



Dreams of treasure

Temporality, historicization and
the unconscious

Charles Stewart
University College London

Abstract

This article observes that dreams of treasure may not only be about getting rich. In Greece, a country with an illustrious ancient past and a less glorious present, history represents a vital national resource and enduring topic of social concern, not to say anxiety. Dreams of treasure arise as unconscious by-products of this intense historical consciousness in Greece. The treasures considered here are secretions of history, deposited at the moments of rupture that historians subsequently use to demarcate historical periods. Drawing upon the formulations of Heidegger and Binswanger, I further view these dreams as apperceptions of the temporality of being. The dream of treasure involves a divinatory look into the future to discover a past that will enrich the present. The motivations of historicization and temporalization thus converge in this case to create the dream of treasure as a significant cultural phenomenon in Greece.

Key Words

Binswanger • dreams • Freud • Greece • Heidegger • history • phenomenology • psychoanalysis • temporality • treasures

I woke with this marble head in my hands;
it exhausts my elbows and I don't know where to put it
down.
It was falling into the dream as I was coming out of the
dream
so our life became one and it will be very difficult for it to separate
again.

Seferis, *Mythistorema* (1973: 7)

[T]here will always be more things in a closed, than in an open, box.

Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* (1969[1958]: 88)

This article contributes to the growing anthropological interest in everyday forms of popular historicization – that is, in the issue of how people perceive and represent their past, even when not expressly intending to produce a ‘history’ (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992: 157; Sutton, 1998: 10). History does not depend upon narrative form; people may dramatize it in ritual performances (Makris, 2000; Lambek, 2002), or embody it in states of illness or possession (Pandolfi, 1990: 261; Larsen, 1998). Here I will contend that dreams are a mode in which people ‘feel’ and apprehend history in a state of sleeping unconsciousness. As the literary theorist Stathis Gourgouris contended in his study of the Greek national imaginary, the (dreaming) imagination ‘makes history *present*’ (1996: 16, 195).

Dreams of treasure present one specific example of this kind of dream. In Greece, where ‘history’ is such an important genre for understanding and representing the self, dreams may be produced by the desire for history. Or they might reflect the more general existentialist contention that in dreams people come face to face with their own being, which is realized in temporal terms. These alternatives are difficult to keep apart since the difference between temporalizing and historicizing is such a narrow one. This article focuses on precisely this area: the convergences between temporality and historicity, and the overlapping desires for history and existential temporality that ultimately overdetermine dreams of treasure.

In a well-known article entitled ‘History and Anthropology’, Lévi-Strauss (1963) noted a fundamental difference between the disciplines of history and anthropology. Historians, he asserted, studied the conscious while anthropologists studied the unconscious dimensions of social life. Here I reconsider the unconscious, not as a point of difference between history and anthropology but rather as a source of convergence between the two disciplines. I hasten to add that the ‘unconscious’ under consideration here is not Lévi-Strauss’s universal, cognitive, structural unconscious, but rather a conception that I shall develop in critical dialogue with psychoanalysis.

The existential psychoanalysis of Ludwig Binswanger furnishes a starting point. Binswanger had the rare distinction of knowing both Freud and Heidegger, and in his work he attempted to integrate the insights of these two thinkers. Dreams, for Binswanger, concerned the whole of being, the entirety of a person’s problems (1962: 21). As he expounded in his 1930 tract *Dream and Existence* (Foucault and Binswanger, 1986), whatever is in the dream is what we are. Dreams, in his view, were instances of pure existence. He thus dismissed Freud’s emphasis on sexual desire as too narrow an approach to dreams, a motion emphatically seconded by Foucault in his very first publication in 1954, a preface to the French translation of Binswanger’s essay (Foucault and Binswanger, 1986: 35).

In resorting to concepts such as being and existence, Binswanger was drawing on Heidegger’s system of thought, notably the idea of *Dasein* (Being). Heidegger considered temporality as definitive of being (1962: 38). By temporality he did not mean the sequential unfurling of life from birth through past and present and onwards into a future. Rather, he perceived the human relationship to time to be more subjectively variable and convoluted. Being constantly raced ahead of itself into the future, properly, in his view, to the moment of its own death. From this bearing it then bounced back to the past and into the present carrying the resolve to *do* something now. This was the ‘freedom in the face of death’ that Heidegger wrote about – the idea that imaginary

temporal excursions were vital for uncovering new possibilities for being. By countenancing death and realizing that time is finite we find the impulsion to act in the present. And we act in reference to exemplary instances from the past, not just our own personal past, but also the past with which we are acquainted whether through literature, oral history or any other channel. Although oriented towards the future in the first instance, the idea of temporality implies the ultimate fusion of the future with the past and the present in human being. As Binswanger put it: '[the futurity of being] is through and through implicated with its past. Out of both of these temporal "ecstasies" the authentic present temporalizes itself' (Binswanger, 1963: 214).

Heidegger's concept of temporal 'ecstasies' has particular relevance for the present discussion of dreams. His usage plays on the roots of this word which literally mean 'standing out' (ek – stasis), and which coincidentally match the roots of the word 'existence' (ex – ist). He employed ecstasy to refer to those temporal elements that 'stand out' for the existential potential, which they disclose in the present. Ecstasy also carried more straightforward connotations of being in a sort of rapture, of standing outside of oneself. Heidegger (1962: 387) considered the fusion of ecstasies of temporality to occur in a 'moment of vision', a pun on the German word for 'the present moment', *Augenblick* (lit. blink of an eye). In other words, the past and future create the present in a moment of ecstasy/existence. As Levinas wrote in an essay on sleep and existence: 'Through ecstasy man takes up his existence. Ecstasy is then found to be the very event of existence' (1978: 81). In other words, we are never so much ourselves as when we step outside ourselves.

Following on from these ideas, I would suggest that dreams may be treated as exemplary moments of vision in which imaginative temporal flights fuse and create a present imbued with meaning. The Greek dreams of treasure centrally at issue in this study involve strikingly temporal imagery and ideas at the same time as they present choices to be made. They are filled with potential for individual and social life in the present.

The philosophical ideas surveyed here are highly abstract and Heidegger maintained that his philosophy of Being was fundamentally metaphysical and not applicable to ordinary life. His ideas were about Being not beings; his main focus was on the ontological rather than the ontic (the term he used to differentiate the being of beings). Binswanger, who directed a sanatorium for much of his professional life, was often accused of misapplying ontological theories to ontic problems. This notwithstanding, I think it is worthwhile to use some of these ideas heuristically to uncover new questions and areas of understanding in the social sciences.¹ Whoever has perceived that they themselves or someone they know has trouble 'living in the present' must recognize that there is something to Heidegger's notion of temporality. Many problematic emotional and psychological conditions – for example, worry, guilt and anxiety – can be cast as products of human temporality, that is, as deep preoccupations with things that happened or might happen. Heidegger's assertion that *Dasein* is always ahead of itself seems to be confirmed by the frequency with which people understand their actions or those of others only long after the fact. We are constantly catching up with ourselves, dealing with deferral, negotiating *Nachträglichkeit*. Human temporality is precisely at issue in psychoanalysis, as the anthropologist James Weiner has contended (1999: 250), even though this idea has not been systematically posed as such.

