

THE TIME OF THE CANNIBALS



THINKING FROM ELSEWHERE

Series editors:

Clara Han, Johns Hopkins University

Bhri Gupta Singh, Ashoka University and Brown University

Andrew Brandel, Harvard University

International Advisory Board:

Roma Chatterji, University of Delhi

Veena Das, Johns Hopkins University

Robert Desjarlais, Sarah Lawrence College

Harri Englund, Cambridge University

Didier Fassin, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

Angela Garcia, Stanford University

Junko Kitanaka, Keio University

Eduardo Kohn, McGill University

Heonik Kwon, Cambridge University

Michael Lambek, University of Toronto

Deepak Mehta, Ashoka University, Sonapat

Amira Mittermaier, University of Toronto

Sameena Mulla, Emory University

Marjorie Murray, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

Young-Gyung Paik, Jeju National University

Sarah Pinto, Tufts University

Michael Puett, Harvard University

Fiona Ross, University of Cape Town

Lisa Stevenson, McGill University

THE TIME OF THE CANNIBALS

On Conspiracy Theory and Context

ELIZABETH ANNE DAVIS

FORDHAM UNIVERSITY PRESS NEW YORK 2025

Fordham University Press gratefully acknowledges financial assistance and support provided for the publication of this book by Princeton University.

Copyright © 2025 Fordham University Press

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means—electronic, mechanical, photocopy, recording, or any other—except for brief quotations in printed reviews, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Fordham University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party Internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Fordham University Press also publishes its books in a variety of electronic formats. Some content that appears in print may not be available in electronic books.

Visit us online at www.fordhampress.com.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data available online at <https://catalog.loc.gov>.

Printed in the United States of America

27 26 25 5 4 3 2 1

First edition

CONTENTS

Introduction: The Time of the Cannibals . . . 1

Part 1 On Conspiracy Theory and Context 27

1. The Symptomatic Approach, 28

2. The Epistemological Approach, 47

3. The Particularist Approach, 54

4. The Psychoanalytic Approach, 63

5. The Political Approach, 76

6. Toward Conspiracy Attunement, 87

Interlude: The Body Itself 110

Part 2 On Conspiracy Attunement: A Case Study . . 153

1. Discourse on Division, 155

2. The President’s Body, 168

3. Recursion and the Curse of Cyprus, 193

Inconclusion (Recontextualization) 217

Acknowledgments 227

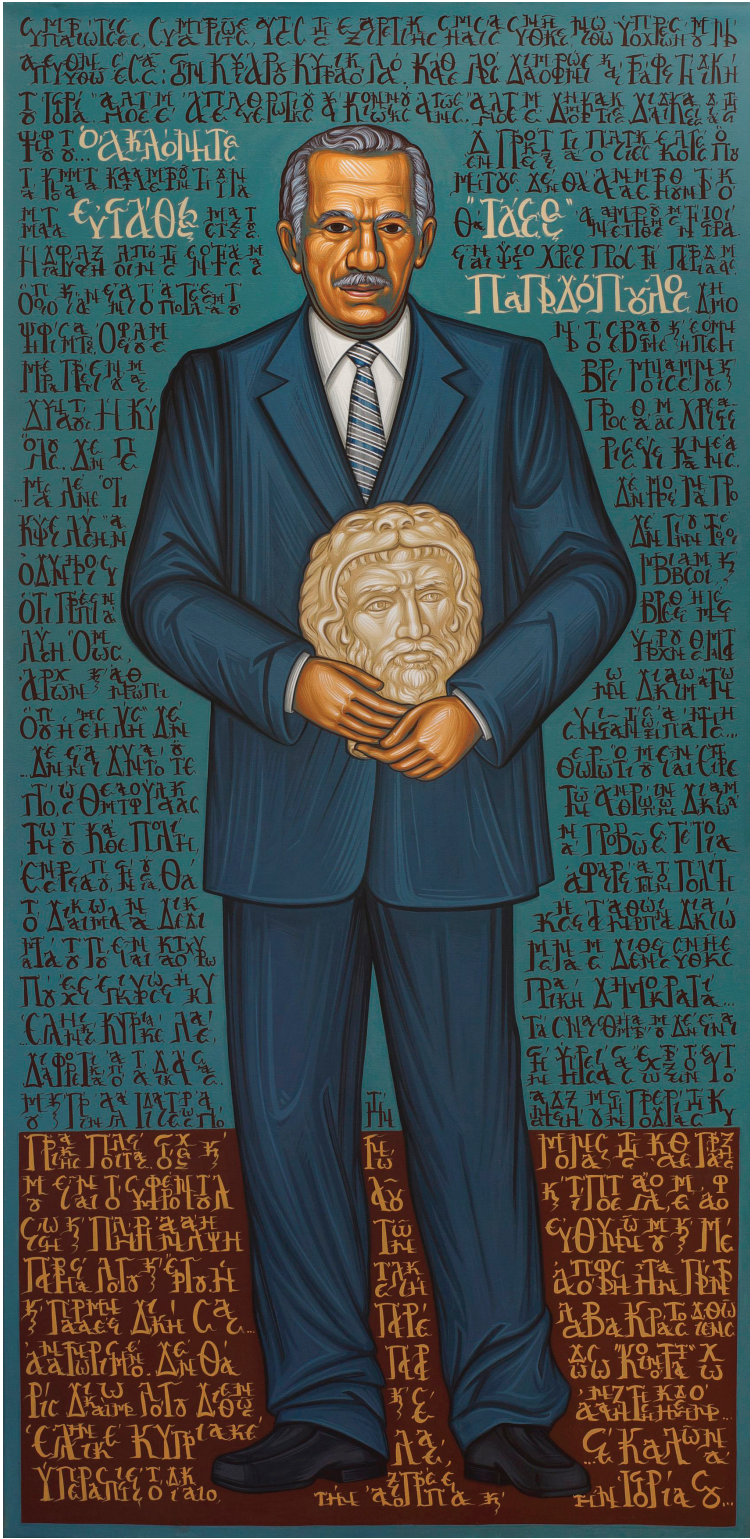
Notes 231

Bibliography 253

On the Frontispiece 273

Index 275

Insert follows page 150



INTRODUCTION: *THE TIME OF THE CANNIBALS*

Consulting many people at this time, one signal came in most clearly. Don't go against Tassos Papadopoulos or he will eat you for breakfast. For the first time I felt fear. The people telling me this were from the sixties generation, the time of the cannibals, and they knew a few things. I had nightmares in which I was being turned over a fire like a piglet on a spit. Gathered around were Tassos and his ministers discussing my progress and deciding what to spread over my half-burnt skin. In the end, this is the problem in Cyprus. Everyone is frightened of being barbecued. (Angastiniotis 2005, 44)

I quote this passage from a short book by Tony Angastiniotis, a Cypriot photojournalist and activist who is probably best known for his documentary films, *Voice of Blood* (2004) and *Voice of Blood 2: Searching for Selden* (2005). These films expose the massacres of Turkish-Cypriot villagers at Muratağa, Atlılar, and Sandallar committed by Greek-Cypriot irregulars and National Guardsmen in the summer of 1974.¹ That July, an attempted coup by right-wing extremist Greek Cypriots, backed by the junta in Greece, provoked the invasion of the island by Turkish military forces. The war that ensued caused mass casualties and massive displacement, as Greek Cypriots evacuated to the south of the island and Turkish Cypriots to the north.² This de facto division between north and south—enforced until 2003 by an impassable border, and since 2003 by the discretion of checkpoint police and soldiers—put a provisional end to two decades of civil,

paramilitary, and state violence, but also led to the indefinite occupation of the north by the Turkish military: an enduring state of affairs known colloquially as “the Cyprus Problem.”

The *Voice of Blood* films made by Tony Angastiniotis have been widely seen in the north of Cyprus, but in the south, they have never been broadcast or publicly screened,³ and Angastiniotis himself—who identifies as Greek Cypriot (among other things)⁴ and is taken as a traitor by Greek ethnonationalists in the south—has been the target of press attacks and personal death threats. His films are available on YouTube, where they appear to have found a large audience in the Cypriot diaspora in the United Kingdom and the United States. I came across this passage when I was reading his book, *Trapped in the Green Line: The Story behind the Documentary, “Voice of Blood”* (2005), which he wrote as a companion to the films once they had started to gain notice internationally. I was reading the book for other reasons, but when I came across the name of Tassos Papadopoulos, it affirmed my sense of his heavy presence everywhere in the modern history of Cyprus. Papadopoulos was president of Cyprus when Angastiniotis was making his films and feeling that mortal fear. His nightmares resound in what happened to Papadopoulos’s own body.

On July 15, 2010, midway through the first sweltering summer I spent in Cyprus, when I was living in the southern coastal city of Limassol and making a habit of watching the evening news on several Greek-language TV channels (as broadcasts in Turkish from the north were inaccessible without a satellite dish), I caught a short segment on the public news channel covering the opening day of the trial of three men for the theft of Papadopoulos’s body. Although I mentioned it in my field notes later that night, the segment passed through my attention as quickly as the other headlines of the day: commemorations of the attempted coup in 1974, a Turkish infraction of Cypriot airspace, the decision on a Cypriot property case made by the European Court of Human Rights. A few weeks later, however, I was enlightened by a British expatriate—a financial adviser who had been working at an offshore bank and living in Cyprus for many years—at a dinner party hosted by a Cypriot language teacher we both knew. The banker was commenting on all the “embarrassing events,” as he called them, that had occurred in Cyprus in just the past few weeks, including the theft of 175 kilos of ammunition from a National Guard camp, which, he said, must have been facilitated by an “inside man”; the discovery of a living, prematurely

born baby in the laundry at Nicosia General Hospital; and the disappearance of Christopher Metsos, alleged paymaster of a Russian spy ring traveling under a fake Canadian passport, who had been arrested on an FBI warrant in Larnaca airport and released on bail only a few weeks earlier. Metsos's escape from Cyprus, the banker insisted, could only be explained by pressure exerted on then-president of Cyprus, Demetris Christofias—head of the Communist Party who had been educated in the USSR—by then-president of Russia, Dmitry Medvedev, just as Gazprombank, the financial services wing of the Russian energy company, Gazprom, was establishing offices in Limassol and bringing to Cyprus a massively lucrative contract for natural gas exploration.

And then, the banker continued, there was the saga of the underworld crime figure Antonis Prokopiou Kitas. Known as the “Al Capone” of Cyprus, Kitas had been in prison since 1994 for the rape and murder of two immigrant women. In 2008, he had escaped from custody during a three-month stay at a hospital in Nicosia, the capital city, where he had seen associates and family members every day, liberally used his cell phone and laptop, and impregnated his second wife during a conjugal visit. Although he had been apprehended a few weeks later and sent back to prison, he was in the news again now, in July 2010, because, along with his younger brother and an employee of their family, he was on trial for the theft of the body of former president Tassos Papadopoulos. The employee had apparently attempted to extort a ransom for the body from the Papadopoulos family and had instead gotten himself and his co-conspirators caught. According to the news broadcast I saw, the arrest of the culprits had put an end to months of high-pitched speculation about the identity and possible motives of the thieves. *What is this?* the banker exclaimed, snorting into his gin and tonic. *This is what we're dealing with in Cyprus!*

“This” was my introduction to the foreigner's mythology of Cyprus as an exotic land of geopolitical intrigue, mix-ups, cover-ups, and organized crime—crime in which not only the British banker himself may have been implicated, as an employee of one of the best-known local money-laundering firms, but multiple presidents of Cyprus as well. In the time that followed, as I spent months turning to years in Cyprus, I learned to know better—to see past the folly and intrigue and to find the wit and the story of power behind them. Yes, I got very accustomed to looking behind visible surfaces in Cyprus to see what they were obscuring from view. And that is part of

the problem I face in interpreting this mythology, filtered (still) through a foreigner's lens: the challenge that secrecy poses to knowledge in the "drama of revelation," as Michael Taussig frames the exposure of public secrecy, in which nothing is revealed but the play of surface and depth that gives the seductive impression of a truth behind appearances (Taussig 1999, 58, 51).

In any case, the story of the president's body stuck with me over the years, and it sticks with me still. In part, this is because it perfectly epitomizes the conspiracism in which Cypriots are so often accused of indulging—most often, by Cypriots themselves. One such accuser is Yiannis Ioannou, a Cypriot professor of comparative literature at the University of Cyprus and author of *Conspiracy Theory and the Culture of Partition: Essay on the Political Culture of Cyprus*. This book was published in 2009, on the eve of the sixty-year anniversary of Cyprus's independence from Great Britain; it takes as its point of departure the period from 1950 to 1974, when histories of modern Cyprus often begin. This period is what Tony Angastiniotis called *the time of the cannibals*: the time of anticolonial struggle and then decolonization after the founding of the Republic in 1960, when Cypriot sovereignty was inaugurated within the intimate divisions of Greek and Turkish ethnonationalism strategically nurtured by British colonial rule. In the 1950s, EOKA, a Greek-Cypriot armed resistance group, waged a successful guerilla campaign against the British with the ultimate aim of uniting Cyprus with Greece—also targeting Turkish-Cypriot civilians as well as members of TMT, a Turkish-Cypriot organization of armed irregulars then forming in response to EOKA's actions.⁵ Instead of union with Greece, the 1960 Constitution established the independent sovereignty of Cyprus and a power-sharing framework for Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities contested almost from its inception by Greek-Cypriot authorities—including the Republic's first president, Archbishop Makarios—who were still intent on union with Greece. The irredentist movement initiated by EOKA in the 1950s was revived between 1971 and 1974 by its successor group, EOKA-B, an overtly ethnonationalist parastate terrorist organization that targeted not only Turkish Cypriots but also Greek-Cypriot leftists and even moderate supporters of President Makarios, who by then had distanced himself from the project of union with Greece. The alignment of EOKA-B with Greek military officers and Greek political operatives representing the interests of the Greek junta (1967–1974) in finally "restoring" Cyprus to

its Greek “homeland” led directly to the attempted coup, the invasion of Cyprus by the Turkish military, the war in the summer of 1974, the de facto division of the island, and the occupation of the north by Turkish forces ever since.

This postcolonial history of war has thus established “Greek” and “Turkish” as the given coordinates of social and political division that work to stabilize power in ethnonational terms. In the postcolonial geography of Cyprus, “Greek” maps onto the Republic of Cyprus, the regime in the south that enjoys international recognition and membership in the European Union, while “Turkish” maps onto the regime in the north, which unilaterally declared its sovereignty as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) in 1983 but is recognized as such only by Turkey, the occupying power.⁶ In this book, I use the term “Republic” to refer to the region and the state apparatus in the south, in its exclusion of the TRNC—an exclusion that figures prominently in the story of Papadopoulos’s body.

The so-called Green Line dividing the northern and southern regions of Cyprus endures at the time of this writing; it survived an island-wide referendum on the only reunification plan ever proposed to Cypriot publics, in April 2004. Known as the Annan Plan, after UN secretary-general Kofi Annan, it was supported by most Turkish Cypriots but rejected by most Greek Cypriots, discouraged by an unlikely coalition of political leaders, including then-president Tassos Papadopoulos and then-president of the House of Representatives, Demetris Christofias, who defeated Papadopoulos in the next presidential election and was in power when he died. UN-mediated negotiations between Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot authorities in 2008–2010, 2010–2012, 2014, 2015–2017, and 2021 opened and closed without a settlement.

In his book about conspiracy theory in Cyprus, Yiannis Ioannou uses concepts such as “political culture,” “culture of division,” and “culture of paranoia” to theorize the growth of Hellenic and Christian conservatism in the south, in the form not of right-wing factionalism on the margins of political life but rather of mainstream Greek ethnonationalism. He associates this transformation in Cypriot political culture in the south with widespread “belief” in what he calls “satanic conspiracies” behind the division of the island from 1974 through to the present—a time when many Greek Cypriots were displaced from their ancestral lands, radically isolated from

Turkish Cypriots, and entrained in long-term processes of urbanization and middle-class formation. In the afterlives of British colonialism, these processes have taken public discursive form as development, modernization, and prosperity.

Ioannou's diagnosis is despondent and bitter as he considers what Greek Cypriots have allowed themselves to become in the absence of "proper reason" [ορθός λόγος]. The conspiracy theories of the division that he dubs "satanic" variously depict the control of Cyprus by outside forces, or forms of secret governance within Cyprus, that have remained invisible and unaccountable to democratic processes since Cyprus's independence. They refer to secret deals between foreign powers and Cypriot authorities; interventions by the CIA, KGB, and MI6; and covert orchestration by the deep state in Turkey and the parastate in Greece under the junta of irregular insurgency and counterinsurgency groups that perpetrated much of the violence during periods of what is often called "intercommunal" conflict in 1963–1964, 1967, and 1974.

These conspiracy theories trade in and comment on Cold War geopolitics, characterizing the roles played in Cyprus by the United States, the United Kingdom, Greece, and Turkey by way of their socialist or anticommunist ideological alignments and economic arrangements. (That Cyprus was part of the Non-Aligned Movement after its independence in 1960 helps to explain its vulnerability to the play of these "great powers" and "parent states."⁷) The "paranoia" these theories express, for Ioannou, can thus be seen as a Cold War haunting, or what Joseph Masco (2014) calls a "national security affect"—an affective "infrastructure" connecting the Cold War to the present.⁸ Conspiracy theories about the division of Cyprus take the Cold War as a causal force in Cypriot history that continues to shape foreign interests today—on the part of the United Kingdom, the United States, Russia, Israel, the Gulf states, China—in the exploitation of Cypriot lands and off-shore zones for natural resource extraction, tax havening, money laundering, and investment prospecting facilitated by the purchase of property and citizenship.⁹ Thus, for Ioannou, while conspiracy theories about the division of Cyprus have specific historical referents in the period 1950–1974, they continue to animate contemporary political life in Cyprus as a filter for the interpretation of everything that has happened since—not least the chronic failure of peace talks¹⁰—as a repetition or exacerbation of the division:

It is clear how the culture of conspiracy [in Cyprus] is fortified and strengthened, and how it counteracts any lucid, rational comprehension and analysis of phenomena. It favors a comforting interpretation of developments that renders all Cypriot heroes innocent, and attributes tribulations, failures, and catastrophes to factors outside Cyprus. A persecution complex and xenophobia replace substantive political analysis. The terrorization of the people activates their survival instinct, prodding them to rally around their leaders and return them to office time after time. (Ioannou 2009, 119–20)

In this depiction, conspiracy theories about the division of Cyprus frame the division as both the beginning and the end of history: a wound inflicted by the Great Powers that will never heal, collapsing past and present in an enduring “culture of conspiracy.”

