Samarina, Avdela, Klisoura and Grevena. Much information has also been

collected from numerous old friends, classmates, fellow-villagers and colleagues of the two brothers, some of whom are still living. Family photographs, portraits and postcards, testimonies of the everyday bread-and-butter work of the Manakis brothers, are to be found in dozens of houses all over Macedonia, Thrace, Thessaly and Epirus.

Greek publications and newspapers from the turn of the century in Athens, Thessaloniki, Ioannina, Monastir and even in America, also contain photographs by or articles about the two brothers and many of their films exist in the archives of the Greek television channel ERT I.

But the first real recognition in Greece of these two cinematographic pioneers came in an article in the Athens newspaper *Ta Nea* in 1971, by the journalist and critic, Kostas Stamatiou. With its abundant documentary evidence and historiographical sensitivity, it is an important text. It remains a tribute to these two men and will unquestionably serve as a good starting point.

* Translator's note: Literally "The Society of Friends", this was a secret Greek revolutionary organization, drawing its support from merchants and professionals, which was founded in Odessa in 1814 for the purpose of liberating the Greeks from Ottoman rule.

THE VILLAGE OF AVDELA
AND ITS ENVIRONS

The Manakis brothers were born in an age of turmoil and transition for the peoples of the Balkans. The steady weakening of the power of the Ottoman Empire rendered the political situation particularly fluid and made the future of the region extremely uncertain. This led the Great Powers of the day to exploit the situation in their own interests, with little heed paid to the rights and desires of the subject peoples. What was of particular concern, apparently, to the European diplomats was the extraordinary rise - intellectual, social and economic - of the Greek segment of the population. The Greek people, whether in the Turkish-held territories or scattered abroad, were a force to be reckoned with, from Crete, Asia Minor and the Black Sea provinces to the banks of the Danube and the far-flung reaches of the Russian empire.

In 1870, in response to pressure from Czarist Russia, the Sultan published a firman permitting the establishment of a Bulgarian Church separate from and independent of the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople. The product of this edict was dubbed the "Exarchate". The most significant - and the most cunning - article in this edict provided that for a village to be considered Exarchist, two thirds of its inhabitants had to accept the Bulgarian liturgy, Bulgarian teachers and so on. And so commenced the propaganda, the threats and the bribery in an attempt to impose the Exarchate on Greek villages and to create the impression that the numerical and intellectual weight of the area was on the Bulgarian side.

Immediately, however, the over-optimistic Exarchists ran into almost insuperable difficulties. It was no easy matter to make the Greek population of Macedonia reject their ethnicity and their orthodoxy. The situation deteriorated even further after

the Russo-Turkish War, the defeat of Turkey and the rise of the Bulgarian state.

From about 1878 - the year in which Ioannis Manakis was born - the Bulgarians began to intensify their efforts to coerce the Greeks of Macedonia into recognition of the Exarchate and acceptance of Slav schools. Pressure and money gave way to firepower and bloodshed. In 1893 a Bulgarian organization to promote this purpose was founded: it was known as the Comitadji (the "Committee") and its armed militants as the *comitadjis*.

The example set by Bulgaria was followed by other Balkan peoples, which organized their own "committees". Even the Romanians joined in, despite the fact that their country had no direct land access to Macedonia. The Romanians exercised mainly propaganda, rather than armed force, against the Greeks. They distributed money lavishly, bringing in teachers and awarding scholarships while denouncing Greek freedom fighters to the Turkish authorities.

The late 19th century was marked, in the Balkans, by incessant insurrections, from Crete to the Danube. The attention of the entire continent was focused on this area.

Propaganda raged, and the armed clashes gradually took on the aspect of mutual genocide between Greeks, Turks and Slavs. In its essence, this was the fruit of the secret diplomacy of the Great Powers. A diplomacy characterised by flexibility and cynicism, depending on the correlation of interests and opportunities.

Czarist Russia, for example, initially favoured the idea of a pan-Balkan uprising against Turkey. It swiftly, however, limited its support almost exclusively to Bulgaria and pan-Slavism.

Austria, fearing the supremacy of Russian influence in the area, incited the Romanians against the Greeks, exploiting the Vlach-speaking populations of Epirus and Macedonia.

England juggled her aspirations, maintaining a successful balance between the Sublime Porte and the government in Athens.

Even Italy took a hand in the game, with an eye on Albania which was, as a state, purely a creation of Italian policy.

Within this maelstrom of malevolent aspirations, Greece lost its 1897 war with Turkey. But Turkey's success was only temporary. Nothing could now halt final dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, crumbling under the accumulated weight of the mistakes of its tyrannical sultans.

The Young Turks now made their appearance on the historical stage. They were a group of dissatisfied reformers, generals and civil servants. In the key centres of Thessaloniki and Monastir they conspired together and prepared their revolution.

It was during this period, and under the shadow of these events, amidst a sea of tempestuous political passions and repeated national heroics, that Yannakis and Miltos Manakis were born in the village of Avdela, in the prefecture of Grevena.

The two brothers were destined to live through, and to capture on film, all the events which were to transform the Balkans: the Macedonian Struggle, the propaganda campaigns of foreign interests, the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the revolution of the Young Turks, the Balkan Wars, the First and Second World Wars, the tremendous political and social changes in Yugoslavia, and a host of other historical watersheds, right up to the year 1961.

The village of Avdela is situated in the Northern Pindus range, at an altitude of 1,350 metres, and is surrounded on three sides by mountain peaks. The highest of these is Vasilitsa, to the east, followed by Aeos (Avgo), Smolikas and Orliakas. The only opening is to the south, where the Aliakmon river winds its way. The scenery around Avdela is majestic, and the natural environment rich and varied. A number of learned visitors have called Avdela and its neighbouring villages of Perivoli, Samarina and Smixi "the four Alpine resorts of the Pindus range". This is no exaggeration: dense, virgin forests of pine and beech, small rivers, sparkling springs, picturesque and lovely valleys, luxuriant ravines, and lush pastures embrace this

mountain paradise. Each has a famed beauty spot: Samarina is renowned for its Kiourisa, Perivoli for its Valea Dounekata, Smixi for its Giletti and Avdela for Mouzzielou and Souliatou.

"Amid the universal beauty of the Pindus, I remember, in particular, the forest of Souliatou", wrote Startis Doukas.

"Walking through it you feel as though you were at the bottom of the sea. You can see nothing but the tops of the lofty pine trees high overhead, swaying in the mountain breeze and filling the forest with their shivering hum".

The village of Avdela and its neighbours belong to the Helleno-Vlach area of the Pindus range, which extends far beyond Western Macedonia into Epirus and Thessaly, as well as into what is now the national territory of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania.

Under the Turkish occupation, Avdela belonged administratively to the vilayet of Monastir, the sanjak of Servia and the kaza of Grevena. In 1910 it had 1,280 Greek inhabitants and 100 "Romanisers". (1)

The Vlachs of Avdela had always been deeply and sincerely Greek in their national consciousness and Orthodox in their faith. Before the upsurge of Romanian propaganda, around 1860, there had never been any serious incidences of ethnic dispute. Quite the contrary in fact: the Vlachs in general, and the people of Avdela in particular, had always distinguished themselves in times of national crisis, despite the heavy pressure exerted on the area by successive invaders with an eye to its strategic location.

The presence of Avdela on the stage of modern history has been documented since the late Byzantine period:

– When Thessaloniki was besieged by Murat II in 1420, present among its defenders were Vlachs from Avdela and other places in the mountains of the Pindus range.

– In 1453, during the siege of Constantinople, a mounted troop of 2,000 Vlachs, including men from Avdela, took part in the last stand of the Byzantine capital against the Turks, under the leadership of the famous general Justinian.

Once they had occupied the Pindus, the Turks recognized the old Byzantine privilege of the Vlach shepherd captains of safeguarding the mountain passes in their districts. These were the Armatoles, who first appeared in 1537 and were subsequently to play such an important role in the Greek

Revolution of 1821.

– Between 1500 and 1611, Avdela enjoyed a lengthy period of prosperity, which finally ended with the defeat of a local uprising under Dionysius, Bishop of Trikala (called “The Charlatan”) who was from Avdela.

– In 1854, some shepherds from Avdela joined with others from the surrounding villages and organized, in the village of Karpero, a small uprising against the Turkish authorities.

It failed because of a lack of communication among the organizers.

– In 1818, the Avdelite insurgent leader Nikotsaras led an uprising in Zihni, in the prefecture of Serres, and with a band of 600 young men, descendants of settlers from Avdela, Fourka and the Albano-Vlach villages, hastened to support Karageorge of Serbia.

– Many Avdelites who had moved to Chalcidice fought in the forces of Emmanouil Pappas, the insurgent chieftain from Serres, in the uprising in that district.

– Among the defenders of Mesolonghi, the seige of which ended with the heroic sortie of all the men, women and children within its walls, there were also men from Avdela: Bresios, Asteris Bezas and “Kapetan Aramos”, Among those defending the town was a Vlach from Metsovo, Anastasios Michaloglou Manakis, a direct ancestor of the Manakis brothers.

– In 1877-1878, the years of the Russo-Turkish War and the Treaty of San Stefano, the Avdelites of Veria, led by their fellow-countryman Pavlos Badralexis, proclaimed the Kolindros Uprising, which had a tremendous impact in the region of the Aliakmon river.

The Greek governments of that period, under the influence of the English, maintained a superficial neutrality but, in a limited fashion and in secret, did in fact support the Struggle. The Kolindros Uprising failed because of the signing of the peace treaty between Russia and Turkey on March 3, 1878.

The leader of this insurrection, Pavlos Badralexis, fled to Athens where he lived for eighteen years as a pensioner of the Greek state. He was pardoned by the Turkish authorities in 1896 and returned to Avdela. He died at a great age in Veria in 1911. He was photographed by Miltos Manakis.

Avdela also took part in the disastrous conflict between Greece and Turkey in 1897. At the time, the armed Greek bands which had just been formed in the Kalambaka district, were dissolved by their new leaders, Pavlos Melas, Konstantinos Mazarakis and Christos Fotiadis. These bands later returned to Greek territory, led by the Helleno-Vlach captains Zermas, Kaloyiros (2), Tzortzias, Spanos, Vrakas, Arkoudas and Lazos.

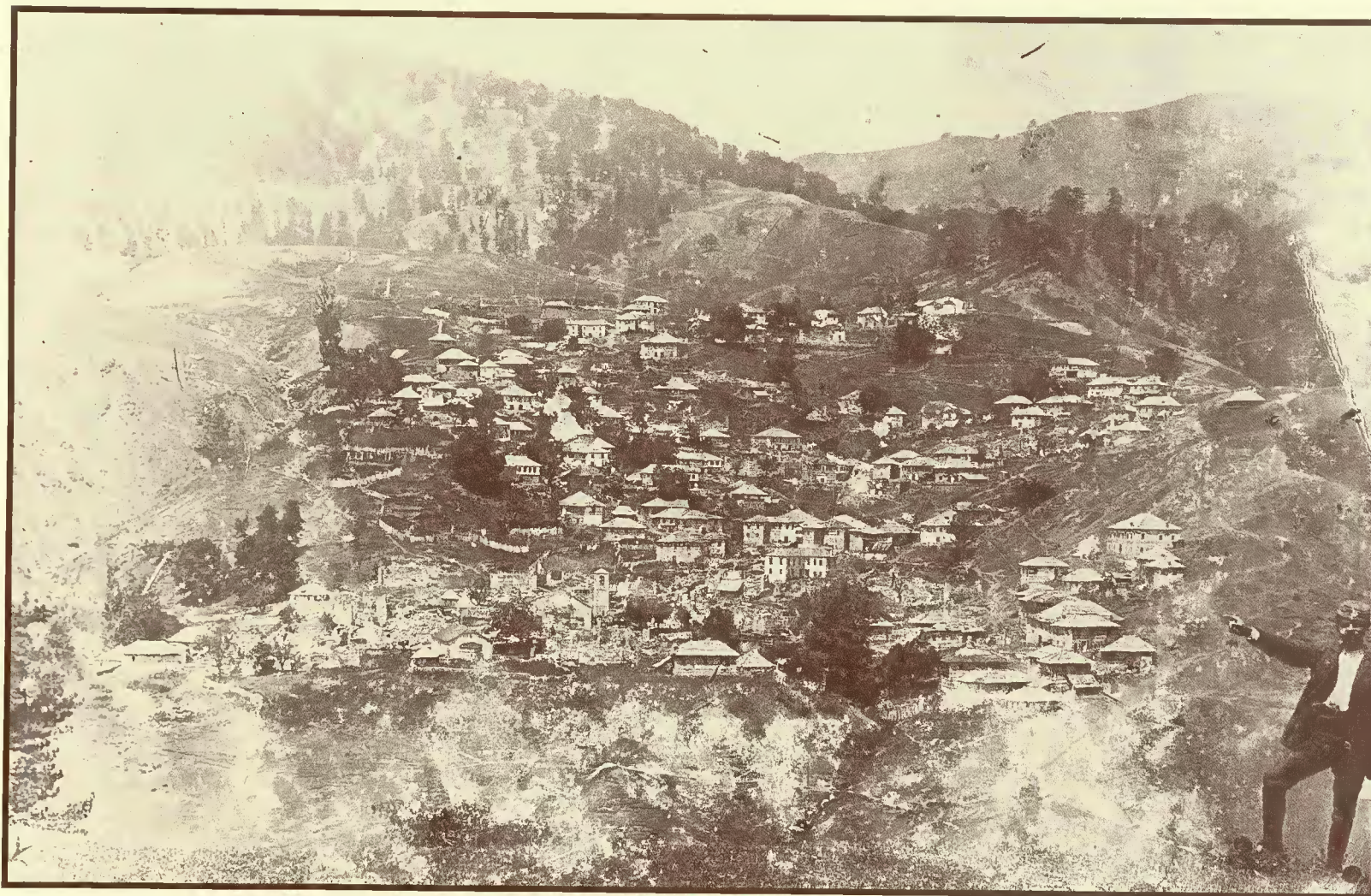
The people of Avdela were herdsmen like in all the Vlach villages in the area. The lush pastures of the Pindus were particularly favourable to this occupation. These villages, all built fairly high up in the mountains, were generally inhabited only in summer; the harsh winter weather emptied them. The flocks and herds were generally moved from their summer pastures to their winter quarters at the end of October, usually right after the feast of Saint Dimitrios (October 26). Endless caravans of men, beasts and baggage would take the long road down to the plains. This migration was reversed in spring, after the Feast of Saint George (April 23).

(1) Pan. Sinodinos: “The Vilayet of Thessaloniki and Monastir”, 1910.

(2) Kaloyiros, from Avdela, later switched to the Romanising faction.



Horse traders from Avdela.



The village of Avdela, in the prefecture of Grevena. On the right, Miltos Manakis is pointing to his house (1920).



The Manakis brothers appear in this photograph taken in Avdela in 1902, and published in the *Ipirotiko Imerologyio* (*Chronicles of Epirus*) in 1903. The initials E.K. on the lower right hand corner, refer to the famous Athens zincographer Evangelos Kazanis, a Vlach from Epirus who studied printing in Germany and who, from 1895 on, had a hand in all printed material published by Hellenism under Turkish oppression.



Photograph of the Verros family taken in Avdela in 1900; Zisis Verros, aged 22, is the second from the right in the second row. The photo bears the stamp: "I. Manakis, Bitola, 1896".

THE VLACHS
OF PINDUS

For the Vlach herdsmen on the Pindus range, life was far from idyllic. It was in fact both harsh and epic: constant migrations, hard working conditions, numerous dangers, heavy taxation - these were the rewards for their labours. And yet there, high in their mountain eyries, men and women developed a brilliant folk tradition which is greatly admired by all those who are familiar with it, be it in folk poetry, music, handicrafts, weaving, wood carving, architecture or painting.

But the greatest achievement of the Vlach people was the cohesiveness and solidarity of their society. It was this factor, in conjunction with their native creativity, that enabled the Vlachs to play such an important role in Greek society, both in their contribution to the nation as a whole and in the gradual development of important economic and intellectual centres in Macedonia, Epirus and Thessaly. But even outside the historical and ethnological territory of the Greek people, in the distant (and not always friendly) lands of Wallachia, Austria, Hungary, Serbia, Russia and even far off Sweden, the Greek Vlachs were salient figures in the social, intellectual and financial arenas.

The Vlach-speaking Greeks of the Pindus had for centuries been successful in achieving vertical integration of their various occupations, which they exercised on a collective basis. The hubs of their professional and social organization were their flocks and herds, which produced wool and skins. Some of the production was sent to the dyeworks, spinning mills, weaving factories and tanneries in the neighbouring towns, while the rest went directly to the mills and factories of Europe.

Besides sheep and goats, the Vlachs grazed herds of wild horses, which they used for the transportation of goods by

caravan. The Vlachs were famous *kyratsides* (caravan - drivers). The division of labour extended not only to the flocks but had a regional basis as well: Samarina, Smixi, Avdela, Vlasti, Metsovo and Aspropotamos produced wool, hides, dairy products and horses and mules for the caravans. Kalarytes, Nymfaio and Ioannina specialized in gold and silver. Florina, Velesa and Prilep had drying sheds. Siatista and Ochrid specialized in tanning and shoemaking. The people of Kastoria worked exclusively in furs, while those of Monastir were merchants and tailors. Klisoura was known for its mercers, Kozani for saddlers and bell-makers. They were all part of a huge national brotherhood which initially moved along the traditional axis of the ancient Via Egnatia, and later through the port of Thessaloniki, "exchanging letters for weapons, the silversmith's chisel for the shepherd's crook, trade for the mountain pass...". Out of this still unfamiliar - and often misinterpreted - epic of the mountain dwellers of the Pindus came some of the greatest names of modern Greek history: Zappas, Stournas, Sinas, Averoff, Tositsas, Yeorgios Stavrou, Manakis, Krystallis, Valaoritis, Zalokostas, Rigas Feraios, Yannis Farmakis, Kolettis, Spyridon Lambrou, Nikolaos Kasomoulis, Yorgos Modis, Antonios Keramopoulos, Konstantinos Mertzios and a host of others.

The economy of Avdela has always been based exclusively on animal husbandry. At the time when the Manakis brothers were born, it had 300 houses and a population of 1,500. Its urban tissue was dense and its two-storey stone houses and narrow streets were divided into six hillside neighbourhoods. In the centre was the church, dedicated to Saint Athanasios. There had long been a Greek "Patriarchal" school in the village, and

later a Romanian school opened in a separate building. The Epirote historian Ioannis Lambridis wrote in his book *Charitable Institutions in Epirus* (1800): "It is a curious fact that the propoganda of the Romanians supporting the belief that it would not be long before Romania extended its sovereignty over the Pindus (!!) led several years ago (1870) to the installation of a teacher in Avdela, at a salary of 7,000 piastres per annum, to teach Romanian once a week". The major guild festivals of Avdela, which drew great crowds

from miles around, were the Feast of the Holy Trinity (dedicated to the herdsmen) and the Feast of the Saviour (dedicated to the *kyratsides*). The largest local fair was held on August 15, the Feast of the Dormition of the Virgin.

Avdela was twice destroyed by fire: once in 1905 when it was burnt down by Macedonian freedom fighters (*Makedonomachoi*) and again in 1944 when it was put to the torch by a party of retreating German soliders. It has since been rebuilt.



Couple from Perivoli.



Ladies of Grevena. A post card by the Manakis brothers, copied from their film, "Dances and Costumes of Macedonia".



"Customs and Mores of Macedonia".
A scene from a film of the same name,
filmed by the Manakis brothers in 1906.

DISCORD AMONG THE VLACHS:

THE "ROMANISING" ELEMENT

The long history of the Vlach people was interrupted by a period of national dissension which developed into outright civil war. This crisis began in about 1860, and lasted until the end of World War Two. It had its origins in the Romanian propaganda poured into Vlach villages by Romanian agents, which was tolerated by the Turks and supported by the foreign powers.

This pro-Romanian activity eventually produced a crisis within the Vlach community, and a national separatist movement. One of the active agents behind this movement was a Vlach from Avdela named Apostolos Margaritis, a teacher in what might now be called a junior high school. But the prime mover was his uncle, a hieromonk called Averkios. Along with their colleagues, and with the use of lavish amounts of money, promises, pressure and intrigue, they built the first Romanian schools in various villages in Western Macedonia: Klisoura, Avdela and Perivoli were, among other places, chosen as sites.

The number of these schools grew rapidly and, with the support of the Turks, Romanian churches were also established. Although this had little immediate effect, it did create a dangerous precedent for Greek national interests.

At that time, Greece, in trying to save the Greeks of Macedonia from disappearing as a nation, was battling against the Turkish authorities, the Bulgarian Committee and Romanian propaganda. The Macedonian Struggle, which eventually broke out in Monastir, where the Greek Committee was formed solely of Vlachs, succeeded in containing the danger and preparing the ground for the victorious battles of the Balkan Wars.

But what was it that drove a segment of the Helleno-Vlach population into the arms of the Romanians? Or rather, how did

Romania manage to exploit the situation so adroitly?

The uprisings of a number of Balkan peoples, historically "inserted", as it were, into other ethnicities in the region, influenced certain hot-blooded Vlachs who began to preach openly the imperative need for linguistic and cultural autonomy. This, of course, was substantially aided by the proclamation - and the support - of the Exarchate and by the well-filled Romanian coffers. The native village of the Manakis brothers became a hotbed for this movement.

The revolutionary and cultural tradition that had flourished in Avdela since the times of Bishop Dionysius and Rigas Feraios was favourable to the growth of the new ideology, which promptly spread to neighbouring villages as well.

The Patriarchate initially reacted with restraint to the problem, since had it had not yet acquired the dimensions it eventually would. "The activities of the propagandists were not yet obvious. Nothing had been decided about schools", wrote Anastasios Piheon in his memories.

The situation, however, was smouldering, and this was actively exploited by Romanian propaganda. With the help of abundant gold, it managed to ensnare the Helleno-Vlach movement and transform it into a major Romanian national issue.

Certain foreign powers of the time, Italy, Austria and Russia to be specific, fanned the flames of Romanian intolerance as much as they could. Turkey, of course, did the same.

The first agent the Romanians enlisted from the area was the Helleno-Vlach hieromonk, Averkios of Avdela. He was at the time serving in the district of Ochrid whence, by decision of his bishop, he was banished to Mount Athos. He escaped, made his way to Athens and thence to Bucharest, "where he subsequently

met and became friendly with Kaouza, the prime mover of the Romanising movement”(1).

He returned to Avdela in about 1850, a convert with plenty of money, and “found eight boys whom he took to Romania. Some time later he returned to Avdela and built a Romanian school within the village. After the establishment of this school many years passed, during which time the infamous and accursed Apostolos Margaritis became the Director of Romanian propoganda and travelled to all the Koutsovlach village seeking converts...

...Near Damasi in the vicinity of Elassona, where many families from Avdela used to spend their winter, Margaritis completed his proselytism. From here, in fact, he sent two very poor children to Romania; they were Ioannis Hondrozomos and Tzimas Kavatis”(2).

Margaritis, a friend of the Manakis family, turned into a serious enemy of the Greek people, as is always the case with apostates and renegades.

As a person he was intelligent, active - and immoral. He developed the purchase of consciences with Romanian gold into a fine art and, apart from his converts, he had in his pocket senior Turkish officials, many foreign diplomats and the Catholic clergy in the district of Monastir. Nor did he restrict himself to preaching Romanian propaganda, but also lent his evil services to the Austrians, Turks and Bulgarians for a fat fee. The Romanian government feared him, and the Turkish administration found him impossible to ignore. His son, Takis, was secretary to the Grand Vizier in Constantinople.

It is certain, that as the instigator of these crimes he was guilty of the murder of countless people, mainly Greeks. Nor did he

have the slightest compunction over the elimination of members of his own party - such as the Headmaster of the Romanian school in Ioannina, Lazaros Lekandas - if they put obstacles in the way of his schemes.

The Greek Committees repeatedly tried to get rid of him, but failed. In an attempt to place the Romanisers under the aegis of the Holy See, he even turned to the Vatican; but in the end he was disowned by his former patrons. His plots and schemes all collapsed, leaving nothing but the nightmarish memory of a traitor who served the Turkish oppressor.

Margaritis was Ioannis Mannakis' first employer. As soon as he graduated from the Romanian High School in Bitola in 1897, Margaritis, who was the Inspector of Schools for the Monastir district, summoned him, trained him and sent him into the field to teach school in Epirus.

But the Romanian propoganda campaign did not end with the death of Margaritis, nor with the end of the Macedonian Struggle, nor even with the liberation of Macedonia.

The 1913 agreement between the Venizelos and Mayiorescu governments gave Romania extensive jurisdiction over the “Romanising” Vlach-speakers in Greek, especially in the fields of education and religion. The presence of Romanian institutions in Ioannina, Grevena, Veria, Thessaloniki and other towns, thus created a state within a state, a situation which lasted until the end of World War Two. The consequences of this policy were catastrophic, for not only did it divide the Vlach-speaking population (3) but it shattered their centuries-old links with their Greek-speaking fellow countrymen.

The history of the Manakis brothers took them down the dark passages of Romanian propaganda.

1. Anastasios Piheon, *Memoirs*.

2. “Pyrros”, newspaper, 1906.

3. The proverbial Vlach curse, “Foklou tspiras lou arda Venizelou...” (May fire descend and consume Venizelos) is said to have originated as a result of the devastating consequences of this policy for the Vlach people.



The first Balkan film, "The Weavers" (Avdela 1905).



Souvenir photograph from the village of Avdela in 1909.



The Tsimouraga family wedding, Veroia 1910.

THE MANAKIS FAMILY

(SOMETIMES GIVEN AS MANAKIAS
OR MANAKAS OR MANIAKIAS)

Greek and Skopjian researchers, such as Kostas Stamatiou and Pavlos Konstantinou, accept that the earliest known documented ancestor on the Manakis family tree is Anastasios Michaloglou Manakis, of Anilios, near Metsovo.

Slightly younger was Yannoulis Manakis, the grandfather of the Manakis brothers, who is said to have been from Avdela. Oral tradition (1) has it that Yannoulis Manakis was the nephew of Anastasios Michaloglou Manakis. Research has not, however, been able to establish just where the family originated, although converging historical opinions and oral evidence suggest that it must have been in Epirus.

If we wished to draw up a Manakis family tree, according to what information we have, we would arrive at the following, starting with the youngest generation:

Children: Yannakis, Miltos, Evanthia, Vasiliki and Steryani Manakis.

Parents: Dimitrios Manakis and Loukia Karayanni.

Paternal grandparents: Despo and Yannoulis Manakis.

Great - grandfather: Dimitrios Manakis.

The Manakis brothers' mother, Loukia Manakis and their grandmother, Despo, were from Klisoura and, in his accounts of his family's origin, Miltos Manakis maintained that his family had its origins in Klisoura, but this has never been confirmed.

We do have considerable, and substantiated, information on Anastasios Michaloglou Manakis (2).

When he left Metsovo in about 1815 to seek his fortune, he first settled in Constantinople where he became a cattle merchant.

He was soon initiated into the *Filiki Etairia*, and devoted himself to the service of its aims. When the Greek War of

Independence was proclaimed in 1821, Anastasios Manakis was in Wallachi-Moldavia with Alexandros Ypsilantis.

Ypsilantis sent Manakis on an extremely important mission. He was to rescue from the Turks (or kill) their fellow conspirator Aristidis Pappas who had been sent to Serbia with secret documents to prepare the way for the Serbian uprising against the Turks. Serbia had been an autonomous state under Milos Obrenovic since 1815. This status, however, was not officially recognized by the Sultan, and this is what led Ypsilantis to propose, via Aristidis Pappas, collaboration between the Greeks and the Serbs in organizing a revolt against the Turks.

Pappas, who was a Vlach from the Pindus and a very able and well-educated man, speaking several languages, was considered the only emissary capable of persuading Obrenovic to sign documents binding him to collaboration with Ypsilantis, and these he carried with him on his mission. Unfortunately, he was betrayed by a Serb and seized by the Turks, who sent him under guard to the pasha at Vidni. On the way there the courageous envoy destroyed the precious documents and then killed himself.

Manakis' mission was to recover the documents before they fell into the hands of the Turks and to rescue, or if necessary kill, Pappas, "in order to safeguard the *Filiki Etairia* from the dangers of indiscretion" as Dionysos Kokkinos wrote. But he was overtaken by events.