Freud's theory of dreaming and his model of the mind do, none the less, offer some

useful, and more familiar, models for helping us to further conceptualize how the mind absorbs historical impressions and transmutes them in dreams. For Freud the 'unconscious' denoted the repository of memories and desires that are kept from consciousness by repression. He used the metaphor of electrical charge to conceptualize the way in which everyday experiences activated the unconscious. The thoughts and activities of daily experience could arouse and/or be used to represent unconscious wishes. This happened as if through electric flashes or transfers of charges of energy, something that he termed 'mobile cathexes'.²

Although Freud emphasized the roles of sexuality and repression in the formation of the unconscious, he did not claim that the sole explanation for dreaming was as a means for repressed libidinal desires to find expression (1976: 766). As the existentialist tradition asserts, the experience of existence as temporality might also be a motive force behind dreaming. Later in this article I further explore how such an existential 'deep motivation' might take its place alongside the more familiar Freudian libidinal motivations (which I do not exclude) as a sort of 'desire' subject to the same sort of quasi-electrical charging and discharging.

The motivation to establish existence through temporalization is productive and dynamic in the unconscious even though it is mainly positive and not repressed. This point shows up a major difference between my use of 'the unconscious' and Freud's. My usage extends to what we understand by this term in ordinary English language usage – everything that one has known, but which is not presently available to consciousness. This spans Freud's repression-generated unconscious, and also his 'preconscious'. Freud himself acknowledged this broader conception and termed it the 'descriptive sense' of the unconscious. I use the term unconscious precisely in this descriptive sense (Laplanche and Pontalis, 1973: 326).

By the term 'preconscious' Freud intended those things that we have seen, heard or somehow known, and subsequently forgotten, but which encounter no obstacle in being reintroduced to consciousness. The preconscious is the stuff of one's personal history. Freud held that the mass of preconscious material in our minds – some of it more, some less charged – was a sort of antechamber to the unconscious. Unconscious impulses were constantly attempting to latch on to preconscious ideas and images to achieve expression, while new experiences could perhaps recharge faded memories and make them more apt to connect with the unconscious. The preconscious was a field of memories through which there was two-way traffic of unconscious ideas coming up, and conscious newly registered ideas going down.

In addition to personal memories the preconscious necessarily includes what we encounter and absorb about other pasts such as the versions expertly pieced together by historians, and disseminated through school textbooks and social conversations. Our personal pasts link up – through a middle-range past of stories recounted by parents and grandparents – with the more remote past reconstructed by historians and archaeologists. The Freudian idea of the preconscious thus encompasses the three main divisions of memory discriminated by Halbwachs, namely autobiographical, collective and historical (recorded) memory (1980: 50). Together all these bits of historical knowledge, passing back and forth between remembering and forgetting, between consciousness and unconsciousness, furnish the evidence for who we are, where we have come from, and what our general position in the world is.

The accumulation of this evidence furnishes the data that enable one to cross over the line from existence to the assertion of identity. Existence precedes identity as an involuntary and necessary stage, but the drive to assert an identity emerges powerfully in its wake as an expression of human potential, freedom, or 'self-making'. As philosophers from Locke onwards have argued, a sense of historical continuity – whether sustained by memory, belief, imagination or narrative – is a crucial factor in the establishment of personal identity (Ricoeur, 1992: 125). We are who we are in reference to our existence yesterday or 20 years ago. Recourse to history thus sustains identity certainly in moments of waking consciousness. In dreams historical ideas and images stored in the preconscious are applied to represent the temporalized realization of being. Heidegger's ecstasy or Freud's electrical cathexis furnish convergent images for this same process.

I turn now to consider how history in Greece – the Greek past, the dominant views of this past, and the identity promptings of Greek society (i.e. 'We are Hellenes', 'We are Helleno-Christians', 'We are *Romir*'³) – inflects the temporal ideas and images that are available to Greek dreamers.

IDEOLOGIES OF HISTORY: GREECE

As a country, Greece is unusual in having a past that is almost as highly valued internationally as it is nationally (Just, 1995). The following quotation from an op-ed piece that appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* during the Sydney 2000 Olympics typifies this ongoing admiration: 'The Greeks . . . crafted the values of western civilization . . . freedom of thought and expression, individual initiative . . . Like it or not, the world is embracing these values as never before and the Sydney games remind us that we are all now Greeks after all' (Hanson, 2000). Later stages of Greek history are more important at the national level and include the Byzantine period (330–1453 CE), the Ottoman period (1453–1821) and the current period of the independent Greek state. Today people in Greece commonly select pastiches of these various historical phases to represent themselves to each other and to the outside world. This practice is so prevalent that James Faubion (1993) labelled it 'historical constructivism' and made it the central idea in his monograph on Greek modernity. Clearly historical awareness and reference play an exceptionally developed role in expressions of Greek personal style and national identity (Yalouri, 2001).

History is one of Greece's most valuable resources and the idea of having a long and distinguished history is manifestly all-important to the Greeks. Greek friends have often pointed out to me that my native country (USA) does not have very much history and that even my country of residence (Britain) has only a little bit more. 'When we were developing mathematics, the English were still hanging off trees', was one memorable formulation of this idea. As Roger Just has well elucidated (1995: 295), the implication behind these sorts of statements is that if western history began with the Greeks then other nations must have a much shorter past. Although the Greek language distinguishes 'history' (*istoría*) from the 'past' (*parelthón*), in moments like these individual speakers evidently elide the two. Having a deeper historical record amounts to having a longer human existence *tout court*.

Of course, it is nonsense to believe that one place has a longer past than another does; the whole earth has an equally long past. What differ are ideologies about history. As Lévi-Strauss (1983: 1218) now contends in a revision of his earlier views, the distinction

between 'hot' and 'cold' societies is a subjective matter of different societies' receptivity or resistance to 'history' as an idea. In America, the very phrase 'that's history' is a means of classifying an event as utterly irrelevant (Sutton, 1998: 210). It appears that the hotter the society, the more insignificant it is likely to deem history to be. Too much history constitutes an unwanted drag on change.

Granted the prestige of ancient Greece, historical constructivist appropriations of ancient symbols (personal names, place names, architecture, interior decoration, educational programs) are common and often convincing. One may build a neo-classical house and name one's children Perikles and Antigone in Greece and no one will bat an eye. Faubion has labelled this technique of substituting past symbols for present ones 'introjective metalepsis' (1993: 85). This 'master trope' of historical constructionism involves splicing the past into the present. The result is the erasure of any sense of historical rupture, making for the experience of a continuous classical present. Greeks thus finesse the paradox of having a history that must be ancient, yet connected in such a clear and immediate way as also to be current. As the novelist Lawrence Durrell put it, 'In Greece memory does not age even so much as one second every century.'⁴

A brief look at the varying laws governing the finding of 'treasure trove' in the USA, Britain and Greece further highlights the specificity of the Greek ideology of history. In Greece, in fact, there is no law of 'treasure trove' per se. The state lays claim to 'all antiquities' (Hill, 1936: 276). Protected objects do not have to be precious metals (coins) or gemstones buried with the intention of recovering them (*animus revertendi*; Addyman, 1995: 164). In Britain it is only precisely such coins and jewels that fall under the law of treasure trove. Such treasures are automatically Crown property. Other objects do not qualify and face far fewer restrictions.⁵ In the United States the law governing all buried valuables was 'finders keepers' until the latter part of the 20th century when ethnic remains such as Native American burial artefacts came to be restricted. America apparently arrived late at the estimation of its own history. The spectrum of treasure laws would seem to reflect three different valuations of the past: extreme in Greece, moderate in the UK, and low in the USA.