In this book, I want to problematize this notion of a Cypriot “culture of conspiracy” by treating the *time* of Cypriot conspiracy theory as a question rather than a foregone conclusion. This ambition was inspired in part by my reading of a vast and growing academic literature on conspiracy theory—mostly anglophone, some of it Cypriot, much of it American, for reasons I address below. This literature—which I call *conspiratology*, meaning theory about conspiracy theory¹¹—is characterized by a great deal of intertextuality, cross-referencing, and self-conscious intervention into ongoing debates, features that facilitate my treating it as a corpus or genre. Another of its characteristic features is the insistence by authors on the specificity and urgency of conspiracy theory in the moment when they are writing. Many of the works I consulted when I initiated my research in Cyprus nearly fifteen years ago were written between the mid-1990s and the early 2000s, a time that authors explicitly framed as millennial: marked by the rise of finance capitalism, the internet, and the so-called New World Order forming in the wake of Soviet collapse, leaving popular culture haunted by a muddle of Cold War ghosts.¹² Peter Knight, for example, cleanly opens the first chapter of his book, *Conspiracy Culture: From Kennedy to the X-Files*, with the line, “At the turn of the millennium in America, it seems that conspiracy theories are everywhere” (Knight 2000, 1). Jodi Dean, writing about alien abduction and “American paranoia” in *Aliens in America: Conspiracy Cultures from Outerspace to Cyberspace*, writes, “It’s a symptomatic or extreme form of what is widespread in everyday life at the millennium”

(Dean 1998, 5). Jack Bratich, in *Conspiracy Panics: Political Rationality and Popular Culture*, goes so far as to describe the 1990s as the “conspiracy decade” and diagnoses the profusion of conspiratology scholarship at the time as a “conspiracy panic” (Bratich 2008, 63). James Faubion’s pensive philosophical ethnography of the Branch Davidians, *The Shadows and Lights of Waco* (2001), is subtitled *Millennialism Today*, which really says it all.

Although each of these theorists (and many others besides) approached the fringe cultures that interested them quite differently and with disparate objectives, millennial parameters were crucial to all of their framing of conspiracy theory as an object for analysis at that time, and to the epistemological disorientation that pervaded—again, explicitly and self-consciously—their own analytic maneuvers. Thus, in his preface to perhaps the most widely cited work in this literature, *Paranoia within Reason: A Casebook on Conspiracy as Explanation*, published in 1999 as part of a series entitled Cultural Studies for the End of the Century, George Marcus explains,

The short-term time-space of this series is signaled by the loaded label, *fin de siècle*, in which it periodizes and limits itself, and cultivates a certain detachment, while understanding that this is not the old claim to value neutrality enabling the truth. Detachment arises from and is a way to cope with bewilderments and cynicisms that seem so much part of the age. (Marcus 1999, xi)

Even Susan Lepselter’s much more recent book, *The Resonance of Unseen Things*, a study of “a vernacular American poetics” on themes of captivity and independence, drawing largely from UFO stories of alien abductions, takes the 1990s as its explicit “time frame,” despite a lapse of some twenty years between the experiences she writes about and the writing itself (Lepselter 2016, 1, 3). “When I think of that period now,” Lepselter says, “it is like an eye in a hurricane.” The storm was 9/11 and the many wars that ensued, along with the proliferation of “antigovernment conspiracy theories.” Lepselter does not argue that anyone had seen it coming during the previous decade. “Yet,” she explains,

in many ways, libertarian discourses and movements based in a conspiratorial sensibility that achieved political ascendancy in the early twenty-first century were already latent, not just in the common populist strand long-standing in America, not in some quintessential “paranoid” quality

of American character, but specifically in the uncanny talk that mushroomed in the 1990s. (2–3)

Lepselter hears that “uncanny talk” in improvised, fleeting spaces of sociality that nurtured its expression and collective articulation: support groups for UFO believers; UFOlogy conferences; homes, bars, cars, and workplaces in a pseudonymized “midsize southern city” (3) and in the well-known town of Rachel, Nevada, bordering Area 51. Her text traces and evokes the “sense of resonance” animating her interlocutors’ stories about their “weird experiences,” insinuating the connections they perceived among those experiences and pressing their attention toward a hidden structure, a “structural something,” the “powers that be,” behind it all (5; 27, 11; 34; 55). Though Lepselter evokes the “senses of place” felt “deeply, ambivalently” by her interlocutors in the spaces where they talked, and though one chapter of the book is in part a rumination on a particular place that is both lived in and mythologized in American popular culture, she does not frame any of those spaces or places as the sites of a “unified, emplaced American sub-culture” (17). She is more interested, she explains, in the “metacultur[al]” “real” of captivity, whose meaning as a narrative trope has formed cumulatively through the “continuous, overlapping elements” of UFO stories and a trove of other lore, especially stories about Native American abductions of white settlers in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.¹³ Lepselter thus appreciates the complex temporality of the poetic materials she assembles in her book, but the time of the “uncanny talk” indexing the collective experience she evokes ethnographically is specific: the millennial turn. The 1990s were strange times, it seems—at least in America.

My own interest in the conspiratology emerging from those times was not, at least initially, linked to any distinctive features of millennial American culture. I had synched up with the recursive temporality of Cypriot conspiracy theory, which oriented my own analytic gaze toward the 1970s and opened indefinitely onto the horizon of the future. But here we are again. The 2010s–2020s are strange times, it seems—at least in America. Conspiracy theory is once again a matter of popular and academic concern: for many, a sign of the Trump times, marked by resurgent authoritarianism, the fragmentation of publics and communities, the twinning of denialism with racism and nativism, and other profoundly disturbing and surreal swerves toward the far right, epitomized by QAnon. In this connection I note that,

in the first season of the popular Slate podcast *Slow Burn*, released in 2017–2018, host Leon Neyfakh argued that it was the Watergate scandal that first led to the mainstreaming of conspiracy theory in American culture; in its structure and content, the podcast drew a straight line of continuity from that time to the profusion of conspiracy theories in millennial America and again in the Trumptimes.¹⁴ In other words, the podcast implicitly argued not only that today’s strange times are a distinctive period of conspiracy theorizing in the same way that the 1970s and 1990s were but also that they are strange in that way *because* the 1970s and 1990s were.

This hypothesis of continuity leads me to ask: What do we learn about conspiracy theory by historicizing it, and specifically, by periodizing its flourishing in epochs, eras, and moments? How do we use periodization to divide up complex worlds of interconnected concepts, affects, institutions, aspirations, policies, fates, and figures associated with conspiracy? On what grounds can we disaggregate what is enduring, stable, and systemic in those worlds from what is emergent, inchoate, and fluid? What kinds of contexts do we create and destroy when we organize time in this way? These are questions about what it means to do research in complex time, apprehending distinct scales and modalities of experience and change in structural and epistemic conditions, while the concepts and theories we exercise in assessing those conditions are also shifting, transforming, fading and returning, seeming new again, in ways that are out of synch with the historical time frames that our knowledge practices render expedient.

These questions themselves are not new, and yet they may be timely. In her Frazer Lecture delivered in 1986, Marilyn Strathern gave them an intriguing inflection by thematizing the timeliness itself of concepts and theories. “Ideas seem to have the capacity to appear at all sorts of times and places,” she said,

to such a degree that we can consider them as being before their time or out of date. . . . The presence or absence of particular ideas does not seem enough to account for such movement. They collapse a sense of history into a sense of *déjà vu*. . . . For a non-historian, the problem is this: If one looks hard enough, one can find ideas anticipated long before their time, or one can trace their similarity through time. Yet, when one looks again, and considers other ideas, the sense of similarity vanishes. (Strathern 1987, 251, 253)

The concept of ethnocentrism is the “idea” Strathern probes in her Frazer Lecture—an idea around which the field of anthropology has organized itself since at least the modernist break with the work of early figures such as Sir James Frazer himself, according to the disciplinary history Strathern offers, leaning—with some irony—on I. C. Jarvie. Ethnocentrism on her account is an inclination (implicitly) or an argument (explicitly) to privilege the values and concepts belonging to one’s own culture in a world *given* as plural—a set of habits, reflexes, and preferences, then, that have been tested in a special way by anthropologists (or so we make the claim) in one after another encounter with difference of one kind or another, at one level or another, on one scale or another. Cultural relativism would appear to be anthropology’s corrective answer to ethnocentrism, and it is an answer associated with Bronislaw Malinowski, an heir of Frazer’s and, in Jarvie’s view (if not Strathern’s, exactly), his assassin. In her lecture, Strathern re-envision Malinowski’s modernist break with Frazer, author of *The Golden Bough* (1890–1915) and other exceedingly popular works in early anthropology, an “armchair anthropologist” and ethnocentrist extraordinaire, according to “received wisdom”—which wisdom, Strathern points out, reaches us by way of a retroactive recontextualization of Frazer’s work in light of the modernist “revolution” brought against his ideas by Malinowski only a few years after the publication of Frazer’s influential *Folklore in the Old Testament*, which Strathern takes as a paradigm of his work (254, citing Jarvie 1964, 173, 258). In putting the matter this way, Strathern is “receiving” the “wisdom” of critics of “modern social anthropology” such as Jarvie, who, she points out, positions Frazer as the “victim” of that revolution rather than as “unreadable” and “obsolete,” as modernist anthropologists would have it (Strathern 254, 256, citing Boon 1982, 13, 18).

In her own “play” with context (more on this, below), Strathern juxtaposes Frazer’s “historicist” approach to cross-cultural comparison—in which “diverse customs” observed piecemeal at any time, “anywhere in the world,” were examined in order to “throw light” on one particular civilization and thus confirm the general laws of cultural evolution—with Malinowski’s fieldwork-based approach. In the latter, she writes, the “practices and beliefs . . . ideas and customs” of a people were understood in “immediate social context,” and entire societies or “social systems” compared in order to hone a functionalist theory of cultural holism (254). From the vantage of functionalist theory, ethnocentrism à la Frazer appears as a problem

to be redressed by placing things “in context,” as Malinowski strove to do; but, as Strathern shows, it is a very particular notion of context that permits this redress. Cross-cultural comparison in the style of Malinowski, she argues, works through a more or less implicit contrast or “separation” between the culture being studied by the anthropologist and the anthropologist’s own culture, into whose concepts the “other” culture can be translated and made to seem coherent in its *own* context (261). In its own context, all the ideas and practices of a people can be understood as gathering their meaning and efficacy from their interrelatedness in the “organic wholes” they compose (254). In foregrounding the “other” culture as a context in this way, Strathern observes, the anthropologist also creates a context for his own ideas to take hold through the contrast he draws between the cultural material that he discovers and the translation of it that he effects (259). In other words, both contexts are made in the process of ethnographic writing. What is compared cross-culturally, then, is those contexts, along with the concepts that “make sense” of them—concepts for which, Strathern suggests, the anthropologist’s culture would have “had no ready space” before the attempt was made (269).

Strathern suggests that the dichotomy of “observer/observed,” whatever else it might have meant in ethical or political terms in modernist anthropology, was, on the level of ideas, primarily a textual device used in ethnographic writing to “create a sense of alienness” and thence to “overcome” it through translation and contextualization (260). That is to say: the “separation” between the cultural context under study and the cultural context of the anthropologist’s ideas was, at the very least, contrived for literary purposes. Though in a very different way from Frazer’s historicism, this modernist literary contrivance, too, is ethnocentric, and its ethnocentrism would have seemed obvious to the point of being taken for granted (which is to say, decontextualized) by Strathern’s audience in the 1980s. The postmodern departures from this modernist ethnocentrism that she gathered for comment in her 1986 lecture included textual techniques of juxtaposing multiple incompatible accounts of events, decentering scholarly texts as sources of authority and tools of authentication, formally incorporating multiple authorial voices to move beyond dialogue toward heteroglossia, and collapsing linear histories to “obscur[e] the line between past and present” (267). In Strathern’s view, these techniques, invested as they were in unmaking the power asymmetries inherent in the observer/observed dichotomy

effectuated in modernist ethnographic texts, sought to “play with context” by blurring the boundaries thus contrived and collapsing the dichotomies they supported (265).

While the ostensible object of Strathern’s deliberations here is the concept of ethnocentrism, it interests me just as much that her inquiry systematically raises context itself as *the* critical issue in anthropological theory. This issue is apparent in the way she frames her venture from the outset, taking ethnocentrism as a central preoccupation of anthropology in her own time—that is, the time of her writing (if not of her training), which she describes as “postmodern” in a studiously nominalist manner: “Whether we are or are not entering a postmodern phase in social anthropology, enough people seem to be speaking as though we were for the idea to be of interest” (263). She thus nods to the so-called crisis of representation in anthropology then dominating discourse in the field and foregrounding reflexivity as an epistemological and ethical innovation. At the same time, she textually excavates ethnocentrism as a central preoccupation of the modernist “revolution” in anthropology many generations earlier. Strathern thus draws our attention to the timeliness of ideas as theoretically and, more to the point, *textually* embedded—timeliness being the foundational assumption authorizing the introduction of context into ethnographic texts: the assumption, that is, that “what people think is a ‘reflection’ of their times” (251).

This assumption that ideas reflect “their times” raises the question as to how it may be determined *when* “their times” are, or were. In the introduction to his book on conspiracy theory, Ioannou addresses this question in a diagnostic register:

The meanings and values that composed the rhetoric and political discourse of the decade of the ’50s—such as “our nation is the mother country”—are the ones that have shaped the political behavior [of Greek Cypriots today]. Biologically, they live in the time of today, but, having eliminated the intervening sixty years, they have stopped connecting the facts of their own time dialectically with the consequences of the sixty-year historical process they have eliminated, or bringing their political analysis to bear on those consequences. They adopt a metaphysical approach and thereby transfer the culture of that period (1950–74) to today’s time—confounding and clashing with the objective historico-political facts of the last sixty years. (Ioannou 2009, 19)

In this passage, Ioannou articulates a common conception of Cyprus as “frozen” or “stuck” in time, which I have linked to paranoid epistemology in other writing about Cypriot knowledge projects concerning the past (Davis 2023). This time is captured in pervasive representations—photographs and films, poems and memoirs, documentaries and news reports—featuring people and places stranded, as if in suspended animation, in 1964 or 1974, when people abandoned their homes and villages during riots and bombings, leaving them to rot ever after, untouched. The “elimination” of all the time that has passed since then from the historical process of culture in Cyprus is “metaphysical,” Ioannou writes, insisting that conspiracy theories of the division in Cyprus belong “culturally” to the past, even if they belong “biologically” to the present. This wormhole through space-time that he sees being opened by conspiracy theory in Cyprus suggests that what people think is *not* a reflection of their times, as against the assumption of timeliness that Strathern discerns and disputes in modernist ethnography and cultural theory. That Ioannou makes this observation in the form of a diagnosis—pronouncing a pathology in Cypriot political culture—suggests that he might wish for more conventional timeliness in the relation between ideas and culture in Cyprus.

Ioannou surely enjoys greater intimacy with (or at least proximity to) that culture than the modernist ethnographers whose texts Strathern examines did in relation to the cultures they studied. Ioannou’s text maintains a dichotomy between observer and observed—a separation that motivates and authorizes his diagnosis of Cypriot conspiracy culture—but that dichotomy does not map onto cultural difference as foreign/native, in the style of modernist ethnography. It maps onto cultural difference in a different style—a postcolonial style, say, that maintains the modernist concept of culture as local and bounded, but operates that concept within ethnonational borders rather than across them. In this bounded culture, Ioannou locates himself in the *margins*, a position that exposes him to the destructive untimeliness of conspiracy theories.

In the previous paragraph, trying to work out Ioannou’s position in relation to conspiracy theory, I have already framed and reframed the inside/outside of culture several times, and with it, the interpretive perspectives that might be associated with his position. Thus, Ioannou is like modernist ethnographers in his presumption of cultural difference between himself and those he writes about (he is “outside” mainstream culture and therefore

qualifies his critical judgment of the culture by way of his experience with it rather than his alignment with it); he is unlike modernist ethnographers in his belonging to the culture that he is studying (he is “inside” the culture and therefore does not need to translate and contextualize it for his audience); he is like modernist ethnographers in his assertion of the superiority of his knowledge over that of his interlocutors (he is “outside” the culture and therefore can see what cultural insiders cannot); he is unlike modernist ethnographers in sharing the cultural identity of his interlocutors and thus knowing his lot to be thrown in with theirs (his critique is reformist, addressed to the culture from “inside”); he is like modernist ethnographers in belonging to a cultural elite positioned to make cultural diagnoses (he is “outside” the culture); he is unlike modernist ethnographers in being a colonized subject (he is “inside” the culture); and so forth. Many more framings—limitless—are possible. It would be especially easy to proliferate them if we were to take into account other axes of difference beyond ethnonational identity—such as class, gender, generation—and if we conceived of interpretive perspective as a function of historical as well as cultural position: time as well as place. Wormholes abound.

Strathern develops her line of thinking about timeliness in order to probe the “mood” of postmodern anthropology—playful, ironic—and to pinpoint its difference from modernist ethnography in its textual styles rather than its ideas; the occasion of a lecture named after Sir James Frazer and given in 1986 makes sense of that aim, perhaps. But in the spirit of her deeper and subtler provocation, and in the light of Ioannou’s critical diagnosis of conspiracy culture in Cyprus, I wish to experiment with a substitution: to consider conspiracy theory, like ethnocentrism, as an idea whose self-evident timeliness demands explicit reflection and qualification. This experiment is not only a formal maneuver—substituting one idea for another to see whether the argument holds—but also a way of extending Strathern’s examination of ethnocentrism. I argue in what follows that epoch and locale—time and place—are implicit, largely unexamined premises in most conspiratology, a literature that sustains many of the textual traits of modernist ethnography that Strathern, in 1986, saw starting to be dismantled by postmodern critiques. (She was not in a position, then, to see how minimal and marginal those interventions would turn out to be.) Among those traits are the observer/observed dichotomy, rigid yet implicit boundaries between the cultural context studied by anthropologists and the cultural context of their

ideas, and the “sense of alienness” contrived by ethnographers in regard to the cultural materials they study in order to overcome that sense by translating and contextualizing them. These modernist textual conventions are alive and well in conspiratology, as I read it, and this literature thus models the subtle and not-so-subtle ways in which modernist ethnocentrism survives in cultural theory in the guise of *contextualization*. This is not the ethnocentrism of Frazerian anthropology and its framework of historicist comparison that took western civilization as a starting and ending point of cultural evolution. It is rather an implicit ethnocentrism enacted by taking as given a civilizational asymmetry—with cultural, political, and economic implications—between locales of theorizing and locales of ethnographic data collection. I develop this point more substantially in Part 1.6; here, I recall Ioannou’s movement in and out of a modernist perspective in his writing on Cypriot conspiracy theory. The framing and reframing of his position along insider/outsider axes of differentiation that I performed above show how a postcolonial stance of antinationalism can both advance a critique of ethnocentrism and undermine it by stabilizing context in ethnonational terms. This is the central point that I take from Strathern’s critique of modernist ethnocentrism as I explore the workings of context in conspiratology.

I initiate this exploration in Part 1, where I question at length both the *timeliness* and the *alienness* of conspiracy theory as it is represented in conspiratology. I recontextualize these features of conspiracy theory as entailments of ethnocentrism in cultural theory—an inheritance or, better, a hangover from the anthropological enterprise of cross-cultural comparison that so few anthropologists today pursue, at least explicitly. Strathern addresses that hangover as a disciplinary type in *Partial Connections* ([1991] 2004), a somewhat later work that reads to me as a continuation of her 1986 Frazer Lecture. Here, she identifies a characteristic “excess” or “remainder” in the movement of anthropological thought over time (Strathern [1991] 2004), xxii, *passim*), for which she takes cross-cultural comparison as the “exemplar for all descriptive activity” (xvi). In order to answer a particular question about how one culture is like or unlike another, she explains—her key example is whether a particular Papua New Guinean society “has” or does not “have” initiation rites—one would need to know more than the question knows: that is, more than the knowledge contained by the question.