Manakis, however, did not just sit there twiddling his thumbs. He and some other patriots immediately formed themselves into an armed band and killed the man who had betrayed Pappas - one Yovan Ragomec - and about 100 Turks. Beleaguered by the Turks, he was then forced to flee, crossing

the Carpathians into Austria. There, the anti-Greek government threw him into prison, but he escaped and immediately recommenced his anti-Turkish activities. In the end, the failure of his schemes forced him to leave the Danube states and make his way to the Peloponnese, where the armed revolt was raging.

He fought in the battle of Dervenakia and later joined the other Vlachs who hastened to defend Mesolonghi. He survived the siege and the ensuing battle, and is next heard of with Ioannis Kolletis - also a Vlach - who in appreciation of his valour and his activities sent him to Serbia as Greek consul. There he met and became close to the Serbian leader, Milos Obrenovic. After the liberation Manakis settled in Athens, where he devoted himself to public service, particularly the intellectual development of the youth of the country.

The daily press of that era tells us that he frequented the palace and had cordial relations with the elite of Athenian society. He was the executor of the will of another Vlach, the national benefactor Michail Tositsas. He was honoured by the leaders of Serbia and Montenegro for his unceasing efforts towards improving relations between those countries and Greece.

He never forgot his birthplace in Epirus, however, and when King George I came to Greece, Manakis met him as plenipotentiary of "the people of Ioannina" (3) and presented him with their congratulations.

In July 1864, Anastasios Manakis became seriously ill. In its issue of July 13, 1864, the newspaper *Palingenesis* wrote the following:

"The illness of the plenipotentiary and friend of the nation, Anastasios Manakis, has unfortunately taken a turn for the worse. He has an abscess between his posterior and his testicles where Dr Revelakis made an incision..."

Anastasios Manakis died on July 25, 1864; his funeral, attended by a huge crowd of mourners, was held the next day. Panayiotis Soutsos included the following tribute in his funerary oration: "Greece has lost a rare man, a noble-minded man of the fraternity of the Zosimaii, the Kaplanii, and the Rizarii..."

Many historians have said that Manakis and Emmanuel Xanthos, also of the *Filiki Etairia*, were brothers-in-law. But Manakis does not seem to have been married, if we interpret correctly a phrase in the funeral oration delivered by P. Soutsos, who said that Anastasios Manakis was one of those Epirots "who devote themselves to their country, living entirely for and with it, condemning themselves to a life of bachelor solitude" (4).

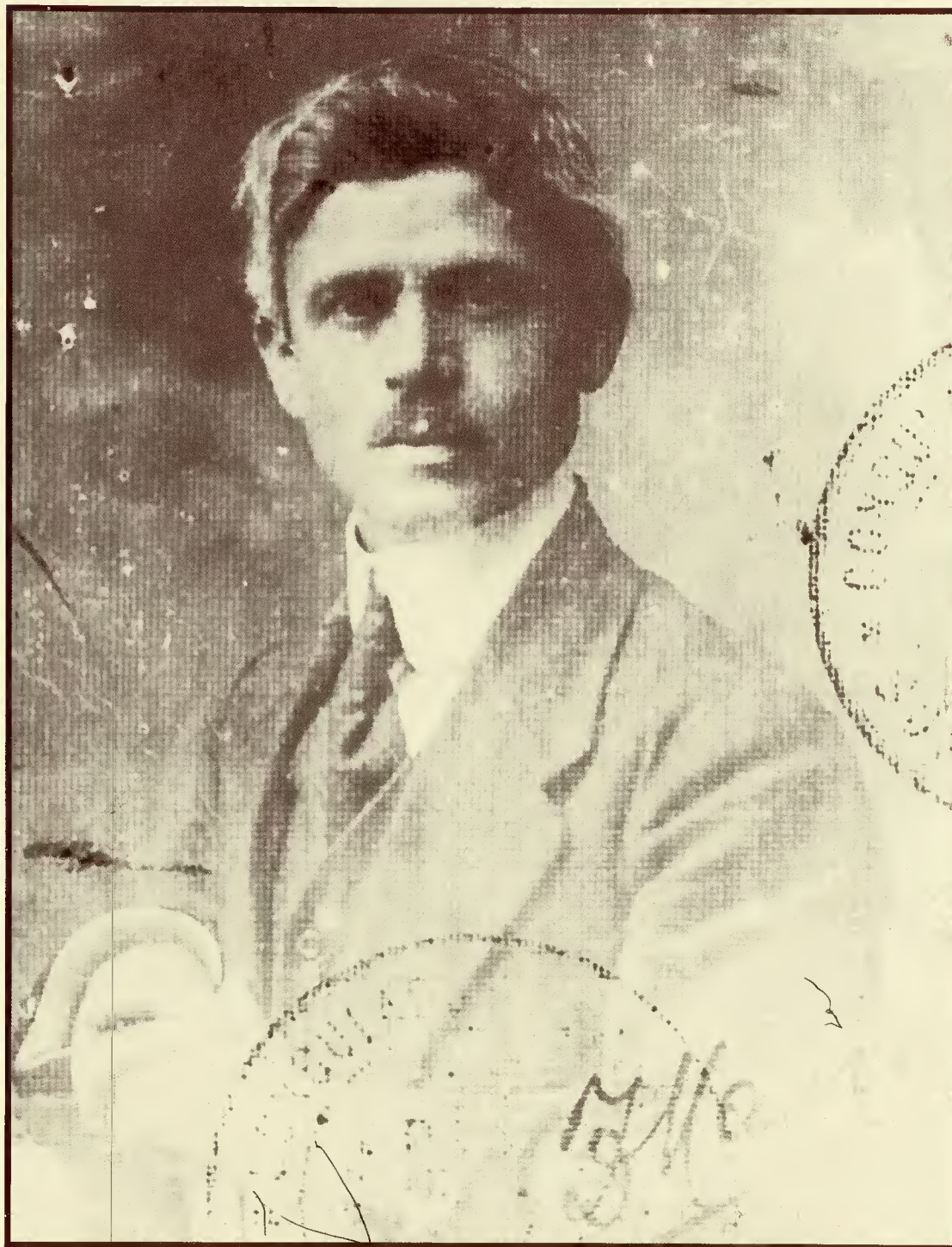
We do not know whether Yannakis and Miltos Manakis knew of their relationship to this "friend of the nation", but it would appear that their families and the villages of Avdela are now aware of it.

1. Zisis Verros

2. Archives of the Academy of Athens, etc.

3. 16/12/1863.

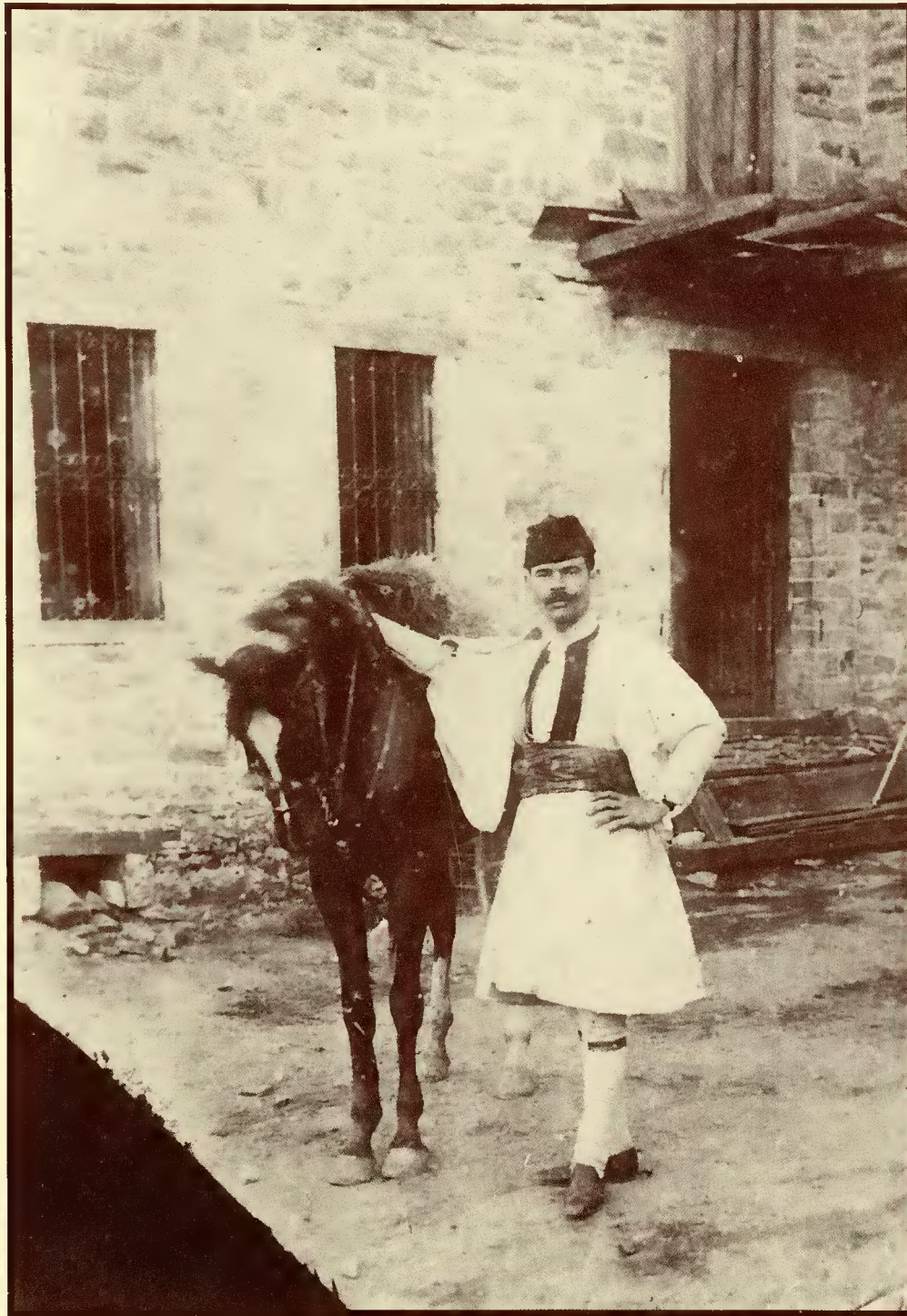
4. *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, 1/8/1864.



Yannis Manakis, in Greek passport photo from 1930.



Yannis Manakis, Paris 1906.



Miltos Manakis in the courtyard of the family home (Avdela 1904).

YANNAKIS

Yannoulis and Despo Manakis had two sons: Dimitrios and, probably, Manoulis. Dimitrios, born in 1843, married Loukia Karayianni; they had five children, two sons and three daughters. Their first son, Ioannis (Yannis, Yannakis) Manakis, was born in Avdela on May 18, 1878, the second, Militiadis (Miltos), according to village records, on September 9, 1882.

Their three daughters were called Evanthia, Vasiliki and Steryani. Evanthia died young, in Avdela, in 1910.

Ioannis Manakis married in 1922, and had one son.

Miltos married his wife Vasiliki at quite an advanced age: they had no children but he adopted a nephew from Larisa, who grew up in Yugoslavia and still lives there.

Their sisters produced a large number of nieces and nephews: Anastasia, Yorgos, Dimitrios, Glika, Makedonia, Despina, Steryos, Yannouli, Yorgos, and Olga. They all live in Greece.

Miltos Manakis claimed that his grandmother, Despo Manakis from Klisoura, lived to the age of 120, but that was probably an exaggeration, possibly the result of a lack of official papers.

Miltos said of her, "My grandmother had a story to tell on whatever subject came up. If the word happiness came up in the conversation, Grandmother would tell a tale about that most beautiful of human feelings. If the devil was mentioned, she had a story to tell about him too".

Miltos inherited his grandmother's common sense, her love of life and her gift for getting along with people. Yannis, on the contrary, was withdrawn and solitary by nature.

The family tranquility that reigned in the Manakis household was shattered when Dimitrios came of age. This was the time when the hieromonk Averkios and his nephew, Apostolos

Margaritis, were beginning their Romanian campaign in the Pindus. Margaritis had studied in Athens, and appeared to be a fanatical Hellenophile; but he turned to the Romanians when the Greek Ministry of Education refused to appoint him Inspector: his new friends immediately gave him that position. He was from Avdela and knew the Manakis family well.

He got to know the young Dimitrios and, despite the disapproval of Yannoulis and Despo, gained great influence over the lad. Together with Dimitrios and some others from Avdela, he began to promulgate Romanian propoganda, and the peaceful life of the village was at an end. The villagers were divided into opposing camps, the Patriarchists and the "Romanisers". That was the beginning of a violent struggle aimed at mutual extermination, which brought great evils to Avdela and neighbouring Vlach villages.

In about 1870, Dimitrios took over the management of the family's affairs, and soon proved to be much more capable than his father. From a simple sheep farmer, he developed into a substantial landowner, tax collector and money lender. It was at this time that his parents began to pressure him to marry. Dimitrios obeyed their wishes, and selected a wealthy young lady from Klisoura, Loukia Karayanni, for his bride. Of this union were born three daughters and then two sons. The two young men refused to adapt to the family's farming lifestyle. From a vary tender age, Yannakis was interested in painting. He apparently loved to go into the village church and the nearby monasteries and gaze for hours at the icons depicting the ascetic faces of the saints and stories from the Bible. When he finished primary school in 1890 his father sent him as a boarder to the Romanian High School in Monastir. This was his

first contact with the town where he was eventually to spend a great part of his life. His education there was free of charge, as promised by the Romanian propaganda (1).

His scholastic career was brilliant. Six years later he graduated with honours (2). The Romanian High School was not a secondary school, but an institution of higher education, designed to train teachers for the Romanian secondary schools in the Helleno-Vlach districts. In other words, upon graduating from this school, Ioannis Manakis was entitled to teach in any of the Romanian secondary schools that had been founded (with the permission of the Turkish authorities) in Macedonia and Epirus. In April 1898, nine months after graduating, he received his first appointment, being sent by Margaritis to a village in Epirus. On September 30, however, he was transferred to Ioannina. He presented himself at his new post on October 10, but the Turkish authorities refused to ratify his appointment.

Despite the insistent pressure of the Romanians, the situation remained unchanged. Yannakis was then invited to leave Ioannina and take up a teaching position in the new Romanian school in the village of Krania. There he taught three pupils from January 1 to October 19, 1899. On October 29, 1899, the Turks having lifted their ban, he took up the position of drawing and calligraphy master in the Romanian secondary school in Ioannina, which had a total of 22 pupils. Manakis also opened a photography studio in Ioannina and remained there, as a teacher and a photographer, until the summer of 1905.

Ioannina had always been an important Greek town. Even its Turkish inhabitants spoke Greek, throughout the entire period of Turkish rule. There was also a large Jewish community in the town. These three ethnic and religious groups shared the fruits of unprecedented economic and intellectual prosperity.

The measures imposed on Turkey by the terms of the 1878 Treaty of Berlin created vilayets (administrative provinces) and kazades (prefectures) all across the vast empire. It was then that Macedonia was divided into the vilayets of Thessaloniki, Monastir and Kosovo.

Epirus was included in the vilayet of Ioannina, which was subdivided into the districts of Ioannina, Thessaly, Berati, Argyrokastro and Preveza.

The vilayet of Ioannina included, besides northern and

southern Epirus, all of Thessaly and much of Albania. It was, in other words, a small state, largely decentralized, and with, in effect, a single ruler.

When it was established, the vilayet of Ioannina also acquired an official administrative gazette called "Yanyia - Ioannina" and was published simultaneously in both Turkish and Greek.

At the same time, in their desire to modernise the town, the Turkish authorities invited to Ioannina the eminent European engineers Holtz, Meneiko (3), Petrovski and Bartholdi, and asked them to design and supervise the construction of the great public works projects that had been scheduled.

Holtz and Meneiko built the fortifications of the town, the Bizanio fortress, while the other two foresaw the implementation of the new town plan and the construction of a new local road network. The new buildings gave the town a grander, more imposing air, while retaining many of its Byzantine and Turkish features.

As the 19th century drew to a close, the Greeks of Epirus began to take action to shake off the Turkish yoke. By this time, of course, the free Greek state reached as far as Arta.

This was when the famous *Elliniki Etairia*, the "Hellenic Society" was founded in Athens, on a non-partisan basis, by politicians who wanted to help the people of Epirus in their struggle. This national organization created Greek committees in Epirus: these were armed bands with caches of war material.

The Hellenic Society co-ordinated its activities in Epirus according to the instructions of the Greek Consulate in Ioannina. The Consulate occupied a position of considerable power in the town, for besides those of Greek descent who were Turkish citizens, there were also many Greek citizens, holders of Greek passports. Almost all the doctors, teachers and wholesale merchants in Ioannina were Greek citizens.

The struggle for independence in Epirus was fought on two fronts: one against the Turks and the other against the Romanians. The Slav movement devoted little attention to Epirus, concentrating its efforts on Macedonia.

It was within this political and ideological climate that Yannis Manakis began his professional career, in the Epirote capital of Ioannina. It did not take him long to realize that things were not going to be easy for him and his fellow visionaries.

A town of intellectual vigour, such as Ioannina, with its many

important educational institutions, all gifts of the rich and patriotic Helleno-Vlachs, a wealthy town with a solid Greek majority, could never tolerate anything that would undermine its ethnic basis.

At that time, the Consul General of Greece in Ioannina was the Epirote Napoleon Betsios who, despite his considerable age, was extremely effective in parrying Romanian propaganda. He had formerly been the Consul in Monastir, and in both posts had Ion Dragoumis as his closest associate. The manner in which he organized the patriots in Epirus, the excellent relations he developed with the Turkish authorities, the precision of the information he relayed to Athens, the impeccable image of the activities of his consulate, all made Napoleon Betsios the ideal person to combat Romanian propaganda. The Turkish Vali held him in great esteem.

In May 1904 the first Romanian consul arrived in Ioannina. His name was Badeanu, and he was a ridiculous, fat little man whose pompous and provocative manner created constant friction. He liked to strut about the town with a large entourage of secretaries and flunkies; but the Greek people openly mocked him.

The ridicule to which he was exposed became so general that Badeanu protested sharply to the Vali, Osman Pasha, who summoned some of the “troublemakers” and, in the presence of the consul, made the following statement:

“I shall not permit Epirus to become a bloody battlefield like Macedonia. The inhabitants of this area are Greek, and as long as they respect the laws I shall not permit outsiders to sow discord” (4). This patent siding with the Greek population provided many factions with a stick with which to beat Osman, who was eventually removed from his post in 1906.

In the meantime “Badeanu set about his work with fervour and fanaticism”, in the words of D. Salamangas, a chronicler from Ioannina. He and his agents directed all their efforts towards the Vlach-speakers of the Zagoria villages, but in vain. Some of the information we have about Yannis Manakis and his work dates from that period.

First, there was the official inauguration of the Romanian consulate in Ioannina on July 12, 1904.

Every person of any importance had been invited to attend this ceremony: the town authorities, the bishop, the foreign consuls

and all the leading citizens of the Turkish and the Jewish communities.

The coat of arms of the Kings of Romania on the front door of the consulate was covered with a white cloth, ready to be unveiled the following day as the flag was raised.

During the night, a member of the Greek “Committee”, a man named Nikolaos Damkolias, managed to reach the coat of arms unobserved and to smear human excrement all over it.

This caused a tremendous uproar in the town, the Romanian embassy in Constantinople protested vehemently to the Porte, and an investigation was ordered. The account of the incident which appeared in the July 23, 1904 issue of the newspaper “Foni tis Ipirou” (Voice of Epirus), published in Athens, included the following comments: “... to conclude the proceedings Mr. Badeanu deemed it proper to invite that ape, the Koutsovlach photographer Manakis, to take a photograph of the assembled guests. This was the final act of the ceremonial inauguration of this propagandist consulate. Besides the Vali and the consular corps - with the sole exception of the Greek consul Mr. Betsios, who had not been invited - the only persons present were eight (8) Koutsovlach drovers of uncertain origin and one goldsmith from Krusovo who works in Ioannina...”

At the time, no Greek papers were published in Ioannina. All Epirote publishing was done in Athens; and these newspapers were ineffect organs of the state, under the direction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This meant they were well-informed in local affairs, well printed and with leaders which were always polemical and frequently impassioned.

They were mainly read by Epirotes living in liberated Greece, but they did find their way (illegally) into Turkish held Epirus as well. Their purpose was to inform and enlighten the reader on national concerns.

The texts were therefore highly patriotic in tone: this was essential in those difficult times. The newspapers - all weeklies - devoted to Epirus at that time were “Pyrrhus”, “The Voice of Epirus” and “The Struggle”. They contained countless items of information which today are of invaluable assistance in understanding the battle taking place in Epirus. There was also much satirical or hot-tempered commentary on the deplorable state of the Turkish administration and the doings of the Romanophile movement in Epirus.

It is amazing to see how thoroughly these newspapers entered into the spirit not only of the struggle in Epirus, but of other events of national importance as well, such as the Macedonian struggle, the Cyprus affair, the machinations of the foreign powers, the situation of the Greek populations everywhere and the need for concerted action in the Balkans to name but a few. Yannakis Manakis had his own place in this world; the Epirote press spoke of him and his work frequently, either directly, under his own name, or indirectly, as “the photographer from Avdela” or “the photography professor”.

But even before the press began mentioning his name, Manakis had been spotted by the information services of the Consulate-General in Ioannina. A special bulletin dated August 22, 1900 listed the name “Ioannis Manakis”, profession “Professor at the Romanian College in Ioannina”. No other information was included.

Manakis eked out an existence in Ioannina for about six years, working as a teacher of drawing and calligraphy and practising photography on the side. We do not know whether he was already acquainted with the art of photography when he arrived in Ioannina, or whether he learned it there: for there were several excellent photographers in the town at that time, including Yeoryios Pantazidis, Yeoryios Dimitriadis and A. Konstantinidis. The Manakis brother’s studio appears to have done little more than vegetate in the beginning.

Some considerable time later, Miltos related that in those early days it was very hard to make a living in Ioannina. “People were not familiar with photography”, he said, “and had no faith in it”.

That was not the problem.

There had been photographers in Ioannina since about 1880; we know the name of at least one: Zois Papanikolaou, who kept a chemist’s shop.

Furthermore, the quantity of glass plates held in the archives of the other photographers in the town also points to a different conclusion: it was not that the people of Ioannina did not want to have their pictures taken, but rather they did not want to patronize the Manakis studio, which was associated with a foreign agency. The brothers seem to have turned the corner in their professional life in 1904, with the opening of the Romanian Consulate, which made use of their services. Until

then, they had tried to make a place for themselves in the profession mainly by working as itinerant photographers in the countryside.

When Yannakis was hired by the Romanian High School in Ioannina in 1899, his contract was countersigned by its headmaster, Lazarescu Lakandas, who was a personal friend.

Lakandas, a Romanian, or by some accounts a Vlach, was assassinated in Bucharest in 1901 in broad daylight.

The reason for this tragic event was his public denunciation of Romanian propoganda and its agents in Epirus and Macedonia as nothing more than a waste of public funds.

“Through the Bucharest press” wrote the chronicler D. Salamangas, “Lekandas revealed that the so-called Koutsovlach nation in Turkey was nothing but a fiction with no basis in reality”.

Lekandas had indeed addressed a memorandum to the Romanian government, in which he had the courage to declare that “the Romanian nation there consists of nothing more than a few variously bribed agents and pensioners, whose Romanian sentiments would vanish immediately if the gratuities were to cease. In the villages entirely populated by Vlachs, the Greek schools swarm with children while the Romanian schools, remain virtually empty... Our fellow Romanians (he means the Vlachs) called us foreigners from the outset; and wherever we go we are avoided like the plague...”.

Lekandas’ cold-blooded murder by agents of Apostolos Margaritis in Bucharest shook his friend Yannakis Manakis, al though the fanatical Romanisers were delighted.

Lekandas was replaced by Lazaros Doulas, a Vlach from Pisoderi; he was an active and committed Romaniser and a disciple of Margaritis. During this term of office (1903) the Romanian shool in Ioannina was renamed the “Romanian Commercial School”, in imitation of the Italian school in the town.

His sphere of authority became virtually unlimited when he was appointed Inspector of all Romanian schools in Epirus, Macedonia and Albania; this, though, was after the death of Margaritis.

Lazaros was a graduate of the Metsovion Polytechnic School in Athens; but it was not long before he was bought by Margaritis and transformed into a persecutor of the Greeks.

In 1905 Doumas met with the same fate as Lekandas, but with certain differences: he was executed in Thessaloniki in broad daylight by the Greek Committee. His execution was decided on by majority vote, and carried out by three local patriots: Pentzikis, Mylonas and Vogas.

Vogas found a muzzle-loading blunderbuss, loaded it with ironmongery of every sort, hid it under his overcoat and went with his two colleagues to the restaurant where Doumas was eating. There Vogas walked calmly up to the traitor and shot him at point blank range blowing him to bits before the terrified eyes of the other patrons and shattering all the windows in the restaurant and the neighbouring shops. Later, the three themselves wondered why the heavily-overloaded gun had not exploded in Vogas' hands (5). The three perpetrators were apprehended, but were released when no witnesses could be found to testify against them. Lazaros Doumas was a close relative of the woman Yannakis Manakis would later marry; and it was he who, four months before his execution, transferred Manakis from Ioannina to Monastir. When Doumas left Ioannina to become the Inspector-General of Romanian schools, he was replaced as director of the Romanian Commercial School by a priest named Porfirescu, a graduate of the Chalki Theological College. Manakis became very friendly with Porfirescu, under whose aegis his status as a servant of the Romanian government became official.

Up until 1904, Manakis did not have a fixed salary, but was paid directly for his services by the director of the Romanian school. The previous heads had not held him in great esteem, for the young master was timid, awkward and without militant convictions.

Not that Porfirescu felt any differently about him but his capacities were re-assessed when with the arrival of Consul Bedeanu he became the official "court photographer" of the Romanian consulate.

Thus it was that, in the chapter dealing with Romanian schools abroad, the Romanian budget for the year 1904-1905, published in volume 30/9-21 May 1904 of the Official Gazette, listed for the first time "Teacher of Drawing and Calligraphy in the Romanian High School in Ioannina: Ioannis D. Manakis, graduate of the Romanian College in Bitola". His annual salary was 60-80 napoleons.

This special course taught by Manakis at the Romanian school led the Zosimaia School in Ioannina to hire a teacher of drawing and calligraphy too, for, as the local press commented, "the handwriting of the Greek schoolchildren resembles nothing so much as Japanese".

Although during his early years in Ioannina Manakis had shown no especial pro-Romanian zeal, this changed as soon as he went on the state payroll. He began taking part in the Consul's ostentatious promenades; he photographed the town's diplomatic corps, painted the scenery for the students' rehearsals, decorated the consulate and the school and took an active part in Romanian propaganda.

The local press repeatedly commented on Manakis and his activities, as well as his Romanian friends in Ioannina.

The "Voice of Epirus" wrote on January 28, 1905: "The Romanian teachers there have really got carried away and imagine Romanian activity and forces everywhere; they have started to spread the word that before long Epirus and Macedonia will be overrun by Romanian rebels. Already they say five thousand insurgents are set to wipe out the Greeks and Bulgarians in Macedonia and another two thousand to punish all the villages in Epirus which refuse to accept Romanian teachers! Wouldn't you agree that these people need a good thrashing?"

The same newspaper wrote on May 14, 1904: "The Romanian teachers are now imitating the Italians, for huddled like crabs on their bicycles, they bustle about all the roads and lanes and promenades in the town. They have to make themselves noticed in some way or another, you see..."

Again, "The Voice of Epirus" commented, On June 25, that "very few invitations to the closing exercises of the Romanian School, newly christened the "Commercial School", were distributed, and those that were, were printed in French. The impudence of these scoundrels led them to send invitations written in Greek to citizens of the town, but all the recipients tore them up and threw the pieces in the faces of those who brought them".

Another typical comment is that of the 15/2/1907 issue of "Pyrrhus": "Those who studied in Romania, and especially, the teachers, are no more than drones, feeding and growing fat on the Romanian purse as they teach in classrooms empty of

children and are ready to cast off their pseudo-Romanian sentiments as soon as the purse runs dry. The following story is an eloquent illustration of this: Speaking once with one of these teachers, during the course of his studies, I asked him to tell me frankly whether, as a Vlach, he really deep down inside felt himself to be a Romanian. His answer was that his heart was Greek, and that what he did, he did for appearance sake only, because he was paid to do so”.

This article was signed “Y. Bellos of Tyrnavos”. A week later, the same man wrote that Romanian propaganda was assisted not only by Romanian teachers but also by bands of armed brigands, particularly those led by the Vlachs Apostolakis of Perivoli and Yoryis Kaloyeros of Avdela. Kaloyeros had fought in the disastrous war with the Turks in 1897, but had “now, dazzled by the sight of Romanian gold, moved to the enemy camp”.

