PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS OF THE FINNISH INSTITUTE AT ATHENS VOL. VIII

GRAPTA POIKILA I

Edited by Leena Pietilä-Castrén and Marjaana Vesterinen

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Cover: Aeschylus, *Hiketides* at the Delphic Festival in 1930.

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Preface

Finnish university professors and scholars representing various disciplines have for years visited Athens and given public lectures at the Finnish Institute. The benefits of their contributions have not always been fully realised. The same goes for some colloquia and seminars, the papers of which have not been published, even though meriting publication. In order to address this matter, the present volume of the *Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens*, called *Grapta Poikila I*, was compiled.

In order to create a coherent volume, two major themes were chosen. The first relates to language contact and historical linguistics from the Late Hellenistic period to the 2nd century AD. These papers were presented by philologists in a seminar for post-graduate students called 'Scribes, Language and Textual Tradition', held in January 2001. In Finland there is a very strong philological tradition in classical studies, and the idea behind the seminar was that of strengthening the ties between young Finnish philologists with senior scholars on classical soil in Athens.

The second collection of articles comprises lectures given in the winter 2001-2002, and contributions to the Greek-Finnish-Irish colloquium of theatre research, held in May 2002. These papers concern performing arts from the 2nd century AD to the present, and reflect, among other things, the reception of ancient Greek drama in Finland and elsewhere in Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries. This volume of the *PMFIA* goes beyond the ancient world and the chronological span of former volumes, and aims to demonstrate our interest in modern Greece as well.

I wish to thank all the writers for responding promptly to meet our deadline, and for their willingness and enthusiasm to contribute. I also thank Dr. Jonathan Tomlinson for the language revision as well as the referees for their assessments. My special thanks go to the scientific assistant of the Finnish Institute at Athens, Marjaana Vesterinen, for her diligence in meeting the challenges of editing *Grapta Poikila I*.

Athens, 14 January, 2003

Leena Pietilä-Castrén
Director

Scribes and Language Variation

Martti Leiwo

Introduction[1]

A consciously chosen or unconsciously used linguistic register is a major factor affecting the spoken language. In studying written documents only register is, of course, important, but when analysing language it has to be considered alongside the effects of scribes or copyists on a given linguistic issue. We also need to concern ourselves with the type of text (a letter, a document, a treatise, a speech, a manuscript, etc.) we are dealing with. This and the following articles by Hilla Halla-aho and Marja Vierros all tackle language variation from different angles. The themes and ideas were developed in three MA theses written under my supervision. Each contributor carried out her own independent work, and all theses were discussed during different phases of the work. The group met approximately once a month for a little more than a year. Halla-aho and Vierros will continue their research on similar topics at the doctoral level.[2]

Hilla Halla-aho has concentrated on phraseology, spoken language and language contact in Claudius Terentianus' letters (P. Mich. VIII 467–481). She analyses Terentianus' use of non-finite complements and connects this with the more general context of non-finite and finite complements in Latin and Greek. The study of substandard syntax has been a neglected area for too long, and it cries out for more detailed analyses, especially in contexts where ready-to-use idioms are not at the scribes' disposal. Below I consider a couple of examples which tackle questions similar to those she has analysed.

Marja Vierros deals with the language use of an Egyptian scribe, who did not – as it seems – have a very good command of Greek, but who nevertheless had to write Greek official documents. She raises the important question about the effects of contact, language attrition and imperfect learning on linguistic variation. The relative clauses under her investigation form an interesting insight into the linguistic competence of an Egyptian writing Greek. Her conclusions are confirmed to some extent by P. Mussies (1968), who has dealt with Egyptian interference in Greek syntax, but no thorough investigations have been made. My own analysis below deals with similar topics. Furthermore, Vierros's paper can also be connected on a more general level to the study of language contact.

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[1] Hilla Halla-aho, Kalle Korhonen, Erja Salmenkivi and Marja Vierros have commented on the text and helped me, and I would like to thank them warmly. I am also grateful to the referees and to Mark Shackleton for their comments and for revising my English. This paper has been made possible by the project The Interaction between the Greek and Roman World funded by the Academy of Finland.

[2] Mari Mustonen also took part in the project and presented her results in a seminar given by the three at the Finnish Institute at Athens.

Comments on Research in Historical Linguistics and Classical Philology

The linguistic research tradition of classical philology has its roots in comparative linguistic studies and in the spirit of the Neogrammarians who concentrated on historical morphology and sound laws. Research in these fields had an enormous influence on the study of classical languages.

After U. Weinreich's seminal treatise on language contact (1953), S.G. Thomason and T. Kaufman (1988), and Thomason again (1997) raised to an even more sophisticated level the study of its role and the problem of chronological change in language. It is clear that individual variation in language use can sometimes be even more important in the study of historical linguistics than has previously been thought, as it may detect practices which cannot be seen to happen systematically in every register (Labov 2001).

The Neogrammarian way of describing language change started from the creation of laws which explained phonological change. Neogrammarians stated that sound changes occurred automatically if the required context was found. The change was always diachronic. This led to the conclusion that all linguistic variation was free and had no rules to control it. However, the fundamental changes that have taken place in linguistic research over the last thirty-odd years have seriously challenged these concepts. Sociolinguistic studies have shown that linguistic variation is not free but is instead dependent on context. Social context and different registers control the variation. This has changed the attitude of some linguists towards the Greek and Latin data as well. We should now keep in mind that there are always several ways of explaining deviations from the norm. For example, individual and ephemeral variation which does not lead to a permanent change should not be neglected as a possible explanation. In addition, some phonological change existed in lower registers, but it never effected a historical change. There was much more variation and it occurred a great deal earlier than written texts can tell. Sometimes changes in pronunciation never manifest themselves in script, as we can see in, e.g., English and French, and the traditional orthography remains unchanged.

I would like to suggest ten questions which should be asked, when one studies a substandard Greek or Latin document:

1. What is the standard of a given document with which it should be compared?[3]
2. What is the register of the document?
3. What kind of deviation from the defined standard exists and why?
4. When is the main reason for linguistic idiosyncrasies simply imperfect learning?
5. What kind of spoken practice can a written text manifest?
6. When is there an internal change in process, and when could the variation be contact-induced?
7. What was the native language of the scribe/writer?
8. Who was responsible for the language use, the scribe or somebody else?
9. Was the text dictated, or was it composed autonomously or copied from a model/models?
10. What was the linguistic situation of the place where a document was copied (cf. Leiwo – Halla-aho 2002)?

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[3] A standard has to be defined: for example, it does not make sense to compare a document written in Roman Egypt with one written in Classical Attica.

If answers cannot always be found, the questions should be, nevertheless, asked. I feel that even classicists should make their contribution to somewhat more universal linguistic questions, as they have a lot to offer for the studies of general linguistics. I shall deal with some of the questions below using data from Egypt.

Egyptian Names in Greek

Egyptian names rendered in Greek have been studied by P.W. Pestman (1993, § 25). The interesting *choachytes* documents from the 2nd century BC are helpful in showing a clear system whereby Egyptian names were hellenized. As a general rule the Greek nominative morpheme {ς} was appended to Egyptian names. The complete nominative ending depended on the form of the Egyptian name. A -ς was added when the Egyptian name ended in a vowel, e.g., *Pa-n3* = Πανα = Πανᾶ-ς, whereas -ις or -ης were used if the name ended in a consonant. This can be clarified with two examples: *Wsir-wr* = Οσοροηρ = Ὀσοροῆρ-ις, and *P3-Ḥt* = Πεχυτ = Πεχύτ-ης.[4] The system is, thus, seemingly clear, even if well-known phonological changes in Greek levelled the latter two endings both to /-is/, which probably caused confusion, even if the effects of this levelling have not been studied in detail from a synchronic point of view.

Further examples show that the Greek declension of the Egyptian names was made according to the word ending. The system was clear enough, but its use naturally depended on the concern of the scribe and his command of Greek. The standard seems to have been as follows: -ς is inflected as (gen) -τος, (dat) -τι, (acc.) -ν; -ις as -ιος, -ει, -ιν; and -ης as -ου, -η(ι), -ην. But as a quick glance at the ostraca and papyri can easily show, there was much variation, and even ignorance or indifference towards declension. Names were often left uninflected. However, following this general rule, we have the simplified system Πανᾶς, Πανᾶτος, Ὀσοροῆρις, Ὀσοροήριος and Πεχύτης, Πεχύτου.

If these general rules had been consistently followed by the scribes, we could even recognize the form of the Egyptian name from the Greek declension. If there are, for instance, the names Ταγης, Ταγητος and Φαρατης, Φαρατου, it is possible to conclude that the Egyptian names were Ταγη and Φαρατ or *Ta-w3* (accentuated according to Pestman as Ταγῆς) and *Pa-rd* (Pestman 1993, 485-6). But as already mentioned, scribes were not systematic with declensions. According to Pestman it is difficult to find linguistic reasons for the treatment of, e.g., three tomb names in Greek translations of Demotic *choachytes* documents. There we find an undeclined form ἐν θυναβουνούν, a declined form ἐν θυπαστήμει, and, according to Pestman, a partly declined form with lexical interference from Egyptian ἐν τση Πετεχώνσιος 'in the seat of Petechonsis'.[5] In my opinion, the last example belongs to the same category as the second one, as the only exception is that it has a lexical loan τση (= *t3 s.t* 'the seat'), which could not have been declined by the scribe without integrating it into Greek morphology. The reason for not declining the first name (θυναβουνούν = the tomb of Nabounoun) is, in my opinion, due to

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[4] For convenience, I follow Pestman's accentuation.

[5] Pestman 1993, 76. The text is UPZ II 175a. θυ = *t3 H.t* 'the tomb' and the Egyptian name is *Nb-wnn*, Hellenized as Ναβουνουν. The name is not to be found in the Greek dictionaries of personal names Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum*. The second name Πατεστῆμις is, according to Pestman, a scribal error for Πατευτῆμις (attested in line 30 of the same text) = *P3-dj-Nfr-tm*.

the same thing, i.e. the name Ναβουνουν is not integrable into Greek morphology. Leaving aside on this occasion the reasons for the application of code-switching (τση), not inflecting nouns is a very intricate question which, however, may be clarified to some extent.[6] Egyptians who did not know much Greek often had difficulties with declension, but even scribes who had a good command of Greek did not always follow strict rules. Even if there seemed to have been a handy norm, it was not always followed.[7] This indifference has sociolinguistic reasons, as in a casual register more variation can be found than in an official one, but there may be some psycholinguistic factors as well. In any case the contact of Greek and Egyptian played a considerable role in the output of the Greek written by Egyptian scribes. Consequently, the scribe's native language (L1) should be taken into account when providing a description of Greek written in Egypt.

When we study the whole corpus of Greek ostraca and papyri, I am convinced that we should make a distinction between contact-induced ephemeral variation and internally motivated variation on one hand, and variation, either contact-induced or internal, leading to a permanent linguistic change on the other. Many scribes did not know Greek well, and their variety was different from that of native speakers. I believe that this fact has not been emphasized enough by previous linguistic research.[8]

The ostraca found in Narmouthis (OGN, see below) can be used to give us further information, even if they are some hundred years later than the documents of the *choachytai* mentioned above. The basic problem, however, still remains the same, namely that scribes who had Egyptian as their L1 used Greek (L2) in the documents. As the general formation of Egyptian nouns remained more or less the same for centuries, the interference in Greek also remained more or less the same, and it can, hopefully, be studied in a universal way, even if the material has a chronological gap. The starting point is, of course, the fact that Egyptian nouns had no inflection, i.e. there were no cases. Egyptian had, however, gender as well as grammatical suffixes that were of use when composing and understanding some Greek constructions. It seems that some Greek grammatical structures were easier to understand than others for speakers of Egyptian, because these latters had related structures in their own L1. These structures were apparently more transparent to L1 speakers than inflectional morphemes, but even in such cases the Greek structure was often misunderstood.[9]

As regards results achieved in studies of languages in contact, names without inflection in L1 provide a clear reason for not inflecting them in otherwise inflectional L2 if they are not wholly integrated into the morphological system of L2. In our data, however, the Egyptian names or loanwords are normally integrated so there are not only linguistic reasons for the lack of inflection.[10] Nevertheless, we may emphasize that in

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6 For code-switching in ancient non-literary texts, see Leiwo 2002, and Leiwo – Halla-aho 2002 with reference to a further bibliography.

7 Gignac 1981, 57–61, 72–74, 78–79 lists the variation in declension of some names without commenting on the reasons.

8 See, for example, Gignac 1981, XXI where the fact is very carefully phrased: "in some of these instances, bilingual interference could be a factor..." It is evident that bilingual interference and often imperfect learning was a major factor on many occasions, cf. Pestman 1989; Mussies 1968.

9 See the interesting analysis of Mussies 1968, 74–75.

10 Foreign names are inflected in e.g. Modern Greek only when they are integrated into Greek phonology and script (an article with the name is, naturally, always inflected), but in Finnish they are always inflected (Finnish has no article).

languages with otherwise obligatory inflection, uninflected loanwords are seemingly tolerated in nouns and adjectives, but not in verbs, where the signalling of syntactic functions is of prime importance (Dressler 1998, 26). With regard to our documents, we might think that in official registers nouns, especially names, would be correctly inflected, but in casual register there would be more variation. But the data show that even in casual registers the names were sometimes inflected correctly, sometimes incorrectly, and sometimes not at all. Moreover, this occurred even in official registers, as Vierros shows elsewhere (Vierros, forthcoming). Imperfect learning may cause some stereotypical errors characteristic of speakers of a given language, but at first glance Egyptian data seem to show no clear patterns. The apparent inconsistencies may be due to indifference, but there may be other reasons, some of which I present below.

To Inflect or not to Inflect – Is There a System?

The ostraca of Narmouthis are a real treasury for a study of language contact, since they include Demotic documents which have Greek interference and Greek documents which have Egyptian interference. As such, they belong to a category of texts with grammatical elements from another language.[11] The purpose of the ostraca seems to be clear. They are drafts of a future document written on papyrus, and were written by priests, who, according to the editors of the ostraca, Pintaudi and Sijpestijn, did not spend much time in planning the grammatical structure of the phrases. As drafts of a document they seem to represent a very casual register. It is evident that the priests wrote all kinds of documents both large and small on behalf of illiterate persons. Greek was evidently used for reasons of prestige as there were usually no legal motivation for the use of Greek in these kinds of documents. We may, however, ask whether the priests were totally indifferent to grammaticality even in casual, substandard registers. To be sure, later, when the document was written on papyrus, they spent more time with details, and the result is much closer to standard Greek registers (OGN I, p. 13).

The first draft of a document was made on ostracon, which was given a number that perhaps referred for the fair copy to be found in the papyrus archives. The correct sketch was found from the archive by the number (OGN I, p. 15). The ostraca contain notes of all kind: outlines of large documents and letters, receipts, bills, lists of names, and memoranda. Different registers are used even in these documents, but many are mere lists of items representing a kind of notebook register. A nice detail is the modernish use of phrases like μετὰ κολακίας 'with flattery, i.e. politely', or μετὰ κολακίας καὶ παρακλήσεως 'politely and with encouragement'. This indicated to the scribe the register in which the final document had to be composed. Even these very short sketches contain a great deal of linguistic variation. I offer four examples:[12]

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[11] For the typology of bilingual interference in inscriptions, see Leiwo 2002. These ostraca belong for the most part to my categories F: Morphological code mixing, i.e. isolated foreign grammatical elements in an otherwise Greek text and G: Phonological code mixing, i.e. isolated foreign phonological elements in an otherwise Greek text.

[12] The lines are marked only when they are relevant to my argument.

1. πρὸς Πεβῆτι καὶ Πτολεμαῖς καὶ Φᾶσις Παβοῦς
   To Pebes-dat and Ptolemais-nom and Phasis-nom Pabous-nom
   μετὰ κολακίας ῑε̄.
   with flattery-gen 15
   'To Pebes and Ptolemai(o)s[13] and Phasis son of Pabous, politely. 15.' (OGN I 1)

2. πρὸς φίλους μετὰ κολαγίας ῑς̄.
   To friends-acc with flattery-gen 16
   'To friends, politely. 16.' (OGN I 3)

3. πρὸς Πλουτίων τὸ θεοκενιτα μετὰ κολακίας καὶ
   To Ploution-nom art. Theogenes-acc? with flattery-gen and
   παρακλήσεως το ι.
   encouragement-gen art. 10
   'To Ploution son of Theogenes/alias Theogenes politely and with encouragement. 10.' (OGN I 4)

4. πρὸς τοὺς γραμματεῖς κεωρκῶν καὶ γραμματιτέα̣ σκα̣εων. το κ̄ζ̄
   To art. scribes-acc. farmers-gen and scribe-dat+acc boats?-gen art. 26
   μετὰ κολακίας καὶ δώρων καὶ ἀστρονομίας.[14]
   with flattery-gen and gifts-gen and astronomy-gen
   'To the scribes of the farmers and to the scribe of boats?... 26. Politely and with gifts and a horoscope.' (OGN I 5)

These four short phrases are part of nineteen of the same kind, all beginning with the preposition πρός followed by a noun or nouns, usually a name or names (= Prepositional Phrase, PP). The notes have been written in the above part of the ostraca leaving quite often a lot of free space on the lower part, perhaps for other comments which, however, were never written. The ostraca have been lost, but photos have survived, and the editors had to work using them (see OGN, Introduction). Therefore, it is impossible to be sure whether all of these 19 ostraca were written by the same scribe. Nevertheless, it can clearly be seen that the hand is very similar in each of the texts.

The use of cases is different in every example. No. 1 has πρός + the dative of the first name followed by two names in the nominative. Even the patronymic of Phasis is in the nominative: Παβοῦς pro Παβοῦτος.[15] No. 2 combines πρός with the accusative, which is the standard in this PP, but in no. 3 the name in the PP is uninflected. The name Ploution has an attribute τὸ θεοκενιτα which is a *hapax*. The meaning of the word is obscure, but it looks like an accusative form with its -α ending. The stem θεογεν- is a good starting point,

[13] A common phonological, not merely a graphic variant of -ιος, cf. Gignac 1981, 26, 28. The reasons for this variation, which becomes almost a new declension, are not tackled here.

[14] The expression γραμματιτέα̣ σκα̣εων remains obscure. The editors Pintaudi and Sijpesteijn comment: "si potrebbe pensare a σκαφέων (zappatori), per quanto non si abbiano notizie di un loro γραμματεύς." According to them, however, the unclear letter seems not to be φ, π or β: OGN I, p. 33 n. 5.

[15] The Egyptian name is *pbw3*, but its meaning is not known, *Demotisches Namenbuch*, Band I, Lieferung 7, 461. The Greek declension follows the general model of Egyptian names ending with a vowel.

and I suggest that it is a name Theogenes, as phonological interference from Egyptian caused voiced stops to be written as voiceless ones, and, more seldom, vice versa as here no. 4 κεωρκῶν and no. 2 κολαγίας, respectively.[16] This name can be interpreted either as a patronymic, in which case the standard would be the genitive (το(ῦ) Θεογένητος = Θεογένους), or as an alias without the element καί (= τὸ(ν) καὶ Θεογένητα = Θεογένη). I believe that a patronymic is more likely.

No. 4 contains several idiosyncrasies, but the PP is in the accusative[17] coordinated with a common noun which seems to have both dative and accusative endings. The editors suggest that the scribe first wrote the dative and corrected it to the accusative without erasing the dative ending.[18] If this is true, and I consider it plausible, it shows that the scribe was trying to use the cases according to some standard. Was this due to a sudden subconscious diligence or was it a more or less conscious effort? I believe that the question can be clarified to some extent.

As I mentioned, there are 19 notes of this kind, all probably written by the same priest. Several syntactic and pragmatic reasons determine that in many languages the words have more weight at the beginning of a sentence than at the end.[19] Would this principle be relevant for the use of cases in our data? 18 of the 19 preserve the first word after the preposition (the word nearest the beginning). The distribution of the cases is interesting. The first word is in the accusative 11 times, in the genitive 4, in the dative 1, and in the nominative 2 times. It seems to show that scribes made some effort to choose the case of this most important word according to standard Greek grammar. But the objects of the same preposition later in their sentences show a clearly different distribution. In such cases where the PP should have a morphosyntactic agreement of other constituents after the first word (nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 17) we find 3 accusatives, 4 genitives, 3 datives, and 3 nominatives as the next constituents in the sentence. This strongly suggests that the scribe considered subsequent constituents less important than the first. This conclusion goes along well with Vierros's results in her study of Hermias's use of cases (forthcoming). In any case a psycholinguistic tendency may be seen in the scribe's attempt to inflect the first word of the PP in the expected case, which here is in the accusative. It is, however, too early to draw any general conclusions as regards the use of L2 cases by Egyptian scribes, as these questions have to be studied more thoroughly in the future.

Draft of a Longer Document

An example of a more elaborated or sophisticated register is OGN I 103, which is a note for a document concerning a deceitful brother. Here is the full text.

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16 This was common in Egypt, as it seems that Egyptians could not easily distinguish between the Greek voiced and voiceless stops, see Horrocks 1997, 62 (Horrocks keeps using 'Coptic' claiming that it was "the final form of the old Egyptian language prior to its demise" (p. 61), but it is misleading to call Ptolemaic Egyptian 'Coptic', which is the normal term used of the form of script and the language of the Egyptian Christians. Instead, Demotic or Egyptian would be preferable).

17 γραμματεῖς is most probably acc. pl., see Gignac 1981, 86.

18 See also no. 11 γραμματιτες (plur.). For the general declension of nouns ending in -ευς, see Gignac 1981, 85.

19 I leave the question open; see, e.g., in Devine–Stephens 2000 for good discussions.

1. δ.

2. ιζ (ἔτει) ὁ πατὴρ ἡ-
3. μῶν ἐτελεύτησεν
4. ἀπὸ κυνῶν ἑστὼς καὶ τοῦ
5. ἐν ἐμοῦ ἀπέδωκα τῷ ἀτε-
6. λφῷ μου ἵνα αὐτὸν ἐλᾷ
7. ζῶσαι ἄχρι τοῦ κθ (ἔτους). οὐκ ἔ-
8. κνω τί ἔπραξεν πολλὰ
9. ἃ ἀπωθον ἀπὸ Σωκωνώπιος.
10. ἀρ᾽ ὅτε ὁ πατὴρ ἐτελεύτησε
11. καὶ ὁ προφήτης, ὡς ἔθος ἐσ-
12. τίν, ἐμήνυσιν τὴν τάξιν
13. τοῦ πατρός μου ὅτι [ὀφιλι]
14. ὀφίλει πραθῆναι, ὁ ἀτελφό-
15. ς μου οὐκ {ει} εἶπέ μοι σημᾶ-
16. νε μετὰ τοῦ προφήτου οὔ-
17. τε μὴν ὁ προφήτης.

Standard readings would be: l. 4 κοινῶν; l. 5-6 ἀδελφῷ; l. 7 ζῆσαι?; l. 7-8 ἔγνων; l. 9 ἀπώθει (editors), but perhaps it should be read ἔπαθον; l. 9 Σοκονώπιος; l. 12 ἐμήνυσεν; l. 14 ὀφείλει; l. 14-15 ἀδελφός, σημᾶναι.

One translation would be: *In the year 17 our father died having appointed shared (?) and I gave from my share to my brother so that he would be able to go on living till the year 29. I don't know why he did* either *so much that alienated (me/himself (?)) from Sokonopis* or *such things that I suffered by S. But when father died, and the prophet, as is customary, announced my father's order that (it? the land?) should be sold, my brother did not tell me to make a declaration with the prophet, nor did the prophet.*[20]

This draft of a document contains several problematic, but grammatically interesting features. Orthographically it is quite good, even if there are errors typical of Egyptian scribes, such as the uncertainty with voiced and voiceless stops and unstressed final vowels ἀτελφῷ, ἔκνω, ἐμήνυσιν (Horrocks 1997, 61-62). In addition, there are very few phonologically motivated errors: κυνῶν (κοινῶν), Σωκωνώπιος (Σοκονώπιος), ὀφιλι corrected as ὀφίλει by the scribe himself (ὀφείλει) and σημᾶνε (σημᾶναι). The name Sokonopis is in Egyptian *sbk-ḥ'pj* or *sbk-m-ḫb* of which the latter suits slightly better for the Greek declension Σοκονώπις, -ιος as it ends on a strong consonant.[21] It is noteworthy that the Greek declension follows the rules presented above.

[20] The Italian translation of Pintaudi and Sijpesteijn is as follows: "*Nell'anno 17 nostro padre morì avendo lasciato (noi due) eredi in comune e dalla mia parte ho dato a mio fratello in modo tale che questa lo potesse mettere in condizione di vivere fino all'anno 29. non sono di grado di sapere perché egli ha fatto tanto da allontanarlo da Sokonopis. Comunque, quando nostro padre morì, il profeta, com'è uso, annunciò le disposizioni di mio padre che bisognava vendere. Mio fratello non mi disse di dare indicazioni in accordo col profeta, nè il profeta.*" OGN I 123.

[21] *Demotisches Namenbuch* Band I, Lieferung 12, 918; For the declension, cf. Pestman 1993, 491; 492-493.

The habit of using standard orthography was common among trained Egyptian scribes (cf. also Vierros in this volume and forthcoming). The problems in our interpretation arise both from morphology and syntax. First, some comments on verbal morphosyntax. According to the editors the draft has one otherwise unattested form ἀπωθον and an interesting form, ζῶσαι, here – in the editors' view – denoting the infinitive aorist (ζῆσαι). The form ζῶσαι is attested, but not in papyri or ostraca. As far as I can judge, there is only one certain attestation in an interesting sacral inscription from Delos.[22] The aorist infinitive ζῶσαι is thus a morphologically potential variant[23] for ζῆσαι. It could be a memorized form which the scribe failed to produce quite normatively.[24] Theoretically, this lapse could have been helped by the fact that ζῶσαι is a grammatical feminine participle (nom. plur.) of the same verb. However, the VP αὐτὸν ἐλᾷ ζῶσαι is syntactically difficult as the verb ἐλαύνω 'go on, lengthen?' would be constructed with an infinitival argument, which I have not come across elsewhere. Even if the editors consider the reading certain, the syntax is very strange and without parallels. Semantically the verb ἐλαύνω should need a nominal argument, e.g., ζῶσαν, but what would be the head of this feminine?[25] I leave the question open.

The other form is regarded as ungrammatical, and the editors interpret it as representing act. ind. 3 sg. ἀπώθει. The clause is, however, far from being semantically clear, and even the reading is uncertain (perhaps ἔπαθον would be possible). In my opinion a totally ungrammatical verb form without any comparisons and without a possible morphological or phonological motivation is not expected in this context. The scribes do not make similar mistakes with verbs. A solution worth considering would be that ἀπωθον is an active imperfect indicative constructed with the 1 sg / 3 pl ending -ον, even if it is against the norm.[26] However, even the deviation from the norm (= -εον, or -ουν) can well be a mere graphical one, as the final vowel is unstressed (cf. also l. 12 ἐμήνυσιν).

Syntactically the draft is quite sophisticated, but it is so concise as to be obscure. The scribe uses condensed structures some of which may represent learnt idioms. In line 9 ἅ is a constituent of ἀπωθον functioning as its subject or object, but semantically the phrase still remains unclear. As regards nouns, one lapse in the use of cases reflects patterns already discussed above, and may even be motivated by the preceding ending: καὶ τοῦ ἐν ἐμοῦ... (ἐν ἐμοῖ).

The perf. part. ἑστώς has no parallels in papyri with regard to the phrase in this draft, and even otherwise it is seldom used, but it is an adequate construction: [ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν] [ἐτελεύτησεν]$_i$ [ἀπὸ κυνὸν ἑστώς]$_i$.[27] The PP ἀπὸ κοινῶν is attested in papyri, and is usually connected with land. A common phrase is ἀπὸ κοινῶν καὶ ἀδιαρέτων ἀρουρῶν +

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[22] IG XI 4, 1299, end of 3rd century BC. ὁ ἱερεὺς Ἀπολλώνιος ἀνέγραψεν κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ θεοῦ· ὁ γὰρ πάππος ἡμῶν Ἀπολλώνιος, ὢν Αἰγύπτιος ἐκ τῶν ἱερέων, τὸν θεὸν ἔχων παρεγένετο ἐξ Αἰγύπτου θεραπεύων τε διετέλει καθῶς πάτριον ἦν ζῶσαί τε δοκεῖ ἔτη ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ἑπτά. (...)

[23] Cf. aor. ind. variant ἔζωσα, LSJ s.v. ζῶ and ἐπέζωσε, P. Fouad 75 (Arsinoite, AD 64). Dressler (1998, 27) emphasizes the role of potential inflectional forms which are system-adequate, i.e. they are phonotactically and morphotactically potential, but may be norm-inadequate, and as such they are much less likely to be rejected by native speakers than system-inadequate forms.

[24] See, e.g., the discussion concerning so-called rule-processing and rote-processing in Riionheimo 1998, 247–251.

[25] Cf. the construction in Aesch. *Eum.* 605 τί δ' οὐκ ἐκείνην ζῶσαν ἥλαυνες φυγῇ;

[26] See the interesting theoretical discussion in Dressler 1998, 26–30.

[27] The subscript i means that the subject of the two phrases is identical.

the number of *arourai*.[28] It is fairly reasonable to think that land is the intention here as well.[29] The verb ὀφίλει is used with the infinitive πραθῆναι and denotes obligation. The brothers inherited some land jointly, and one brother perhaps gave his share to the other for some time, but it turned out that the father had given some instructions concerning selling. This joint land then was the cause for their dissension and this draft of the document.

The last item of syntactic interest dealt with here is the infinitive σημᾶνε (l. 15-16). It is used as the complement of εἶπε instead of a finite complement constructed with ὅτι or ὡς popular in the post-Ptolemaic period (Mandilaras 1973, 329–331). Its use together with other infinitives of this ostracon shows the existence of infinitive constructions even in draft documents. The form itself (σημᾶνε = σημᾶναι) is corrected by the editors in the apparatus as σημῆναι but the correction is unnecessary.[30] The infinitive is used without a marked subject, which, however, has to be the same as the subject of the verb εἶπε. Omitting the subject seems to be due to the notebook register of this draft, as the subject is self-evident to the scribe who wrote the draft. The impression which emerges from this and other drafts is that the scribes had quite a good command of Greek, but the notebook register creates lapses which are typical of Egyptian speakers.

As a conclusion I would like to emphasize the importance of different aspects that should be dealt with when analysing and describing substandard language. Close analysis may reveal a satisfactory explanation for seemingly unmotivated idiosyncrasies. It is, however, self-evident that further studies are needed to lend more weight to the preliminary results presented here. I intend to deal with these questions more thoroughly elsewhere.

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[28] E.g. P. Oxy I 47, AD 83/4-88; P. Ryl II 159, AD 31/32.

[29] Some documents were written concerning a Sokonopis, cf. OGN I 73.

[30] Cf. examples in P. Oxy XLIII 3133, AD 239; P. Oxy XLV 3263, AD 215; P. Rain. Cent. 65, AD 234; P. Rain. Cent. 66, AD 234; P. Rain. Cent. 67, AD 234, but they occur earlier as well, e.g. BGU IV 1078, AD 38.

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Everything is Relative. The Relative Clause Constructions of an Egyptian Scribe Writing Greek*

Marja Vierros

This article presents some interesting linguistic features of the Greek language written by certain notaries of the Ptolemaic period in Egypt, especially of the language of Hermias, a notary in Pathyris from 109-98 BC. Hermias' language has drawn attention as strikingly erroneous, a verdict which I shall argue is somewhat simplistic. An example of the earlier comments on Hermias' language is the statement of B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt (the editors of some of these papyri in 1897) that the papyri written by Hermias "...all contain grammatical blunders in greater or less profusion, while the constructions are not infrequently so confused that the legal interpretation of the documents written by him, if they were ever used as evidence, must have been sometimes extremely difficult" (P. Grenf. II 25, see also P. Grenf. II 26 and 33). E. Mayser, in his *Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri*, says that some officials show a total lack of basic language skills with the result that official documents are full of mistakes. Hermias above all hardly brings one sentence to the end in a normal way and does not control congruence in cases at all.[1] The language of the notaries from the Pathyrite nome has not, however, been previously studied *per se*. I will attempt to illustrate that Hermias and other notaries had their own variety of Greek, which should not be judged simply as 'bad' language. There are linguistic and psychological explanations to be found for their variety of Greek. Their 'incorrect' grammar can partly be due to their working methods, partly to imperfect learning or second language attrition. Thus, the constructions from their first language (L1), Egyptian, come forward.

The *agoranomoi* of the Pathyrite Nome

Quite a large number of Greek and Demotic Egyptian documents from the second and the first centuries BC have survived in Pathyris and in the other nearby towns and villages, for example, Krokodilopolis and Hermonthis. Pathyris was a village in Upper Egypt, not far from Thebes. The documents are traditionally divided into several family archives, but most of the Greek documents are sale and loan contracts which are written and confirmed by an *agoranomos*-official (ἀγορανόμος) or his representative. The

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1 Mayser 1934 §169c Anm. 1b.

agoranomoi acted as public notaries in Egypt. My material at this point consists of 46 documents written by Hermias and 70 written by other notaries in the area. The *agoranomos*-document was signed by the notary responsible for the document, and the name of the *agoranomos* was also mentioned inside the text.[2] These signatures offer very valuable information because, after comparing the handwriting and also taking into account the language situation in Pathyris, I think that it is highly probable that the notary who signed a document also wrote it in his own hand.[3] If some of these documents were written by an apprentice and signed by the *agoranomos*, the *agoranomos* was still in charge of the language. Thus, it can be considered his 'idioscript'.[4] Therefore, the signature provides us with a quite secure identification of the actual writer of a certain text. This kind of information is quite exceptional and rarely found in the Greek papyri.

Previous studies on the *agoranomoi* in the Pathyrite area have shown quite clearly that there existed a family of notaries, *agoranomoi*.[5] Hermias as well as his father, uncle and cousin were all notaries who wrote Greek documents. Hermias and his relatives used Greek and Hellenised names when functioning as *agoranomoi*, but they also had Egyptian names which were used in Demotic documents.[6] The Egyptian name of Hermias, however, has not survived in any Demotic document. His father was Patseous in Egyptian documents and Asklepiades in Greek documents. He was the *agoranomos* in Krokodilopolis in 127 and 126 BC. Hermias' uncle Areios, Pelaias in Egyptian documents, was a representative of the *agoranomos* in Pathyris from 132 to 123. Hermias' cousin Ammonios, Pakoibis in Egyptian, was a representative of the *agoranomos* and *agoranomos* in Pathyris before Hermias, between 114 and 109, and possibly two years after Hermias, between 98 and 97 (I will return to this below). Hermias, then, acted as a representative of the *agoranomos* in Pathyris from 109 to 98, a total of twelve years. The native language of this family was most likely Egyptian.[7]

As mentioned above, both Greek and Demotic documents have survived from Pathyris. Almost all the Greek documents are *agoranomos*-documents; there are very few letters or other private documents. Apparently Pathyris, where Hermias worked, was an Egyptian-speaking environment, where there were only a few people apart from Hermias' family who were able to write Greek. Two testaments written in Greek tell us

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[2] At the beginning of the document, the *agoranomos* could be indicated, e.g. ἐν Παθύρει ἐφ' Ἡλιοδώρου ἀγορανόμου and his representative, e.g. ἐν Παθύρει ἐφ' Ἑρμίου τοῦ παρὰ Πανίσκου ἀγορανόμου (in fact, the name of the representative was not necessarily mentioned at the beginning of the document, this practise was used mainly by Hermias and his cousin Ammonios and it could imply that the power of the office of Pathyris was increasing in the time of Hermias and Ammonios, see Pestman 1985, 11). At the end of the document, the signature of the *agoranomos* was, e.g., Πάνισκος κεχρη(μάτικα) and the signature of the representative, e.g., Ἑρμίας ὁ παρὰ Πανίσκου κεχρη(μάτικα).

[3] This statement is based on the photographs included in the editions; this is by no means a comprehensive sampling.

[4] I assume that idiolect is not a valid term here since we are dealing only with written material.

[5] See Pestman 1978 and Pestman 1989, 148.

[6] W. Clarysse has discussed the question of double names of officials and it seems that whether an official used a Greek or a Hellenised name depended on the nature of the office he held: if the office was considered to be Greek in character, the official used his Greek name and if Egyptian, he used his Egyptian name, no matter what his ethnic origin. See Clarysse 1985, 57-66. Hermias' father and uncle had the title 'scribe' (*sš*) also in Egyptian documents (Pestman 1978, 208).