That “excess” can be approached by asking additional questions: What counts as an initiation rite and what doesn’t? Is a rite actually a subset or a type of another kind of thing? And so on. Such new questions are what Strathern calls “remainders”: “material that is left over, for it goes beyond the original answer to the question to encapsulate or subdivide that position (the question-and-answer set) by further questions requiring further answers” (xxii). For Strathern, the remainder is not only what is presumed or left over by the asking of a particular question, but also the impetus to keep going: the possibility inherent in any question that the operation of asking the question can be repeated on different scales and yield additional answers that “encapsulate” previous answers and, in doing so, reframe them, establishing a new context for their elaboration. The remainder, then, is a source of creativity; it is the way “an answer is another question, a connection a gap, a similarity a difference, and vice-versa” (xiv).

I take Strathern’s vocabulary of remainder and excess as a way to talk about recursion in knowledge-making practices. On her account, we develop new knowledge by doing the same thing with the knowledge that was produced by the previous doing of that thing, whether that thing is asking a question, reversing figure and ground, zooming in or panning out, changing the scale, specifying the context. As I demonstrated in working out the observer/observed distinction in Ioannou’s positionality, there is always another distinction to be made, leading to a recontextualization of his position in relation to Cypriot conspiracy theory. There is no end to the contexts that can be set for social analysis. The process is theoretically endless, yet there is no radical novelty, since every bit of knowledge that is produced contains all that has come before. New knowledge entails the past and also changes it. By the same token, new knowledge does not reduce complexity but rather maintains it, no matter on what scale one seeks to approach it.

What remains cloudy for me in Strathern’s otherwise dazzlingly lucid perspective on recursive knowledge-making is the starting point of the research process. If this process is recursive, then what is contained in an initial question largely reflects what the asker already knows; the question itself is some kind of outcome of the prior asking of other questions. Strathern frames this knowledge that exceeds the question being asked as an “excess,” which she treats as a *consequence* of asking the question, even though, in her depiction, that excess logically precedes the asking. In other words,

the initial question reflects the partialities and limitations of the asker as well as her prior knowledge. What is not contained in that initial question is not only logically prior knowledge but also the arena of the asker's ignorance, and that is what—ideally, I think, for Strathern—the asker might ultimately approach for the first time through the process of pursuing remainders, assuming a research process ambitious enough not to rest on swift conclusions. The risk of any research process, then, lies with the misrecognition of the starting point as a question that is valid in its own terms, without regard to the context in which it became the answer to a prior question—a context in which some knowledge was surely foreclosed. Strathern's depiction of knowledge-making as the management of excess in the pursuit of remainders does not address how research questions are thus determined—or *overdetermined*—by contextual foreclosures in the first place. This “first place” is not an anyplace in abstract logical space, as subject to the recursivity of knowledge production as any other. It is the special and unique place where the ethical freight of knowledge production rests—where the “value” of truths sought in social science is presupposed by the subjective categories of thought that give empirical knowledge its “objectivity,” as Weber observed a century ago (Weber [1904] 1949, 110). It is what motivates research in the form of a desire to know more on the part of the researcher.

The overdetermination of the division of Cyprus as the starting point of my own research process, and my own desire to know more, is what remains to be accounted for here. If this were a problem *only* for me, I could work to resolve it by engaging in a rigorous practice of reflexivity to account for my shifting positionality along the insider/outsider axes of differentiation—some of whose possibilities I traced for Ioannou, above—over the course of my research and writing. I do strive after this practice in this book. But reflexivity alone cannot disentangle my thinking from the problem of division. As I have written elsewhere, I have found as a researcher that the division of Cyprus has colonized knowledge production about Cyprus to such an extent that other struggles and divisions inevitably appear in relation to it: as dimensions and effects of it, or, on the other hand, as social and political problems in their own right that the division mystifies and obscures (Davis 2023, 11–15, 41–43, 161ff.). Cypriot anthropologist Olga Demeetriou captures this problem beautifully in framing as “minor losses” all the

damage done by division that is occluded by the “major losses” suffered by Greek Cypriot refugees, the privileged political subjects of the Republic (Demetriou 2018, 2, *passim*). Researchers may choose to start from a point other than the division, but they do so at the risk of enlarging the arena of ignorance that is foreclosed as knowledge by their questions.

It is with this overdetermination of the division as a starting point in mind that I understand the relationship between conspiracy theories of the division in Cyprus—which began to circulate during the war that led to the division in the summer of 1974—and the story of the president’s body, which begins in 2009. The latter is therefore more than a case study in Cypriot conspiracy theory, though it certainly is that. At the same time, this story enacts a meta-epistemology of conspiracy theory: it spins and unspins narrative and evidence, time and place, context and knowledge. From this meta-epistemological perspective, the division of Cyprus appears as an occasion for the recontextualization of much more recent and much more distant pasts, which are themselves changed in the process of that recontextualization. This is not to assert that the division existed in Cyprus from the beginning of time and has endured through time, per a naïve historicist reckoning of linear temporal ordering. Rather, it means that, given the situation as it stands in the present, any Cypriot past we might imagine contains the division as part of its story, and any emergent present will also contain the division as part of *its* story. Understood this way, the division is a matter of ongoing and perennial conspiracy that is both the effect and the cause of other conspiracies. It is, in other words, recursive. Thus the story of the president’s body begins in the recent past but encapsulates and re-frames the division and its theorization as conspiracy. The way it does so sheds light on what I call *conspiracy attunement* in Cyprus.

My path toward conspiracy attunement in this book takes both critical-theoretical and empirical-contextual tacks. In Part 1, I elaborate the long-standing concern with conspiracy theory in anthropology and many adjacent (and even distant) fields. Scholars have often viewed conspiracy theory as a mirror image of social theory, sharing its forms of reasoning but grounded in erroneous premises. On this view, social theory shares with conspiracy theory an array of analytic tools for contextualizing and connecting seemingly disparate cultural practices, characterizing the consciousness and agency of political subjects, and accounting structurally for

the invisible workings of power. Alternatively, scholars have diagnosed conspiracy theory as a symptom of the failure of social theory to account for global relations of power whose scale, intricacy, and complexity defy coherent explanation in the form of metanarratives. Others have taken yet a different tack, exploring the intimacy between power and conspiracy theory, showing how state and parastate agents have promoted conspiracy theories through disinformation campaigns in order to generate terror and insecurity, and to obscure any direct knowledge that political subjects might take as a basis for disputing the legitimacy of state power.¹⁵ This obfuscation also muddies the waters of ethnographic research; the partiality and instability of knowledge in contexts of public secrecy become, themselves, objects of anthropological knowledge, drawing it close and sharing its form.

In Part 1, I critically examine these and other approaches to analyzing conspiracy theory that are well-represented in the academic literature going back to the 1990s (and in a few cases, much earlier): the symptomatic approach, the epistemological approach, the particularist approach, the psychoanalytic approach, and the political approach, as I categorize them. These approaches, in their distinct and characteristic ways, implicitly set contexts for the analysis of conspiracy theory. In doing so, they address conspiracy theory as an object of general theory while at the same time, in many cases, indicating the need to understand conspiracy theory *in context*. My reading of this literature focuses on these generalizing and contextualizing moves to drive a larger argument concerning the meaning and use of context in ethnographic writing and anthropological theory. I show how conspiracy theory as an analytic object fails to sustain comparative analysis, and thus to support general theory about conspiracy theory, although many contributors to the vast, vibrant, and international conspiratology literature have attempted exactly that. What this literature accomplishes instead, I argue, is the perpetuation of modernist ethnocentrism in cultural theory, in the guise of contextualization.

To model a different and, I hope, better kind of contextualization, I present in Part 2 a case study not of conspiracy theory but rather of conspiracy attunement in Cyprus. I show how conspiracy theories about the division in 1974 have formed a context for public talk about the conspiracy theories that circulated after the theft of Papadopoulos's remains from his grave some thirty-five years later. In the process, I provide archival and ethnographic evidence to support the concept of conspiracy attunement as a means for

rethinking context and cross-contextual comparison. This evidence includes the writings of Cypriot and foreign journalists, scholars, and lay researchers who have turned to state archives in Cyprus, the United States, and the United Kingdom in order to substantiate or refute conspiracy theories about the events leading up to the division of Cyprus. I have spoken with several of these researchers, though my emphasis here is on their print discourse, especially works circulating in the capacious world of self-published books in Cyprus. Most of the evidence, however, comes in the form of diverse contributions to the Cypriot press coverage of the theft of the president's body in December 2009: news stories, op-eds, and letters to the editor published in an array of newspapers in the south and the north, in Greek and Turkish (and in a few instances, English). I read this press coverage as public discourse about conspiracy theory that presumes and anticipates conspiracy theory as a condition of public discourse in Cyprus, in a historically deep and recursive way. I construe this metadiscourse on conspiracy theory as evidence of a Cypriot context of conspiracy attunement that could be compared, as such, to other contexts with different historical-temporal and geographical-cultural boundaries.

Between Part 1 and Part 2 is an Interlude in which I explore political theologies and theories of sovereignty in relation to the dead bodies of political leaders. Since many such bodies have taken momentous and often scandalous itineraries, provoking public talk in many times and places, this topic is well suited to my project of rethinking context for comparative purposes. Leading up to the case study on Tassos Papadopoulos's remains in Part 2, then, I explore in the Interlude several other cases in which the dead bodies of political leaders have been exhumed, handled, studied, debated, moved, and most directly to the point, desecrated and re-sacralized. Comparing the profusion of conspiracy theories about the meaning of Papadopoulos's body with the apparent unspeakability of his missing remains, I argue that conspiracy theories about the theft cannot be analyzed without recourse to the body itself, and I venture some thoughts about what the body itself might be.

At the time of this writing, the division of Cyprus in its broadest contours has endured for sixty years, and those who lived through the violence of the 1960s and 1970s are now very much in the minority on both sides of the divide. It is therefore crucial to understand how the politics of division are reproduced in younger generations of Cypriots, for whom division

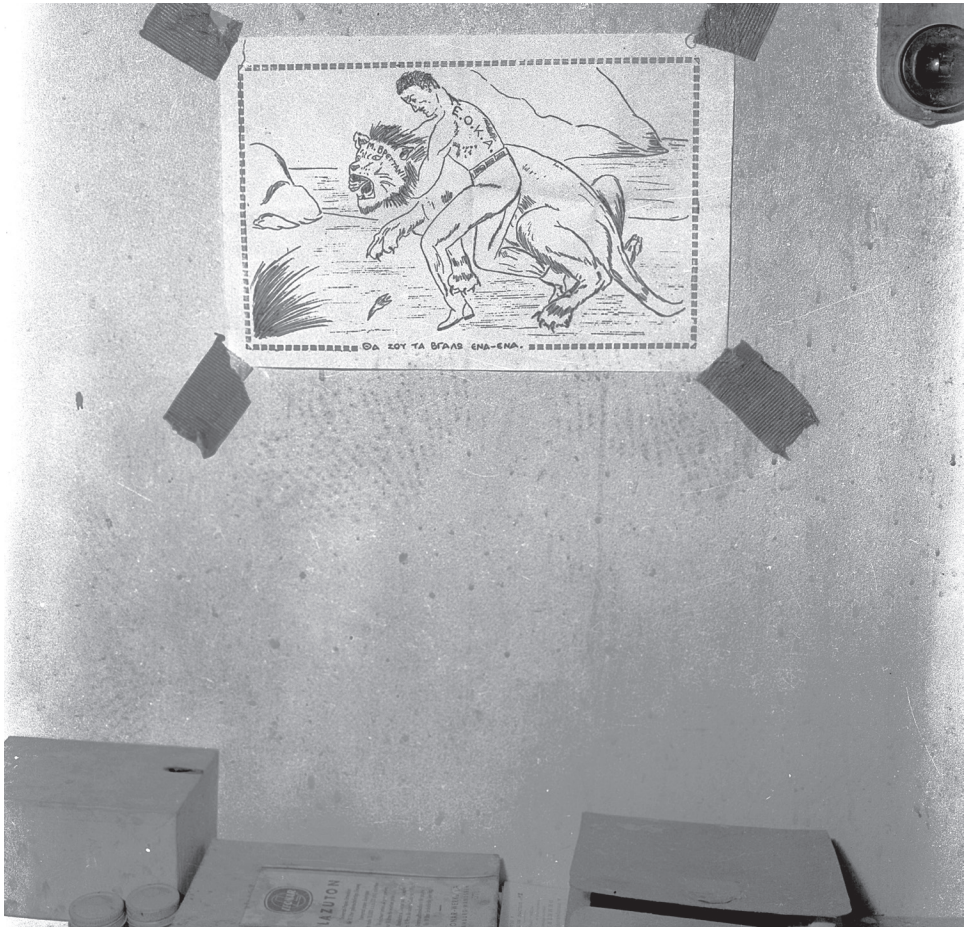
cannot be accounted to the direct experience of perpetrators and survivors. Younger Cypriots, having adjusted to the division as a “new normal”—though in ways quite different for those living in the south and those living in the north—may not be as compelled politically by settlement talks and public debates on the Cyprus Problem as they are by international solidarity movements or transnational fascist mobilizations.¹⁶ The division is surely not in the foreground of everyday life for many Cypriots in any case. Yet conspiracy theories continue to carry the division into the emergence of the everyday. This was how the story of the president’s body first came to my own attention—that is, as a news item on a Greek-language TV channel, wrapped up along with other items into a package of the day’s import, each one refracting the division in some way: commemorations of the attempted coup in 1974, foregrounding the invasion by Turkish military forces that it provoked; a Turkish infraction of Cypriot airspace, counted as an infraction only in the south, given the long-standing occupation of the north by Turkish military forces; and a decision by the European Court of Human Rights on a lawsuit brought by a Greek-Cypriot refugee against the Republic of Turkey, seeking compensation for property in the north to which they had had no meaningful access since 1974. The trial of the men charged with stealing the remains of Papadopoulos—presented by the reporter as the *true culprits*—appeared in the broadcast as the truth-seeking process that would finally put to rest rampant conspiracy theories attributing the crime to Turkish nationals, Turkish Cypriots, Greek-Cypriot leftists, and even Greek-Cypriot supporters of Papadopoulos. It was one among many events that day that reintroduced the division as a condition of everyday life.¹⁷

And what was the story of the president’s body told in that trial? Almost three months after the theft, in March 2010, Papadopoulos’s remains were found by the Greek-Cypriot police, acting on an anonymous tip, and conclusively identified by DNA analysis. They had been placed inside a tomb belonging to someone other than Papadopoulos, in a different cemetery located in the southern Nicosia neighborhood of Strovolos. One of the alleged thieves, Sarbjit Singh, an undocumented Indian national, identified eventually as the source of the anonymous tip, confessed his involvement and named his employers as the key players in the plot. These employers were two brothers, Antonis and Mamas Prokopiou Kitas, who reputedly ran a criminal organization based in Nicosia. The defendants all pled not guilty;

Antonis Kitas in fact tried to implicate other people as the real masterminds, naming two men from the same crime ring that had organized the murder of a Cypriot media mogul in January 2010. Prosecutors alleged that the Kitas brothers had aimed to ransom Papadopoulos's remains or leverage their exchange for the release of Antonis, who was already in prison at the time. The three defendants were charged with different combinations of overlapping crimes, including conspiracy to commit a felony, illegal entry into a cemetery, desecration of a grave, exhuming a body without a relevant court order, insulting religion, insulting the memory of the dead, and extortion (Evripidou 2010).¹⁸ They were tried in July 2010 and convicted the following April on the conspiracy, illegal entry, and illegal exhumation charges (Pantelides 2011). Singh was sentenced to eighteen months in prison, the Kitas brothers to twenty months each; this time was added to the two life sentences Antonis was already serving (*Sigmalive* 2021).

The transgressive violence perpetrated against Papadopoulos's dead body, for which these men were convicted and incarcerated, was understood by some Cypriots as a reaping of seeds he had sown in the 1960s—the time of the cannibals, in the words of Tony Angastiniotis, a culturally minor and politically subversive figure in the context of mainstream Greek ethnonationalism in Cyprus. Angastiniotis associates the time of the cannibals with the “sixties generation,” those people who “knew a few things” about how the Republic of Cyprus came into being through ethnonationalist violence. Among the things they surely knew was that Papadopoulos was active in EOKA and aligned with the objectives of EOKA-B if not their methods, and thus directly or indirectly implicated in violence against Turkish Cypriots and Greek-Cypriot leftists; in Part 2 of this book, I examine how this knowledge continues to circulate today in the form of conspiracy theories. They also knew that Papadopoulos lived through the 1960s and four more decades, increasing in power through the years and leaving his children to carry on his legacy after his death—unlike President Makarios, the reluctant maker of modest compromises, who survived only a few years after the war in 1974. In telling us his nightmare, Angastiniotis tells us that the time of the cannibals did not come to an end with the 1960s. It continued not only in his dreams but also in his films, in living memory, in the hypocrisy and dysfunction of contemporary Cypriot politics, and most vitally, in his own body, which, thirty years after the war, remained vulnerable to being eaten for breakfast if he dared to expose the

brutality of his fellow countrymen. The death threats Angastiniotis received upon the release of his films suggest he was not wrong to be afraid. His phrase, *the time of the cannibals*, thus frames recursive time as recursive violence. In using this phrase as the title of this book, I mean to share in his refusal of the temporal and ethical distancing that historical periodization can effect. The time of the cannibals is now, as it was then, and it forms the context of conspiracy attunement that I explore in the following pages.



EOKA strangles Great Britain: “I’ll take you out one by one” (θα σου τα βγάλω ένα-ένα). Lions are a long-standing symbol of British sovereignty in Cyprus; the British Cyprus flag depicted two red lions along with the Union Jack, and the unofficial flags of Akrotiri and Dhekelia—the two British military bases in the Republic of Cyprus that today, controversially, remain sovereign British territory—bear two golden lions. Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: “Takis Ioannides collection, EOKA 1955–59. Military unit on the central road of Nicosia.” Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (24-191-18). Reproduced with permission.



Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: "Episcopal Miter, 12/11/1973." This note may misidentify the miter shown here, which is the type worn by Orthodox bishops when performing ceremonial duties; the Episcopal miter is usually taller, shaped like a fan or cone, and crafted from embroidered cloth. Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (A1-0979-0003). Reproduced with permission.



Tassos Papadopoulos kisses the hand of Makarios, a conventional gesture of respect and reverence for the office of archbishop, as well as the corporeal act that secures his blessing. Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: "The President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios III, receives the President and the Members of the House of Representatives, 20/07/1970." Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (A1-0411-0009). Reproduced with permission.



Makarios addresses the crowd at a student demonstration for Cypriot sovereignty and against the Greek junta, held in Nicosia on February 16, 1972. Seen from the back, the figure of Makarios is a black shape, like a shadow or an empty set of vestments; his body is almost indiscernible, save for his waving hand, which conveys greeting as well as blessing. Some of the signs read: “Makarios, the only national leader of Cyprus” (Μακάριος, ο μόνος εθνικός ηγέτης της Κύπρου), “Makarios, the savior of our struggle” (Μακάριος, ο σωτήρας του αγώνος μας), “Makarios—guarantee” (Μακάριος—εγγύηση). Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: “Demonstrations at the Presidential Palace organized by pupils, 16/02/1972.” Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (A1-0761-0003). Reproduced with permission.