The hypothesis could be ventured that these three attitudes generally characterize ancient, old world, and new world societies respectively. Yet this would not be entirely satisfying since the value a society might place on its history is not automatically dictated by the length of that history. It is a question of ideologies of history and these ideologies arise contingently, in relation to different politico-economic experiences. Most of the contemporary Mediterranean and Near Eastern societies protecting the remains of ancient civilizations on their soil are relatively poor, peripheral societies. The present fortunes of Greece, Egypt or Iraq are much fallen from the grandeur achieved by their putative ancestors. The burden of living up to these chosen pasts is matched and perhaps exceeded by the burden of protecting them. The looting of the Iraq Museum during Gulf War II in 2003 furnishes but the most recent illustration of how vulnerable many ancient histories are. The anxiety felt about these looted histories is well exemplified by the Greek government's current construction of a museum where one room will be kept empty awaiting the return of the Parthenon Marbles, which were removed by Lord Elgin during Ottoman rule 200 years ago.

Dreams of treasure occur in many places besides Greece. My point is that the social importance of history – which must be ethnographically established case by case –

contributes to a particular frequency and intensity of such dreams as well as their historicizing dimension in the Greek case. It would not be surprising to find a density of similar types of dreams in Egypt, Iraq or other 'ancient societies', but it is an empirical question awaiting directed research. In societies that dismiss or refuse their own history, such as the Vevo of Madagascar (Astuti, 1995: 75), there might well be dreams of treasure, but they would not, in all likelihood, have the same historicizing features as Greek dreams of treasure.

HISTORY AS TREASURE

Dreams of treasure are a mode of relating to historicity because treasures are, by definition, traces of the past in the present; they are 'condensations' of history, to use Freud's term for one of the key dream work processes. In Faubion's framework, they are introjections, but not metaleptic, since they do not knock something out to make room for themselves. Until discovered, hidden treasures are like unopened time capsules, putative pieces of the past which have not yet gained the status of data or fact, although this does not necessarily stop them from exciting historicizations.⁶

With the exception of gems, precious metals and even unglamorous minerals such as emery, treasures can only make people rich if they, or someone else, value the past. Cycladic statues had no value for the Byzantines; there was no market demand for them then, just as there was no demand for classical antiquities either. Indeed, the Byzantines would have been rather likely to destroy such objects (Mango, 1963: 56). As recently as the 1920s Cycladic statues were looked down upon as crude 'monstrosities' (Elia, 1996: 55). It was only after artists like Brancusi and Modigliani modelled works after them, and after historians situated them within the 'western tradition', that prices for them began to skyrocket.⁷

New discoveries and theories in professional archaeology and historiography manifestly have a profound impact upon the popular imagination. For example, the recent development of a Thracian archaeology linked to Bulgarian national identity has stimulated a vibrant treasure discourse in Bulgaria. This new treasure craze synthesizes old beliefs in magical treasures protected by guardian spirits with a fervent interest in 'hidden gold' kindled by the reports and findings of archaeological 'science' (Valtchinova, 1997). More people than ever are actually searching for treasures and vandalizing archaeological and religious sites not only in Bulgaria (Bailey, 1996), but in Greece as well. The discovery of the tomb of Philip II of Macedon, Alexander the Great's father, in the 1980s has raised the efforts of amateur archaeologists to fever pitch in this part of Greece and led to the coinage of the term *thisavromanía*, 'treasure mania'. Many of these treasure hunters read history books for clues and, according to one professional archaeologist, whom they often consult, 'Some say they have been spoken to by saints, or old men in their dreams' (Smith, 1998). Even the renowned archaeologist Manolis Andronikos, who excavated the tomb of Philip II, observed that the find occurred on the day of Saints Gabriel and Michael, rulers of the other world, thereby implying that the saints guided his discovery of this deceased ruler's grave (Hamilakis and Yalouri, 1999: 117).

These examples show how particular pasts can, somewhat unpredictably, become valuable in the present. The past is constantly being re-evaluated and revalued as an object of interest and consequently as a source of wealth. Present-day experiences and theretofore unconscious memories link up with the longer time frames generated by

historians. Matthew Hodges' study (1999) of perceptions of history in a southern French town near Narbonne furnishes another illustration. In the early 1970s a historian published a book documenting the town's Roman past, one of the proofs of which were the Roman potsherds that could be found all over the village. Until the publication of this book no one had ever given much thought to the Roman past of the town or very much noticed any pottery fragments. Subsequently, children eagerly set about hunting for the shards. Then, according to Hodges, 'Their enthusiasm gradually spread to some of their parents, and oral accounts testify that during the late 1970s there was a minor explosion of interest in the village regarding the relics of its Roman past' (1999: 242). Not only did this lead to the foundation of a museum but also to acrimonious charges of theft when some shards were removed from a construction site.

The potential for this kind of enthusiastic amateur archaeology has always been present in Greece. The artefacts are certainly there. But before Greek independence no one paid much attention to the ruins of temples and other ancient structures. According to local lore these imposing monuments had been built by a race of giants called *Éllines* in a mythical past. The early 19th-century inhabitants of the area, who called themselves *Khristianoí* or *Romií*, did not necessarily believe that they had anything to do with the monuments or the people who built them. Conditioned by their lore of treasure-hunting, some of the local inhabitants of Greece in the time of Lord Elgin and Lord Byron thought that the European scholars and travellers – the so-called philhellenes, or *mylórdi* – were actually treasure hunters who came with their maps and books to locate hidden troves. If these foreigners happened to disturb, destroy or even take away bits of the monuments, this was all just part of the job of getting at the wealth that was presumably hidden beneath them. The Hellenic past certainly was not under any conservation order.

The Ottoman Muslim inhabitants of this era had their own interpretation of what the philhellenes were up to. They thought that the classicists and travellers were actually descendants of the ancient Greeks and Byzantines who had lived on this land earlier. These people had fled far away to escape the Ottoman conquest and occupation, burying their treasures at that time in their haste to flee. The kinship of the latter-day visitors with the former inhabitants was proved by their ability to read the ancient inscriptions and thus to find the hidden treasures (Politis, 1904: 1021). As will be seen later, this view is quite consistent with latter-day Balkan readings of history.

As these examples show, a narrative of national or ethnic identification with the past does not constitute the only lens through which people view the past. Connection to a particular place, or to one's own forebears, provides alternative proximate causes for ruminating on the past. Widespread beliefs in haunted houses offer one ready example of how a local past can seize hold of one's imagination, even if one is not related to the haunting spirits. Consider, also, the young Athenian woman who told me how her maternal grandfather had died some years earlier. Her family had inherited all of his furniture. One night her mother dreamt that her deceased father appeared to her and told her that he had hidden some money in an envelope wedged inside one of the chests of drawers. The next day her mother looked for the packet of money and found it. My reading of such dreams of treasure dovetails with Durkheim's explanation (1995: 271) for the frequency of dreams of deceased ancestors: both alike are ruminations on the continuity of society. In Annette Weiner's (1992) terms these treasures are 'inalienable

possessions' – whether lost or deliberately hidden, they are out of circulation. Such treasures may not be physically possessed at a given moment, but they are intensely present to the imagination through dreams and stories. They provide what Weiner calls 'cosmological authentication'; they link individuals to a transcendent authority and 'bring a vision of permanence into a social world that is always changing' (A. Weiner, 1992: 4, 8).