[7] Pestman 1985, 16-23 has a synoptic table of all the *agoranomos*-documents. Pestman 1978, 208 and Pestman 1989, 148 give the family tree.

about the language situation in Pathyris. The testaments have witness-statements, but in the first testament from 126 BC, only one witness was able to write his statement in Greek, four others wrote their statements in Demotic. The scribe comments that "these four persons write in native Egyptian letters (τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις γράμμασιν) because there are not enough persons able to write Greek in the vicinity". The fifth witness, who did write in Greek, was Ammonios, son of Areios, the cousin of Hermias mentioned above and a notary himself. In 123 there was no longer need for Egyptian statements. Five persons wrote their witness-statements in Greek: one was again Ammonios, the other was Hermias, the third was Esthladas, son of Dryton, who was a Greek from Ptolemais, and the fourth was Ptolemaios, son of Asklepiades, probably the brother of Hermias. The name of the fifth witness has not survived.[8] All this gives us a picture of Pathyris as a place where very few had skills in Greek, even if they had a Hellenised status.[9]

These testaments mention the ages of Hermias and Ammonios, allowing us to estimate that they were in their forties when they started to work as notaries. That they both have a title referring to a military background (Ἱέρσης τῶν μισθοφόρων ἱππέων) opens the possibility that they had learned their Greek in the army. Since we know, however, that their fathers had been functioning as notaries writing Greek, it is equally likely that they had learned Greek at home or as apprentices in their fathers' offices. It must have been very convenient for the Ptolemaic bureaucracy that officials were able to use both Greek and Egyptian because then they could act as interpreters and officials at the same time.

Language Attrition?

An important question is, when and how perfectly had Hermias and the others learned Greek? It is, however, very difficult to answer this question and one can only put forth 'educated guesses'. In studies of language attrition, it is usually essential to first define the level which the object of study has reached in learning his/her second language. Has s/he been fully competent in the second language? Roger W. Andersen has defined some methodological and terminological points concerning language attrition. He uses the term LA for the "*attriter", i.e., "a person whose competence in language has eroded as a result of language attrition" and the term LC meaning a "linguistically-competent" person, "one who is fully fluent and competent in language X, whether as a native or a non-native speaker".[10] Andersen also emphasises that, for each linguistic feature, we need to know how normal LC's use that feature, and how the LA who is the subject of the study used that feature prior to language attrition. In other words, we need to have a base-line comparison. If we do not have data of the subject's prior use of language as an LC, we

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[8] Pap. Lugd. Bat. XIX 4 is a copy of the testament from 126 BC, the signatures have survived only in the copy. Lines 18-21: οὗτοι οἱ τ[έσ]σαρες . . τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις [ ] γράμμασιν διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων τοὺς ἱσους Ἕλληνας. The latter testament is SB XVIII 13168 (= P. Caire 10388, AfP 1, 62-5 (1901). See also Pestman 1978, 206-7.

[9] A person who handled his businesses in Greek *agoranomos*-documents in Pathyris often had the status designation Ἱέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς: see Oates 1963 (esp. 109-111) and, for a slightly different conclusion, Pestman 1963a + 1963b and Boswinkel and Pestman 1982, 56-63. In the Ptolemaic period, the designation seems to have indicated a lower Hellenised status. See also Lâda 1997 about 'those of the *Epigone*', though he excludes the designation Ἱέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς.

[10] Andersen 1982, 83-4.

can use data from other LCs for comparison. It would be important to know if Hermias had been linguistically competent in the first place, i.e., to be able "to distinguish true attrition from a failure to acquire language" as Andersen puts it. It is also possible that an LA has never been an LC. For example, in certain immigrant communities some second or third generation members of a community know something of the original language of the community, but have never learned it properly or used it outside the family circumstances. In that case, we could speak of attrition of community language.[11] These aspects must be kept in mind when studying the language of the *agoranomoi* of the Pathyrite nome. We have extremely limited data. We know only how the *agoranomoi* used Greek when writing *agoranomos*-documents and can use their texts as comparisons to each other and do some estimate on their language skills based on limited historical information. We can perhaps suggest that the family of *agoranomoi* formed a kind of community who were passing on the Greek language in an otherwise Egyptian village. Hermias, who makes more 'mistakes' than the others, is also one of the last ones of the line of *agoranomoi* known to us. Perhaps the younger generation has not acquired the language as well as the elder and their situation could be interpreted as community or family language attrition.

The Relative Constructions

There are certain linguistic features that give us a hint that the L1 of the writer was Egyptian. The easiest way of identifying scribes whose L1 is Egyptian is the uninflected use of personal names when writing Greek.[12] This is also true in Hermias' Greek. He often leaves the personal names in the nominative case when they should be inflected and sometimes inflects them incorrectly. However, sometimes the names are inflected correctly. I give only one example here though these instances are numerous.[13]

> E 1: τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Πετεσοῦχος καὶ Φαγῶνις καὶ Ψεννῆσις (P. Grenf. II 25, 103 BC).
> 'To the brothers Petesouchos and Phagonis and Psennesis.'

Example 1 has the dative in the defining word: 'to the brothers' but the names are left in the nominative. The idea in all instances where names and their definitions are in question seems to be that the first word matters and the rest are parenthetic. If the intended case was visible in one word, there was no need to inflect the rest of the words of the same semantic unit.

Relative clause constructions form their own interesting group in the language of Hermias and other notaries. Since the documents are simple contracts, their contents and formulae do not vary much. Relative clauses are used mainly in one certain formula, the one I call a 'warranty formula' at the end of the document. The basic outline of the formula with singular masculine subjects should go as follows:

προπωλητὴς καὶ βεβαιωτὴς τῆς ὠνῆς N.N. ὁ ἀποδόμενος, ὃν ἐδέξατο N.N. ὁ πριάμενος. 'Negotiator and warrantor of the sale is N.N. the seller, whom the buyer N.N.

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[11] Andersen 1982, 85.

[12] See Pestman 1978, 205 and 1989, 150-1.

[13] I deal with features other than relative clause constructions in Vierros (forthcoming).

accepts (i.e., as negotiator and warrantor)' or sometimes with a longer beginning: Προπωλητὴς καὶ βεβαιωτὴς τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὠνὴν ταύτην πάντων N.N. ὁ ἀποδόμενος... 'Negotiator and warrantor of everything that is connected to this sale is N.N. the seller...'

The writers of this formula are liable to make mistakes because the subject changes in gender and in number from document to document: the seller or the sellers are male or female as well as the buyer or the buyers. Mistakes occur in the number and gender of the relative pronoun and in the number of the verb δέχομαι. It should be noted that the relative pronoun is always correctly in the accusative case. The definitions 'seller' and 'buyer' are in most instances in the right gender and number as well. The following examples present the confusions in the relative pronoun. E2-E7 are by Hermias, E8 is from a document signed by Heliodoros.

E 2: προπωλήτρια καὶ βεβαιώτρια τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὠνὴν ταύτην Θαῖβις ἡ ἀποδομένη, οὓς ἐδέξαντο Φῖβις καὶ Ὧρος οἱ πριάμενοι (P. Mil. I 2, 104 BC). 'Negotiator and warrantor of everything that is connected to this sale is Thaibis the seller (f.sg.), whom (m.pl.) Phibis and Horos, the buyers (m.pl.), accept.'

The relative pronoun οὓς (m. pl.) should be ἥν, (f. sing.) correlating with the seller, a woman named Thaibis. But Hermias already has in mind the following persons, the two buyers, Fibis and Horos, since the pronoun is the masculine plural.

E 3: προπωλητὴς καὶ βεβαιωτὴς τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὠνὴν ταύτην πάντων Πετεαρσεμθεῦς ὁ ἀποδόμενος, (*vac.*) οὓς ἐδέξατο Ἑτπεσοῦχος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ὠνουμένου οἱ πριάμενοι (SB XX 14393, 100 BC). 'Negotiator and warrantor of everything that is connected to this sale is Petcharsemtheus the seller (m.sg.), whom (m.pl.) the buyers, Hetpesouchos and the buyers with him (m.pl.), accepts.'

Example 3 has a similar mistake with the relative pronoun as E2. The pronoun should be singular ὅν instead of plural οὓς. But also the verb is in the wrong number, it should be in the plural: ἐδέξαντο, since the subject has clearly been understood as plural as the word οἱ πριάμενοι shows. However, earlier in the same document the verb ἐπρίατο is also in the singular with the same subject as here: Ἑτπεσοῦχος καὶ οἱ τούτου ἀδελφοί (Hetpesouchos and his brothers). There is also a mistake in the participle ὠνουμένου, which should either be in the nominative, ὠνούμενοι, as are the following οἱ πριάμενοι, or in the dative: σὺν αὐτῷ ὠνουμενῷ. Another document from the previous year deals with same persons. Peteharsemtheus sells land to Hetpesouchos and his brothers. There is a mistake again in the pronoun, but the verb is correct, in the plural:

E 4: προπωλητὴς καὶ βεβαιωτὴς τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὠνὴν ταύτην πάντων Πετεαρσεμθεῦς ὁ ἀποδόμενος, οὓς ἐδέξαντο Ἑτπεσοῦχος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ὠνουμένου οἱ πριάμενοι (P. Grenf. II 32, 101 BC). 'Negotiator and warrantor of everything that is connected to this sale is Peteharsemtheus the seller (m.sg.), whom (m.pl.) the buyers, Hetpesouchos and the buyers with him (m.pl.), accept.'

E 4 is actually word-for-word the same as E3, except for the number of the verb. The complete documents are similar too, but the piece of land is different. This means that the long definition of the location of the land, i.e., the list of the neighbours, was

different. Thus at least that part was not suitable for direct copying, if ever that was the method used by the notaries. There are also a few other discrepancies between the texts: the patronymic of the buyer Hetpesouchos is Νεχθανούφιος in SB XX 14393 (E3), whereas in P. Grenf. II 32 (E4) it is Νεχθανούπιος.[14] The verb ἐπρίατο is in the singular in SB, actually in accordance with the warranty formula, where the buyers are also referred to with a singular verbform. The signature in SB is Ἑρμίας ὁ παρὰ Πάνισκος κεχρη(μάτικα), in P. Grenf. Ἑρμίας ὁ παρὰ Πανίσκου κεχρη(μάτικα).

E 5: προπωλήτρια καὶ βεβαιώτρια τῶν κατὰ τήν ὠνὴν ταύτην [πάν]των Θαῖβις ἡ ἀποδομένη, ὃν ἐδέξατο Πανοβχοῦνις ὁ πριάμενος (P. Adler G8, 104 BC). 'Negotiator and warrantor of everything that is connected to this sale is Thaibis the seller (f.sg.), whom (m.sg.) Panobchounis the buyer (m.sg.) accepts.'

E 6: προπωλητὴς καὶ βεβαιωτὴς τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὠνὴν ταύτην πάντων Πετεαρσεμθεῦς ὁ ἀποδόμενος, ἣν ἐδέξατο Σεννῆσις ἡ πριαμένη (P. Lips. I 104 BC). 'Negotiator and warrantor of everything that is connected to this sale is Peteharsemtheus the seller (m.sg.), whom (f.sg.) Sennesis the buyer (f.sg.) accepts.'

E 7: προπωλήτρια καὶ βεβαιώτρια τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὠνὴν ταύτην πάντων Τιτῶς ἡ ἀποδομένη, ὃν ἐδέξατο Πετεαρσεμθεῦς ὁ πριάμενος (P. Lips. II 99 BC). 'Negotiator and warrantor of everything that is connected to this sale is Titos the seller (f.sg.), whom (m. sg.) Petcharsemtheus the buyer (m.sg.) accepts.'

E 8: προπωληταὶ καὶ βεβαιωταὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὠνὴν ταύτην πάντων Σαλῆς καὶ Τανεμιεὺς οἱ ἀποδόμενοι, ἣν ἐδέξατο [Ν]ημεσῆσις ἡ πριαμένη (BGU III 996, 107 BC). 'Negotiators and warrantors of everything that is connected to this sale are Sales and Tanemieus the sellers (m.pl.), whom (f.sg.) Nemesesis the buyer (f.sg.) accepts.'

Examples 2-8 all follow the same pattern consistently. The number and gender for the relative pronoun has been selected as if it referred to the subject of the subordinate clause. This, of course, is not the correct way to form relative clauses in Greek. The relative pronoun should follow the number and gender of its antecedent which in these cases is the subject of the main clause, i.e., the seller(s). Since this is not the way relative clauses were formed in examples 2-8, we can try to find an explanation from Demotic, the L1 of the writers. In Demotic, leaving out situations where the subject of the main clause and the relative clause are co-referential, the most common way to form relative clauses is to use a relative converter (RC) *nt* + a morpheme *iw* which is called a circumstantial form (CF) among Egyptologists + a suffix pronoun which indicates, or actually is, the subject of the relative clause. Then follows a verbal phrase, which is called adverbial, which includes the predicate and the referent to the antecedent of the relative clause. Therefore, the person, number and gender of the subject of the relative clause are expressed in the suffix pronoun.[15] The suffix pronoun

[14] The graphic interchange of aspirated and voiced plosives with their voiceless counterparts was one charasteristic feature of Egyptian Koine Greek (Horrocks 1997, 62).

[15] Johnson 2000, 64-7.

is always tightly connected to *iw* (and thus, in a way, it can be understood as a kind of inflectional ending to the 'relative pronoun' formed by RC+CF). An example of this is from Johnson (Johnson 2000, 67 E155):

n3 mt.w(t)	*nt iw iw=**k***	*d n-im=w*
'the words	which **you**	are saying (them)'
(pl.)	(RC+CF 2 m. s.)	(inf.+oblique object (pl.))

A rough, caricatured, example of the demotic construction in English sentence would be something like "The house who the girls bought it is red" meaning "The house which the girls bought is red".

This seems to be the key to a greater understanding of Hermias' structures. If the suffix pronoun refers to the subject of the relative clause in Demotic, it can be reasonably confused, if the Greek relative pronoun is understood to be in similar position and function. Inevitably then, the Greek pronoun 'must' be inflected in order to correlate with the subject of the relative clause. The construction of Demotic replaces the Greek construction.

In example 9, though, Hermias does not follow the logic of E2-E8; the number (plural) for the pronoun has been selected according to the subject of the subordinate clause (four persons), but the feminine gender according to the right antecedent, the seller Siepmous.

E 9: ... Σιεπμοῦς ἡ ἀποδομένη, ἃς ἐδέξαντο Πετεαρσεμθεὺς καὶ Πετεσοῦχος καὶ Φαγώνιος καὶ Ψεννῆσις. (P. Stras. II 88, 105 BC) '...Siepmous the seller (f.sg.), whom (f.pl.) Peteharsemtheus and Petesouchos and Phagonis and Psennesis (m.pl.) accept.'

Only in instances like E10 did Hermias write the warranty formula correctly. In fact they are cases where his typical mistake cannot be detected since both the seller and the buyer are males each acting singly. The relative pronoun ὅν can correlate both with the seller and with the buyer, with the result that it is necessarily correct.

E 10: προπωλητὴς καὶ βεβαιωτὴς τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὠνὴν ταύτην πάντων Πανοβχοῦνις ὁ ἀποδόμενος, ὃν ἐδέξατο Πετεαρσεμθεῦς ὁ πριάμενος (P. Köln I 50, 99 BC). 'Negotiator and warrantor of everything that is connected to this sale is Panobchounis the seller (m.sg.), whom (m.sg.) Peteharsemtheus the buyer (m.sg.) accepts.'

In the next two examples, from 113 and 119 BC, Hermias' cousin Ammonios was able to produce correct Greek relative constructions.

E 11: προπωλήτρια καὶ βεβαιώτρια Ταθῶτις ἡ ἀποδομένη, ἣν ἐδέξαντο Ταελολοῦς καὶ Πετεαρσεμθεὺς οἱ πριάμενοι (BGU III 994, 113 BC). 'Negotiator and warrantor is Tathotis the seller (f.sg.), whom (f.sg.) Taelolous and Peteharsemtheus the buyers (f.+m.pl.) accept.'

E 12: βεβαιωτὴς Ἁρκοννῆσις ὁ ἀποδόμενος, ὃν ἐδέξατο Ναομσῆσις ἡ πριαμένη (BGU III 995 col. III. 9, 110 BC). 'Warrantor is Harkonnesis the seller (m.sg.), whom (m.sg.) Naomsesis the buyer (f.sg.) accepts.'

It is surprising, then, to find Hermias-like constructions from documents signed by Ammonios a few years later.

E 13: π̣[ροπ]ωλητὴς χ̣[αὶ βεβαι]ωτὴς τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὠνὴν ταύτην πάντων Ἑτπεῖ̣[σ]ις ἡ ἀποδομένη, ὃν ἐδ[έξ]ατο Ὧρος ὁ πριάμενο̣[ς] (P. Adler G21, 98 BC). 'Negotiator and warrantor of everything that is connected to this sale is Hetpeesis the seller (f.sg.), whom (m.sg.) Horos the buyer (m.sg.) accepts.'

E 14: προπωλητὴς καὶ βεβαιωτὴς τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὠνὴν ταύτην πάντων Πατοῦς ὁ ἀποδόμενος, ἣν ἐδέξατο Τακοῖβις ἡ πριαμένη (P. Lond. III 1208, p. 19, 97 BC). 'Negotiator and warrantor of everything that is connected to this sale is Patous the seller (m.sg.), whom (f.sg.) Takoibis the buyer (f.sg.) accepts.'

Should we interpret this 'progress' as attrition? That would be tempting, but a more likely explanation is that the Ammonios who acted as a representative of *agoranomos* Paniskos in year 98 and as an *agoranomos* in year 97 in Pathyris is not the same Ammonios who acted as a notary in Pathyris between 114 and 109 (first a representative of *agoranomos* Heliodoros and then of *agoranomos* Sosos and sometimes calls himself *agoranomos*). Pestman mentions, only incidentally, that this is presumably the same Ammonios.[16] In documents from 114-109, Ammonios wrote the warranty formula six times correctly and not once did he make mistakes in it.[17] Four documents written by Ammonios survive from 98 and 97. Two of them have the erroneous formula (E13 and E14), and one has the formula written correctly, but the pronoun is read with uncertain letters: ο̣υ̣ς (P. Adler 11[18]), the fourth does not have the formula. In the introduction of P. Lond. III 1208 (E14), it is stated that this papyrus introduces us to a new *agoranomos* at Pathyris. His writing is small, in thick strokes, somewhat blurred. One document by Ammonios from 113 is in the same volume (no. 1204, p. 10), and it is said to be written in a rather thick cursive hand. That document was written under the supervision of *agoranomos* Heliodoros, but there is a signature Ἀμμώ(νιος) κεχρη(μάτικα) at the end. Perhaps the comment in the introduction of 1208 means that these two documents were written by different persons or, it can refer only to the person who is the actual *agoranomos*. In 1208 Ammonios is the *agoranomos*.

I am inclined to believe that the Ammonios who worked as a notary in Pathyris between 114 and 109, the cousin of Hermias, is different from the Ammonios who worked as a notary in the years 98–97, whose Greek relative constructions reflect the relative construction of Demotic. If I am right, we have both Ammonios I and Ammonios II in Pathyris, as we also have Hermias I (109-98) and Hermias II (89-88), separated from each other on the grounds of writing and grammar.[19]

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[16] Pestman 1978, 205, see also Pestman 1985, 13.

[17] The correct formulae are in P. Strass II 84, BGU III 994, P. Lond. III 1204, P. Strass. II 86, P.L. Bat XIX 6, BGU III 995. In P. Adler 3 the formula is restored. Other documents written by Ammonios in that period do not use the formula.

[18] On the date, see Pestman 1985, 22 and 27.

[19] Pestman 1985, 13. In Prosopographia Ptolemaica III (Studia Hellenistica 11) Hermias I is under no. 7689, and Hermias II, who was the *agoranomos* in Pathyris in 89-8, is no. 7668 (=7689?). Ammonios is no. 7650.

We have only three documents by Hermias II. He seems to take the confusion with the relative pronoun one step further. The 'logic' of Hermias I is not there.

E 15: προπωλητὴς καὶ βεβαιωτὴς τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὠνὴν ταύτην πάντων Νεχούθης ὁ ἀποδόμενος, ἣν ἐδέξατο Πετεαρσεμθεῦς ὁ πριάμενος (P. Lond. III 1209, p. 20, 89 BC). 'Negotiator and warrantor of everything that is connected to this sale is Nechouthes the seller (m.sg.), whom (f.sg.) Peteharsemtheus the buyer (m.sg.) accepts.'

E 16: προπωλητὴς καὶ βεβαιωτὴς τῶν κατὰ τὴν ὠνὴν ταύτην πάντων Πετεαρσεμθεῦς Ἀλμάφιος ὁ ἀποδόμενος, ἣν ἐδέξατο Πετεαρσεμθεῦς Πανεβχούνιος ὁ πριάμενος (P. Lond. III 883, p. 21, 88 BC). 'Negotiator and warrantor of everything that is connected to this sale is Peteharsemtheus, son of Almaphis, the seller (m.sg.), whom (f.sg.) Peteharsemtheus, son of Panebchounis, the buyer (m.sg.) accepts.'

In E 15 and E 16 neither the subject of the main clause nor the subject of the relative clause is feminine, but Hermias II uses a feminine singular relative pronoun. In his third document, the relative pronoun is correctly ὅν, the subject in both clauses being one male person (P. Amh. II 51, 88 BC). One possible explanation could be that in E 15 and 16 the sale, ἡ ὠνή, has been thought of as the antecedent. That explanation is not supported by the correct instance, though. Has Hermias II been corrected in the meantime by a colleague of his or has he noted his mistake by himself?

Some other relative constructions also occur in *agoranomos*-documents. The mistakes in them seem to confirm the idea which emerged from the examples 2-8. In the following examples, the antecedent for the relative pronoun is a feminine word 'land', ἡ γῆ, or a part of the land, ἡ μερίς or ἡ σφραγίς (in singular or plural). The relative pronoun, however, seems to take the case of the immediately following word, the subject of the relative clause, which in these examples is the masculine 'self', αὐτός. Examples 17-20 are all from Hermias I.

E 17: ἀπέδοτο Πατῆς Ποῆριος ... τὴν Ξπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ γῆν ἤπειρον σιτοφόρον ἀδιαιρέτου τῆς οὔσης ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ πεδίωι Παθύρεως σφραγίδων τρειῶν, ὧν κ(αὶ) αὐτὸς ἐωνήσατο παρὰ Πανᾶτος τοῦ Πατῆτος, μιᾶς μὲν γείτονες... (P. Adler G16, 99 BC). 'Pates, son of Poeris, sold ... the undivided grainland (f.sg.) above inundation level belonging to him in the northern plain of Pathyris, consisting of three lots (f.pl.) which (m.sg.) he himself had bought from Panas, son of Pates, of one of which the adjacent areas are...'

The relative pronoun ὅν should be ἥν correlating with γῆν, or ἅς if it is thought to correlate with σφραγίδων. The word μιᾶς is correctly feminine.

E 18: ...τὰς ὑπαρχούσας (pro τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν) αὐτῷ μερίδα γῆς ἠπείρου σιτοφόρου ... ὃν καὐτὸς ἐωνήσατο... (P. Lond. III 1206 p. 15, 99 BC). '... the part (f.sg.) of grainland above inundation level belonging to him ... which (m.sg.) he himself had bought...'

E 19: ... τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ μερίδα γῆς σιτοφόρου ἐν τῷ περὶ Παθῦρειν πεδίωι σφραγίδων τεσσάρων, ὧν καὐτὸς ἐωνήσατο ... (P. Stras. II 89, 99 BC). '... the part (f.sg) of grainland belonging to him in the plain of Pathyris consisting of four lots which (m.sg.) he himself had bought...'

The signature in this document, however, seems to be by a second hand. But on the verso, by the second hand, the same mistake occurs: γ̄ῆ σφρα(γίδων) δ, ὃν ἠγόρα(σεν) παρὰ Πετεαρσεμθέως.

E 20: ἀπέδοτο ... τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ μερίδα γ̄ῆς ... σφραγίδων τεσσάρων ..., ὃν καὐτὸς ἐωνήσατο... (P.Köln I 50, 99 BC). 'sold ... the part (f.sg.) of land belonging to him ... consisting of four lots ... which (m.sg.) he himself had bought...'

Concluding Remarks

The thesis that the native language of these notaries was Egyptian receives more support from the results of this article, and helps us in the interpretation of the examples. Hermias, the representative of an *agoranomos*, has a clear pattern in his relative clauses. He always chooses the gender and number for the relative pronoun as if its antecedent were the subject of the relative clause. This pattern is easily explained by the relative construction of Demotic where the subject of the relative clause is the suffix pronoun. It is in a similar position as the relative pronoun in the Greek constructions studied here. The Greek relative pronoun has been understood, then, to be somehow fulfilling the same function as the suffix pronoun in Demotic. It is also possible to speculate about the working methods of these notaries/scribes. They possibly had some old contracts as models. If they did not understand the Greek relative construction, the relative pronoun differed in gender and number in an incomprehensible way in these models. Or perhaps (but less likely) they had only one model, e.g., with masculine singular forms, which did not provide any help for them in understanding the construction. Therefore they tried to make some sense out of the construction from the point of view of their L1. Sometimes they did not manage this and occasionally just used some accusative form of the relative pronoun. This could explain the mistakes which do not follow the pattern of each scribe.

The relative clause constructions of these notaries also offer information about the notaries themselves: who was who? The fact that a person called Ammonios has written perfect Greek relative constructions in certain years but makes mistakes in similar constructions in later years can only point in one direction; there are two persons with the same name. The possibility that the person is the same and has suffered from language attrition is unlikely. If a person has learned the construction of Greek relative clauses so thoroughly that he does not make mistakes with it in several years, how could he totally forget the cognitive pattern of the construction later? It is in the usage of relative pronouns where Hermias I and Hermias II also differ from each other.

The notaries of Pathyris and Krokodilopolis who were earlier than Hermias I, Ammonios II and Hermias II rarely made mistakes in the relative clauses. Therefore, a trend can be seen. The Greek language used by the later notaries in Pathyris shows the impact of their L1. Whether the cause of this impact is a failure to acquire the second language, in other words imperfect learning, or attrition of L2 in the community remains an open question.

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Remarks on Phraseology, Spoken Language and Language Contact in the Letters of Claudius Terentianus (2nd Century AD Egypt)

Hilla Halla-aho

The letters of Claudius Terentianus from early 2nd century Egypt (P. Mich. VIII 467-481) are valuable documents for research into substandard Latin. To add to their importance, Terentianus was also a Greek-Latin bilingual whose letters in both languages have survived.

Terentianus' use of language, and of Latin in particular, has been studied in some detail because it shows many historical changes in progress, some of which are already symptoms of the later Romance evolution. The most comprehensive analysis is by J.N. Adams (1977).

Nevertheless, many questions remain to be asked and answered. In this article I shall focus on some aspects that have, in my opinion, not been discussed thoroughly enough, in the sphere of phraseology and syntax. First, I shall discuss the *accusativus cum infinitivo* constructions (AcI) and their relationship to epistolary phrasing and then move to the influence of colloquial language and language contact on Terentianus' variety of Latin. Finally I suggest some clarifications of the apparent regional variation in Latin epistolary phraseology resulting from contact with Greek.

The AcI, its gradual decline and the triumph of subordinate clauses are among the most studied topics in Latin syntax. From late republican times onwards, sporadic examples of finite complement clauses without anaphora are found with *verba sentiendi et dicendi* (in Suetonius, Tacitus, Plinius and Petronius[1]). The finite complements begin to abound in the works of Apuleius and Gellius in the second century. Given the conservative nature of written language (as compared with the spoken) in general and that of literary Latin in particular, any such change in written language evidently betokens widespread change in the spoken, at least for the great majority of speakers.[2]

If we suppose that the use of the AcI was by this time, the beginning of the 2nd century, already decreasing, it would be reasonable to expect that the changes would be visible in substandard texts like the letters of Terentianus. This, however, is not the case. No instances of finite complement clauses governed by *verba sentiendi et dicendi* can be

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1 Petronius, naturally, differs from the others with regard to literary genre and linguistic representativeness; see below.

2 Cf. Stefenelli 1962, 102. See also Hofmann - Szantyr 1965, 354; Kühner - Stegmann 1971, 274-275. For divergent views on the popularity of finite complements see Perrochat 1932, 133-139; Scivoletto 1962, 18-22; Cuzzolin 1991, 29-32.

found in his Latin letters. Infinitive constructions, for their part, are found in considerable numbers with these verbs. Among the infinitive phrases, there are standard salutary formulae like *an[te omn]ia op[to te] fortem et h[i]larem [e]t salvom mihi esse* (467, 2: "Before all else, I pray that you be strong and cheerful and well"[3]) and *o[p]to te bene val[e]re* (470, 27: "Before all else I pray for your health"), but the AcI occurs in the body text of the letters as well: *scias me, pater; accepis[se* (467, 4: "Know, father, that I have received")[4], *scias domo nostrae deorum beneficio omnia recte esse* (467, 26: "Know that everything is going well at home, through the beneficence of the gods").

From this data Adams has come to the conclusion, contrary to the view held by traditional handbooks, that infinitive complements were not falling out of use, but, instead, were still used in substandard and spoken Latin and were replaced by finite complement clauses only later in the history of Latin. Because of the absence of finite complements in these letters, Adams does not believe that those that are found in early vulgar texts are "the tip of an iceberg". Adams claims: "Some examples of the acc. + infin. were clearly of a type formulaic in epistolography. But there remain sufficient instances to show that the construction was at home in the spoken registers of the author".[5]

Of all the 19 certain instances of AcI in Terentianus' Latin letters, 5 are with *opto* (467, 3 and 35; 468, 3 and 64; 470, 27) and 6 with *scio* (467, 4, 8 and 26; 468, 4, 43 and 47). The latter forms a clear pattern as well (of the type *scias me pater accepisse* or *misisse*), though not as formulaic as *opto*. The remaining 8 are distributed with *spero* (2: 468, 22 and 36), *nego* (2: 467, 9 and 471, 32), *dico* (1: 469, 12), *pareo* (1: 467, 17, anacolouthic) and two uncertain verbs (*sileo* in 471, 15 and something like *posco* in 467, 9 according to the editors Youtie and Winter).[6] So, in my view, the sufficiency of this evidence, as far as spoken language is concerned, remains disputable. It must be remembered that the complement change from AcI to finite clauses was not an abrupt process that happened at some moment in time. The sporadic instances of finite complements in literary texts from the 1st century BC through the 1st century AD are a good indication of this.[7] The change started with some verbs and in certain kinds of contexts, and gradually spread further. Semantic properties of the governing verbs often had a decisive role.[8] Therefore, the use of AcI in these letters cannot be regarded as positive evidence concerning the verbal system as a whole.[9]

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[3] All translations of the Terentianus letters are by Youtie and Winter (1951).

[4] Compare γεινώσκειν σε θέλω, πατήρ, κεκωμί{κα}σθαι με παρὰ Ἀχιλλᾶτος καλάθιον (476, 5) in Greek.

[5] Adams 1977, 61-62. Calboli, like Adams, does not consider significant the fact that the majority of the infinitive constructions appear in salutary formulae (Calboli 1990, 29). Adams further states that "Had *quod* or *quia* clauses had any currency in Latin, we should have expected the existence of the Greek ὅτι construction to have provided an additional impulse for a bilingual to admit object clauses in Latin" (Adams 1977, 61). Syntactic interference and convergence in contact situations are very complex issues but will not be gone into here.

[6] In addition to the instances mentioned above there are possible examples of AcI with *rescribo* in 468, 32 as well as *scio* in 470, 22. Calboli (1990, 37-39) has presented a table of all infinitive complements in both the Latin and Greek letters of Terentianus. Unfortunately it contains a number of mistakes: the verb *(ap)pareo* is claimed to occur twice in letter 468 with an infinitive complement, though *pareo* is found only in letter 467; *rescribas* is reported to have an infinitive complement in 470, though the contexts of all three instances are too fragmentary to permit any observations (470, 17, 18 and 22); in addition, the verb *rescribo* is not used in letter 467 contrary to what Calboli presents in his table; the formula *o[p]to te bene val[e]re* can be found also in letter 470; the verb *rogo* is not used in 470 with an infinitive complement as it is both times followed by an *ut*-clause (470, 4 and 19); and finally, the verb *nego* has an infinitive complement in letter 467 (467, 9).

Furthermore, some features of Terentianus' syntax could support the conclusion that the use of the AcI was more or less limited. In several places Terentianus seems to have difficulties in composing the infinitive complement correctly when the verb governing it differs from the ones normally used in his letters. In letter 467 we find an anacolouthic expression *ne tib[i] pream a spe amar[a] parpa[tum] vagari quasi fugitivom* (467, 17: "... lest I seem to you to wander like a fugitive, lured on by a bitter hope"), where an adjective (*fugitivom*) referring to the subject is in the accusative instead of the expected nominative. A Greek-flavoured phrase *factum est illi venire Alexandrie* (471, 22: "and he happened to go to Alexandria") is found in letter 471. Adams' suggestion, analogy from Greek dative + infinitive constructions, is convincing.[10] In addition, Terentianus once shifted into a finite clause in the middle of an infinitive structure governed by the same verb: *ed [sci]as Carpum hic errasse ed inv[e]ntus est Dios in legione et a[cce]pisse me pro illo (denarios) VI* (468, 43: "Know that Carpus came here in his wanderings and Dius was found (?) in the legion and I accepted 6 denarii on his behalf"). This happened in his Greek as well: [γ]ειν̣ώσκειν σε θέλω μ[ετὰ] τὸ ἄν̣[ω ἥδ]η̣ [σ]ο̣[ι] γ̣ε̣[γ]ρ̣αμ̣[μ]ένον ἐνηνεγμένον μοι [... ὑ]πὸ τοῦ π̣[α]τ̣ρ̣[ὸ]ς Ἀνου[βί]ωνος τὸ καλάθιον, καὶ τὸ τέ[λο]ς νοῖν πά̣[ρεσ]τ̣ι̣ν ἐμοί (477, 32: "I want you to know that after the above had already been written to you the basket was brought to me ... by Anubion's father (?), and now at last I have it").[11] These examples could imply that when Terentianus did not have the stock phrases for his support, he was not quite comfortable with the infinitive complement.[12]

Although the *quod*-clauses are absent, we have examples of the infinitive complement being replaced by finite ones. The verb *dico* is used only once construed with AcI. Elsewhere *dico* and other verbs of saying are followed by paratactic constructions, i. e. quotations from direct speech: *ait mihi si n[on mi redd]as* (467, 9: "He said to me: If you do not return ... to me"); *dico illi, da mi, di[c]o, q[e]s paucum; ibo, dico, ad amicos patris mei* (471, 10: "I say to him, 'Give me', I say, 'a little money; I shall go', I say, 'to friends of my father"). The verb can even be left out completely: *mater mea: spectemus illum dum venit* (471, 24: "My mother (says), 'Let us wait for him until he comes").[13] This is likely to reflect the spoken practice as the style in letter 471 is colloquial in other respects as well, e.g. long clause chains coordinated with *et*.[14] Scivoletto has claimed that paratactic constructions, rather than *quod*-clauses, were the everyday subsitute for AcI.[15] In Terentianus the usage is quite natural as the governing verb is one of speaking. There is quite a variety of examples in Hofmann, including, for

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7 Examples are cited e.g. in Kühner - Stegman 1971, 274-275.

8 Cf. Cuzzolin 1991, 74-75.

9 See Pinkster (1987, 213-214 and 1989, 322) where he deals with similar questions concerning future and perfect tense auxiliaries with *habere*. See Leiwo (2002) for discussion about the relationship between written and spoken registers in bilingual epigraphic data.

10 Adams 1977, 63-64. See also Weinreich 1953, 39. Because of typological similarity, interference between Greek and Latin is likely to take place even at the syntactic level; see Romaine 1989, 54.

11 Cf. Adams 1977, 63.

12 Salutary phrases could also be copied from other letters. The writer of letter O. Bu Njem 109 apparently knew Latin rather poorly but managed to write the closing salutation according to the standard.

13 Cf. Adams 1977, 62.

14 Another feature from colloquial language might be the use of *item* as a connective particle.

15 Scivoletto 1962, 19-20.

example, those with *scio* in Petronius: *scis, magna navis magnam fortitudinem habet* (76, 6: "As you know, a big ship has a big heart")[16] and *scito autem, sociorum olla male fervet* (38, 13: "You know how it is; a shared pot goes off the boil").[17]

I have wanted to point out the limited variety of expressions in which the Acl occurs, as well as Terentianus' inability to always construe it correctly, although the absence of *quod* clauses in his letters is, of course, undeniable.