Makarios addresses the crowd at a demonstration in front of the Archbishop's Palace in the center of the walled city of Nicosia on March 3, 1972. Makarios appears here at a great distance, addressing the assembled supporters from the second-story arched portico of the palace. He is a minute figure on the scale of the masses in attendance, but his waving hand is still visible. Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: "Gathering at the Archbishopric, 03/03/1972." Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (A1-0763-0001). Reproduced with permission.



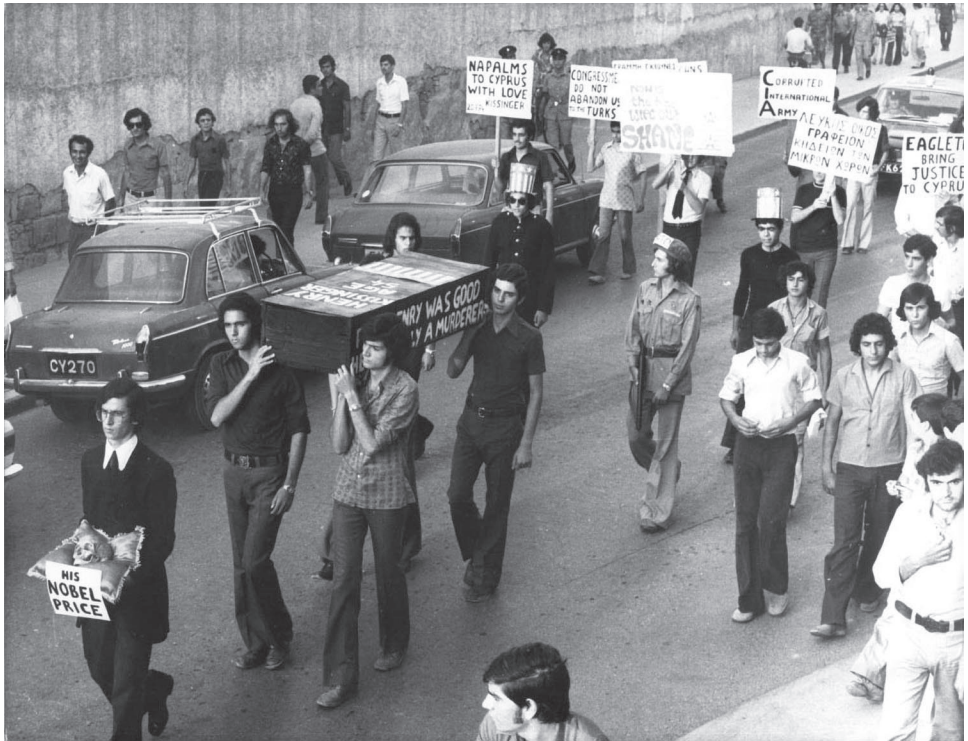
At the same demonstration in front of the Archbishop's Palace in March 1972, Makarios appears on a poster held by supporters on the wall tracing the outer limits of the palace grounds: "My shield, the people" (ασπίς μου ο λαός). The same poster can be seen in Figure 6, on the far right of the image, facing Makarios; here, it faces the masses behind, in close proximity to the Greek flag, doubling the body of the archbishop, who stands some yards away. On the poster, the figure of Makarios, holding his staff and crosier and smiling toothily, stands on a map of Cyprus behind a line of people half his size, who are holding shields as if to protect him from the cartoonish villain who aims both a gun and a grenade at him. Makarios had already survived an assassination attempt by the time this photograph was taken and was widely believed to be a target of the Greek junta as well as the CIA. Is he rendered vulnerable here, in need of protection by the people of Cyprus, or is he a giant using the people as human shields? Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: "Gathering at the Archbishopric, 03/03/1972." Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (A1-0763-0057). Reproduced with permission.



Makarios among the people, accompanied by a bishop and two (visible) police officers as he visits a refugee camp in the south in December 1974. Some of the people gathered here are pushing to get close to the archbishop, presumably to touch him or talk to him. This photograph would have been taken four or five months after they had fled their homes in the war zones of the north. Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: "The President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios III, visits refugee camps, 09/12/1974." Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (A1-1127-0004). Reproduced with permission.



“Makarios is alive.” Photograph published in the book by Panos Ioannides, *Cyprus, Days of Rage in 555 Photographs* (Nicosia: Morphotiki, 1975), p. 285(a). The English caption from the book reads, “Immediately following the coup, Greeks and Cypriots living in the USA organize demonstrations in support of President Makarios.” The coup began on July 15, 1974, at the Presidential Palace in Nicosia, which was burned to rubble; Makarios escaped to Paphos and was transported first to Malta and then London by the British Royal Air Force. His death was announced, falsely, on a CyBC broadcast the morning of the attempted coup, and he was widely believed to be dead until he made a broadcast of his own from Paphos the following day, before his evacuation from Cyprus. Image supplied by the photographic archives of the Press and Information Office in the Republic of Cyprus (285-A). Reproduced with permission.

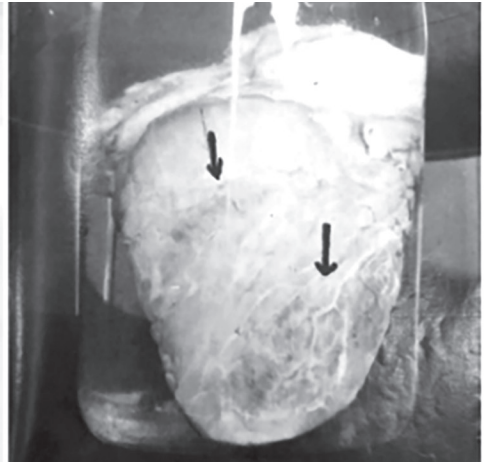


“His Nobel Price.” Photograph taken by Charalambos (Bambis) Avdellopoulos and published in the book by Panos Ioannides, *Cyprus, Days of Rage in 555 Photographs* (Nicosia: Morphotiki, 1975), p. 259(a). The English caption from the book reads, “Henry Kissinger’s symbolic funeral along a Nicosia main street. Already messages are pouring in from Washington to the effect that Cyprus will sound the knell of Kissinger’s policies. The people can see clearly who their executioners are.” The Greek caption places a heavier accent on the burial being performed by the demonstrators: «το Κυπριακό θ’ αποτελέσει τον τάφο της πολιτικής Κίσσινγκερ» (The Cyprus Problem will be the grave of Kissinger’s policies). Image supplied by the photographic archives of the Press and Information Office in the Republic of Cyprus (259-A). Reproduced with permission.



Tassos Papadopoulos at the funeral of Makarios, kissing the archbishop's dead hand this time, while mourners watch and wait their turn. Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: "Snapshots from the funeral of His Beatitude and meeting of the leaders of the political parties, 04/08/1977." Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (A1-1558-0007A). Reproduced with permission.

Η ΡΑΓΙΣΜΕΝΗ **ΚΑΡΔΙΑ** **ΤΟΥ ΕΘΝΑΡΧΗ**



“The broken heart of the Ethnarch.” This image of Archbishop Makarios’s embalmed heart, indicating two areas of tissue damage, circulated in newspapers and grade-school pamphlets in the months following his death. The heart itself was secreted in the private chambers of the succeeding archbishop for thirty-three years and ultimately buried with the rest of Makarios’s body in his tomb at the Throne of the Virgin Mary near Kykkos Monastery. The story of Makarios’s “unburied heart” has been published in Cypriot newspapers around August 3, the anniversary of his death, every year since it was finally buried in 2010. The original photograph could not be sourced; this image, likely scanned from a newspaper dating to 1977, was published on To Thema Online, August 7, 2018, <https://www.tothemaonline.com/Article/138142/h-ragismenh-kardia-toy-makariou>.



Spyros Kyprianou gives a press conference upon his appointment as acting president of the Republic, almost a month after Makarios's death on August 3, 1977. A photograph of the archbishop presides over the occasion while the assembled government officials mourn, one in a black armband. Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: "Proclamation of Mr. Spyros Kyprianou as President of the Republic of Cyprus, 31/08/1977." Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (A1-1568-0011). Reproduced with permission.



Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: “The President of the Republic, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, attends the premiere of the movie, ‘Makarios, the Long Journey,’ 20/10/1977.” For this first screening of the first documentary film about Makarios (Μακάριος, η μεγάλη πορεία, 1977, directed by Evangelos Ioannides), Kyprianou—who was acting president at the time this photograph was taken and not elected to the presidency until January 1978—is seated between a bishop (to his left) and the new archbishop, Chrysostomos I, who succeeded Makarios along with Kyprianou—a resolution into two bodies of the two offices that had merged in the person of Makarios. Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (A1-1586-0006). Reproduced with permission.



Vassos Falireas, a Cypriot artist, was commissioned to create a statue of Archbishop Makarios after his death that would ultimately be erected at the small cultural center in Makarios's birthplace, the village of Pano Panagia near Paphos, on the southwestern coast of Cyprus. In this photograph, Falireas and Makarios's newly elected successor, Spyros Kyprianou, hold hands with the outsized plaster hand of Archbishop Makarios that Falireas had fashioned, beneath a photograph of the archbishop in life. The special significance of the archbishop's hand is conspicuous here. Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: "The sculptor Mr. Vassos Falireas offers a mold of the hand of His Beatitude to the President of the Republic, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, 03/03/1978." This note cleanly distinguishes between the government title (president of the Republic) and the religious title (His Beatitude) that had been united in the person of Makarios. Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (A1-1635-0001). Reproduced with permission.



DIRECTORATE OF
INTELLIGENCE

CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM
RELEASE AS SANITIZED

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM

From: **Andreas Constandinos**
Subject: **America, Britain and the
Cyprus Crisis of 1974:
Calculated Conspiracy or
Foreign Policy Failure?**



The front cover of Andreas Constandinos's book, *America, Britain and the Cyprus Crisis of 1974: Calculated Conspiracy or Foreign Policy Failure?* (2009), expressing the author's acute conspiracy attunement. The design is a heavy-handed metacommentary on conspiracy theories about the division of Cyprus, figuring Henry Kissinger, Archbishop Makarios, and James Callaghan as caricatures (or "caricatures") and amassing sham symbols of state secrecy—top-secret stamps, insignias of intelligence agencies, classified file numbers, and so on—to an absurd degree.



Halkın Sesi

Kuruluşu: Dr. FAZIL KÖÇK (1956 - 1984) Kuruluş: 14 Mart 1942 Halkın Sesi Y.E. TÜRKÇE DİLİNDİR.

12 Aralık 2009 Cumartesi Yıl: 68 Sayı: 22471 1.50 TL (KDV DAHİL) www.halkinsesicyprus.com

acapulco

Resort - Convention - SPA

SILA, yılbaşında Acapulco'da

Çatalhöyük - Gümme / Kuzey Kıbrıs

Tel : 824 41 10 - 11 / 850 45 00 pbx Fax : 824 44 55

info@acapulco.com.tr www.acapulco.com.tr

DTP kapatıldı

• Anayasa Mahkemesi, DTP'nin kapatılmasına karar verdi. Mahkeme, 37 kişiye 5 yıl süreyle siyaset yasağı getirirken, Genel Başkan Ahmet Türk ve Milletvekili Ayşel Tuğluk'un milletvekilliğinin düşürülmesini kararlaştırdı.

• Kapatma karar beklemeyen, açıklanırken dün yapılmasını tahmin etmeyen DTP'de, Anayasa Mahkemesi'nin kararı çok etkili yarattı. Ahmet Türk ilk açıklamasında, parti kapatmanın sorunu çözmeceğini ifade etti

• Sayfa 23'te

Continental ve Yeşilada Bank Sigorta Fonu'na devredildi

KKTC Merkez Bankası, Continental ve Yeşilada Bank'ın Tasarruf Mevduatı Sigorta Fonu'na devredildiğini açıkladı. Merkez bankası, Deniz Bank'ın e-bankacılık işlemleri apma ve mevduatı ma iznini 3 ay süreyle ildirdi

• Sayfa 10'da

Papadopoulos'un mezarını kazdılar, tabutu kaldırdılar ve cesedi içerisinden alarak kaçtılar

GÜNEY ŞOKTA

• Güney Lefkoşa'daki Deftera Kabristanlığı'nda önceki akşam ürpertiçi bir olay yaşandı. Kimliği belirsiz kişiler, bugün ölüm yıldönümü olan eski Rum Lider Papadopoulos'un mezarını açarak, tabutu dışarıya çıkardı ve içinden Papadopoulos'un kalıntılarını çaldı

• En az dört kişi çaldı
Edinilen bilgilere göre Papadopoulos'un cesedinin en az dört kişi tarafından alındığı bildirildi. Olay, sağanak yağmur altında ve gece, elektriklerin kesik olduğu bir anda gerçekleştirildi. Failler, arkalarında iz bırakmamak için iki torba kireç kullandı. Rum polisi ise olayla ilgili üç kişiyi sorguluyor

• Olayın duyulmasından sonra, Tasos Papadopoulos'un ailesi olay yerine sarsılmış bir halde gitti. Papadopoulos'un yakın arkadaşları, dostları ve sivil halk olayın ardından, bölgeye akın etti. Siyasi liderler ise Rum halkına 'soğuk kanlı olur çağrısı yaptı

• Sayfa 17'de

The front page of the Turkish-language newspaper *Halkın Sesi* (Voice of the people), on December 12, 2009. The headline reads, "Shock in the South: They Dug Up Papadopoulos's Grave, Removed the Coffin and Escaped with the Body." The uncredited photograph shows investigators in gloves and booties standing in and around the open grave of Papadopoulos; a placid olive tree stands nearby (which still grows in that spot at the time of this writing). The splashes of white on the tombstone were caused by the rain mingling with gypsum in the soil when it was dug up. Gypsum was soon identified as a key piece of evidence in conspiracy theories about the northern origins of the culprits.



The funeral of Tassos Papadopoulos held at the Cathedral of Saint Sophia in Strovolos, south Nicosia, on December 15, 2008. Cypriot National Guardsmen line both sides of the coffin, which is draped in the Greek flag and, on top of it, the Cypriot flag—the ethnonational symbol overlaid, but only partially, by the national symbol. A large portrait of Papadopoulos stands at the foot of the coffin, while the glass panel at the head reveals his corpse face: a modern effigy accompanying the body itself. Archbishop Chrysostomos I conducted the funeral service in the company of these bishops gathered in the cathedral's sanctuary. Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: "Funeral of Tassos Papadopoulos." Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (4v7o5142). Reproduced with permission.



ABOVE: The family receiving line at the funeral of Tassos Papadopoulos. First row facing front, left to right: Fotini (Michaelidi) Papadopoulou, his wife; Constantinos Georkadjis, his adopted son; Maria Georkadji, his adopted daughter; Nikolas Papadopoulos, his son with Fotini; and Anastasia Papadopoulou (embracing an attendee), his daughter with Fotini. Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: “Funeral of Tassos Papadopoulos.” Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (PIO 06kid). Reproduced with permission.

FACING PAGE: A banner carried outside the cathedral where the funeral of Tassos Papadopoulos was held, bearing the concluding lines of his “No” speech broadcast on April 7, 2004, which also appear on his tombstone: “Greek Cypriot people, I call on you to defend justice, your dignity and your history.” A sign held in the background, addressed in the familiar second person, reads, “Tassos, (we) thank you and bless you.” Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: “Funeral of Tassos Papadopoulos.” Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (4v7o5177). Reproduced with permission.





Achilleas Kyprianou, seated between his mother, Mimi, and his father, Spyros, then acting president of the Republic after Makarios's death. This photograph was taken at the public reunion of Achilleas with his parents on December 18, 1977, after he was kidnapped from the National Guard camp where he had been training and held for several days. The kidnapping has been the subject of much conspiracy theorizing. Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: "Achilleas, the son of the President of the Republic, is set free by the kidnappers, 18/12/1977." Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (A1-1601-0002). Reproduced with permission.



Tassos Papadopoulos shakes Spyros Kyprianou's hand at the latter's presidential investiture following his election in January 1978. Although Kyprianou, some six months after this photograph was taken, would fire Papadopoulos as head negotiator in the settlement talks with Turkish-Cypriot authorities and implicate Papadopoulos in a conspiracy against himself and his administration, they had apparently been friends for many years, and had even been housemates when they were law students at King's College London in the 1950s, when they cofounded a Cypriot student association (Smith 2009). Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: "Mr. Spyros Kyprianou's investiture ceremony as President of the Republic, 28/02/1978." Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (A1-1632-0002A). Reproduced with permission.

ΣΧΕΔΙΟ ΤΟΥ ΓΕΝΙΚΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΑ ΤΩΝ ΗΝΩΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΘΝΩΝ
ΓΙΑ ΤΗ ΣΥΝΟΛΙΚΗ ΛΥΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΟΥ ΠΡΟΒΛΗΜΑΤΟΣ

Το ερώτημα προς τους Ελληνοκυπρίους, όπως τίθεται στο Παράρτημα ΙΧ της Θεμελιώδους Συμφωνίας είναι το ακόλουθο:

«Εγκρίνετε τη Θεμελιώδη Συμφωνία με όλα της τα Παραρτήματα, καθώς και το Σύνταγμα της Ελληνοκυπριακής Συνιστώσας Πολιτείας και τις διατάξεις ως προς τους νόμους που θα ισχύουν, για να δημιουργηθεί μία νέα τάξη πραγμάτων με την οποία η Κύπρος θα προσχωρεί στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση ενωμένη;»

ΝΑΙ

☐

ΟΧΙ

☐

Ballot for the referendum on the Annan Plan as it appeared to voters in the Republic of Cyprus on April 24, 2004. The ballot reads, “The United Nations Secretary-General’s Plan for the Comprehensive Solution to the Cyprus Problem. The question presented to the Greek Cypriots, as set out in Article IX of the Foundation Agreement, is the following: ‘Do you approve the Foundation Agreement with all its Annexes as well as the Constitution of the Greek Cypriot Composite State and the provisions as to the laws to be in force, to bring into being a new state of affairs whereby Cyprus will join the European Union united?’ Yes/No.” Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: “19/4/2004.” Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (img_1936). Reproduced with permission.



Tassos Papadopoulos casts his ballot—presumably “No”—in the referendum on the Annan Plan. Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: “24/4/2004.” Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (01pap). Reproduced with permission.



The Tziaos Five, held at gunpoint by Turkish soldiers. This is one of the best-known photographs of the war in Cyprus, taken by Turkish photojournalist Ergin Konuksever, who was embedded with the Turkish army at the time. It circulated as a key piece of contested evidence in conspiracy theories about the missing from 1974 until 2009, when the remains of the five men were conclusively identified by the Committee on Missing Persons. The heads of four figures are circled here; the fifth, almost completely obscured, kneels behind the figure labeled “1.” Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: “Exhibition on the Black Bible of the missing (copy).” Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (E4-053-013). Reproduced with permission.



Polykarpos Georkadjis kisses the hand of Archbishop Makarios as Tassos Papadopoulos stands to the left. No date is recorded for this photograph, but it was likely taken sometime during the middle of Georkadjis's tenure as minister of the interior, 1960–1968, while Papadopoulos, his close friend by all reports, was minister of labor (and/or finance, health, and agriculture). Georkadjis was implicated in the assassination attempt on Makarios in March 1970 and shot to death by “unknown” gunmen one week later—events that have figured prominently in conspiracy theories about the division of Cyprus. Image supplied by the photographic archives of the Press and Information Office in the Republic of Cyprus (A1-094-003). Reproduced with permission.