It was in this climate that an event occurred which was to change the course of Y. Manakis’ life.

In April 1905, two Romanian school inspectors came to Ioannina, armed with letters of introduction and permits from Hilmi Pasha, Inspector-General of the three Macedonia vilayets. They were Lazaros Doumas and Ioannia Hondrozomos, and their mission was to visit the Vlach-speaking villages of Epirus, ostensibly to inspect the Romanian schools there.

The Vali of Ioannina, who was afraid that their presence would provoke a reaction from the Patriarchists, ordered the police to keep an eye on them. On Easter Sunday, in the village of Vovousa, a number of Romanisers, incited by the inspectors, fell upon their fellow-villagers, demanding that they sing the service in Romanian.

Fighting broke out and a few people were hurt. A message was sent to the authorities, who dispatched a strong detachment of soldiers to restore order: seven people were arrested. The newspapers tell the rest of the story:

– The “Voice of Epirus”, 6/5/1095: “The instigators of the riot, the Romanian inspectors, were also arrested, as well as one photographer who also teaches in a Romanian school there. It has been confirmed that the investigation of the affair established the guilt of the inspectors, and that they and their sympathisers in the village have been led off to the prison in the

fortress”.

– “Pyrrhus”, 6/5/1905: “After the news of the disturbance of the peace which occurred in the church of Vovousi when a handful of Koutsovachs tried to insist that the service be conducted in Romanian, His Excellency, Osman Pasha, Governor-General of Ioannina, aware that this would surely be a source of future trouble, decided to punish the troublemakers severely by way of example; he also summoned two Koutsovlachs visiting Ioannina as inspectors of the Romanian schools in Epirus and ordered them deported to their places of origin, namely Veria and Kastoria. Furthermore, two other people, who were not implicated in the plot, but were acting on their own, one a photographer from Avdela and the other a teacher of Turkish from Veria, have been banned from Ioannina and are already in Athens”.

– “The Struggle”, 8/5/1905: “It is reported that this abomination was instigated by Badeanu himself, and that his instructions to his hirelings in Vovousi were contained in a letter carried by the inspectors, which has fallen into the hands of the authorities. As a result of this letter and of the incident in Vovousi the police last night proceeded to search the baggage of the inspectors in their lodging and arrested one of them, a teacher, photographer and propagandist named Manakias. Today they also arrested the other inspector, while he was strolling with friends on the public promenade”.

– “The Struggle”, 26/5/1905: “Two days ago, on Sunday, the inspectors of the non-existent schools, who are apparently to be tried as the instigators of the incidents which occurred on Easter Sunday, returned, and we witnessed the next scenes in this tragi-comic farce which has been deliberately and maliciously blown out of all proportion in the European press, particularly in Austria and Italy”.

Thus, in May 1905, by order of the Turkish administrative authorities, Yannakis Manakis, was barred from teaching and “deported to his home town of Avdela”. The licence for his photography studio was also revoked. According to “Pyrrhus”, Manakis left Ioannina and went to Athens. We have no further information on this move; nor do we even know whether in fact he did go to Athens, or what he did there.

Whatever the case, on September 1, 1905, he was appointed (by Lazaros Doumas) to the Romanian College in Monastir. This

was a town he knew well from when he was a student, and he was able to re-open his photography studio there.

During that year the civil conflicts between the Patriarchist and the Romanising Vlachs had reached explosive proportions in the mountains of the Pindus. Smixi, Perivoli, Avdela and Samarina had of course many times in the past been the scene of bloody battles leaving many dead and wounded.

Late in 1905, however, such incidents began to break out with increased intensity. The houses of the Romanisers in Avdela were put to the torch by Vlach *Makedonomachoi* and three active Romanisers - Tolis Papas, Yorgos Pouppis and an exarchist priest - were arrested.

The fighting in the Pindus began in July 1905, sparked by the burning down of the Romanian school in Vovoussa.

In reality, the destruction of the little school building by the Patriarchists was in reprisal for the incident provoked by the Romanising element in Vovoussa on Easter Sunday.

The civil strife spread like wildfire through the entire Vlach-speaking Pindus region. In Smixi a local personage of note, Yannis Nasikas, was murdered. In Perivoli, "the eminent citizen Tsoukandelas was stabbed" to death. In Samarina, "a small band of Romanisers" attacked and wounded the Greek teacher N. Papaioannou. In Avdela "the Greek teacher Zisis Verros was attacked and shot with a revolver". In Vovoussa, "Kazanas, an opponent of the Romanian propoganda campaign, was abducted".

The "Voice of Epirus" reported from Avdela, Manakis home town, on September 2 that, "A band of insurgents entered Avdela and seized the village's Romanising priest, his brother-in-law and another citizen, carried them off to a place outside the village and executed them as agents of the Romanian Committee".

On November 11, 1905, the same newspaper reported that: "We have received a dispatch from Avdela with dreadful news. On October 26, 1905, 70-80 houses in the village were set on fire and reduced to a heap of smouldering ruins".

The Manakis family home was destroyed in this incident. One of the agents of the reprisals carried out by the Helleno-Vlachs of Avdela was Zisis Verros, the teacher and veteran

Macedonian freedom fighter whom the Romanisers had attempted to murder a few months previously.

The Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs has a list of Romanisers in Avdela, drawn up early in 1905 for the Consul General in Monastir by the Greek teacher I. D. Poliaraios. It includes the name of Dimitrios Manakis, the father of the two brothers, followed by the remark: "One of the rather fanatical Romanisers".

One noteworthy detail of this affair is the fact that after the arson incident in Avdela the Manakis family was never again bothered by the *Makedonomachoi* rebels, and in 1908 their house was rebuilt.

Nor does it seem that either Yannakis or his younger brother Miltos were involved in any anti-Greek activity after 1906. After the liberation of Macedonia, the parents and their daughters returned to Greece; the two brothers had already settled in Monastir, but as Greek citizens.

Dimitrios Manakis, the former herdsman, money lender and disciple of the infamous Apostolos Margaritis, died in 1920. Loukia Manakis died ten years later.

Yannakis married his wife Anastasia in Monastir in July 1922. Their son, Dimitrios, or Takis, was born two years later. Anastasia Manakis died suddenly in December 1926, only 29 years old.

Yannakis never recovered from the loss of his wife, and in the sunset of his life he lost his only son as well. According to the official record of his death, Dimitrios died in Thessaloniki on January 14, 1948, at the age of 24. He was a Greek citizen. After that his father, the former photographer and teacher, went to live with his niece Olga Styliou, at 81 Konstantinopoleos St. in the Hirsch quarter. During the Greman occupation he taught at the Romanian Commercial School in Thessaloniki, which closed after the war. Thus came to an end the last chapter in the story of the Romanian presence in Greece. The site of the former school is now occupied by a church.

Yannakis Manakis died in Thessaloniki on May 19, 1954. The death certificate in the city registry office reads: "Profession: retired school teacher. Citizenship: Greek. Cause of death: Cerebral haemorrhage".

1. French politician, writer and Greek scholar Victor Berard, who visited the region of Macedonia at the end of the nineteenth century, during the period, that is, when Yannakis

Manakis was a young man and when Romanisation was at its height, met the infamous Apostolos Margaritis at Monastir. This is his first impression of the man, as he appears in Berard's marvellous book, *Turkey and the Greek People*: "He is a contemptible little Greek, a short man with beady eyes and a smooth tongue, who speaks the Greek of an extremely old fashioned newspaper. The Greeks accuse him of treachery and besides 'cuckold', which here is a decorative epithet used generally to express a range of feeling from hatred, fear and scorn to admiration, they also call him 'thief' and 'Barabbas'". In the Jesuit Lazarist monastery in Monastir, which housed the central education establishment of the Romanisers - the so-called Romanian high school from which Manakis graduated - Berard heard Margaritis say: "We thought of ourselves, and called ourselves, Greek. Under the influence of the bishops of the Phanari, we lost all local sense of patriotism, and our minds were filled with nothing but pure Hellenism. We fought and we fell for the Great Idea. Grivas, Kolettis, Markos Botsaris, Tzavellas, Hatzipetros, Androutsos, Boukouvalas, Diakos, Zervas, were our own people, the ones who ensured us our triumph. Even heroes like Kolokotronis and the others from the Morea, were themselves all descendants of Vlach families which had settled in the Peloponnese". His political convictions were as solid as his historical awareness: "For us, for the Vlachs as a people, our supreme interest lies in the preservation of the Ottoman Empire. We do not believe that unification with our Romanian brothers will occur in the near future. We are separated from them by principalities and kingdoms. It may take further generations of Ottoman domination. A crisis in the East would leave us at the mercy of the Serbs, the Greeks and the Bulgarians, civilized Christian peoples who, already exercising a hold on us through our common religion, would also want to hold us via a common language; they would close our schools and break up our communities". Discerning as he was, Margaritis could not see that it was the very fact that the interests of the Romanisers coincided with the preservation of the Ottoman Empire that reinforced the sense of Hellenicity in the majority of the Vlach people. They simply could not comprehend a treasonous declaration so shamelessly formulated.

Berard also visited the Romanian High School where Manakis was at that time a student; he gives us a vivid description of it: "The Vlach high school is separated from the Lazarist monastery by a simple fence. In theory, the headmaster is a Vlach, a Mr. M.D. Kosmolios, but all the keys are held by Father Faverial, who teaches philosophy and French. It was he who showed us the school. The reader must not picture a typical European high school: this is an ordinary Turkish house, built of wood and mud mortar. White-washed walls, verandas, stairs of unpainted wood, and oriental style beds, that is, two blankets on a sheepskin, which is rolled up every morning and stored in a corner of the room. When the students go home for their holidays, only a couple of dozen of orphans and boarders stay behind, all dressed in national costume: blue, woollen stockings and heavy black cloaks. All these little Thessalian peasant lads speak French and can recite "Le Loup et l' Agneau". Vlach, Turkish, French and arithmetic are their principal lessons, and this baggage is quite enough for anyone to become a great man in Turkey".

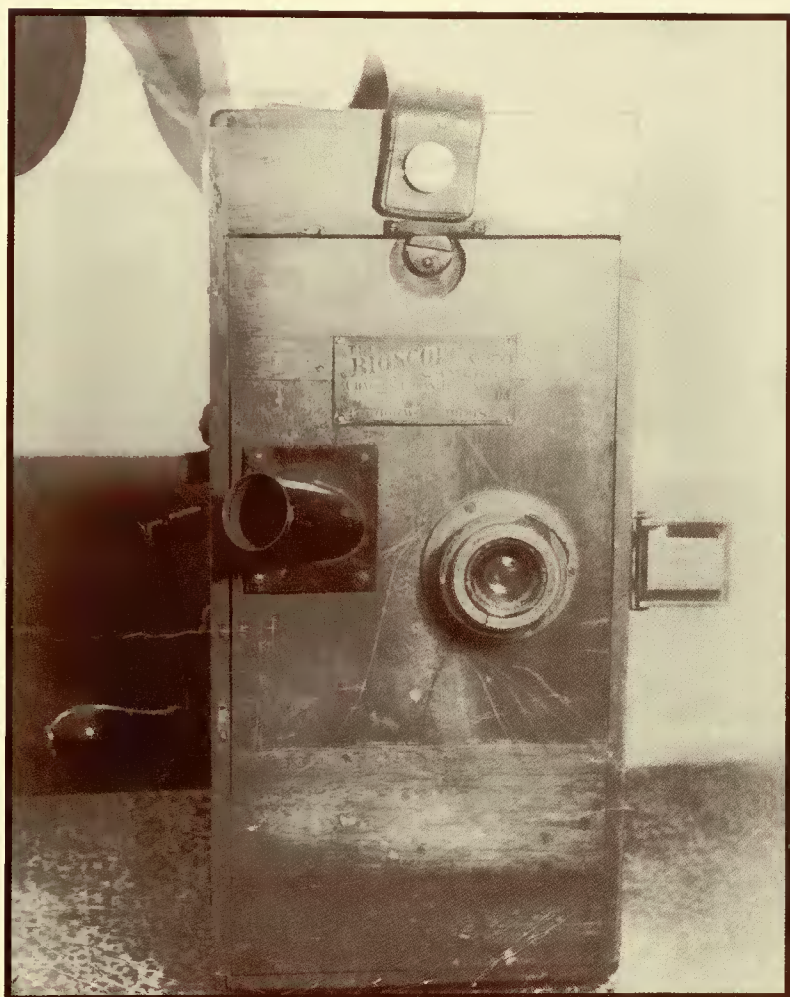
Berard, who despite his professed philhellenism, is even-handed in his book in his treatment of all Balkan nations, informs us that the Romanian school in Avdela was founded in 1867. With regard to the equivalent institution in Ioannina, he tells us that the mistress who was to train the first female teachers for Epirus, was Natalia Boreoslavski, a Polish Catholic, who had studied at the Catholic College in Bucharest, in other words, Romanisation was not merely an affair of the diplomats from a variety of nations, Austria, Russia, Bulgaria and Romania: the Catholic Church had a finger in the pie as well.

2. Diploma number 6.21/6/1897.

3. He was the father of Sophia Meneiko Papandreou, the mother of Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou.

4. D. Salamangas, *Complete Works*.

5. Y. Stamboulis: *Life in Thessaloniki*, 1986 .



The first movie camera in the Balkans, a Bioscope 300, purchased by Yannis Manakis in London in 1905. (Archives, Skopje).



Ioannina 1898. The oldest extant advertisement stamp from the Manakis photography studio. Written in old Turkish and Romanian, it describes I. Manakis as a "photographer and painter". It also says that "plates are preserved" and advises that "Labour conquers all".



Yannis Manakis abroad. His trademark is visible in the bottom right corner (1906).



Wedding photograph of Yannis and Anastasia Manakis in Monastir.



This collage, composed of photographs taken in Avdela, Monastir and Thessaloniki spans the whole life of Yannis Manakis and his son. The photo in the bottom right-hand corner shows the elderly Manakis weeping over a picture of his dead child. The collage is dated 1950 and is entitled "Portrait of my dear and only son, Takis".



Yannis Manakis with his wife and son Dimitrakis, who died in Thessaloniki after the war.

MILTOS

Miltos Manakis was four years younger than his brother Yannakis. As a youth he loved company and games and detested school. He was particularly fond of playing backgammon and riding horses. He would spend hours in the meadows of the Pindus riding the horses that had been left to graze. He taught himself to play backgammon by watching the men in the coffee shops in Grevena.

When he finished primary school, he was sent as a boarder to the Romanian High School in Ioannina. This had little effect on Miltos: he left the school after the first year and returned to Avdela.

The remonstrances of his parents went unheeded. Miltos went on enjoying the simple, natural life of the village and turned a deaf ear to anything that had to do with Romanian schools, allocations or propoganda. Furthermore, this attitude persisted: to the end of his days he remained aloof from that side of life. This attitude was to be a great advantage to him in his life, but at the same time a deep mystery.

Miltos succeeded admirably in everything he turned his hand to, whatever the situation or circumstances. He was a good photographer and cinematographer. He also got along well with the Turks. He fought in the Macedonian Struggle. He was well-liked by all his fellow-villagers, Vlaches and Greeks alike. He was perfectly comfortable dealing with Serbs, Albanians, Bulgarians, Germans and Romanians.

He was not over-awed by despots and sovereigns, dealing with Charles II of Romania, Sultan Mehmed V of Turkey, Alexander of Serbia and Constantine of Greece, with equal ease.

He was just as comfortable with their less august counterparts

too, whether it was, say, Eleftherios Venizelos (1) of Greece or President Tito of Yugoslavia.

He survived changing regimes and governments, revolutions and wars. He adapted with perfect ease to anything from a bourgeois system to royal dictatorship to socialism. After being court photographer, he then became official photographer to Tito.

This may appear to be the description of an opportunist and fortune-hunter, but what Miltos seems to have been interested in was not the adventure, the fame or the money, but his work.

“I take pictures for my living”, he used to say, “but I also take pictures for the love of it”. This is the philosophy of an old-time craftsman.

It was Miltos Manakis who was essentially responsible for the brothers’ name and recognition and it was largely Miltos who took the pictures and made the films.

Although it was Yannakis who founded the joint business, he devoted himself to other matters, never having the passion of the true creator. He was weak and secretive, easily drawn into serving foreign interests. But by an irony of fate, it was Yannakis who returned to spend the last years of his life in his native country while Miltos, who longed to return home, never did. He remained in Monastir, won appreciation there, and finally died there, although until 1954 he firmly believed that one day he would be able to return home.

He felt the trump card which would permit him to realize this ambition was his film of the triumphal entry of King Constantine into Thessaloniki and Monastir in 1912. But in the post-civil war Greece of the Cold War period, no one was interested in buying it. It was then that he began his mammoth

negotiations with Yugoslavia for the purchase of his films. Today we still do not know what happened to the film of the Liberation of Thessaloniki and Monastir. Although there is ample testimony to its existence, it is not listed in the archives of Manakis' work in Skopje. Nor, in actual fact, do these archives contain any material on Venizelos' visit to Monastir.

Miltos learned the art of photography from his brother. We do not, however, know where Yannakis himself studied photography, although it is probable that he learned some of the secrets of the art in Monastir as a student, or later in Ioannina. In any case, both brothers improved their technique as they practised their profession and, as their work proves, they became very good photographers.

Photography changed Miltos' life completely, transforming him from a virtuoso player of backgammon into a dedicated professional man, full of delight in his work and optimism. Foreign biographers tell us that Miltos "was successful in whatever he did, whether it was taking the pictures, developing them or delivering them to the client". In the beginning, the brothers had trouble with their darkroom, which was small and had no running water. Furthermore, the cold, damp climate of Ioannina made for difficult working conditions.

But despite all this, they began their career with youthful enthusiasm; even though the political climate was extremely tense, they managed -or rather Miltos managed- to attract clients from all over Epirus, Thessaly and even Macedonia.

In 1900, at the age of 18, Miltos joined an insurgent band and began his fight against that relic of feudalism, the Ottoman Empire. According to written statements of his own, his first job was to transport arms from Greece to Macedonia.

The role he played in the Macedonian Struggle is not entirely clear. The Skopjians consider him a member of the "Internal Organization" which, under the slogan "Autonomy for Macedonia", served Bulgarian interests. Greek researchers also mention Miltos as a Macedonian freedom fighter. Kostas Stamatiou has collected sworn statements from friends and fellow-villagers. The most trustworthy of these quotes Alekos Daoukos, the father of the boy Leonidas whom Miltos later adopted, telling his son (2):

"...I remember him as a member of the Committees, fighting for Macedonia. He had such authority with the Turks, however,

that he did most of his work for the Greeks behind the scenes rather than with a gun. All during those years he spoke of and worked for Greece, his fatherland, and he died with that longing and love still in his heart..."

Zisis Verros, a *Makedonomachos* from Avdela, does not mention Miltos (3), but there is a photograph of "Miltos' band" taken in 1903 in which they both appear. There is also a post card from 1908 of Captain Karavitis and his men, among whom is Miltos.

What is certain is that Miltos had links with the anti-Turkish rebel bands. This is further supported by the fact that in 1908, after the Revolt of the Young Turks, the newly amnestied rebels Greeks, Serbs and Bulgarians came to the Manakis studio in Monastir to have their pictures taken.

During the Second Balkan War in 1913, Miltos remained in Avdela. Although of military age, he did not serve in the army, for he was considered unfit by the authorities.

When Monastir fell to the Germans and Bulgarians, during the First World War, the brothers tried to move their belongings to Avdela. But a search of their studios by Bulgarian troops brought to light three pistols and one hundred grams of explosive. Suspicion fell on Yannakis, as the elder, and he was arrested, tried, sentenced and jailed. Later, despite all Miltos' efforts to have him released, he was deported to Philippopoli as a spy.

He remained in Philippopoli from 1916 to 1919. He had his camera with him, and earned a comfortable living as a photographer, even taking pictures of King Ferdinand.

Back in Monastir, Miltos continued to run the studio. Times were hard. He never lost his enthusiasm, however, and criss-crossed the countryside taking still and motion pictures. Whenever he had time he would go back to Avdela to see his family, taking part in all the festivities and recording them with his camera.

In 1917, the year of the Great Fire in Thessaloniki, he found himself in that town, having travelled there via Kastoria. He made a donation of 400 drachmas to the local Red Cross for the victims of the fire, but we do not know whether the scenes of the conflagration, captured on film, are the work of Miltos Manakis or not.

His active social life found expression in every imaginable field.

He was a member of the Red Cross Society, the Yugoslav Union, the Democratic Front, the Hunter's Union, the Aeroclub, the Jewish Humanitarian Brotherhood, the Union of Trade Unions and the Franco-Serbian Alliance.

He maintained his contacts with the press, and worked with numerous newspapers, periodicals, archives and institutes. In 1936 he married Vasiliki Daouka, from Grevena, to whom he had been engaged for ten years. It was at that time they adopted Leonidas Daoukas, the son of their cousin Alekos Daoukas from Larisa. Leonidas graduated from the Department of Forestry of the Cyril and Methodius University of Skopje. He married Vasiliki Pesievska, a physician from Kumanovo in 1965, and they had two children, Mary and Miltos.

Miltos Manakis spent the final years of his life classifying the huge mass of photographic and film material that represented 66 years of professional activity. He died in Monastir on the morning of March 5, 1964. He was 82 years old. His widow, Vasiliki, followed him to the grave exactly six years later, to the very day.

The Manakis brothers opened their first studio in Ioannina in March 1898; the permit was issued to Yannakis. In his memoirs, Miltos tells us that their work was beset with many difficulties: the Turks caused trouble for them, the people (they were to say later) displayed no great enthusiasm for photography, and travelling was hazardous because of the brigands who infested the countryside.

But despite all that, the brothers, and particularly young Miltos, never lost heart. They worked methodically, energetically and with great diplomacy, and they eventually succeeded in overcoming all obstacles, improving their work and making a name for themselves. With his native wit, Miltos used to say of those days: "In order to get ahead, we often had to go all the way to God himself. But we nearly got eaten by his angels on the way". As time went on, more work came their way, and they began to make some money, particularly after they added the foreign consulates of Epirus to their list of clients.

The archives in Yugoslavia have 370 negatives, taken in 41 different places, dating from the period when the brothers were working in Ioannina. At least 12 prints would have been made of each of these, for an annual total of about 630 photographs.

These numbers reflect the capacity of a photographer's studio at that time, and may be taken as accurate. According to Miltos, their best year was 1904, the year the Romanian Consulate opened.

During the years when the brothers were working in Ioannina (1898-1905) they had clients from Ioannina, Avdela, Monastir, Grevena, Smixi, Samarina, Perivoli, Krانيا, Ziaka, Vovousa, Laista, Klisoura, Larisa, Krusovo, Xanthi, Veria, Nymfaio and of course Thessaloniki (4). But whom precisely did they photograph?

First of all the families of fellow-villagers living in Ioannina; second, the teachers and students at the Romanian school; third, many wealthy Greeks and finally, a number of Turkish officials and some of the consuls. Of the people in the neighbouring villages, those from Avdela benefitted most from their professional services of their native sons.

In their birthplace they took pictures of their family, themselves, their friends and their relatives in numerous souvenir snapshots commemorating the festivals, the merry-making and people at work and play. Between 1898 and 1905 they took 61 different pictures in Avdela or for clients from Avdela.

Besides their commissioned work, the brothers took many photographs for the love of it, although in those days it was an expensive hobby. Their love of photography, however, and particularly Miltos' passion for it, has given us some wonderful pictures of the Lake of Ioannina and its island, panoramic views of Epirote villages at the turn of the century, and scenes from the rural life of that region.

Ioannis Manakis, with his book-keeper's instincts, kept accounts of all transactions with clients. He also kept detailed records of all receipts from Ioannina, as well as the names of many of their clients. Among those names, we find many that are familiar, for a variety of reasons: for example Osman Pasha, the Vali of Ioannina; Doctor Vasilakis, a well-known Romaniser who made off with the funds of the Romanian propaganda campaign in Ioannina; Badeanu, the Romanian Consul, and many others (5).

Toward the end of 1905, the Manakis brothers moved to Monastir.

1. For the visits of King Constantine and Venizelos to Monastir, see the notes at the end of the book.
2. *Nea*, 25/1/1971.
3. It was only Ioannis Manakis that Zisis Verros referred to as a traitor.
4. See table at the end of the book.
5. *Ibid.*



Miltiadis Manakis with Ioannis' son Dimitrakis.



Ayios Nikolaos, Avdela: Miltos Manakis leading the dance.



Miltos Manakis (extreme left) with a band of unidentified *Makedonomachoi* (1900).

MONASTIR

Monastir, at the time when the Manakis brothers settled there, was a thriving intellectual and commercial centre, the seat of both a Turkish Pasha and the Christian metropolitan of Pelagonia, and the capital of a vilayet.

According to the author P. Synodinos, Monastir was also the seat of the "irregular Exarchist bishop". The majority of its inhabitants were either Muslim or Christian, the latter mainly Vlach-speaking Greeks. There were also 4,000 schismatics, 4,000 Jews and 2,000 recorded as "other".

S. Talis, in his book *Monastir* (1933) asserts that the town probably got its name (Monastiri in Greek) from the multitude of small monasteries (*monastiri*) which once dotted the region. The Slavs call it Bitola, from the word Obitel, which means monastery. The Turks used the Greek name Monastiri during the 400 years of their occupation. "And the European geographers use this appellation also", Tsalis notes proudly.

Let us also add that around the turn of the century, Monastir was a veritable hive of Romanian, Exarchist, Catholic and Protestant propaganda.

The town boasted several large commercial houses, with branches in other countries: in 1856, for example, six Greek commercial houses maintained agents in the city of Manchester. There were 69 guilds, and 1,547 shops and workshops, but no large industries.

Of the 69 guilds, 41 were Greek, 19 Turkish and 9 Jewish. The arrival of the railroad in 1894 gave an added impetus to the town's growth.

The flourishing economic activity of the Greeks in Pelagonia was paralleled by the development of a vigorous insurrectionary

movement to cast off the yoke of the Ottoman Empire. As early as 1860, according to the British Consul in Monastir, Greek revolutionary writings were circulating in Ochrid.

The Greek presence in Monastir was reflected in the intellectual life of the town as well. The first Greek school in Monastir was founded in 1830; a private Greek school opened in 1851, and the first Greek patriotic society was founded in 1852. In 1883 the European consuls were astonished at the exuberance of Greek education in the town, for there were 11 Greek schools there, compared to 5 Bulgarian and 3 Romanian. In 1900, the Greek schools in Monastir had 12,800 pupils and 55 teachers.

1884 saw the establishment of the Monastir Seminary, sponsored by the Greek government, the local "Society for the Propagation of Greek Letters" and the Patriarch Joachim III.

Late in 1886 Turkish officials intercepted some secret correspondence between the Helleno-Vlach teacher Anastasios Piheon (1), who was an agent of the Greek Consulate in Monastir, and the Society for the Propagation of Greek Letters. These documents disclosed the preparations for an organized revolutionary movement with branches in Monastir, Ochrid, Korytsa, Krusovo, Tyrnovo, Megarovo, Klisoura and other towns. Greek and Helleno-Vlach notables, teachers and merchants had been initiated into this society and were bent on mobilizing the Greek people for the revolution. The discovery of this conspiracy enraged the Turks, who immediately began persecuting the Greek population in the district of Monastir. This campaign coincided with the dispute surrounding the Bulgarian Exarchate, which had created unprecedented ferment throughout the Balkans. In the face of the savagery and

the heroism of the battle for Macedonia, all free Greece could muster in response was social sluggishness and political lassitude.

And so the Greeks of Pelagonia created their own powerful ethnic nuclei and armed insurrectionary units.

When Ion Dragoumis arrived in Monastir in November 1902, as Vice-Counsel of Greece the way had already been paved.

With the collaboration of the local Helleno-Vlach population, including Argyris Zachos, Aristotelis Matlis and Philippos Kapetanopoulos, he founded the organization known as Amyra (Defence) which became the springboard for the Macedonian Struggle.

Thus, in 1904, the Greek "Internal Organization" was founded in Monastir, for the purpose of organizing "all sectors of defence and attack simultaneously". Among the leading figures in this organization were -once again- the Helleno-Vlachs Spyros Doumas, S. Nalis and K. Michail. The leader of the executive was the timber merchant Theodoros Modis, who was assassinated shortly thereafter by the Bulgarians.