The most unquestionable and most regularly cited proof for the use of finite complement clauses in the 1st century AD comes from Petronius, although there are only four instances of the substitution, three of which are in the *cena Trimalchionis* (45, 10; 46, 4; 71, 9; 131, 7). The relationship between literary tradition and imitation of popular speech in the *cena Trimalchionis* is problematic. As an author, Petronius attempted to imitate the speech of the freedmen and to describe his characters by their linguistic behaviour. In the case of Echion, who utters two of the above examples, the finite complements beginning with *quia* certainly demonstrate the character in question. He is a rather vulgar figure, whose speech contains most substandard expressions. The conjunction in these utterances probably shows Greek influence, as *quia* is the usual equivalence for ὅτι.[18] Sometimes Petronius may have exaggerated the substandard features of popular speech to make his point, but we have little means of finding out when this was the case. It is highly unlikely, however, that a native speaker of Latin, like Petronius, would have put into his characters' mouths phrases that were not at all possible in Latin. Undeniably there were people for whom *dixi quia* was a possible way of expressing themselves.

The aim of Terentianus, on the contrary, was to produce as proper language as possible. Neither kind of text is likely to be a straightforward reflection of spoken language. Before the outcome of the complement change was determined permanently there must have been a long transition period with considerable variation, the choice always depending on contextual factors, in which we must include the medium, speech or writing, as well.[19]

Adams argues that, unlike normal substandard texts, there are no signs in these letters of hyperurbanisms and literary affectation, to which the absence of finite complements could be attributed.[20] I have a slightly different view. Throughout the letters one can perceive how carefully Terentianus expresses his wishes in order to please his father as much as possible. He tries to write as well as he can, though his efforts are, perhaps, not always successful. The opening salutation in 467, *an[te omn]ia op[to te] fortem et h[i]larem [e]t salvom mihi esse cum nostris omn[ibus], quoti[en]sque aute[m a t]e habe[o no]vom mihi bene est* ("Before all else, I pray that you be strong and cheerful and well, together with our entire family, and I am pleased whenever I have news from you."), to start with, clearly indicates some stylistic ambition and is paralleled in Pliny

16 The Petronius translations are from *Petronius, The Satyricon*. Translated with introduction and explanatory notes by P.G. Walsh. Oxford 1996.

17 See Hofmann 1926, 106-108.

18 Cf. Boyce 1991, 71; 82-83.

19 See Romaine 1982, 14-17 for discussion on the relationship between spoken, non-literary and literary language.

20 Adams 1977, 61 and 85. Calboli (1990, 33) characterizes Terentianus' style as simple but also marked by grammatical correctness.

(*epist.* 10, 1, 2).[21] Other examples of elaboration are *ne tiḅ[i] pareaṃ a spe aṃar[a] parṛa[tum] ṿagari quasi fugitivom* (467, 17; for the translation, see above); *nem[i]nem habeo enim karum nisi secundum deos te* (467, 18: "for I have no one dear to me except you"); *qu[on]i[a]m nihil mi pro dis fuerunt nisi verba null[i]us con[c]epi o[diu]m* (467, 15-16: "Since they were nothing to me – (I say this) in the presence of gods – but words, I conceived hatred of no one"). The same phenomenon is discernible in the Greek letters, and is manifested in letter 476 where Terentianus tries to assure his father of the necessity of bringing a woman into his household. At the same time, he attempts to avoid making his father angry: εἴ πού ἐστιν ἣν ἐὰν δοκῇ μ[ο]ι κατενέγκαι ἡ δυναμένη μᾶλλο[ν ὑ]πὲρ ἐμοῦ σοι εὐνοεῖν καὶ φροντίζειν σου πλείω ἐμοῦ, διατ[ε]λεῖτα[ι] ἐμέ [σο]ι εὐχαρ[ι]στεῖν ἢ σὺ ἐμὲ μέμψασθαι (476, 13-15: "If perchance the woman whom I decide to bring down is one able to be the more kindly disposed toward you for my sake (?) and to take more thought for you than for me, the outcome is that I do you a favor rather than that you blame me").[22]

It should not be supposed that perfect literary elegance or hyperurbanisms are the only possibilities for a substandard writer. In his restricted way, Terentianus did, in fact, achieve a rather high level, which obtains further merit if one thinks of the context he was writing in. The point is that, although Terentianus for obvious reasons was not familiar with the literary registers of Latin,[23] he was ambitious as a language user. This is connected with the wide variety of topics that are discussed in his long letters. In addition to normal enquiries and requests for different sorts of articles, Terentianus shares his feelings and fears with his recipient. This is more than can be said of average letter writers.

The infinitive complement occurs frequently also in the Greek letters of Terentianus. The majority of the infinitive complements are in standard opening and closing formulae like εὔχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν and ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι.[24] Other verbs governing the infinitive complement are θέλω, γεινώσκω, γράφω, οἶδα and ἐρωτῶ. ὅτι-clauses, for their part, are sometimes found governed by verbs which elsewhere take the infinitive complement, e.g. γεινώσκω, οἶδα, λέγω.

In Greek, according to G. Horrocks, the non-finite complement began to fall out of use already in the Ptolemaic period. First, the infinitives replaced the participles together with verbs denoting perception and later, they were replaced by clauses beginning with ὅτι. This change was largely similar to that in Latin. The complement changed in official koine as well and not only in substandard texts, though there it is much more conspicuous. In Ptolemaic papyri the verbs γεινώσκω, οἶδα and γράφω took both kind of complements, but λέγω was more often followed by a ὅτι-clause than by an infinitive. In later koine, the use of the non-finite constructions declined and finally they disappeared totally. By the beginning of the 2nd century AD, in the language of the uneducated, the non-finite complements were restricted to such formulaic phrases as εὔχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν and γεινώσκειν σε θέλω.[25]

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[21] This formula could be modelled after Greek as well, cf. ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι καὶ εὐφραίνεσθαι (cf. P. Mich. VIII 465, 45-46).

[22] The syntax is interesting: ἡ δυναμένη ... πλείω ἐμοῦ seems to be parenthetical.

[23] Something which might be true of his father, though; see Calboli 1990, 36.

[24] The Greek salutations of Terentianus are noteworthy for their length and perfection. I have not found such elaborate combinations in other papyri, although the elements themselves are quite normal. The medial participle ποιούμενος in the *proskynema*-phrase draws special attention.

[25] Horrocks 1997, 45-46, 88, 99 and 122.

The evident parallelism of Greek and Latin epistolary formulae (*opto te bene valere* –εὔχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν and ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι– *bene valere te opto*) leads us to a related topic. When it comes to opening and closing formulae, there appears to be distinct geographical variation between papyri and ostraca from Egypt on one hand and wooden tablets from Vindolanda on the other. In Egypt, the letters follow a Greek model with wishes for the recipient's well-being at the beginning and at the end. The salutations are usually construed with Acl like the Greek standard formulae.[26] In Vindolanda, however, there are hardly any salutary phrases at the beginning of the letters.[27] The writers get directly to business after the opening, A to B *salutem*. At the end, the wish for well-being is normally formulated with a finite complement (with the conjunction *ut* or, in many cases, paratactically), or simply as an imperative.[28] Now we can make explicit the notion that *opto (ut) valeas* and the imperative *vale* were the native Latin closings at this time and *opto te bene valere* was a translation from Greek, though perfectly in accord with Latin grammar. The latter was used in Egypt and the former in Britain, where old Roman conventions were still nurtured in other respects as well (e.g. in orthography).[29] The fact that the earliest Latin letters from Egypt, the correspondence of Macedo,[30] resemble the Vindolanda letters in their style, would support this interpretation. At this early date, the old Latin model for letter writing was still used by the immigrants who brought their Roman habits with them, but the following generations abandoned it in favour of the translated pattern.

G. Calboli has suggested that the Greek letters show Latin influence in the use of infinitive complements.[31] This seems questionable. First of all, there is nothing extraordinary in the Greek constructions which should be attributed to Latin influence. At this time (leaving aside the standard formulae), Acl was at home in casual, though perhaps a bit more refined Greek epistolary registers. As I have argued, Terentianus was not totally uneducated. On the other hand, by this time, it was beginning to be possible to replace the Acl in Latin by finite clauses, at least in certain contexts. And finally, as we have seen, the close resemblance of the Greek and Latin opening and closing formulae is due to translation from Greek to Latin, and definitely not vice versa.[32]

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[26] In addition to the examples in Terentianus (and Tiberianus, P. Mich. VIII 472; see also Adams 1977, 4-5), the formula is found in Mons Claudianus *ben.valere te opto* (O. Claud. I 135, 5); *opto te bene valere et felicem esse* (O. Claud. II 367, 12-14) and 8 times in the Bu Njem ostraca (88, 7; 97, 11; 99, 8; 104, 7; 105, 5; 106, 2; 108, 3; 109, 5). Cf. also CEL 158 and 159 (= O. Latopolis Magnae. The former shows an interesting variant *opto te domine multis annis felicem videre*); CEL 161 (= O. Flor. inv. L2); CEL 169 (= P. Oxy. I 32); CEL 183, 190 and 191 (= P. Dura 78, 75 and 66). Rustius Barbarus in Wâdi Fawâkhir, however, writes *opto deos ut bene valeas que mea vota sunt* (CPL 304, 3), but here the phrase *que mea vota sunt* is clearly Greek in origin; the same is true of CEL 218 (= P. Berl. inv. 14114). The writer of CEL 83 (= P. Berl inv. 11649, from Fayûm) also uses the *opto bene valeas* type.

[27] Even those opening salutations that are found do not show any uniform pattern, see tab. Vindol. II 225; 248; 299; 311; 321.

[28] From all the letters published so far from Vindolanda, I have found only three closing salutations of the type *bene valere te opto* (tab. Vindol. II 248, tab. Vindol. II 250, tab. Vindol. II 258), whereas there are altogether 17 examples of the types *opto (ut) valeas* and *vale*. In addition, *opto ut bene valeas* is also found in one letter from Vindonissa, CEL 19 (= tab. Vindoniss. 43.194).

[29] Adams 1995, 94-95. Adams argues, in connection with the Vindolanda letters, that conventions developed among groups of scribes with regard to salutary phrasing. He does not mention, however, language contact as a probable source for this variation; see Adams 1995, 117-118. Furthermore, the correspondents themselves might well have been responsible for the salutations, cf. Halla-aho (in print).

[30] P. Vindob. Lat. 1, 1a, 1b = CEL 6-8.

Adams (1977, 4) observes that the opening formula which according to Seneca was common up to his time (Sen. *epist.* 15, 1), *si vales bene est ego valeo*, does not occur in Terentianus. It does, however, appear in one letter from Vindonissa[33] and something similar is to be found in an Oxyrynchos papyrus.[34] So this formula was not restricted to literary circles.

It should be noted that the interference from Greek to Latin happened at two levels. The epistolary formulae represent the written level and the other contact induced changes (e.g. phonological and lexical) the spoken one. The latter are not numerous. There are possible cases of phonological interference, but nothing extraordinary.[35] As regards morphology, we have a couple of instances where the accusative ending appears to be Greek instead of Latin: *illan* (468, 28) and *nostrous* (468, 62).[36] These, however, appear in the same letter (468) and therefore I think that they are due to the bilingualism or insufficient training of the scribe and not to the bilingualism of Terentianus.[37] In syntax, certain expressions seem to follow a Greek pattern, for example, the above mentioned phrase *factum est illi venire in Alexandrie cum tirones* (471, 22), which shows probably Greek interference in the use of the dative case rather than the accusative.[38] Yet, language contact is mainly seen in the lexicon. The majority of the Greek loan words are generally known in Latin, e.g. *calamus* (468, 19), *gubernator* (468, 56), *amphora* (467, 27), *phiala* (468, 17), others are not as common but still attested e.g. *sunthesis* ('set' 468, 16 = σύνθεσις), *ana]boladium* (467, 5), *co[lym]bas* (467, 28). There are only a handful of words that are not known elsewhere in Latin texts and even they may have been standard expressions in Egyptian Latin: *loncha* ('lance' 467, 20 = λογχή), *xylesphongium* ('sponge stick' 471, 29 = ξυλοσπόγγιον). It is important to keep in mind that lexical Greek loans and code-switching tend to indicate more about the Greek context of the letters than about Terentianus as a bilingual individual.

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[31] Calboli 1990, 29: "Wenn man nun in Rechnung stellt, dass die mit ὅτι und ὡς (und ὅπως u.dgl.) + verbum finitum eingeleiteten Konstruktionen im Griechischen dazu tendieren, den A.c.I. zu ersetzen, kann man natürlicherweise daraus den Schluss ziehen, dass ein Einfluss des Lateinischen auf den zweisprachigen Cl. Terentianus erfolgt ist." See also Calboli 1990, 28 and 37.

[32] Calboli claims (1990, 36-37) that Terentianus simplified his language use and tried to make the two languages convergent with respect to non-finite complements and pronouns.

[33] *frater si vales [...] ego valeo* in CEL 16 = tab. Vindoniss. 43.190 (1st century AD).

[34] *s(i) v(ales) b(enest)* in CEL 10 = P. Oxy. XLIV 3208 (Augustan era). The wish for mutual well-being can be seen also in tab. Vindol. II 311: *ut scias me recte valere quod te invicem fecisse cupio.*

[35] Adams has suggested (1978) that the merger of liquids in the words *parpatum* and *castalinum* results from Greek interference in the speech of Terentianus. The merger happened in Latin as well, but not usually in front of a stop as in *parpatum*. I think that these forms may as well come from a bilingual scribe. See Romaine 1989, 52 for under-differentiation of phonemes in contact situations. Adams (1977, 33-34) also tentatively attributes to Greek influence the tolerance of the cluster <tl> which in Latin is normally changed to <cl> but retained in *sitla* (P. Mich. VIII 469, 12). See Romaine 1989, 53 and Weinreich 1953, 23 for related though not identical phenomena.

[36] *Isituchen* appears in letters 467 and 468, but for a Greek proper name the ending is not surprising.

[37] For the scribes in the Terentianus letters, see Halla-aho (in print). For the outcome of heavy lexical interference from Greek in a Latin marriage contract (ChLA IV 249 + P. Mich. VII 434 + P. Ryl. IV 612), see Leiwo and Halla-aho (2002).

[38] Adams argues that the order VO in subordinate clauses is probably due to interference from Greek; see Adams 1977, 66-67, 69-70, 73-74, 85. Changes in word order caused by interference are usual in the language of bilinguals; see Romaine 1989, 54 and 187-188.

I have presented some potential arguments against Adams' view that the AcI was still the standard expression in spoken Latin, based, as it was, solely on the evidence furnished by the Terentianus letters. By doing this I have wanted to point out the complex nature of this problem and the difficulties in making conclusions about spoken language on the basis of written data. Adams' opinion, however, does not seem unfounded but, instead, plausible, if we have a look on the whole corpus of Latin letters on papyrus, ostraca and wooden tablets (CEL I-II[39] and tab. Vindol. II). In these texts, the AcI is, indeed, generally used according to classical rules in many types of expressions and no finite complement clauses are used to replace it.[40] So, despite my considerations above, the documentary letters would preliminarily challenge the traditional view that in the 2nd century the AcI was disappearing from the spoken language of the uneducated majority. If we still want to adhere to the traditional view, then we must assume that letter writers were taught to write according to the traditional standard and they succeeded well in this task.

Conclusion

The relation between spoken and written substandard language appears to be more complicated than is usually thought. One should be extremely cautious in straightforwardly ascribing to popular speech those linguistic forms that appear in any written text, even those with such distinct substandard quality as these letters. The written text, to be sure, eventually exhibits changes in spoken language but only in the course of time and always with delay. Although the letters show several tendencies characteristic of spoken language — in orthography for example, where uncertainty caused by phonological changes is clearly visible — we cannot conclude that this affected every feature of, say, syntax. The strong impact of phraseology plays a decisive part in the composition of letters. Translated patterns were used in the East whereas native Latin ones (*opto (ut) bene valeas* and *vale*) were retained in Vindolanda. The exact nature of the language, and especially of the syntax, of documentary letters and their relationship to spoken registers of Latin needs to be outlined and analysed. This will form my future research project.

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[39] By the time of writing this article I had not been able to see CEL III (published 2002).
[40] Cf. also Molinelli 1996, 467.

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Reading Lucian's *Περὶ ὀρχήσεως* – Attitudes and Approaches to Pantomime

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Western theatre dance in the 19th and 20th centuries was, and still is to a great extent, conceived of as a particularly feminine sphere, making the male dancer's position suspicious. Dancing men were labelled effeminate, scrutinized at first by a dominantly male, and later by a dominantly female audience.[1] In Greek antiquity the situation was reversed – theatre dance was as a rule a male matter – but in spite of this the male dancers and audiences seemed to face the prejudice of effeminacy in certain cases. The main topic of my article is the educated male intellectual's view of male dancers and the attitudes that seemed to prevail in the 2nd century AD.[2] The view is directed at a dance style called pantomime, which attained great popularity in the Roman Empire and dominated the public stages along with mime performances until the 6th century. Pantomime was a dance form portraying a mythological or historical theme. It centred on a solo dance by a masked male dancer who danced all the roles, changing costume and mask during the performance. Between his acts, a choir or a solo assistant sang and told the story further.[3]

No geographical definition is given in this article, since it is question of a literary space, namely Lucian's essay *On Dancing* (*Περὶ ὀρχήσεως*, from hereon I shall use the non-standard abbreviation *OD*).[4] In spite of the fact that I began with Western theatre dance, I do not suggest that there is some sort of magical continuity in attitudes to male dancers from antiquity onwards. Western theatre dance is mentioned here partly because gender and theatre dance are studied in the field of dance research with reference to Western theatre dance, and partly because we, who are educated in the Western culture, are familiar with the notion of effeminate dancing men.

As it happens, the two complete works on dance from antiquity handle pantomime, and both from a defensive point of view: Lucian's essay, written in the 2nd

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1 Burt 1995, 12-13.

2 From hereon, all the dates are AD, unless otherwise stated.

3 Here I shall not describe pantomime in great detail, as there are many published descriptions. See e.g. E. Wüst, Pantomimus, *RE* 18.3 (1949), 833-869; Molloy 1996, 44-50; Jory 2002, 240-241. See also bibliographies in Naerebout 1997, 144; Csapo and Slater 2001, 423. For a discussion of possible female pantomimes with further references, see Webb 2002, 286-287.

4 The following editions are used. Loeb Classical Library: Lucian vol. V (ed. and transl. A.M Harmon), London and Cambridge, Massachusetts 1936 (reprint 1972); Αρχαία Ελληνική Γραμματεία, ΚΑΚΤΟΣ: Λουκιανός, Απάντα 10; Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis: Luciani Opera vol. III (ed. M.D. Macleod), Oxonii 1980. The translations are mine, unless otherwise stated.

century,[5] and Libanios' *Oration* 64 (*Against Aristeides in Defence of Dancers*; *Πρὸς Ἀριστείδην ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀρχηστῶν*), written probably in 361.[6] Other literary sources on dance are of varying length and depth.[7] As an obvious consequence, in modern studies of ancient dance, Lucian, and to a lesser degree Libanios, are used as the central literary evidence on the subject. These works have, without doubt, influenced the view that dance in antiquity was predominantly mimetic, and they are unwisely regarded as evidence for dance earlier than from the Roman period as well.[8] Lucian, or perhaps the text itself more than its author, is regarded as an authority in matters of dance. When one considers, however, *On Dancing* in relation to Lucian's whole production, this does not seem entirely justified. Around 80 works are ascribed to Lucian,[9] and *On Dancing* is the only one where he handles dance to a great extent.[10] It is not only a question of the number of Lucian's works, but of his style. What he says, how, why, and to whom, are crucial in reading his text about dance.

This article reflects, to some degree, the general tendency outlined above, but rather than giving an account of what Lucian says about pantomime and taking it more or less for granted, I propose to ask in what light Lucian's text should be read other than allegedly stating facts, and what kind of attitudes to male dancers Lucian's essay reflects. *On Dancing* is profoundly rooted in its time of writing, and it is thus essential to consider the wider framework of the essay as well as Lucian's style and status. This will form the first part of the article. The following sections concentrate on the attitudes to male dancers in *On Dancing*. The concluding section surveys how the role of pantomime as a means of education is emphasized throughout the essay, and how it can be seen as a performance of Greekness.

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5 Some say that *OD* was written in Antioch sometime between 162-165 on the grounds that Antioch was supposedly especially fond of pantomime, and that Lucian wrote it when Emperor Verus, a great admirer of pantomime, visited Antioch. Discussion and further references in Kokolakis 1959, 4-7. Lucian himself states that Antioch is 'naturally suited' for dance and a dance-loving city - εὐφυεστάτη πόλις καὶ ὄρχησιν μάλιστα πρεσβεύουσα (*OD* 76). This characterisation in passing, would have been a nice compliment, if the place of writing were Antioch.

6 Molloy 1996, 86.

7 Discussed in Naerebout 1997, 191-193. Most notable passages on dance in prose are by Plato, Xenophon, Plutarch, Athenaios, Pollux (Polydeukes) and Hesychios. The majority of the texts come from the 5th and 4th centuries BC, and from the 1st and 2nd centuries. There were monographs on dance in antiquity, of which we now know only the titles and names of their authors. For example, Athenaios mentions Aristokles' *Περὶ χορῶν* (*Deipnosophistai* 14.630b), and also that the famous pantomime dancer Pylades (see below, note 27) wrote a treatise on dance (1.20e).

8 Naerebout 1997, 108-109.

9 In many general descriptions of Lucian and his output, the number of his works is given as 82. According to Ms. Vaticanus 90 they amount to 81, listed in Robinson 1979, 239-242. Almost 20 of them are either certainly or possibly spurious.

10 There are some instances where Lucian mentions dance or dancers in passing, as discussed in Kokolakis 1959, 11-19.

11 Lucian is not mentioned in ancient sources until quite late (e.g. the Suda, s.v. *Λουκιανὸς Σαμοσατεύς*), and his modern biographical facts are derived from what he himself is thought of to have related, and it is not much (e.g. Luc., *On the Dream or The life of Lucian*; *Περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἤτοι βίος Λουκιανοῦ*). For a short description of Lucian's life, see Robinson 1979, 3-4; Lightfoot 2000, 250-251. There are some attempts at a biography of Lucian, see references in Goldhill 2002, 66 n. 23. For approaches to Lucian's supposedly autobiographical passages, see Branham 1989, 28-37; Goldhill 2002, 67-82.

An Entertainer Defending Entertainment

The evidence for Lucian's biography is scanty.[11] He was probably born around 120 in Samosata, the capital of Commagene, a region in the northern part of Syria.[12] Lucian had a Greek education, which enabled him to become part of the intellectual world of the 2nd century. He made his living as a travelling *rhetor* in various parts of the Roman Empire, and is best known to us as a witty writer, a satirist.[13] He is one of the representatives of the Second Sophistic, the dominating trend of the 2nd century, which admired the classical period of Greece.[14] The main point of reference was language, namely the use of 'pure' Attic dialect. Special attention was paid to rhetoric, and the key word was tradition – simply stated, what was traditional, was good. Imitation based on the corpus of authorized Greek literary masters was one of the principles of education and in becoming a person of culture, a Greek (Ἕλλην). It is said that Lucian is, in this respect, a traditional *par excellence*, although it has to be stressed that Lucian often expresses critical views of this elite education. Throughout his production, the educational background, which he shares with his audience, becomes apparent. It is also worth emphasizing that, strictly speaking, Lucian was not a Greek to begin with, but needed the proper education, beginning with the language, to become a Greek.[15] With regard to *On Dancing*, this emerges as one of the central themes – how pantomime can educate to the tradition required by the Second Sophistic and, furthermore, to being Greek.

If imitation was the foundation of a good literary production, innovation or imagination was still welcomed.[16] In Lucian's case, this shows in his use of dialogue, which was connected fundamentally with philosophical prose. Lucian's talent and strength appear especially in his cutting humour, inspired by the Cynic Menippos of Gadara "whose bark is bad and bite worse... He smiles as he sinks his teeth in"[17]. Lucian can be described, in short, as a witty, intellectual entertainer seeking admiration from persons who share the same educational background and who could thus appreciate his humour; he is a *spoudogeloios*, a serious jester. Most probably, the texts were meant for public recitation, the exact style of which is not known, but which is hinted at in *On*

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[12] In 72 Vespasian incorporated Commagene in Syria, but it remained a separate federation (κοινόν) in the province of Syria.

[13] Goldhill's characterization of Lucian goes to the very core of our factual knowledge of the author (Goldhill 2002, 66): "... a snidey intellectual from Syria, writing in the later half of the second century CE, in Greek, for a Roman audience, at least in part."

[14] For a short description of the era, and for the position of a Greek-based education in Roman Empire, see Robinson 1979, 1-3; Lightfoot 2000, 239-244 and 247-250; Goldhill 2002, 62-63 and 74-75.

[15] Goldhill (2002, 60-107) discusses how well Lucian succeeds in this respect by analysing Lucian's self-image and self-references detected from his works. It is worth noting that terms, such as Syrian, barbarian or Greek (Ἕλλην) are often used simply to emphasize the education or position a person had. This is exactly what Lucian does in many instances, for example in *Twice Accused* (*Δὶς κατηγορούμενος*), where a Syrian is accused of neglect and abuse by Rhetoric and Dialogue, discussed briefly in the concluding section of this article.

[16] This had a foundation in the writings of sophists, e.g Isokrates, *Paneg.* (*Πανηγυρικός*) 8: "... καὶ τά τε παλαιὰ καινῶς διελθεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν νεωστὶ γεγενημένων ἀρχαίως εἰπεῖν, οὐκέτι φευκτέον ταῦτ' ἐστί, περὶ ὧν ἕτεροι πρότερον εἰρήκασιν, ἀλλ' ἄμεινον ἐκείνων εἰπεῖν πειρατέον." ('One should not avoid the subjects of which others have spoken before one; one should try to do better than they did.')

[17] Luc., *Twice Accused* 33. No works of Menippos survive, but his name lives on in the style called Menippean satire, of which Lucian is a prime example.

Dancing. Given that, as Lucian insists, pantomime and rhetoric share the same technique to a degree, the anecdotes of successful or unsuccessful dancers shed light also on the demands on a good orator.[18]

Lucian's production is varied in form and themes, and also in the extent of the satirical touch.[19] *On Dancing* is not regarded as one of Lucian's masterpieces and certainly not as one presenting Lucian's wit; in general studies of Lucian, it is usually just mentioned in passing. *On Dancing* is also one of the works whose authorship has been disputed,[20] but it is, however, systematically referred to as Lucian's work in modern research. Even if it were not a genuine Lucianic text, it resembles his literary style and subject matter well enough to be called Lucianic, and can be studied and discussed in the context of Lucian's whole output. In this article, I refer to the author of *On Dancing* as Lucian. Despite the somewhat indifferent attitude to the essay among scholars, it is, however, a skilful work, in which Lucian uses devices typical of him to good effect.[21] We may also be missing a crucial satirical point. Aristeides (Publius Aelius Aristides), a well-known Greek *rhetor* and contemporary of Lucian's, had written a speech against pantomime. The contents of the speech are known only through Libanios, who much later (in the 4th century) wrote against Aristeides in defence of pantomime (*Or.* 64).[22] It has been suggested, that Aristeides wrote his criticism before Lucian wrote *On Dancing* and, if so, Lucian certainly knew of this speech.[23] Knowing Lucian's style, it would be hard to think that he would not have taken the opportunity to satirize Aristeides' speech, especially since Aristeides was considered a sober speaker, and thus a suitable target for a writer like Lucian. Further, Lucian may have have been provoked by Aristeides, who, according to Libanios, writes that ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅλως τὸ πρᾶγμα κακίζει καὶ νόσον ὀνομάζει καὶ φθορὰν τῶν θεομένων καὶ προστίθησι τῇ βλασφημίᾳ Σύρους... (*Or.* 64,9).[24] Perhaps this remark reminded Lucian of his Syrian background.

On Dancing begins with a dialogue between Lykinos, the defender of pantomime, and Kraton, the accuser, a Cynic philosopher. The dialogue recalls Kraton's accusation, and gives the reason for the defence. Finally, Kraton becomes so provoked that he allows Lykinos to give his speech in defence of dance (*OD* 6). Lykinos' speech takes up most of the essay, until the final moment when Kraton has the last word. What comes as no surprise is that Kraton is converted from a fierce enemy of dance to its devote advocate (*OD* 85).

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18 Branham 1989, 18-19.

19 There are several ways of classifying Lucian's works, e.g. grouped by function, by form, by content. See the discussion in Robinson 1979, 13-20. Robinson himself finds the best way to group the texts is by their main effects, i.e. ingenuity and humour (Robinson 1979, 20).

20 For an overview of the debate with references, see Naerebout 1997, 190 n. 412.

21 Robinson (1979, 20) groups *On Dancing* with those works whose main effect is ingenuity, not humour, and describes it further as an exercise "in the skilful combination of a number of traditional forms".

22 As there is a gap of 200 years between Aristeides' lost speech and Libanios' *Or.* 64, a direct response to Aristeides by Libanios is impossible. A reconstruction of Aristeides' speech has nevertheless been attempted. It is very probable that Libanios had Lucian's' text at hand, and it is also suggested that Libanios copied his idea of a reply to Aristeides from Lucian. For a discussion of the relationship between these three writers with further references, see e.g. Molloy 1996, 87-89.

23 Molloy 1996, 88.

24 "[Aristeides] calls it [i.e. pantomime] a disease and ruination of the spectators, and he attaches Syrians to his slander as well..." (Translation from Molloy 1996, 144.) Libanios continues that he could not remain silent at this 'accusation', being a Syrian himself – like Lucian. It has been suggested that Aristeides' accusation is found in Kraton's opinions (Kokolakis 1959, 10).

The Cynic Kraton is depicted as a serious man with a thick beard and grey hair, whom Lykinos supposes (*OD* 1, 5) to have led a dry (αὐχμηρός) life, and for whom only hard things are good, following the Cynic philosophy. Lykinos is one of the characters whom Lucian uses as his mouthpiece or alter ego.[25] It is not a matter of chance that Lucian chooses to use Lykinos in his texts.[26] In this case, the *prosopon* / *prosopeion* of Lykinos is quite effective, alluding to the Syrian background of the 'real' Lucian: as the story went in antiquity, two men, Pylades of Cilicia and Bathyllos of Alexandria, both of 'suspicious' Oriental origin, were the inventors of pantomime.[27] Thus, Lykinos / Lucian is a good advocate of a dance form, the roots of which lie in the Orient. This could also be seen as a deficiency if Lykinos were not also an educated man, a thoroughly Hellenized Lucian - a Greek, as the name implies. Lykinos' cultural status is expressed clearly when Kraton says that Lykinos has 'our education' and has studied philosophy as much as is needed: Ἀνὴρ δὲ τίς ὤν, ὦ λῷστε[28] καὶ ταῦτα παιδεῖᾳ σύντροφος καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ τὰ μέτρια ὡμιληκώς, ἀφέμενος, ὦ Λύκινε, τοῦ περὶ τὰ βελτίω σπουδάζειν καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς συνεῖναι... (*OD* 2). Kraton continues, however, by warning Lykinos that he may become "some Lydian woman or a bacchant" from the educated person he is (πρὸς δ' οὖν τούτοις ὅρα ὅπως μὴ λάθῃς ἡμῖν ἐξ ἀνδρὸς τοῦ πάλαι Λυδή τις ἢ Βάκχη γενόμενος... *OD* 3), referring thus to the allegedly effeminate and 'barbarian' Orient, which was Lucian's country of origin. Kraton's remark is a double-play, where Lucian's Hellenized identity (Lykinos) is warned of becoming the person Lucian was before his education. This background serves as an effective starting point for a defence of dance – the accuser and the defender share the same culture, and now it is only the skill of the defender (*rhetor*) which allows pantomime to emerge as victor in the battle.

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[25] Other works where Lykinos appears: *Hermotimos*, (*Ἑρμότιμος ἢ περὶ αἱρήσεων*), *The Eunuch* (*Εὐνοῦχος*), *Symposion* (*Συμπόσιον ἢ Λαπίθαι*), *The Ship* (*Πλοῖον ἢ εὐχαί*), *Essays in Portraiture* (*Εἰκόνες*), *A Conversation with Hesiod* (*Διάλογος πρὸς Ἡσίοδον*), *Affairs of the Heart* (*Ἐρωτες*; Ps.-Lucian), *The Cynic* (*Κυνικός*; Ps.-Lucian).

[26] As Goldhill (2002, 66) points out that "scholars have often wanted to cut through all of Lucian's playing with the dressing-box, and declare dismissively that Lucian sometimes calls himself 'Lykinus' ... And not ask why." For a discussion of roles and masks (πρόσωπα, προσωπεῖα) in Lucian, see the concluding section of this article.

[27] The traditional year was 23/22 BC. Athenaios, roughly contemporary with Lucian, characterizes Pylades' dancing as solemn, expressing passion and variety of character, whereas Bathyllos' dancing is more jolly (*Deipnosophistai* 1.20d-e). For the traditional date of origin, see Jory 1981, esp.148 and 157. The terminology was not very clear-cut: usually the Greek sources speak of ὀρχησταί (a general term for dancers), and only sometimes of παντόμιμοι (a term used more in Latin, *pantomimi*). The dancer was also called τραγικῆς ἐνρύθμου κινήσεως ὑποκριτής, and in Latin *histrio* (Robert 1930, 111; Jory 1996, 2 n. 2). This resulted in confusion, for example between mimes and pantomimes. According to Jory (1996, 26-27), pantomime evolved from mime; pantomimes were soloists without support from other actors (besides the chorus), dancing all the roles of the dramatic piece, hence the name 'pantomime' i.e. 'mime of everything' (*OD* 67). Mime performances were usually short plays on everyday themes, in which the performers (mimes) spoke, danced, sang and played various instruments, generally without masks. Mime was criticized more often than pantomime for immorality and coarseness. For a short overview of pantomime and mime, with references to ancient texts, see Csapo and Slater 2001, 369-389; also Molloy 1996, 81-85; Roueché 1993, 23-27. In this light we can say that the said inventors of pantomime, Pylades (which was also a very popular stage name in pantomimes, see Robert 1930, 112) and Bathyllos, were virtuosi who made the already existing dance form more widely known and elaborated it further.

[28] The reading ...ὤν, ὦ λῷστε, a very classical phrase, is used in the Oxford edition by Macleod. In the Loeb edition the reading ...ὢν ὅλως... is used.

The Educated Attitudes to Pantomime: The Power of Dance

Pantomime caught the critical attention of intellectuals, whose mouthpiece is Kraton.[29] While Lykinos defends dance in general, and pantomime and the male dancers in particular, he is a part of the same world as the educated, sharing their attitudes. It is thus not only Kraton's direct accusation, but also Lykinos' defence, which gives an insight into the educated view of male dancers. What is not said aloud is as important as what is said and how it is said. The attitudes to male dancers can be grouped under two headings. First, they are participating in a performance, which as a genre is morally questionable and against the values of the Second Sophistic, and this holds true also with regard to the audience. Second, as dancers they represent an inappropriate image of men for men. It is a question of the proper masculine image of body (*soma*) and soul (*psyche*).[30]

It is obvious that in dance, and especially when performed on stage before an audience, the attention is attracted to the body of the dancer. In dance, the body serves as the central mode of communication, with other modes such as rhythm, melody, lyrics, costumes, etc., being present and inseparable from the moving body or dance itself.[31] The communication or meaning in dance does not lie in the movements as such – "a left leg raised is a left leg raised"[32] – but in dance as a whole in its context. In order to grasp the meaning, familiarity with the particular, culture-specific movement system and the culture are essential. That is, one has to know the code in order to decode.[33] As the body is central in dance, it is powerful, through the moving body, in conveying notions of gender: who dances in what way, in what context, for whom, since "... it is through our bodies that we are allocated our gender."[34]

In the case of ancient dance, understanding meanings through a detailed account of the movements of a particular dance is not possible, since the ancient dances as such

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[29] For the attitudes expressed by Roman authors, see Williams 1999, 139-141.

[30] Burt 1995, 73: "In theatre dance, the acceptable male dancer is ... one who, when looked at by the audience, proves that he measures up to the supposedly unproblematic male ideals." Lykinos takes up the *psyche* and *soma* of a good dancer in *OD* 74-75.

[31] There has been some discussion in the field of dance studies about dance as nonverbal communication, notably as a response to Judith Lynne Hanna's model of dance communication (Judith Lynne Hanna, *To Dance is Human: A Theory of Nonverbal Communication*, Austin 1979). For Hanna, dance is first and foremost communication, where movements make meaning. A synopsis of her theory is presented in e.g. Hanna 1988, 13-19. The theory has been criticized for its aim to cross-culturally validate notions and interpretations of dance, for example by Sally Ann Ness, Observing the Evidence Fail: Difference Arising from Objectification in Cross-cultural Studies of Dance, in Gay Morris (ed.), *Moving Words. Re-writing Dance*, London and New York 1996, 253-258. For a general overview of dance, especially in antiquity, anthropology and communicative approach, see Naerebout 1997, 312-316. As such, I see no objection of perceiving dance, as any other human action, as communicative in its own cultural context. Burt (1995, 7) does not even discuss whether dance is or is not communicative: "First the body is the primary mode of communication in dance."