The various stories of treasure that I have considered do enable the establishment of continuity with the past, but the treasures themselves are paradoxically products of ruptures. Invasions, occupations and ethnic cleansings often produce treasures; they are punctuation marks in the past that give rise to the sequences and time frames of subsequent historicizations. When Greeks say that they have *more* history than other places it is, perhaps, not simply the length of the documentary record, or the grandeur of past achievements, that they have in mind. I think that their sense of the past is informed by the eventfulness of constant conquest and recapture. The production of history and the production of treasures are thus integrally related.

After the Nazis deported the Jewish community from Thessaloniki in 1943 a witness reported that in the following days the streets were strewn with mattress stuffing. Looters had broken into the vacant houses and slit open sofas and beds looking for concealed money (Lewkowicz, 1999: 237). This is a reflex of a treasure-conscious society,⁸ and this sensibility is further cultivated and sustained in works of popular culture. The 1965 film, *O Diogmós* (Persecution), deals with a woman who seeks to get back into Turkey to recover a family treasure that had to be hastily buried when the Greeks were forced to leave in 1922.⁹ On a lighter note *O Thisavrós tou Makaríti* (The Treasure of the Deceased Man) is a 1950s Greek comedy about people who find out that treasure is buried in a certain house, which they rent and virtually tear down trying to find.

One of the most popular Greek films of recent years, *Valkanizatér*, is one large treasure hunt – a scheme to get rich buying Bulgarian leva with dollars on the black market in Bulgaria and then driving up to Switzerland to reconvert them into dollars at a profit. The film opens with a shot of the protagonists riding across the Macedonian landscape on a motorbike, speculating on how many treasures might be buried there.¹⁰

The production of history and treasures in moments of disruption is most clearly evident in the following account narrated by a woman who fled from the village of Anakóu in Cappadocia in 1922:

We packed our things. We gathered the bones of our fathers from the graves. Outside the church of Saint Elias we dug a pit. We put the bones in there. In the same pit we put the old icons from the churches. The elders also put four bottles in this pit, inside of which, they placed papers on which they wrote the history of the village, the year in which the exchange occurred and other similar things. They sealed the bottles and put them in the pit and shovelled earth on top. You see, glass does not dissolve. However many years might pass, if you dig up that pit you will find the bottles. You unseal them and you can read the history of the village. (Kitromilides, 1982: 180)¹¹

Up to this point I have examined how, over time, re-evaluations of history may produce treasures. This story shows how history itself can already be treasure at the time of its formulation.

Situations of political upheaval or external threat not only increase the potential number of actual treasures, but also the preciousness of history. Since history underwrites political identity it must be protected, just like territory. The area of what is now Greek Macedonia suffered no fewer than four military conquests and occupations in the 20th century alone. This observation helps us to appreciate why 'history' is such a volatile subject in Greece, and one so differently understood by Americans and Britons, whose countries were not invaded even once in the last century. Certainly Greek declarations in the early 1990s that their history was being 'stolen' by the newly independent Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, which sought international recognition under the name 'Macedonia', baffled many foreign observers. They could not comprehend how a past could be 'stolen'.

'Treasures' are not, thus, simply deposits of wealth. They are, in most cases, clearly pieces of history whether as metonymic mementoes of past societies; indexes of disruption and flight; or pieces of symbolic capital. Treasures in dreams are consequently ready-made symbols of the past and potential additions to the historical record. In reaching out for them people claim, variously, relationship to a place, to past societies that have lived in this place, or to past generations of their own family – perhaps some combination of all these. This context of treasures and history in Greece provides the background to better understand a particular ethnographic case.

DREAMS OF 'FINDABLES' ON NAXOS

Having previously conducted field research in the mountain village of Apeiranthos on the Cycladic island of Naxos (Stewart, 1991), I have subsequently carried out research in the neighbouring village of Koronos. On Naxos, Koronos is famed for its traditions of dreaming and prophesying. The rest of the islanders sometimes refer to the Koronidiates disparagingly as *oi oneirevámēnoi*, 'those who see religious dreams'. This label arose from a sequence of events that began in the 19th century. In the early 1820s a nun on the nearby island of Tinos experienced a series of dream visions that revealed the location of an icon, which was then discovered. This icon became the focus of a pilgrimage that has since become the largest religious pilgrimage in Greece today (Dubisch, 1995). Within a decade of the discovery of the Tinos icon three individuals from Koronos began to see visions instructing them to dig for an icon of the Panagia ('All Holy' Mother of Christ), this one buried in a mountainside near Koronos. After a long period of dreaming and digging a small icon was unearthed. It is said to have been the possession of early Christians hiding in a cave on this mountainside to avoid persecution. Reportedly human bones were discovered along with the icon. It was immediately hailed as a wonder-working icon, but shortly after these events, the icon was stolen.

Almost a century later, in 1930, a young schoolgirl from Koronos experienced a sequence of dream visions of the Panagia. She and her brother were lodging in the port town of Naxos. The Panagia instructed her that the missing icon was to be found in her landlady's icon stand. They located the icon and took it back in religious procession to Koronos. The spot of the original discovery (at Argokoili, near Koronos) was already a pilgrimage site attracting thousands of pilgrims. The recovery of the icon strengthened the holiness of the site.

An outbreak of dreaming among twelve-year-old school children, the same age as the girl who had initially discovered the icon, ensued upon the return of the precious icon

to Koronos. These events are recorded in local newspapers of the time, and I have been able to speak with two of these child dreamers, now in their eighties. One of the girls recorded her nightly dreams in a series of notebooks that I have been able to consult. The children's dreams instructed them to find a second icon still buried in the mountainside, this one an icon of St Anne (mother of the Panagia). This icon was not found at this time, but over the six-month period during which the children were having dreams every night the villagers blasted and dug away a good part of the mountainside around the site of the initial 1836 discovery. The Koronidiates mine emery for a living and the search for this icon required full application of their professional skills.

The icon of St Anne, mentioned by the children in the 1930s, continues to be a topic of speculation. Prophecies circulate saying that when this icon is eventually discovered, then the small pilgrimage church at Argokoili will be expanded into a full-fledged monastery. The funds for this building will come from scores of 'treasures' that will be unearthed in quick succession all over Naxos.

These stories point to the existence of an interconnected complex of thought about treasures. Aside from icons, there was a lively interest in Cycladic (ca. 3000 BCE) statues, Classical Greek antiquities, and 'treasures' (*vresímata*), deposited by local residents or invaders beginning from the period of piracy in the Middle Ages down to the World War II occupation by the Germans and Italians. These treasures present tempting sources of income for the villagers and stories of looting and antique smuggling parallel the tales of buried treasure. Since the 1960s there have been numerous arrests and prosecutions of men from Koronos and the neighbouring mountain villages on charges of antique smuggling.