Tassos Papadopoulos, Polykarpos Georkadjis, and Archbishop Makarios III—along with a couple of National Guard officers and possibly Glafkos Clerides—on the tarmac at Nicosia International Airport in August 1964. Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: “The President of the Republic, Archbishop Makarios III, accompanied by the Minister of the Interior and Defense Mr. Polykarpos Georghadjis, flew to Athens following invitation from the Greek government for talks on the Cyprus Problem, 25/8/1964.” The Greek government in 1964 was pursuing Cyprus’s union with Greece and attempting to avert an invasion of the island by Turkey. This meeting about “the Cyprus Problem” almost certainly had to do with the civil, police, and paramilitary violence largely perpetrated against Turkish Cypriots by Greek Cypriots from December 1963, following Makarios’s proposal of fundamental revisions to the Cypriot Constitution, through February 1964, when the United Nations Peacekeeping Force in Cyprus (UNFICYP)—which still occupies Cyprus at the time of this writing—was formed and deployed. Papadopoulos is not mentioned in the archival note but he was serving as minister of labor (and/or finance, health, and agriculture) and a key adviser to Makarios at the time. Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (16A-0739-0006). Reproduced with permission.



Tassos Papadopoulos tenderly greets children at a refugee camp on Easter 1975. Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: “The Acting President of the Republic, Mr. Tassos Papadopoulos, visits refugee camps on the occasion of Easter, 04/05/1975.” Papadopoulos was an independent member of the House of Representatives on the date recorded for this photograph; I am not aware of any service he performed as acting president of the Republic, at any time. Glafkos Clerides served in that capacity for a period of about five months in 1974 following the weeklong pretense presidency of Nikos Sampson, who was installed by EOKA-B and the Greek junta after the attempted coup on July 15; after Sampson resigned, following upon the first Turkish invasion of Cyprus on July 20, Clerides—by virtue of his office as president of the House of Representatives—was appointed acting president until Makarios returned to Cyprus from exile and resumed the presidency in December. Spyros Kyprianou also served as acting president when Makarios died, in August 1977, until he was duly elected president in January 1978. By May 1975, when this photograph was apparently taken, Makarios had already resumed his presidency six months earlier, and peace talks were taking place in Vienna, led on the Greek-Cypriot side by Glafkos Clerides. Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (A1-1178-0011). Reproduced with permission.



Tassos and Fotini at church, nestled in the high-backed seats (στασίδια) of the nave, attended by the lieutenant general of the Cypriot National Guard. Archival note from the Press and Information Office (PIO) in the Republic of Cyprus: “Epiphany (Θεοφάνεια)” — an Orthodox holiday commemorating the baptism of Jesus Christ. No date is recorded for this photograph, but it was almost certainly taken during Papadopoulos’s term as president (2003–2008). Image supplied by the PIO photographic archives (01ekklesia). Reproduced with permission.



Screenshot of a Facebook post by Nikolas Papadopoulos, Tassos's son and head of the DIKO party, on July 15, 2017, the forty-third anniversary of the attempted coup. Showing a great flair for conspiracy attunement, Nikolas implies here the involvement of the (then) current president of the Republic, Nicos Anastasiades, in the attempted coup. The post reads, “No mention of EOKA-B by N. Anastasiadis in his remarks today (about the anniversary). Only of the Athens Junta. Nor did he show up in Parliament.” Superimposed over the image, along with a red arrow pointing toward the head of a man standing in the background, are these lines: “In the photograph, members of the treacherous organization EOKA-B, who had been arrested in Limassol in 1973 and were being transferred to Nicosia for trial. You can also make out the lawyer of Nikos Anastasiadis.”

Τους δουλεύει ψιλό γαζί ο Κίτας

Αιφνίδια μεταφορά του ισοβίτη από τις Φυλακές στην Πύλη Πάφου

ΤΟΥ ΜΕΛΑΗ ΧΑΤΣΙΒΑΖΙΗ

Αιφνίδια αλλαγή για την κλασική της σοφού του Παφού Παπαδόπουλου εξοφλούμενη Αλταμυρία, συμφορημένης επί τη κλασική του ψιλού της μοναχίας αυτής υπόθεσης, ο Μάμας Κίτας 48 ετών του τελευταίου υπό κράτηση μαζί με δύο υιούς, όπως είναι το σύγγραμμο θελόμενα κατάθεση, την οποία παραδίδει στους ανακριτές την τελευταία του εγκληματική.

Λουκά: Το έγκλημα μπορεί να μην σκευδαίστηκε στις Φυλακές

Αν εξεταστεί, όμως από αυτή την ανάλυση, η διεύθυνση αμελητέα ανεμφύβια εξέλιξη που ικανοποιεί την υπόθεση της Αλταμυρίας, ως και η πρώτη ημέρα αναρτήθηκε και οι συζητήσεις, προσπαθώντας να παραστήσει την Αλταμυρία σε ένα σύστημα που είναι της γένεας και του ποινικού. Αρκεί ο Κίτας είναι αμελητέα πρόταση προφορικά και στον ο ανακριτής του Στόμου να το δώσει γραπτά αρνήθηκε. Κατά την παλαιά παραπομπή δεν ανακρίνεται πρόβλεψε στις Φυλακές μαζί με τον Κίτα, του λήφθηκε γραπτά αναρτήθηκε κατάθεση στην οποία όμως δεν αποκαλύπτει στις ερωτήσεις.

Χτες οι επιμέλειες αναρτήθηκε, αφοσίωση μεταφέρθηκε από τις Κλητικές Φυλακές στο γραφείο του ΤΑΕ Λεωκωσίας προς την Πύλη Πάφου όπου και πάλι επανεξετάστηκε να του ληφθεί γραπτή κατάθεση. Κατά την μεταφορά του λήφθηκαν δραστικές μέτρα ασφαλείας.

Πάντως τα γεγονότα είναι εύκολα παραφωτισμένα ο Κίτας, αποδεικνύεται και από τη δήλωση του υπαρχηγού δικαστικής Αλταμυρίας, ο οποίος, απαντώντας στο βουλευτή του ΔΗΚΚΙ Ιωάνη Νικολάου, ανέφερε ότι

βρίσκεται να βγάλει το συμφορημένο της εγκληματικής κλασικής της σοφού ανακρίθηκε στις Φυλακές. Κλητικές πόλινες από τον «Ψ» να θεωρούνται η εννοία, ο Υπουργός ανέφερε ότι οι ανακριτές ακόμα ανακρίνεται, δεν έχουν τελειώσει και στο τέλος θα φανεί η αλήθεια και στη συνέχεια, «έναν ένα αλήθεια, το οποίο διαπραχθέντος από τους του υποκρίνομαι», είπε.

«Ποιος έφτασε να διαπράξει αυτό το έγκλημα; Ποιος έφτασε να καταδικάσει να βρούμε τους ενόρκους Κίτας, είναι και έγκλημα στις Φυλακές. Αλλά βίαια πάλι ο κ. Νικολάου, να πει ότι οργανώθηκε από τις φυλακές, αφού δεν έβρεχε την πορεία των ανακριτών, ούτε κανείς τις έφερε, εκτός από τους ανακριτές. Γιατί δεν παραμένει να δουν πώς διαπράχθηκε αυτό το αλήθεια», διαμαρτυρήθηκε. Ερωτηθείς εάν θα υπήρχαν και άλλες συλλήψεις, απάντησε ότι δεν μπορεί να αποκλειστεί τίποτα.

Εξάλλου, ο εκπαιδευτικός Τίποτος της Αλταμυρίας Μολυβή Καταναλωτική δήλωσε χτες ότι δεν έχει ληφθεί καμία από την υποθέση της κλασικής της σοφού, καθώς σημείωσε πως η Αλταμυρία θεωρεί ότι η υπόθεση βγαίνει

προς πλήρη εξομολόγηση. Αναρωσώμεται να εννοεί όμως την ίδια διαμαρτυρία της Αλταμυρίας είναι ανεναντίστη με τον Κίτα στο Φυλάκι, ο κ. Καταναλωτής είπε ότι οι συζητήσεις είναι επιμελημένη προφορικά τον συστηματικό διεκδικητή Λεωκωσίας Κύπρου Μανωλάκη και τους ανακριτές του Τμήματος Ανοικτών σπασ Εγκλημάτων να διαφύγει γεγονότα και όσο είχε εξετάζονται. Είπε επίσης, ότι ο Κίτας δεν έχει δώσει απάντηση σε σχέση με την υπόθεσή του υπόθεση, ούτε αν παραδέχεται ή όχι. «Δεν έχει τοποθετηθεί επί της ουσίας του ελέγχματος σε σχέση με το ότι έχει ερωτηθεί», ανέφερε ο κ. Καταναλωτής.

Αναρωσώμεται με τον Στόμου που ανακρίθηκε σε σχέση με την ίδια υπόθεση, αυτές είναι προβλεπόμενες οι καταθέσεις, έδωσε διάφορα υποκρίματα και διαμαρτυρήθηκε ότι η ανακρίση του ήταν πολύ προσωπική και αφορούσε μόνο τη μεταφορά των δυο άλλων προσηλών που τέλειαν υπό κράτηση στο χώρο του κυματισμού όπου εντοπίστηκε η σορός και επιταφίστηκε στο χώρο όπου διαμένουν.



Ο Μάμας Κίτας

Ο Ιωάννης που αμφισβητεί πράξεις για την κλασική της σοφού.

Χτες για πρώτη φορά ο ισχυρισμός από παλαιή ανάλυση, χτες και πάλι διάφορα στους ανακριτές, αλλά αρνήθηκε να πει σκευδαίστηκε γραπτά.

Β.Ο.Γ. για νέο κτίριο Φυλακών

ΜΕΛΕΤΗ για τη δημιουργία νέου σύγχρονου φυλακίου διεξάγουν στο Υπουργείο Δικαιοσύνης, αφού θεωρούν ότι οι υπάρχουσες έχουν κλείσει τον κύκλο τους. Με σφοδρή και τα δύο συμφορημένα τελειώσει στο χώρο των φυλακών, ο Υπουργός Δημόσιας Τάξης Λουκάς Αποστόλινος έκανε το θέμα του συστήματος και πήρε, από δηλαδή πράξη να στεγασθούν νέες φυλακές. Το θέμα τέθηκε χτες στο Υπουργικό Συμβούλιο που συζητήθηκε με δικαστικό φορέα τη δημιουργία νέων φυλακών.

Σύμφωνα με τους εκπομπείς που νόνησαν, να να εκτελεστεί θα καταστήσει κοινότητα Μαριμί το σύστημα της ασφαλιστικής, όπως δηλαδή ορίζεται με το ασφαλιστικό μέτρο. Το θέμα συζητήθηκε και με τον Πρόεδρο της Δημοκρατίας ο οποίος σύμφωνα με τον κ. Λουκά, σημαίνει τη μελέτη, διότι το υπουργείο είναι έτοιμο, θα προ-

καλείται με την κατάθεση επίσημης στο Υπουργικό Συμβούλιο, για δημιουργία νέων φυλακών εγκαταστάσεων για τις φυλακές. Ο κ. Λουκάς εγγράφησε ότι οι προβλεπόμενες συστημένες φυλακές δεν θα λύσουν ριζικά το πρόβλημα, για να προβλεπεί πως χρειάζονται σύγχρονα κτίρια με σύγχρονα συστήματα ασφαλείας και διακυβέρνησης των φυλακών, όπως απαιτείται από την ΕΕ.

Αντάλλαξαν πυρά Ιωάνη - Στεφάνου

ΤΗΝ 11ΜΑ ώρα από τη στέψη της κλασικής της σοφού του τέως Πρόδρου βρέθηκε προς εξομολόγηση, η ανταπόκριση για τις ενόρκους γέννη από την «αλήθεια» να ληφθούν μήνες υπόθεσης Κίτας ανακρίθηκε.

Χτες, ο αντιπρόεδρος του Δημοκρατικού Συγκροτήματος Ιωάνη Νικολάου δήλωσε ότι οι εξετάσεις για την ασφαλιστική αντιμετώπιση της κλασικής και της διαφύγής πρέπει να δοθούν στους πολίτες και κάλεσε τους κυβερνητικούς να ενεργήσουν με προοπτική να διατηρούν την προβλεπόμενη που υπάρχουν στις Φυλακές.

Σε απάντηση του στην προαναφερθείσα δήλωση του Κυβερνητικού Επαρχοφού, ο κ. Νικολάου είπε ότι δύο χρόνια διαβιβάστηκαν και δεν έχουν αναληφθεί τις ενόρκους τους έναντι του Λουκά. «Καταλείπονται», είπε, «σε μπλενταριστές επιμέλειες, παραγωγικές οι αλήθειες αναρτήθηκαν των φυλακών και τον εξεταστικό που δέχεται να δώσει αφού οι θεωρεί και το κράτος», διαμαρτυρήθηκε επίσης ότι οι εκπαιδευτικοί γνωρίζουν για τον αλήθεια συστή, τους ανακρίνει τον εγκληματικό και για την υπόθεσή του διαμαρτυρήθηκε των φυλακών από τον Ιωάνη Λουκά, όπως ο ίδιος παραδέχτηκε δημόσια.

Απαντώντας, ο Κυβερνητικός Επαρχοφός Στεφάνος Στεφάνου δήλωσε ότι η κυβέρνηση δεν παραδέχεται από ασφαλιστικές και ιδέες επιμέλειες, αλλά εγγράφεται για την αντιμετώπιση της αλήθειας και του εγκληματικού, λαμβάνοντας μέτρα που περιλαμβάνουν ασφαλιστικές, πρόσθετες ότι ο κ. Νικολάου, στον οποίο της μπλενταριστικής του ασφαλιστικής, δεν θέλει να παραδέχεται τις επιμέλειες της Αλταμυρίας όπως πάλι δεν παραδέχτηκε ότι οι δύο κυβερνητικοί υπεύθυνοι περιόριζαν νοσηλευτικές τις υπόθεσης με την υποθέση Κίτα, τελικά αποδείχθηκαν ανωριμά συμπεριφορές του ίδιου.

Coverage of the three suspects charged with the theft of the president's body in *Philelevtheros*, March 13, 2010, page 37. The headline reads, "Kitas is playing them for fools: Sudden transfer of the lifer from prison to the Paphos Gate." ("Paphos Gate" refers to a police station located along the western fortress walls of central Nicosia.) The caption beneath the large photograph of Antonis Kitas—aka the Cypriot Al Capone—reads, "yesterday for the third day in a row, the lifer was questioned for many hours, again saying various things to investigators, but he refused to put anything in writing." The small photograph on the right, above, is captioned, "Mamas Kitas"—the brother of Antonis. The small photograph on the right, below, is captioned, "The Indian who first confessed to the theft of the corpse." Friends who were in Cyprus at the time have told me they could not remember Sarbjit Singh's ever being named in the press; he was identified only as "the Indian."

NOTES

INTRODUCTION: THE TIME OF THE CANNIBALS

1. These massacres took place in quick succession between what is known in the Republic as the first Turkish invasion (July 20, 1974) and the second (August 14–16, 1974).

2. For more detailed accounts of these events, see Bryant and Hatay (2020), Demetriou and Gürel (2008), Davis (2023, 1, 305–6n2), and PRIO Cyprus Centre (2012).

3. Angastiniotis's short documentary film, *Memory*, about a Turkish-Cypriot man and a Greek-Cypriot man who fought in Lekfa on opposite sides of the war in 1974, and who met again and became friends and peace activists thirty years later, was screened at Cine Studio (University of Nicosia) on October 11, 2011.

4. Angastiniotis's self-identification is complex. While he was working on the *Voice of Blood* films, he involved himself in raising awareness about the genocide of First Nation children in Canadian Indian Residential Schools as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada was conducting investigations. In recognition of this work, according to a bio page based on interviews Angastiniotis gave to the Cypriot newspaper *Afrika* in the mid-2000s, the Elders of the United Cherokee Nation appointed him Clan Chief in 2007, and a Cree elder, Morning Star, named him Night Eagle (<https://en-academic.com/dic.nsf/enwiki/6580974>). Angastiniotis has used Night Eagle as part of his name ever since. After the release of his films in 2004 and 2005, under pressure of threats, Angastiniotis moved from the Republic to the TRNC and took a position in the Faculty of Communication and Media Studies at Eastern Mediterranean University, though he does not have an active university webpage or any recent web presence at the time of this writing.

5. EOKA is the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters [Εθνική Οργάνωση Κυπρίων Αγώνιστών]. TMT is the Turkish Resistance Organization [Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı]. See my discussion of these organizations in Davis (2023).

6. See my discussion of this fraught terminology in Davis (2023, 2).
7. See Demetriou, Constantinou, and Tselepou (2023) on the manifold significance of Cyprus's nonaligned position.
8. Masco (2014) examines national security affect in the United States from the Cold War to the post-9/11 war on terror by means of both statecraft and security culture.
9. See Rakopoulos (2023) for a rich discussion of the growth of the offshore banking sector in the Republic of Cyprus after 1974, and the new economy in "golden passports"—citizenship purchased by investment—taking shape since the banking crisis in 2013, which Rakopoulos frames as "offshoring by other means" (79).
10. See Psyllides (2009b).
11. My usage of this term differs from that of Bratich (2008, 5), who thus describes researchers of conspiracies who are seeking scientific legitimacy for their representation of the facts, rather than (as I do here) theorists of conspiracy theories whose factual claims may be beside the point.
12. Examples include Comaroff and Comaroff 1999; Dean 1998; Harding and Stewart 2003; Marcus 1999; Stewart 1999; West and Sanders 2003.
13. Lepselter (2016, 54) cites Urban (2001) on "metaculture."
14. *Slow Burn*, Season 1, Episode 6, "Rabbit Holes," first released on January 9, 2018. Neyfakh continued to explore conspiracy and conspiracy theory in American political culture in Season 2 of *Slow Burn*, "The Clinton Impeachment" (especially Episode 6, "God Mode," released September 19, 2018). He acknowledged to an interviewer that the podcast's return to the Watergate scandal and the Clinton scandal(s) was motivated partly by his experience of American political culture during Trump's presidency. See Tu 2020.
15. For example, Taussig (1999), Aretxaga (2005), Nelson (2009), and Harsin (2008), respectively, address the Dirty War in Colombia, the Franco dictatorship in Spain, the genocide in Guatemala, and the Bush II years in the United States.
16. See my discussion of Occupy the Buffer Zone and ELAM, the National Popular Front in Cyprus (Davis 2023, 23–29, and 4ff.).
17. Cf. Olga Demetriou's writing on event temporality and political subjectivity in the Republic of Cyprus (Demetriou 2007).
18. See also Giannakos 2010, 32: "The most serious charges the three [suspects] face are: conspiracy, desecration [βεβήλωση] of the corpse [σπορός] of Tassos Papadopoulos, illegal entry into the place of the grave, exhumation [εκταφή] of the corpse, insulting the memory [μνήμη] of Savvas Ptolou of Dikomo (in whose grave they put the corpse of Tassos Papadopoulos), and extortion of money. In addition, the first charged (Singh) faces charges of impersonation, circulating with forged documents, and illegal stay in the Democracy [i.e., the Republic of Cyprus]. Only Singh and Mamas [Kitas] are charged with the exhumation and

insulting the memory of Savvas, while Antonis [Kitas] is accused of encouraging them to exhume the corpse. Singh admitted to the charges but the Kitas brothers have not admitted to any of the charges. Hearing is set for 12 July.”