[32] Naerebout 1997, 392. Of course there are movements which have relatively obvious references or meanings, but even so a single movement, as such, needs a context. For example, when the hand is placed on the heart, the facial expression, music or movement of the torso, etc. indicates what is expressed (happiness, sorrow, love, etc.).

[33] Naerbout 1997, 391-394 (communication in and interpretation of dance). As a simple example, if someone who has never seen Western ballet before, sees men dancing in *Swan Lake* 'as ballerinas', in the roles of swans, he might miss the point.

[34] Burt 1995, 7. Also Hanna 1988, 3.

are lost.[35] Meanings can be studied, however, on a more general level by looking at the way that dance is discussed or depicted in antiquity, by whom, and for what purpose. For this, the context of both the described dance performance and the description itself must be focused on. Kraton characterizes pantomime as a spectacle dominated by the overly effeminate dancer. For him, the effeminacy is revealed in soft clothes (ἐσθῆτες μαλακαί), licentious songs, and the roles of the dancer. The danger in watching pantomime is in the harmful influences – you become what you look at, an effeminate male, who crosses the line to the female gender. (*OD* 2.)[36] Lykinos, in his part, subscribes to the effect of dance on the audience in many instances, but stresses the positive effects.

First, what does Lykinos have to say about the power of dance in conveying meaning? Lykinos discusses the power of dance by comparing it with the theatre performances Kraton considers as more acceptable pursuits for a cultured person, namely tragedy, comedy, performers who sing and play *kithara* and *aulos*-players who accompany the cyclic choruses, κύκλιοι αὐληταί (*OD* 2). Dance is multi-sensory occupying the ears as well as the eyes (*OD* 3-4).[37] Dance is powerful as it gives both pleasure and benefit to the spectator as well as to the dancer (*OD* 71). Most importantly, dance is powerful, because it occupies both the body and the mind, which for Kraton is a frightful image, for Lykinos the culmination of the superiority of dance. The frightfulness lies in the idea, that if (as Kraton says) dance is essentially shameful, and if (as Lykinos says) it masters the matters of body and soul alike, it indeed is harmful because it incorporates the whole human being. Regarding the matters of the mind Lykinos mentions philosophy, the Muses and, most importantly, rhetoric.[38] Dance is "a science of imitation and portrayal, revealing what is in the mind and making intelligible what is obscure" (*OD* 36, transl. by A.M. Harmon in Loeb). It is not at all a matter of chance that Lykinos brings up philosophy and rhetoric, the important elements of the Greek education, which both Lykinos and Kraton share: the similarity of technique and aim of pantomime with rhetoric and its connection with philosophy[39] should be enough for Kraton to accept pantomime.

Dance is a *techne* comparable to rhetoric at least in two points. It requires a good knowledge of the accepted corpus of mythology and history, "beginning from the Chaos

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[35] Naerebout 1997, 234-240 in discussing the use of iconographic sources, and 315-316 about various approaches to the study of ancient dance.

[36] On the harmful effects of dance on the spectators, also Lib., *Or.* 64.59-61. For a discussion of the dangers of male audience seeing female performers on stage, see Webb 2002, 296-297.

[37] Kraton refers to the spell of Sirens in Homer, which one can escape with the help of wax. In dance, the spell works also through eyes. Lykinos subscribes to this view only to the extent that in dance the spell is not harmful but makes the spectator wiser than before. Multi-sensory, esp. the eyes: *OD* 5 (eyes wide open, seeing and hearing), 6 (music and rhythm), 68 (the dancer has all the means: musical instruments, actor's voice, singers), (eyes and ears), 85 (dance charms the eyes and makes them wide awake; Kraton has eager eyes and ears to attend a dance performance).

[38] *OD* 35 (physics, ethics, rhetoric, painting, sculpture), 36 (Mnemosyne, Polymnia). An epigram (*Ant.Pal.* 9.505) describes the Muse Polymnia, identified with dance and especially with pantomime: "I, Polymnia, am silent, but speak through the entrancing motions of my hands, conveying by my gestures a speaking silence." (Translated by W.R. Paton, The Greek Anthology, Loeb, vol. III.) References to the iconography of Polymnia in Jory 1996, 12-13.

[39] Lykinos mentions Plato and Aristotle (*OD* 70) showing that he has not forgotten 'our philosophy' as Kraton claimed at the beginning .

... until to the Egyptian Cleopatra" (*OD* 37). Lykinos gives a wearisome list of the themes a good dancer has to know (*OD* 37-61), and thus makes sure that the dancers' vast store of knowledge is not overlooked. Lykinos also reminds us of his own learnedness, when he criticizes other writers' accounts of dance as being basically only detailed lists of various dances. These omissions on Lykinos' part are not made because of the lack of learning (ἀμαθία), but because he thinks that such information is tasteless and pedantic (ἀπειρόκαλος, ὀψιμαθής). (*OD* 33)

The other point in common with rhetoric and dance is the technique with the requirement of utmost clarity.[40] A major difference was of course the muteness of the dancer, although according to Lykinos (*OD* 30), initially, the dancers had sung, but as the panting of the dancers disturbed the singing, it seemed better to have others sing. Every movement in dance, says Lykinos, has to be so clear that no interpretation is needed (*OD* 36, 62, 65). This is a very mechanistic way of looking at dance, and counterarguments are easily found. What point is there in dancing, if you can say the same thing in words?[41] The clever Lykinos tells an appropriate story about a barbarian from Pontos and a famous dancer in the time of the Emperor Nero. When the barbarian went to Rome for some business, he saw the dancer performing so vividly that although the barbarian could not understand what was being sung, because he was only 'half-Hellenized' (ἡμιέλλην), he understood the meaning of the movements. Later, when he was about to return home, Nero wanted to give him a present, and the barbarian requested the dancer. Nero enquired the reason, which in all its simplicity was to use the dancer as an interpreter: the man from Pontos had barbarian neighbours, and it was difficult to find interpreters for that language; this dancer could, however, interpret everything in signs". (*OD* 64) One may argue that the result of the story is a far cry from dance or it is not dance at all. The story is not, however, about the 'artistic' quality of dance, but about the suitability of dance technique for communication.[42]

Imitation, the catchword of the Second Sophistic, is central in Lykinos' defence of pantomime, and it seems to have been the norm for good dances. There were, however, dances that lacked in their imitative quality, and obviously pantomime was accused of its non-imitative nature. This can be detected when Lykinos tells another story of a very skilful dancer. There was a Cynic, Demetrios, who denounced pantomime, like Kraton, on the grounds that "the dancer was a mere adjunct to the *aulos* and pipes and the stamping, himself contributing nothing to the presentation but making absolutely meaningless, idle movements with no sense in them at all." It goes without saying that the dancer was able to convert Demetrios to a friend of pantomime by dancing without any music or lyrics, just by himself, mute. At the end Demetrios shouted: "I hear, what you are acting, my man – I do not just see it, you seem to me to be talking with your very hands!" (63, transl. by A.M. Harmon in Loeb, with some modifications.)

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[40] For the use and abuse of acting skills in oration, see Fantham 2002, 362-376, esp. 371-372.

[41] According to many scholars or dancers, this is just why people dance. A famous remark by Isadora Duncan gets to the core of this argument: "If I could tell you in what it meant, there would be no point in dancing it." Cited in A.P. Royce, *The Anthropology of Dance*, Bloomington 1980, 15 (she refers to T. Comstock (ed.), *New Dimensions in Dance Research: Anthropology and Dance*, New York 1974, 226).

[42] The story has counterparts in more recent times: dance can be effectively used as a means of conveying 'practical' knowledge, e.g. in anti-AIDS –campaigns in various countries in Africa.

Pantomime as a Show of Effeminacy

Second, what has Lykinos to say about the effeminacy of the dancers, the central accusation of Kraton against the dancers? Being a male performing on stage was not, as such, a reason for being criticized of effeminacy. When Kraton criticizes Lykinos sitting in theatres watching pantomime, he wonders on the contrary why, if one really has to go the theatre at all, such an educated man as Lykinos does not attend proper and serious performances (*OD* 2). He is referring to the classical repertoire of tragedies and comedies, which are an accepted part of a Greek contest (ἀγών). It is not by chance that Kraton takes up classical drama in this discussion, since pantomime shared quite a lot with its theatrical ancestors, from the themes (e.g. mythology) and elements of the performance (e.g. a singing chorus) to the accessories of the performers, of which the mask was perhaps the most notable. The special characteristic of the mask was that its mouth was closed (*OD* 29),[43] a further indicator that the dancer himself did not use words at all. Lykinos, when replying to Kraton about attending accepted drama, pictures it in a belittling tone, while stressing at the same time that the themes of tragedy and pantomime are common to both (*OD* 27-29).[44] Thus Kraton's point about the female roles in pantomime being unacceptable should, according to Lykinos, apply equally to tragedy and comedy, and Lykinos continues that, in fact, in tragedy and comedy the female roles outnumber those of male (*OD* 28-29). Here Kraton speaks of quality, "love-stricken and the most lustful women of old stories" (*OD* 2), and Lykinos just of quantity – on quality he is silent, although later on, after having listed a vast number of themes in pantomime derived from mythology, Lykinos admits that it is most important for a dancer to know the love stories of the gods (*OD* 59-60).

The crucial point is *agon*. An acceptable male body was a product of the *gymnasion*. There the youths could be modelled into ideal citizens under the gaze of adult males. The moving male body was admired, watched and accepted in contexts requiring physical strength and competition.[45] The agonistic festivals were fundamentally situations where the Greek *paideia*, based on literature and sports, was on show.[46] As

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[43] It should be remembered, that the masks were made of linen and no originals have been preserved; we only have representations of them. Jory (1996, 6-11 and 19) notes that female masks identifiable with pantomime outnumber those of male, which may indicate the popularity of female roles. See also Jory 2002, 241-253.

[44] This is one instance, where the reader should be aware that Lykinos', or rather Lucian's anecdotes have an objective in mind. That is, in order to defend the case (i.e. pantomime) successfully, the opposing side (i.e. classical drama) is belittled. Lykinos stresses that the themes of pantomime are more varied (*OD* 31). This is understandable because more literary tales for the themes of dances were available, such as those derived from novels.

[45] Lykinos definitely wants to underline the vigorous nature of the movements in pantomime, which are ideal for training a good, male body (*OD* 71): "[Dance is] the most excellent and well-balanced gymnastic exercise", which makes the body soft and supple as well as strong. This refers to the classical past recalling Socrates' opinion, according to Xenophon, of dance as good exercise for a healthy body, as discussed later. Lykinos notes also that dancing is much more pleasurable (ἥδιον) to watch than youths boxing, covered in blood, or wrestling in the dust.

[46] The agonistic festivals held an important place in the Roman Empire as well. Every self-respecting city had the buildings (theatre, *stadion*, *gymnasion*) required to facilitate Greek culture. See Onno van Nijf, Local Heroes: Athletics, Festivals and Elite Self-fashioning in the Roman East, in Simon Goldhill (ed.), *Being Greek under Rome. Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire*, Cambridge 2001, 307-312; Roueché 1993, 2-3.

Kraton seems to think, the fact that classical drama was one of the original agonistic performances sufficed for traditional drama to be accepted, in spite of men performing as women: "[you i.e. Kraton] call these [tragedy, comedy, etc.] competitive and therefore grand" (*OD* 26). Pantomime was naturally a newcomer to the agonistic sphere, as compared to the classical repertoire. Quite early on, however, it was incorporated into the programme of agonistic festivals, although at first as an entertaining interlude (ἐπί-δειξις). In the 2nd century, pantomime dancers were already competing even in the most respected international festivals.[47] This means that at the time of Lucian writing his essay, pantomime was an agonistic event. Why then do both Lykinos and Kraton speak as if it were not? In fact, Lykinos states directly that pantomime is not an agonistic event for the reason that the *agonothetai* consider it too grand and important for competition (*OD* 32). Kraton may intentionally confuse mime and pantomime, as sometimes happened,[48] but Lykinos would surely not. I would suggest that it is rather a question of Lykinos and Kraton speaking in terms of the original, and thus ideal, agonistic programme, when pantomime as a genre did not yet exist in the form it had in the 2nd century. Even more important is that it is one thing to perform in a play in a speaking role and quite another to dance – the attention is directed to words and body, respectively. This is exactly what Lykinos and Kraton both underline: pantomime is for the eyes and ears, drama just for the ears. Equally notable is a solo performance, where the attention is drawn to only one moving body, and not to a dancing chorus. The chorus and its dance expressed communality in quite another way than a solo performance could, as the chorus was originally composed of Athenian citizen laymen.[49] Naturally the situation had changed from 5th century BC Athens – dance in the theatres became a matter for professionals – but the reference point of, for example, a tragedy's chorus, can be fixed to the classical past on an ideological level. This is supported by the lack of discussion of, and attention to the chorus of pantomime, as it was obviously professional from the outset, and had thus no reference to a particular place, which would have enhanced communality.

It is made clear that pantomime is a recent dance genre and thus in opposition with the ideal fixed point in past. Even though the traditional time of origin of pantomime was almost two hundred years before Lucian's essay, this was still too young.[50] While subscribing to this statement,[51] Lykinos handles the problem of the date masterfully, by rooting pantomime in the ideal past (*OD* 25).[52] He points to the well-known passage in the history of ancient Greek dance, in Xenophon's *Symposion* (9), where a male and a female dancer present the love affair of Ariadne and Dionysos. Just previously, Lykinos has stated that Socrates was a true devotee of dance, who even wanted to learn the art

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47 Roueché 1993, 23-25. Mimes appear competing from the later 2nd century.

48 See above, note 27.

49 Jory (1996, 23-24) states that solo performance denoted professionalism, which alone was despicable in intellectual circles. Besides, in choral performances the dancers sang as well, and the movements were perceived as emphasizing the words.

50 Robinson 1979, 5: "For if some sophists were accused of modernism, this seems to have meant no more than that, instead of the standard models, they imitated Alexandrian and even occasionally later literature."

51 Lykinos 'dates' the origin of pantomime to the Augustan period (*OD* 34).

52 Lykinos has previously discussed at length the origins of dance in general, and about dance among Greeks and other peoples in particular (*OD* 7-24).

(τέχνη) himself.[53] If Socrates admires a dance genre, which was then only budding and not yet even in its full beauty, are we in a position to condemn it, since: "If he [Socrates] could see those who now have advanced it to the utmost, that man, I am sure, dropping everything else, would have given his attention to this spectacle alone; and he would not have his young friends learn anything else in preference to it" (*OD* 25).[54]

Lykinos emphasizes the perfect body of a good dancer and does not consider of what the body is the instrument. True to his education he refers to Polykleitos' *kanon*[55], continuing that "[the body of the dancer] should not be very tall and lanky beyond the moderate, nor should it be too short and dwarfish[56], but just the right measure; nor should the body be fat – impossible even – neither excessively thin, which has a skeletal and dead look" (*OD* 74).[57] To this model are compared the unfortunate dancers, whom Lykinos takes as examples of how important a role the body plays in dance. The scene is Antioch, whose inhabitants are experts in matters of dance according to Lykinos; hence, their views are important. When a small-sized dancer was about to dance the part of Hector, the audience shouted in one voice: "Oh, Astyanax, where is Hector?" To a fat dancer trying to make great leaps they commented: "We beg you, spare the stage." For a very thin dancer the audience wished good health, as if he were ill. (*OD* 76) Lykinos is very careful not to mention any instances where the body could have been called effeminate, and in fact he is misleading Kraton by stressing the masculine body of a

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[53] He does not mention the scene of Ariadne and Dionysos directly. Since this is the only imitative dance performance (thus recalling pantomime) described in Xenophon's *Symposion*, which Lucian has clearly in mind, the reference must be to this passage. Xenophon writes about Socrates admiring dance in *Symposion* 2.15-19.

[54] In antiquity the Dancing Socrates seems to have been a concept. There are six references, Lucian of course among them, to the Dancing Socrates (and to Xenophon's *Symposion*) from the 2nd to the 4th centuries (Huss 1999, 383-385). According to Huss (387-389) Socrates never danced; Xenophon meant the passage as a joke.

[55] The ideal male body was indeed represented in Polykleitos' sculpture, of which the "*canonized*" example is his *Doryphoros* (*Spear carrier*) known from many Roman copies. The original was in bronze and made ca. 440 BC, presenting a nude, muscular and well-proportioned male. Polykleitos' lost treatise (*Kanon*) handled probably from a technical point of view *symmetria*, the proportionate harmony of a depicted body. The terms *kanon* and *symmetria* are not entirely clear. See J.J. Pollitt, The *Canon* of Polykleitos and Other Canons, in Warren G. Moon (ed.), *Polykleitos, the Doryphoros and Tradition*, Madison, Wisconsin 1995, 2-24 (esp. 21).

[56] Some terracotta statuettes depicting dwarfs indicate pantomime. Jory (1996, 14-15, figs. 12 and 13) notes that performing dwarfs were usually jesters, thus more easily connected e.g. with mime, but that their relation with pantomime needs further study. Attitudes to dwarfs worsened considerably in the Hellenistic and Roman eras as compared to earlier periods in Greece and Egypt. They were often depicted as grotesque and many earned their living as entertainers (Veronique Dasen, *Dwarfs in ancient Egypt and Greece*, Oxford 1993, 247-248).

[57] The Greek authors often contrasted the Greek ideal body with that of other cultures. For example, Diodoros of Sicily (1.81-82) was confused as to the manner in which the Egyptians reacted to the body: there was no physical exercise in their upbringing as there was in Greece, and the well-being of one's body included fasting and vomiting (i.e. cleansing of the body). This view must have been quite peculiar to someone with a Greek education, since the ideal body was not muscular and athletic. According to Xenophon (*Symp.* 2), Socrates thought dance a perfect exercise for achieving and maintaining an ideal body: dancing makes the body evenly proportioned so that no part of it was 'overdeveloped' as e.g. in long distance running (shoulders underdeveloped) or boxing (feet underdeveloped). Libanios, *Or.* 64.103 mentions that when a boy is applying for dance training, the physical qualities should be observed carefully: his growth in height is estimated as average, the neck should be straight and eyes lively, the fingers shapely, and in general the boy should be pleasing to look at. Molloy (1996, 67) notes how these qualities coincide with the requirements of a boy who seeks a career in the army.

dancer, since the body was covered in notably feminine and foreign clothes. They were soft, floating and luxurious, made preferably of silk. In the iconographic depictions of pantomimes, the garments indicate delicate, even transparent, or heavy embroidered fabrics, which are usually long.[58] A highly skilful dancer did not even change his dress between roles, but could indicate the changing role by cleverly using his mantle (χλαῖνα, *pallium*), as mentioned by Fronto, *de Or.* 4 (also 2nd century): "...pantomimes when they dance in the *pallium* indicate the tail of the swan, the hair of Venus, and the whip of Fury with the same *pallium*." For Fronto, this was not, however, a compliment directed at dancers, but a derogatory example of how bad writers do the same thing as these dancers: they repeat the same idea, in disguise, over and over again.

Lykinos (*OD* 71) describes the dance style of pantomime as "energetic, including twists, turns, leaps and back-flung poses,"[59] which seems to be far from the solemn style approved of by intellectuals. An oft-cited notion, also by Lykinos (*OD* 34), of grouping dances comes from Plato, who says that there are two movement styles: the movement of beautiful bodies imitating solemnity, and the movement of ugly bodies imitating ignobility. Furthermore, the solemn movements are reflections of either courageousness or self-restraint of the soul; they are then movements either relating to war or peace, and the dances are called *pyrriche* and *emmeleia*, respectively. Since the exaggerated movements of Bacchic dances and the like are not in accordance with these requirements, imitating drunken behaviour, they are inappropriate to citizens, men and women alike. Any kind of excess in the movements of dances is questionable, because movement reflects the person's state of mind. In addition, Plato leaves the dances of comedy to slaves and foreigners who perform for money; a free citizen should not be caught learning them.[60] There are several references to Bacchic dances in both Lykinos' and Kraton's statements. As already mentioned, Kraton is afraid of Lykinos becoming a bacchant by following pantomime, and he in fact thinks that Lykinos is already filled with Bacchic frenzy (ἐκβεβαχευμένος). Lykinos responds by using the same notions as Plato in the case of accepted dances, namely taking up how pantomime is good and harmonious for the body and soul alike (*OD* 6, 74-75). When Lykinos chooses to handle Dionysiac and Bacchic dances, he mentions all the dances of drama, *kordax* (comedy), *sikinnis* (Satyr play) and *emmeleia* (tragedy), and further relates that in fact Dionysos

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[58] Discussion in Jory 1996, 5, 19. Lykinos mentions silk clothing (ἐσθῆτι στρωτῇ) of the dancer (*OD* 63).

[59] Once again Lykinos chooses to point out masculinity, as if these movements of the beautiful body would be enough to bring pantomime and masculinity, i.e. acceptance, together. The use of hand gestures, *cheironomia*, was central to pantomime. The importance of the hands can be detected in Lykinos' story about the Cynic Demetrios, cited above, where Demetrios admires the 'talking hands' of the dancer (*OD* 63). For Lib., see above note 57. No details are known of *cheironomia*: we do not know whether the hand gestures were given a precise meaning to the extent that the dancer could produce entire sentences by using these gestures, or whether these were more 'decorative' in nature. Often the ancient *cheironomia* is compared with Indian *hastas* and *mudras* (Lillian B. Lawler, *The dance in ancient Greece*, London 1964, 12; Steven H. Lonsdale, *Dance and ritual play in Greek religion*, Baltimore 1993, 30). They are said to have developed to the extent that a dancer can translate speech into signs very accurately (A. Iyer, Hand gesture in Indian dance, *Dance studies* 18 (1994) 51-95, esp. 55). For the difficulty of interpeting ancient finger-gestures, see a short discussion by Richard Green, Towards a reconstruction of performance style, in Easterling and Hall 2002, 115.

[60] *Laws* (*Νόμοι*) 814e-816e. Also Ath., *Deipnos.* 14.628c: "The school of Damon of Athens puts it well, that a certain kind of motion of the soul is expressed in song and dance: free and beautiful souls produce beautiful music and dance, whereas the opposite kind of souls produce the opposite kind of music and dance."

subdued the warlike people of Tyrrhenia, India and Lydia by dancing. Hence, the Bacchic dances – and pantomime, when classified as Bacchic in nature, as it is a dramatic art form – can also be warlike and thus appropriate (*OD* 22). This is a good example of the importance of the dance context, which Lykinos wants to ignore by speaking more generally. It suffices for his line of argument that the dance style was in the mythological past a medium of warfare, and this story should convince people of the dance's suitability. For Lykinos there are other inappropriate dances performed in a state of drunkenness, such as the Phrygian ones, which he omits from the discussion, as they have no relation to pantomime (*OD* 34).

There was in any case a certain amount of excess found in pantomime – this is what Lykinos himself has described, and what comes up in the connection made with pantomime and Bacchic dances by Kraton. Excess alone could be seen as a feminine trait,[61] and in the case of pantomime was one of the signs of effeminacy. Lykinos admits excess, with reservations, in case of some dancers. There are bad dancers, too, who because of a lack of education (ἀμαθία) do not deliberate over their movements, but present illogical myths and historical stories, and go to extremes in their expressions. For example, when they should express something soft (ἁπαλός), they exaggerate it by being overly feminine. As a counterpart, they can carry masculinity to the point of savagery and bestiality.[62] (*OD* 80-82) Excess was also apparent in the reactions of the spectators, in clapping their hands and shouting praise to the dancer (*OD* 5), and was realized in the whole musical accompaniment, which was much more than in other performances.

The orchestra consisted usually of *aulos*, i.e. reed-blown pipe (αὐλός), pipe (σῦριγξ), *kroupezai*, i.e. wooden clappers attached to the foot of a musician (κρούπεζαι), drum (τύμπανον), cymbals (κύμβαλα), *krotala*, a sort of castanets (κρόταλα), and sometimes even *kithara*, i.e. lyre (κιθάρα).[63] The percussion instruments in particular were perceived as feminine, and men performing with these instruments were liable to be labelled as effeminate on this basis.[64] The *aulos* provoked controversial associations, being a general instrument used in every possible context, but at the same time being linked to effeminacy and foreign habits.[65] This is clearly presented in Kraton's comment, when he says that the spectator of pantomime is duped by the *auloi* (καταυλισμένος), and then compares this to the accepted performances of *auloi* accompanying cyclic choruses, and of singing accompanied by *kithara* (*OD* 2). Lykinos responds to this later on (*OD* 26), stating that, in order to show how good pantomime is, he wants to compare it with

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[61] Williams 1999, 138-139.

[62] Interestingly enough, gladiators were also objects of disapproval, but this had more to do with the fact that they, or some of them, hired themselves out to fight as a performance. Williams 1999, 140-141.

[63] *OD* 2 (*aulos*, songs) 26 (*aulos*, *kithara*), 63 (*aulos*, *kroupezai*, human voice) 68 (*aulos*, *syrinx*, *kroupezai*, *kymbala*, human voice), 72 (*aulos*, *kymbala*, human voice, *syrinx*), 80 (string instrument), 83 (*kroupezai*). Also Molloy 1996, 74-79. For technical aspects of the instruments, see West 1992; Landels 2001.

[64] West 1992, 124. The oft-cited effeminate (μαλακός) Zenobios from Hellenistic Egypt is worth mentioning. He was hired to perform on one occasion with *tympanon*, *kymbala* and *krotala*, along with an *aulos*-player Peteous, and was even required to have the best possible clothes (P. Hib. 54, ca. 245 BC).

[65] Wilson (1999, see esp. 58-59, 72-78) has analysed the ambivalence of the *aulos*, calling it *enfant terrible* in classical Athens, which can be taken as a point of reference in this passage, as Kraton has clearly set his mind on that period. The players were often foreigners, non-Greeks, and women playing especially at the *symposia*, and often the *aulos*-players were clad in lavish robes. Aristotle (*Pol.* 1341a-1341b) is very clear in his opinions of the bad influences of the *aulos*.

tragedy and comedy, but leaving the instruments out, since both the *aulos* and the *kithara* are part of pantomime. This for Lykinos is evidence of the superiority of pantomime, as it includes all the instruments Kraton just mentioned; he does not take into account that *kyklioi auletai* are different from *auletai*. The context of the instrument conveys the meaning. Both Kraton and Lykinos connect the characteristic high-pitched sound of the *aulos* and human voices with effeminacy: Kraton, against pantomime, mentions the voice and *aulos* together (*OD* 2) and Lykinos, against tragedy, speaks about the voice of the actor (*OD* 27).

Recalling the idea that one's true nature is revealed in the style of dance, it is just a short step to effeminacy off-stage if the dance is judged as effeminate; if a man makes a show of his body on stage for money it is a short step to selling his body off-stage, too. Pantomime dancers were often equated with, or at least spoken of in the same breath as κίναιδοι, men who were noted for their effeminacy and alleged homosexuality,[66] and with prostitutes as well.[67] Lucian himself, in his other writings, hints at dancers in this way. *The Ignorant Book-collector* (*Πρὸς τὸν ἀπαίδευτον καὶ πολλὰ βιβλία ὠνούμενον*) is an attack on an uneducated (ἀπαίδευτος) and ignorant Syrian book-collector – once again an unnamed Syrian appears in the picture – whose appearance resembles that of *kinaidoi*, with a certain kind of a walk, gaze, voice and make-up evoking effeminacy, and the *kinaidoi* are mentioned as hanging around with dancers (22-23). In *The Hired Academic* (*Περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ μισθῷ συνόντων*, 27), an essay about a Greek intellectual working in a wealthy Roman household, the intellectual is rivalled by "a *kinaidos* or a dancing-master or an Alexandrian dwarf reciting Ionics," all of whom are in the business of passion (ἐρωτικά). Thus, Lucian himself presents the typical notion of dancers being part of the sexually loaded and effeminate sphere of the culture. This image of effeminate dancers is far removed from ideal masculinity, *andreia*, which includes notions of power, and to quote from more recent times, "in order to represent masculinity, a dancer should look powerful."[68] When Lykinos notes (*OD* 81) that the spectator sees himself, his own actions and feelings, in the dancer as in a mirror, it is just what Kraton is afraid of: seeing the possible effeminacy, even *kinaidia*, which perhaps lurks in every man.[69]

The Performance of Greekness

Pantomime can bee seen as incorporating the idea that in the 2nd century, being a Greek was a performance in itself.[70] Taking up the required role and acting it out convincingly was particularly important in rhetoric, and the role-playing, trying on different masks,

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[66] E.g. David Bain, Two Submerged Items of Greek Sexual Vocabulary from Aphrodisias, *ZPE* 117 (1997) 81-84, with some further references 81 n. 7. In recent decades, with the rise of studies on (homo)sexuality in antiquity, *kinaidoi*, lat. *cinaedi*, are suddenly a focus of attention. Here it is impossible to give a full bibliography of the subject. An elaborate study of *kinaidoi* vs. *hoplitai* is found in Winkler 1990, 45-70. With the focus on the Roman period, see e.g. Williams 1999, 160-229, both works with further references.

[67] Lib. *Or.* 64.38 and 81.

[68] Burt 1995, 51.

[69] Kraton (*OD* 5) alludes to the appearance of effeminate, *kinaidic* appearance in saying that he will not attend pantomime performances as long as he still has hair on his legs and his beard is un-plucked. The bottom line is that it is a question of self-restraint, and there seemed to be a real horror of discovering *kinaidia* in every man. Winkler 1990, 52-54 (discussing a passage in Plato, *Gorgias* 494c-e).

can be detected in Lucian's texts.[71] Pantomime as a theatrical art was naturally based on acting different roles. Lykinos relates a very telling story about the dancers' masks and roles. Once again there was a barbarian who – obviously not being well-acquainted with pantomime – noticed that there were five masks (πρόσωπα) but only one dancer. He wondered who else was going to dance and he was told that the same dancer would dance all the roles (προσωπεῖα), changing masks between acts. The barbarian commented: "I did not realize, my friend, that though you have only this one body, you have many souls." (*OD* 66, transl. by M.A. Harmon in Loeb.) One example of the masks and roles offstage comes from Lucian's essay *The Apology* (Ἀπολογία).[72] Here it is question of intellectuals and not of dancers or actors. In *The Hired Academic* Lucian had satirized intellectuals who, in order to secure material needs, take up positions in wealthy households, living in a state of 'voluntary slavery'. Lucian tells us in *The Apology* that he himself had chosen this lifestyle later in his life, and now has to defend his present status to a certain Sabinos. Right from the start the reader is dragged into the images of the theatrical world: Lucian states (2) that Sabinos is a friendly philosopher and that for Lucian, in order to succeed in his defence, it may be best to put on Sabinos' mask (τὸ σὸν πρόσωπον). If this scene is not convincing enough, it will be time for a scene change (ὥρα τοίνυν μετασκευάσαντας ἡμᾶς τὴν σκηνήν). Later on (5-6) Lucian suggests fitting comparisons for Sabinos to take up against Lucian. Lucian is like an actor who on stage is Agamemnon, but once off the stage, without the mask, is just some ordinary Aristodemos, playing his part for money. Or Lucian is like Cleopatra's monkey, that was taught to dance and was admired for its skills, but when it saw a fig (or an almond) on the ground, it stopped dancing, ate the fig, and even tore the mask up. Lucian suggests some defences, but finally comes to the conclusion that if he is condemned by the judges, his response to them is οὐ φροντὶς Ἱπποκλείδῃ, 'Hippokleides doesn't care' (15). Lucian's proverbial remark is very fitting for accusations comparing him with actors and dancers. Hippokleides was an Athenian aristocrat who had almost won as a bride the daughter of Kleisthenes of Sicyon in an *agon*. Hippokleides, however, danced in such a vulgar manner that Kleisthenes shouted 'you have danced away your marriage'. Hippokleides did not care.[73] Lucian's intellectual is like the dancer who has one body but many souls.

The masks are again mentioned in *Twice Accused*, a brilliant description of Lucian's own literary style, where a Syrian is accused of neglect and abuse by Rhetoric and Dialogue. The female Rhetoric met with the young Syrian, who spoke a barbarian language and wore Ionic clothes. She educated and married him and introduced him into Greek educated circles. The Syrian, however, when he was educated enough, understood that Rhetoric behaved indecently, so he found solace in Dialogue. Since it is Lucian we are talking about, he cannot settle with Dialogue either, but creates something new. The male Dialogue then accuses the Syrian of abuse, relating first, how he (i.e. Dialogue) was

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[70] Goldhill 2002, 89 referring to B. Cassin, *L'effet sophistique*, Paris 1995, 451 ("La seconde sophistique performe l'hellénisme.")

[71] See Goldhill 2002, 67-73, 82-89. Lucian was by no means alone with the idea of intellectuals' life as a role-play. See Catharine Edwards, Acting and self-actualisation in imperial Rome, in Easterling and Hall 2002, 377-394, esp. 378-380.

[72] See Goldhill 2002, 69-71 (about Lucian's account of himself in *The Apology*, which Goldhill characterizes as "...wittily self-conscious play with the strategies of self-justification.").

[73] Herodotos 6,127-129.

formerly extremely serious, pondering "upon the gods and nature and the universe". The Syrian, however, reduced him to the same level as the general population (πλῆθος) and changed the mask of tragedy into that of comedy. Then the Syrian "shut me (i.e. Dialogue) up with jest, iambic, Cynic, Eupolis and Aristophanes – clever (δεινός) in mocking things sacred and making fun of everything that is good. In the end, he even dragged in Menippos, one of the old Cynics..." (*Twice Accused* 26-33, the citation from 33.) In this 'autobiographical' story, however, the connection with pantomime is not masks, but education. If someone is unfortunately only half-Hellenized, such as the barbarian from Pontos, who could not understand what was being sung (*OD* 64), or even lacks a Greek education altogether, dance can step in. Dance can teach the alphabet, and further transmit the good, wholesome Greek stories to the audience. Thus the dancer's body serves as a Hellenizing instrument. It is as Rhetoric in *Twice Accused*, who educated the Syrian from barbarian to Greek. Interestingly enough, Lykinos has several anecdotes about barbarians learning and understanding Greek culture with the help of pantomime.

By linking pantomime with rhetoric, Lykinos alludes to its language-like quality, and thus also emphasizes the suitability of pantomime as an effective medium for displaying Greekness. While language is the starting point of education, at the same time it becomes the decisive element in showing one's education. In the 2nd century there were two categories of rhetoric: Attic and Asiatic, the latter having connotations of effeminacy and excess.[74] In a way, Lykinos wants to detach pantomime from this Asiatic, Orientalist rhetoric, by ignoring the effeminate traits woven into pantomime, and by stating that there are bad dancers, who should not cause the whole art of pantomime to be condemned. Pantomime is at its best Greek, its technique and style pure as Attic rhetoric. If, through language, one can both enter and display Greek culture, one can do so also through pantomime.

Lykinos and Kraton share the opinion of the limitless possibilities of dance in conveying meaning, good and bad; dance should be used carefully, like an enlightened philosopher guiding the city. The vast corpus of proper themes, and the subtlety of the dance style acquired through a demanding training, are in favour of the dancer. For Lykinos, effeminacy is just an unfortunate side effect, which can be eliminated by mastering the same education, especially rhetoric that speaks against dance. In short: "How, then, is dance not utterly harmonious, since it sharpens the soul (*psyche*), trains the body (*soma*), delights the spectators, and teaches the old stories with the help of *auloi*, *kymbala* and rhythmic melodies enchanting the eyes and ears?" (*OD* 72). It is a performance of Greekness, comprising the elements needed for the Greek education and linking the theatre culture to the classical past. By watching pantomime, Lykinos does not lose his education, nor does Lucian return to Orientalism.

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[74] Goldhill 2002, 91. See also Fantham 2002, 371.

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Tradition Revived - The Open-air Performances of Greek Tragedies in France, Italy, Greece and Russia (1860-1960)*

H.K. Riikonen

In 1995, during the Third Meeting of the International Society for the Classical Tradition (ISCT) in Boston, Hellmut Flashar pointed out that ancient plays have never been performed as often as in modern times.[1] It is obvious that the history of theatre in the 20th century cannot be written without lengthy chapters on modern performances of ancient Greek plays. In several instances, these performances can be regarded as landmarks in the history of theatre: Max Reinhardt's *Oedipus the King* in Munich and Berlin in 1910, the performances of Aeschylus and Euripides by the Greek Piraikon Theatron in the 1960s or Ariane Mnouchkine and the Théâtre du Soleil in the early 1990s, Tadashi Suzuki's interpretation of *The Trojan Women* in Tokyo in 1974 (also performed at the Olympic games in Los Angeles in 1984), Peter Stein's *Antikenprojekt* (Antiquity Project) in 1974 and his 7-hour-long *Oresteia* (1980), the same trilogy by the female group Raivoisat ruusut (Furious Roses) in Helsinki in the 1990s or the Euripides productions of the Royal Dramatic Theatre (Dramaten) in Stockholm in 1996-1997.[2] Of course, some ambitious performances ended in fiasco, like Mauno Manninen's production of Euripides' *Bacchae* in Helsinki in the 1960s.