At this critical period, when the Manakis brothers settled in Monastir, the Metropolitan of Pelagonia was Joachim Phoropoulos, a valiant and respected religious leader who played his part in the organization and pursuit of the struggle for Macedonia. Two other Greek clerics, renowned for their nationalist and spiritual labours, were also in Monastir at that

time: they were Aimilianos, Bishop of Petra, later Metropolitan of Grevena, and Deacon Athenagoras, later Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople.

The evidence both from portrait photographs which were commissioned and from other extant sources, confirms that the Manakis brothers knew Joachim Phoropoulos, Photios of Korytsa, Aimilianos of Grevena (2), Athenagoras, the Doumas family, the physicians S. Nalis and K. Michail, S. Grigoriou, and the hotel-keeper Dimitrakis Tzortzis, all officers of the Internal Organization of Amyra in Monastir, which was the springboard for the Macedonian Struggle.

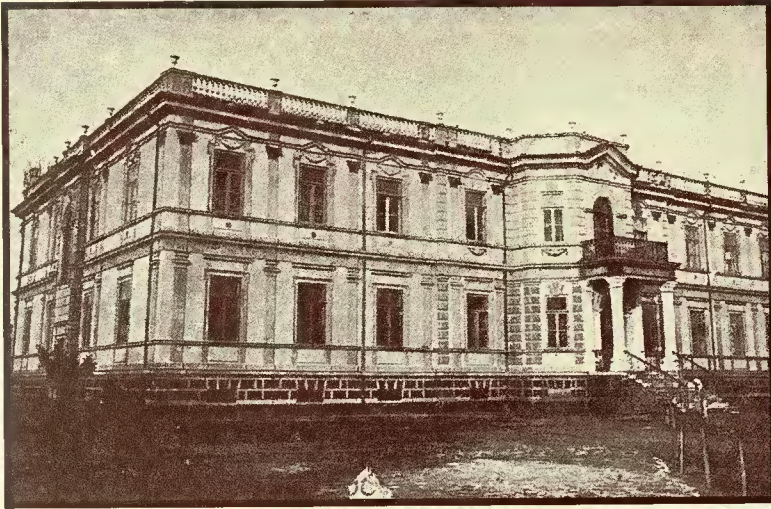
Virtually at the same time as the Manakis brothers were establishing themselves in Monastir, a major historical figure was leaving that same town. This was a young Turkish lieutenant by the name of Mustapha Kemal, a graduate of the Military College there. This brilliant young officer, a native of Thessaloniki and a member of the rebel Young Turk movement, was destined by fate to become Atatürk, the father of modern Turkey. The official photographs of the graduating ceremony of Kemal's class were, however, not taken by the Manakis brothers. This event was recorded by another Helleno-Vlach, the celebrated photographer from Monastir, Yeoryios Liondas, who with his brothers and children was later to found the Liondas dynasty of photographers in Thessaloniki.

1. K. Vakalopoulou: *Memoirs of Anastasios Piheon etc.*

2. Photios of Korytsa was assassinated in 1907, and Aimilianos of Grevena in 1911.



A gathering of Monastir's high society.



The Military College in Monastir, from which Lieutenant Kemal Ataturk of Thessaloniki graduated at the beginning of this century.



The weekly outdoor market in Monastir. The ethnic diversity of the area is captured in unique fashion in this rare photograph (1906).



Post card with descriptive legend. Athletic exercises marking the close of the school year at the Greek Girls' High School in Monastir (1905?).

CHAPTER

TWO

THE MANAKIS BROTHERS
IN MONASTIR

As early as 1904 Yannakis Manakis had begun to take steps to transfer his photography studio to Monastir. He and his brother Miltos had bought a lot on what was then the town's principal shopping street, called Fardhi, ("Broad" Street) (1). The permit for this studio was issued in the names of both brothers.

It was a considerable time before the construction of the studio was complete, and the brothers captured that process on film. According to Yugoslav sources (2) at that time Monastir had three Romanian schools with 16 teachers and 250 students; there were also another seven Romanian schools in the environs. This, in comparison with the 55 teachers and 2,800 pupils in the Greek schools in Monastir, clearly shows that the Greek community in Monastir stood practically by itself in intellectual concerns.

Yannakis was hired as a teacher in one of the Romanian schools; he became acquainted with the parents of his pupils, and joined the pro-Romanian Vlach Union in Monastir. This organization, which was controlled by Bucharest, provided the principal support system for Romanian propaganda, not only in Macedonia but in Epirus as well. The coffers of the organization fell victim to "ideological" embezzlers on a number of occasions.

Every year the pro-Romanian activists in Monastir dispatched tens of thousands of silver Turkish pounds to the Romanian consulate in Ioannina in support of the propaganda campaign.

In the picturesque and prosperous town of Monastir, the Manakis brothers rapidly established a fairly successful business. Things here, in this major administrative centre of the Ottoman Empire, were not the same as in Ioannina. The

brothers refrained from taking part in provocative activities and were thus ignored by the Turkish administration.

They developed cordial relationships both with government officials and with members of the consular corps in the town. Miltos said that these contacts played a significant role in the success of their business, which enjoyed remarkable growth from 1905 until the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. The figures speak for themselves: in those seven years (this information comes from both Miltos' accounts of his life and from the studio archives) the Manakis brothers took, 1,113 pictures in 58 different parts of the Balkans, plus another 354 unidentified photographs from the same period.

Avdela continued to benefit from the artistic attentions of its two native sons, leading this list with 49 pictures taken there during that period. The catalogue also includes -though with fewer samples of their work- Grevena, Doliana, Ioannina, Veria, Naousa, Kozani, Gopesi, Bucharest, Xanthi, Florina, Fourka, Amyntaion, Eratyra, Constantinople, Flambouro, Larisa and even Alexandroupoli, or Dedeagatch, as it was called then (3).

For the Manakis brothers, this seven-year period between 1905 and 1912 was one rich in events, journeys, new acquaintances, profits and experiences.

It not only marked the beginning of the second phase of their career as photographers, but it also witnessed the filming of the first motion pictures taken in the Balkans.

Towards the end of 1905, Yannakis and Miltos visited Constantinople (Istanbul) for the first time. They were not idle in the beautiful capital of the vast empire, but through the good graces of fellow Vlach Apostolos Badas, who was a senior

police officer in the city, they were able to secure an introduction to the official court photographer and through him to photograph Prince Mehmed, the younger brother of Sultan Abdul Hamid II. This was their first meeting with any member of the royal family, and was to have an effect on their future career. Yannakis was paid 1,080 piastres for the portrait of Mehmed, a very substantial sum in those days. The brothers also photographed the prefect of the city, Jaffer Mustapha, and a Romanian Minister by the name of Briuleanu who was visiting Constantinople at the time.

During that same year and the next (1906) the brothers visited Bucharest. Again with the assistance of a fellow-Greek, the court photographer for King Charles, they got to take part in an exhibition held there in November 1906. For their participation in this exhibition and in recognition of the technical and aesthetic perfection of their work, they were awarded special honorary plaques.

Two years later, the ever-active brothers recorded the Revolt of the Young Turks.

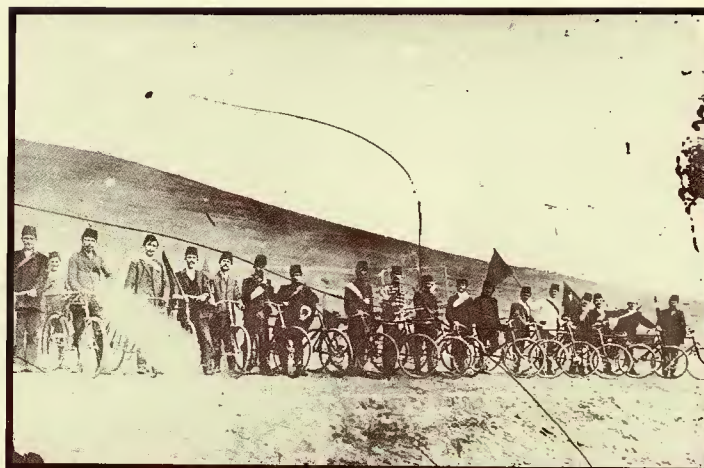
1. Egnatia Street in Thessaloniki, the main shopping street in the city, was also called *Fardhi* during the years of the Turkish occupation.
2. P. Konstantinov.
3. See table at end.



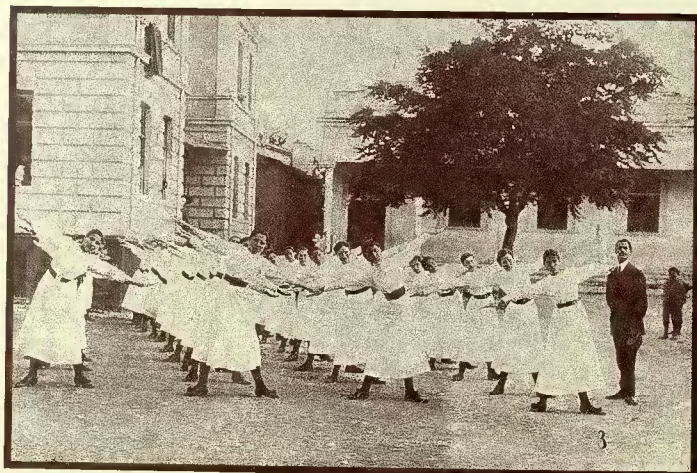
Men dressed for the stage or perhaps for Carnival in Monastir.



Monastir. Herdsmen buying bells for their flocks (about 1906).



The Monastir bicycle club (1909).



Athletic exercises at the Greek Girls' High School in Monastir (1910?).



Monastir (1904).



In 1908 the Greek prisoners in the Monastir jail mutinied, and seven of them were killed by the Turks. The Manakis brothers recorded their funeral - attended by the whole town - on film.

THE REVOLT
OF THE YOUNG TURKS

On July 10, 1908, a Turkish officer named Niazi Bey seized power in the vilayet of Monastir and freed all the political prisoners held there, most of whom were Greek.

The Young Turk revolution, which began that day in Monastir and Krusovo, spread like wildfire across the entire empire, sweeping away the tyranny of the Sultans. "Not a drop of blood was shed. No one's property was touched. Everyone's honour was respected" wrote the Monastir correspondent of the Thessaloniki newspaper *Nea Alitheia* ("New Truth").

The slogan "Long live Liberty, Fraternity and Equality", borrowed in tribute to the French Revolution, thrilled the souls of the enslaved nations and reanimated their hopes.

The cry "Yasasin Hurriyet" echoed throughout the empire. The blood-stained Sultan, Abdul Hamid II, was overthrown and imprisoned in the Villa Allatini in Thessaloniki, the principal (and secure) headquarters of the Young Turk revolution. His brother Mehmed, the fifth to assume the name Reshid, was proclaimed Sultan in his place and was thenceforth a constitutional monarch. The Manakis brothers had met the new leader on their 1905 visit to Istanbul. Now, they photographed the leaders of the Young Turk revolution and the liberated insurrectionists from the Macedonian Struggle.

These documents taken from the proclamation of Hurriyet (1) are unique, and of inestimable historical value for all the peoples of the Balkan peninsula.

They include snapshots of the frenzied celebrations of the crowds and the triumphant arrival of the armed bands and the leaders of the revolution, portraits of the freedom fighters, group photographs of bands of amnestied insurgents and

pictures of political prisoners. All these photographs are in Skopje, carefully annotated and preserved.

Of all the pictures taken by the Manakis brothers of the Young Turk revolution, the most interesting are those of the entrance of the amnestied freedom fighters into the city.

Miltos described the scene 45 years later: "We waited for hours for the insurgents to appear. We knew they would come by the Ochrid - Megarovo road, and so we set up the camera above Devihani. This was July 12, 1908. It was about 10 o'clock when they began to appear".

Miltos' description, as recorded by P. Konstantinov, corresponds exactly to that in the *Nea Alitheia* newspaper:

"And indeed, on Thursday morning the rebels from Ochrid began to arrive. They camped out in the wayside inns of Devihani, near Monastir. No one could have stemmed this incoming tide of men".

The proclamation of the constitution in Monastir was celebrated by all the insurgent bands and all the various ethnic communities in the town - Greeks, Serbs, Albanians, Bulgarians, Jews and Turks alike.

The first Christian priest to bless the new constitution was Aimilianos of Petra, later Metropolitan of Grevena.

"Bishop Aimilianos spontaneously and most eloquently welcomes the constitution" wrote *Nea Alitheia*.

Aimilianos, who was from the Black Sea provinces, spoke excellent Turkish.

The Manakis brothers photographed these rebels, first on the spot in the countryside and later in their studio; among them were many *Makedonomachoi* from the Monastir area. The newspaper accounts of their arrival in that essentially Greek

town did their best to capture the pandemonium and the emotion which greeted them.

Nea Alitheia wrote: "The dear sweet faces and the upright figures of the commanders, with their silver trappings appeared, followed by the chieftains, also on horseback, and the footsoldiers. Now we can make them out: Makris and Karavitis, Volanis and Tситos, the chieftains in the front rank. By their side come Simos and Pavlos, who arrived yesterday from Florina, also on horseback. We can also see our friend and townsman, Stefos. Here they are for all to see: who can take their eyes off them?"

All these men, just as they appear in the dispatch from the correspondent in Monastir, were also captured by the cameras of the Manakis brothers. But their own presence on the scene is nowhere mentioned. There is only one line in the interminable report in *Nea Alitheia*: "From every vantage point - even the roofs - people were taking photographs".

This may be a reference to the Manakis brothers.

The brothers made hundreds of prints of their photographs of rebels of all origins and sold them. The captions were printed in Turkish, French and Greek (2).

Such events, of course, did not happen every day, nor could they provide the brothers with stable employment and a steady income.

Their professional routine was generally as follows: work in the studio, journeys to various places to take photographs and deliveries of the photographs to clients from one end of the Balkans to the other. If the data supplied by Miltos can be taken as correct, then in the years between 1898 and 1912 they took a total of 1839 photographs in 78 different places in the Balkans. This required them to be away from Ioannina and Monastir on 276 separate occasions. This means that the brothers made an average of 18 journeys a year, some short and some to more remote places. This was no simple matter in those days, when there were neither roads nor vehicles. Furthermore, the unsettled political situation and the bands of brigands roaming the countryside rendered certain areas very dangerous, if not outright inaccessible. The brothers always stuck to one professional rule: when the one was travelling the other stayed in the studio. In practice it was usually Miltos who did the travelling and took the pictures.

Their records show that their already considerable income increased even more after the Revolt of the Young Turks and the end of the Macedonian Struggle. That was when they sold dozens of albums of snapshots of the insurrection that gave birth to the new Turkey, netting them 10,000 piastres and 40 napoleons. Among their customers was the Greek Consulate in Monastir, which bought large numbers of photos of the rebel captains, as well as the Greek units which fought in the Macedonian Struggle itself.

A look through their books from that period not only gives us an idea of their turnover, but also serves to illustrate the important social role played by photography at that time. Even people in the remotest villages would call on the Manakis brothers to immortalize them and many of the names recorded as clients are still familiar today, as their descendants continue to live in Macedonia, Thrace, Epirus and Thessaly.

Many of their commissions were for contract work. For example, Thanasis Diamandis from Samarina, who lived in Xanthi, ordered 200 postcards of people in regional folk costumes. The same customer later ordered a series of post cards with views of Xanthi, that he sold to the locals in this wealthy tobacco producing town and visitors.

Then there was Kottis Kokkas of Veria, though living in America, who ordered 200 post cards for sale to Greek emigrants.

Besides Kokkas, the Manakis had another customer in America: the publisher and bookseller Dimitrios Cassis, originally from Epirus, who ordered pictures of Greek freedom fighters, particularly those from the Monastir area. He then printed these pictures as post cards and sold them to Greek emigrants in America, who were deeply interested in the struggle for Macedonia. Cassis made his first appearance in Manchester, New Hampshire and later in Londonderry in the same state. The Manakis brothers had a similar contract with the important Athens publishing house of Pallis and Kotzias, who sold thousands of post cards dealing with the subject of the Macedonian Struggle. This material played an important role in awakening the still apathetic capital of free Greece to the importance of the battle for Macedonia.

The studio's printed work for Athens was largely done by the famous zincographer E. Kazanis who printed the bulk of the

orders in his studio which was state-of-the-art for that era. Kazanis was a native of Epirus and had studied in Germany. He customarily signed the prints of the photographs he made which has led some historians to conclude that he was a photographer himself; this, however, was not true.

Finally, there was a great demand for the post cards from the Manakis brothers studio as well as for their elegant albums of pictures of landscapes, fairs and festivals, folk costumes and Macedonian costumes.

No matter the size of their income, Yannakis Manakis never gave up teaching in the Romanian schools. In any case he himself now only took pictures on rare occasions. Teaching apparently assured him of a certain social standing and a steady income. It was his position - and his role as a Romaniser - that sent the two brothers to Constantinople and thence to Bucharest, at the expense of the Romanian government.

They went to Bucharest on two occasions: in 1905 by boat via Thessaloniki and Constantinople, and in 1906 by road and rail. On these journeys they were permitted complete freedom of movement, which enabled them to photograph wealthy Greeks and Romanians, capture towns and landscapes and immortalize the summer palace of King Charles, near Ploesti; they also won awards in a photo exhibition in Bucharest for six studies of the life of Vlachs in Macedonia.

It was when they were in Bucharest in 1905 that they saw their first motion picture. Bucharest was a lively, cosmopolitan city, largely thanks to its wealthy Greek community, and had had cinemas since the turn of the century.

"In the Romanian capital", Miltos recounts, "we learned that in England and France they sell cameras, which can take "living pictures". When we first heard that it seemed incredible, shocking even. But there was no way we could doubt it for we watched a short film strip with our own eyes. The people in the film were like puppets, with the same jerky movements, but it was absolutely fascinating. Yannakis could not stop talking about it, even in his sleep. He refused to return to Monastir without a motion picture camera. And so when I went home, he set off for London where he bought one of Charles Urban's Bioscope 300 cameras".

The Bioscope 300 that Yannakis bought, was the most popular motion picture camera at that time. It was easy to handle, and

was used by many of the cameramen in Europe who had been trained by the Lumière brothers, Pathe or Gaumont.

It was manufactured by Charles Urban, an American living in London, having been driven out of the United States by Thomas Edison. That great American inventor, seeing that his machines - called kinetoscopes - were lagging behind the improved versions produced by other American and European inventors began a barrage of lawsuits aimed at all other inventors and designed to exclude them from the growing motion picture market in the USA. These battles became known as the "War of the Patents", and had their legal basis in certain of Edison's early inventions that were directly or indirectly connected to the cinema. At the beginning of the century, for example, it was Edison who produced the first 35 mm. film, with four pairs of perforations per frame. A little earlier, he had perfected the phonograph. It was also Edison who gave the first motion picture projections in the USA, with his Vitascope.

As incredible as it may seem, countless patents for motion picture cameras were issued during those years, so many in fact that their inventors usually knew nothing about one another.

Edison left no one in peace. The American Charles Urban was one of the two manufacturers of motion picture cameras in England at that time, the other being William Powell. Like all businessman of his type, Urban investigated all prospective buyers of his apparatus with a fine tooth comb, afraid his products might be pirated; he was, on the other hand anxious to secure sales of his products and films, for besides cameras, Urban also manufactured and produced short, documentary films.

This type of film was, at that time, produced exclusively for projection in small halls and fairs, but the subjects were so boring and repetitive that they threatened to jeopardise the future of the new invention. In order to break out of this stereotype, Charles Urban selected new and interesting subjects, filmed in charming or interesting places (4). We do not know how Yannakis Manakis acquired his Bioscope camera, but it is probable that the letters of introduction he must certainly have had and, even more, the fact that he worked in the picturesque and troubled Balkans, must have influenced the Urban firm's decision to sell him a camera. After some

instruction in its use, he returned to Monastir, collected Miltos and went straight to Avdela where they filmed their first motion picture.

Kostas Stamatou, drawing his information from the cinema critic and historian Roger Boussinot, wrote (4):

“It has been shown with absolute certainty that after a few awkward initial attempts, in May 1905, the Manakis brothers made a flawless short film starring their 117 year old grandmother. According to Boussinot’s description of the film, it shows the old lady, her daughter-in-law Loukia Manakis, the mother of the photographers, and several neighbour women spinning yarn on their spindles and then weaving it on a loom. The scene is set in the courtyard of their house. This film, the first made in the Balkans, is in the national archives of Yugoslavian Macedonia, in Skopje”.

The archives Miltos Manakis gave the state included 67 motion pictures. These films were written down in his own hand and were not in chronological order. Their first film - the first in the Balkans as was mentioned - is listed as number 22 under the title “Grandmother at work, spinning at the age of 114”. Historians have christened this short sequence “The Weavers”. The “neighbour women” mentioned by K. Stamatou, were the Manakis brothers’ aunts: Evanthia, Vasiliki and Steryani.

In 1906, after the photo exhibition in Bucharest, Yannakis made a second trip to Europe. In December he arrived in Budapest and later went to Vienna. On January 13, 1907, he reached Paris where he remained for six months. There he met some fellow-countrymen from Grevena, who introduced him to a “group of students from Romania”. We do not know just exactly what he was doing in Paris, but towards the end of June 1907, he returned to Monastir and from there went to Avdela with Miltos. There they took many pictures and completed the “Avdela Cycle” of motion picture documents. Besides “The Weavers”, they made the following films in Avdela: “Festival in the Greek village of Avdela on 6-8-1906”, “Housework”, and probably “Lessons under the Sky, in the Courtyard” (5).

In the meantime, unprecedented events were taking place in Macedonia. In 1907, Photios, the bishop of Korytsa, was ambushed and carried off by Albano-Romanian conspirators, and then put to death. This froze the blood in the veins of the Christian population in the area. The Vlachs in Samarina

parted ways with their Romanising counterparts. They sent a wreath to the funeral of the prelate and mourned his murder. That same year Joachim Phoropoulos, the Metropolitan of Monastir, became a target of the comitaji. Twice he would be surrounded, and twice he would escape the danger as if by miracle. The first time was at the funeral of a priest who had been murdered by Exarchists, and the second was during a tour of the villages in the Morihovo district, where he witnessed the indescribable horrors Greeks were made to suffer.

On his return to Monastir he wrathfully declaimed the following historic words from his pulpit: “I do not say to you an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth; rather I tell you, eyes for an eye, and teeth for a tooth!”

The brave prelate was summoned urgently back to Constantinople, under pressure from the Turkish authorities. His seat remained unfilled.

A vicar with the title of Bishop of Petra was hastily dispatched to replace him. This was Aimilianos Lazaridis, a cleric of great moral stature, later appointed Metropolitan of Grevena. He was to be assassinated in 1911.

There is an oral tradition in Avdela that the Manakis brothers attempted to prevent the assassination of Aimilianos, and when they were unable to, they sent word to the Patriarchist *Makedonomachos* Zisis Verros to warn him of the danger he was in. It is said that Verros then warned the prelate of the conspiracy against him, but it went unheeded.

On July 10, 1908, the new Turkish constitution was proclaimed. There followed a general amnesty and a suspension of hostilities. This historic date officially marked the end of the Macedonian Struggle. The first antagonists in the Macedonian campaign left the mountains for their towns and villages where they were acclaimed by the people. They exchanged peaceful greetings and then each went back to his own particular home. But the Turkish tyranny was not at an end. Macedonia was not free. The conflagration that had swept through the Balkans for decades was still smouldering. The slogan of the Young Turks - Liberty, Equality, Fraternity - was soon proved an empty one. Persecutions, imprisonments and murders (especially of prominent Greeks) came thick and fast.

One of the most tragic victims of this policy of the Young Turks, was to be Aimilianos, the Metropolitan of Grevena. The

anti-Greek bias of the Young Turks made itself felt in Grevena, just as in the rest of the empire. In 1911, the local chapter of the Young Turks "Committee for Union and Progress" adopted two unjustifiable measures: First, it provided all Muslims in the area with government-supplied arms, and second, it set up "national bands", in imitation of the rebel bands; the recruits for these bands were drawn from the criminal elements of the Ottoman and Romanising populations. In the Grevena district these semi-official, paramilitary gangs were organized and directed by Bekir Effendi, the Governor of Grevena, an important figure in the Young Turk movement and a rabid Greek-hater.

These bands, alleging that they were quelling brigandage, made the rounds of the Greek villages where, on the slightest pretext, they would beat, torture, threaten, vilify and dishonour the innocent peasantry with complete impunity.

The Metropolitan complained of these episodes to the Turkish authorities, but to no effect. One such exchange, between the Metropolitan and the Governor, has become historic. When the prelate told Bekir that he was going to submit a written complaint to Constantinople he received the reply, "You have told me, Sir Bishop, that you intend to take up your pen and write. Just remember that I too have a weapon: my sword". These words were an omen of what was to befall the prelate.

Aimilianos was assassinated on October 1, 1911 (7), as he was on his way from the village of Sinihovo to the village of Grintades in the company of his deacon, Dimitrios, and their muleteer, Athanasios. The bodies of the three men were discovered six days later near Pigaditsa, which at that time was a Muslim village. "The martyred Metropolitan", states the account written by the council of elders of Grevena to the Patriarchate, "had a wound inflicted by a new type of weapon held to one ear, the bullet exiting from the forehead, as well as a wound in each hand, one of which was shattered, and a wound to the chest. He also had a wound to his right hand made by some pointed object, and several gashes on his head. Clumps of hair had been pulled from his scalp and beard, and his right eye was badly injured. There were also bruises all over his body..." Deacon Dimitrios had a hole blown through his chest by three bullets, and he had been badly beaten about the head; Athanasios, the muleteer, had been shot.

Aimilianos funeral was attended by the Metropolitans of Kastoria, Sisanion and Kozani, and all the clergy in the district of Grevena. The account written by the council of elders of Grevena says: "The authorities did not permit his Grace's body to be brought to Grevena and buried with the others, in order, it would appear, to avoid creating too great a sensation among the people. In the proclamations to the Christian Communities the invitation was not permitted to be addressed to all Christian souls, but only to the clergy. Fortunately, it was not prohibited to take photographs of those present, and about one hundred metres of film of the funeral was also taken". This was reported in the newspaper *Makedonia*.

The Manakis brothers filmed and photographed the discovery of the bodies of the prelate and his companions and the funeral of the Metropolitan Aimilianos. This was a real "scoop" and one which appealed powerfully to the emotions. The film was shown all over Europe, and to emigrant communities in America. Dozens of copies of the photographs were made, and published in Greek newspapers in Thessaloniki and Athens and even in American publications.

The report published by the Greek-American journal, *Atlantis Illustrated Monthly* in its November 1911 issue, included the following passage:

"The recovery of the remains by the unfortunate people of Grevena, hearts trembling with emotion, and their return to Grevena were followed by the whole Greek nation, plunged into the deepest mourning. A thousand bells tolled the nation's profound grief. Tears and lamentations lacerated the unfortunate bishop's aged parents, his four sisters and two brothers. Tears and lamentations also shook the four bewildered, young, motherless - and now fatherless as well - children of his assistant deacon. Tears and shock drained the widow and six children of his ill-fated servant of their senses. In this general outburst of grief Thessaloniki is at one with Constantinople, Monastir, with Kavala and Grevena. Thessaloniki knew the late Metropolitan of blessed memory of as a simple clergyman, a humble deacon in her Cathedral. Leaving that position, he served as priest in the parish church of Stavrodromi, in Constantinople, whence he was sent to Monastir as episcopal warden-general to the Metropolitan of Pelagonia, Joachim Phoropoulos. He there assumed episcopal

attire as Bishop of Petra, and continued his pastoral career with courage, but also with meekness, humility and selflessness. He worked in silence, a shining example of patriotic service. When the new constitution was proclaimed, he, first in the new Turkey, from the cannon in Freedom Square in the city of Monastir, trumpeted imprecation and malediction against Totalitarianism and Tyranny. He served the Greek people and the Church for three years, laying down his crosier after the death of Phoropoulos. He returned to Constantinople with the Cross of the Saviour, which had been bestowed upon him by the Greek government. Shortly afterwards, the Patriarch sent him to Kavala as episcopal warden-general to Metropolitan Joachim of Xanthi, from where he moved on to Grevena, having been elected Metropolitan of that see..." (8).