Koronos is located on a mountainside on the eastern side of Naxos, in a series of ridges and valleys sloping down to the sea. The entire area is a region of emery deposits and the mining of this emery, as mentioned earlier, furnished the most significant means of livelihood for more than a century. Between the village to the north and the site of the icon discovery and now pilgrimage centre at Argokoili to the south, there is a high ridge with a chapel of St Fanourios built upon it and presiding over the whole communal district (*koinótita*). It marks the symbolic, and very nearly the physical, centre of the communal area. St Fanourios is known throughout Greece as the saint who helps one to find hidden or lost objects (*fanerónei*, 'to reveal'). This particular chapel was built after the saint answered a miner's prayers and, in a dream, showed him a deposit of emery that he and his associates profitably mined for 20 years. The positioning of St Fanourios, the multiple traditions about treasures that circulate in Koronos, and the preferred usage of the word '*vresímo*'¹² to refer to so many various forms of treasure, all point to an awareness among the locals that they live in an environment full of potentially discoverable treasures.

In practice few of these treasures are ever found and the Koronos community has been in a state of millenarian suspension for over a century awaiting the discovery of the icon of St Anne. Kouphítana, a renowned Koronos prophet from the 19th century, declared that the ancients made a life-sized statue of Ariadne out of gold, which lies buried somewhere on the eastern side of the island. One elderly man, one of the dreaming children from the 1930s, told me that many people have dreamed of this statue. He added that foreign archaeologists have also come to dig for it, but it will not be found until the missing icon of St Anne is found.

After several years of planning and negotiating, the Athens Association of Koronidiates began construction on a large church, initially rumoured to be a monastery, at the Argokoili pilgrimage site in 1998. The funds for the construction work came from the bishop of Naxos and Paros and represented a return on the donations of the faithful pilgrims to Argokoili over the years. Collections at the pilgrimage site every year have always been sent directly to the bishopric. In the eyes of the former child dreamer mentioned earlier, this building contravenes the ordained order of events. He does not recognize it as the fulfilment of the well-known prophecy. Only when the icon of St Anne is found can the monastery be built and then with proceeds from the treasures that will be discovered.

This millenarian scenario reveals the interrelations between the various types of 'treasure' as does the following dream, dreamt in November 1930 by one of the schoolgirls and recorded in her notebook at that time. In this dream the schoolgirl met the Panagia who took her down into an emery mine. When the miners saw them in the mine they said, 'Now we will see the cross which has been talked about [apparently the marker of a good emery deposit]. And the Panagia replied, "Yes, now you will see the cross."' The text continues, 'And there we saw a cross the size of a small body (*óso éinai éna sóma mikró*). And it shone like the sun and written on top of it with golden letters it said "1933 Great Fortune for Miners". When they saw this cross they all crossed themselves and said: "Great is your grace, saints. When we find this cross we will give you a gift of 10,000 drachmas."' St Anne, still within the dream, ridicules this sum as too little and it is decided that they will wait to see how much emery is extracted before settling on a gift.

Note that this dream was dreamt in late 1930 and that it predicts fortuitous events to occur in 1933. The original icon had been returned to Argokoili in February 1930 and the epidemic of dreaming among the schoolchildren began within a few months of that. The notebooks of the schoolgirl, as well as other reports from the time, indicate that the most feverish period of dreaming and digging took place in the late spring and early summer. Perhaps the climax was during a two-week period leading up to the feast day of St Marina (17 July), the patron saint of Koronos, when the dreamers enjoined all of the villagers to fast, cease from their ordinary work, and assist in the digging. The dreamers predicted that the icon would be found on 6 August (Metamorphosis of Christ) and then on 15 August (Annunciation). When the icon of St Anne did not materialize people began to abandon the movement. Certainly the official church inveighed against the *oneirevámēnoi* for causing disharmony in the village. The bishop forbade local clerics to be involved with the dreamers. By November the dreamers and their followers had been reduced to a straggling movement and the prophecy that 1933 would be a good year for emery looks like a late attempt to keep the miners loyal.

In 1930 Koronos had probably just passed its zenith as a village (Stewart, 1991: 27). The permanent population numbered well over 2000 inhabitants and emery mining was viable, but villagers were beginning to emigrate. The foundation of the first secondary school (*gymnásio*) on the island (in the port town, Khóra) in 1921 made emigration a requirement for social mobility via the national educational system. It is indicative that Katerina Legáki, the girl who dreamt of the missing icon in her landlady's icon stand, did so while boarding in Khóra with her brother, Nikiphóros, who was employed as a teacher at the *gymnásio*. The outbreak of dreams in 1930, and the charismatic movement

to find the icon of St Anne, could have begun as an early response to a sense of impending decline. During the Axis occupation in the early 1940s, 400 villagers died of starvation in Koronos. And after the war many migrated to Athens or abroad, paving the way to the present day where there are fewer than 500 permanent residents in the village.

The dreams of findables on Naxos cumulatively constitute a history of their own. A historical tradition of dreaming has taken shape where past dreams are subsequently expanded and re-explored in further dreams and waking conversations down to today where this whole tradition provides a justification for the building of the large church at Argokoili. The tradition of dreams in Koronos relates a mixed success. On the one hand an icon was discovered and a large and vital pilgrimage was established. On the other, the icon of St Anne was never found and thus Koronos never became 'Paris' as prophesied. The compulsive development of this communal dream tradition can be understood in Binswanger's terms as existentially arising from the contemplation of the future non-existence of the community. Even the very first dreams in the 1830s can be seen as springing from the contemplation of marginalization and social insignificance in relation to nearby Tinos. Throughout the 20th century, retelling and investing faith in the dream stories offered an antidote to the economic and demographic demise of the village. The action of building the large church today states the vital existence of the Koronos region, even if the vast majority of Koronidiates no longer reside in the village. The strongest proponents of the construction of the church live in Athens.

THE COMPARATIVE ETHNOGRAPHY OF TREASURE

Dreams of treasure may be found in many parts of Greece, although not usually in the elaborated and interconnected form that they take in Koronos. A brief cross-cultural look at other treasure traditions highlights my contention that treasures are bound up with history, although the ethnographers reporting these stories have not focused on this dimension in their analyses. The accounts collected by Foster (1964) in Michoacán in Mexico, for example, reveal a community that, like Koronos, is preoccupied by thoughts of finding buried treasures.

Foster reports (1964: 39) that people had specific ideas about what treasure was and how it got there. Treasure belonged to three main categories: (1) gold ornaments buried by Tarascan kings in the pre-Columbian period; (2) colonial gold or silver being freighted from mines and buried in moments of danger in the 16th–18th centuries; (3) silver pesos buried by army generals during the Mexican revolution beginning in 1910. The depositing of these various treasures amounts to a chronicle of the major historical events in the area. The same may be said of the various 'treasures' imagined by the Koronidiates. Virtually every phase of the region's history is represented, from Cycladic civilization through classical antiquity, early Christianity, iconoclasm, the Ottoman conquest and on up to Greek Independence and the Second World War.

Foster theorized the Mexican tales of treasure as expressions of the peasantry's static view of the economy. According to this zero sum game, which he termed the 'image of limited good', wealth was finite and could not be increased even by hard labour. Granted this, one of the only credible explanations for a co-villager's success was that such a person had discovered a buried treasure. The devil or the spirits of the people who had buried the wealth often protected these treasures.