In this article I shall focus on an important chapter in the reception of Greek plays, especially tragedies, namely the performances given in the ruins of ancient Greek and Roman theatres and amphitheatres and in other open-air venues (temple areas and stadiums) in the latter part of the 19th century and in the 20th century, until the beginning of the 1960s, when the Epidaurus festival had established its fame. Performances of Greek and Roman plays have occasionally been given in surroundings other than ancient theatres or other classical monuments[3] but, except for the performances

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* This essay is a revised version of several papers on modern performances of Greek dramas read on various occasions between 1997 and 2002, for which I am indebted to Professor Pirkko Koski (University of Helsinki), Dr. Leena Pietilä-Castrén (Finnish Institute at Athens) and Dr. Raimo Tuomi (University of Turku). Parts of this essay are included in my book *The Emperor as a Satirist and Other Essays from European Cultural Heritage* (in Finnish, *Keisari satiirikkona ja muita tutkielmia Euroopan kulttuuriperinnöstä*, 1998).

1 Hellmut Flashar's paper, "Aspects and Problems of Performing Ancient Drama on the Modern Stage", was read at the Third Meeting of the International Society for the Classical Tradition (ISCT) in Boston, March 8-12, 1995.

2 On modern performances of ancient dramas, see Nostrand 1934; Salosaari 1964; Trilse 1975; Styan 1982; Steiner 1984; Walton 1987 (Arnott's, Bakopoulou-Halls' and Beacham's essays); Flashar 1991; McDonald 1992; Westman 1992 (Kindlundh's essay) and Easterling (Burian's and Macintosh's essays). See also the articles in the magazine *Teatteri* 6/1991 and 3/1997.

3 See Macintosh 1997, 294, 303, 304.

in Russia, they fall outside this discussion. I shall give an overview of previous research carried out by theatre historians, cultural historians and classical scholars interested in the reception of the classical heritage since Romanticism. I will present examples of how performances in Southern France, Russia, Italy and Greece reflect different modern values and ideologies, despite the fact that they were all Greek tragedies on open-air stages. Evidently their ideological meaning became even more important because such performances in big open-air theatres were able to attract very large audiences. I shall also present some reflections on Finnish and Swedish-speaking Finnish writers as they give us an impression of Northerners' experience of Greek plays in 'authentic' settings.

General Background

At the beginning of the 19th century, Greek dramas were often performed at schools and universities. But scholars, impresarios and actors did not forget the fact that in antiquity tragedies and comedies were performed in large, open-air theatres. This gave impetus to the idea of reviving that ancient tradition. At first, performances of Greek tragedies were held in ancient amphitheatres in Southern France during the second half of the 19th century. By the outbreak of the First World War (1914), such performances were taking place in Syracuse in Sicily. Later (1927), in Delphi in continental Greece, some efforts were made in order to revive the tradition there. Most famous, however, have been the festivals at Epidaurus since 1953.

It is also worth mentioning here that in addition to open-air performances of Greek tragedies we also find plays based on other mythologies. In Finland in the 1910s, the poet Eino Leino (1878-1926) founded the so-called Helkanäyttämö (Helka stage), for which he wrote a work based on the Finnish national epic *Kalevala*.[4]

If we look at the open-air performances of Greek plays from the 1860s onwards in a larger context, we can find several underlying phenomena, starting points and parallel trends which are interesting from the viewpoint of the present study. Firstly, Romanticism had awakened a general interest in ancient ruins. One of the most famous of ancient monuments was of course the Colosseum of Rome, which in the early 19th century had become a tourist attraction, having its own local guides and frequently being depicted on souvenirs.[5] It is not a mere coincidence that such an interest in ancient ruins and monuments was noticed by early 20th century sociologists, as witnessed by Georg Simmel's essay *Die Ruine. Ein ästhetischer Versuch*. Simmel emphasizes that ruins are a more meaningful phenomenon ("Sinnvollere, bedeutsamere Erscheinung") than fragments of other destroyed works of art: "[d]ie Ruine des Bauwerks /.../ bedeutet, dass in das Verschwundene und Zerstörte des Kunstwerks andere Kräfte und Formen,

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[4] Leino's project was a disaster but in its context - compared with other contemporary open-air theatres and plays with mythic themes - it was an interesting undertaking. Concerning the Helka stage, see Mäkelä 1997, 153-165. The same can be said of the Savonlinna opera festival organized by the Finnish opera singer Aino Ackté (1876-1944) during the same decade. For a treatment of the Savonlinna opera festivals organized by Aino Ackté, see Savolainen 1995, 17-65. On medieval Olavinlinna (St. Olof's Castle) in Savonlinna as a place for ceremonies and performances, see Sarantola-Weiss 1996.

[5] See Pietilä-Castrén 1989, 149-150, 161-164; Szegedy-Maszak 1992. An interesting impression of the Colosseum is given by Alexandre Dumas in his 1844 novel *The Count of Monte Cristo*, see Riikonen 1998, 112-113.

die der Natur, nachgewachsen sind und so aus dem, was noch von Kunst in ihr lebt und was schon von Natur in ihr lebt, ein neues Ganzes, eine characteristische Einheit geworden ist."[6]

The interest in ruins coincides with the development and new discoveries of archaeology. The excavations in Pompeii had begun at the end of the 18th century, followed in the late 19th and early 20th century by Schliemann's, Dörpfeld's and Arthur Evans' excavations, which enjoyed worldwide fame.

In studying the modern performances of ancient plays it should be remembered that they were just one example of the many great spectacles that became popular at the end of the 19th century. The most famous of these spectacles was, of course, the Olympic games, which were revived by Baron Pierre de Coubertin in 1894. The interest in open-air performances in ancient theatres coincides with the period from 1870 to the First World War, characteristic of which were 'invented traditions'[7]. Here we could speak of 'revived traditions', as exemplified by the performances of Greek plays in (amphi)theatres and the Olympic games in stadiums modelled after the ancient ones. These revived traditions typically succeeded in attracting mass audiences. Sometimes the Olympic games and the theatre performances went hand in hand: at the Berlin Olympics in 1936, Aeschylus' *Oresteia* was performed under the direction of Lothar Müthel.[8]

At the same time, prior to the First World War, when ancient dramas were being performed in ancient theatres and amphitheatres, the new art form, cinema, was also showing an interest in themes taken from ancient history and myth. In this respect, early cinema is a direct continuation of the 19th century historical novel (Bulwer-Lytton, Sienkiewicz, and others) and its spectacular and melodramatic scenes. The Fall of Troy, the Fire of Rome, the Destruction of Pompeii, the Return of Ulysses, etc., were adapted for the cinema, especially in Italy.[9] In the film adaptations we encounter the same spectacular nature and exaggerated gesticulations that were typical of the open-air performances of the time. Moreover, the same actors often played the roles of classical heroes in both theatre and film.

The open-air performances of Greek plays were closely connected with speculations about the contrast between north and south. There were, for example, Victorian authors who maintained that the nature of Attic tragedies was in a way determined by the climate. In the Victorians' opinion the ancient world was connected

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6 Simmel 1993, 125. We can say that the ruins - be they temples, triumphal arches, gateways, aqueducts, theatres or amphitheatres that can be seen all over Europe, North Africa and Asia Minor - became in themselves symbols of the culture and power of ancient Greeks and Romans. As a symbol of Roman omnipotence, the circular (oval) form, which we find in amphitheatres, seemed very apt. The main character in Eino Leino's novel *The slave of luck* (1913 in Finnish, *Onnen orja*), Dr. Johannes Tamminen, hears the penates of Rome saying to him: "The essence of Rome is the circle. /.../ It includes eternity. The essence of Rome is eternal peace and harmony amidst the small swell of time." Leino 2001, 515. The image is taken from René Schneider's book *Rome. Complexité et harmonie* (Paris 1908), see Oksala 1986, 56. - Since the main character of Leino's novel wants to be a modern *civis Romanus*, he has assumed British nationality.

7 Hobsbawm 1983, 6-7; cf. Biddiss 1999, 125.

8 Flashar 1991, 164-168; Berghaus 1996, 299. According to Flashar (1991, 165), the production of the *Oresteia* in Berlin in 1936, was "[d]as einzige eindeutige Beispiel für eine handfeste Inanspruchnahme der antiken Tragödie für die Ziele des Nationalsozialismus". The monumental architecture of the Olympic games was of course based on ancient models; on the ideological background, see Cancik & Cancik-Lindemaier 1999, 189-195.

9 On classical antiquity in the cinema, see Solomon 2001, Salmi 1993a and Salmi 1993b, 256-273. On early Italian films, see Solomon 2001, 4-5.

with sun, daylight and open air. This can also be seen in Dostoevsky's famous story *The dream of a ridiculous man* (1877), where the main character dreams about bright sunshine and blue-green sea in the Greek Archipelago.[10]

Ancient Drama in the Amphitheatres in Provence

The open-air performances of Greek dramas in the modern period did not begin in Greece or Italy, but in France. An important reason for this was the increasing number of French translations of Greek dramas. There were, for example, several new translations of Sophocles' tragedies. From 1840 to 1850 more than ten new translations of *Oedipus the King* were written, both in verse and prose. Aeschylus was not as popular; his plays were replaced by Shakespeare and Victor Hugo. Theatregoers did not respond to Euripides' scepticism and pessimism until the end of the 19th century.[11]

Nineteenth century interest in the theatre of classical antiquity reached its apogee in the open-air performances in Provence. As early as in the 18th century, Rousseau had noticed the ruins of ancient theatres in France and their suitability for performances,[12] but it was not until the 1860s when the idea of staging plays in the ruins of Roman theatres and amphitheatres first surfaced. Previously they had been used for other purposes, e.g. the amphitheatre of Nîmes (ancient Nemausus) for bullfights.

The first performances of Greek plays in old amphitheatres produced little response. This changed when the Comédie française visited Orange (ancient Arausio) in 1888 and performed *Oedipus the King* with Mounet-Sully (1841-1916) in the title role. Thousands of spectators attended and the performance was a great success. Six years later *Antigone* was performed in the same location with Jeanne-Julie Bartet (1854-1941),[13] 'la divina Bartet', in the title role.

During the Third French Republic, open-air performances enjoyed considerable status as almost official festivities – commonly called the Bayreuth of France.[14] It was a question of "un théâtre bourgeois plus pompeux", as Roland Barthes characterizes the Comédie française.[15] Despite their conservative nature, they offered ideas for future authors and theatre directors, including Gordon Craig, who saw *Oedipus the King* and *Antigone* in 1894, and Gabriele D'Annunzio, who assisted in the production of the *Eumenides* in Orange in 1898.[16] At the end of the 19th century, such performances were

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10 Also according to Virginia Woolf, Greek tragedies were performed in the open air on very hot days. Woolf 1945, 40-42. These notions about performances in hot sunshine were erroneous: the greatest festival in ancient Greece was held in late March, when the weather could be unstable. On one occasion the festival was cancelled because of snow. Besides, several impressive scenes in Greek tragedy took place in pre-dawn darkness. Jenkyns 1980, 172.

11 Salosaari 1964, 6.

12 Leduc-Fayette 1974, 122-123.

13 Nostrand 1934, 178; Salosaari 1964, 9; Steiner 1984, 9.

14 Salosaari 1964, 10.

15 Barthes 1965, 535.

16 Beacham 1987, 317.

17 Salosaari 1964, 10. One of the most famous actresses of the time, Sarah Bernhardt (1844-1923), made a great impression in plays based on ancient myths. Both Mounet-Sully and Sarah Bernhardt were admired also by Nordic visitors, such as the Finnish writer Katri Bergholm, who later described them in the roles of French classical dramas and in Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*. Bergholm 1944, 44-415; Cf. Cavling 1900, 90.

very common, and Nîmes and Arles (ancient Arelate) joined Orange as popular venues. The lavish nature of these performances was based on impressive scenes with massive choruses, draperies and torch processions, not to mention renowned actors and actresses.[17]

Such performances, and the declamation and gesticulation of celebrated actors, gradually produced critical reactions as well. This is exemplified by a passage in *Sodome et Gomorrhe* by Marcel Proust, where Monsieur de Charlus regards Sarah Bernhardt's and Mounet-Sully's art as 'tripe' ('caca'). When the latter appears on stage in the amphitheatre at Nîmes, only then can one speak of a revelation or metamorphosis.[18] In the first part of his memoires, the Russian writer Ilya Ehrenburg tells how he laughed at Mounet-Sully when he roared like a wounded lion. Only afterwards did he understand the greatness of the French actor and the nature of the art of theatre.[19]

The success of ancient masterpieces in open-air theatres generated in France a need for new dramas based on classical themes. Several lesser talents and provincial poets wrote plays for open-air theatres with themes from Greek mythology based on conventional Romantic or Parnassian[20] views about Antiquity. Although they often were of mediocre quality, they nevertheless became popular and had a devoted following.[21]

Roland Barthes (1915-1980) was one of the well-known thinkers who participated in the open-air performance of a Greek tragedy. In his student days, Barthes was a member of a theatre group that aspired to perform Greek tragedies and Roman comedies. In the courtyard of the Sorbonne in 1936, the company performed the *Persians* by Aeschylus. The performance took on a political dimension because on the very same day the Front populaire came to power in France. A couple of years later Barthes went to Greece, where he made comparisons between his image of the age of antiquity and his experiences of the great changes that had taken place in modern Greece.[22] In 1987, the theatre group of 1936 received public recognition for its performance of *The Persians* at the Sorbonne, thus commemorating the performance fifty years earlier.[23] The performances of Greek plays also paved the way for the antique style drama of the 20th century, the French Neohellenistic drama (Anouilh, Cocteau, Gide, Giraudoux and even Sartre with his play *Les Mouches*). Of course, this trend was by no means limited to France.[24]

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[18] Proust 1954, 469.

[19] Ehrenburg 1980, 93, cf. also 114, 351 and 484. Cf. Cavling, 1900, 93: "[Mounet-Sully] hvilken i 20 år har spelat tragisk hjälte med samma oföränderligt öppna mun." On the reception of Mounet-Sully's Oedipus, see also Macintosh 1997, 279, 286-287. - Of course, Oedipus' cry represents a challenge to actors. Laurence Olivier, for instance, told of his interpretation as follows: "The detail most remarked upon in this performance [London 1945-1946] was the cry Oedipus must give when the whole truth of the Message, in this case conveyed by an old shepherd, is revealed to him. 'Oh, Oh,' is given in most editions. After going through all the vowel sounds, I hit upon 'Er'. This felt more agonized and the originality of it made the audience a ready partner in this feeling." (Olivier 1982, 117)

[20] The so-called Parnassian school presented respectful and nostalgic attitudes to the ancient past.

[21] Salosaari 1964, 11-12; Nostrand 1934, 189-318 ("Bibliographie annotée du théâtre antique et à l'antique en France de 1840 à 1900").

[22] Calvet 1990, 58-62.

[23] Calvet 1990, 59. Roland Barthes also wrote an essay on Greek theatre for the *Histoire des spectacles* (1965 513-536), where he briefly characterizes the traditions of performing Greek plays in France, including the performance of *The Persians* at the Sorbonne in 1936 (Barthes 1965, 535).

[24] Brecht, for instance, wrote his *Antigonemodell* in 1948. In Finland, where the performance of Anouilh's *Antigone* in 1947 reflected post-war sentiments and Finland's difficult political situation (Riikonen 1998, 163-165), neo-classical dramas were written by Rabbe Enckell (1903-1974). In her play *Eros ja Psykhe* (1959; Eros and Psyche) Eeva-Liisa Manner (1921-1995) adopted the use of anachronism, which we know from French Neohellenistic drama.

Italy and Greece

In Sicily, in the cultural territory of ancient Greece, the Syracusan festival began in 1914 with Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, directed in the manner of Max Reinhardt.[25] After a break caused by the First World War, the performances were continued with the second play of the *Oresteia* trilogy, the *Libation-bearers*. The third part, *Eumenides* was not performed until after the Second World War. Between the wars, the programme included *Oedipus the King* and *The Bacchae* in 1922, and Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* and Sophocles' *Antigone* two years later. As well as these tragedies, the programme included one comedy, *The Clouds* by Aristophanes, and two satyr plays, the *Cyclops* by Euripides and the fragments of *The Trackers* by Sophocles.[26] The tradition of ancient drama became more firmly established when the Istituto Nazionale del Dramma Antico was founded in 1925. This linked the Syracusan performances with the Fascist cultural programme, which sought to nourish the national spirit by appealing to the great cultural achievements of antiquity on Italian soil.[27] Also in 1925, the Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani was founded in order to propagate Roman cultural heritage.[28] One of the most extraordinary examples of Fascist cultural politics was the performance of *Oedipus the King* in the ancient theatre of Sabratha in 1937. Sabratha in Libya belonged at that time to Italy. Mussolini himself was present, and behaved with the gestures of a Roman emperor.[29] After the Second World War, the performances of ancient dramas in Syracuse resumed.[30]

Tatu Vaaskivi (1912-1942), a Finnish novelist and critic, attended a performance of Euripides' *Hecuba* in Syracuse in 1939. Vaaskivi described this performance in the chapter entitled 'As a foreigner in Syracuse' (Muukalaisena Syrakusassa) in his travel book *Cranes to the south...* (*Kurjet etelään...* 1946). Vaaskivi's colourful description is worth quoting here in its entirety:

"A fifteen minute walk from the present day town [Syracuse], under the open sky, I saw an authentic performance of a Greek play one afternoon. For several years now, the Istituto Nazionale del Dramma Antico has given performances in ancient amphitheatres in Italy. It is a happy coincidence that I am in Syracuse on that very day of May when Euripides' "Hecuba" is being performed in the most impressive amphitheatre of the Greek colonies, on Hiero's own stage. The broken rows of stone benches are completely filled with people. Only the modern scenery, with its stylised papyri and castle towers, breaks to some extent the suggestive "Grecian" general tone. The clashing of the cymbal quickly deadens the cries of the ice-cream sellers; the noisy audience suddenly becomes quiet. Due to the excellent acoustics of the amphitheatre, I can hear up to my stone seat every line of the Italian verse translation by Manlio Faggella.

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25 Beacham 1987, 318.

26 Flashar 1991, 163.

27 Beacham 1987, 320. - In connection with the festival in Syracuse a *bollettino* was published that was devoted to the performances and to various aspects of ancient theatre and drama. The magazine developed into the remarkable periodical *Dioniso*.

28 Härmänmaa 2000, 150, 165.

29 Beacham 1987, 322. - Italian cinema before 1945 provides excellent examples of how the Italian fascists and Mussolini used antiquity for their ideological purposes. See for instance Salmi 1993, 69-77, who discusses the Italian film *Scipio Africanus*. Salmi also considers its reception in Finland.

30 Beacham 1987, 322; for a list of performances in Syracuse, see Beacham 1987, 326-327.

Booming portentous music comes from invisible caves; it makes the Grecian peplums of the chorus girls and the light green veils of the danseuses flutter. Seen from the heights of the amphitheatre, every group on the stage melts into one impressive all-encompassing movement. The pantomimes directed by Rosalia Chladek are like a great visual accompaniment to the grief of Hecuba. The diminishing and increasing booming of the brass drums, the playing of flutes and singing of the chorus create a dizzying atmosphere.

I try to analyse the interpretation of Hecuba by Rina Morelli as I would a usual theatre performance - in vain! My thoughts go their own restless ways. It connects the modern performance with the great chorus plays of the Temenids; it enchants my eyes like the magic potion in the Arabic tales. It is as if time's clock was going backwards and I could see mirror-images of those tragedies which the contemporaries of Epicharmus saw from the same seats. The ghost of Achilles appears; the bodyguard of Agamemnon walks over the stage in his resplendent silver armour; ancient shields, whose hides have been painted with allegorical figures of animals, are shimmering in the sunset. When the play reaches its great climax and the blinded Thracian king stumbles onto the stage, the audience puts their binoculars to their eyes. The effect is quite the same as in Euripides' own time: the people want to see blood and they are allowed to do so! The rumble of drums increases. The wonderful dialogue of Hecuba and Polymestor sounds again like an echo from the time when the tired Hellenic soul refreshed itself with the same theatrical devices in the same amphitheatre."[31]

Although Vaaskivi is describing the performance of a play from Greek antiquity, it is worth noting that the performance in the old theatre awakens oriental associations in him: "it enchants my eyes like the magic potion in the Arabic tales". On the other hand, Vaaskivi regards the contemporaries of Euripides as tired people for whom the plays bring consolation. Vaaskivi mentions only indirectly that the performance in 1939 emphasized such Fascist ideals as heroic suffering, discipline and military virtues. Neither did he notice that the *mise-en-scène* had associations with the Nazi architecture in Nuremberg.[32]

In mainland Italy, in Fiesole (ancient Faesulae) near Florence, *Oedipus the King* was performed in 1911 with Gustavo Salvini (1859-1930), one of the famous Salvini family of actors, in the title role, and *The Bacchae* of Euripides (together with Torquato Tasso's *Aminta*) in 1912. The performances in Fiesole were continued after the First World War.[33] One of the Nordic visitors who attended the Fiesolean performances was Emil Zilliacus (1878-1961), a Swedish-speaking Finnish writer and classical scholar at the University of Helsinki. In a letter to the cultural magazine *Nya Argus* he criticized the performance of Euripides' *Bacchae* in Fiesole in 1913. Zilliacus found the Fiesole performance a mixture of dilettantism and high artistry. However, due to the natural setting and the milieu, which were in harmony with the play, the overall impression was

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[31] Vaaskivi 1946, 233-234. A year before, in 1938, Syracuse was visited by the journalist and school teacher Ilmari Lahti. His description (1938) of the performance is very general; he briefly mentions that expressionistic devices were used.

[32] Cf. Beacham 1987, 323. - Nazi architecture and its Greek elements were described by Olavi Paavolainen in his travel book *Kolmannen valtakunnan vieraana* (1936; *As a Guest in the Third Reich*).

[33] Beacham 1987, 317.

strong and fascinating.[34] The ancient theatre of Ostia, the port of Rome, joined the other venues when a group of young amateurs performed Plautus' *Aulularia* in 1922. Professional actors later played Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*, Sophocles' *Antigone* and Aristophanes' *Clouds*. The Ostian performances were supported by the Istituto Nazionale del Dramma Antico.[35]

In the 1930s, classical dramatic texts were performed in Paestum, between the temple of Neptune and the Basilica (Fig. 1). Instead of including tragedies, the programme consisted of other works using dramatic dialogue, the idylls of Theocritus and the mimes of Herondas. Along with these works, choruses and dances from *Agamemnon* (Fig. 2) and *The Bacchae* were also performed. Special attention was paid to music composed by Ildebrando Pizzetti, Giuseppe Mulè and Pietro Ferro and choreography by Minnie Smolkowa Casella.[36]

Fig. 1. Spectators in front of the 'temple of Neptune' in Paestum.

Between the World Wars even Horace's words *dicitur et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis*[37] were kept in mind in Italy when the Fascist organisation Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro sought to promote its ideology through art. It was for that purpose that the touring theatre (teatro ambulante) Il Carro di Tespi was created. It could move its actors, sets and all theatre requisites very quickly from place to place, making various kinds of stage productions possible in marketplaces and other open-air settings.[38]

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34 Zilliacus 1913, 110.

35 See Enciclopedia dello spettacolo (Vol. VII, 1960, 1414-1415): Ostia. - M. Corsi's *Il teatro all'aperto in Italia* (Milano-Roma 1939), where Ostia performances are discussed on pp. 120-125, was not available to me.

36 Taglè 1995. Taglè gives detailed information about the organization of the festival, including public transportation and the sale of tickets; see also the posters and photographs, fig. 1-46.

37 Hor. *Ars* 276.

38 Volpini 1956; see also the description of the Carro di Tespi by von Born 1936, 65-69.

Fig. 2. The program of classical performances in Paestum in 1932.

In the independent Greek state classical plays were sporadically performed. In Athens, in 1867, Sophocles' *Antigone* was performed in the theatre of Herodes Atticus in connection with the marriage celebrations of King George I of Greece. *Antigone* was performed with music by Felix Mendelssohn, originally composed for the performance of the play in Berlin in 1841. It is interesting that in Greece the somewhat odd combination of Sophocles and Mendelssohn, Greek tragedy and German Romanticism, as Hellmut Flashar aptly calls it, was considered satisfactory even later.[39] In 1900, Aeschylus' *Prometheus* was performed in the Olympic stadium of Athens under Linos Karzos's direction.[40]

In Delphi the poet Angelos Sikelianos (1884-1952), together with his wife Eva Palmer, founded festivals, which took place only twice, in 1927 and 1930. The programme included Aeschylus' *Prometheus*, which was joined in 1930 by *The Suppliants*. Sikelianos and Palmer aimed at great authenticity. Their point of departure was the idea that ancient vase paintings could provide them with reliable information about the movements and gestures of the chorus as well as about the costumes. The archaic way of performing was emphasized in the music by Konstantinos Psachos, which was based on Byzantine musical traditions.[41] But all the problems involved in the archaic way of performing were present: the performances did not hang together as cohesive units, but instead consisted of separate gestures and figures, as in an ancient frieze. The local population of Delphi and its

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39 Flashar 1991, 91. Mendelssohn's music was used in the remarkable production of *Antigone* in Covent Garden (1845) where Creon's role was played by the great English actor John Vandenhoff, who had studied and taught classical languages; see Hall 1997, 292-293. - Mendelssohn's music was also used in Swedish productions of *Antigone*. Sophocles' play was performed in Sweden in 1860, but as early as in 1841 the choir Orphei Drängar included choruses from *Antigone* in their repertoire. The first performance of *Antigone* by a professional theatre in Sweden (1884) followed German models, but Mendelssohn's music was used even as late as in 1925 in a performance in Helsingborg; see Kindlundh 1992, 190-193.

40 Flashar 1991, 162.

41 Flashar 1991, 161-162. - Konstantinos Psachos (1874-1949) was both a musicologist and a Byzantinist.

surroundings were able to participate in the performances organized by Sikelianos and Palmer,[42] although, as Aliki Bakopoulou-Halls reminds us, the communist newspaper *Rizospastis* regarded them as a nostalgic effort of the bourgeoisie to revive an ancient culture.[43] The performances at Delphi were a great experience for all who saw them. The spectators, among them several journalists, had come first from Athens to Itea by ship and then continued by cart.

The same route was taken by Emil Zilliacus, who described Delphi in his travel book *Pilgrimages in Greece* (*Pilgrimsfärder i Hellas*, 1923).[44] After the Second World War, the performances of Greek plays in the theatre of Herodes Atticus in Athens and in the theatre at Epidauros in the Peloponnese achieved worldwide fame.[45] The work of such great Greek directors as Dimitris Rondiris, Alexis Minotis and Karolos Koun was closely connected with theatrical productions of ancient dramas.[46] In most of their productions they relied on translations into Modern Greek, but in some cases ancient Greek was used as well.

After the Second World War, increasing numbers of Finns visited Greece. The first to attend the festivals of Epidaurus from Finland was Arvi Kivimaa (1904-1984), who at that time was the director general of the Finnish National Theatre. He described his experiences in his travel book *To Greece in 1956* (*Kreikkaan 1956*). Kivimaa's account of Epidaurus is a tale of bad luck. The organizers of the festival had sold too many tickets, with the consequence that many people, among them Kivimaa, were prevented access to the theatre and could not see the performance of Sophocles' *Antigone* by the Greek National Theatre. Kivimaa noted that the mayors of three towns were dismissed as a result of the bad organization. The situation at Epidaurus reminded Kivimaa of circus entertainments for the masses in the Roman Colosseum. To top it off, after his return to the hotel, there was an earthquake. Despite these accidents, Kivimaa's great enthusiasm for Greece did not diminish; neither did he blame the organizers. He was not destined to see *Antigone* at Epidaurus, as he noted rather fatalistically.[47]

Kivimaa received some recompense, however, in the form of the plays which he saw in Athens. He attended there a performance of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and an adaptation of the *Eternal Wandering* by Nikos Kazantzakis. The performance of the *Ecclesiazusae* by Aristophanes made him forget the disappointment at Epidaurus. Inspired by the performance of that play, Kivimaa discussed the performances of Greek tragedies on modern stages, their difficulties and possibilities. According to Kivimaa, it is not possible to direct an ancient Greek tragedy in the same way as in ancient Greece. Therefore, his travel book includes a criticism of the historico-archaeological interpretation. Instead of searching for authenticity, which is impossible to achieve, one has to determine the basic features on which the liveliness of the play is based and which guarantee its vital force. Only these elements can move the modern spectator and awaken

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42 Flashar 1991, 162.

43 Bakopoulou-Halls 1987, 267.

44 Zilliacus 1923, 58-59.

45 Bakopoulou-Halls 1987, 287-295 (lists of performances in the theatre of Herodes Atticus and in the theatres of Epidaurus and Dodona).

46 On the work of these directors, see Bakopoulou-Halls 1987.

47 Kivimaa 1957, 103.

in him the sacred emotion that the ancient spectators felt on the stone benches in the theatre of Dionysus, in the magic circle of the tragedy of his time, as Kivimaa eloquently puts it. The eternal truths of the ancient Greek myths are liberated from their textual form; as eternally human, they in this way reach the heart of the modern spectator.[48]

Göran Schildt (1917-), who is renowned for his travel books, was another prominent Swedish-speaking Finnish traveller to Greece. His accounts of ancient theatres and theatre performances are more extensive, especially in his book *In the Wake of Odysseus* (*Odysseus kölvatten*, 1951). In addition to his recollections of a student performance of a Greek play in Paris,[49] he also writes about the theatre buildings in Fiesole and Sicily, in Taormina and Syracuse, and about the great impression which they made upon him. He regards the theatre of Fiesole as the most beautiful Roman theatre, with its view of the hills and cypresses.[50] The place which he especially recommends to his readers is Epidauros. In the moonlight, the theatre fills the spectator with the same feelings of fear and terror that Aristotle spoke of in his *Poetics*. Schildt paints an idyllic picture of a meal he had there with local shepherds.[51]

In his description of Epidaurus, Schildt also discusses the history of the theatre and theatre buildings, as well as the history of the drama, taking as his starting point Nietzsche's idea that drama was born of satyr feasts in honour of Dionysus. Schildt's point of view is interesting for noting the relationship of the performance with the spectators' awareness of participation in a festival. However, in Schildt's opinion, along with the diminishing role of the chorus, the ability of the spectator to experience the drama with the help of purely artistic curiosity increased until, in modern cinematic performance, the awareness of the spectator that they are participating in a common festival is completely absent when he is sitting in the anonymous darkness of the cinema.[52]

Revolutionary Theatre in Russia

The open-air performances of ancient drama were of course not limited to the ancient sites. The development of the open-air theatre in Russia immediately before and after the Revolution of 1917 offers some interesting views, as Katerina Clark points out. The open-air theatre seemed to be a very suitable vehicle for promoting new ideas and revolutionary purposes. Followers of Nietzsche regarded the Greek type of open-air theatre as a place where all social classes could experience together the ecstatic Dionysiac rite. Not even the Northern climate of St. Petersburg could prevent this: as the city once had been claimed to be the Nordic Venice, why could it not become also the Nordic Athens?[53] In the eyes of the Russian intelligentsia, St. Petersburg - or Petrograd as it was called at that time - had become a city-state or polis, like Athens, Venice or Florence.[54]

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[48] Kivimaa 1957, 118-119.
[49] Schildt 1952, 205.
[50] Schildt 1952, 205-206.
[51] Schildt 1952, 206-214.
[52] Schildt 1952, 210-213.
[53] Clark 1995, 135.
[54] Clark 1995, 138.

Faddei F. Zelinsky (Tadeusz Zielinski) was in many respects the primus motor of the enthusiasm for antiquity, and also influenced the great Russian philosopher and literary historian Mikhail Bakhtin (1895-1975).[55] Not only did Zelinsky introduce Isadora Duncan, who came to dance in St. Petersburg in 1913, but he also led the movement that aimed at reviving the tradition of Greek open-air theatre.[56] For his part, Mikhail Bakhtin participated in organizing an open-air performance of Sophocles' *Oedipus in Colonus*.[57] Zelinsky had also translated the dramas of Sophocles into Russian and provided them with extensive introductions. He was the editor of the Russian edition of Nietzsche's Collected Works as well, although this project remained unfinished.[58] Moreover, Zelinsky wrote about ethical questions connected with tragedy, speculating about the third Renaissance, which could take place in Russia.[59]

Other important persons in such activities were Adrian Piotrovsky (1898-1938), the illegitimate son of Zelinsky, and Sergei Radlov (1892-1958), the son of Ernest L. Radlov, who was an expert in ancient philosophy. From their families they each had a classical background, and both were Zelinsky's students.[60] Piotrovsky and Radlov translated Greek plays into Russian. In his new translations, Radlov tried to capture a kind of Nietzschean and Wagnerian 'spirit of music', by using for the first time the Greek trimetre in his Russian translations.[61] Piotrovsky and Radlov also organized mass spectacles in order to come closer to the Greek spirit through the theatre performances. Instead of reviving ancient Greece they tried to find a kind of greater Greece. One of their most interesting undertakings in this respect was a play called *The Fight of Salamis* (1919), which Piotrovsky and Radlov wrote for school children. By representing the contrast between Greece and barbaric Persia, they wanted to show how the Greeks became conscious that they were the cradle of culture.[62] Underlying this was the German dream about a kind of Greek totality, originating from the ideas of Nietzsche and other German thinkers whose ideas were propagated in Russia by Zelinsky and V. V. Ivanov.[63]

There were several points of departure for the new mass theatre: as well as Greek tragedy, they included such theatrical forms as the medieval mystery play and the traditions of *commedia dell'arte* together with the so-called *balagan* as its Russian equivalent.[64] Starting from some Symbolist ideas, the meaning of theatre was underlined in several connections. Extreme ideas in this respect were presented by Nikolai Evreinov

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55 It is worth considering here why Mikhail Bakhtin was so interested in open-air performances of Greek dramas. This question is closely connected with his views of carnivals and carnivalism. The idea of breaking all kinds of limits and boundaries was typical of Bakhtin's thinking; for instance, in carnival, as a genre, the boundary between the scene and the audience disappears. The idea of crossing the boundary between the stage and the audience recurs also in Nikolai Evreinov's theatre theory, see Volkov 1996, 274. Carnival and theatre (in the usual meaning of the word) were opposites to each other. Thus, in order to become lively, theatre had to approach the carnival. At the same time the spectators became active participants in the performance. Clark 1995, 125, 128-129.

56 Clark 1995, 136.

57 Peltanen 1984, 48.

58 Laine 1997a, 18-20; Laine 1997b, 21.

59 Laine 1997a.

60 Clark 1995, 119-120; on Radlov, see also Volkov 1996, 284-285.

61 Clark 1995, 89.

62 Clark 1995, 137.

63 Clark 1995, 138-139.

64 Clark 1995, 82.

(1879-1953). Having as his basic idea that "man is a theatrical creature", he referred to "the theatricalization of life" and then thought that people could be healed with "theatre therapy" - an idea originating from Aristotle's catharsis.[65]

Conclusion

Modern performances in ancient theatres and amphitheatres provide an important chapter in the reception of classical antiquity. The plays were able to attract a very large audience. At the same time, local people, who otherwise could hardly have had any access to the heritage of antiquity, gained some idea of ancient drama, and on occasion were even able to participate in the productions. They can be seen in a larger context: performances in impressive settings with renowned actors were the theatrical counterpart to other public occasions or art forms connected with antiquity, such as the Olympic games, or historical novels and films with themes taken from ancient history and mythology. They also reveal an interest in portraying the past 'authentically'. Open-air performances in ancient theatres were also ideologically adaptable, because they could reach a wide audience. The performances in Provence as 'official' festivals of the bourgeoisie of the Third French Republic, performances with Fascist heroic ideals in Italy, or revolutionary theatre in Russia exemplify different interpretations of antiquity.

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[65] Etkind 1997, 124-125. Piotrovsky and Radlov were of course not the only ones who were interested in ancient Greek theatre. Katerina Clark also refers to I.A. Fomin, a representative of Neoclassicism, who on an island created a new amphitheatre in Greek style for mass performances. Clark 1995, 136.

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Greek Tragedies in 20th Century Finland

Pirkko Koski

Live theatre is the art of time and space. A classical drama carries nuances associated with the society of the time of performance, either intentionally or unintentionally, often also when the actors only attempt to imitate faithfully the ancient performances. The original *mise-en-scène* of a classical play involved the whole community, and in spite of the changes in theatres and audiences, the plays still appeal to the spectators' views of morals and responsibilities and to the relationship between the individual and society. In this paper, I will survey the Finnish productions of ancient Greek tragedies from their first performances in the early 20th century until today. The association between the knowledge of ancient contexts and a strong emphasis on the present moment produced impressive performances and interpretations that have reformed the expression of contemporary theatre.