The report published by *Atlantis Illustrated Monthly* was flanked by two excellent photographs taken by the Manakis brothers, - one shows the removal of the bodies from the site of the murders and the other the funeral itself. According to custom, the prelate was interred seated on his throne. People crowded around. At the head of the procession were the Metropolitans of Kastoria (Joachim), Kozani and Servia (Photios) and Sisanion (Hierotheos), and the mayor of Grevena, N. Kousidis. In the document listing the films sold to the Yugoslav government, which Miltos Manakis drew up himself, there is no title referring to the funeral of Aimilianos. Item number 55 is a film listed as "Interment in Grevena", which may well be one of the "one hundred meters of film" mentioned in the report sent by the council of elders to the Patriarchate. What is curious is why Miltos did not label it more clearly, if this is indeed the film of the funeral and the interment of the Metropolitan Aimilianos.

Another curious fact is that the Greeks should have entrusted the filming of this event to the Manakis brothers, when, presumably, they knew of Yannakis' past role in the

Romanising movement which was partly responsible for the assassination of the ill-fated Metropolitan (9).

Questions are also raised by the fact that the Turks permitted the Manakis brothers and no one else to take pictures and films, when they took so many other measures to limit the reverberations of the triple assassination (10).

On the day of the funeral, the Thessaloniki newspaper *Makedonia*, published by Konstantinos Vellidis, a former teacher and agent of the Greek Committee in Monastir (11), appeared with its leading article heavily framed in black. This leader discussed the savage crimes that had been carried out in Grevena, and the editor boldly wrote: "The assassination of the Saint of Grevena, his Deacon and his servant: The climax to our wretched situation. Proof, one more proof, a proof wrought of blood and agonised groans, showing that the tricoloured triumvirate of Equality, Fraternity and Justice have been brought miserably low in our days..."

The article in *Makedonia* was signed by Vasilis Mesolongitis, a staff member of several Thessaloniki newspapers and one of the city's top journalists. But it required considerable courage to write such an article, especially when Thessaloniki, the hub of the Young Turk movement, was torn by bitter strife between Greek and Turk. The Turkish newspaper *Yeni Ashr* thundered rabidly against the Greeks and acclaimed every oppressive measure adopted against them. The assassination of Aimilianos, however, roused to fury the entire Greek press, including that of Constantinople. The Patriarchate abandoned its pro-Phanariot policy and criticised the constitutional authorities in Turkey extremely harshly. The foreign press shared the public revulsion.

Finally, the press in Athens stirred up the people and the government. The assassination of the Metropolitan of Grevena (12) confirmed that the final solution to the issue of Macedonia would be given through arms. October 1912 was drawing near.

1. In 1909 Niazi Bey ordered from the Manakis studio a number of photographs on subjects connected to the revolt of the Young Turks, for which he paid 1,500 piastres.

2. The Manakis brothers distributed their photographs of the proclamation in *Hurriyet* and the end of the Macedonian Struggle throughout free Greece via Dimitrios Sinidis, a publisher of post cards in Thessaloniki. They presumably also dictated to him the appropriate captions: e.g., "Niazi Bey, who first raised the banner of Liberty in Macedonia, with his men", etc.

3. Charles Urban had in fact instituted the "Bioscope films of discovery" in 1903, and had made films in many (at that time) inaccessible places.

4. *Ta Nea*, 18/1/1971.

5. These are the titles of the films exactly as Miltos Manakis wrote them down. Note in particular, the extremely significant phrase: "The Greek village of Avdela".
6. In her book *The Greek Cinema* Aglaia Mitropoulou points out that the first Greek cameraman - and the first in the Balkans - was Dimitris Meravidis. Born in Constantinople in 1882, Meravidis attended the Greek High School in that city, before going to Paris to study telephony and photography with the Lumière brothers. He returned to Constantinople in 1903, bringing with him a Pathe camera and a projector. According to Mrs. Mitropoulou, he began at once to make short newsreels and show them in public. In 1905 he set up a fully equipped film laboratory, where he prepared a number of films and newsreels to be sent to Pathe and Gaumont in Paris. Dimitris Meravidis' contribution to the Greek cinema was a significant one. He was one of the romantic pioneers of the cinema and, if Mrs Mitropoulou's information is correct, then he was indeed the father of the cinema in the Balkans, another Greek claimant to that title. This claim, however, is not substantiated by any other source, and it is useful to remember that it was only after 1905 that the Pathe firm, the world leader in motion pictures, vertically integrated its production, combining under its own umbrella every aspect of the film industry: the production of the negatives, the production and exploitation of the films, the management of the projection theatres, even the manufacture of cameras and projectors. Furthermore, the Pathe Journal company, which filmed newsreels, was not founded until 1907, in response to Charles Urban's newsreel company which had been in existence since 1903 and with which the Manakis brothers collaborated. Pathe even copied Urban's Bioscope camera, finding it the most practical and easiest to use of all existing models. The Pathe camera was not available until 1905. Consequently, the date of the beginning of Meravidis' career needs to be carefully checked. On the other hand, no historian, Greek or foreign, has ever cast any doubt on the facts of the Manakis brothers' career, especially in regard to their filming of the first motion picture footage in the Balkans: a film made in the Vlach villages of the rugged Pindus range.
7. Old calendar.
8. Written by the Monastir journalist Nikolaos Charalambos Yeoryadis, under the pen name "Neoptolemos".
9. The names of the assassins - about 15 in all - were not known at the time but only identified later. Some of them were arrested and tried after Liberation in 1912, while others managed to escape to Turkey. Two of them were executed by Greek troops during the Asia Minor campaign ten years later.
10. The Manakis brothers enjoyed good relations with the Turks and photographed all the Beys in the district, including the infamous Bekir Effendi, and the commander of the Grevena gendarmerie, Ismail Effendi. These photographs netted them 4,200 piastres.
11. The journalist and publisher Konstantinos Vellidis, was an agent of the Macedonian Struggle, and was active in the district that included Deskati, Florina and Monastir. He was a Vlach, with roots in Livadi (Olympus) and Velesa. In his study *The Koutsovlachs of Velesa* (Skopje, 1936), Serbian author Mil. Filipovic makes special mention of the customs and celebrations of the Vellidis family. Konstantinos Vellidis began his career as a teacher, as did another contemporary journalist and publisher, Dimitrios Lambrakis of Vamo, near Chania. Their work for the Struggle was extremely significant and they were classed as Grade One agents. The Manakis brothers photographed Lambrakis (known by the pseudonym D. Kokkas) at Flambouro, near Florina.
12. A complete and detailed report on the assassination of the Metropolitan Aimilianos was published in the 1911 *Macedonian Chronicle*, which was published in Athens with photographs by the Manakis brothers.



Kapetan Makris and his insurgent band, at Peristeri, near Morhovo (1905).



Post card with *Makedonomachoi* from the Robelo and Groba corps and Kapetan Andonis of Morihovo (1908).



Post card from the Manakis studio, showing the *Makedonomachoi* led by Kapetan Dikaionimos Makris (Monastir, 1908).



The rebel band led by Kapsopoulos and Mylonas, which included among its men Pavlos Melas and K. Mazarakis. It was active in the environs of Krania where I. Manakis taught in the Romanian school and took his pictures; this may be one of his.



Post card from the Manakis brothers' studio with an explanatory legend in Greek and French (1908).



The descent of anti-Turkish units into Monastir, immediately after the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution of 1908 which was the basis for a general amnesty.



Greek rebel and *Makedonomachos* Kapetan Petros, who was hanged by the Turks in June 1908, two weeks before the general amnesty proclaimed by the Young Turks. It is highly probable that the hanging was filmed by the Manakis brothers.



Greek rebel leader Volanis, who fought in the environs of Monastir during the Macedonian Struggle. Post card from the Manakis brothers' studio (1908).



Greek *Makedonomachoi*: insurgent captains Stefos from Monastir, Tsitsos from Morihovo and Pavlos from Rakovo. Post card from the Manakis studio (1908).



Greek *Makedonmachos* Kapetan Simos of Armenko with his aide. Post card from the Manakis brothers' studio (1908).



Spyros Zervas, Macedonian freedom fighter. Post card distributed in America by Dimitrios Cassis from Epirus. Photograph by the Manakis studio.



Snapshot of the Greek insurgents returning from the Macedonian Struggle after the "Hurriyet" amnesty. Post card taken by the Manakis brothers in Monastir (1908).



Makedonomachoi captains Makris, Volanis and Karavitis, in the Manakis brothers' studio in July 1908.



Kapetan Zakas (Grigoris Falireas) on a post card which circulated in the USA. The photograph was taken by the Manakis brothers.



Rebel band, Greece.

ΟΡΟΙ ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΩΝ

ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗΝ . . . ΤΡΟΣΙΑ 90
ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΚΡΑΤΟΣ 120
ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΕΣΩΤΕΡΙΚΟΝ . . . ΦΡ. ΧΡ. 40
ΔΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΜΕΡΙΚΗΝ . . . ΔΟΛΛΑΡΙΑ 8
ΕΞΑΜΗΝΟΙ ΤΑ ΗΜΙΣΗ

ΔΙ ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΑΙ ΠΡΟΠΗΡΟΚΟΤΑΙ

ΤΙΜΗ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΥ ΦΥΛΟΥ . . 10 ΠΑΡΑΣΞ
ΔΙΑΤΑΞ ΕΠΑΡΧΙΑΣ . . . 20 "

ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ

ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΙΝΗ ΠΡΩΪΝΗ ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΣ

Ἰδιοκτήτης καὶ Διευθυντής ΚΩΝΣΤ. ΒΕΛΛΙΔΗΣ

ΔΗΜΟΣΙΕΥΣΕΙΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΙΑΝ

ΤΑ ΧΕΙΡΟΓΡΑΦΑ ΔΕΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΡΕΦΟΝΤΑΙ

Πᾶσα ἀπόδειξις δέον νὰ φέ-
ρη τὴν ὑπογραφήν τοῦ
Διευθυντοῦ

ΔΙΑ ΠΑΣΙΑΝ ΑἴΤΗΣΙΜ
ΑΠΕΥΘΥΝΤΕΩΝ Τῆ ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΕΙ

Τηλεγραφικὴ διεύθυνσις:
ΒΕΛΛΙΔΗΝ, Θεσσαλονίκη

ΓΡΑΦΕΙΑ: ΦΡΑΓΚΟΜΑΧΑΛΑ, ΟΔΟΣ ΤΟΠΚΑΝΣ ΠΑΡΑΠΛΕΥΡΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΓΡΑΦΕΙΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΡΕΖΗ

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΒΟΥΛΗΝ

Ἡ προσοχὴ τοῦ Ἔθνους εἶνε ἐστραμμένη πρὸς τὴν Βουλὴν, εἰς ἣς τοῖτο ἔχει ἐξαρτήσῃ πάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐλπίδας.

Δὴν θέλομεν νὰ υποτιμήσωμεν τὴν σύνεσιν καὶ τὸν πατριωτισμὸν τῶν ἀντιπροσώπων τοῦ Ἔθνους, οὗτε διέγχεται τοῦ νοῦς ἡμῶν ἡ ἰδέα ὅτι θὰ θελήσωσιν οὗτοι νὰ φανῶσι κατώτεροι τῶν περιστάσεων παροφάντες ἢ μὴ ἀντιλαμβάνομενοι τὸν επικρατέμενον ἐφ' ἡμῶν κίνδυνον.

Ἀλλὰ δὲν θυνάμεθα καὶ νὰ μὴ ἀνηγοῦμεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐκδηλουμένας παρὰ τῷ κρατοῦντι κόμματι γάσεις, αἵτινες πᾶν ἄλλο μαρτυροῦσιν ἢ ὀρθὴν ἐκτίμησιν καὶ ἀντίληψιν τῆς καταστάσεως.

Τὸ πλῆγμα, ὅπερ κατηνέχθη κατ' ἡμῶν ἠσπῆξεν, οὐδαὶς δύναται νὰ μὴ ἀνοητολογήσῃ τοῦτο, βαρὺ καὶ ἐπωδύονος φέρεται αὐτὸ ἢ ἐλλειψὴ τῆς κατὰ κράτος ἐπιμέλειας.

Ἐάν ὅμως λάβωμεν ἐπ' ὄψει τὰς περιστάσεις ἐφ' αἷς ὑπέστημεν τὸ πλῆγμα τοῖτο, δὲν θυνάμεθα ἢ νὰ εἰμεθα ὀλίγον ψυχροὶ καὶ λογικοὶ.

Ἡ συμφορὰ κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ὀφείλεται εἰς τὸ παρελθόν, εἶνε κληροδότημα τοῦ ἀπαιτίας μνήμης ἀπολυταρχικοῦ καθεστώτος καὶ ἢ ἀποτροπῆ αὐτῆς, δέον νὰ λάβωμεν τοῦτο σοβαρῶς ἐπ' ὄψει, δὲν ἴφο καὶ τῶσον εὐχρησῆς.

Ἐπειτα ἔχομεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τὴν ἀπανταχοῦ τοῦ πεπολιτισμένου κόσμου κοινήν γνήσιμν, ἀναγνωρίζουσαν τὴν διὰ τῆς πειραιτικῆς πρόσθετος γενομένην πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀδικίαν καὶ συμπαθῆς διαθεσιμότην.

Ταῦτα πάντα, φρονούμεν, ἐπιμοιοποιῶν ὁμοῦσιν τὴν φιλοτιμίαν μας, εἶνε ἀρκετὴ εἰς τὸ νὰ κατενίσχῃσιν τὴν δικαίαν ἀγαπώμενην καὶ τὸν ἐρεθισμὸν μας καὶ ἐμβάλλωσιν εἰς ἡμᾶς σκέψεις καὶ ἀποφάσεις ἡρωικώτερας καὶ μετριοπαθετέρας, ἀποτρέποντα ἀπὸ βιαίων τοιοῦτων, δυναμένων νὰ δημιουργήσωσι μεναιετικῶσι κινδύνους καὶ συμ-

ΤΟ ΑΙΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΜΙΛΙΑΝΟΥ

Ὁ σφαγμὸς τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεβενῶν, τοῦ Ἀρχιδιάκονου τῶν καὶ τοῦ ἀπερῆτου του: Τὸ κορύφωμα τῆς σημερινῆς ἀθλίας καταστάσεως μας.

Ἀπόδειξις, μίᾳ ἐπὶ πλέον, ἀπόδειξις ζυμωμένη μετ' αἶμα καὶ οἰμωγὰς μαρτύρων ὅτι τὸ τρικέλορον τῆς Ἰσότητος, τῆς Ἀδελφότητος, Δικαιοσύνης ἐπαθεν οἰκτρὸν κορυφίασμα ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμερῶν μας.

Ἀλλ' ἔως πότε θὰ ἐξακολουθῆσῃ ἡ κατάσταση αὐτή;

Ἔως πότε ἢ ἰὼθῃ θὰ σηκῶν τὸς ὤμους εἰς κρανίην μυριόστομον μαρτυροῦντος ἔθνους;

Ἐπὶ ἔτη τῶρα μαρτυρεῖ ὁ Ἑλληνομύς. Ἀνατριχίσει κανεὶς ἀναγινώσκων τοὺς καταλόγους, τοὺς ὁποίους τὰ Πατριάρχια κατὰ καιροὺς ἐπέβαλον εἰς τὴν Ἰσὴν Πύλῃν, καταλόγους ἀπὸ τὰς γραμμὰς τῶν ὁποίων ὡς ἀπὸ πηδάκων ἀναπηδᾷ τὸ αἶμα καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ Βασιλλῶν ἀντηχοῦν οἱ στεναγμοὶ καὶ αἱ οἰμωγαί.

Τὸ μαχαίρι τῶν αἰωνίως ἀγνώστων δολοφόνων ἀποῦ διαπερᾷ τὸν Ἑλληνομύδον σπέρφεται καὶ κατὰ τῶν κορυφῶν του.

Ἀλλὰ σφάζεται ἔτσι ἕνας Μητροπολίτης; Ἐν ἑλληνικῶν ἔθνος οὐσαυτὸν σημερον βοᾷ ἐκδικησιν, καὶ ζητεῖ νὰ χυθῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ τερατουργήματος τοῦτου αἱ ἀκτίνες χιλλῶν ἠλεκτρικῶν προβολέων, νὰ διαλυθῇ τὸ σκότος ποῦ περιβάλλει αὐτό, ζητεῖ νὰ κρημασθῶν οἱ δρασταὶ αὐτοῦ ἄνωθεν τοῦ μέρους εἰς τὸ ὁποῖον ἔπεσον ἢ κεφαλὴ τοῦ Αἰμιλιανοῦ. Καὶ ζητεῖ νὰ ἴθῃ τοῦτο ἐφ' ὅσον ἀχνίζει τὸ αἶμα τοῦ τετιμημένου Μητροπολίτου.

Ἡ Κυβέρνησις Σαῖν, ἡ ὁποία ἔγασα ἐπηγγελθῆ χθὲς ἀκόμη ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος τῆς Βουλῆς, δὲν πρέπει νὰ κάμῃ ὅτι ἔκαμον αἱ προκατόχοι, τοῦ Χακῆ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πασάδων, δὲν πρέπει νὰ τριψῇ τὰ μάτια τῆς μετ' ἀκόρφο καὶ πλέον οὐ.

Πρέπει νὰ ἐγκαινιάσῃ τὴν πολιτικὴν τοῦ συνδέσμου τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν ἔργων τὴν μὴ ἰδεαλιστικὴν πολιτικὴν, τὴν πραγματικὴν πολιτικὴν. Καὶ ὁ Διάβολος, ὁ ὁποῖος ἐν Τουρκίᾳ παρουσιάζεται μετ' ὁνομα «ἀγνώστοι» ἔστειλε τραγικὴν εὐκαιρίαν.

Ὁ πεπολιτισμένος κόσμος, ὁ Ἑθνωπαϊκὸς κόσμος, τῆς εὐμενείας τοῦ ὁποῖου τόσον ἔχομεν ἀνάγκη νὰ σιγῆσῃ αὐτὴν, καὶ εἰς τὸ κρητήριο τοῦ ὁποῖου ὑποκείμεθα ἔχει ἐστραμμένα τὰ δμμάτα του τὴν σιγῆν αὐτὴν ἀκριβῶς πρὸς τὸν Σαῖν πασᾶν καὶ περιμένει.

Καὶ ὁ πεπολιτισμένος κόσμος δὲν ἀνεχεται νὰ παῖξῃ ἐπ' ἀπειρῶν ὀβλῶν θεατῶν Νερωαίων Ἰκποδορμῶν, βλέπων κατασπαρσόμενα ἀπαθῶς ἀνθρώπινα διτα.

Καὶ σὲ, ὁ τιμημένε ἀρχιερεῦ, ὅθμα τοῦ καθήκοντος, γενναίε ἄνθρωπε, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐρατεινομένους Ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἔσπερον ἡεροῦντα τοῦ Ἔθνους, ἀναπαύθητι ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

Δὲν Σε θρηνοῦμεν. Δὲν εἶναι ἄξιος θρῆνων ἐκεῖνος, ὅστις, ὅπως Σε, ἀγωνισθεὶς εἰς τὰς ἐπάλλξεις τῶν ὑπὲρ βουβῶν καὶ ἐσθίων ὑπὲρ ἰσθῶν καὶ ὀσθίων ἀγῶνα πίπει τῶσον ἐντιμῶν, τῶσον ἡρωϊκῶν, τῶσον μαρτυρικῶν θάνατον. Οἱ θρῆνοι καὶ οἱ κοπετοὶ εἶναι εἰς ἄλλους, διὰ Σε ὄχι. Καὶ ἂν εἶναι ἀδυσθῆς, ὅτι αἱ ψυχαὶ βλέπουσι, καὶ ἂν ἢ λευκὴ σου ψυχὴ πλανᾶται τῶρα εἰς τὸν ἀπολλῶνειον τῆς Μακεδονίας οὐρανῶν, Ὁ ἄγαλλῆ βλέπουσα, ὅτι τὸ ἔνδοξον, ὅσον καὶ ἀθῶον αἶμα σου ἔδωκε ἕνα ἰσχυρὸν τῶνον εἰς τὸ αἶμα τοῦ Ἔθνους, τὸν τῶνον ἐκεῖνον ποῦ χρειάζεται εἰς τὸ αἶμα τῶν λαῶν διὰ νὰ ἐξέγκωνται ἄθικτοι ἀπὸ τῆς τρομερωτέρας καταγίγδας νὰ ἀποπτέουσι ὡς χαλκῶδινοι ἄκμονες τὰ κατ' αὐτῶν κτυπήματα, νὰ νικῶν, νὰ μεγαλομυροῦν. B. A. M.

σις δὲν ἐπιτρῆπει παρατόλιμους ἀποφάσεις καὶ παρακινδυνευμένας ἐνεργείας, ἀπαιτεῖ δὲ σύνεσιν καὶ μετριοπάθειαν, ὅπως δυναθῶμεν νὰ ἐξελεθῶμεν τοῦ κινδύνου, εἰς ὃν ἄκοντες περιεπλέχθημεν.

διαφέρῶν μου. Τὸν ἐπλήρως μετ' ἀγαθῆτα καὶ οἰκειότητα περιεπλέχθη, ἢ ὁποῖα τὸν ἐξέπληξε, διότι, φαίνεται, εἶχε συνείδησι μόνον εἰς τὰ ἀγριοκυντάγματα τῆς κοινωνίας.

—Σὰς εὐχαριστεῖ τὸ δόσος; Σὰς ἀ-

τῆς φήσεως, τὴ φύσιν τῆς μεγαλοκροῦσους τῶν δένδρων πορφύρας διὰ ῥαγίσουν τὴν εὐαίσθητον ψυχὴν. Ἡ νεκρολογία τῆς ἐρημώσεως θὰ πληρηθῇ ὡς μίᾳ ἀπέραντος ἐπιγραφῆ καὶ θὰ σκεπασθῇ τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς, τὸ ὁποῖον θὰ κλαίῃσιν ποῦ πικρῶν.

ΑΠὸ ΤΑ ΠΕΡΙΕΡΓΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΟΣΜΟΥ
ΕΝΑ ΦΙΛΙ
100 ΧΙΛΙΑΔΑΣ ΔΟΛΛΑΡΙΩΝ
Πρώτη φοράν εἰς ἔθνην του τῆν Σαῖν, ἐν Σινάγῳ, ὁ συμβολαιογράφ-

εἶχα ὑπανδρευθῆ εἰς τὴν πατρῶζ μου, τὸν Καναδά.

—Ἀλλὰ γιατί δὲν ὑπανδρευθῆς; — Διότι δὲν σσερῶνησα με ἐκεῖνον ποῦ μ' ἐξήτησε.

Ἄκολούθως ὁ Φέιλ ἐμάνθανε με ἐκπληξέν του ὅτι ἡ Βιργινία ἔχει μίαν ἰδιοτροπίαν πολὺ περιεργον. Δὲν ἐδέχθη ποτὲ νὰ φιληθῇ. Ἀπὸ μικρὰ συνείδησι νὰ ἀπεχθάνεται τὸ φιλημα εἰς τρόπον, ὥστε ἡ ἀπέχθεια αὐτὴ κατῆντης μίαν ἡμέραν φύχῳσις. Ὡς ἐκ τῆς μεγάλης τῆς ὀρασιότητος εἶχε πολλὰκις ζητηθῆ εἰς γάμον, καὶ μάλιστα ἀπὸ πολλῶ κλάδ πρόσωπων, ἀλλὰ ἡ ἰδιοτροπία τῆς αὐτῆ παρενεβάλλετο αἰώνιον πρόσκομμα.

— Σκέψου, εἶπεν εἰς τὸν Φέιλ, καὶ εἰπέ μου. Γνωρίζω ὅτι εἶσαι καλός, ὅτι εἶσαι πλούσιος, ἀλλὰ δὲν ἔγω σκοποῦν νὰ θυσάσω ἐπ' ὀδῶν λόγῳ μίαν ἀρχὴν μου, ἔστω καὶ ἀνόητον. Ὅτι ὑπανδρευθῶ ἐκεῖνον ποῦ θὰ δεχθῆ νὰ μὴ με φιλήσῃ ποτὲ.

— Καὶ κατὰ ποῖον τρόπον; — Δι' ἐνός συμβολαίου. Τὴν σιγῆν ποῦ θὰ με φιλήσῃ, ἐγὼ θὰ τὸν ἀρήσω καὶ αὐτὸς θὰ ὑποχρεωθῆ νὰ με ἀποζημιώσῃ.

Ὁ Μάρκ Φέιλ, τῶσον διὰ τὴν ὀρασιότητα τῆς Βιργινίας, ὅσον καὶ διὰ τὸ περιεργῶτον τῆς ἰδιοτροπίας τῆς, ἐδέχθη.

— Σοῦ ὀπόσχομαι, τῆς εἶπεν, ὅτι θὰ σεβάσω τὴν ἀρχὴν σου.

Τὴν ἐπομένην ἔγενε τὸ συμβόλιον. Ἡ ἀποζημιώσις, ἐν περιπτώσει παραβάσεως τῶν συμπεφωνημένων, ὄραση εἰς 100 χιλ. δολλάρια. Ἡ εἰδήσις τοῦ πρωτοφανοῦς συμβολαίου γνωσθετα εἰς τὸ Σινάγῳ, ἔκαμε κατὰπληξιν. Ὅλοι δὲ παρρηλοῦσῶν τὴν περιεργον ὀπέθασιν διὰ νὰ ἴδουσι ποῦ θὰ καταλήξῃ.

Οἱ γάμοι ἔγεναν, καὶ ἐπὶ τινα χρόνον τὰ πράγματα ἐπήγαυαν καλὰ. Μετὰ τινας ὁμοῦ ἐδομαδάς ἐγενώσθη, ὅτι ἐγένετο ἡ παράδοσις, καὶ ὅτι ἡ Βιργινία ἐρεγγεν ἀπὸ τὸν Φέιλ, ὅστις καὶ ὑπεκρέσθη νὰ τῆς πληρώσῃ τὴν ὀρισθεσαν ἀποζημιώσιον. Λέγεται, ὅτι ὁ Φέιλ τὴν ἐφιλήσῃ, ὑπόθεσις ὅτι ὁ γά-

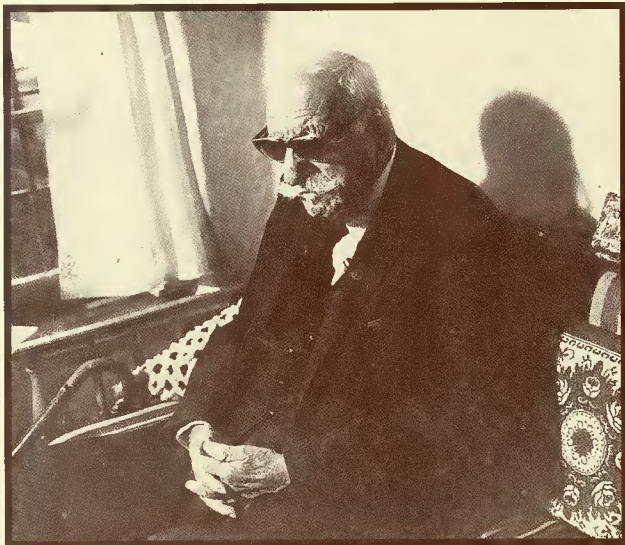




The funeral of the assassinated Metropolitan of Grevena, Aimilianos. The photograph has been signed by the photographer Ioannis Manakis, and dated 1911.



Portrait of the Metropolitan of Grevena, Aimilianos Pezaridis, made by the Manakis studio in 1901, not the only one the brothers took of him.



Makedonomachos Zisis Verros, who warned Aimilianos of the death threat against him. He was photographed by the Manakis brothers in 1900, and lived to be 106.

ΤΟ ΤΕΡΑΤΟΥΡΓΗΜΑ Ο ΑΝΑΤΡΙΧΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΣ ΣΦΑΓΜΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΓΡΕΒΕΝΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΚΟΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΗΡΕΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΣΧΕΤΙΚΑΙ ΛΕΠΤΟΜΕΡΕΙΑΙ

Τρομερόν κακούργημα, ἐξ ἐκείνων τὰ ὅποια ἀφίνουσι ὀπισθὲν τῶν αἵμα καὶ μυστήριον καὶ ἀκεανούς συγκινήσεως, διεπράχθη εἰς τὰ πρόθυρα τῶν Γρεβενῶν ὑπὸ τὴν μύτην τῶν Ἀρχῶν.

Ἡ ΠΡΩΤΗ ΕΙΔΗΣΙΣ

Ἡ εἰδησις τῆς ἐξαφανίσεως τοῦ Ἁγίου Γρεβενῶν μεταβιβασθεῖσα ἐνταῦθα ἐκ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ ἐγκαίρως ἀναγραφείσα ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἦτο ξηρὰ καὶ οὐδὲν περισσότερο τῆς ἐξαφανίσεως ἔλεγε.