Taussig (1980) further analysed this demonic element in Latin American treasure

stories in his study of South American miners who believe that success in mining, and in amassing *monetary* wealth generally, can only come from forging a pact with the devil. The majority of the miners, until recently, belonged to the peasantry and Taussig considered their discourse about the devil to be expressive of their criticism of capitalism; a mode of resisting their own absorption into the capitalist system.

The straightforward desire to get rich, an 'image of limited good' or an 'indigenous critique of capitalism' can account for many dreams about treasures on Naxos. An example would be the stories told about *arápides* who guard treasures and sometimes reveal their location in dreams. Such treasures turn to ash if one is foolish enough to publicly share the dream that revealed their location. For the most part I consider these treasures guarded by *arápides* to belong to a category of 'supernatural treasures'. They are not the results of real historical processes and thus they are not part of my main evidence in this article. Like Taussig and Foster, I think that these stories serve as moral fables conveying the message that wealth accumulation requires secrecy; it is an anti-social process (Stewart, 1997: 879). The treasures dreamt about in Koronos, however, are beneficial for the community, socially approved, and even divinely sanctioned. It is striking also that, unlike the Central and South American stories about treasure, on Naxos locating treasure is part of a prophetic tradition. Although people may be well aware that antiquities or wealth lie buried in the earth, the windfall discovery of these objects is very often contingent upon oneiric revelation. The past is accessible if one can gain some knowledge of the future.

In Greece, dream books called *oneirokrites* circulate in cheap popular editions and one is justified in wondering what interpretations they might offer for dreams of treasure. Out of seven such dream books that I consulted, six contained entries under 'treasure' (*thisavrós*). Four of them basically concurred that such a dream predicts a good marriage for those unmarried, the birth of children for the childless, and general success at work. The other three considered it a bad dream, foretelling the disappointment of one's hopes according to one, and economic difficulties according to another, which goes on to add that if you see someone stealing your treasure this means that you will be relieved of a big problem. The most elaborate dream book entry states that if you see yourself gathering a treasure it indicates that people are gossiping maliciously about you. The dream books thus split over apparently capitalist and anti-capitalist readings of dreams of treasure.¹³

The striking point of agreement among them – indeed this is the characteristic feature of all dream book entries – is that dream symbols predict future events. And the main view throughout Greece is that if dreams have interpretative significance – and not everyone concedes that they do – then they predict the future. When I tell people that I am interested in dreams and their interpretation the usual response is to ask, 'Do you believe in them?' This, I eventually realized, is shorthand for: 'Do you believe that they foretell the future? Do you believe that they come true?' At the grassroots level, then, the Greek view of dreams is relatively untainted by psychoanalysis.

Although the Koronos dreams of treasure do promise a more fortunate future, they also, simultaneously, bring people in touch with the past. The future will be blessed or prosperous precisely because of this reconnection with the past, a formulation that begins to look like a cultural realization of Heidegger's ecstatic temporality. Even when dreams are apparently about the future they actually concern the past, as Freud also

argued, pitting himself against precisely the dream book tradition that I have been considering (Freud, 1976[1900]: 783). The 'past' I have in mind, however, is not limited to the dreamer's childhood; rather it embraces the dreamer's sense of history, and their relation to the history of the place where they live.

FEELING HISTORICAL

One final example helps to illustrate and draw together the main points of this article by showing how dreams offer a mode in which history is felt. Through the dream and its subsequent narration one becomes part of history. This account comes from a 1937 book by Dimitrios Ambelás (cited in Andreádis, 1989: 28; Hamilakis and Yalouri, 1999: 30). A captain in the Greek army, Ambelás was stationed in the town of Seïdí-Gazí in Asia Minor. One morning in March of 1922 one of his soldiers reported that he had seen a dream in which the Panagia appeared to him. She told him to remove some animals from a nearby cave where the platoon was stabling them because a church of hers was located there. In the same dream, next to the Panagia, there appeared a group of ancient hoplites, who instructed him that a certain mound outside the town should be excavated because it contained their tomb. After more dreams and visions on the part of his troops, Captain Ambelás investigated. He and his soldiers found palaeo-Christian reliefs in the cave and removed the animals. They then excavated the mound and found ancient Greek vases, some capitals and three skeletons. The hoplites in the dream had said that they were soldiers who had fallen in a large battle at this spot.

The excavations had to be abandoned at this point as the 1922 war with Turkey entered its final destructive phase. The possibility arose that Captain Ambelás and his soldiers might themselves end up buried next to the ancient hoplites at Seïdí-Gazí. This historical parallel was not lost on Ambelás. He titled his book *I Káthodos ton neóteron myrión* (The descent of the modern 10,000) in clear reference to Xenophon's history of an earlier, disastrous Greek expedition in Asia Minor.

Textbooks and oral histories offer versions of the past and our connection with it. No doubt they condition us to think more or less intensively about the past. These conscious modes of inquiring into the past are paralleled by unconscious moments of dream or fantasy that are triggered by one's own specific predicament, one's 'thrown-ness' to use Heidegger's term. This observation provides a context for understanding Walter Benjamin's often-quoted assertion that, 'The true picture of the past flits by. The past can be seized only as an image which flashes up at the instant when it can be recognized and is never seen again' (1976: 255). This conception of the past flashing up brings us back to Freud's image of the electrical charges that activate, or emanate from, the unconscious. The dream of treasure can be seen as an ontological flashpoint, a conduit that allows the past to barge into consciousness. It is a mode in which the past is seized, one that may be replicated in other places, or at other times, through possession or illness.

Drawing on Heidegger, I have taken temporality to be fundamentally at issue in human being, certainly in dreams where the self communes with existence in a flux of images and feelings. In Greece, where 'history' furnishes such an important source of self-definition, the oneiric ecstasy of existence receives expression through historicizing imagery that captures the coursing of human temporality between future and past. The temporality of existence and the historicity of self-identity combine in this particular cultural case to produce salient dreams of treasure. In other societies with different

ideologies of history there might not be the same convergence. In such cases temporality might receive other expressions, perhaps exclusively in terms of the present, or the future, or even, as Foucault suggested, in images of death as a means of finding 'a freedom up against the world' (Foucault and Binswanger, 1986: 54).

To dream is not to know what hit one, as Binswanger put it (Foucault and Binswanger, 1986: 102). It is upon waking that one seeks to find out precisely what it was, to take hold of the dream and its dynamics. In this process of narrating the dream one makes a history. In the case of Koronos these dream narratives have been accumulating now for over a century and a half, constantly renewing the message that the Koronidiates live in a blessed place and that their mining skills should be maintained as part of a sacred plan.

These dreams of treasure, or of the past as treasure, do not arise exclusively in moments of danger, as Benjamin contended. Nor are they bound up with transgressive sexual desires. Treasures in dreams are, rather, unemplotted historical ore. They can be viewed as touchstones, like the *lieux de mémoire* that helped medieval rhetoricians find their way through long orations, and which they, too, sometimes conceptualized as treasures (*thesauri*; Yates, 1974: 46). Treasures represent historical time in the condensed form of an object, itself located in a place.¹⁴ These treasures are filled with potential narrative energy, but like an untraced follow-the-dots exercise, they are not always literally filled out by historical narration. The production of the gestalt alone lends them sufficient power. The dream of potentially discoverable treasure can be felt as one of painful loss at the same time as one of enrichment. Most of all, as Heidegger helps us to see, these treasures validate the meaning and purpose of existence.