Finnish-language theatre as an institution was born in a period of nationalist fervour around the middle of the 19th century. Until then, foreign theatre companies visited Finland from the west, south and east. The Swedish influence was ultimately the strongest, as the main Swedish-language theatre in Finland remained a kind of remote outpost for the theatres of Stockholm until 1916. The first professional theatre in Helsinki, the Finnish Theatre (Suomalainen Teatteri), founded in 1872, used the Finnish language and was closely linked with the nationalist movement. Finland had been a part of Sweden for centuries, but in 1809 became an autonomous part of the Russian Empire as Grand Duchy of Finland, and a Sovereign Republic in 1917.

For Finland, translations and performances of classical tragedies meant a connection with Western culture. The plays were national achievements, and at the same time an attempt to prove that Finland had the characteristics of a civilized country. The first director of the Finnish Theatre, Kaarlo Bergbom (1872-1905), published a programme in 1872 to legitimise this national institution. The classical repertoire played a considerable part because of the nationalist language policy, as the Finnish language "provides examples of poetical sublimity and natural inclination", and is capable of "expressing profound, poetical sentiments".[1] The repertoire comprised three parts: Finnish drama, classical repertoire and European contemporary drama;[2] the ancient drama represented the highest degree of Bergbom's theatrical policy.

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1 Bergbom 1908, 350.

2 Tiusanen 1969, 111.

Despite the young director's statement, the public had to wait three decades before ancient tragedies were performed.[3] Bergbom lacked models for the practical interpretation and staging of ancient drama. The admiration of the classical repertoire in the Finnish Theatre was acknowledged in other ways: when the theatre building, called Arcadia, was being decorated, the national and artistic purpose of the theatre was pursued. Later, when the building was repaired, names of poets were painted on the ceiling. The inner circle consisted of Finnish names, while the outer circle bore sixteen great dramatists of world literature, with Aristophanes, Aeschylus and Sophocles among them.[4]

It is hardly a coincidence that Sophocles, of all the great classical tragedians, was the first to be performed in Finland. His plays were easily translated as ideology, acquiring national and political significance in the times of crisis of the early 20th century. The interest in ancient dramas has changed character with time. Euripides' works have become by far the most popular of the Greek tragedies. Productions of the dramas of Aeschylus have always been rare events.

The Years of Oppression

By the early 20th century, the Finnish Theatre had gained a firm institutional base and level of professionalism. Kaarlo Bergbom's long period as theatre director was coming to its end in an atmosphere of critical discussion about the Theatre's artistic innovations. Modern trends did not reach it in the way the younger generation expected. The political threat against the legal rights of the nation was reflected in theatre life as well, favouring national emphasis. The earliest performances of Greek tragedies in Finland occurred at this critical period. The Finnish Theatre performed Sophocles' *Antigone* in the aftermath of the November manifesto in 1901, as Finns reacted to the political oppression directed at the autonomous Grand Duchy by collecting names for a petition of citizens to be submitted to the ruler. At the same time, a joint effort was made to construct a new building for the theatre. When it was finished, the theatre was renamed the National Theatre of Finland (Suomen Kansallisteatteri), and *Antigone* was performed again in 1903.

Sophocles' *Antigone*

The premiere of *Antigone* in 1901 was considered culturally significant. A theatre historian characterised the performance as brilliant, the play as exquisite, and the event as a milestone in the progress of the theatre. Furthermore, for a considerable part of the audience, the drama was an undreamt-of glimpse of the antique world of beauty, and rich

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[3] Bergbom's theatrical travels were especially directed to Germany, and the realization of the repertoire can be seen in this context. Cf. Tiusanen 1969, 117. Although Goethe's repertoire at the Weimar court theatres and August Schlegel's lectures had given rise to an interest in antiquity as early as the early 19th century, and the 1841 *Antigone* in Potsdam raised questions on the political interpretation of drama, there were only a few theatrical realizations of this. Richard Wagner and the popularity of naturalism have been considered as factors that might have weakened interest. Bergbom perhaps knew of the series of three Theban dramas by Sophocles, produced by the famous Meiningen group, and the production of Aeschylus' *Libation-Bearers* in the late 1860s, but his personal contact with the group was of a much later date, thus applying to the rest of its repertoire. Cf. Macintosh 1997, 286, 289.

[4] Aspelin-Haapkylä 1909, 263.

in profound atmosphere. It was staged in discrete style and rehearsed with care, even accompanied by the beautiful music of Saint-Saëns. Its reception was enthusiastic. There were ten performances, a considerable number at the time. The educational, nationalist task of the drama was implemented by addressing the penultimate performance to school children, and the final show presumably to the general public, as the prices were reduced.[5]

A certain 'antiquarian' approach to the tragedy was taken for granted. Thus, it diverged from the Ibsenian realism so characteristic of performing theatre, and from a 'natural' performance on the whole. The performance of *Antigone* in 1901 was not based on star appearances. The promising young actress, Katri Rautio, was quite unspectacular in the title role, but "from the poem she got the wings needed to lift herself from the conventional acting, which so often ties her when she is supposed to rise upwards." She did not represent in this way 'the grand style' still typical in that period. Creon's role was played by one of the star actors, Axel Ahlberg. He had taken heroic roles ranging from Hamlet to Romeo and had "his good day, and some call it his best." The experienced character actor Oskari Leino was splendid as the blind Tiresias, the Soothsayer.[6] The interpretation of Tiresias seems to have been vital in reviews of Sophocles' plays at all times.

The criticisms of the papers of the time give a multi-faceted and richer picture of the event than the theatre history. A review in the Finnish cultural magazine of that time, *Valvoja* (*Warden*), saw *Antigone* as the most significant theatrical event of the year: "Seldom has the theatre offered more enjoyable evenings than in the performance of *Antigone*."[7] Ms Rautio in the title role was characterized as classically plastic, and she was praised for concentration and rehearsal. In the role of Haemon, Mr Kaarle Halme was criticized for reciting too naturally. He was one of the first native Finnish speakers in the Finnish Theatre. At that time the Fennoman educated classes and most of the actors and actresses were still often Swedish-speaking. Besides, being a native Finnish speaker was gradually becoming a particular cultural asset. *Valvoja* praised the chorus for performing the lovely stanzas passably but criticized one of the leaders for being quite un-poetical in voice control.[8]

The critique also refers to *Antigone*'s thematic significance in the contemporary world. *Valvoja* was aware of the performances of *Antigone* outside Finland, 'on the great stages of Europe', where it had been much admired. The review pointed out the authenticity that recalled the original Greek performances, characterised by lucidity and an emphasis on ideas of humanity. These ideas were epitomised by the actions of Antigone, who was seen as sacrificing herself for a sublime ideal. As a counterbalance, the abrupt and authoritarian Creon got his well-deserved punishment after having violated both divine and human laws with his high-handed rule.[9] This interpretation did not juxtapose the laws of individuals and communities, or gods and states; the state (i.e. Creon), however, did not respect the laws (i.e. Antigone). The Finnish manifesto to the Russian Emperor requested precisely such respect for law, rather than Russian governmental oppression.

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5 Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910, 145.

6 See Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910, 145.

7 O. A. K[allio], *Valvoja* 1901, 374.

8 O. A. K[allio], *Valvoja* 1901, 373-374.

9 O. A. K[allio], *Valvoja* 1901, 373.

The daily papers paid impressive attention to the event. The nationalist *Uusi Suometar* wrote in advance of the play's premiere and in several respects linked it more to present day than to Sophocles' other works.[10] A later review in the same newspaper considered the Greek perception of fate as distanced from 'modern people', who believed in free will. Yet, Sophocles, and his *Antigone* in particular, came close to the contemporary view. The reason for Antigone's ruin was pure humanity and her own actions, with the consequence that she "breaks human laws and is subjected to the tyrant's wrath."[11] The liberal *Päivälehti* also wrote in advance of and reviewed the performance, reflecting on the relation between classical and modern drama. The critic, referring to the possibility that Antigone's actions were based on free will rather than duty, still doubted it and considered the naturalness and pure humanity as a modern feature of the character. Creon stands for power and greed for gain, with his sermon on governmental interest and everyday politics – a modern person in a way, despite ancient appearances. The critic did not accept interpretations (which gave the drama a modern explanation), according to which the tragedy was about the contradiction between official laws and sisterly love.[12]

In studying the reception of the *Antigone* in 1901, the press censorship and the impossibility of an open political debate should be taken into consideration. The critics wrote a considerable amount of the thematic material and the potential for ideological interpretation. Nothing contradicts the view that the performance touched the national sentiment in a particular way, basing its popularity precisely on that. The performance seems to have stimulated a profound response in the audience.[13] The occasional references to foreign performances may be regarded as a desire to follow theatrical trends and as a search for Western connections in general.

Sophocles' *King Oedipus*

The National Theatre introduced *King Oedipus* into its repertoire in 1905, the year of a general strike with its widespread citizen activism consequently gaining relief in the dire political situation. The Finnish production was thus somewhat earlier than that by Max Reinhardt in 1910. He created this tragedy's modern international fame, but the Finnish production was not one of its reflections. It is uncertain how well the Finns knew the *mise-en-scènes* of the Théatre française, the sensational performance of the protagonist by Jean Mounet-Sully in particular, or the English performances, and how much these could have influenced Finnish interest in the play.[14]

The theatre history by Aspelin-Haapkylä from 1910 discusses the performance only to a limited extent. He emphasizes the significance and success of the production. The staging and the acting met great demands. The number of performances was only four, suggesting that the interpretation did not live up to the esteem in which the play was held. Axel Ahlberg, who had previously played Creon in *Antigone*, was a dignified and impressive Oedipus. Katri Rautio, the distinguished Antigone, was now in the role of Iocasta. The part of Tiresias went to a star actor characterized as French: Adolf Lindfors

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[10] R.A.P., *Uusi Suometar* 17.4.1901.
[11] R.A.P., *Uusi Suometar* 21.4.1901.
[12] O., *Päivälehti* 18.4.1901.
[13] O. A. K[allio], *Valvoja* 1901, 373.
[14] Cf. Macintosh 1997, 289-290.

seemed to have shaped Tiresias exceptionally artistically. The chorus had been reduced to just two young ladies, who were nevertheless rated as particularly talented.[15] Another history of the National Theatre by Rafael Koskimies reveals that the production of *King Oedipus* was overshadowed by the conflicts over policies at the National Theatre, and was even used as an instrument in them.[16]

The accompanying debate is often either reflected in the reception of the theatrical performances, or theatre itself takes a stand in it by its performances. The *King Oedipus* of 1905, however, does not seem to have followed this pattern. It rather seems as though the performance did not attract the attention it deserved because the surrounding world was occupied with other matters. The political situation was unstable, and there was turmoil within the National Theatre because the ailing director Bergbom's 30-year long directorship was nearing its end, and a new influential person was sought after to fill this power vacuum. The crisis in the Theatre had a greater effect on the tragedy than the political situation.

The critic and poet Eino Leino, representing the voice of the young radicals,[17] expressed an opinion on the interpretation of Sophocles' play. He wanted the stage to turn back to an estrade with recital, based on beautiful and variable use of the spoken word.[18] There must have been obvious shortcomings in this sense. Leino was an advocate of the new school, favouring theatrical expression distanced from realism. He was not, however, interested in the overly natural presentation of the *Antigone* of a couple of years before, rather the opposite. The younger generation perhaps expected a certain kind of artistic expression, not social commitment.

The production took place in a period of stylistic transition at the National Theatre, but did not represent innovation. Its merits in performance did not suffice for popularity, even the first night apparently attracted only a small audience. Since the production emphasized style[19] rather than ideology, it should have appealed to the younger generation, but it was too conventional for that. *King Oedipus* did not inspire the daily papers to coverage comparable to that of *Antigone* either. There are no obvious political references in the reviews. Even the Social Democrat *Työmies* (*Workman*) published only a brief news item calling the performance a meritorious work.[20]

The reviews lacked current perspective, even though the surrounding world was all the more restless, with news about strikes, the war between Russia and Japan (1904-1905), and the conscientious objectors to military service. Finns' legitimate right to refuse service in the Russian army had been violated by the Russians. The Governor-General, N.I. Bobrikov, the representative of the Russian government in Finland, had been assassinated only a few months before. Yet, the unpopularity of the play was obviously a result of the fact that the interpretation did not succeed in connecting with its time of performance.[21] The people of a politically orientated time did not have the patience to concentrate on a conventional, non-political interpretation. The success of a great and

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[15] Cf. Aspelin-Haapkylä 1910, 265.
[16] Koskimies 1953, 108.
[17] Leino, *Valvoja* 1905a, 332.
[18] Leino, *Valvoja* 1905a, 332.
[19] The reverent and static attitude towards the drama appeared in the decor, with Greek statues, a Greek stage, plants shading the statues, laurels, etc. (F.H., *Uusi Suometar* 28.1.1905.)
[20] *Työmies* 28.1.1905.

acknowledged drama on a Finnish stage did not suffice to become a national event to be remembered. The audience soon discovered its own theatre on the streets, in the days of the General Strike.

The First Decades of Independence

Having become independent sovereign country in 1917, national institutions, including theatre, were the foundation of the status of the new Finnish nation. Theatres were developed on a subsidized institutional basis, and Central European innovations were mirrored.

Finland, officially a bilingual country with a Swedish minority, already had a very prominent Swedish-language theatre, the Swedish Theatre in Helsinki (Svenska Teatern i Helsingfors). It had a long history and a building of its own, as well as unofficial status as a Swedish-language national theatre. The Swedish Theatre performed *Antigone* in January 1917, at a time of political turbulence and in the middle of internal changes: local Swedish-speaking actors conquered the stage in 1916 after half a century of hegemony of artists from Stockholm.

Sophocles' *Antigone*

The political atmosphere raised interest in the central themes of *Antigone*. Ivar A. Heikel, Professor of Greek Literature in the University of Helsinki (1888-1926), proposed that while ordinary spectators appreciated staging and acting skills, one should also consider the text and its message. In the tumultuous atmosphere of the spring of 1917 Creon became the main character of the play, his behaviour focused on the welfare of the state, while Antigone's decisions were made from the viewpoint of family, destiny and duty. For Heikel, ideology was central to the theatrical interpretation, in which modern characterizations and realism might cover the original forms and distance essential to this drama. Heikel called for an authentic approach to classical tragedy.[22]

Koskimies, in his history of the National Theatre, dismisses the *Antigone* performance of 1925 with just a brief mention, though considers it important: "*Antigone* by Sophocles is naturally a debt of honour to Antiquity and the supreme Muse for every artistic theatre." He perceives the protagonist, Lilli Tulenheimo's position differently from those of the earlier 20th century, and concentrates on the way of acting: she interpreted Antigone true to style and living the part. She took the lead among the actors, particularly as a representative of the new trend in theatrical expression, a discretely psychological and lyrical realism. She was also admired for her considerable natural talent.[23]

Antigone now had a modern interpreter. The Theatre had welcomed a new generation, but times were particularly different after the Civil War in the spring of 1918. The reviews lacked all reference to the social context, and the performance was valued in the light of the classical tradition and the German directional reforms.[24] This was

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21 F.H., *Uusi Suometar* 28.1.1905.

22 Heikel 1917, 192-194, 197, 203-204.

23 Koskimies 1972, 180.

24 The Finnish critics knew e.g. Max Reinhardt's solutions to big productions, and their criticism was thus directed at a chorus both monotonous and without nuance. Modernity touched only the main roles.

presumably also a way of building up the cultural identity of the new state. The reviews generally characterized the performance as solemn descriptions of the influence of the fates, with recital as a central means of expression. These characteristics had a stronger connection with the aims of national culture than with theatrical tradition. Even more generally, the artistic experiment was being overshadowed by normative considerations. The *Antigone* in 1925 did not take a sufficiently modern or interesting form to surpass the heated debates on Finnish dramatists going on at the same time. The director of the play, who was also the director of the Theatre, Eino Kalima, took an aversion to politics, and never manifested any social consciousness. The nationalist dignity matched his style badly.

Sophocles' *King Oedipus*

After the 1905 production at the National Theatre, *King Oedipus* was performed a couple of times in the Swedish theatres in Helsinki and Turku[25] and then again in Finnish at the National Theatre in 1936 (Fig. 3). The actor playing the title role of Oedipus was praised as handsome and good, whereas the actress playing Iocasta was criticized for being too youthful and conventional. Obviously the role depended too much on a psychological interpretation.[26] Her figure was sensual and strong and her former roles mostly modern. Creon was good, Tiresias a powerful creation. Although the production as a whole was a success, the overall impression is interesting: "The piece does not, however, make any deeper impression. For what reason?" This reserved attitude could reflect the dispute regarding the position of the National Theatre in 1925.[27] Other sources, too, support the critique explaining some of the problems associated with the performances of classical tragedies in general in Finland.[28]

Fig. 3. *King Oedipus* at the National Theatre in 1936.

[25] Aarne Orjatsalo tour 1911-12, Svenska Teatern 1917, Åbo Svenska Teater 1928.
[26] K.S.Laurila Collections, Finnish National Archives.
[27] See Kalima 1968, 206.
[28] Koskimies 1953, 364-366.

The performance was accompanied by the Finnish composer, Leevi Madetoja's music, intending to suggest Greekness. The chorus recital was well received almost without exception. The review was positive in other respects as well, characterizing the performance as impressive and solemn. Despite the positive criticism, the director Eino Kalima, was unhappy with the choreography of the chorus. The chorus was comprised almost exclusively of women instead of old men, and thus seemingly destroyed the festive atmosphere. The choreographer, Maggie Gripenberg, was a pioneer of modern dance in the style of Isadora Duncan, and her view of antiquity did not perhaps conform to the male orientation in the cultural spirit of the time. The lack of dynamic power seemed to have created a problem. The classical had become sublime and decorative, but distanced from the audience at the same time. The lack of spectators was probably due to the need for expertise in understanding the play. Apparently it can also be considered as lack of theatricality, or an 'academic' distanced attitude.

The Greek Tragedians after the Second World War

The Second World War began in Finland in the autumn of 1939 as the Winter War and continued after a year's interim peace until the autumn of 1944. The period until a final peace was stressful in Finland. Theatre returned to pre-war routines in an atmosphere in which audiences were especially active, and appreciated live performance and theatre as art, rather than as open political messages. The 1950s was the period of the second modernism in Finland, the first having been at the start of the 20th century.

Sophocles

Jean Anouilh's version of *Antigone* in 1946 at the National Theatre found the means of challenging the audience through a theatrical expression that focused on the ethical aspect of the story. The production was linked to the post-war search for a new form. The performance of the title role by the young and fragile Eeva-Kaarina Volanen, rapidly advancing into the vanguard of the actors, was a brilliant piece of work.[29]

Neither the theatre historians nor the critics discuss the actuality of the play. Connections with the political situation in France were known, however, also in Finland. It would probably not have been wise to refer to Finland in the 'years of danger', while the Control Commission of the Allied Forces still remained in the country before the conclusion of the peace. The only feature referring to contemporary events was the military uniforms of the actors. Antigone wore black, the guards had painted droopy moustaches.[30]

King Oedipus was produced at the Swedish Theatre in Helsinki in 1948 (Fig. 4). The well-known British director, Tyrone Guthrie's interpretation attracted much attention because it adapted classical style to modern theatre. The reviews contained reservations only sporadically and repeated the term 'expressive', obviously because of the power of the expression, the impressive masks and costumes. Oedipus wore purple and grey, and the lighting was also unusual. The strong chorus was actively present. The performance lacked the solemnity verging on static, so usual for the Finnish interpretations of classical drama.

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[29] Koskimies 1972, 180.

[30] Cf. picture in *Helsingin Sanomat* 27.2.1946 in association with the Eino Palola critique. Reviews after 1923 are in the Archive of the Theatre Museum if not mentioned otherwise.

Fig. 4. *King Oedipus* at the Swedish Theatre in 1948.

The performance at the Swedish Theatre was a prelude to post-war interpretations of Greek drama, with individuality in a more prominent role and Euripides about to supersede Sophocles. The debate about modernism from the early 20th century reappeared. *King Oedipus* found some response. The intense gloom in Guthrie's interpretation presumably reflected sentiments, such as "the shocking proof of the cruel providence of the gods, the uncertainty of human destiny, and individual helplessness before the caprices of life"[31]. His visit to Helsinki was a glimpse of the world beyond the fronts of war.

Aeschylus

In Finland Aeschylus is the least played of the Greek tragedians. Before the Second World War, only *Agamemnon* was performed at the Swedish Theatre, in 1935. The interpretation was almost overlooked, probably because the tragedy was played at the Concert Hall, the theatre itself being under repair. It was perhaps the location that led the reviews to pay special attention to the chorus, though the visiting Swedish director, Helge Wahlgren, also seemed to have emphasized its importance. The right-wing newspaper *Uusi Suomi* compared the accentuation of the chorus with the German tradition, and in particular the chorus from the University of Berlin.[32] There might indeed have been similarities, but this trend does not seem to have taken root in the Finnish theatre.

A Finnish interpretation of Aeschylus was seen only as late as in 1961, when the National Theatre produced *Agamemnon*. It was directed by Arvi Kivimaa, the director of the theatre, a writer and leading personality in the field of culture, for whom the original text was more important than theatrical experiments. The reviews were generally

31 T. H-u, *Helsingin Sanomat* 25.2.1948.
32 Jalkanen, *Uusi Suomi* 8.12.1935.

positive,[33] but evasive at the same time. The direction was regarded as unconstrained, and "the poem came across", but the casting was not satisfactory in all respects, and the chorus did not work dynamically enough. The mention that "there has been a will to serve the contemplative, melancholic poem" is indicative of the tone in the critique.[34] The first Finnish performance of Aeschylus was recognized as a cultural achievement, not a theatrical one.

Euripides

The post-war years made Euripides the most popular of the Greek tragedians in Finland. The most frequently performed work is *Medea*, first produced in 1949, both at the National Theatre in Helsinki (Fig. 5) and at the Theatre of Tampere (Tampereen Teatteri), one of the largest cities outside Helsinki. A new translation was made for the National Theatre, and a star actress, Ella Eronen,[35] was chosen for the title role. Iason was played by the popular Joel Rinne, known for his talented interpretation of roles, from operettas and comedies to classical heroes.

Fig. 5. *Medea* at the National Theatre in 1949.

33 The intensity is perhaps to be attributed to Ella Eronen, characterized as a great tragedienne, playing Clytemnestra, to judge from the pre-eminence of her figure.

34 [Aarne] L[auri]la, *Suomen sosialidemokraatti* 19.11.1961.

35 Eronen had risen to a significant position in the 1940s, and become a national icon after her recital of the words of the national anthem at the Stockholm Stadium during the Finnish Winter War. This in a politically neutral Sweden, sympathetic to Finland. The choice of her for the title role was a part of the interpretation, creating a spirit of star theatre. The reviews mentioned a visiting Swedish production at Swedish Theatre in the 1930s as a parallel, with the famous Swede Tora Teije.

The previous theatrical season with *King Oedipus* and its modernism at the Swedish Theatre in Helsinki gave a natural point for comparison. The previous decade had emphasized the mythical and divine about the play, while the key to *Medea* was humanity. The chorus had an important position, and the choreography was given particular recognition.[36]

A few years later, in 1956 the National Theatre performed *Iphigenia in Aulis* under the direction and new management of Arvi Kivimaa.[37] Kivimaa's production was refined and "true to style", sparse and successful rhythmically, the expression was as a whole both strong and poetical.[38] The production was acclaimed, and taken to Copenhagen and Vienna. "There was no cultural barrier, and the language barrier was overcome and Finnish turned into classical Greek with musical qualities."[39]

The *Bacchae* of the mid-1960s by the Intimate Theatre (Intimi-teatteri), established in the post-war wave of small theatre launches, shows how suitable Euripides was for the most radical theatrical experiments. The startling interpretation was early in relation to international interest in this play. The production was most likely meant as a provocation, and a demonstration of what the institutionalised National Theatre was incapable of doing and had not the courage to do.

The interpretation of *Bacchae* was, however, more significant as an event than as a theatrical performance. For the director, Mauno Manninen, antiquity was familiar and important. As the son of the renowned poet and translator of classical dramas, Otto Manninen, he presumably knew from early age the Finnish translations of *King Oedipus* and *Medea* by his father; the *Bacchae* he translated himself.[40] The actors and actresses praised the translation, but director's wild ideas of interpretation caused amazement and provoked unintended hilarity. The *Bacchae* was a remarkable experiment in crossing boundaries, but less successful as a practical work of art.[41]

The Greek Tragedians in Recent Decades

In the last decades of the 20th century, Finnish theatre was undergoing many changes. New structures and many experimental groups were born in Helsinki as well as in some smaller cities. National drama was strong, but at the same time international movements were accepted even more actively than before. Ancient tragedies were experienced rather as theatre events than cultural achievements.

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[36] Koskimies 1972, 545-546.

[37] Other productions of *Medea* at Finnish theatres: Theatre of Tampere 1948-49, Swedish Theatre in Helsinki 1980, Theatre of Varkaus 1998, The Furious Roses 1999. Productions of *Trojan Women*: The Workers' Theatre in Tampere 1970, Municipal Theatre in Vaasa 1983 (adapted by Sartre). The production of *Iphigeneia in Aulis*: Finnish National Theatre 1956-57. The production of *Hippolytus*: Finnish National Theatre 1974. The production of *Hercules*: Municipal Theatre in Turku 1961-62. The productions of *Bacchae*: Intimate Theatre 1966-67; Municipal Theatre in Rovaniemi 1991. The production of *Cyclops*: Student Theatre in Helsinki 1966-67.

[38] Mehto 1999, 233.

[39] Mehto 1999, 248.

[40] See Riikonen 1998, 249, 253.

[41] Cf. Lounela & Tainio 1988, 246-253.

Euripides

The *Medea* in the latter half of the century correlated strongly with the time of performance. *Medeas's children*, an adaptation for children by the Swedes Per Lysander and Suzanne Osten, drew attention in 1982 both at a small puppet theatre, Green Apple (Vihreä Omena), in Helsinki, and as an interpretation by the children's theatre group Little Finland (Pieni Suomi) in 1994. Anxiety caused by divorce and death as the theme of a children's play provoked negative comments from adults, and the ensemble itself disagreed about the suitability of the play for children.[42] The group Furious Roses (Raivoisat Ruusut),[43] established by female artists in the late 1980s, often produced plays with a strong social message, and in the case of *Medea* took part in the controversy over refugees in 1999. In 2002, *Medea goes karaoke* by the Theatre and Drama students of the Theatre Academy in Helsinki set the tragedy in a suburban pub in an ordinary neighbourhood. The students built their stage in a former industrial district in a suburb of Helsinki.

In the early 1980s the *Trojan women* was a part of the further training at the Theatre Academy in Helsinki. It was probably chosen because of its many female roles, as the students were mostly women. It is also possible that the anti-war themes of the play made the politically conscious director, Kalle Holmberg, choose the text. The play's anti-war themes had been launched in Finnish theatre with the production of the Workers' Theatre in Tampere (Tampereen Työväen Teatteri) in 1970. True to contemporaneous references, machine guns were brought on stage, but the female perspective on war was still very impressive. The main cause for a war would be trade policy, and women were more clearly reduced to victims of power games than in earlier interpretations.[44]

The nature of training actors in the Theatre Academy pushed the production of the *Trojan women* towards analysing the acting and physical expression. At the same time, it was also influenced by the general emphasis on visual aspects of theatrical expression. Furthermore, Kalle Holmberg himself emphasized the role of music and physical exercise, thus aiming at variable images of the scenes. The production also attempted to make a statement on theatre policy, and wanted to be seen as an association between eastern and western cultures. This aim, in association with Finland's geographical position, also suggests the ambition of authenticity.[45]

Aeschylus' *Oresteia*

The whole *Oresteia* was first performed by the Furious Roses in Helsinki in 1991. It was quite an event, as all of the roles were interpreted by women on a bare stage covered in sand. The specific character of the performance, the cultural weight of a classical trilogy, the unusually extensive publicity, and finally, the intensity of the interpretation also, resulted in a success. Indirectly it also effected the survival of the group for a whole decade. The director, Ritva Siikala, presented two points of departure: adopting a large machine

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[42] Mustonen 1997, 82-83.

[43] The Furious Roses had started its activities some years earlier with an adaptation of some of Shakespeare's *Henry*-dramas, called *The War of the Roses*, which further supplied the name for the group.

[44] Rajala 2001, 164-165.

[45] Cf. Juha Häkkänen *Teatteri* 1982/7, 17-18. It is an interesting coincidence that an interpretation of the *Trojan women* in Tel Aviv in the 1980s shook Israeli society so strongly that the national government resigned. It was laden with messages associated with Jewish culture and Israel's political position. It also referred to the concept of the wandering Jew as well as the constant presence of weapons.

workshop as a theatrical space, and female actors coping both with this masculine space and with the classical text. The choice of a classical tragedy for a performance was a conscious act, channelling the common needs for the actresses' abilities. The project was associated with the words 'courage', 'opportunity' and 'competence'.[46] The time of the performance, with the significant political changes in Europe and in the Persian Gulf, affected the atmosphere of the play and influenced its final choice also.[47]

The *Oresteia* had 33 actresses, and 8.295 spectators attended the twenty performances. Finnish national television recorded the production, and the preparations for the drama were made into a television documentary. For the Furious Roses a support group was formed, with invited celebrity members, influential women, and even some men. A national bank sponsored the event, thus honouring its mainly female staff. The performances became the cultural meeting point for female associations.

Most of the leading roles had been divided among several actresses. Clytemnestra, for instance, was performed as a group, the members of which represented different aspects of the figure. This, in some critics' opinions, fragmented the performance and did not always reveal the director's motivations.[48] Initially the most sensational element was the casting, but in the end the event itself, and the setting for the story proved most impressive.[49]

Sophocles

The production of *Oedipus* in 1981 in a city outside Helsinki, at the Municipal Theatre of Lahti (Lahden Kaupunginteatteri), and a renamed *Oedipus*, called *King Thickfoot* (*Kuningas Paksujalka*) at the Group Theatre (Ryhmäteatteri) in Helsinki in 1990, represent the perspective of a new generation on tragedy. The *Oedipus* in Lahti contained an extra prologue, relating the events prior to this drama by Sophocles, and an extra act, The Blind Oedipus, based in various sources. The production as a whole remained incoherent, but was otherwise successful.

The Group Theatre made use of a new translation in 1990, formulated for its own ensemble, and translated the name into *Thickfoot*, in order to avoid Freudian associations. The theatrical idea of the time was shown in the visual appearance: Thebes was cellar-like, with water, mist and sewage pipes, a rattling door, iron stairs and a fire bursting out from time to time. The costumes were dirty and shapeless. The events had been removed to a new time and place, which the viewers were supposed to interpret as a metaphor of their own society.

The small Q-Theatre (Q-teatteri) in Helsinki is, to date, the only Finnish theatre that has produced *Oedipus at Colonnus*, in 1994. The director, Esa Kirkkopelto, was well-versed in the text, had studied the essence of tragedy and linked it to his own play about the Russian revolution.[50] He introduced the tragic rather than a tragedy, which can only be 'told and sung', and 'worshipped and honoured'. The accompanying gypsy

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[46] Mykkänen 1996, 57.

[47] The translator, Kirsti Simonsuuri described her impressions at the time in the shadow of war. The play was strikingly real, and the similarity between the scenarios spine-chilling. Simonsuuri 1991, 128.

[48] See Mykkänen 1996, 68-70.

[49] The Municipal Theatre in Helsinki (Helsingin Kaupunginteatteri) performed an adaptation of *Prometheus* in the mid-1980s.

[50] Koski 1996, 38.

music dealt with homelessness, exile and vagrancy, and thus the human suffering was appealed to through music and dance. Antiquity was approached through the Balkans, not through two thousand years of Western culture, as used to be the case in Finland and especially in connection with classical drama and its cultural significance. There were tangential points between the Q-Theatre's interpretation and the internationally-known spectacle, *Oedipus at Colonnus*, by the American Lee Breuer, who made use of African-American music and ecclesiastical traditions. This view of the tragedy was far removed from the first Finnish production of Greek tragedy, Antigone, in 1901, but both shared the idea of encapsulating the spirit of the time.

Conclusions

The popularity of the Greek tragedies has fluctuated in Finland, each period having chosen to perform the plays that were felt to best characterize it. The Finnish National Theatre has accomplished its national and cultural mission by performing them. The number of performances has been limited if compared with, for instance, Germany. The adaptations, often in municipal or experimental theatres, started at a late date, but the productions have mostly been momentous events. A special characteristic in Sophocles' plays is the association of success with the contemporary world. The productions have been valued, but it is their association with contemporary events that has ultimately determined their popularity. This has been discovered in various ways in different times and the perspectives of the early 20th century and the 1990s naturally differ significantly. Finns have only recently established a contact with Aeschylus' dramas, which have created sensations, but as cultural events rather than as touching drama. The post-war rise in the popularity of Euripides' plays is easy to understand. The more psychological approach of their predecessors better suited a generation that had lost faith in humanity. The simultaneous increase in the number and popularity of small theatres and stages encouraged over-ambitious experiments and risk-taking also on the big stages. The physical and the visual could be combined with the world stripped of festivity.

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Modern Greek Approaches to Ancient Greek Drama*

Platon Mavromoustakos

According to some intriguing but unconfirmed reports found in Ionian historical writings, the first modern performance of ancient Greek drama in the Greek world can be traced back to the end of the 16th century. These reports refer to a performance given during the celebratory festivities that took place in Zante after the victory of the Christian armada in the naval battle of Lepanto, in the autumn of 1571.[1] According to this information, some of the island's young noblemen recited or performed Aeschylus' *Persai*, most probably from an Italian adaptation,[2] in the hall of a great mansion, specially transformed for the occasion, and in the presence of the Proveditore di Zante, Polo Contarini.[3] The analogy is clear enough: the purpose of the performance was to

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[1] See Spyros de Viazis, Ἀγνώες ἐν Ζακύνθῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων χρόνων μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς, μέρος Α', Ὑλύμπια 13/1/1896; Leonidas X. Zoes, Τὸ θέατρον ἐν Ζακύνθῳ, in Ἀττικὴ Ἶρις, 1898; Leonidas X. Zoes, Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας τοῦ ζακυνθινοῦ θεάτρου, in *Ζακύνθιος Ἀνθών*, 1906. The event is also mentioned in N.I. Laskaris, *Ιστορία του νεοελληνικού θεάτρου, τόμος Α'*, Athens 1938, 295. It is interesting to compare a fictional account of the same event in the novel *Σοφρακόμιτος* by Dionysios Romas (Athens, n.d., 2nd edition, vol. ii, 176, 313-334).

[2] However, up to the mid-18th century, no Italian adaptation of the *Persai* is listed in the catalogues of Leon Allatius, despite the fact that references to Italian adaptations of other tragedies are frequent (*Dramaturgia di Lione Allacci accresciuta e continuata fin all'anno MDCCLV*, Presso Giambatista Pasquali con Licenza de' Superiori in Venezia MDCCLV, ristampa anastatica a tiratura limitata, Bottega D'Erasmo, Torino 1966 [1774]).

[3] From my research to date of the relevant *dispacci* kept in the Venetian archive collections of the Proveditore di Zante Polo Contarini, no further information is available.

emphasize the parallel between the recent victory against the Turks and the victory of the ancient Greeks against the Persians in the naval battle of Salamis, and in so doing, to remind the people of the ancestry of the Ionian aristocracy, by relating the latter's much advertised Byzantine origins to the ancient world. This performance, which seems to stand apart from the main body of modern Greek performances of ancient drama, is of particular importance for the following reasons:

1. It appears to be the first ever performance of ancient Greek drama in the European world in modern times, since it predates by almost 15 years the performance of *Oedipus Rex* given in the Teatro Olimpico of Vicenza in 1585.

2. It provides a key to the way in which ancient Greek drama has been approached on the modern Greek stage, and allows us to understand one very important parameter of the extremely rich tradition of Greek theatre practice: the fact that the performance of ancient Greek drama in modern Greece is closely interrelated with the creation and development of the modern Greek state.

We should note, right from the start, that the extent of modern Greek performances of ancient Greek drama is impressive. According to a recent and, I believe, almost exhaustive catalogue, we can trace over 630 different productions of ancient Greek drama staged in the Greek world by modern Greek professional troupes.[4] In reality, a performance of ancient Greek drama in modern times necessarily implies a translation. The modern Greek experience provides important clues to the understanding of the objectives behind modern performances of ancient Greek drama and the problems associated with the use of translations. We may also remark that the performance and, in conjunction, the translation are historically determined by the way they address two specific problems.[5]

The first of these problems relates to the circumstances, that is, the historical, social, or ideological parameters determined by the context of the performance. There is no doubt that circumstances exert a double influence: they shape linguistic habits, and in so doing directly affect the style of a translation; but they also bias the choice of material for performance, and therefore modify the immediate goals of stage practice. In this respect, a key figure is the translator - he is the chief mediator between audience and text.