PART 1: ON CONSPIRACY THEORY AND CONTEXT

1. Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff gloss this juncture slightly differently as the “Age of Futilitarianism . . . in which the rampant promises of late capitalism run up against a thoroughly postmodern pessimism” (Comaroff and Comaroff 1999, 292).

2. See also Stewart (1999), Harding and Stewart (2003), Melley (2000, 8, and chapter 4).

3. This phrase is cited (in a slightly different form) in Melley (2000, 9).

4. Fassin cites Turner (1980).

5. Fassin does briefly discuss a European example (2021, 131): the false accusation of an anti-Semitic assault made by a French woman against two Arab men, and the rush to judgment by the French media and government that, he suggests, expressed a collective disposition to believe her story. Since Fassin does not claim or show that the accusation was a conspiracy theory, however, nor examine the conditions of the credibility granted reflexively to the accuser (though see Fassin 2014), this example does not much elucidate the heuristic approach to conspiracy theory that he advocates in this article.

6. It bears mention that relabeling “conspiracy theory” as “theory of conspiracy,” as Pelkmans and Machold do, does not solve the problem of incommensurability that I introduced at the beginning of Part 1.2. If conspiracy theory cannot be stabilized by inherent meanings or epistemological features across contexts or polarized perspectives, neither can conspiracy itself. One person’s executive privilege or executive session in an otherwise transparent, democratic government, for example, is another person’s nefarious conspiracy; there is no way to define conspiracy such that these two interpretations can be distinguished. “Theory of conspiracy” just restates “conspiracy theory” as the impossible object of the theory in question.

7. This phrase is quoted in Pelkmans and Machold (2011, 73) as well as Bratich (2008, 3), citing Christopher Hitchens (2004).

8. Mahon (1992, 60) writes that this phrase (*dans le vrai*), borrowed from Georges Canguilhem, was first used by Foucault in his inaugural lecture at the Collège de France on December 2, 1970.

9. See Fassin (2021), Greenwood (2022), and Parmigiani (2021), among many studies comparing these practices.

10. French anthropologist Lucien Lévy-Bruhl famously took the position that the “primitive mind” was fundamentally “irrational” in his 1910 (1985) work, *How*

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agamben, Giorgio. (1995) 1998. *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*.
Translated by Daniel Heller-Roazen. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Ahmed, Sara. 2015. *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*. London: Routledge.
- Anastasiadis, Lakis. 2016. *Κυπρίων ιατρών έργα* “η ιατρική στην Κύπρο 1950–2015
[The work of Cypriot doctors: Medicine in Cyprus, 1950–2015]. Nikaia, Greece:
Εκδόσεις Εντύποις [Entypois].
- Angastiniotis, Tony. 2005. *Trapped in the Green Line: The Story behind the
Documentary, “Voice of Blood.”* Nicosia: Rüstem.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1986. “Theory in Anthropology: Center and Periphery.”
Comparative Studies in Society and History 28(2): 356–61.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globaliza-
tion*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Aravamudan, Srinivas. 2012. “Surpassing the North: Can the Antipodean
Avantgarde Trump Postcolonial Belatedness?” Society for Cultural Anthro-
pology Fieldsights forum, “Theorizing the Contemporary,” edited by Juan
Obarrio. February 25. [https://culanth.org/fieldsights/surpassing-the-north-can-
the-antipodean-avantgarde-trump-postcolonial-belatedness](https://culanth.org/fieldsights/surpassing-the-north-can-the-antipodean-avantgarde-trump-postcolonial-belatedness).
- Aretxaga, Begoña. 2005. *States of Terror: Essays*. Reno: University of Nevada
Press.
- Asad, Talal. (1973) 1975. “Introduction.” In *Anthropology and the Colonial
Encounter*, edited by Talal Asad, 9–19. Amherst, NY: Humanity Books.
- Asmussen, Jan. 2008. *Cyprus at War: Diplomacy and Conflict during the 1974
Crisis*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Bakalaki, Alexandra. 2016. “Chemtrails, Crisis, and Loss in an Interconnected
World.” *Visual Anthropology Review* 32(1): 12–23.
- Bardawil, Fadi. 2020. *Revolution and Disenchantment: Arab Marxism and the
Binds of Emancipation*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

- Best, Stephen, and Sharon Marcus. 2009. "Surface Reading: An Introduction." *Representations* 108(1): 1–21.
- Birchall, Clare. 2004. "Just Because You're Paranoid, Doesn't Mean They're Not Out to Get You: Cultural Studies on/as Conspiracy Theory." *Culture/Machine* 6. <https://culturemachine.net/deconstruction-is-in-cultural-studies/just-because-youre-paranoid-doesnt-mean-theyre-not-out-to-get-you/>.
- Birchall, Clare. 2006. *Knowledge Goes Pop: From Conspiracy Theory to Gossip*. Oxford: Berg.
- Blanuša, Nebojša. 2009. "The Structure of Conspiratorial Beliefs in Croatia," *Anali Hrvatskog politološkog društva* [Annals of the Croatian Society for Political Science] 6(1): 113–43.
- Blanuša, Nebojša, and Todor Hristov. 2020. "Psychoanalysis, Critical Theory and Conspiracy Theory." In *Routledge Handbook of Conspiracy Theories*, edited by Michael Butler and Peter Knight, 67–80. New York: Routledge.
- Boon, James A. 1982. *Other Tribes, Other Scribes: Symbolic Anthropology in the Comparative Study of Cultures, Histories, Religions, and Texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Borneman, John, and Abdellah Hammoudi. 2009. *Being There: The Fieldwork Encounter and the Making of Truth*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. [1980] 1990. *The Logic of Practice*. Trans. Richard Nice. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Boyarin, Daniel. 1995. "Freud's Baby, Fliess's Maybe: Homophobia, Anti-Semitism, and the Invention of Oedipus." *GLQ* 2(1–2): 115–47.
- Bratich, Jack. 2008. *Conspiracy Panics: Political Rationality and Popular Culture*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Bratich, Jack. 2017. "If Everyone Is a Conspiracy Theorist, Is Anyone? Trumpism, Mutually Assured Disqualification, and Communications Warfare." Lecture delivered at the Monroe Center for Social Inquiry, Pitzer College (Claremont, CA), November 14, 2017. <https://www.pitzer.edu/mcsi/2017/12/14/jack-bratich-everyone-conspiracy-theorist-anyone/>.
- Briggs, Charles L. 2004. "Theorizing Modernity Conspiratorially: Science, Scale, and the Political Economy of Public Discourse in Explanations of a Cholera Epidemic." *American Ethnologist* 31(2): 164–87.
- Bryant, Rebecca, and Mete Hatay. 2020. *Sovereignty Suspended: Building the So-Called State*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Chaudhary, Zahid R. 2022. "Paranoid Publics." *History of the Present* 12(1): 103–26.
- Cherstich, Igor. 2014. "The Body of the Colonel: Caricature and Incarnation in the Libyan Revolution." In *The Political Aesthetics of Global Protest: The Arab Spring and Beyond*, edited by Pnina Werbner, Martin Webb, and Kathryn Spellman-Poots, 93–120. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
- Clerides, Glafkos. 1989. *Cyprus: My Deposition*, Volume 1. Nicosia: Alithia.

- Chomsky, Noam. 1993. *Rethinking Camelot: JFK, the Vietnam War, and US Political Culture*. New York: Verso.
- Comaroff, Jean, and John L. Comaroff. 1999. "Occult Economies and the Violence of Abstraction: Notes from the South African Postcolony." *American Ethnologist* 26(2): 279–303.
- Comaroff, Jean, and John L. Comaroff. 2003. "Transparent Fictions; Or, The Conspiracies of a Liberal Imagination: An Afterword." In *Transparency and Conspiracy: Ethnographies of Suspicion in the New World Order*, edited by Harry G. West and Todd Sanders, 287–300. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Comaroff, Jean, and John L. Comaroff. 2012. *Theory from the South; or, How Euro-America Is Evolving toward Africa*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm.
- Constandinos, Andreas. 2009. *America, Britain and the Cyprus Crisis of 1974: Calculated Conspiracy or Foreign Policy Failure?* Milton Keynes: AuthorHouse.
- Csordas, Thomas. 1993. "Somatic Modes of Attention." *Cultural Anthropology* 8(2): 135–56.
- Culler, Jonathan. 1983. *On Deconstruction: Theory and Criticism after Structuralism*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Davis, Elizabeth Anne. 2012. *Bad Souls: Madness and Responsibility in Modern Greece*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Davis, Elizabeth Anne. 2017a. "Time Machines: The Matter of the Missing in Cyprus." In *Unfinished: The Anthropology of Becoming*, edited by João Biehl and Peter Locke, 217–42. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Davis, Elizabeth Anne. 2017b. "'The Information Is Out There': Transparency, Responsibility, and the Missing in Cyprus." In *Competing Responsibilities: The Ethics and Politics of Contemporary Life*, edited by Susanna Trnka and Catherine Trundle, 135–55. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Davis, Elizabeth Anne. 2023. *Artifactual: Forensic and Documentary Knowing. Experimental Futures: Technological Lives, Scientific Arts, Anthropological Voices*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Davis, Elizabeth Anne. 2024. "Conspiracy Attunement and Context: The Case of the President's Body." In *Conspiracy/Theory*, edited by Joseph Masco and Lisa Wedeen, 104–26. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Dean, Jodi. 1998. *Aliens in America: Conspiracy Cultures from Outerspace to Cyberspace*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Dean, Jodi. 2002. *Publicity's Secret: How Technoculture Capitalizes on Democracy*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Dégh, Linda. 1996. "What Is a Belief Legend?" *Folklore* 107: 33–46.
- Demetriou, Olga. 2007. "To Cross or Not to Cross? Subjectivization and the Absent State in Cyprus." *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 13: 987–1006.

- Demetriou, Olga. 2018. *Refugeehood and the Postconflict Subject: Reconsidering Minor Losses*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Demetriou, Olga, Costas M. Constantinou, and Maria Tselepou. 2023. "Lateral Colonialism: Exploring Modalities of Engagement in Decolonial Politics from the Periphery." *Third World Quarterly* 44(9): 2173–90.
- Demetriou, Olga, and Ayla Gürel. 2008. "Human Rights, Civil Society and Conflict in Cyprus: Exploring the Relationships." Case Study Report WP3. *SHUR: Human Rights in Conflicts: The Role of Civil Society*. Rome: Programme of the European Commission.
- Dentith, Matthew R. X. 2016. "When Inferring to a Conspiracy Might Be the Best Explanation." *Social Epistemology* 30(5–6): 572–91.
- Dentith, Matthew R. X., Ed. 2018. *Taking Conspiracy Theories Seriously*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Derrida, Jacques. 1995. *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*. Translated by Eric Prenowitz. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dilley, Roy. 1999. "Introduction: The Problem of Context." In *The Problem of Context: Perspectives from Social Anthropology and Elsewhere*, edited by Roy Dilley, 1–46. New York: Berghahn.
- Dimitrakis, Panagiotis. 2010. *Military Intelligence in Cyprus: From the Great War to Middle East Crisis*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Douglas, Karen M., Joseph E. Uscinski, Robbie M. Sutton, et al. 2019. "Understanding Conspiracy Theories." *Advances in Political Psychology* 40(suppl. 1): 3–34.
- Drousiotis, Makarios. 2000. 1619 Ενοχές“ Τα λάθη, τα ψέματα και οι σκοπιμότητες [1619 guilty: Mistakes, lies, and practicalities]. Nicosia: Diafaneia.
- Drousiotis, Makarios. 2002a. *EOKA“ Η Σκοτεινή Όψη* [EOKA: The dark side]. Nicosia: Alfadi.
- Drousiotis, Makarios. 2002b. 1974“ Το Άγνωστο παρασκήνιο της Τουρκικής εισβολής [The unknown backstory of the Turkish invasion]. Nicosia: Alfadi.
- Drousiotis, Makarios. 2003. *EOKA-β & CIA“ Το ελληνοτουρκικό παρακράτος στην Κύπρο* [EOKA-B and the CIA: The Greek-Turkish parastate in Cyprus]. Nicosia: Alfadi.
- Drousiotis, Makarios. 2005b. "Η περιρρέουσα ατμόσφαιρα." Translated into English by George Karaolides as "The Construction of 'Reality' and the Mass Media in Cyprus." October 2005. Nicosia: IKME (Institute of Socio-Political Studies). <http://www.makarios.eu/upload/20051111/1131713084-12865.pdf>.
- Drousiotis, Makarios. 2008. *The First Partition: Cyprus 1963–64*. Nicosia: Alfadi. English translation of *Η Πρώτη διχοτόμηση: Κύπρος 1963–64* (Nicosia: Alfadi, 2005).
- Drousiotis, Makarios. 2009a. *Δύο απόπειρες και μια δολοφονία“ Η Χούντα και η Κύπρος* [Two attempts and a murder: The junta and Cyprus]. Nicosia: Alfadi.

- Drousiotis, Makarios. 2009b. *Cyprus 1974: Greek Coup and Turkish Invasion*. Nicosia: Alfadi. English translation and condensation of Drousiotis (2002b) and Drousiotis (2003).
- Drousiotis, Makarios. 2010a. *Η Μεγάλη ιδέα της μικρής χούντας: Η ΕΟΚΑ β και το πραξικόπημα της 15ης Ιουλίου 1974* [The big idea of the little junta: EOKA-B and its coup of July 15, 1974]. Nicosia: Alfadi.
- Drousiotis, Makarios. 2014a. *Κύπρος 1974–1977: Η εισβολή και οι μεγάλες δυνάμεις: Η realpolitik των ΗΠΑ και το διπλό παιχνίδι της ΕΣΣΔ*. Nicosia: Alfadi.
- Drousiotis, Makarios. 2016. *The Cyprus Crisis and the Cold War: USSR Duplicity versus US Realpolitik*. English translation of Drousiotis (2014a). Nicosia: Alfadi.
- Drousiotis, Makarios. 2020. *Η Συμμορία—Το Διεφθαρμένο σύστημα εξουσίας στην Κύπρο. Το Κούρεμα και η διαπλοκή πολιτικών και δικηγόρων. Από το ημερολόγιο ενός αυτόπτη μάρτυρα* [Gangs: The corrupt system of power in Cyprus. The haircut and the entanglement of politicians and lawyers. From the diary of an eyewitness]. Nicosia: Alfadi.
- Drousiotis, Makarios. 2021. *Έγκλημα στο Κραν Μοντάνα—Πώς και γιατί η συμμορία ματαίωσε τη λύση του Κυπριακού. Διαφθορά, ανικανότητα και ξένες εξαρτήσεις* [Crime at Crans-Montana—How and why gangs killed a solution to the Cyprus Problem: Corruption, incompetence, and foreign dependency]. Nicosia: Alfadi.
- Drousiotis, Makarios. 2022. *Κράτος Μάφια—Πως η συμμορία κατήγγειλε το κράτος δικαίου στην Κύπρο. Ολιγάρχες, Ξέπλυμα, Μίζες, Παρακολουθήσεις* [The mafia state: How gangs destroyed the rule of law in Cyprus. Oligarchs, laundering, kickbacks, surveillance]. Nicosia: Alfadi.
- Drousiotis, Makarios, Ahmet An, Desmond Fernandez, and Iskender Ozden. 2004. *Το Βαθύ κράτος: Τουρκία, Ελλάδα, Κύπρος* [The deep state: Turkey, Greece, Cyprus]. Nicosia: Alfadi.
- Ersoy, Metin. 2010. "Peace Journalism and News Coverage on the Cyprus Conflict." *The Muslim World* 100(1): 78–99.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E. 1937. *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic among the Azande*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Fassin, Dider. 2011. "The Politics of Conspiracy Theories: On AIDS in South Africa and a Few Other Global Plots." *The Brown Journal of World Affairs* 17(2): 39–50.
- Fassin, Dider. 2021. "Of Plots and Men: The Heuristics of Conspiracy Theories." Eric Wolf Lecture delivered at the University of Vienna, October 24, 2019. *Current Anthropology* 62(2): 128–37.
- Faubion, James. 2001. *The Shadows and Lights of Waco: Millennialism Today*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

- Favret-Saada, Jeanne. (1977) 1980. *Deadly Words: Witchcraft in the Bocage*. Translated by Catherine Cullen. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fenster, Mark. 1999. *Conspiracy Theories: Secrecy and Power in American Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Fenster, Mark. 2008. *Conspiracy Theories: Secrecy and Power in American Culture*. Revised updated edition. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Ferrándiz, Francisco. 2022. "Francisco Franco Is Back: The Contested Reemergence of a Fascist Moral Exemplar." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 64(1): 208–37.
- Fiske, John. (1993) 2016. *Power Plays, Power Works*. Second edition. London: Routledge.
- Forrester Johnson, Luke. 2021. "Racial Reverb: 'Paranoia within Reason' and the Sounding of the Social." *symplokē* 29(1–2): 247–66.
- Foucault, Michel. 1971. "The Discourse on Language." *Social Science Information* (April): 7–30 (Rupert Swyer, Trans.). Reprinted in Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on Language*, translated by A. M. Sheridan Smith, 215–38. New York: Pantheon, 1972.
- Foucault, Michel. (1975) 1977. *Discipline and Punish*. Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Vintage.
- Foucault, Michel. 1980. "Lecture One: 7 January 1976." In *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–77*, edited and translated by Colin Gordon, 79–92. New York: Vintage.
- Foucault, Michel. 1982. "Afterword: The Subject and Power." In *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*, edited by Hubert L. Dreyfus and Paul Rabinow, 208–26. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Frazer, James George. 1890–1915. *The Golden Bough: A Study in Comparative Religion / A Study in Magic and Religion*. London: Macmillan.
- Freeland, Elana. 2014. *Chemtrails, HAARP, and the "Full Spectrum Dominance" of Planet Earth*. Port Townsend, WA: Feral House.
- Freud, Sigmund. (1911) 1963. "Psychoanalytic Notes upon an Autobiographical Account of a Case of Paranoia (Dementia Paranoides)." *Three Case Histories*, edited by Philip Rieff, 83–160. New York: Collier Books.
- Galatariotou, Catia. 2012. "Truth, Memory, and the Cypriot Journey towards a New Past." In *Cyprus and the Politics of Memory: History, Community, and Conflict*, edited by Rebecca Bryant and Yiannis Papadakis, 242–64. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Geertz, Clifford. 1973. "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture." In *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*, 3–30. New York: Basic Books.
- Glaude, Eddie S., Jr. 1991. "An Analysis of the Cress Theory of Color Confrontation." *Journal of Black Studies* 22(2): 284–93.