Oneiric visions of treasure ground personal, local and national identities in feeling. The visions of the soldiers at Seïdí-Gazí, the *oneirevámnoi* of Koronos, and even those of contemporary treasure hunters in northern Greece, promise to transform past traumas into future rewards. In most of those cases the treasures are not found, or if found, they are lost again. What we are left with is a continuing present full of potential – whether personal or collective – that has been revealed via a detour through the future and the past.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Alex Aisher, Yannis Hamilakis, David Sutton, Sákis Tótlis, Eleana Yalouri and especially to Matthew Hodges for valuable help and suggestions in preparing this article.

Notes

- 1 Works by J. Weiner (2001), Csordas (1994), Jackson (1998) and Kapferer (1997), to name a few examples, have already demonstrated the theoretical potential which the ideas of Heidegger, and the philosophical traditions of existentialism and phenomenology, have for anthropology.
- 2 Freud's conception is not such a remote technical usage. We easily speak of charged ideas or charged situations, meaning that they are particularly powerful, and consequently indelibly registered in memory. Even our attempts at finding a neutral vocabulary stumble back across metaphors of energy and current. Freud actually employed the economic term *Besetzung* 'investment', but this was bizarrely rendered

into English by James Strachey as 'cathexis' (from Ancient Greek *katekhein* 'to possess'; there is no Ancient Greek noun form 'kathexis'). Despite its apparent economic overtones, Freud often used *Besetzung* in conjunction with conceptions of energy or charges, nervous energy. Cathexis was a kind of 'load'. Freud had begun his career in neurology and these psychoanalytic conceptions maintained a superficial similarity with neuropsychology, which studies transmissions of chemicals, and thus electrons, between cells (Laplanche and Pontalis, 1973: 62).

- 3 *Romiós* means literally a 'Roman' and the term refers to the citizens of the Eastern Roman Empire and their descendants. *Romiós* is fundamentally a Christian identity in contrast to the pre-Christian 'Hellenes' (*Éllines*). The standard ethnonym for the people of contemporary Greece (i.e. 'Greeks') is *Éllines*.
- 4 Cited by Jacques Lacarrière in an interview printed in the Greek Sunday newspaper, *To Vima*, 6 December 1998. My translation from the Greek.
- 5 I think that this British legal definition has conditioned the normal English-language sense of the word 'treasure'. It is usually taken to be a container of precious coins or jewels. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd edition, 1989) gives 'in general, money, riches, wealth' as its first definition of 'treasure', followed next by the broader definition: 'anything valued and preserved as precious'.
- 6 I observe the following distinctions in talking about the past: (1) 'the past' or 'events' = everything, or particular things, that really happened in past time; (2) 'facts' or 'data' = evidence such as textual records, buildings or artefacts through which we can know the past; (3) 'history' = representations of the past as pieced together by historians and others and usually narrated (see White, 1981).
- 7 See Gill and Chippindale (1993: 604). In the late 1980s a Cycladic statue measuring just over 23 cm in height was sold for \$2.09 million and was later re-sold for \$3 million. It had originally been purchased in the 1960s for \$12,000 (Grimes, 1989: 17). Such statues are manifestly worth much more than their weight in gold.
- 8 Stories have long circulated that the Nazi commander in Thessaloniki, Max Merten, collected all the valuables of the Jewish community, loaded them on a boat and then sank the boat with the intention of retrieving the wealth after the war. In the summer of 2000 the Jewish Community of Greece (*Kendrikó Israilítiko Symvoúlio*) actually commissioned an international team of divers to search for this sunken boat (Smith, 2000). They did not find anything.
- 9 After a brief war between Greece and Turkey in 1922 the Orthodox Christian population (mostly ethnic Greek) of Anatolia was forced to leave, at first in conditions of total panic, and later in a more orderly fashion overseen by the League of Nations. The Muslim (largely ethnic Turkish) population of Greece was sent to Turkey in exchange. Over a million Christians went to Greece and approximately a half-million Muslims were sent to Turkey in one of the 20th century's most notable examples of ethnic cleansing.
- 10 In the novel *O syndyasmos* (*The Combination*, Tótlis, 1991), on which this film is based, the characters actually have much longer conversations about metal detectors: 'It [the metal detector] will have to detect things deep down, because there aren't any gold coins near the surface. Everyone hid their gold deep – the Turks, the resistance fighters (*andártēs*) and the ancients. The detectors normally available on the market here are worthless' (1991: 16).

- 11 I am grateful to Andreas Ioannou for locating this text and drawing it to my attention.
- 12 *Vrésimo* means literally 'a findable' – something waiting to be uncovered. This way of referring to treasures as if they are imminently findable is also evident in the use of the term *évrema*, 'discovery', reported from Kalamata (Politis, 1904: 230, 1003) and in expressions for treasure in other languages such as Italian *trovatura*, 'thing found', and English treasure trove (from French *trouvé*, 'found').
- 13 Nadia Seremetakis makes the striking argument that the whole logic of dreambook interpretation is based on a 'precapitalist' economic logic. She likens predictive dreams to 'semiotic loans from the future that are given to the present as tokens, informational credit' (1991: 62). My analysis of the juxtaposition of temporalities in dream interpretation very much accords with Seremetakis's insights.
- 14 This use of place as a mnemonic and as an index of historical events has been noticed elsewhere. For examples from the Philippine Ilongot, the Western Apache of the USA and the Yolngu of Arnhemland in Australia, see, respectively, Rosaldo (1980: 48), Morphy (1995: 188) and Basso (1996: 76).

References

- Addyman, Peter (1995) 'Treasure Trove, Treasure Hunting and the Quest for a Portable Antiquities Act', in Kathryn Tubb (ed.) *Antiquities Trade or Betrayed: Legal, Ethical and Conservation Issues*, pp. 163–72. London: Archetype Publishers.
- Andreadis, Giórgos (1989) *Ta paidiá tis Antigónis*. Athens: Kastanióti.
- Astuti, Rita (1995) *The People of the Sea: Identity and Descent Among the Vezo of Madagascar*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bachelard, Gaston (1969[1958]) *The Poetics of Space*, (trans.) Maria Jolas. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
- Bailey, Douglass (1996) 'The Looting of Bulgaria', in Karen Vitelli (ed.) *Archaeological Ethics*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Basso, Keith (1996) 'Wisdom Sits in Places: Notes on a Western Apache Landscape', in Steven Feld and Keith Basso (eds) *Senses of Place*, pp. 53–90. Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.
- Benjamin, Walter (1976) 'Theses on the Philosophy of History', in his *Illuminations*. New York: Schocken.
- Binswanger, Ludwig (1962) 'Existential Analysis and Psychotherapy', in Hendrik Ruitenbeek (ed.) *Psychoanalysis and Existential Philosophy*, pp. 17–23. New York: Dutton.
- Binswanger, Ludwig (1963) 'Heidegger's Analytic of Existence and Its Meaning for Psychiatry', in Joseph Needleman (ed.) *Being-in-the-World: The Selected Papers of Ludwig Binswanger*, pp. 206–21. New York: Basic Books.
- Comaroff, John and Jean Comaroff (1992) 'The Madman and the Migrant', in *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*, pp. 155–78. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.
- Csordas, Thomas (1994) *The Sacred Self: A Cultural Phenomenology of Sacred Healing*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Dubisch, Jill (1995) *In a Different Place: Pilgrimage, Gender and Politics at a Greek Island Shrine*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Durkheim, Emile (1995[1912]) *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (trans. Karen Fields). New York: Free Press.
- Elia, Ricardo (1996) 'A Seductive and Troubling Work', in Karen Vitelli (ed.) *Archaeological Ethics*, pp. 54–62. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.