The second problem relates to the history of the theatre itself. The decisive factor here is the whole manner of theatrical expression: the conditions and terms of stage practice, which also influence the style of translation. But this is more than a mere matter of influence; it becomes a necessary condition. The limitations and possible choices of translating styles are determined by theatrical purposes, and the key mediator is no longer the translator, but rather the star actor or the director. This new mediator shapes the stage conception while publicizing the translation; he is the one who comes between audience and translation.

Accordingly, the aim of this article is to identify the major events in the production history of ancient Greek drama in modern Greece, during the 180 or so years

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[4] According to the first complete modern performance history of ancient Greek drama included in the series 'Ancient Greek Theatre' by Epikairotita editions, vols. 1-47, there are 633 performances in all, including the works of Menander. This production history is the product of a thorough research carried out by Evangelia Andritsanou, Mary Iliadi, Nikos Karanastasis, Platon Mavromoustakos, Agni Mouzenidou, Christina Symvoulidou, Mirka Theodoropoulou and Iosif Vivilakis, a team of researchers gathered together for this purpose and working under the supervision of Platon Mavromoustakos.

[5] For a related approach, see G. Giatromanolakis, Μεταφραστικές τάσεις, *Διαβάζω* 26 (December 1979) 44-54.

that separate us from the first stage performance of ancient Greek drama in a modern Greek translation, and then to relate them to the parameters which determine the form of the two factors mentioned above, turning them into catalysts for the stage approach to ancient texts. The catalyst changes in relation to the period: sometimes it is the circumstances that give power to the translator, and sometimes it is the conditions that confer authority to the agents of the stage actions.

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The first verified and systematically studied performance of ancient Greek drama on the modern Greek stage that has so far been traced is the performance of *Philoctetes* in Nicholaus Piccolo's adaptation, staged by students, actors and amateurs in Odessa in 1818.[6] This performance highlights all the issues: "[The theatre warms] the hearts of our people, towards the resurrection of our country." It is a phrase by Korais,[7] which sums up the Greek approach to the theatre during the age of Enlightenment. "The sole purpose of [the theatre] is to correct the moral habits and to educate the people; it is the common school of humankind, which makes up for the lack of other schools," says another.[8]

In trying to evaluate the effects of this performance today, we can accept as a fact that "inside the framework of the moral-didactic concerns characteristic of the Age of Lights in general, *Philoctetes* is a tragedy - not the only one, of course - which readily lends itself to some patriotic and political colouring, particularly from the viewpoint of ideological ferment pursued by modern Greek Enlightenment."[9] Piccolo's translation, or rather adaptation, of *Philoctetes* is from the original ancient Greek, but borrows from La Harpe's French version "the division into three acts"[10] and the removal of the choral parts (which, in Piccolo's version, are re-built into the text: the meaning of the lyrics is selectively re-worked into a prose monologue of Neoptolemos, interpolated into scene ii).[11] Piccolo's adaptation became extraordinarily fortunate on stage: one of the select few plays repeatedly performed during this period. In fact, the plays most often staged during this time are by Metastasio, and originated as opera librettos: *Achilles in Skyros*, *Themistocles*, *Leonidas in Thermopylai*.[12] On the whole, the choice of performing material is determined by a preoccupation with ancient Greek themes, as expressed in the following assertion: "The function of this transportation in space and time into Greek antiquity, as a reminder of ancient glory, an exaltation of virtue and patriotism, or simply as a revival of the mythological and historical figures of ancestral heritage, is to serve as an ideal and rouse nationalism and rebellion in the consciousness of the spectator."[13]

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6 The subject is comprehensively investigated in Spathis 1986a.

7 See Dimaras 1968, 162.

8 The phrase is by Konst. Asopius, see Dimaras 1968, 162.

9 See Spathis 1986a, 158-159.

10 In a letter published in *Λόγιος Ερμής*, the journal that best expresses the spirit of modern Greek Enlightenment. See Spathis 1986a, 159. See also Sideris 1976, 18. The latter is an essential textbook for the understanding of modern Greek performances of ancient drama.

11 Spathis 1986a, 159.

12 See Dimitris Spathis, Άγνωστες μεταφράσεις του Μεταστάσιου και πρωτότυπα στιχουργήματα, in Spathis 1986, 101ff.; Anna Tambaki, Το ελληνικό θέατρο στην Οδησσό (1814-1818), in Tambaki 1993, 39-49.

13 Anna Tambaki, Οι απηχήσεις των επαναστατικών ιδεών στο θέατρο του ελληνικού διαφωτισμού, in Tambaki 1993, 62.

These ideologically charged performances, however, had a separate function: to prepare the overall framework of modern Greek theatre. To a large extent, they determined the form of theatre practice that was devised by the first professional troupes working in the newly independent Greek state. The subjection of theatre practice to patriotic tendencies continued to characterize the approach to ancient Greek drama for a long time after independence.

Similar circumstances, but different stage conditions, surround the first productions of ancient Greek drama after the foundation of the modern Greek state: both amateur performances, mostly by students, and professional stagings.[14]

A new element was now added: "the neo-classicism of the Bavarians, which shall intensify ancestral worship by nurturing it with relics and other offerings."[15] The prevailing attitude of both audience and theatre people is summed up in this review of a student production staged in the Greek Merchant School of Chalkis, in 1856: "We wish to congratulate them [i.e. the students] for honouring the Greek nation, by proving with their action that in any circumstances, anywhere, the industrious and studious Greeks shall never cease to appreciate and benefit from the inexhaustible intellectual wealth of our ancestors, the only priceless possession of our nation that cannot be taken away..."[16]

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This turn towards antiquity, particularly strong during the period of Greek Romanticism (1830-1880), stands in opposition to the official historical model that "wanted Greece to have three facets, and the middle one, the Byzantine, equal in splendour and glory to the ancient one.... But this model did not enter the collective consciousness; it barely touched the general outlook. In this respect, the ancestral role remained the jealously guarded province of the ancients."[17] At any rate, the Byzantine period is conspicuously absent from our body of evidence for the history of the Greek theatre, even today.

The repercussions of the mainstream European approach to performing ancient Greek drama, already implied in the famous *Antigone* production staged by Tieck in 1841,[18] took a long time to reach the Greek stage. From the 1860s - the 19th century's most decisive decade for the definition of modern Greek professional theatre - until the 20th century, the Greek approach to ancient drama was characterized by ideological concerns, analogous to those already described. The emphasis centred on the attempt to relate modern Greece to the ancient world, in order to confirm its continuity and national identity.[19] The first professional attempts conformed to this broader ideological and political background: for instance, a production of *Antigone*, in Alexander Rizos

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[14] Sideris 1976, 26-28. For instance, some performances of *Ajax* by university students and semi-professional troupes between 1868 and 1893 (article by Giannis Sideris in *Θέατρο '58*, Athens 1958, 13). Also the *Persai* performed by a troupe of 'lay amateurs' in 1889, and performances of the same play by the 'Archaic Students' Union' in 1891 and 1893. See Iliadi 1992, 115.

[15] Dimaras 1968, 263.

[16] Sideris 1976, 28. The passage is an excerpt from *Πανδώρα Ζ'*, 45-46.

[17] Alexis Politis, *Ρομαντικά χρόνια. Ιδεολογίες και νοοτροπίες στην Ελλάδα 1830-1880*, Athens 1986, 106.

[18] See Flashar 1991, 66-76. For a sketchy account of this performance, see Brockett 1991, 383.

[19] See Sideris 1976; Spathis 1983; Tambaki 1993.

Ragavis' translation, by the troupe of Demosthenes Alexiades and Pipina Vonasera[20] in Constantinople, in 1863; and another production of *Antigone* in the Herodion in Athens during the celebrations for the wedding of King George I.[21]

Unlike tragedy, comedy had a meagre presence on the Greek stage throughout the 19th century: it is hard to turn comedy into a vehicle for the positive presentation of the ancient world and use it to strengthen the glorified image of the past revived by the modern Greek state, since its satire aims to ridicule any pretentious manifestation of the ancient world, in people or states. In the words of a critic reviewing a production of the *Clouds*, in 1868: "To think that we, the descendants of those men, the admirers of Socrates' wisdom and virtue, we who have often read the divine Plato with tears in our eyes while following his account of the death of that wisest of Greek men, [to think that we] after almost 2,000 years, now propose to ridicule that man..."[22] Within this intellectual framework, it seems natural that performances of comedies were rarely staged. Even the 1868 production of *Ploutos* in M. Chourmouzis' exquisite paraphrase (also ideologically charged, but in a different way) had to wait for almost seventy years to be vindicated.[23]

At the end of the century, in 1895, "the inclination towards antiquity"[24] was spectacularly expressed (both literally and figuratively speaking) with the appearance of the 'Society for the Production of Ancient Greek Dramas'[25], which based its performances on the ancient text. Two factors led to the appearance of this theatrically doomed attempt: on one hand, the historical circumstances that favoured the identification of modern Greece with its ancient civilization; and on the other, the extreme conservatism of the response to the challenge to the Greek language presented by the rising linguistic movement of *dimotiki*. The conflict reached an impasse during the performance of the *Oresteia* by the National Theatre in 1903, in George Sotiriades' translation and directed by Thomas Oikonomou,[26] leading to the uprising thereafter known as 'Orestiaká': a student movement against ancient drama performances in translation, closely linked with political strife and linguistic conflict.

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The start of the 20th century also marked the start of a new era for theatre practice in Greece. The new outlook was defined by the projection of a different viewpoint, and was closely related to the creation of some new conditions for stage practice.

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[20] On 7/10/1863. See Theodoropoulou 1992, 158. See also Sideris 1976, 33-35.

[21] On 7/12/1867. See Theodoropoulou 1992, 158-159. See also Sideris 1976, 42-45.

[22] Sideris 1976, 51-52, drawing it from *Palingenesia*. The performance took place on 12/5/1868. See Mary Iliadi, *Nephelae*, Performance History Appendix, Epikairotita 36 (1994) 182. See also Sideris 1976, 51-52.

[23] Sideris (1990, 212) mentions this, but is not aware of the fact that the translator is Chourmouzis. He adds this information in his later publications (1976, 399). This adaptation was used by Koun for the performance he staged with students in the American College of Athens. For the history of this translation in later performances, see Evangelia Andritsanou, *Ploutos*, Performance History Appendix, Epikairotita 44 (1994) 152, 154, 159-162, 166-170.

[24] I borrow the phrase from Dimaras 1968, 263.

[25] See Sideris 1976, 113-116, 185, 213-221, 225. For the performances of the Society, see Epikairotita volumes 8, 10, 11, 12, 16, 26.

[26] For the performance history of *Oresteia*, see Mavromoustakos 1992a, 166-167; 1992b, 122-123; 1992c, 118-119. See also Sideris 1976, 186-199.

The first rift in the one-dimensional approach of the 19th century was marked by the appearance of the director in Greek theatre practice, precisely at the turn of the century, two directors, in fact: Konstantinos Christomanos and Thomas Oikonomou. Christomanos managed to pave the way, through his "sensual attempts"[27], for a new approach to ancient Greek drama that introduced the director as the new key figure in stage practice. Through his company, Néa Skiní, he offered a provisional resolution of the linguistic conflict mentioned before, and an early example of the director as the dominant factor in the shaping of a performance. In so doing, he eased the way to a new-age mentality by mediating between audience and text. Let us see an account of the company's first performance: "...I shall never forget the first night of the *Alcestis*, which also happened to be the first performance given by Néa Skiní. The first of the customary three knocks had already sounded. After a while the curtain rose. Suddenly, Mr. Christomanos sees Hercules' cudgel, for which he had placed a custom order and taken time to explain to the woodcarver all the minute details that its surface should bear. Indeed the cudgel seems exquisite; bulky, heavy, crude and full of knots. Still, Mr. Christomanos frowns; he orders the curtain down, grabs the cudgel and taking out a pocket knife starts carving the handle himself, risking his fingers in the process. It was the only part of the cudgel that had been left perfectly smooth; and he thought it looked like the neck of a bottle!"[28]

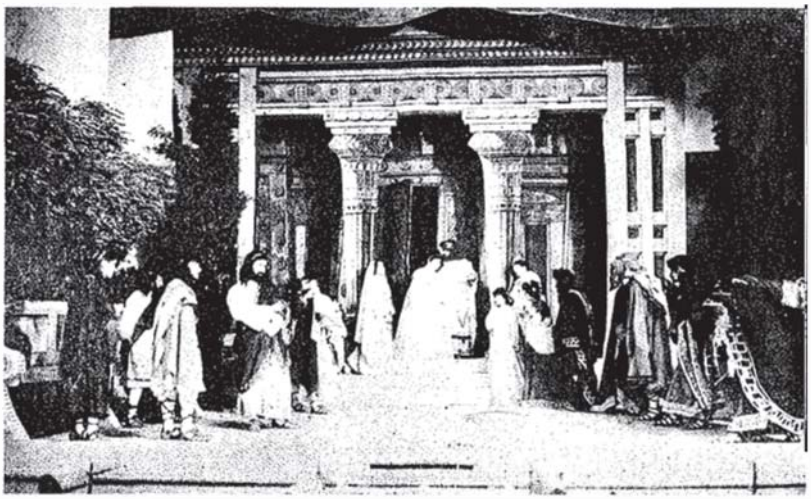

Fig. 6. Euripides. *Alcestis* at the Néa Skiní in 1902.

[27] As characterized by Puchner 1984a, 133.

[28] Excerpt from an unsigned text, included in an advertising pamphlet of Néa Skiní.

This performance of the *Alcestis* by Néa Skiní (Fig. 6), in November of 1901,[29] involved a heated conflict between the director and the original translator.[30] The expression of an internal struggle for power, this conflict promoted a new priority: the translation had to be approved and accepted by the director. This meant that the translation had to be harmonized with the stage objectives of the performance, not with extra-theatrical circumstances. The distinctive aesthetic of Christomanos and his hierarchical order finally induced him to undertake the task of translation himself, believing that, like every other element of the performance, the translation too should stem from the director. This was to be expressed even more forcefully at the next significant moment of theatre practice, one of the most propitious moments in the history of the modern Greek theatre: the production of *Oedipus Rex*, directed by Photos Politis and starring Emilius Veakis, in 1919 (Fig. 7). The choice of play bore the influence of Max Reinhardt's production of this tragedy in 1910. And the translation was the director's own.[31]

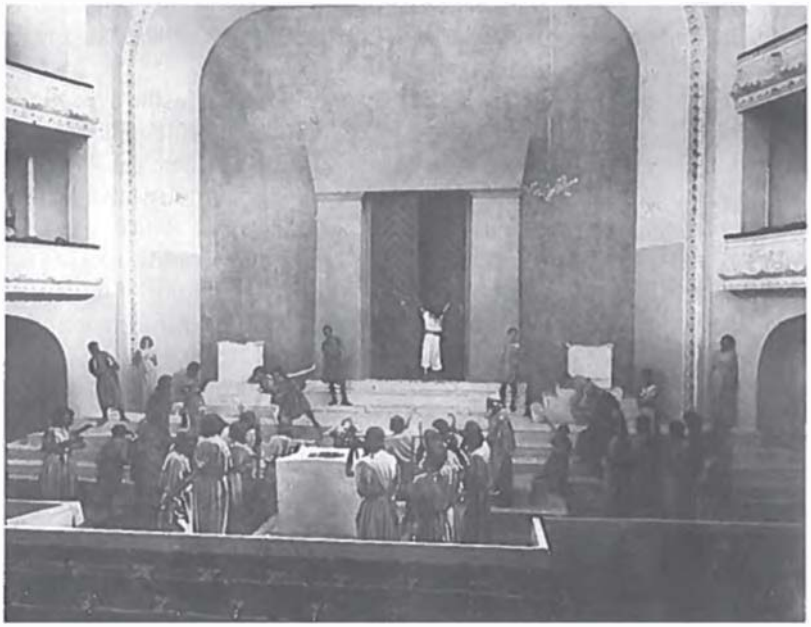

Fig. 7. Sophocles, *Oedipus Rex* at the Etería Ellinikoú Theátrou in 1919.

[29] Iliadi 1993, 148-149. See also Giannis Sideris, Τα ελληνικά θεατρικά έργα: η παρουσία τους στη Νέα Σκηνή, *Θέατρο* 2 (March 1962) 15-25; Sideris 1976, 180-184; Sideris 1990, 229-280.

[30] On the conflict with Elias Voutierides, see Giannis Sideris, Η Άλκηστις στη Νέα Σκηνή, *Ο Αιώνας μας* (September 1947) 217-220 See also Kostas Georgousopoulos, Η Άλκιστις του Κ. Χρηστομάνου. Μια ανακοίνωση, *Η Λέξη* 56 (July-August 1986) 693-701; Iliadi 1993, 148-149.

[31] Andritsanou 1992, 175-176. See also Sideris 1976, 266-278. For an interesting analysis of the performances of *Oedipus Rex* by Politis, see Puchner 1984a, 133-135.

The evolution of theatre practice is not, of course, linear. The appearance of the director does not have a direct continuation in Greek theatre life. As soon as Néa Skiní closed down, the old model dominated the field once more. Theatrical activity in Greece was now centred around the figure of the star-actor; the performance was shaped according to his wishes, and aimed towards his own distinction. (The 1919 production by Photos Politis was an exception to the rule.) The translation slipped to a supporting role - no company was large enough for two star-actors, unless such a move was dictated by the response of the audience; and even then, the second star was hardly ever the translator. The famous actress Marika Kotopouli used Sotiriades' translation of the *Oresteia* for years, in productions that followed the general guidelines provided at the start of the century by Thomas Oikonomou,[32] but modified according to the fluctuating needs of a company with an ever-changing cast and often different technical means. The same was true of Emilius Veakis: he toured for years with the production of *Oedipus Rex* translated and staged by Photos Politis,[33] earning the disapproval of the latter. During the first quarter of the 20th century, some modern plays with ancient Greek themes also found their way into the staple repertory. Chief among these were Hofmannsthal's *Electra*, Goethe's *Iphigenia in Tauris*, and Legouvé's *Medea*.[34] These were deemed sufficiently 'antique' by the stars, and became the basic supplementary fare in the changing repertory of most Greek star companies from the end of the 19th century.[35]

The year 1927 marked a return to the movement initiated by the dynamic presence of Konstantinos Christomanos. It was a significant moment in the history of modern Greek approaches to ancient drama, since it laid down the parameters that continue to define these performances today: the first Delphic Festival, organized by Angelos Sikelianos and Eva Palmer, and built around the performance of *Prometheus Bound* in I. Gryparis' translation.[36] 1927 was also the year of Photos Politis' production of *Hecuba*, in Apostolos Melachrinos' translation, starring Marika Kotopouli and staged in the Panathinaikón Stádion. These two performances, each from its own perspective, led to a re-evaluation of stage practice: the performance of ancient Greek drama now became the focus of intellectual inquiry, and claimed a special place in Greek theatre practice. There were many new demands. Aside from the debate on the issue of open-air performances,

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32 In the original performance of Sotiriades' *Oresteia*, in 1903, Marika Kotopouli was not even a member of the cast but took part by reciting the 'Ode to Aeschylus', written for this purpose by Kostis Palamas. Later on, she performed the trilogy in 1912 and again in 1924, using her own company. See Mavromoustakos 1992a, 166-167; 1992b, 122-123; 1992c, 118-119.

33 Andritsanou 1992, 176-180.

34 See the introductory notes in the perfromance histories for the ancient plays with the respective titles in the Epikairotita vols. 12, 16, 25, 26.

25 The Greek tour of Adelaide Ristori, in 1865, seems to have served as an example to prospective Greek stars in this respect. See Sideris 1976, 35-42.

36 Sideris 1976, especially the two chapters of part II. See also Giannis Sideris, Νεοελληνικές ερμηνείες του αρχαίου θεάτρου ως τις Δελφικές Εορτές (1817-1927), *Ηώς* 103-107 (1967) 401-475. For concise information on this performance, see Agni Mouzenidou, *Prometheus Bound*, Performance History Appendix, Epikairotita 7 (1989) 128-142. This is actually the second time that a translation by Gryparis is presented on-stage: the first was the 1925 production of the *Seven Against Thebes*, staged by Spyros Melas' Théatro Téchnis (See Evangelia Andritsanou, *Seven Against Thebes*, Performance History Appendix, Epikairotita 2 (1992) 125-131). Gryparis had published the translation of *Agamemnon* as early as 1906 (it was completed before the end of the 19th century), and he was one of the few translators lavishly praised by demoticists.

and more particularly on the use of ancient theatres for these performances,[37] almost every element of staging now became a major concern. These issues, which included specific elements like dancing, settings and pronunciation, as well as the appeal of ancient drama today, enriched the discussion with many theoretical and practical arguments. It is an ongoing discussion, even at present, and constitutes the unique experience and remarkable individuality of modern Greek stage tradition.

Within these complex issues, the way in which the translation relates to the demands made by the performance remained a chief concern.[38] It occupied a central place in the thoughts of Photos Politis,[39] and became the focus of the whole approach of the two directors who most shaped the perspective of modern Greek performances of ancient drama after the second World War.

The first of these directors was Karolos Koun. With Laiki Skini originally, and later on with Théatro Téchnis, he introduced the dominant role of the director, as well as a new approach to the theatre in general, and to Aristophanic comedy in particular. This ultimately led to a complete system, readily recognized, with specific acting terms and a clear aesthetic viewpoint that provided accessible references to the concerns underlying the whole post-war creative scene.[40]

The Greek acting code characteristic of Théatro Téchnis was undoubtedly vindicated by Koun's productions of Aristophanic comedies. Note from the beginning that Aristophanes was Koun's playwright of choice even at his first attempts at directing, during the time when he was still a teacher of English at the American College of Athens. The *Birds* and *Ploutos*[41] (mentioned above) were two of the productions that stood at the very beginning of his preoccupation with ancient Greek drama, and at the origins of the vision that formed his aesthetics. In his speech of 1943, crucial for the understanding of his aesthetic attitude, Koun mentioned among other things: "...starting from the beginning, from the foundation of Laiki Skini, a decade ago ... the aesthetic elements that thrilled me then were related to the Greek 'popular' culture, somewhat schematically expressed, as manifested in village and island life, in our folk songs, and even further back, in Byzantine icons and ancient Greek vases. And the plays that we chose then: *Erophile*, *Alcestis*, *Ploutos*, *The Birds* conformed precisely to this spirit."[42]

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[37] A debate initiated by the open-air performance of *Oedipus Rex* in 1897: see Sideris 1976, 35-42; Platon Mavromoustakos, *Manner and Place: From the Italian Stage to Epidaurus*, Program *Hiketides* of the performance by the Centre for the Study and Practical Realization of Ancient Greek Drama "DESMOI", 1994, 43-52.

[38] See critical reviews by Vasos Varikas, *Κριτική Θεάτρου 1961-1971*, Athens 1976; Alkis Thrylos in the 12 vol. edition of the Ourani Foundation, Athens 1977-1981; Stathis Dromazos, *Αρχαίο Δράμα. Αναλύσεις*, Athens 1984; Stathis Dromazos, *Αρχαίο Δράμα. Κριτικές*, Athens 1993; Kostas Georgousopoulos, *Κλειδιά και Κώδικες Θεάτρου Ι. Αρχαίο Δράμα*, Athens 1982; Giannis Varveris, *Η κρίση του θεάτρου*, 3 vols, Athens 1986, 1990 and 1994; Tasos Lignades, *Θεατρολογικά Ι & ΙΙ*, Athens 1990 & 1991; Tasos Lignades, *Το Ζώον και το Τέρας*, Athnes 1993; Politis 1983, vol. I, 15-18 & vol. II, 153-146.

[39] Politis 1983, vol. I, 15-18 & vol. II, 153-156.

[40] The aesthetic believes of Karolos Koun were clearly expressed as early as 1943 in his speech *Η κοινωνική θέση και η αισθητική γραμμή του Θεάτρου Τέχνης*, and were made even clearer in his writings on the subject of modern Greek performances of ancient drama which are reprinted in Koun 1987.

[41] Karolos Koun had first staged *Birds* in the theatre of the American College of Athens, with the students' Theatrical Society, in 1932 and again in 1939 (with Laiki Skini, on January 28, with the cooperation of Kyriazis Charatsaris). *Ploutos* was first staged in the theatre of the American College of Athens on the 4th, 5th and 27th of April 1936.

[42] Koun 1943, 18-19 (reprinted in Koun 1981 and in Koun 1987).

Fig. 8. Aristophanes, *Birds* at the Art Theatre in 1959. The premiere took place at the Herodion by the Art Theatre of Karolos Koun.

It was certainly not a matter of chance that Koun first approached ancient Greek drama through these two Aristophanic comedies.[43] *The Birds*, more than any other of Aristophanes' plays, provides an excellent opportunity for experimentation with stage movements and with solutions to staging problems based on improvisation (Fig. 8). *Ploutos*, from its borderline place in the body of Aristophanic comedy, Old and New, leaves plenty of scope for an experimental approach and a free association with different periods in the history of the theatre. These performances afforded the first clear expression of the way in which Karolos Koun would define the new, modern approach to ancient comedy, and establish an acting code which developped into one of the most important modern Greek traditions of stage practice.

Koun's views, as expressed in his writings, were much less clear than the values which emerged from his performances, since it is the stage actions, especially in Koun's ebullient productions, that provide the expression of any theoretical approach. Still, even these vague assertions do give us some clues. In order to understand Koun's intentions, one has to go back to his speech of 1943: "... my starting point was the basis of Greek popular reality with all its wealth of primitive and native elements. Setting my own intellectual and spiritual needs aside for the moment, I thought that I should grab the first really intense, genuine manifestation of life that would come my way."[44]

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[43] His first professional production of *Ploutos*, staged in Théatro Kipou on September 4th, 1957, still used the original paraphrase by Michael Chourmouzis. Settings and costumes were by Giannis Moralis, music by Manos Chatzidakis, and choreography by St. Papadaki. His first professional production of *The Birds*, staged in the Herodion on August 29th, 1959, was based on a translation by Vasilis Rotas. Settings and costumes were by Giannis Tsarouchis, music once more by Manos Chatzidakis, and choreography by Rallou Manou. Four separate performances of *The Birds* were actually planned, but the first one caused such a stir among some of the audience and in the press, that the rest of the performances were cancelled. The production was repeated the following year in Athens and Thessalonica, under much more favourable conditions.

[44] Koun 1943, 19.

The search for ethnic identity - a claim with many reverberations in the modern Greek political and intellectual scene ever since the 1930s - had a corresponding facet in Koun's general considerations regarding ancient Greek drama. The decisive date for his approach to ancient Greek drama was 1957 when, after almost 15 years of professional theatrical presence, Koun applied his skill to the production of an Aristophanic comedy. It was also the date of his now well-known speech on ancient Greek drama, where he first expressed the views that would define a new direction in theatre practice: "The forms developed by our thoughts today, and our feelings, necessarily draw their shape and colour from the very same nature that once embraced our ancient ancestors. The shepherd, even before sunrise, has to follow the same ancient trails to guide his flocks to pasture. The fisherman will beat his octopus on the same age-old rocks, salesmen bearing their baskets will still try to find some shade to protect their animals and merchandise from the burning midday sun. In Greek villages and islands, throughout the countryside, wherever the mechanical civilization of our century has not intruded yet, wherever people live and work in direct contact with nature, the rhythms, the shapes, even the sounds of life must really bear a remarkable similarity to the rhythms and shapes and sounds preserved in history as the mark of ancient Greek life."[45]

Another of Koun's assertions made his intentions even clearer. On the occasion of the performance of *The Birds* in the Théâtre des Nations in Paris (a production of the utmost importance for the whole concept of the modern Greek approach to ancient drama), he specified: "It is not so easy, choosing which elements to use from popular culture, because one must find elements that can be 'married', fitted together in the same way that paint blends into wood; not unsuitable elements. One must find new material that can be harmonized with the old, through some aesthetic, formal or mental affinity. And this is where the great difficulty lies."[46]

The search for popular models implied by this view led Koun to a systematic investigation of the formal elements that constitute the directly perceived characteristics of a particular version of 'Greekness'. These elements formed eventually the comprehensive theatrical tradition of Theatro Technis, a tradition that dictated the presentation of almost all of the surviving Aristophanic comedies in theatrical festivals in Greece and abroad, securing the fame of the company.[47] All of these productions explored a manner of physical expression marked by a sense of continuity in the history of Greek popular tradition. Starting with the use of a bead string and a gramophone playing popular lyrics in *Ploutos* and the experimentation with modern Greek lyric poetry in

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[45] Extract of Koun's speech, Τό αρχαίο θέατρο, addressed to the International Theatre Conference in the Herodion, on July 4th, 1957, reprinted in Koun 1987, 33-34. Similar views are often expressed by Koun. See for example Koun 1987, 64-68 (Η Ελλάδα και η τραγωδία, 1965), 81-82 (Βαθιές οι ρίζες στην Ελλάδα, 1971), 85-90 (Σκάντα χρόνια θέατρο, 1971), 92-99 (Αισθάνομαι πιό ελεύθερος και πιό ευτυχισμένος όταν μπορώ να έχω επαφή με τους ανθρώπους, 1975), 110-118 (Μαγεία, πάθος και συγκίνηση, κυρίαρχα στοιχεία της τραγωδίας, 1976), 155-156 (Για την αρχαία τραγωδία, 1984).

[46] Koun 1987, 40-41 (Οι Όρνιθες στο Θέατρο Εθνών).

[47] The information of these performances is based on evidence collected from the archive of Theatro Technis, and cross-referenced with the performance histories compiled by M. Iliadi, M. Theodoropoulou, E. Andritsanou, C. Symvoulidou and N. Karanastasis for the Epikairotita editions of the surviving Aristophanic comedies. With the exception of *Ecclesiazousai*, Theatro Technis presented all of Aristophanes' plays in the following order: *Ploutos* 1957, *The Birds* 1959, *The Frogs* 1966, *Lysistrata* 1969, *Acharnians* 1974, *Peace* 1977, *The Knights* 1979, *The Wasps* 1981, *Thesmophoriazousai* 1985 and *The Clouds* 1991.

The Birds, Koun soon turned his efforts with *The Frogs* into an attempt to emphasize a ritualistic element that is, visually, a combination of eastern and western traditions. With the important production of the *Acharnians*, Théatro Téchnis embarked on a new course: the creation of an atmosphere of popular feasting was now combined with the encoding of a way of acting that was enriched by material drawn from the Greek shadow puppet theatre, Karagiozes. Koun followed a similar approach in *Lysistrata*: the exploration of Greek popular types now became the axis of his considerations. Finally, in the production of *Peace*, the various approaches tried so far combined in creating an atmosphere of popular revelry, which from now on characterized Aristophanic comedy in the collective consciousness of modern Greek spectators.

From a different perspective, but exercising a similar influence on post-war Greek theatre practice, Dimitris Rondiris (first with the National Theatre, and later with his own company, Piraikón Théatron) followed along the lines set by Photos Politis in his performances of *Oedipus Rex* (1919, 1925 and 1933), *Hecuba* (1927), *Agamemnon* (1932), and *Persai* (1934, Fig. 9).[48] Photos Politis based his original approach on some of the stage solutions proposed by the productions of Max Reinhardt, but went on to enrich Reinhardt's model in a way that allows us to consider his work "the creative response of modern Greek theatre"[49] to problems and issues first expressed by the Austrian director. The brief sojourn of Photos Politis in the newly-founded (in 1932) National Theatre played a decisive role in defining this institution's *modus operandi*.

Fig. 9. Aeschylus, *Persians* at the National Theatre in 1934.

After the death of Politis in 1934, Dimitris Rondiris took over the National Theatre and developed this tradition, but with a significant creative twist. He formed a comprehensive approach to modern stagings of tragedy, based on the revelatory function of rhythm; and this led to a soundly structured rhythmic method of interpretation. We should also note that Max Reinhardt exercised a more direct influence on Dimitris

[48] For the performances of *Oedipus Rex* in 1919, 1925 and 1933, see Andritsanou 1992, 167-196. For *Hecuba*, see Mirka Theodoropoulou, *Hecuba*, Performance History Appendix, Epikairotita 20 (1993) 151-163. For *Agamemnon*, see Mavromoustakos 1992a, 165-187. For *Persai*, see Iliadi 1992, 113-126.

[49] Puchner 1984, 137.

Rondiris than he did on Photos Politis, since Rondiris was his student for a while. Reinhardt's views found expression in a multi-faceted career, characterized by eclectic tendencies that acted as the unifying principle behind the various conflicting movements and inclinations present in his stagings. In general terms, we might say that for Reinhardt each new production posed a fresh problem to be solved; and thus, every style had its place in the final shape of the performance.[50] For him, the style of a production also included the handling of theatrical space, and the relationship between actors and audience. The origins of this tendency may be traced back to solutions tried out on stage in Germany as early as the 19th century. The tremendous success of the famous performance of *Antigone*, staged by Ludwig Tieck in 1841, introduced new considerations to theatre practice at a very early stage.[51] Reinhardt was certainly aware of Tieck's experiment when he staged *Oedipus Rex* in Munich in 1910 in a circus amphitheatre, since he stated: "The important thing for me was to revive Sophocles' tragedy in the spirit of our time, to adapt it to the conditions and situations of our period. The idea of rebuilding the ancient skene, which presupposes an open-air performance and the use of masks, never even crossed my mind. The important thing for me was to relate the modern stage to the ancient one, by recreating the dimensions which determined the effect of the ancient theatre."[52]

Reinhardt's views, which were corroborated by his own solid classical education, played a major role in the development of Dimitris Rondiris' belief that tragedy "should be set free from the constraints imposed on it by a repertory conception".[53] This also marks a major point of difference between Rondiris and Photos Politis (who, with the exception of *Hecuba* staged in the Panathinaikón Stádion, always produced his tragedies in an enclosed space). Politis, faithful to what was an almost universal practice for European directors at the time, placed tragedy into the logic of a repertory theatre. The new demand now made by Rondiris for the interpretation of tragedy according to its own particular style, also meant the recognition of its inherent "ritualistic nature" and the acceptance of the need for "passionate and bulky chorus movements" in order to maintain tragedy's "celebratory character" which, alone, could "express tragedy's religious and deeply humanitarian spirit".[54] The manifestations of such a view on stage led to a demand for the use of the theatre for such performances; in reality, the new demand was for the return of these texts to the place for which they were originally composed.

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[50] Puchner 1984, 137; Brockett 1991, 571-572.

[51] Tieck staged *Antigone* in Potsdam at the invitation of Wilhelm IV of Prussia. The realisation of this performance was, in itself, an innovation, since modern productions of ancient dramas were still unheard of. Tieck enlarged the stage by adding a semicircle that covered the orchestra pit, thus creating a space similar to the Greek theatre and the ancient *skene*. This production was soon transported to the National Theatre of Berlin, and adopted by companies performing in other German cities, and so became the model that would determine to a great extent the European approach to ancient dramatic texts. See Brockett 1991, 439-440.

[52] Puchner 1984, 128.

[53] The coinage of the phrase is by Kostas Georgousopoulos, in his analysis of Rondiris' approach to tragedy based on evidence from the director's archive. See the following articles by Gerogousopoulos: Τζώρτζ Τόμσον και Ροντήρης, *Το Βήμα* 9/3/1986; Από την περιουσία στην εύρεση, *Το Βήμα* 4/5/1986; Η μέθοδος Ροντήρη 1, *Το Βήμα* 1/6/1986; Η μέθοδος Ροντήρη 2, *Το Βήμα* 29/6/1986.

[54] See Kostas Gerogousopoulos, Η μέθοδος Ροντήρη 1, *Το Βήμα* 1/6/1986. The phrases by Rondiris are from the unpublished translation of an interview he gave to Robert Michel in the U.S. 9.3.1986, 4.5.1986, 1.6.1986.