- Gluckman, Max. 1963. "Gossip and Scandal." *Current Anthropology* 4(3): 307–16.
- Good, Byron J. 1994. *Medicine, Rationality, and Experience: An Anthropological Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Graeber, David. 2011. "The Divine Kingship of the Shilluk: On Violence, Utopia, and the Human Condition, or, Elements for an Archaeology of Sovereignty." *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory* 1(1): 1–62.
- Greenwood, Susan. 2022. "A Spectrum of Magical Consciousness: Conspiracy Theories and the Stories We Tell Ourselves." *Anthropology Today* 38(1): 3–7.
- Hakki, Murat Metin, Ed. 2007. *The Cyprus Issue, a Documentary History, 1878–2007*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Hall, Stuart. (1997) 2013. "The Work of Representation." In *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, edited by Stuart Hall, Jessica Evans, and Sean Nixon, 1–47. Second edition. London: Sage.
- Harambam, Jaron, and Stef Aupers. 2017. "'I Am Not a Conspiracy Theorist': Relational Identifications in the Dutch Conspiracy Milieu." *Cultural Sociology* 11(1): 113–29.
- Harding, Susan, and Kathleen Stewart. 2003. "Anxieties of Influence: Conspiracy Theory and Therapeutic Culture in Millennial America." In *Transparency and Conspiracy: Ethnographies of Suspicion in the New World Order*, edited by Harry G. West and Todd Sanders, 258–86. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Harsin, Jayson. 2008. "Rumor Bombs: American Mediated Politics as Pure War." In *Cultural Studies, an Anthology*, edited by Michael Ryan, 468–82. New York: Blackwell.
- Hartman, Saidiya. 2008. "Venus in Two Acts." *small axe* 26: 1–14.
- Heinz, Andreas. 1997. "Savage Thought and Thoughtful Savages: On the Context of the Evaluation of Logical Thought by Lévy-Bruhl and Evans-Pritchard." *Anthropos* 92: 165–73.
- Herzfeld, Michael. 1987. *Anthropology through the Looking-Glass: Critical Ethnography in the Margins of Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Herzfeld, Michael. (1997) 2005. *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State*. Second edition. New York: Routledge.
- Hitchens, Christopher. (1984) 1989. *Hostage to History: Cyprus from the Ottomans to Kissinger*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux / Noonday Press.
- Hofstadter, Richard. 1964. "The Paranoid Style in American Politics." *Harper's*, November 1964, 77–86.
- Hollis, Martin, and Steven Lukes, Eds. 1982. *Rationality and Relativism*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Ioannou, Yiannis. 2009. *Θεωρία της συνωμοσίας και κουλτούρα της διχοτόμησης* "Δοκίμιο για τον πολιτικό πολιτισμό της Κύπρου [Conspiracy theory and the

- culture of partition: Essay on the political culture of Cyprus]. Athens: Papazisi.
- Jackson, John L. 2017. "What's Love Got to Do with It? Race, Conspiracy Theories, and Contemporary Hip-Hop Culture." Lecture delivered at the Monroe Center for Social Inquiry, Pitzer College (Claremont, CA), November 7, 2017. <https://www.pitzer.edu/mcsi/2017/11/14/john-l-jackson-jr-whats-love-got/>.
- Jameson, Frederic. 1988. "Cognitive Mapping." In *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, edited by Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg, 347–60. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Jameson, Frederic. 1992. *Postmodernism, or, The Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Jarvie, I. C. 1964. *The Revolution in Anthropology*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Jordan, William Chester. (1997) 2016. "Preface (1997)." In Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, xxv–xxxi. Princeton Classics Edition. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kantorowicz, Ernst. (1957) 2016. *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*. Princeton Classics Edition. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Kasimatis, Petros. 1997. Δεκατρία Περιστερία“ Οι τελευταίοι επιζώντες αγνοούμενοι της Κύπρου. Οι μυστικές αποστολές σωτηρίας τους [Thirteen doves: The last surviving missing persons of Cyprus and their secret rescue missions]. Athens: Livani.
- Keeley, Brian L. 1999. "Of Conspiracy Theories." *The Journal of Philosophy* 96(3): 109–26.
- Khatib, Lina. 2013. *Image Politics in the Middle East: The Role of the Visual in Political Struggle*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Kızılyürek, Niyazi. (2006) 2008. *Glaḡkos Clerides: The Path of a Country*. Nicosia: Rimal.
- Knight, Peter. 2000. *Conspiracy Culture: From Kennedy to the X-Files*. London: Routledge.
- Konstantinidis, Alekos. (1978) 1981. *Το Κίτρινο Βιβλίο του Σπύρου Κυπριανού* [The yellow book of Spyros Kyprianou]. Second edition. Nicosia: Διαφωνία [Dissent].
- Lederman, Rena. 2008. "Anthropological Regionalism." In *A New History of Anthropology*, edited by Henrika Kuklick, 310–25. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Lefort, Claude. 1988. *Democracy and Political Theory*. Translated by David Macey. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Lepselter, Susan. 2016. *The Resonance of Unseen Things: Poetics, Power, Captivity, and UFOs in the American Uncanny*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

- Lévy-Bruhl, Lucien. [1910] 1985. *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures* [How natives think]. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Leyser, Conrad. 2016. "Introduction to the Princeton Classics Edition." In Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology*, i–xix. Princeton Classics Edition. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Magliocco, Sabina. 2012. "Beyond Belief: Context, Rationality, and Participatory Consciousness." *Western Folklore* 71(1): 5–24.
- Mahon, Michael. 1992. *Foucault's Nietzschean Genealogy: Truth, Power, and the Subject*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw. (1935) 1978. "Part VI, An Ethnographic Theory of the Magical World." In *Coral Gardens and Their Magic: A Study of the Methods of Tilling the Soil and of Agricultural Rites in the Trobriand Islands* (Volumes I–II), 2:211–50. New York: Dover.
- Mallinson, William. (2005) 2009. *Cyprus: A Modern History*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Marasco, Robyn. 2016. "Toward a Critique of Conspiratorial Reason." *Constellations* 23(2): 236–43.
- Marcus, George E. 1999. "Preface: A Reintroduction to the Series" and "Introduction to the Volume: The Paranoid Style Now." In *Paranoia within Reason: A Casebook on Conspiracy as Explanation*, edited by George E. Marcus, ix–xiv, 1–12. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Masco, Joseph. 2014. *Theater of Operations: National Security Affect from the Cold War to the War on Terror*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Maskovsky, Jeff, and Sophie Bjork-James. 2020. "Introduction." In *Beyond Populism: Angry Politics and the Twilight of Neoliberalism*, edited by Jeff Maskovsky and Sophie Bjork-James, 1–19. Morgantown: West Virginia University Press.
- Maskovsky, Jeff, and Julian Aron Ross. 2022. "Laboring for Whiteness: The Rise of Trumpism and What That Tells Us about Racial and Gendered Capitalism in the United States." In *The Routledge Handbook of the Anthropology of Labor*, edited by Sharryn Kasmir and Lesley Gill, 166–79. New York: Routledge.
- Mayes, Stanley. 1981. *Makarios: A Biography*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mazzarella, William. 2019. "The Anthropology of Populism: Beyond the Liberal Settlement." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 48 (2019): 45–60.
- McIntosh, Janet. 2022. "The Sinister Signs of QAnon: Interpretive Agency and Paranoid Truths in Alt-Right Oracles." *Anthropology Today* 38(1): 8–12.
- Melley, Timothy. 2000. *Empire of Conspiracy: The Culture of Paranoia in Postwar America*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Miller, James E., Douglas E. Selva, and Laurie Van Hook, eds. 2007. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1969–1976, Volume XXIX, Eastern Europe; Eastern Mediterranean, 1969–1972*. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office.

- Muirhead, Russell, and Nancy Rosenblum. 2019. *A Lot of People Are Saying: The New Conspiracism and the Assault on Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Nelson, Diane M. 2009. *Reckoning: The Ends of War in Guatemala*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Nicolet, Claude. 2009. "Cyprus 1974: Greek Coup and Turkish Invasion, by Makarios Drousiotis." *The Cyprus Review* 21(1): 242–44.
- Obeyesekere, Gananath. 1990. *The Work of Culture: Symbolic Transformation in Psychoanalysis and Anthropology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- O'Malley, Brendan, and Ian Craig. 1999. *The Cyprus Conspiracy: America, Espionage, and the Turkish Invasion*. London: I. B. Tauris.
- Oushakine, Serguei Alex. 2009. "'Stop the Invasion!': Money, Patriotism, and Conspiracy in Russia." *Social Research* 76(1): 71–116.
- Över, Kıvanç Gaip. 2007. *Tassos Papadopoulos: Valley of the Greek Cypriots in Cyprus*. Istanbul: Kaknüs Yayınları.
- Parla, Ayşe. 2023. "Hamlet after Genocide: The Haunting of Soghomon Tehlirian and Empirical Fabulation." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 65(2): 446–70.
- Parmigiani, Giovanna. 2021. "Magic and Politics: Conspiratorship and COVID-19." *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 89(2): 506–29.
- Parmigiani, Giovanna. 2023. "'Separation, but Not Division': A Southern Italian Perspective on 'Lived Conspiratorship'." *Anthropologica* 65(1): 1–23.
- Patrick, Richard Arthur. 1976. *Political Geography and the Cyprus Conflict, 1963–71*, edited by James H. Bater and Richard Preston. Department of Geography Publication Series 4. Waterloo (Ontario): University of Waterloo.
- Pelkmans, Mathijs, and Rhys Machold. 2011. "Conspiracy Theories and Their Truth Trajectories." *Focaal: Journal of Global and Historical Anthropology* 59: 66–80.
- Pereira, Godofredo. 2011. "Dead Commodities." *Cabinet* 43 ("Forensics"): 90–94.
- Pigg, Stacy Leigh. 1996. "The Credible and the Credulous: The Question of 'Villagers' Beliefs' in Nepal." *Cultural Anthropology* 11(2): 160–201.
- Pipes, Daniel. 1996. *The Hidden Hand: Middle East Fears of Conspiracy*. New York: St. Martin's Griffin.
- Pipes, Daniel. 1997. *Conspiracy: How the Paranoid Style Flourishes and Where It Comes From*. New York: Free Press.
- Popper, Karl R. (1963) 2002. "The Conspiracy Theory of Society" (from Chapter 4: "Towards a Rational Theory of Tradition"). In *Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge*, 165–68. Second edition. New York: Routledge.
- Povinelli, Elizabeth A. 2011. "The Woman on the Other Side of the Wall: Archiving the Otherwise in Postcolonial Digital Archives." *differences* 22(1): 146–71.

- PRIO Cyprus Centre. 2012. *Displacement in Cyprus: Consequences of Civil and Military Strife, Reports 1–7*. Contributions by Rebecca Bryant, Corina Demetriou, Olga Demetriou, Ayla Gürel, Mete Hatay, Fiona Mullen, Bozena Sojka, Nicos Trimikliniotis, and Christalla Yakinthou. Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo.
- Rakopoulos, Theodoros. 2018. “Show Me the Money: Conspiracy Theories and Distant Wealth.” *History and Anthropology* 29(3): 376–91.
- Rakopoulos, Theodoros. 2022. “Of Fascists and Dreamers: Conspiracy Theory and Anthropology.” *Social Anthropology* 30(1): 45–62.
- Rakopoulos, Theodoros. 2023. *Passport Island: The Market for EU Citizenship in Cyprus*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Read, Jason. 2003. *The Micro-Politics of Capital*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Reddaway, John. 1986. *Burdened with Cyprus: The British Connection*. Nicosia: K. Rüstem & Brother; London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Riggan, Jennifer. 2020. “‘Fed Up’ in Ethiopia: Emotions, Civics Education, and Anti-Authoritarian Protest.” In *Beyond Populism: Angry Politics and the Twilight of Neoliberalism*, edited by Jeff Maskovsky and Sophie Bjork-James, 237–58. Morgantown: West Virginia University Press.
- Robins, Robert S., and Jerrold M. Post. 1997. *Political Paranoia: The Psychopolitics of Hatred*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Rosenblatt, Adam. 2015. *Digging for the Disappeared: Forensic Science after Atrocity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Sánchez, Rafael. 2016. *Dancing Jacobins: A Venezuelan Genealogy of Latin American Populism*. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Santner, Eric L. 2011. *The Royal Remains: The People’s Two Bodies and the Endgames of Sovereignty*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. 1996. “Introduction: Queerer Than Fiction.” *Studies in the Novel* 28(3): 277–280.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. 1997. *Novel Gazing*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky. 2003. “Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading, Or, You’re So Paranoid, You Probably Think This Essay Is about You.” In *Touching Feeling: Affect, Pedagogy, Performativity*, 123–51. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Sinding-Larsen, Henrik. 2008. “Externality and Materiality as Themes in the History of the Human Sciences.” *Fractal: Journal of Psychology* 20(1): 9–18.
- Soulioti, Stella. 2006. *Fettered Independence: Cyprus, 1878–1964*. Volumes 1–2. Minnesota Mediterranean and East European Monographs 16. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Sperber, Dan. 1985. *On Anthropological Knowledge: Three Essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Stewart, Charles. 2017. "Uncanny History: Temporal Topology in the Post-Ottoman World." *Social Analysis* 61(1): 129–42.
- Stewart, Kathleen. 1991. "On the Politics of Cultural Theory: A Case for 'Contaminated' Cultural Critique." *Social Research* 58(2): 395–412.
- Stewart, Kathleen. 1999. "Conspiracy Theory's Worlds." In *Paranoia within Reason: A Casebook on Conspiracy as Explanation*, edited by George E. Marcus, 13–20. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Stewart, Kathleen. 2011. "Atmospheric Attunements." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* (29): 445–52.
- Stewart, Pamela J., and Andrew Strathern. 2004. *Witchcraft, Sorcery, Rumors, and Gossip*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stocking, George. 1989. *Romantic Motives: Essays on Anthropological Sensibility*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Stokes, Patrick. 2018. "Conspiracy Theory and the Perils of Pure Particularism." In *Taking Conspiracy Theories Seriously*, edited by Matthew R. X. Dentith, 25–37. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Strathern, Marilyn. 1987. "Out of Context: The Persuasive Fictions of Anthropology." Frazer Lecture delivered at the University of Liverpool, May 1, 1986. Edited text with commentaries and response: *Current Anthropology* 28(3): 251–81.
- Strathern, Marilyn. (1991) 2004. *Partial Connections*. Updated edition. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira.
- Strigas, Athanasios K. 1995. *Διεθνείς συνωμότες: Η σκοτεινή πλευρά του φεγγαριού* [International conspirators: The dark side of the moon]. Athens: Νέα Θέσις [New thesis].
- Strigas, Athanasios K. 2000. *Κύπρος: Απόρρητος Φάκελος* [Cyprus: Confidential file]. Athens: Νέα Θέσις [New thesis].
- Sutton, David. 2003. "Poked by the 'Foreign Finger' in Greece: Conspiracy Theory or the Hermeneutics of Suspicion?" In *The Usable Past: Greek Metahistories*, edited by K. S. Brown and Yannis Hamilakis, 191–210. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Taussig, Michael. 1987. *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Taussig, Michael. 1999. *Defacement: Public Secrecy and the Labor of the Negative*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Theodossopoulos, Dimitrios. 2014. "On De-Pathologizing Resistance." *History and Anthropology* 25(4): 415–30.
- Torkildsen, Morten. 2002. "Amended Expert Report of Morten Torkildsen, Office of the Prosecutor at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY)." Case No. IT-02-54-T. June 7, 2002.
- Tu, Chau. 2020. "Slow Burn's Leon Neyfakh on Bringing His Watergate Series to Television—And What He Thinks about Donald Trump's Impeachment."

- Slate, February 14, 2020. <https://slate.com/culture/2020/02/slow-burn-watergate-epix-leon-neyfakh-interview.html>.
- Turner, Patricia A. 1993. *I Heard It through the Grapevine: Rumor in African-American Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Turner, Victor. 1980. "Social Dramas and Stories about Them." *Critical Inquiry* 7(1): 141–68.
- Urban, Greg. 2001. *Metaculture: How Culture Moves through the World*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Van Duyn, Petrus C., and Stefano Donati. 2006. "In Search of Crime-Money Management in Serbia." UNICRI/OSCE Mission to Serbia Report. Turin: UN Interregional Crime and Justice Research Institute.
- Varnava, Andrekos. 2008. "Review: *The Cyprus Issue, a Documentary History, 1878–2007*, edited by Murat Metin Hakki." *The Cyprus Review*, 20(1): 135–39.
- Verdery, Katherine. 1999. *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Warner, Michael. 2005. *Publics and Counterpublics*. New York: Zone.
- Weber, Max. (1904) 1949. "'Objectivity' in Social Science and Social Policy" (1904). In *Max Weber, The Methodology of the Social Sciences*, translated by E. A. Hils and H. A. Finch, 49–112. New York: Free Press.
- Welsing, Frances Cress. 1970. "The Cress Theory of Color-Confrontation and Racism (White Supremacy): A Psycho-Genetic Theory and World Outlook." *Black Scholar* 5(8): 32–40.
- West, Harry G., and Todd Sanders. 2003. "Power Revealed and Power Concealed in the New World Order." In *Transparency and Conspiracy: Ethnographies of Suspicion in the New World Order*, edited by Harry G. West and Todd Sanders, 1–37. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Yurchak, Alexei. 2015. "Bodies of Lenin: The Hidden Science of Communist Sovereignty." *Representations* 129(1): 116–57.
- Žižek, Slavoj. 1989. *The Sublime Object of Ideology*. London: Verso.
- Žižek, Slavoj. 1992. "The Nation-Thing." In *Looking Awry: An Introduction to Jacques Lacan through Popular Culture*, 162–69. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Žižek, Slavoj. 1997. *The Plague of Fantasies*. London: Verso.
- Žižek, Slavoj. 2006. *Interrogating the Real*. London: Continuum.

NEWS MEDIA BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Afrika. 2009a. "Afrika'nın haberi giderek doğruluk kazanırken." [Afrika's reporting grows increasingly accurate]. December 22.
- Afrika. 2009b. "Operasyon Şüpheli Fotini" [Operation: Suspect Fotini]. December 22.
- Afrika. 2009c. "Paris'e gömülmüş" [He's buried in Paris]. December 19.