Ἡ «Μακεδονία» ἀμέσως ἐσπευσε δι' ἐπιτόμιον τηλεγράφηματος προχθὲς νὰ ζητήσῃ παρὰ τοῦ ἐν Γρεβενοῖς ἀναποκριτοῦ τῆς πληροφορίας ἐπὶ τοῦ θέματος τούτου καὶ μόλις χθὲς, κριμασιν οἷς ἡ διεύθυνσις τοῦ Τηλεγραφεῖου μας οἶδε, ἔλαβε τὸ παρὰ πόδας τηλεγράφημα, ἐπιδοθὲν ἐν τῷ Τηλεγραφεῖῳ Γρεβενῶν τὴν προχθὲς Τετάρτην :

ΤΟ ΤΗΛΕΓΡΑΦΗΜΑ ΜΑΣ

«Ἐνφ' ὁ Μητροπολίτης μετέβαινε τὸ παρελθὸν Σάββατον εἰς τὸ χωρίον Γριδάδες ὅπως λειτουργήσῃ, καθ' ὅδον ἐγένετο ἀφάντος μετὰ τοῦ διακόνου καὶ τοῦ ἀγωγιάτου του. Τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ αἱ ἀποσκευαὶ του εὐρέθησαν ἀδικτα εἰς τι γειτονικὸν δάσος. Περὶ τῶν ἐξαφανισθέντων οὐδὲν μέχρι τῆς στιγμῆς ταύτης (3 ὥρα μ. μ. εὐρωπαϊαί τῆς Τετάρτης) ἐγνώσθη. Γενικὴ ἐπικρατεῖ πεποίθησις ὅτι ἐφανεύθησαν ὑπ' ἀγνώστων.

Σήμερον ὁ ἀρχιερατικὸς Ἐπίτροπος μετὰ πολλοῦ λαοῦ ἐξηλήθη εἰς τὰ περὶξ πρὸς ἀνίχνευσιν.»

ΤΟ ΕΠΙΣΗΜΟΝ ΤΗΛΕΓΡΑΦΗΜΑ

Χθὲς περὶ τὴν 10ην ἑσπερινὴν ὥραν ἐλάβομεν τὸ ἐξῆς τηλεγρά-

φημα παρὰ τῆς Δημογεροντίας Γρεβενῶν :

Γρεβενὰ 6η Ὀκτωβρίου, ὥρα 12 55' τουρκιστί

Πρὸς τὴν ἑφημερίδα «ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑ»,
Ὁ Μητροπολίτης μας καὶ ὁ Διάκονός του καὶ ὁ ὑπὸ τῆς τῆς του εὐρέθησαν ἐξάγμένοι.

Ἡ Δημογεροντία Γρεβενῶν

Ἡ ΙΔΙΑΙΤΕΡΑΙ ΠΑΡΕΦΟΡΙΑΙ ΜΑΣ

Ταῦτοχρόνως πρὸς τὸ ὡς ἀνω τηλεγράφημα ἐλάβομεν καὶ ἰδιαίτερον τοῦ ἐν Γρεβενοῖς ἀναποκριτοῦ μας, τὸ ὁποῖον ἔχει ὡς ἐξῆς :

«Ὁ Μητροπολίτης καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐξαφανισθέντες διάκονός του καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τῆς του, εὐρέθησαν σήμερον εἰς γειτονικὸν δάσος καὶ εἰς ἀπόστασιν δύο περίπου ἐντεῦθεν ὡρῶν ἀποκεφαλισμένοι. Τὰ πτώματα ἐν μεγάλῃ συγκινήσει μετεφέρθησαν ἐνταῦθα.»

Ἡ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΤΟΣ

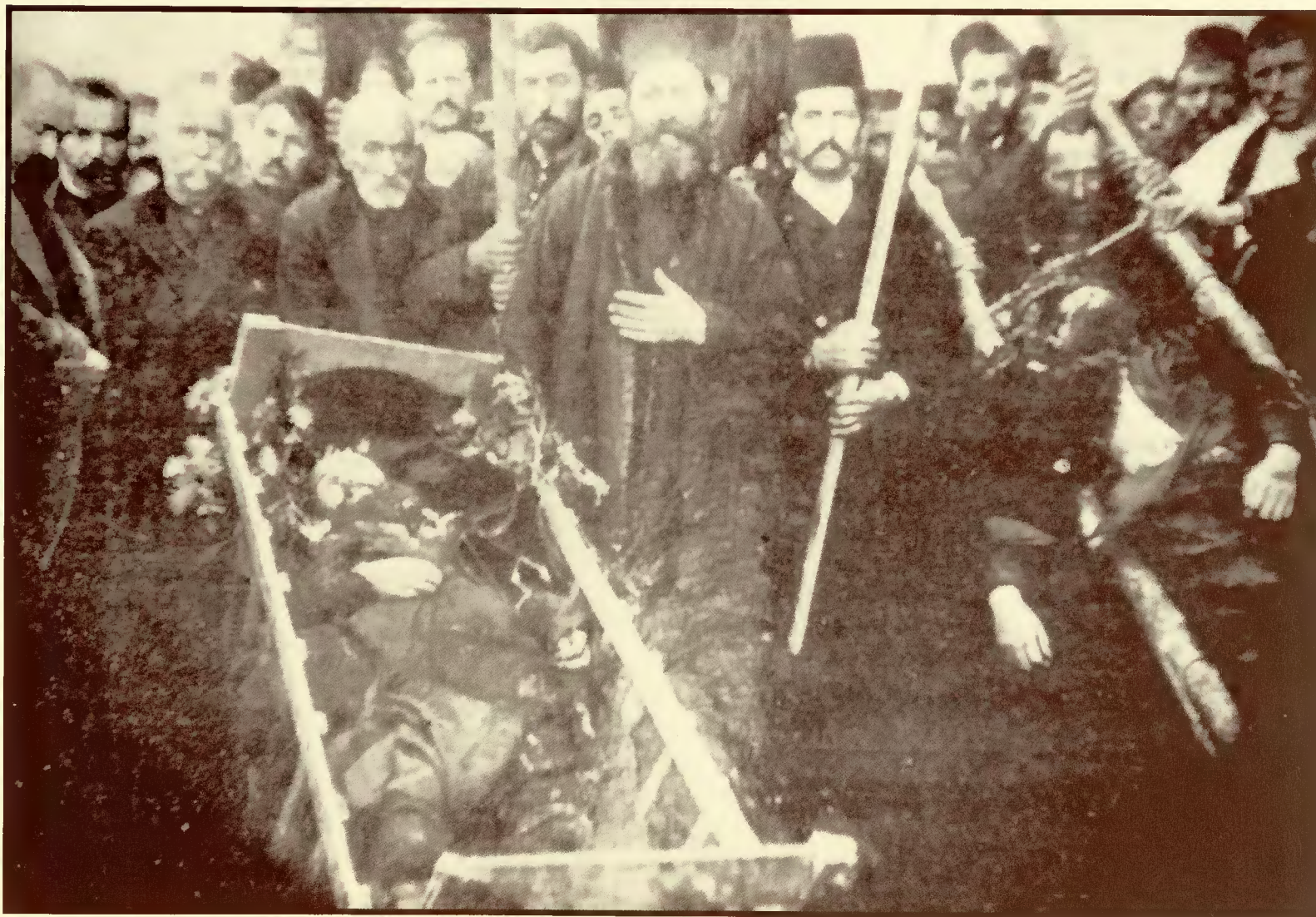
Ἡ πόλις καὶ ὁ ἑλληνικὸς κόσμος τῶν περὶξ εἶναι ἀνάστατος καὶ σφόδρα ἠρεθισμένος. Τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἀποσπάσματα, τὰ ὅποια ἐστάλησαν πρὸς καταδίωξιν τῶν ἀγνώστων δραστῶν, οὐδὲν μέχρι τῆς ὥρας ἀνεκάλυψεν.

Οἱ ΔΟΛΟΦΟΝΟΙ

Πολλὰ λέγονται καὶ ἄδονται περὶ τῶν δολοφόνων καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐθνικότητός των, ἐν τούτοις οὐδὲν εἶναι ἐπισημῶς βέβαιον. Τὸ μόνον βέβαιον, εἶναι ὅτι τὸ ἐγκλημα εἶναι πολιτικῆς φύσεως.

ΠΑΝΔΗΜΟΣ ΚΗΔΕΙΑ

Εἰς τὸν Μητροπολίτην μας καὶ εἰς τοὺς συμμάχους του προετοιμάζεται πάνδημος κηδεῖα, εἰς ἣν θὰ παρευρεθοῦν σύσσωμοι καὶ αἱ κοινότητες τῶν περὶξ.»



The recovery of the bodies of the murdered Bishop of Grevena and his companions. This photograph, taken by the Manakis brothers, appeared in the Greek-American journal *Atlantis Illustrated Monthly* (1911).

SULTAN MEHMED RESHID
VISITS THESSALONIKI AND MONASTIR

In May 1911, the Turkish Sultan Mehmed Reshid V visited Thessaloniki and Monastir. As a point of interest, he was the first Turkish constitutional monarch to visit key centres in his European provinces. In 1910 he had visited Adrianople; the following year he selected the capitals of the two most important vilayets of Macedonia. The Manakis brothers had met the elderly ruler in 1905, at which time he was living in Constantinople as a prisoner of his brother Abdul Hamid.

Yannakis and Miltos Manakis recorded in still pictures and on film footage the Sultan's entire tour, from his disembarcation in Thessaloniki until his return to Constantinople from Monastir. Moment by moment, step by step, they captured every detail of the movements of the picturesque monarch, producing a lively account of the oriental protocol practised by the Sublime Porte and the exotic picture presented by Thessaloniki and Monastir in 1911.

It does not appear to have been the Porte that appointed the Manakis brothers exclusive photographers of this tour. In any case, the Gildiz palace was no longer the administrative centre of the empire. The appointment was probably the work of Niazi Bey, the leader of the Young Turks movement, with whom the brothers had been well acquainted in Monastir.

Niazi Bey, with his colleagues Midhat Pasha, Enver Pasha and Talat Pasha, distinguished adherents of the Young Turks movement, accompanied the Sultan on his journey. What they were really doing was observing him, and telling him what to do. There is evidence to the effect that these three senior officials - the real rulers of the realm - even told the Sultan when he should wave to his people. Mehmed Reshid was a good natured man, but weak and irresolute. His brother, Abdul Hamid, had

turned him into a alcoholic, practically drowning him in ouzo, to make sure he could pose no threat. Mehmed Reshid was assassinated in July 1918. He was succeeded by his brother, Mehmed Vahideddin, the last of the Ottoman Sultans, who was deposed by Kemal Ataturk in 1923. The other leaders of the Young Turk movement stabbed each other in the back until only Kemal was left, when he assumed complete control of the reins of power.

The way in which the Manakis brothers filmed the Sultan's journey is truly remarkable. It is not only the framing of the scenes and the variety of the filming angles that are so admirable, but also the completeness of the sequences. Every event has been filmed in such detail that the footage flows with perfect smoothness.

Most of the film footage shot by the Manakis brothers was coverage of the Sultan's visit itself. Let us take a look at how Miltos numbered and described these films, when he turned them over to the Yugoslav state:

- Number 4: "The Sultan at the window of the prefecture with schoolchildren, soldiers and others marching past".
- Number 6: "Hurriyet. Townspeople, troops and others marching past, before the Sultan in Thessaloniki".
- Number 7: "Train, Thessaloniki - Naousa - Amyntaio, bridges. The Sultan en route to Monastir".
- Number 8: "The Sultan at the mosque, coming out of the mosque, at the Toumbe Cafe".
- Number 10: "March before the Sultan in Thessaloniki, the Sultan at the Bechtsina Cafe and arriving in a carriage".
- Number 18: "The Sultan at the railway station in Monastir, before his departure from Monastir".

– Number 27: “The Sultan’s reception by the people of Monastir, with the parade of the Viziers”.

– Number 47: “The Sultan’s ship at Thessaloniki”.

– Number 61: “Festivities with Sultan Reshid”.

– Number 64: “The Sultan in Thessaloniki on his way to the Bechtsina Cafe”.

– Number 66: “The Sultan at Monastir, Toumbe Cafe, the Thessaloniki-Monastir train”.

– Number 67: “Young girls and troops in Thessaloniki, marching past”.

As is apparent from this catalogue, the Manakis brothers’ coverage of the Sultan’s visit resulted in 12 films but they are listed in no apparent order. This makes it difficult for the unsuspecting student to follow the filmed progress of the visit.

Despite the apparent randomness, it was obviously their intention to leave no detail of the Sultan’s visit unrecorded and perhaps they had been commissioned to do just that. When you remember that they were only taking still pictures, then their achievement can only be described a real *tour de force*.

The October 1911 issue of *Atlantis Illustrated Monthly* had a wonderful full-page report of the Sultan’s visit to Thessaloniki, with three excellent pictures taken by the Manakis brothers (1). The Greek - American periodical describes the pictures as follows:

“In the top picture the Sultan can be seen coming out of Ayia Sophia, one of the largest and most historic churches in Thessaloniki. The monarch is seen climbing into his carriage after worshipping. The imperial guard is drawn up in the courtyard; they are astonishingly few in number.

Abdul Hamid always surrounded himself with the entire corps of guards whenever he went out to worship. The Turkish flags with the French inscription “Vive Notre Sultan”, belong to the Jewish community.

In the middle picture, the Monarch is leaving the large barracks where he laid the cornerstone of the monument to Liberty.

In the bottom picture, he can be seen in front of Ayia Sophia Square, surrounded by troops and the people of Thessaloniki. Mehmed V’s tour of Macedonia was the second the monarch has made to parts of his empire, following his visit to Adrianople last year.

But will these visits do anything to improve the lives of the

people who have welcomed the first constitutional monarch of Turkey so warmly?”

The Balkan Wars, which broke out in October 1912, sounded the death knell of five centuries of Ottoman rule and the beginning of tremendous ethnic upheavals in the Balkans.

One month after the outbreak of war (Thessaloniki had already been liberated) the fighting closed in on Monastir. The military governor of the area was Javit Pasha, who put up stiff resistance; but the town fell to the allied forces on November 6, 1912. This date marks the end of the First Balkan War. When recalling that period Miltos Manakis used to say: “Everything was black during that time. Dangers sprang up on all sides. There was fighting just outside the town, and life seemed to have come to a standstill. But we were ready to face all difficulties, because we believed that after the war there would be long - term peace...”.

The peace, though, did not last long. The Second Balkan War broke out almost immediately, and soon spread till it was the full - fledged conflagration of the First World War. For six years the Balkans found themselves in a state of seige. The various ethnic conflicts came to assume their historic form through the merciless logic of war: general insurrection, displacement, destruction and subversion.

Territories that had been Greek for centuries were handed over by treaty to Serbia. Even the Romanians were ceded rights. Albania acquired a national form while the Bulgarians, backed by the Kaiser, regrouped in order to lay claim to the newly - liberated Macedonia.

The time - both on the battlefield and behind the lines - was ripe for action and reformation.

The Manakis brothers, who had had the blessing of the Ottoman authorities, now became the fair-haired boys of the new regime. When the Serbian authorities began to take over Monastir, many of its Helleno - Vlach inhabitants moved out, some heading north and others south. Many went to Florina and Thessaloniki, others to Belgrade, Austria, Budapest and elsewhere. Some of the old Monastirians stayed and adapted to the Serbian environment.

The Manakis brothers remained. Through their studio now began to stream Serbian soldiers, civil servants and businessmen. Among them was the head of the Serbian General

Staff, Ilija Gojicovic.

On November 6, 1913, the first anniversary of the liberation of Monastir, there arrived in the town the heir to the Serbian throne, Alexander Karageorgevic, with an entourage of important persons, including the future Prime Minister, Nikola Pasic. They were all filmed and photographed by the Manakis brothers. King Constantine of Greece also visited Amyntaion in 1913; he too was filmed and photographed by the Manakis brothers. These are facts. Curiously enough, none of this material, according to Skopje, has been preserved, just as with the footage of the Liberation of Thessaloniki.

In his study of the Manakis brothers, Kostas Stamatiou expressed the following opinion about the existence of these two films (2):

“Our research to date indicated that, besides the documentaries on traditional life Miltos Manakis filmed in Avdela and the surrounding Vlach villages, there must be at three more films of national interest”:

– “Entrance of George I and Crown Prince Constantine into Thessaloniki at the Head of the Greek Army”. (October 26, 1912). All the evidence points the same way: for years Miltos Manakis talked about this film, this newsreel which, like the businessman he was, he intended to sell to the Greek government. In fact, he appears to have considered this film so important that he was sure he could make a fortune on it if he ever got it out of Serbia. It is highly unlikely that this film is still in the archives at Monastir. (3)

– “Visit of Crown Prince Constantine to Monastir”. Our informant, Mr. Hatzigogos (4) of Veria, a high school student in Monastir at the time, remembers this scene as if it were

yesterday. Crown Prince Constantine, then commander - in - chief of the Greek Army and victor in the First Balkan War, rode into Monastir where he was welcomed with adulation by the Greek population of the town, a majority at the time.

A thanksgiving service was held in the church of Saint Dimitrios, followed by a reception at the Greek Consulate (5). Miltiadis Manakis (then a resident of the town) and his camera were everywhere, filming constantly. A search should be made for this film as well.

– “The assassination of Aimilianos, Metropolitan of Grevena”. According to the late Takis Gobeltsas of Avdela, this film was apparently never finished. “What is certain” writes Kostas Stamatiou, “is that before the war Miltiadis Manakis had a copy of the film in his possession. He had even asked the municipality of Grevena to help him finish it. But then came the war, the occupation, and the new Yugoslavia; he found himself cut off from Greece... who knows what may have become of this film”.

The only film in the archives of Skopje which is of national interest to the Greeks is the one listed as number 5. According to Miltos’ records, it is of “The reception of King Constantine of Greece and Crown Prince Paul by General Baiovic in 1918”. Could this in fact be the film that everyone maintains was filmed in 1912? There are two possibilities: either it is indeed the film made in 1912, or else Miltos, so many years later, confused the crowned heads of Greece. In 1918 the reigning monarch was not Constantine, but his son, Alexander, whose heir was his brother, Crown Prince Paul. Constantine had been deposed in 1917.

1. The conclusion that these photographs were taken by the Manakis brothers is based on the fact that they were the official court photographers and had the exclusive photography rights to that visit.

2. See note at the end of the book.

3. *Ta Nea*, 1/2/71. In contrast to Kostas Stamatiou, who insists that the footage of the Liberation of Thessaloniki was filmed by the Manakis brothers, Aglaia Mitropoulou claims that the film of that major historical event was the work of the Hungarian photographer Josef Hepp. Hepp, who lived in Greece and was the official court photographer, accompanied Crown Prince Constantine’s staff during the Greek army’s first Balkan campaign. He was thus present when Thessaloniki was liberated in October 1912, and very probably recorded that event on film. A film of the Liberation of Thessaloniki still exists. But whose is it? It is not at all unlikely that both Hepp and the Manakis brothers filmed the liberation. Bearing in mind that Hepp’s film was burned during the occupation, then the extant film may well be that by the Manakis brothers. If, on the other hand, what we have is a copy of Hepp’s film, taken from the Pathe archives, then why did Hepp, who lived until 1960, not know of its existence and believe his film lost for good? Thus, it may not be all that risky to attribute this film, this historic document - which the Skopjians either do not know of or do not acknowledge - to the Manakis brothers.

4. Miltos Manakis filmed the Hatzigogos wedding in Veria in 1910.

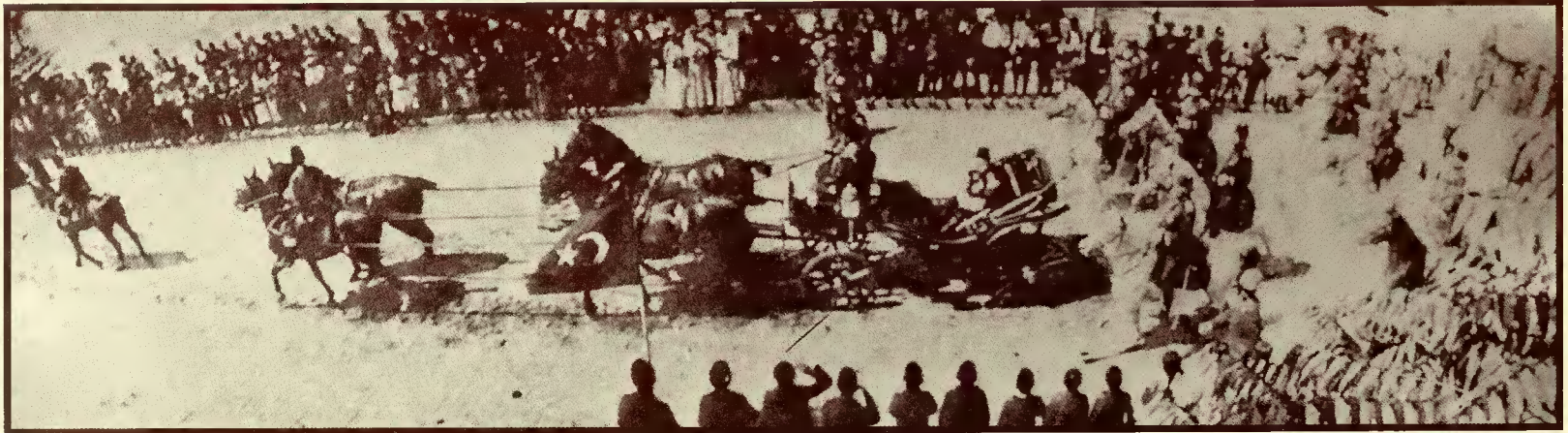
5. The Hatzigogos description coincides perfectly with the information left by A. Topalis. See also the excerpts from his unpublished diary, appended at the end.



Sultan Reshid, in a photograph by the Manakis brothers (1911).



Sultan Mehmed Reshid's visit to Thessaloniki in 1911. From the archives of the Manakis brothers.



1911. Sultan Mehmed Reshid V of Turkey visiting Thessaloniki in May, 1911. Photograph by the Manakis brothers.



The Sultan in the Bes Tsinar garden, Thessaloniki (May, 1911).



Sultan Mehmed Reshid in Thessaloniki (May 1911).



The goldsmiths of Monastir with a gold-plated writing table, their gift to Sultan Murad V, in 1911.

THE GREAT WAR

The Great War began in June 1914. More than thirty countries took part in this massacre, which transformed most of Europe into a vast battlefield.

Monastir found itself at the heart of the so-called Macedonian Front. Initially held by Serbian and French units, the town was soon occupied by Bulgarian and then German troops as well.

As far as the Manakis brothers were concerned, they were all clients - natives and invaders alike. Enemy soldiers and officers who wanted a snapshot to send to their parents, friends or sweethearts, posed in front of their cameras.

In September 1916, the Bulgarians accused Yannakis of spying and exiled him to Philippopoli. He took the portable camera with him while Miltos kept the studio camera and the Bioscope. The studio began to operate normally again in 1919, when Yannakis returned from Bulgaria.

Between 1912 and 1918, the studio welcomed a parade of Bulgarian, German, French and Italian soldiers - even some Russian volunteers - producing a total of 478 photographs.

It was during this period that they photographed the commander - in - chief of the Macedonian Front, France d'Esperey.

Meanwhile, in Bulgaria, Yannakis took another 103 photographs between 1916 and 1919. Many of these he destroyed upon his return to Monastir; why, we do not know (1). A special chapter in the story of the brothers' work during this period is the one devoted to their collaboration with the Red Cross. An American Red Cross unit was stationed in the

Monastir district, to assist victims of the war, the wounded and refugees. Its director, Dr. Ernest Forbes, asked Miltos to take a series of photographs illustrating the wretched conditions of the civilian population behind the lines (2). He did his job well, producing some 50 extremely eloquent pictures. This Red Cross unit was later obliged to leave the district, on the orders of the German and Bulgarian commanders.

The brothers' production of motion picture footage during that period was not extensive and, indeed, from that point on it gradually declined both in quantity and range of subject matter. That type of work apparently no longer interested them. Foreign producers of newsreels had correspondents in every corner of the globe to cover important events with the most modern equipment.

Thus, the Manakis brothers restricted themselves to recording official events of local significance and family celebrations. In keeping with that they filmed Prince Alexander Karageorgevic at national commemorative events and laying cornerstones; the first Serbian club; the only automobile and the first petrol station in Monastir (1909).

They also filmed weddings and other celebrations in Monastir and its environs. Up until 1927, when they shot their final film footage, their professional film activity, using their old-fashioned and heroic Bioscope, steadily decreased.

Nevertheless, the one and a half kilometres of film footage they left behind contains a living record of the most important events of the century in the Balkans.

1. A. Pennas, the celebrated photographer from Serres whom Manakis had known in Pozarevac, had, as he later related, also been exiled to Bulgaria.

2. In his book, *Life in the Tomb*, Stratis Myrivilis gives a shocking description of the devastation of Monastir in the First World War.



The liberation of Thessaloniki. The King and Crown Prince entering the city. This historic photograph is believed to be the work of the Manakis brothers.



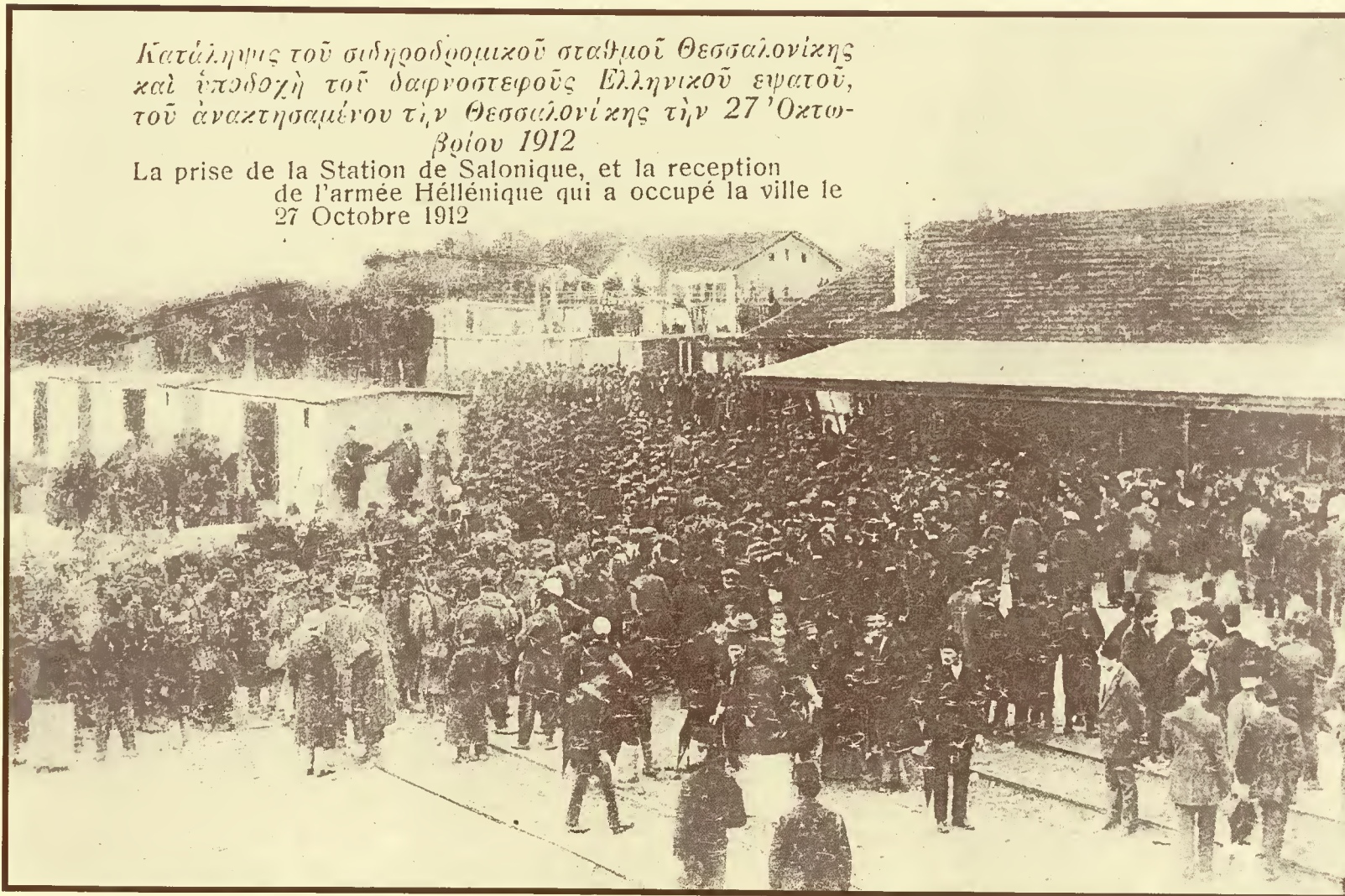
Alexander Karageorgevic in Monastir in 1913.