- Faubion, James (1993) *Modern Greek Lessons: A Primer in Historical Constructivism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Foster, George (1964) 'Treasure Tales and the Image of the Static Economy in a Mexican Peasant Village', *Journal of American Folklore* 77: 39–44.
- Foucault, Michel and Ludwig Binswanger (1986) 'Dream and Existence', Special Issue (edited by Keith Hoeller) of *Review of Existential Psychology and Psychiatry* 19(1), 1984–85.
- Freud, Sigmund (1976[1900]) *The Interpretation of Dreams*. London: Penguin.
- Gill, David and Christopher Chippindale (1993) 'Material and Intellectual Consequences of Esteem for Cycladic Figures', *American Journal of Archaeology* 97: 601–59.
- Gourgouris, Stathis (1996) *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization and the Institution of Modern Greece*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Grimes, William (1989) 'The Antiquities Boom: Who Pays the Price?', *New York Times Magazine* 16 July: 17–26.
- Halbwachs, Maurice (1980) *The Collective Memory*. New York: Harper Colophon.
- Hamilakis, Yannis and Eleana Yalouri (1999) 'Sacralizing the Past: Cults of Archaeology in Modern Greece', *Archaeological Dialogues* 6: 115–60.
- Hanson, Victor Davis (2000) 'Olympic Corruption? It's All Greek to Me', *Wall Street Journal* 26 September: A26.
- Heidegger, Martin (1962[1927]) *Being and Time* (trans. John Macquarrie and Edward Robinson). London: SCM.
- Hill, Sir George (1936) *Treasure Trove in Law and Practice from Earliest Times to the Present Day*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Hodges, Matthew (1999) 'What the Past Holds in Store: An Anthropological Study of Temporality in a Southern French Village'. PhD Thesis, Goldsmiths College, University of London.
- Jackson, Michael (1998) *Minima Ethnographica: Intersubjectivity and the Anthropological Project*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Just, Roger (1995) 'Cultural Certainties and Private Doubts', in Wendy James (ed.) *The Pursuit of Certainty*, pp. 285–308. London: Routledge.
- Kapferer, Bruce (1997) *The Feast of the Sorcerer: Practices of Consciousness and Power*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Kitromilides, Paschalis (1982) *I éxodos*, Vol. 2. Athens: Centre for Asia Minor Studies.
- Lambek, Michael (2002) *The Weight of the Past: Living with History in Mahajanga, Madagascar*. New York: Palgrave.
- Laplanche, J. and J.B. Pontalis (1973) *The Language of Psycho-Analysis*. London: Hogarth.
- Larsen, Kjersti (1998) 'Spirit Possession as Historical Narrative: The Production of Identity and Locality in Zanzibar Town', in Nadia Lovell (ed.) *Locality and Belonging*, pp.125–46. London: Routledge.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude (1963[1949]) 'History and Anthropology', in his *Structural Anthropology*. New York: Basic Books.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude (1983) 'Histoire et ethnologie', *Annales ESC* 38: 1217–31.
- Levinas, Emmanuel (1978) *Existence and Existents*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Lewkowicz, Bea (1999) 'The Jewish Community of Thessaloniki: An Exploration of Memory and Identity in a Mediterranean City'. PhD thesis, London School of Economics.
- Makris, G.P. (2000) *Changing Masters: Spirit Possession and Identity Construction Among Slave Descendants and Other Subordinates in the Sudan*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press.

- Mango, Cyril (1963) 'Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17: 55–75.
- Morphy, Howard (1995) 'Landscape and the Reproduction of the Ancestral Past', in Eric Hirsch and Michael O'Hanlon (eds) *The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space*, pp. 184–209. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Pandolfi, Mariella (1990) 'Boundaries Inside the Body: Women's Sufferings in Southern Peasant Italy', *Culture, Medicine and Society* 14: 255–73.
- Politis, Nikólaos (1904) *Paradóseis*, 2 vols. Athens: Academy of Athens.
- Ricoeur, Paul (1992) *Oneself as Another*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Rosaldo, Renato (1980) *Ilongot Headhunting, 1883–1974*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Seferis, George (1973) *Collected Poems, 1924–1955* (trans. and ed.) Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard. London: Jonathan Cape.
- Seremetakis, Nadia (1991) *The Last Word: Women, Death, and Divination in Inner Mani*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Smith, Helena (1998) 'Greeks Rush to Find Mythical Buried Treasure', *The Observer* 18 October.
- Smith, Helena (2000) 'Divers Seek Nazi Loot on Seabed', *The Observer* 6 August.
- Stewart, Charles (1991) *Demons and the Devil: Moral Imagination in Modern Greek Culture*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Stewart, Charles (1997) 'Fields in Dreams: Anxiety, Experience, and the Limits of Social Constructionism in Modern Greek Dream Narratives', *American Ethnologist* 24: 877–94.
- Sutton, David (1998) *Memories Cast in Stone: The Relevance of the Past in Everyday Life*. Oxford: Berg.
- Taussig, Michael (1980) *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Tótlis, Sákis (1991) *O syndyasmós: Édessa – Zyrikihi*. Athens: Kedros.
- Valtchinova, Galia (1997) 'What is a Treasure? Images of Treasure in Contemporary Bulgarian Society', unpublished manuscript.
- Weiner, Annette (1992) *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Weiner, James (1999) 'Psychoanalysis and Anthropology: On the Temporality of Analysis', in Henrietta Moore (ed.) *Anthropological Theory Today*, pp. 234–61. Cambridge: Polity.
- Weiner, James (2001) *Tree Leaf Talk: A Heideggerian Anthropology*. Oxford: Berg.
- White, Hayden (1981) 'The Value of Narrative in the Representation of Reality', in W.J.T. Mitchell (ed.) *On Narrative*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Yalouri, Eleana (2001) *The Acropolis: Global Fame, Local Claim*. London: Berg.
- Yates, Frances (1974) *The Art of Memory*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

CHARLES STEWART is Reader in Anthropology at University College London. After an undergraduate degree in Classics, he earned his D.Phil. in Social Anthropology under the supervision of John Campbell at Oxford University. He taught at Harvard and Brunel universities before coming to UCL, initially as Lecturer in Ancient History and Anthropology. His publications include *Demons and the Devil: Moral Imagination in Modern Greek Culture* (Princeton, 1991) and 'Erotic Dreams and Nightmares from Antiquity to the Present' (*JRAI*, 2002). He is currently working on a study of dreaming and historical consciousness. Address: Department of Anthropology, University College London, London WC1E 6BT, UK. [email: c.stewart@ucl.ac.uk]