- Afrika*. 2009d. “Tasos’a ambargo karartma” [Embargo: Blackout on Tassos”. December 20.
- Agoustis, Dinos. 2009. “Βεβήλωσαν το Έθνος” [They desecrated the nation]. *Simerini*, December 17.
- Al Jazeera*. 2011. “Gaddafi’s Body Removed for Burial.” *Al Jazeera*, October 25, 2011. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2011/10/25/gaddafis-body-removed-for-burial>.
- Alarabiya*. 2018. “12 Years after His Death, Where Is the Body of Saddam Hussein?” *Alarabiya News*, April 16. <https://english.alarabiya.net/features/2018/04/16/12-years-after-his-death-where-is-Saddam-Hussein-s-body->.
- Alithia*. 1975. “Επιχείρησις Γιωρκάτζη εξετελέσθη” [Operation Georkadjis complete]. March 3.
- Apoyevmatini*. 1977. “Συγκλονιστικό. Ανάλυση και έκθεση Άγγλου ιατρού υπονοεί ότι δολοφονήθηκε ο Εθνάρχης. Μεγάλα ποσοστά μολύβδου βρέθηκαν στην καρδιά του. Τι κατέδειξαν οι αναλύσεις του αίματός που έκανε Άγγλος ειδικός. Υπάρχει επίσημο πόρισμα να δημοσιευτεί!” [Shocking: Analysis and report by English doctor suggests that the ethnarch was assassinated. High levels of lead were found in his heart. What the analysis of the blood done by an English expert showed. There is an official conclusion to be published!]. November 19.
- Azas, Andreas. 2009. “Αναλαμβάνουν ξένοι εμπειρογνώμονες” Η Αστυνομία ‘όργωσε’ τη Στράκκα, αλλά δεν βρήκε τίποτε” [Foreign experts take over; police “plowed through” Strakka, but found nothing]. *Simerini*, December 22.
- Azas, Andreas. 2010. “Άλλο η σύληση του τάφου, άλλο η υφαρπαγή της σημαίας” [Despoiling the grave is one thing; hijacking the flag is another]. January 9.
- “The Bug” [O Κοριός]. 2011. “Και τα Αντιβραβεία, 2010” Έτος πελλότοπου πελλόκοσμου” [And the anti-awards for 2010: The year in bizarro-world]. *Politis*, January 1.
- Calik, Aydin. 2018a. “Afrika Suspected Attackers Detained for One Month Pending Trial.” *Cyprus Mail*, January 30.
- Calik, Aydin. 2018b. “Tense Day in North after Afrika Article Protest (Update 4).” *Cyprus Mail*, January 22.
- Charalambous, Charles. 2009. “Union Throws Weight behind Writer Threatened by State Body.” *Cyprus Mail*, July 2.
- Charalambous, Loukas. 2004. “Does the President Have Memory Problems?” *Cyprus Mail*, September 12.
- Charalambous, Loukas. 2009. “Το λείψανο της αξιοπρέπειας” [The relic of dignity]. *Politis*, December 20.
- Charalambous, Loukas. 2017. “Political Stupidity Is Clearly Hereditary.” *Cyprus Mail*, June 25.
- Chatzistylianou, Michalis. 2010. “Ισοβίτης και παραμυθός ο Αλ Καπόνε” [Al Capone, lifer and storyteller]. *Philelevtheros*, March 30.

- Chatzivassilis, Michalis. 2010. "Νέες συλλήψεις για κλοπή σορού" Πολυεπίδη κατάθεση Κίτα εμπλέκει δύο άτομα" [New arrests in the body theft; Kitas's multipage statement implicates two people]. *Philelevtheros*, March 23.
- Chulov, Martin, and Ian Black. 2011. "Gaddafi Buried in Unmarked Grave in Libya Desert to Avoid Creating Shrine." *The Guardian*, October 25, 2011. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/oct/25/gaddafi-buried-in-unmarked-grave>.
- Dalgıçoğlu, Dolgun. 2009. "Papadopoulos'un cesedinin düşündürdükleri" [What Papadopoulos's corpse suggests]. *Afrika*, December 14.
- Dalitis, Frixos. 2010. "Ξανακτύπησαν οι βέβηλοι" Κατέβασαν την ελληνική σημαία από τον τάφο του Τάσσου" [The profaners struck again: They took the Greek flag down from the tomb of Tassos]. *Philelevtheros*, January 9.
- Drousiotis, Makarios. 2005a. "Η Μεγάλη Συνωμοσία των εγκεφάλων" [The great conspiracy of brains]. *Politis*, February 27. English translation: <http://www.makarios.eu/cgibin/hweb?-A=727&-V=English>.
- Drousiotis, Makarios. 2009c. "Η Αλήθεια για την κόλαση στο Τζιάος" Όλη η ιστορία των πέντε της φωτογραφίας" [The Truth about the hell at Tziaos: The whole story of the five in the photograph]. *Politis*, August 15.
- Drousiotis, Makarios. 2010b. "Άντης Χατζηκωστής: Τον σκότωσε (κι αυτόν) η MIT . . . Νωρίς το βράδυ της Δευτέρας έγινε στη Λευκωσία ένα άγριο φονικό." [Andy Hadjicostis: MIT killed him, too. . . . A brutal murder took place in Nicosia early Monday night.] Blog post (Protagon.gr), January 13. <http://www.protagon.gr/apopseis/blogs/antis-xatzikwstis-ton-skotwse-ki-afton-i-mit-1053000000>.
- Drousiotis, Makarios. 2014b. "Soviet Duplicity in the Cyprus Crisis." *Cyprus Mail*, July 20.
- Eminoğlu, Bilbay. 2009. "Papadopoulos olayının faillerinden ses bekleniyor" [Perpetrators of the Papadopoulos case await word]. *Kıbrıs*. December 15.
- Evripidou, Stefanos. 2008. "A Very Political Funeral." *Cyprus Mail*. December 16.
- Evripidou, Stefanos. 2010. "Grave-Robbing Trial Opens." *Cyprus Mail*, July 16.
- Evripidou, Stefanos. 2014a. "The 'Nicos vs. Nicolas' Spat over Deadlock in Cyprus Talks." *Cyprus Mail*, June 21. <https://cyprus-mail.com/2014/06/21/the-nicos-vs-nicolas-spat-over-deadlock-in-cyprus-talks/>.
- Evripidou, Stefanos. 2014b. "Turning the Cyprus Problem Industry on Its Head." *Cyprus Mail*, July 20.
- Fassin, Dider. 2014. "Les leçons de l'histoire" [The lessons of history]. *Le Monde*. July 20.
- Giannakos, Christakis. 2010. "Αρνήθηκαν τις κατηγορίες για τη σορό" [They denied the charges for the body]. *Philelevtheros*, May 18.
- Hadjiapostolou, Panayiotis. 2009. "Συγκλονισμός ανά το παγκύπριο για την κλοπή της σορού του Τάσσου Παπαδόπουλου" Κανένας δεν το πίστεψε από

- την πρώτη” [Shock around the country at the theft of the body of Tassos Papadopoulos: No one could believe it at first]. *Politis*, December 12.
- Haravgi. 2009a. “Καταζητούνται οι βέβηλοι” [The profaners are wanted]. December 12.
- Haravgi. 2009b. “Αποτροπιασμός και αναστάτωση από την ειδεχθή πράξη” [Disgust and disturbance at the heinous act]. December 12.
- Hassapi, Anna. 2009. “Serb Money Laundering Victim Sues Cyprus.” *Cyprus Mail*, October 19.
- Hazou, Elias. 2016. “Minister Pledges Probe into Chemtrails.” *Cyprus Mail*, February 17.
- Hitchens, Christopher. 2004. “Unfairness 9/11: The Lies of Michael Moore.” *Slate*. June 21. <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2004/06/the-lies-of-michael-moore.html>.
- Howden, Daniel. 2003. “Cypriot Leader’s Law Firm ‘Broke Milosevic Sanctions.’” *The Independent*, April 16.
- Ioannou, Yiannis. 2010a. “Νεκροταφεία υπό επιτήρηση” Η Αστυνομία σε κινητοποίηση για τη βεβήλωση του τάφου του Σπύρου Κυπριανού” [Cemeteries under surveillance: Police mobilized after the desecration of Spyros Kyprianou’s grave]. *Simerini*, January 12.
- Ioannou, Yiannis. 2010b. “Aerial Spraying: Mobilization around the Cyprus Bases.” *Simerini*, June 25. Cited in Freeland (2014, 110n73).
- Kalatzis, Manolis. 2009. “Κάλεσαν τον Πρέντραγκ Τζόρτζεβιτς” [They called Predrag Đorđević]. *Politis*, December 22.
- Kallinikos, Giorgos. 2010. “Όσα βιώσαμε στο φρικτό τρίμηνο” Η Αναστασία Παπαδοπούλου εξομολογείται τα πάντα για τη φοβερή περιπέτεια” [What we lived through in that horrific three months: Anastasia Papadopoulou confesses everything about the terrible adventure]. *Philelevtheros*, March 21.
- Kıbrıs. 2009. “Sırp şüphesi!” [Serbian suspicion!]. *Kıbrıs*, December 23.
- Kostakopoulos, Yiannis. 2010. “Πήραν τις σημαίες” Βεβήλωση και στο μνήμα του πρώην προέδρου Σπ. Κυπριανού στη Λεμεσό” [They took the flags: Another desecration, at the tomb of former president Sp. Kyprianou in Limassol]. *Politis*, January 11.
- Kypriakou, Nikitas. 2009. “Ποιο και γιατί σύλησαν τον τάφο του Τάσσου Παπαδόπουλου; Τρεις στενοί συνεργάτες του τέως Προέδρου καταθέτουν τις απόψεις για την αποτρόπαια αυτή πράξη” [Who robbed the grave of Tassos Papadopoulos and why? Three close associates of the former president give their views on this heinous act]. *Simerini*, December 20.
- Levent, Elvan. 2009. “Uyanmak ve tesadüf . . .” [Awakening and coincidence . . .]. *Afrika*. December 13.
- Levent, Şener. 2009a. “Çalınan ceset ve ‘To be or not to be’” [The stolen body and ‘To be or not to be’]. *Afrika*, December 13.

- Levent, Şener. 2009b. “Karartma” [Blackout]. *Afrika*, December 20.
- Loizou, Mikaellas. 2009. “Τη μνήμη του Τάσσου δεν μπορεί κανείς να τη σβήσει” Ξεχείλισε η οργή και η αγανάκτηση κατά το πρώτο ετήσιο μνημόσυνο του τεώς Προέδρου” [The memory of Tassos cannot be erased: Overflowing anger and indignation during the first annual memorial service for the former president]. *Simerini*, December 13.
- Mavridis, Kostas. 2009. “Ποιος νομίζετε ότι έκλεψε τη σορό του Τάσσου;” [Who do you think stole the body of Tassos?]. *Simerini*, December 20.
- Michaelidis, Aristos. 2009a. “Ποιον εξυπηρετεί αυτή η εξαθλίωση” [Who is served by this misery?]. *Philelevtheros*, December 12.
- Michaelidis, Aristos. 2009b. “Μπορεί να το χειριστεί το κράτος και η ηγεσία;” [Can the state and the leadership manage?]. *Philelevtheros*, December 14.
- “Niki.” 2009. “Αρρωστημένα μυαλά” [Sick minds]. *Haravgi*, December 14.
- Orphanidou, Sophie. 2010. “Μακάβριο παιχνίδι νυκτοβατών” [The macabre game of the sleepwalkers]. *Politis*, January 9.
- Özcanhan, Özcan. 2009. “Papadopulosu kim mezarından kaçırdı” [Who kidnapped Papadopoulos from his grave?]. *Star Kıbrıs*, December 19.
- Pallikaridis, Adonis. 2009. “Ανεύθυνα δημοσιεύματα για Τάσσο” Δεν πήγε για λύτρα στη Ζυρίχη η Φωτεινή” [Unreliable reports about Tassos: Fotini did not go to Zurich for ransom]. *Simerini*, December 21.
- Pantelides. 2011. “Body Snatchers Found Guilty.” *Cyprus Mail*, April 5.
- Papadopoulos, Michalis. 2009. “Ο ανοικτός τάφος” [The open grave]. *Simerini*, December 14.
- Papadopoulou, Anastasia. 2009. “Ο βιασμός της αξιοπρέπειάς μας” [The rape of our dignity]. *Philelevtheros*, December 19.
- Pehlivan, Alihan. 2009. “Papadapulos’un kemikleri” [The bones of Papadopoulos]. *Güneş*, December 19.
- Perikleous, Chrysostomos. 2009. “Κόψτε τα πλοκάμια της ανωμαλίας” [Cut the tentacles of the monster]. *Politis*, December 13.
- Philelevtheros*. 2009. “Βεβήλωσαν την Κύπρο” Πρωτοφανές έγκλημα ιεροσυλίας εναντίον ολόκληρου του λαού” [They desecrated Cyprus: An unprecedented crime of sacrilege against the entire people]. *Philelevtheros*, December 12.
- Philelevtheros*. 2010a. “Ο Γιουρούκκης ενάγει τον τεώς διευθυντή των Φυλακών” [The Yurouki is suing the warden of the prison]. *Philelevtheros*, March 18.
- Philelevtheros*. 2010b. “Λαβύρινθος . . . στην κλοπή της σορού” Από τη σύλληψη και κράτηση ακόμα δύο προσώπων προκύπτει πιο ομιχλώδεις τοπίο” [Labyrinth . . . in the theft of the body. A darker landscape emerges from the arrest and detention of two more persons]. *Philelevtheros*, March 24.
- Philenews*. 2017. “Aradippou to Bury Fanieros on Wednesday.” In-Cyprus.com. March 7.
- Politis*. 2009. “η ‘Σημερινή’ και ο Νικόλας” [*Simerini* and *Nikolas*]. December 22.

- Politis*. 2010. “Η Δημοκρατία στο γύψο” Ο αρχηγός του σκοτεινού ψιθύρου” [The democracy in dust: The chief of dark whispering]. October 15.
- Polydourou, Michalis. 2017. “Αταφη για 33 χρόνια η καρδιά του Μακαρίου, άφαντη μέχρι σήμερα του Διγενή” [The heart of Makarios, unburied for 33 years; Digenis’s heart never found]. *Reporter*, August 3. <https://reporter.com.cy/article/2017/8/3/283835/ataphe-gia-33-khronia-e-kardia-tou-makariou-aphante-mekhri-semera-tou-digene/>.
- Psyllides, George. 2009a. “Police Visit Serbian Businessman’s Home in Papadopoulos Investigation.” *Cyprus Mail*, December 22.
- Psyllides, George. 2009b. “When Conspiracy Stretches to the Food on the Table.” *Cyprus Mail*, September 20.
- Psyllides, George. 2011. “Germany’s ‘Great Conspiracy.’” *Cyprus Mail*, January 8.
- Psyllides, George. 2016. “The Players: Spyros Kyprianou.” *Cyprus Mail*, December 20.
- Psyllides, George. 2017. “Colourful, Controversial Fanieros Dies Aged 73.” *Cyprus Mail*, March 6.
- Reporter*. 2019. “Ο θάνατος του Μακαρίου, τα περί δηλητηρίασης και η άταφη καρδιά του” [The death of Makarios, concerning poison and his unburied heart]. August 4. <https://reporter.com.cy/article/2019/8/4/180170/o-thanatos-tou-makariou-ta-peri-deleterias-es-kai-e-ataphe-kardia-tou/>.
- Sigmalive*. 2021. ““Όχι” στην αποφυλάκιση του Κίτα: Οι δολοφονίες και η κλοπή της σορού του Τάσσου” [“No” to the release of Kitas: The murders and the theft of the corpse of Tassos]. November 22. <https://www.sigmalive.com/news/local/872555/oxi-stin-apofylakisi-tou-kitai-dolofonies-kai-i-klopi-tis-sorou-tou-tassou#:~:text=σορού%20του%20Τάσσου-,“Όχι”%20στην%20αποφυλάκιση%20του%20Κίτα%3AΟι%20δολοφονίες%20και%20η,κλοπή%20της%20σορού%20του%20Τάσσου&text=Το%20Συμβούλιο%20Αποφυλάκισης%20Επ%27%20Άδεια,αναφέρει%20την%20εφημερίδα%20“Αλήθεια”>
- Sigmalive*. 2023. “Ο θάνατος του Μακαρίου μέσα από πρωτοσέλιδα και ντοκουμέντα” [The death of Makarios through headlines and documents]. August 3. <https://www.sigmalive.com/news/local/1132532/o-thanatos-tou-makariou-mesa-apo-protoselida-kai-ntokoumenta>.
- Simerini*. 2009. “Η σορός του Τάσσου, το ΚΕΑ και η Κυβέρνηση” [The body of Tassos, the KEA and the government]. December 22.
- Simerini*. 2010. “Δεν υποκύπτουμε στην τρομοκρατία” [We will not succumb to terrorism]. *Simerini*, January 12.
- Smith, Helena. 2009. “Obituary: Tassos Papadopoulos; Former President of Cyprus who Scuppered Reunification with the Turkish North.” *The Guardian*, January 7. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/jan/08/cyprus-obituary-tassos-papadopoulos>.

- Smith, R. Jeffrey. 2001. "The Hunt for Yugoslav Riches." *Washington Post*, March 11.
- Tahsin, Arif Hasan. 2009. "Olaylar ve Gerçekler." *Afrika*, December 22.
- Tzioni, Tasos. 2009. "Η αρπαγή της σορού και οι ευθύνες μας" [The abduction of the body and our responsibilities]. *Philelevtheros*, December 14.
- Washington Post*. 2001. "The Oklahoma City Bombing." <https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/nation/sidebars/okctimeline.htm>. Accessed December 10, 2021.
- Zanou, Konstantina. 2010. "Η Κύπρος στο επίκεντρο πανγκόσμιας συνωμοσίας!" [Cyprus at the epicenter of a global conspiracy!]. *Ta Nea.com*. March 13. <https://www.tanea.gr/2010/03/13/lifearts/by-the-book/i-kypros-sto-epikentro-pagkosmias-synwmosias/>.

ON THE FRONTISPIECE

“Eustathios, the steadfast.” Yiannis Gigas’s icon-painting frames Tassos Papadopoulos as a saint. His portrait is surrounded by inscriptions stylized to resemble the epithets and biblical quotations characteristic of Byzantine iconography—even if, on authentic Byzantine icons, inscriptions usually appear within scrolls or books rather than pervading the background of the entire image. This iconography is blended with classical motifs, as Papadopoulos holds the golden head of Hercules wrapped in the skin of the Nemean lion. The highlighted text to the left of Papadopoulos reads: ο ακλόνητος Ευστάθιος (Eustathios, the steadfast); here, Papadopoulos’s proper first name, Eustathios (after Saint Eustache), which could translate as “steadfast,” “sturdy,” or “stable,” is redoubled by his epithet, “the steadfast.” The highlighted text on the right-hand side is his familiar name, Τάσσος Παπαδόπουλος (Tassos Papadopoulos). The artist, Yiannis Gigas, also known as Yiannis Gigas Thomas, is Greek—not Cypriot—and, among other works, he paints Greek Orthodox icons and religious murals, some commissioned by churches in Greece. The artist’s statement for his installation at the 2018 Athens biennale, *The Temple of the Indomitables, 2004–2016*, describes the religious and political resonances of his practice thus: “A recent poll showed that a whopping 98% of Greeks [are] baptized Christian Orthodox and the Church has an active role in everyday life, politics, even in external affairs. Religious Icon-making, *agiografia* (the depiction of the holy), is still taught in the largest school of fine arts in Greece. Yiannis Gigas is informed by an early Christian, proto anarchist, school of thought and Christian doctrine. In his daily life, he paints frescoes and murals in churches, yet in his artistic practice he confronts the orthodox canon with themes and icons of revolutionary heroes

mixed with emblematic cultural and historical figures, from Frank Zappa to Ernesto Che Guevara. These are the saints, the martyrs, and the idols of the oppressed and the common folk alike. Iconography is the orthodox visual pop art, the equivalent of comics. Yiannis Gigas' icons stand as archetypes of heroes in a pantheon of patron saints and demigods" (<https://anti-athensbiennale.org/en/artist/gigas.html>).

I understand from my communication with the artist that the point of view of this painting—decidedly situated in Greece and therefore rather distant from the experience of recursive violence and the context of conspiracy attunement in Cyprus that I explore in this book—is to heroize and sanctify Papadopoulos. In this sense, the painting is an exemplary visualization of the symbolic meaning of the president's body instigated by the theft of his remains. Considered in comparative perspective, as a work in a series comprising Gigas's alternative pantheon of "indomitable," this painting places Papadopoulos in the company of revolutionary and folk heroes across time and place, expressing a global populism ambiguously melding right and left political associations.

This image was supplied to me by the artist and is reproduced here with his permission. I am most grateful to Gigas for his willingness to share his work with me in the context of this book.