Family group, from around Monastir.

Κατάληψις τοῦ σιδηροδρομικοῦ σταθμοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης
καὶ ἐπίδοξή τοῦ δαιρνοστεροῦς Ἑλληνικοῦ στρατοῦ,
τοῦ ἀναζητησαμένου τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην τὴν 27 Ὀκτω-
βρίου 1912

La prise de la Station de Salonique, et la reception
de l'armée Hellenique qui a occupé la ville le
27 Octobre 1912



Rare photograph from 1912, probably by the Manakis brothers.

THE MANAKIS BROTHERS
AND THESSALONIKI

In their professional capacity, at least, the Manakis brothers had very little to do with Thessaloniki. This is easily explained: Thessaloniki had always been a major city, an industrial centre and the seat of the governor of Macedonia. It had photographers and photography studios as early as 1870.

Ilias Petropoulos, an expert on Thessaloniki and its post cards, notes that "the most valuable photographs from the period 1885-1918 were taken by the photographer P. Zebtzis". He also says that "at the turn of the century a whole series of Turkish post cards was printed with views of the city. These are extremely valuable, because they were printed from pictures taken in the period 1880-1890".

Indeed, comparatively speaking, Turkish-occupied Thessaloniki was one of the most photographed cities in the world. Between the middle of the 19th and the early years of the 20th, the city was immortalized by countless photographers.

The Manakis brothers were among them. According to their books, they took one photograph in Thessaloniki in 1904, six in 1906, two in 1907 and one in 1912. These numbers are, of course, insignificant in comparison to the bulk of their work. They are also inaccurate since they do not include the pictures taken during the Sultan's visit in 1911, nor those of the liberation of the city in 1912 nor those of the Great Fire of 1917.

In short, although they visited Thessaloniki frequently the Manakis brothers had no ambition to enter a market that was already dominated by celebrated masters of the art, including Turks, Jews, Levantines, Greeks and Europeans.

The best known names from that period are: P. Zebtzis, Abdi Kerestendzi Effendi, Tevfik Effendi, K. Proucho, the brothers

D. M. and G. Liondas, I. Kemliel, A. Vouvain, I. Konstantinidis, K. Nikolaidis, N. Papadakis, A. Tzitzian, A. Philopoulos and D. Tziaros (1).

The trade in post cards, which was a flourishing business at that time, was in the hands of Thessaloniki's brilliant publishing houses, most of which were Jewish (M. and L. Molcho, David Benveniste, J. Varsano, Albert Barjilai, I. Aquarone, Hananel Naar). Other publishers of post cards included C. Vasif, Verlang von Bander, N. Xenophontidis, D. Sonidis and - later - M. Triantafyllou.

Before the Great Fire of 1917, when they had no close relatives in the city, on their visits to Thessaloniki the Manakis brothers would stay at the Jewish - owned Manastir Hotel, next door to the bakery owned by their friend Thomas Bitsios (2), a Vlach from Epirus. This hotel, which was on Belentie ("City Hall") Avenue (3) (at that time a central thoroughfare) was destroyed by the 1917 fire. The church they attended (usually Yannakis by himself) was the Romanising church on Misrahi Street, built in 1903 at the same time as the school. For the record, since 1899 Thessaloniki had had a four-year Romanian Commercial School, with nine teachers and 78 students. Yannakis taught there from 1941 to 1945 when the school, located in Miaouli Street, closed. Thessaloniki also had a kindergarten especially for the approximately one thousand strong Vlach population; in 1910 it had 62 pupils.

The Manakis brothers had put down their roots in Monastir. Although it was a prosperous and cultivated town, it was but a pale shadow of Thessaloniki.

When the brothers first went to Monastir, they found an urban centre with a flourishing Greek educational system in overt

rivalry with the Romanians and Bulgarians. There was neither electricity nor urban transport. Its railway link had only just been completed. Its schools, hospitals, clubs and charitable institutions were the gift of wealthy Greek citizens. Large industrial units were not to be found.

The Turkish administration had let everything slide and was struggling to hang on to its possessions in the Balkans by hook or by crook.

The town's only photographer seems to have been Yorgos Liondas from Kozani, although G. Nikolaidis of Krusovo also worked in Monastir (4). Until the Manakis brothers opened their own, the town had neither a theatre nor a cinema.

Until the outbreak of the 1912-1918 wars, the capital of Pelagonia maintained the picturesque facade and placid nature of a Turkish provincial trading centre. After the vicissitudes of the war years, with so many wounds to be healed, the town was rebuilt and transformed. The new Serbian administration established urban reconstruction programmes and poured huge sums of money into them. Considerable emphasis was placed on the policy concerning ethnicities. The Greeks were badly treated, and their numbers began to decline rapidly for they were leaving the area. The Slav elements, to which Bulgaria laid

a claim, was by now firmly in control. This state of affairs led the country's new political leadership to create, after the Second World War, the Federal Republic of Macedonia, with its capital not at Monastir, but at Skopje.

Monastir preserved its Greek flavour. The Manakis brothers recorded this phase of the town's history on film as well.

The Manakis brothers prospered in their adopted town. There was little competition, Liondas and Nikolaidis having left for Thessaloniki before 1913. Their business flourished, and their parallel production of motion picture films made them famous and much sought-after. According to Kostas Stamatiou, the superscription "Manakis-Balkans" on their correspondence was enough to ensure its delivery.

Their adventures in Ioannina, Yannakis' connection to the town from his student days, the relative proximity of Avdela where their parents, grandparents and sisters lived, and the large Helleno-Vlach community (and the Romanising element) in the town, all contributed to their decision to settle in Monastir. Independent of all this, however, is the fact that the talents of the two brothers, especially that of Miltos, were such that they would have prospered no matter where they went.

1. It is significant that between 1910 and 1916, when the Southern Macedonia Front opened, the number of photographers in Thessaloniki quintupled.

2. The Bitsios family were originally from Samarina, where Yannakis had photographed them in 1900.

3. The segment of Ionos Dragoumi Street between Egnatia St. and Emboriou Sq.

4. One more photographer said to have been practising in Monastir at that time was a Mr. Kermelis from Milovista.



Photoreportage of the visit of Sultan Mehmed Reshid to Thessaloniki (May, 1911). Photos by the Manakis brothers.



Photograph from the Manakis' archives of the Thessaloniki fire of 1917.



Photograph from the Manakis' archives of the Thessaloniki fire of 1917.

THE MANAKI
MOVIE THEATRE

When the exiled Yannakis returned from Bulgaria after the end of the First World War, the brothers decided to open a movie house. Up until then, there had been no place to show films in Monastir. Itinerant showmen would give improvised, roadside performances, just as in the days of the magic lanterns.

Their decision to build a permanent facility was probably influenced by the reflection that it would give them a place to show their own films. The project was completed in two stages. First came the purchase of the lot and the installation of an open-air summer cinema, and later the construction of a closed theatre. The summer theatre was launched on August 26, 1921. Since at that time Monastir was not electrified, the Manakis brothers rented a generator from a printer's shop. The projector was also rented, from Kostas Tsiomos, a travelling cinematographer and film supplier. Miltos hired a projectionist named Steryos, from Thessaloniki. He taught his trade to the Manakis brothers' assistant, Michalis Zengas, who until then had been the studio's errand-boy.

The opening went well. Most of the audience had never seen a film before. The inaugural programme included three short American comedies, plus segments of two full-length films with French subtitles. Discussing those heroic early shows, Michalis Zengas later confessed that the films were in a dreadful state, and that he had literally had to pin them together when they broke. "Before every show" he said, "I would stick more than one hundred pins in my lapel: I must have looked more like a tailor than a projectionist...".

In the winter of 1912 the Manakis cinema moved into a comfortable, large shed. But Yannakis and Miltos were

consumed by the idea of building a proper theatre in the centre of town. For many years after the war, Monastir continued to exhibit the scars of the German and Bulgarian bombardments. No suitable hall existed. And in any case, many of the wealthy Greeks, who owned much of the property in the town, had moved away to Florina or Thessaloniki. Thus, when the brothers located a suitable lot on Fardhi Street near their studio, they had to run down the owner, Mr. Loukas Vrettas, in Thessaloniki. The sale was completed in 1921, for a purchase price of 300 gold sovereigns.

A little later the brothers bought the adjacent lot, doubling the area for construction. Then they proceeded to draw up plans for the cinema, buy the construction materials and wait for the necessary permits. Construction began in the autumn of 1922. When the roof tiles were laid down, shoddy construction caused one of the interior walls to collapse, bringing the roof down with it. Although the brothers had spent their last penny on the construction of the cinema, they did not give up at this set-back. They wrote to King Alexander Karageorgevic, whom they had filmed at an earlier date, and with his assistance managed to obtain a low-interest loan from the Monastir Mortgage and Loan Bank.

Construction was soon completed, and the purchase of equipment began. They bought a generator, a projector and the other necessary items. The cost of it all, however, forced them to take in various partners.

The new cinema had 373 seats in the orchestra and another 200 in the boxes and galleries. It was an elegant space and a novelty in Monastir.

Business was anything but steady. "One day we would be

laughing and the next crying”, said Miltos. Things got worse after 1925, when their partners began to pull out. The following year the building was pledged as security for a loan. The Mortgage and Loan Bank began calling in its loan. And business kept getting worse.

The two brothers overcame all sorts of obstacles to bring good films from Zegreb and Belgrade, but that did not help. Nor did the orchestra they engaged to accompany the projection attract more patrons. Faced with so many problems, Yannakis and Miltos decided to rent out the hall. They found a tenant in the person of Risto Zerdevski, who hired the theatre for the period 1/1/28 to 31/12/31 for the sum of 236,000 dinars. Zerdevski made some improvements to the hall, the projection arrangements and the type of films offered, and business began to pick up. But only temporarily; in January 1930, one year before the expiration of his contract, Zerdevski broke his agreement. The brothers resumed control, once again lost money, and then rented it to Zerdevski again, this time for ten years, at an annual rent of only 24,000 dinars. The final chapter to this story was written some years later.

One evening in 1939, during projection the film caught fire and before long the whole building was reduced to ashes. The only losers were the Manakis brothers, for Zerdevski and the banks were insured. The fire left the brothers without property and without income, a blow they never recovered from for the rest of their lives.

“I had a presentiment”, Miltos was to say later, “that something bad was going to happen. I frequently dreamed of fire-scarred mountains and ruins. I would go to the cinema and check the fire extinguishers. This foreboding continued to haunt me. I confided my fears to Yannakis, and suggested we take the cinema back, even if we had to borrow the money to do it; he didn’t listen. He reminded me of all we had been through in the previous 30 years. Yannakis had at that time put together a mobile projection unit and went from town to town, showing films. Business in Bitola (Monastir) was slowing down because other cinemas had opened. We were on a downhill slope and nothing could stop the slide...”.

After this catastrophe their creditors pounced on them. Their situation was tragic: “We didn’t have so much as a crust of bread”, their faithful assistant, Michalis Zengas, later recounted.

The brothers declared bankruptcy. The banks claimed their property. The documents the brothers produced in court to prevent forfeiture showed their property consisted of: the cinema building, real estate in Avdela and Grevena, debts owed by persons in Albania, shops in Monastir, photographic and cinematographic material, furniture and household goods, debts owed by persons in Monastir. The total assessed value came to 1,190,000 dinars, 900,000 more than the debt, but they were unable to raise the cash and ended up losing everything.



Monastir at the beginning of the 20th century.



The Manakis brothers
(Miltos, second from the right, Yannis third, with his son)
in front of their cinema in Monastir (1929?).

THE END

This was a terrible blow. The labours of a lifetime were buried in the ruins. The brothers were no longer young enough to start again.

Yannakis, who like his brother was still a Greek citizen, decided to return to Greece. Miltos kept the studio with its equipment and archives.

There also seems to have been some financial settlement between them before Yannakis and his only son departed.

Kostas Stamatiou says that Yannakis wanted his son to study in Greece. The Skopjians claim that he was afraid the Bulgarians would occupy Monastir again (the war in Europe had begun) and would reopen their books from the last war when he had been exiled as a spy.

What an outlandish claim.

Whatever the case may have been, Yannakis returned to Greece while the reek of gunpowder spread across the Balkans. He stayed for a while in Veria and Naousa, where his sisters and their children lived, before going to Thessaloniki and a teaching position at the Romanian Commercial School in Miaouli Street. Not long after the arrival of the Germans there began the peculiar interlude of the "Principality of the Pindus". Once again a group of incorrigible Romanisers had the whip hand. Yannakis did not get involved; he was too busy earning his living.

His son "finished high school and began to study at the French Institute. He learned six languages. He is said to have served as an interpreter for the English in the Civil War. Unfortunately, young Dimitris became seriously ill with tuberculosis and died in 1948, only 22 years old".

The elderly Yannakis never recovered from this blow. He

moved into the house of a niece, Olga Styliou, and shut himself away from the world. Inconsolable, lonely and desperately poor, he died in May 1954. His death went completely unnoticed.

Miltos Manakis continued to work in his studio until 1961, when he was 78. From then until his death in 1964, he devoted his time to organizing the archives he had sold to the Yugoslav state.

The still hale and hearty pioneer also received much recognition and numerous honours in old age. In 1955 he celebrated his jubilee as a photographer and cinematographer.

In 1959, at the 6th Festival of Pula, a documentary was presented, entitled "Camera 300", which dealt with the creative career of the Manakis brothers.

In March 1963, at the 10th Yugoslav Documentary Film Festival in Belgrade, a film was shown that he and his brother had made 52 years earlier of the visit of Sultan Mehmed Reshid to Monastir in 1911.

Numerous cinema clubs in Yugoslavia adopted his name. Students found the Manakis archives a source of useful data for their theses. Journalists, researchers, academics and encyclopedists from Yugoslavia and abroad became interested in the lives of the brothers. Tito himself had his photo taken by the illustrious photographer.

All this was a source of pride and joy for the elderly Miltos who, however, continued to live a simple, frugal life.

Miltos Manakis died in 1964. The news of his death flashed across the country. His funeral was attended by friends, relatives, admirers, and personalities from the world of arts and letters.

He quit this world with the honour due a pioneer.



A smiling Miltos Manakis holding an honorary medal given him by the Yugoslav government shortly before his death.



Miltos Manakis, as an old man, with the camera that inaugurated the film industry in the Balkans, in the midst of a group of Yugoslav photoreporters at a function in his honour (1955?)

FROM THE GERMAN OCCUPATION
TO 1961

Miltos Manakis was a sociable and popular man, described as hard-working, fond of amusements and a lavish spender. Yannakis, on the other hand, was reserved, aloof and close-fisted, preferring security in his relationships and in his pocket.

Yannakis once bought a chest to keep his money in, a strong, well-made box, reinforced with iron strapping. There was a place on the front for the owner's name, and Yannakis inscribed the words, "May I fill you up before I die". When Miltos saw those words he wrote underneath, "May I empty you before I die" (1).

This is a true story and it nearly caused a breach between the brothers. But the concord that is a sacred obligation in Vlach families, and their greatest gift, prevailed; and to the end of their days the brothers never exchanged a harsh word, nor sought to exploit each other socially or financially.

The truth remains that the family's success was due more to Miltos' practicality than to Yannakis' prudence. It was Miltos who was on good terms with everyone and who worked hard to get the family out of their difficulties in times of adversity. Miltos knew how to fight with a smile in his heart, just as he knew how to work not only for his daily bread, but for the love of his profession as well. Although essentially uneducated, he had a lively social instinct which helped him adapt to circumstances. His common sense complemented his extensive experience. His behaviour was always so straight forward that he was never involved in misunderstandings. Everyone he dealt with felt he was "one of us".

His work was not a burden to him. Ever smiling, ever optimistic, he bustled about taking pictures and making films. Although he

was constantly tired when he returned from his business circuits, he would immediately freshen up, change his clothes and set out for an evening's entertainment in the town. "I used to dress like a prince", he would say proudly, "and I went to all the best spots so people would not forget me".

Whenever he had the chance, he would pay a flying visit to his home village, to dance and make merry there. He adored folk music and loved the songs and dances of all the Balkan peoples. (He spoke all the languages of the Balkans, plus excellent French).

Miltos was middle-aged when he married. As a bachelor, he had had flings with a number of girls, of course, but not from Monastir. "You don't mix business with pleasure", he used to say. That is why it was not until after a ten year engagement, punctuated by promises and deferrals, that he finally married his wife, Vasiliki.

She immediately clamped down on him. The flings and the extravagant expenditures were over, the convivial evenings curtailed. This energetic lady even put her foot down in matters of business, tidying up his books. Numerous debtors found themselves obliged to clear their accounts. Miltos used to tease her, saying "When a Jew declares bankruptcy he combs through his old books", but she would just accuse him of being naive and overgenerous with everyone. She even began to look askance at Yannakis. The presence of a solemn and solitary brother-in-law, a widower with a motherless child, was a burden to a new bride. This may well have had something to do with Yannakis' decision to return to Greece.

So, after the fire that destroyed the cinema, the brothers were forced to take stock of their professional possessions. In the

studio there were four cameras for stills and one movie camera, plus a variety of other material and their archives. They agreed that Miltos should keep all this, until he too would be able to return to Greece. Yannakis took a little money and left. K. Stamatiou says that this was in 1939; the Skopjians quote a date in 1941, the very day on which the Germans entered Thessaloniki - believe it or not. The first date seems more likely. Yannakis' son Dimitris would have been 12 or 13 at that time, just the age to be starting high school. As he did.

Miltos stayed in Monastir, barely ekeing out a living from the studio. The shadow of war made business wither. By that time, too, he was no longer the only photographer in the town. For the first time, he found himself alone, without his brother at his side. For the first time he found himself broke, without a penny in his pocket. For the first time, no one was interested in his art. Material was becoming scarce. And at that critical moment in his life, war broke out. Within 48 hours of war being declared, the Germans had entered Monastir. It was then, in the midst of the breaking storm, that there stirred within Miltos Manakis, the tireless old journeyman, the hidden photoreporter of history.

The German occupation of Monastir began on April 9, 1941. Thirteen days later, a Bulgarian division entered the town. By a twist of fate, Miltos' business suddenly picked up, just as it had during the First World War. The troops wanted souvenirs of their time in Monastir, and Miltos could not keep up with demand.

The German manufacturer, Agfa, had flooded the market with photographic supplies, so there was no longer any problem in that area.

Besides his work in the studio, Miltos was in great demand at the parades and banquets put on by the occupying fascist forces. These were practically endless, and he photographed them all:

official dinners, speeches, pageants, thanksgiving services, memorial ceremonies, and what have you: he immortalised them all. After the war, these photographs served as evidence in the settling of accounts with war criminals, collaborators and traitors.

During the four years of the occupation, Miltos took around 400 photographs. Besides his chronicle of the German and Bulgarian occupying forces, he also photographed family groups, five or six weddings, athletic events and so forth. The occupation of Monastir came to an end on November 4, 1944. With the liberation of the country by the Allies and the Partisans, Yugoslavia entered upon a new socio-political regime.

Once again, Miltos found it easy to adapt to changed circumstances. He was sixty-two years old and had more experience of such things than practically anyone else.

Camera in hand, he recorded the entry of the liberation forces, just as he had done in 1908 with the revolt of the Young Turks, and in 1912 during the liberation of Thessaloniki and Monastir. Now, in 1946, he photographed the people's courts which were trying war criminals.

In 1957 Tito visited Monastir. In tribute to his status, Miltos was selected to record the event. He also photographed Tito on his next visits to Monastir.

This annoyed many local photographers, who were unaware of Miltos' history. He was very proud of having been asked to photograph the President, and made a series of 30X40 prints of the official photo, which he distributed for next to nothing to anyone who wanted a copy.

Between 1944 and 1961, when he finally retired from business, Miltos took another 250 or so pictures. But it was evident by then that his long career was coming to a close.

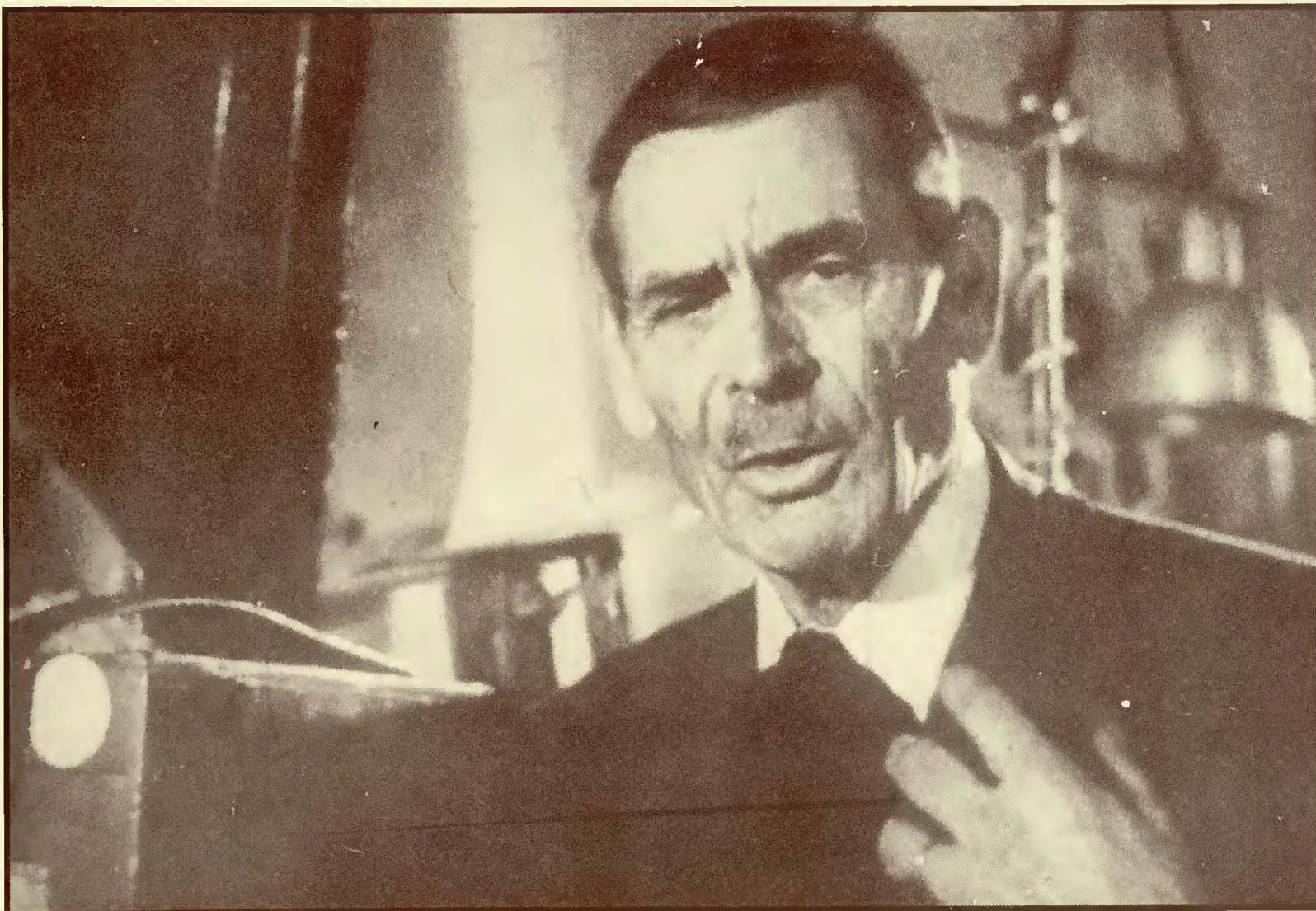
1. It was proverbial among the people of Monastir that "Yannakis hoards and Miltos spends".



Miltos Manakis with his camera in Monastir (1950?).



Miltos Manakis examining one of his films (1952?)



Miltos Manakis in his studio in Monastir, shortly before his death.

THE FILMS:
A CATALOGUE

On September 23, 1955, Miltos Manakis sat down and made a list of all the films he had shot, initially with his brother and later on his own.

These films covered the period from 1905 to 1927. The list Miltos drew up was part of the proposal he submitted to the so-called "Macedonian Archives" in Skopje for the purchase of his professional material. The document listed 67 films, described under the following titles:

1. Hurriyet ("freedom" in Turkish).
2. Hanging.
3. Reception of the Romanian ministers at Bitola (Monastir), 1909.
4. The Sultan on the balcony of the Prefect's offices, attending the parade of the schoolchildren, soldiers and so forth.
5. Reception of the King of Greece and Crown Prince Paul by General Baiovic in Bitola in 1918.
6. Hurriyet - the march of townspeople, troops and others past the Sultan in Thessaloniki.
7. Train, Thessaloniki - Naousa - Amyntaion bridges, with the Sultan on the way to Bitola.
8. The Sultan at the mosque, coming out of the mosque, and at the Toumbe Cafe.
9. Statue. Deposition before the statue in Bitola by Crown Prince Alexander, *pasic* (bishop) Barnavas, in the Church of the Virgin. Alexander leaving the cathedral. Station. Alexander's arrival at Bitola.
10. March before the Sultan in Thessaloniki. The Sultan at the Bechtsinar Cafe and arriving in a carriage.
11. Peasants fighting over land.
12. Hurriyet.
13. Arrival of the Vlachs in Korytsa.
14. The first Serbian school in Bitola.
15. Reception of the Romanian ministers in the Romanian schools.
16. Society wedding in Bitola.
17. Country wedding in the Bitola - Veles district of Macedonia, 1907.
18. The Sultan at the Bitola railway station before his departure.
19. Parade of infantry and cavalry on the meadow at Bitola.
20. Turkish era, village school.
21. Rural quarrel over division of fields.
22. Grandmother at work, spinning at the age of 114.
23. Turkish teacher in the fields with donkey and horse.
24. Housework.
25. Vlach wedding in 1906 (Hatzigogos' wedding).
26. Vlach nomads on the move.
27. The Sultan's reception by the people of Bitola, with parade of the Viziers.
28. Romanian High School.
29. Cavalry raising dust during training manoeuvres with the infantry.
30. Wedding in Perivoli.
31. Teaching children under the sky, in a courtyard.
32. Vlach nomads with their families going to their villages in the spring.
33. Peasants celebrating at Ayia Kyriaki church, in Bitola.
34. Panorama of the town of Grevena.
35. Resen.
36. Wedding in Veria, from the town to the village of Doliana.

37. Butchers flaying animals.
 38. Butchers at the fair on the Feast Day of St. John and the Blessing of the Waters.
 39. Parade of Turkish infantry and army troops.
 40. Border clashes between peasants.
 41. Wedding in Vovousa and Perivoli.
 42. Devihane: Arrival of the rebels, 12/7/1908.
 43. The first Serbian school.
 44. The wedding of Petros Yerasimov.
 45. Waterfall at Bitola.
 46. Vlachs in Veria throwing the Cross into the water.
 47. The Sultan strolling in Thessaloniki.
 48. Rural wedding, Bitola.
 49. Arrival of the Illidentites in Bitola, 1908.
 50. Wedding of Petros Ierasimov.
 51. Church in Grevena.
 52. The first car stopping at the first petrol station in Bitola, 1909.
 53. Heroes of Pelister (1906-1907).
 54. 6/8/1906, Festival of the Saviour in the Greek village of Avdela, weaving in the Greek village of Avdela.
 55. Awaiting the rebel troops at Devihane.
 56. Funeral in Grevena.
 57. Reception of the Romanian ministers at Resen or Ochrid.
 58. Butchers.
 59. Parading the Serbian flag in Bitola, 1927.
 60. Turkish cavalry.
 61. Festivities with Sultan Reshid.
 62. Feast in Veria.
 63. The Turks promising freedom in the presence of foreign consuls.
 64. The Sultan in Thessaloniki, in front of the Bechtsinar Cafe.
 65. Crown Prince Alexander arriving by train, memorial service for those who fell in 1912 at Bitola, blessing the foundation of the statue.
 66. The Sultan in Bitola, Toumbe Cafe, the Thessaloniki - Bitola train.
 67. Young girls and troops in Thessaloniki, marching in parade.
- Miltos Manakis listed and described all his films, but not in chronological order. A quick glance down the list of titles shows that several are devoted to the same subject; the footage has

merely been cut into different lengths, but these still form part of the same unit. For example, the proclamation of Hurriyet is listed twice, but the content of each of these filmstrips is different. Consequently, a proper listing by subject would reduce substantially the content of this catalogue.

On this basis it is possible to classify the Manakis brothers' films into three categories. One would contain documents on rural life (housework, schools, animal husbandry, farming, customs and mores). A second would consist of the so-called newsreels: this would include such subjects as the proclamation of the new Turkish constitution, the hanging, the Sultan's visit, the inaugurations and ceremonies with Serbian dignitaries and so on. Finally, the third category would group together descriptions of social life, including weddings, social events, panoramic views of towns and villages and so forth.

However, the distinction between categories of subject matter is not always clear, with one category frequently overlapping another: material on "social life", for instance, often includes material properly belonging to "rural life" and the coverage of Sultan Reshid's visit to Thessaloniki and Monastir is full of documentary material on social, political, economic and - above all - ethnographic matters, of far greater interest than the mere "newsworthiness" it offered at the time it was made.

It is in this perspective that one can best appreciate the rare worth of the material these brilliant photographers left behind them.

A possible classification we feel is worth mentioning would be one based on the chronological sequences of the film footage.

In the case of the Sultan's visit, for instance, this gives us:

1. Arrival of the Sultan in the harbour.
2. Events in honour of the Sultan, in front of the Bechtsinar Cafe.
3. Young men and women, townspeople and troops, marching past in honour of the Sultan.
4. Train journey from Thessaloniki via Naousa and Amyntaion to Monastir.
5. Reception at the railway station.
6. The Sultan on the balcony of the Prefect's offices.
7. Townspeople and troops marching past in Monastir.
8. The Sultan going to a reception in his honour at the Toumbe Cafe.

9. The Sultan leaving the Isak mosque in Monastir, after worshipping.

10. Seeing the Sultan off at the station.

These films could also be classified on a chronological basis, beginning with the brothers' first film, "The Weavers" made in Avdela in 1905. They could also be classified by location; we would then see that the Manakis brothers made films in ten different inhabited localities: Avdela, Veria, Monastir, Grevena, Gopesi, Ochrid, Perivoli, Resen, Thessaloniki and Vovousa.

The total footage of the films we know of, amounts to 1,244.4 metres. There are, of course, negatives as well, whose content we do not know, but this modest footage in our possession still contains a living record of the varied facets of life in the Balkans at the turn of the century.

The catalogue of films left by Miltos Manakis to the Macedonian Archives in Skopje does not coincide precisely with the one supplied by the encyclopedist Roger Boussinot, nor with the evidence we have from other sources; it is entirely possible that some footage has been lost or was never developed (the liberation of Thessaloniki, Venizelos' visit to Monastir, the funeral of Bishop Aimilianos). Kostas Stamatiou, basing his record on Boussinot, gave the following list of films, which is not precisely the same as the one left by Miltos:

1. Weavers (1905).
2. Macedonian games and customs (1906).
3. Macedonians on the gallows (murdered by the Turks, 1907).
4. Proclamation of the Hurriyet in Monastir (1908).
5. Visit of Sultan Mehmed Reshid V to Thessaloniki and Monastir (1911).
6. Liberation of Monastir (1912).
7. Turkish prisoners (1912).
8. Bombardment of Monastir (1916).
9. Refugees (1916).
10. Cavalry charge (1916).
11. Liberation (a second time) of Monastir (1916).
12. Explosion of a powder magazine in Bitola (1924).

Through Michalis Zengas, the brothers' friend and assistant, we learn that the brothers also made films for third parties. It was in this capacity that they filmed the weddings of wealthy landowner Hatzigogos from Veria, Petso Geras from Monastir

and Risto Zerdevksi from Prilep, on commission and for a fee. Of these three films the only one extant is that of the wedding of Hatzigogos' daughter; the other two were turned over to the interested parties, along with the negatives, and have been lost. Hatzigogos was an extremely wealthy sheep farmer from Veria, and was connected to the Manakis' family by marriage. His mansion could be seen until quite recently, when his heirs returned from Romania and sold it to build a block of flats.

Petros Geras was a manufacturer of chocolate in Monastir. Risto Zerdveski was a business associate of the Manakis brothers, who rented their cinema in Monastir.

Their films were only part of their accumulated material, however; there were also the photographs. The Manakis brothers were a rare example of those pioneers of the Image who realized very early and in an inimitable fashion the tremendous descriptive and artistic value of both the cinema and the still photograph.

They were repeatedly honoured with awards for their photographs. The artistic quality of their work won them recognition and appointment as Court photographers to the royal court of Romania (1907), to the Sublime Porte (1911) and to the court of the Serbian King Alexander Karageorgevic (1929).

Most of their photographs are of a purely documentary nature. The shots were made as the action unfolded, without preparation and without special affects, but with a clever sense of framing and action.

Group, family and single portraits were usually taken full face, in the standard pose used by all photographers at that time.

Then there were the deliberately artistic photographs, which display tremendous sensitivity in their subject matter and their use of light.

The films, on the other hand, have certain distinctive characteristics of their own. The shots are descriptive and explanatory, the images perfectly clear, the angles varied. From time to time there is a sense of decoupage, the various scenes having been filmed in such a way as to enable the photographer to produce a single and complete whole.

The cinematographic language employed by the brothers evolved year by year, film by film, as the rigidity of the early scenes gradually gave way to more liveliness. They began to use

their camera more flexibly, first in their tentative panning shots, then in daring downward angles and finally in dynamic tracking shots, culminating in the famous scenes of the Sultan's train on the Thessaloniki-Monastir line in 1911. In this film we see the landscape of Macedonia, the bridges and the rivers, from the vantage point of the moving train. Studying the brothers' films and photographs today, we can appreciate not only their professional acumen and their journalist's perceptivity, but also their awareness of the progress being made in their profession. Their archives, including about 12,500 photographs and 1,500 metres of film - containing the first footage ever shot in the Balkans - were sold between 1955 and 1964 to the national archives in Skopje and Monastir for the sum of 10,000,000 dinars.

This sale was in part the work of the elderly Miltiadis which required years of negotiations and delays before a final agreement could be reached. Before opting for this solution, the brothers tried from 1950 on to contact some responsible body in Greece; by May 1954, however, when nothing had come of these efforts, Miltos decided to turn back to Yugoslavia and the negotiations begun there in 1952.

At that time the Yugoslav film library, in collaboration with the state-owned Vardar Film Company, had taken all the Manakis brothers' cinematographic material, promising to turn it to account. But by 1954 nothing had happened, so at the very moment when his brother lay dying in Thessaloniki (May, 1954), Miltos officially authorised the Macedonian Archives in Skopje to exercise on his behalf his intellectual property rights, prohibiting the Yugoslav film library from publicly showing, developing or printing the films that had been entrusted to it.

In the summer of 1954 all the material was returned to Skopje, together with a certificate from the film library stating that at the proposal of the Cinema Committee the material had been used to make a film entitled "Documents of a Certain Time", and further stating that the film had been shown at a conference in Cambridge, but had not been used for commercial or other purposes.

This turning to account, as it were, of his old film footage for the purpose of making a film, shocked Miltos; for a whole year he refused to have anything more to do with the Skopjians. In the end, the persistence of the Director of the Archives won

him over, the contract was finalised and on September 23, 1955, Miltos made over all his films together with a list on which they were registered with numbers from one to sixty-seven, for a sum equivalent to approximately 40,000 drachmas.

With his wife Vasiliki, he then proceeded to negotiate with the Historical Archives of Monastir for the sale of the photographic material in his possession. After all the negatives and prints had been counted, a purchase procedure was agreed on providing initially for the listing of the plates and their identification. In May 1961, Miltos and an employee of the Historical Archives began the work of numbering and describing one by one, all the photographs he and his brother had taken since 1898, across the length and the breadth of the Balkans. In the space of five and a half months Miltos and the Archives assistant processed 5,800 photographs. A major factor in the accomplishment of this feat was Miltos' extraordinary memory and his ability to focus on the past and ferret out details - places, names, events, dates - which was not easy for a man his age but was required by the contract of sale.

When the listing and identification of the pictures was complete, the negotiations over the financial details began.

The Historical Archives of Monastir could not pay a market price for the pictures. This unexpected turn of events was a final bitter pill for the elderly photographer to swallow. The new cycle of seemingly never-ending discussions went on for years. Miltos Manakis himself did not live to see the outcome of the purchase agreement; worn down by chronic diabetes, he died on the morning of March 5, 1964, at the age of 82.

The first Greece heard of the Manakis brothers was in 1971, when Kostas Stamatiou removed the shroud of domestic ignorance surrounding them. Despite that, it would appear that their name was familiar a dozen years earlier in certain government circles. In 1960, the Minister of Industry, Nikos Martis, opening the first Greek Cinema Week in Thessaloniki, mentioned the Manakis brothers as "the Greek pioneers of the cinema in the Balkans". But after this they were unjustly left to sink back into official oblivion.

In 1978 N. Zervos and C. Christodoulou made a long television documentary about them, entitled "The Cinematographers of Northern Greece". Another was made in 1980 by T. Papayannidis, entitled "You, the Mountains of Grevena".

Many of the films purchased by Skopje were shown in 1984 on the television series "The Panorama of the Century", by F. Lambrinos and L. Loisos.

Finally, the Greek Ministry of Culture and the General

Secretariat of Information and the Press, commissioned film directors N. Antonakos and K. Andritsos to produce one documentary each on the life and work of the Manakis brothers.



A rare document: Miltos Manakis filming from the balcony of the studio in Monastir.

EPILOGUE

The Manakis brothers, then, were certainly the pioneers of the cinema in the Balkans and were also among the very first photographers in the region. Their work, with its simple reflections of localities, exciting events, portraits of important people and studies of traditional life, can be considered as original even in its initial stage. Although they started out as itinerant photographers, the Manakis brothers did not limit themselves to portrait photos and family groups. Love of their work prompted them to go beyond a mere earning of their daily bread, to the seeking of a more sublime emotion in their art. Not should it be forgotten that photography "was born of the need for objectivity". The Manakis brothers, whether by instinct or design, confirmed this definition; they recorded the Balkans at some of their most critical historical moments with both touching impartiality and a sense of documentary precision.

The Balkans were a picturesque corner of Europe, sometimes explosive, but always photogenic. As the site of the historic origins of dozens of ethnicities and cultures, the Balkans in the mid 19th century attracted numerous travellers and photographers, and awakened the appetite of innumerable other "invaders" of every profession imaginable. A place scattered with the crumbling relics of ancient grandeur - Greek, Roman, Byzantine, Slav and Muslim - and ruled for centuries by an unchanging order of things, it was the ideal subject matter for folkloric and poetical pictures. But when the uprisings of the Balkan peoples began to destroy these monuments one after the other, the Balkans acquired a new kind of "photogeneity". Photos of the area then recorded the details of a fatal collision, while at the same time bearing witness to, and preserving the

rituals of, history. Local itinerant photographers - such as the Manakis brothers - set to criss - crossing the Balkans. Their heroism was indescribable for besides their heavy equipment and an area where all unity had suffered dispersal over hundreds, or even thousands, of years, they also had to face the opposition of a population which though heterogenous was bound by a common fate. Despite all that, there were a number of those heroic, so-called "dilettantes" of the art of photography who were able to communicate the value of their art in broadening the knowledge of the world we live in.

"Photography", Miltos Manakis used to say, "is in essence an art form. We are artists/technicians of a sort, comparable to the painters of the past. They were not the only ones who could give beauty to what they painted; we do the same thing with our photographs. A good photograph depends on the play of light... And this is something only an artist can do, someone who knows what is attractive, divine and aesthetic". The Manakis brothers lived in and recorded an age which saw the unity of Ottoman rule in the Balkans shattered, but not the unity of the Balkans themselves. From a certain point of view, their work can be seen as the objectification of bold and useful perspectives, like those expressed on a different plane by the visions of Venizelos, Kemal (Atatürk), Papanastasiou, Karamanlis, Zivkov, G. and A. Papandreou and Ozal which have all, however, proved fruitless.

One final word: Whatever the ideological choices of the Manakis brothers, whatever the contradictions in their behaviour, nothing can erase either the fact of their Greek origin or the importance of their work - they have fully earned the title of pioneers of the cinema in the Balkans.

APPENDIX I

EXCERPTS FROM THE UNPUBLISHED DIARY
OF A. TOPALIS IN MONASTIR

1. KING CONSTANTINE IN MONASTIR

A few days after the liberation of Florina (16-11-1912) (the exact date escapes me), Constantine, the Crown Prince of Greece and Commander - in - Chief of the Greek armed forces, visited Monastir with his entire staff, accompanied by Princes Georges, Pavlos, Andreas, and others.

It was Constantine's burning desire to see the glorious town of Monastir (which he intended to liberate immediately after Kozani, had not the events in Thessaloniki intervened). Constantine was perfectly familiar with that heroic town and its role in the Macedonian Struggle of 1900-1908, and the self-sacrifice shown by its sons for a national ideal, because as everyone knows he was on the Committee and was an unofficial member of the Committee established to help Macedonia in its struggle against the threat posed by the Bulgarians since 1900.

Constantine's reception by the Greeks of Monastir was so moving that words can't describe it; no one but a brilliant man of letters could reanimate the scene in words: the Serbs with their Crown Prince Alexander welcoming Constantine at the station. It should be stressed that the arrival of the Serbian Crown Prince, Alexander, went unnoticed in Monastir. The only thing we know is that upon entering the town he went to the Seraglion, where he admired its oriental beauty and that a few days later he packed up all its furniture and left for Belgrade!

At the sight of Constantine and his retinue, the crowd lining the road from the station to the centre of town, broke into shouts of acclamation that must have reached all the way to the skies; they wept, delirious with emotion. All the way from the station

to the Church of Ayios Dimitrios the vast crowd cheered him. As soon as he went into the church, Constantine and the Princes were lifted on high by the enthusiastic young patriots. The hearts of all thrilled to the grandeur, to the unexpected national dream! The Great National Idea was incarnate in this great Greek prince. "May we see you King in Constantinople!" Every Greek heart experienced, for those few hours, a glorious national exaltation. In the Church of Ayios Dimitrios, during the magnificent service and amid the impenetrable crowds, the Metropolitan Chrysostomos spoke with national fervour... Only those who witnessed the majestic reception of the Crown Prince Constantine and his retinue and who were present at the liturgy and the national celebrations can describe the national grandeur displayed by the Greek people of the blood-stained town of Monastir.

- In general the Serbs were astounded by the magnificence of the pagentry of the Greeks of Monastir. The town's Slav element is virtually non-existent, and absent from everything. The only lively, civilized element in all such aspects of life is the Greek community... The Serbs admire their brilliant educational institutions, the High School of the Mousikeia Municipal School, the Teachers' Academy, the Senior Girls' High School, the Evangelismos Hospital, the Conservatory, the Orchestra, the Gymnasium and all the magnificent mansions. They see large Greek shops and the civilized cafes, hotels, restaurants, patisseries, owned and managed by Greeks for the most part. They admire unequivocally the cultured prosperity of Greek Monastir...

2. VENIZELOS IN MONASTIR

Monastir was now living in the expectation, or rather the certainly, that it would soon belong to Greece. The visit of Crown Prince Constantine was seen as a token of the town's incorporation into Greece.

The relations of the allied Greeks and Serbs with their other, implacable ally, Bulgaria, had soured. Things were sliding toward open conflict. In May 1913, it was reported that Venizelos, the great leader of Greece, would pass through Monastir on his way to Skopje for discussions with the Serbian Prime Minister, Pasic.

The rail service between Thessaloniki and Skopje had been interrupted because it was under the control of Bulgarian artillery which had initiated unofficial clashes with Greek and Serbian forces and the track at Gevgeli had been destroyed.

A defence treaty against the Bulgarians was to be concluded between Greece and Serbia. This proposal of Venizelos' had been announced publicly and indeed, the treaty was duly signed on May 19, 1913. Venizelos returned to Monastir from Skopje, and stopped for the night in the bishop's palace. How the Greek population of the town found out about it, is a mystery... Thousands of people, men, women and children, packed into the area in front of the Cathedral, the neighbouring houses and all the surrounding streets. Enthusiastic shouts and acclamations shook the entire area. "Long Live Venizelos! Long Live Greece. Long Live the Greek Army! Send us the Greek Army quickly!" They called on him to speak... to come out on the balcony and speak to them... Everyone waited with his heart in his mouth.

Swayed by the tumult, Venizelos appeared on the balcony. Dignified and ramrod-straight as he was, he waited for several

minutes for the pandemonium of clapping and shouting to die down. At a gesture from him, silence was restored. With his resounding, stentorian voice struggling with genuine emotion, he spoke. His few words left a deep impression on me, never to be forgotten!

"My Dear Greek Brothers of Monastir!

I thank you so very, very much for your heartfelt welcome. Thank you!" and with that he bowed and returned indoors...

Naturally, all the people had been expecting him to announce the joyous news of the future of Monastir... They were dumbfounded... The crowd melted away, disappointed. The only solace they could draw was in the idea that perhaps such an announcement could not be made officially, in public, in such a place. That evening a committee of citizens entertained Venizelos at an official dinner at the "Royal" taverna-restaurant.

The next day the news was circulated and the committee was informed of the unhappy decision: Monastir, unfortunately, was to be sacrificed for the sake of Thessaloniki, which was in great danger of being lost...

No one in Monastir had expected a decision like that! No one could have imagined that a Greek town, at the head of the nation's ramparts, bathed in the blood of its sons, could be sacrificed to allies who from the first day they set foot in the town themselves acknowledged its indisputable Greek character.

The Treaty of Bucharest in 1913, which put an end to the Second Balkan War, set the seal on this tremendous sacrifice. Monastir, that heroic Greek town, was to become Serbian! (1).

1. This unpublished diary, which is in the archives of the Association of Monastirians of Thessaloniki, consists of 26 manuscript pages densely written on double sheets of lined, examination paper and is entitled "The Last National Days of Monastir". Its author, Anastasios Topalis, had published in *Makedonika* (12, 1912) a short study on "The Villages of Ano and Kato Beala, in the Strounga - Ochrid Basin". His father, Naoum Topalis, had taken part in Anastasios Piheon's rebellion against the Turks.

APPENDIX II

SOME NAMES OF CLIENTS
OF THE MANAKIS BROTHERS,
FROM THE PERIOD 1898 - 1912

– Ioannina:

Zographos, Steryiou, Omar Pasha, Abdul Ahmet Housli, Kani Pasha, Beki Bey, Mustapha Pasha, Hatzi Effendi, Feim Bey, Vasilakis, Distanikos, Triandafyllos Nikolaou, Badeanu.

– Avdela:

Nakos Pappas, Takis Pappas, Nakos Exarchos, Nousis Toulis, Leonidas Poupis, Zisis Verros.

– Perivoli:

Kostas Laitsios, Michalis Tegos, schoolmaster Gogos, Goulis Nousis, Nakos Seramas.

– Monodendri:

Epaminondas Kionitis, Pandelis Koulotsita.

– Samarina:

Achilleas Chrisnik, Ilias Davouras, Michalis Zechou, Takis Gandonas, Yannis Lalas, Nousias Betsios, Sotiris Davaras, Bitsios.

– Laista:

Nakos Zamanis, Tolis Zamanis.

– Lesinitza:

Michalis Latsis, Dimitris Diamandis.

– Metsovo:

Vasilis Diamandis, Nakos Bokas.

– Korytsa:

Bishop Photis Christophoridis, A. Betsios.

– Krania:

Christos Silkis, Tasos Bezas, Kalliopi Beza, Nikolaos Lagaris.

– Drama:

Stergios Iconomou.

– Gopesi:

Takis Perdikas, N. Papanikolas, Takis and Zisis Kotsias, Papakostas, Lisias.

– Florina:

Zengas, Stefanos Rolev, Ilias Milosis.

– Klisoura:

Achilleas Danikas, Ioannis Tornivoukas, M. Theodoros.

– Krusovo:

Tandas, Pitos, Father Sotiris, Michalis Zographos, Zacharias Brousios.

– Milovista:

Tasos Tsiomou, Voivode Christos, Vangelis Koulalis.

– Drosopigi:

P. Kalousos, Argyris Kalousos, Apostolos Athanasiou, Spyros Tolis.

– Flambouro:

D. Kokkas (D. Lambrakis).

– Naousa:

Yakob Bey, Tsimourangas, Tsitsis.

– Nymfaio:

Konstantinos Sossidis, Nikolaos Lipis, Tsiomou, Boutaris,
Zeinel Bey.

– Veria:

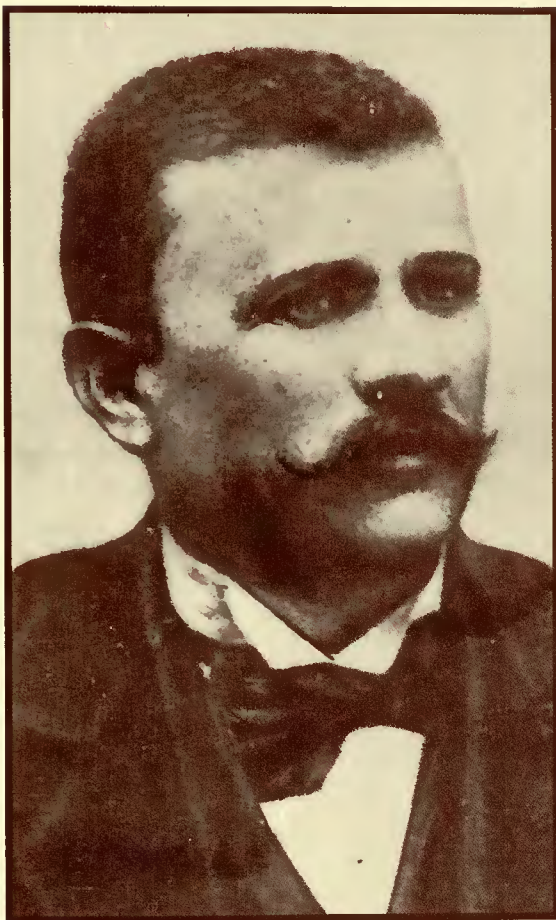
Hatzigogos, Kapetanios Badralexis.

– Monastir:

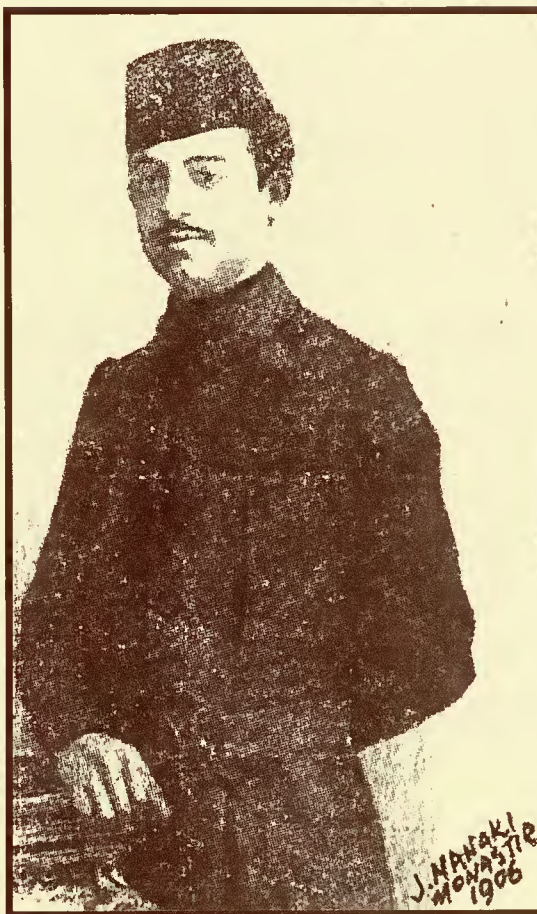
Yiorsis, Nakas Naoum, Y. Tsalis, Niazi Bey, Metropolitan
Joachim, Bishop Aimilianos, C. Doulas, T. Modis, V. Notis, N.
Pyrzas, S. Matlis, T. Nalis, Ali kavass, Metropolitan
Chrysostomos, Archdeacon Athenagoras, Metropolitan
Vasileios, Metropolitan Stefanos, Father Spyros, Father
Angelis, N. Nastos, Altipermakis, Father Tondi (Thodoros),
Konstaninou, General Gocl Pasha, Karavitis, Makris,
Tsiakalarov, Volanis.

– Grevena:

Bekir Effendi, Ismail Effendi, Kousidi, Poupis, Vellidis, Bishop
Aimilianos, Father Dimitris.



Theodoros Modis, lumber merchant from Monastir, one of the initiators of the Macedonian Struggle. He was murdered by the Bulgarians in his own shop.



Dimitrios Lambrakis, schoolmaster, agent of the Macedonian Struggle, and later editor of *To Vima*, *Ta Nea* and *O Tachydromos*. The photograph, perhaps the newspaper's, is signed J. Manaki, and dated Monastir 1906. During the Macedonian Struggle, Lambrakis used the pseudonym D. Kokkas; he was a client of the Manakis studio.



The official photograph of the leader of the Young Turk movement, Lieutenant - Colonel Niazi Effendi. The portrait is by the Manakis studio (Monastir, 1908).

APPENDIX III

PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN
BY THE MANAKIS BROTHERS,
IN THE PERIOD 1898 - 1912

No. Place taken	Period taken			
	Total period:	Ioannina period: 1898-1904	Monastir Turkish 1905-1912	Unspecified period 1899-1912
Total	1839	370	1113	356
1. Avdela	117	61	49	7
2. Aspropotamos	1	1		
3. Babouna (river)	1			
4. Vevi	14		11	1
5. Drosopigi	19	1	16	2
6. Veria	41	1	38	2
7. Monastir	1027	76	678	273
8. Brousnik	2			2
9. Bukovo	2	1		1
10. Bucharest	5		5	
11. Boufi	11		10	1
12. Naousa	1		1	
13. Vovoussa	9	7	1	1
14. Gopesi	52	1	34	17
15. Graesnitsa	3		3	
16. Grevena	47	11	33	3
17. Damasi	3	1	2	
18. Debar	18	1	17	
19. Debarska Bania	1		1	
20. Dedeagatch (Alexandroupoli)	1		1	
21. Dihovo	1			1

No. Place taken	Period taken				
	Total period:	Ioannina period: 1898-1904	Monastir Turkish 1905-1912	Unspecified period 1899-1912	
	Total	1839	370	1113	356
22. Dolno Orizari	1		1		
23. Doliana	18	1	17		
24. Zagoria	3	3	3		
25. Ioannina	95	86	6		3
26. Giaskovic (Albania)	1		1		
27. Kanino	1		1		
28. Kisiava	1		1		
29. Klisoura	13	3	10		
30. Kozani	4		4		
31. Kolonia	1		1		
32. Korytsa	4		3		1
33. Kastoria	3				3
34. Krivogastani	1		1		
35. Krusievo	8	1	7		
36. Xanthi	11	1	10		
37. Xirolivono	3		3		
38.					
39.	15	2	9		4
40. Florina	3	2			1
41. Lesnitsa	8	2	4		2
42. Mangarevo	11	2	7		2
43. Milovista	1		1		
44. Marania	1				1
45. Mariovo	3	3			
46. Metsovo	2	2			
47. Monodendri	4	1	3		
48. Nymfaio	6		3		3
49. Flambouro	7		5		2
50. Nizie - pole	3	3			
51. Fanos	10		10		
52. Pariz	1	1			
53. Pac	29	19	8		2

No. Place taken	Period taken			
	Total period:	Ioannina period: 1898-1904	Monastir Turkish 1905-1912	Unspecified period 1899-1912
Total	1839	370	1113	356
54. Perivoli	1		1	
55. Pisoderi	6		4	2
56. Prilep	10		9	1
57. Resen	1	1		
58. Manaia	28	23	3	2
59. Samarina	1		1	
60. Siatista	7	1	5	1
61. Eratira	20		20	
62. Sinaia	32	28	3	1
63. Smixi	1		1	
64. Smilevo	1		1	
65. Smardesi	11	1	9	1
66. Thessaloniki	9	1	9	
67. Amyntaio	1	1		
68. Spilaio	5	5		
69. Ziaka	1		1	
70. Tirnavos (Larisa)	10	6	2	2
71. Krania	17	2	15	
72. Fourka	1	1		
73. Argos Orestiko	10	1	5	4
74. Tsapouria	7		7	
75. Constantinople	4			4
76. Unknown				

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He has written many monographs on cinematic expressionism, the American pop cinema and television documentaries.

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