The use of ancient Greek theatres for performances of tragedies emerged as a clear desire in European theatre practice as early as the end of the 19th century. Their acceptance was promoted by the production of *Oedipus Rex* by Mounet-Sully in the theatre at Orange in 1888. In modern Greek theatre life, the most comprehensive attempt to use an ancient theatre comes with the first Delphic Festival of 1927, and after the second Festival in 1930 (see Cover) a particularly astute theatre critic proposed the use of the theatre at Epidaurus for these performances.[55] Already for his first production of Sophocles' *Electra*, in 1936, Rondiris chose to use the Herodion in Athens.[56] This production was repeated in the same theatre the following year, and on September 10th, 1938, it formally inaugurated the use of the Epidaurus theatre, before an audience transported from Athens by the Greek Hiking Society.[57] It was the first modern performance of an ancient drama given there by a professional company, and its tremendous success significantly promoted the issue:[58] the government decided to rebuild the right side of the *koilon* which had collapsed, and it became only a matter of time before the actual decision for the systematic use of the theatre for performances of ancient drama was taken.[59]

For Dimitris Rondiris, the theatre at Epidaurus constituted the ideal place for the materialization of his vision about ancient tragedy, as described by himself with the following words: "In my view, the proper way to transmit to contemporary spectators the tragic thrill, the holy fear, the real aesthetic feeling that constituted the ancient audience's response to these great classic dramas is this: to forego (supposing that we had enough historical evidence) all attempts at historical representation; to seek, instead, to provoke a genuine emotional response to contemporary spectators by a proper interpretation, by emphasizing the immortal, everlasting human truth, the deepest humanitarian element included in the ancient dramatic poetry, and to solve the problem of the lyric element of ancient drama in accordance with its very nature, by borrowing material from the reality of modern Greek life that displays the sense of unity evident in the Greek tradition from ancient times to this day."[60]

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[55] Gabriel Boissy, in an article published in the newspaper *Το Έθνος* on 3/5/1930. He is taking his stance in the debate raging among Greek intellectuals at that time on the subject of whether the *Hiketides* and *Prometheus Bound* productions should be repeated in different surroundings. Boissy, himself a translator of *Oedipus Rex*, had, since the 19th century, been an enthusiastic supporter of the use of ancients theatres, moved by Monet-Sully's performance in Orange. See André Villiers, *La scène centrale. Esthetique et pratique du Théâtre en Rond*, Paris 1977, 24; Sideris 1976, 404, 408.

[56] First staged on October 3rd; translated by I. Gryparis, directed by Dimitris Rondiris, settings by Kleoboulos Klonis, costumes by Ant. Phokas, music by Dimitris Mitropoulos, choreography by Angelos Grimanis. Starring Katina Paxinou, Thanos Kotsopoulos and Eleni Papadaki. See Iliadi, Mavromoustakos and Theodoropoulou 1992, 163-185.

[57] See Iliadi, Mavromoustakos and Theodoropoulou 1992, 168-169.

[58] See the relevant report in the newspaper *Ελεύθερον Βήμα* 14/9/1938.

[59] We should note here that, in 1937, the 'Ancient Theatre Society' of the University of Sorbonne (one of its founding members was Roland Barthes) had come to Greece for a visit, and during an excursion to the Argolid the members of this student company went to see the theatre of Epidaurus. Once there, quite spontaneously and without preparation, with no music, the amateur actors performed *Persai* to the amazement of some villagers passing by the theatre while returning home. The account of this performance is included in André Burgaud's speech 'L'experience du group de Théâtre Antique de la Sorbonne' presented during the International Conference at Delphi on Το αρχαίο θεάτρο σήμερα ('Ancient Theatre Today') that took place in August 1981. See the annals of the conference, edited by the European Cultural Center of Delphi in 1984, 67-83.

[60] From a speech presented to the International Theatre Conference organized by the Institute of Theatre, Athens, July 1976, on the subject Το αρχαίο δράμα στο σημερινό θέατρο ('Ancient drama in today's theatre'), see Annals, 242.

The next performance staged by Dimitris Rondiris in the theatre of Epidaurus was the *Hippolytus* production of 1954 (Fig. 10),[61] which inaugurated the Epidaurus Festival. From the following year, despite the sudden removal of Rondiris from the management of the National Theatre, performances of ancient drama became a staple at Epidaurus year after year, creating a unique experience in this theatrical genre. The Epidaurus Festival, in an age where the success of an artistic event is a direct correlation with the size of the audience, remains one of the major cultural events in Greece; often functioning as an informal meeting place for people connected with the theatre, similar to the more formal meetings established in all European countries after the war. But Dimitris Rondiris stayed out: in spite of being the originator of this Festival, he did not stage another production at Epidaurus until 1978 when his famous *Electra* was revived: 40 years after its first presentation there and 24 years after the establishment of the Festival marked by the *Hippolytus*.

Fig. 10. Euripides, *Hippolytus* by the National Theatre performing at Epidauros in 1954.

[61] See Mary Iliadi 1994, *Hippolytus*, Performance History Appendix, Epikairotita 18 (1994) 157-172.

These modern approaches created new demands; chief among these was the need for the presentation of different translations in performances of ancient drama. The common feature in the approach of Théatro Téchnis as shaped by Koun, and the approach of the National Theatre as defined by Rondiris, is the interactive support between performance and translation. Both of these elements tended towards freedom from the restraints imposed by extra-theatrical ideological concerns, and the circumstances that determined them during the 19th century. And both of them inclined towards the exploration of theatricality itself. In reality, the practices of both Koun and Rondiris redefined the concerns that underlie modern performances of ancient Greek drama and guided the demands of theatre practice towards an introspective exploration that belongs entirely to the theatre. Through this perspective, the translation is harmonized with the overall stage conception. It is no longer a matter of correct rendition or a pretty turn of phrase: the translation now assumes a functional role and plays an integral part in the unified whole of the performance, by adding coherent arguments to the process that shapes the audience's response.

The wealth of modern performances of ancient drama, especially after the establishment of the Epidaurus Festival, created some new considerations that depend on the following basic principle: each new production of ancient drama must have its own translation, since it poses afresh its own demands. In this sense, the director becomes the new moving force behind the process of translation; and common interests and goals are recognized, providing a new hierarchical order of values behind the production terms of each performance. Still this curious parallel course gradually leads to the autonomy of the process of translation, since the style of the translation itself embodies the possibility of a stage conception. Thus the translator's desk is likened to the stage; the translation is recognized as a new version of the original conception embodied in the ancient text.

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Greek Music Policy under the Dictatorship of General Ioannis Metaxas (1936-1941)*

Risto Pekka Pennanen

Although it was an important period in modern Greek history, remarkably little historical research has been carried out on the Metaxás dictatorship, officially the Fourth of August Regime (4η Αυγούστου). This is presumably mainly due to the disorganised state of Greek public archives of that time. Given this, it is not surprising that there has been no scholarly research on Greek music policy in the late 1930s.[1] Quite a lot has been written on the censorship of music under Metaxás, but it has tended to lack historical context and precision. The most comprehensive study on Greek cultural policy under Metaxás, with some references to music, is by the German scholar Gunnar Hering.[2]

There are serious problems regarding the availability of documents that could shed light on the music policy of the Metaxás dictatorship, as the archives containing material on musical censorship are not accessible. Fortunately, some very important documents connected with the procedures and development of musical censorship are preserved in the Petrópulos Archive at the Gennadius Library of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.[3]

Since an important recording studio ledger is missing, the dating of recordings from the Metaxás era is not precise. Fortunately, some recordings for the Greek His Master's Voice label are datable through recording lists by the recording director, arranger and master musician Dimítris Sémsis.[4] Another problem is that only a few original copies of pre-1941 Greek record company catalogues have survived. Due to collectors' selective interest in *rebétiko* recordings, photocopied, more easily accessible record catalogues in private collections tend to be incomplete: often only pages relevant for 'rebetologists' have been copied. Since there is no Greek national discography, it is hard to analyse the entirety of recorded music between 1936 and 1941.

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1 As observed by Hering (1996, 286), no Greek term for 'cultural policy' was used before the Second World War. Correspondingly, there was no term for 'music policy'.

2 Hering 1996.

3 Most of the documents have been reproduced in Petrópulos 1979 and referred to in Torp 1993b.

4 See Torp 1993b.

Historical Background

In the mid 1930s, the constant rivalry between Republicans and Royalists and a series of political crises caused the downfall of Greek democratic institutions, thus allowing the restoration of the monarchy. After a rigged plebiscite under the royalist military dictatorship of General Yeórgos Kondílis, King George II (1922-1924, 1935-1941, 1946-1947) was able to return to the Greek throne from his English exile in November 1935. The political deadlock after the general election in January 1936 was resolved in April when the King appointed General Ioánnis Metaxás (1871-1941), the most reactionary politician in Greece, as prime minister.[5] On 4 August 1936, a royal decree suspended all constitutional rights and dissolved Parliament. Several communist and democratic political leaders were arrested. The Greek General Confederation of Labour declared a general strike effective on 5 August, and Metaxás used this as an excuse to declare martial law and imposed a rigid press censorship.[6]

During the first one-and-a-half years of its existence, the Fourth of August Regime was a conservative dictatorship, but in 1938 Metaxás transformed the regime into an extreme authoritarian state.[7] Metaxás himself was by no means a fascist, but an ultra-conservative supporter of authoritarianism. He relied on the police to suppress opposition: the Metaxás government was a *Polizeistaat* closely resembling other European totalitarian regimes in the interwar period.[8] The government included devoted advocates of fascism, and Italian and German fascist policies served as models for the regime. Metaxás and his government kept close political, economic, academic and cultural connections with Germany in particular. For instance, the Reich Minister for Public Information and Propaganda (Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda), Joseph Goebbels, visited Greece twice, and the Greek Undersecretary of Public Security, Konstantínos Maniadákis (1893-1972), a notorious fascist, often consulted Heinrich Himmler, Reich SS Leader and Chief of German Police.[9] On the other hand, largely because of the King, Greece also maintained good relations with Great Britain.

The basic ideology of Metaxás was quite clear. Citizens were to merge with the state and the homogeneous national whole. No dissidents, nonconformists, or subversives were tolerated. Metaxás' motto was: order, discipline and work. He detested the unbridled individualism of the Greeks. There were strict norms and rules for everything. Every citizen in Metaxás' New State (Τὸ Νέον Κράτος) had to work; there was no room for idlers. In addition, Metaxas saw the family as an institution closely linked with the very existence of Greek Society.[10]

In imitation of the German Third Reich, Metaxás declared in June 1937 that his goal was to create 'the Third Greek Civilisation'. 'The Third Greek Civilisation' was to be the continuation and combination of the positive qualities of the two previous Greek civilisations, i.e. ancient Greece with its great intellectual achievements and great art,

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5 Clogg 1987, 11-12.
6 Kofas 1983, 98.
7 Ibid., vii.
8 On the role of the police in the Fourth of August regime, see Close 1986.
9 Irmcher 1986, *passim*; Kofas 1983, 131-132.
10 Kofas 1983, 62; Sarandis 1993, 151-152, 160.

and Byzantium with its deep religiosity and powerful state. Greek culture was to be cleansed of foreign influences.[11] Metaxás' ultra-nationalist views were based on mythical thinking and thus there is a certain lack of logic in them. For Metaxás and most members of the Greek elite, western European culture was not foreign, since they saw ancient Greece as the cradle of Western civilisation.

The active development of the arts and sciences was one of the objectives introduced by the regime shortly after the proclamation of the dictatorship.[12] Cultural policy was mainly governed by the Board of Literature and Fine Arts, which formed a part of the Ministry of Education and Religion, and the newly founded Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism (Ὑφυπουργεῖον Τύπου καὶ Τουρισμοῦ), which functioned as the Propaganda Ministry. They were responsible not only for propaganda, but also, for example, for the control of conferences and exhibitions, theatrical works, films, gramophone records, advertisements, lectures, publications and all kinds of written materials. In addition, they took part in the administration of the State Radio, which was established in August 1936 as a propaganda tool for the regime. The head of the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism was the journalist Theológos Nikolúdis, one of Metaxás' closest friends and a well known pro-fascist.[13]

What Sort of Music Was Supported by the Regime?

The regime's view of the role of music must be deduced from its practice; there seems to have been no written programme specifically delineating music policy. This is hardly surprising, since not even German Nazis were able clearly to define their views on music or organise coherent control programmes.[14] The state control of music under Metaxás was meant to be all-inclusive: it covered the record industry, radio broadcasts, printed sheet music, and musical compositions and especially lyrics performed publicly. The most striking means of control was censorship. Generally, all songs containing lyrics which were out of step with the regime's beliefs were forbidden, the most obvious cases being Socialist labour songs and songs opposing or ridiculing the regime.

The regime favoured Western classical music. The State Radio Orchestra was founded in 1938 in Athens, and the National Opera was established as a separate institution within the Royal Theatre in 1939. The first production was 'Die Fledermaus' ('Nyhterida') by Johann Strauss.[15] However, in the official hierarchy, the best kind of music was national, purely Greek music, which reflected the idea of the 'superiority of the Greek race' and the ideals of the regime. Such music could be used for propaganda purposes in Greece and abroad. The second annual report of the regime from 1938 mentions that the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism sent gramophone records to foreign radio stations in order to make Greece and Greek music better known.[16]

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[11] Hering 1996, 290-291.
[12] Kofas 1983, 65-66.
[13] Hering 1996, 286, 295 n. 39.
[14] Kater 1998, 360.
[15] Ráptis 1989, 241-243.
[16] O apoloyismós, 234.

The regime favoured patriotic anthems - including the Hymn of the Fourth of August Regime by K. Rafódos and Ioánnis Tartsínis - marches, Greek Orthodox church music, and folk and folkloristic music. The songbook *Tragúdia tis Neoléas* of Metaxás' fascist National Youth Organisation EON (Ἐθνικὴ Ὀργάνωσις τῆς Νεολαίας) from 1940 is comprised of these musical genera. The melodies are written out to be sung in unison, no parts being given. No chord symbols are used in the notation.[17] There was musical activity in the EON: *I Neoléa*, the magazine of the organisation, informs us that in late 1937 the EON had several brass bands and at least one male choir accompanied by an orchestra of seven mandolins and seven guitars.[18] In early 1939, the magazine reports a male brass band, while a contemporary propaganda film shows a female brass band of the EON playing at a parade.[19]

Metaxás was influenced by the romantic nationalism that developed in the 19th century from the ideas of the German philosopher Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803). Thus, the return to the supposed roots of Greek civilisation, the regeneration of folk tradition and the rejection of foreign influences were important for Metaxás. He declared that people in the countryside were guardians of the national heritage.[20] It is logical that Metaxás' regime favoured folklorism, i.e. the ideological, artistic and commercial utilisation of folklore.

The state promotion of folk and folkloristic music was realised soon after the coup in August 1936 when the State Radio started broadcasting such music on a regular basis.[21] The government policy of stressing the role of folk music was reflected in the record company catalogues. The number of folk and folkloristic records available was remarkably large in Columbia's 1940 catalogue, apparently due to the censorship favouring such music.

Musical folklorism was important for the EON: the instruction of its members included singing folk songs from the EON songbook and learning folk dances. Five of the six folk songs in the book are patriotic *kléftika* related to the Greek War of Independence (1821-1830) against the Ottoman Empire: 'Saránta palikária', 'O Nikotsarás', 'I kléftiki zoí', 'O horós tu Zalóngu', 'Káto stu Váltu' and 'Tis ártas to yeofíri'.[22] These songs are in *kalamatianós* (7/8), *tsámikos* (3/4 or 6/4) or *sirtós* (2/4) dance rhythms. The EON regarded these dances as Pan-Hellenic, and all members had to learn them. Regional dances were taught as well.[23] Presumably originating in the Peloponnese and Roumeli respectively, *kalamatianós* and *tsámikos* had started to attain the status of national dances in the 19th century, and they were actively disseminated to other parts of Greece and represented as Pan-Hellenic dances of ancient origin.[24]

An important forum for the ritual use of folklorism was the anniversary of the dictatorship, which was declared as a Day of Celebration. Festivities were organised in

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17 Tragúdia.

18 *I Neoléa* 1937, 1, 8.

19 *I Neoléa* 1939, 1, 19; The Metaxás Collection, cassette 6.

20 Sarandis 1993, 149-150, 154.

21 Torp 1993b, 36.

22 On the relationship of the *kléftika* to the myth of the *klefţármatoli* as patriotic freedom-fighters, see Boeschoten 1986.

23 Petrídis 2000, 247, 266.

24 Torp 1993a, 280-284.

many towns on 4 August, from 1937 to 1939. According to the memoirs of Amvrósios Tzífos, something very embarrassing happened in 1940: there were no festivities in Athens since peasant performers from the countryside did not arrive in the capital and Athenians were not eager to participate in the celebration.[25]

The representatives of rural Greece, in colourful national costumes, took part in a parade through the streets of Athens, with the Labour Battalions in brown, and the members of the EON in black uniforms.[26] The main ceremonies were organised at the Olympic Stadium. Needless to say, no representatives of ethnic minorities were invited. The only exceptions were professional Gypsy musicians accompanying dance groups from some areas. Folk dances were performed at the Stadium as a part of the celebration. The Fourth of August festivities in Athens and elsewhere were described in detail in the press for propaganda purposes. For example, *Le Messanger d'Athènes* on 5 August 1937 writes about the festivities with three photographs of performers in national costume. The mass event, where dancers from all parts of Greece performed a variety of dances for the Athenian audience, displayed the people's support of the regime at a symbolic level.[27]

In the absence of the villagers, the 1940 programme at the Olympic Stadium was largely based on the contribution of the EON members. They even performed the customary national dances. Choirs sang hymns, folk song arrangements and folkloristic compositions. Folkloristic songs were sung by the choral ensemble of the Society for the Diffusion of Greek National Music under the direction of Símon Karás (1905-1999).[28] Karás was an established specialist in Greek church music, and from 1937 the director of the folk music division of the Greek State Radio. As we shall see later, Karás seems to have been one of the key figures in Greek music policy during the dictatorship.

Collection and Research of National Music

The regime also made attempts to have national music collected and studied. Metaxás assumed personal control of the Ministry of Education and Religion in autumn 1938, and the next year the Board of Literature and Fine Arts within it was reorganised. The new Board was headed by the writer Kostís Bastiás, and it included the Department of Folklore, which concentrated on the systematic study, collection and preservation of the national heritage, especially of folk culture.[29]

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[25] Quoted in Hering 1996, 316 n. 138. Loutzaki (2001, 129), however, claims that villagers were not invited to the 1940 festivities.

[26] The Day of Celebration parades, main ceremonies and Nazi-style torchlight processions were documented, probably in 1938, on silent colour film in Athens and Salonica by the Greek-American Michalis Dorisos (1895-1956), a professor at the University of Pennsylvania. The films form the main body of the Dorisos Collection at the Greek Film Archive in Athens.

[27] Torp 1993a, 286-287; Loutzaki 1994, 66-67.

[28] Loutzaki 2001, 129-130. In the 1980s, Karás asked his student Ioánnis Arvanitis to organise the contents of a bookcase, which was found to contain lyrics and arrangements for many folk songs in numerous copies, previously used by Karás' choir. Among the folk songs Arvanitis found some songs of the Fourth of August. (Arvanitis, pers. com. 2002).

[29] Hering 1996, 286 n. 3.

It is not known if the Department organised any collecting, but the government did send a committee of three specialists to Istanbul in early February 1939 in order to collect old icons, documents, paintings, manuscripts of Greek Orthodox church music and Greek folk songs. 'Angelos Vudúris (1891-1951), an assistant singer (*doméstikos*) of the famous *protopsáltis* Iákovos Nafpliótis at the Patriachate in Istanbul, mentions in his diary that Símon Karás was a member of the committee and that his task was to seek out old manuscripts of church music and photograph them for the Greek National Library.[30]

According to Karás' student Ioánnis Arvanítis, during the Istanbul mission Karás photographed rare manuscripts at the library of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem Holy Grave Monastery Dependency (Μετόχιον Παναγίου Τάφου), noticed that the building was in bad repair and decided that the material should be rescued by moving it to Greece. He proposed this to the authorities on his return to Athens, and somewhat later a secret operation was organised.[31] The manuscripts are now preserved at the Greek National Library in Athens.

Music as Entertainment

Besides propaganda, music was commonly used as pure entertainment with no indoctrination in mind. There is an interesting assessment of the popular music situation in 1940 in the fourth anniversary publication of the regime: "The sick tendencies in popular music of the previous years have now been substituted by real cheerfulness".[32] This assessment probably refers to the disappearance of sub-cultural and underground elements in recorded songs, which occurred due to preventive censorship. We can safely say that the attitude of the dictatorship towards most forms of popular music was at least neutral. Lyrics were considered more important than music. If the lyrics were cheerful and not counter to the values and taboos of the regime, the piece of music was tolerated.

We know of one instance when music was used for representative purposes by a government minister. Joseph Goebbels visited Greece from 20 to, probably, 24 September 1936. In his diary Goebbels describes his visit and especially mentions an evening at an Athenian tavern with the Minister-Governor of Athens, Kóstas Kotziás (1892-1951):

"Abends Einladung von Kotzias in einer griechischen Taverne. Dort werden griech. Volkslieder gesungen und Nationalgerichte gegessen. Es ist urgemütlich. Kotzias ist ein feiner Kerl. Das Publikum ganz enthusiastisch. Es gefällt mir wunderbar. Herrlicher Abend. Ich engagiere eine junge Sängerin gleich für Berlin. Kotzias überglücklich."[33]

What kind of music did Kotziás choose for entertaining the guest of honour from Germany? He certainly would not want anything too exotic such as rural folk music or Ottoman-Greek popular music. Maybe Goebbels enjoyed a programme of Italian-style

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30 Vudúris 1998, 314-315.
31 Arvanítis, pers. comm. 2002.
32 4 Avgústu 1, 158.
33 Goebbels 1992, 987.

kantáda serenades, folkloristic music arranged in a Western way, and Western type popular music. It is not known if the female singer actually travelled to Berlin.

Besides national music, the performance and recording of many popular music styles of foreign origin were permitted. In the late 1930s, the foxtrot was popular among the urban population in Greece and it was recorded extensively. Hawaiian style music was also relatively popular, and bands playing it had no problems in having their music recorded. The status of jazz is unclear. For comparison, in Fascist Italy jazz and blues were forbidden since they were not seen as a part of the national culture. In Germany, Nazis regarded atonality and jazz as expressions of international Bolshevism, Americanism and Jewry.[34] Such bans were, as far as I can establish, not imposed in Greece. Apparently, the censors did not need to consider jazz since its popularity was marginal.

The Music of Ethnic Minorities

The regime stressed the national unity of the pure Greek race. Inter-war parliamentarian governments discriminated against minorities, but under Metaxás, discrimination and assimilation became institutionalised and considerably more effective than before. Systematic pressure was exerted on members of ethnic, national, linguistic and religious minorities.[35] The status of the sizeable Jewish population has not been studied. For unknown reasons, no commercial recordings whatsoever of Greek Jewish music for the Greek market were made in Greece until the 1990s.

There were two exceptions to the government policy towards ethnic minorities: it seems that the Turkish-speaking and Albanian-speaking minorities had some privileges. Recordings in Turkish made in Athens, and especially Istanbul, were available during the whole of the Metaxás era. This was owing to the cordiality between the governments in Athens and Ankara, which dated back to 1930, the turning point in the Greco-Turkish relations.

After long negotiations and gradual rapprochement, the Agreement for Friendship, Neutrality and Arbitration between Greece and Turkey was signed on 30 October 1930 in Ankara. The pact was accompanied by a trade agreement. Relations between the two countries became considerably better than before, and this was also experienced on the popular level. This *Entente Cordiale* was followed by a series of exchange visits between Greece and Turkey throughout the 1930s.[36]

In addition to university students, football teams, and theatrical companies, musical groups also participated in exchanges. Musicians from Turkey visited Athens as early as late 1930: on 13 December there was a concert at the Olympia theatre under the patronage of the Turkish ambassador Enis Bey. Among the performers were the Istanbul singers Safiye Ayla (1907-1998) and Hafiz Burhan Sesyilmaz (1897-1943), the *kanto* singer Makbule Enver Hanim (years unknown) and the violinist-composer Kemani Ahmed Cevdet (later Cevdet Cağla, 1900-1988). On the lower part of the concert poster is

[34] Sorce Keller 1993, 125-126; Kater 1995, 65-72.

[35] See Diváni 1995; Carabott 1997.

[36] Koufa and Svolopoulos 1991, 303-304; Alexandris 1992, 179-180.

the following text in Greek: "These Turkish artists work exclusively for the Columbia Record Company which sells records of their songs."[37] The text implies that the marketing of recordings from Istanbul, which were pressed in Athens for the Greek market, had just started.

In the 1930s there was still a large Greek population in Istanbul - 125,046 Greek Orthodox inhabitants according to the 1935 census - and in Greece a minority of ethnic Turks in western Thrace. Due to the pacts, both minorities were provided with records in their respective languages. In practice however, Turkish-language records were also bought by the Turkish-speaking Karamanli Orthodox Christians who were included in the Greco-Turkish exchange of minorities in 1923 and relocated to Greece.[38 * 40] The Greek Columbia general catalogue of 1937 contains two chapters of Turkish-language recordings: under the heading 'Anatolitika' are recordings made in Athens by Moisis Koïnoglu's Anatolitiki orhistra (ten sides), while recordings from Istanbul are listed under the heading 'Turkiki' (108 sides).

Correspondingly, from 1930, Greek- and Turkish-language records were pressed in Istanbul from matrices made in Athens. Initially the recordings were mostly in the Ottoman-Greek cafe style and were aimed at the Istanbul Greek population: 'Nini - Manes' and 'Nigris - Manes' (mat. GO 1539, GO 1540; cat. Odeon GA I486)[31'] recorded by Marika Politissa in Athens in the summer or autumn of 1930 are among the first on that label.[4"]

Some Albanian-language recordings from Istanbul and possibly from Tirana were also available in Greece during the Metaxäs dictatorship. For instance, Columbia's 1937 general catalogue contained eleven Albanian records, i.e. 22 sides. There was a minority of ethnic Albanians in Greece and a Greek minority in Albania. There must have been some kind of unofficial pact between the governments in Athens and Tirana concerning the respective minorities. Greece appealed to the League of Nations regarding Greek schools in Albania, and in April 1935 the Permanent Court of International Justice in the Hague required the Albanian government to permit the schools to operate. Albania conformed to this directive.[41] The Greek government, in return, probably made some concessions in its assimilation policy towards the Albanian minority.

The Status of Ottoman-Greek Music

It is certain that the censor discriminated against Greek-language Ottoman-Greek music, which is usually called *smirneika* in Greece. Apparently, such music and its instruments were not considered national. This situation was reflected in the recording careers of Ottoman-Greek musicians. Recordings released between September 1937 and 1940 by the very popular singers of Ottoman-Greek music, Róza Eskenázi and Ríta Abatzí, are illustrative cases. For unknown reasons, Eskenázi's discography from that period is quite

[37] The advertisement is reproduced in Petropulos 1979, 661.

[3S] See Clogg 1999, *passim.*

[39] For dating as accurately as possible, matrix and catalogue numbers are given for 78 rpm records.

[40] Charles Howard, pers. comm. 2002.

[41] Kondis et al. 1994, 20.

unlike her previous output. She did not record as prolifically as before, and the repertoire and instrumentation differs from her heyday as the most popular female singer of Ottoman-Greek music in Greece. Abatzí did considerably more studio work than Eskenázi, and it is indicative that her repertoire consisted mainly of the folk and folkloristic genera *sirtó* and *kalamatianó*. She seems to have recorded only one *zeïbékiko*, which may indicate discrimination against this popular genre by the censor.

However, Greek record catalogues from 1937 to 1940 contain some pre-censorship Ottoman-Greek recordings and even others made during the Metaxás regime. The censorship may have eased slightly from mid-1939 on. Take, for example, the record HMV 2649 by Laïkí orhístra under Dimítris Sémsis recorded in mid-1940, which contains the Ottoman-style instrumental tunes 'Aïdíniko' (mat. OGA 1062) and 'Diplóhordo' (mat. OGA 1063).[42] Moreover, many pieces and genera of the Ottoman-Greek repertoire were available in Turkish-language recordings made in Istanbul and Athens. We may be sure that Ottoman-Greek popular genera were performed in Metaxás' Greece at cafés and taverns. The tradition continued even after the Second World War.[43]

The *manés*, a vocal improvisation on a chosen poetic text in flowing rhythm to modal systems called *makams*, was an important Ottoman-Greek musical genre. Discographic analysis suggests that the *manés* had its heyday on record several years before the Metaxás coup. Some *manédes*, however, were recorded under the dictatorship. 'Nevá manés - To pira piá apófasi' (mat. GO 2752; cat. Odeon GA 7045) by Spíros Peristéris, recorded by Elvíra Kákki and 'Sabáh manés - Anixate ta mnímata' (mat. GO 2762; cat. Odeon GA 7046) recorded by Strátos Payiumtzís were the last *manés* recordings before the Axis occupation of Greece. They were recorded in the late summer or autumn of 1937. In addition, 'Sabáh manés - I fíli mu me xéhasan' (mat. CG 999; cat. DG 2113), recorded by Dimítris Perdikópulos in July 1934 and originally issued in August that year, was reissued on Columbia DG 6311 in July 1937.

It is hard to say if Ottoman-Greek music was actually banned in the modern sense of the term; it was certainly marginalized as European, and Greek Western-style popular and Greek folk and folkloristic music were consistently prioritised in recording, and apparently in broadcasting policy. Still, censorship contributed to the decline of Ottoman-Greek music on record in the late 1930s but another reason for this was the change in taste of the record buying public to a preference for Western-influenced more mainstream bouzouki music rather than Ottoman-Greek music.[44]

The Music of the Urban Subculture

Practically all aspects of Greek urban subculture opposed the values of the Metaxás regime: strong individualism, idle life, petty crime, the tendency to stay single rather than marry, and the use of hashish. During the dictatorship, the members of the subculture, *mánges* and *rebétes*, were harassed by the police. Their haunts in the Karaïskáki area of

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[42] The effects of censorship can be seen in the use of the title 'Diplóhordo', which is a Greek translation of the original Turkish term *çifte telli*, i.e. double string course.

[43] See the ensembles in photographs in Petrópulos 1979, 364, 366, 374-375; Kopsahílis 1997, 30-32, 50.

[44] Pennanen 1999, 18-19; cf. Pappas 1999, 360.

Piraeus were demolished.[45] Songs connected with the subculture, the *rebétika*, often praised a nonconformist lifestyle and considered petty crime and the use of hashish normal.[46] It is no wonder that these commercially successful songs became a target of censorship.

Although press censorship was strict from the very beginning of the dictatorship, the lyrics of the hashish song 'O bufetzís tis Pólis', originally recorded under the title 'O bufetzís' (mat. OGA 257; cat. HMV AO 2258) on 7 October 1935 by Yeórgos Bátis, were published in the August 1936 issue of the popular music periodical *To tragúdi*.[47] Possibly the issue was printed and released just before the coup and the introduction of press censorship. After the coup, *To tragúdi* did not publish any dubious material. On the contrary, the January 1937 issue has two excerpts from Metaxás' speeches.[48]

In January 1938, for the first time, the government labelled itself a dictatorship. Harsh measures, such as exile, imprisonment and torture, replaced propaganda and indoctrination. In February 1938, the government initiated the 'second phase' by enacting an Emergency Law, which was officially a necessary measure to fight communism in Greece. In reality it was a logical step towards the legalisation of the extreme authoritarian state. For the regime, all members of the very large opposition were communists.[49]

The hardening of government policy against all potential opposition groups in Greece was reflected in the measures taken against the subculture. In 1938, the *rebétika* musicians Anéstos Delías and Mihális Yenitsáris were exiled for a year as undesirables to the Cycladic island of Ios. Musical instruments were allowed, and drugs were available at high prices. According to Yenitsáris, other members of the subculture were exiled to Aigina, Anafí, Folegandros, and Sifnos.[50] This is noteworthy since all these places hosted concentration camps for political prisoners.[51]

According to a persistent rumour, the bouzouki was banned during the Metaxás regime. For example, the bouzouki musician Yiánnis Papaïoánnu relates in his autobiography that he visited Metaxás' office after the advent of censorship and banning of the bouzouki and all kinds of bouzouki music and performed in front of the dictator. He sang his song 'Vangelítsa' to a *baglamás* accompaniment, and assured Metaxás of the quality and respectability of bouzouki music.[52] This story is rather incredible - a typical tall tale. Papaïoánnu recorded 'Vangelítsa' (mat. GO 3143; cat. Odeon GA 7157) in early 1939, and in point of fact he recorded several bouzouki songs before that date, for instance 'Faliriótisa' (mat. GO 2718; cat. Parlophone B 21916) circa June 1937 and 'Ta mátia su mikrúla mu' (mat. GO 2902; cat. Odeon GA 7094) in the spring of 1938.

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[45] Gauntlett 1985, 100.

[46] There is considerable confusion in the modern use of the term *rebétiko*. The early use of the term in recorded music was more general, and different from the post 1932 meaning of it. Not until the mid 1930s did the term *rebétika* come to mean music and dance associated with the subculture and often accompanied by the long-necked lute *bouzoúki*.

[47] To tragúdi 21 (1936), 29.

[48] To tragúdi 26 (1937), 29, 34.

[49] Kofas 1983, 123, 126-128, 142-143.

[50] Gauntlett 1985, 101 n. 200.

[51] Kofas 1983, 129.

[52] Papaïoánnu 1982, 75-7.

In the light of existing documents, it is clear that there was no gap in bouzouki recordings between 4 August 1936 and early 1939. No known facts support Papaïoánnu's claim that there was a ban against the bouzouki during the Metaxás regime. The bouzouki was not a forbidden instrument *per se*. What mattered was the context in which it was played.

Apparently because of the censorship, many bouzouki musicians started composing, performing and recording folkloristic pieces. The island *sirtó* was the most popular rhythm for such compositions. The lyrics tended to be light and positive in mood - as they were subsequently during the colonels' dictatorship (1967-1974).

The Introduction of Musical Censorship

The censorship laws of the Fourth of August Regime were surprisingly durable. Although implemented in only a few cases after 1974, they were not finally abrogated until 1994.[53] Although playing a role of varying importance for several decades in Greek musical culture, it has been unclear precisely when the systematic preventive censorship of recorded music began. Various dates have been suggested, from August 1936[54] to early 1937[55].

These dates cannot be correct. It is a fact that the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism was founded on 29 August 1936 through Emergency Law No. 43, which defined one of its functions as the control of gramophone records. Despite this, it seems that the Undersecretariat initially concentrated on producing and disseminating political propaganda and censoring the press and other printed material. Recordings were not censored systematically right from the start of the dictatorship. For example, Yióvan Tsaús and Stellákis Perpiniádis recorded Tsaús' song 'Vlámissa' (mat. CG 1460-1; cat. Columbia DG 6242) in October 1936, and Mihális Yenitsáris recorded his own song 'Egó mángas fenómuna' (mat. CG 1601-1; cat. Columbia DG 6312) in July 1937. These are not sporadic cases; Greek general catalogues for 1937, and their supplements, contain several recordings associated with the subculture.[56] Instead of systematic preventive censorship, authorities initially tended to rely on the self-censorship of lyric writers, musicians and record companies.

By 1938, the generic name *rebétika* had totally disappeared from the catalogues. Despite this fact, there is a recent source giving very different information on the use of the generic name in recordings during the Fourth of August regime. According to a discography by Dionísis Maniátis, several pieces were recorded and released under the generic name '*rebétiko*' in the late 1930s, for example 'Stis Plákas ta stená' (mat. CG 1848-2; cat. Columbia DG 6431) from 1938 and 'Eléni Eléni' (mat. GO 3281; cat. Parlophone B 74004) from 1939.[57] In reality, all these '*rebétika*' recordings lack that term on their labels as

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[53] Voliótis-Kapetanákis 1997, 223.

[54] Hatzidulis 1980; Torp 1993a, 287; Emery 2000, 26.

[55] Stellákis Perpiniádis in Hatzidulis n.d., 30; Yeoryiádis 1993, 84; Voliótis-Kapetanákis 1997, 223.

[56] However, since general catalogues were printed at the end of the previous year, we do not know if the records were actually available - at least officially - in the respective year.

[57] Maniátis 2001, 108-111.

well as in record company catalogues. The generic term succeeding each title in brackets is Maniatis' own arbitrary addition, which does not appear in any known primary sources.

The year 1938 is an important date for explicitly subcultural songs as well: almost all of them disappeared from record catalogues. The only recordings with subcultural connections in the 1940 Columbia general catalogue are two versions of 'Minóre tu teké', the classic bouzouki instrumental piece.[58]

On the other hand, some pieces with underground connections were recorded after mid 1939. For instance, Strátos Payiumtzís and Vasílis Tsitsánis recorded Tsitsánis' *zeïbékiko* 'O Sarkafliás' (mat. OGA 980-1; cat. HMV AO 2628) in late 1939 or early 1940. Although the lyrics, based on an older rebetika song, relate the story of the murder of a criminal in the Trikala prison, they passed the censorship. Gauntlett assumes that the censor was unaware who Sarkafliás was.[59] This is possible, but one could also assume that censorship had been somewhat relaxed, perhaps due to changes in the composition of the censorship board. The latter explanation seems more probable since in 1940 Payiumtzís and Tsitsánis also recorded 'Matsaránga' (mat. PGA 1000-1; cat. AO 2667), another Tsitsánis' *zeïbékiko* with a distinct underground flavour.

Now we return to the crucial question: precisely when did the systematic preventive censorship of music start? Greek discographers and writers on local popular music have not been able to answer this question because of inadequate historiographic methodology and constant problems in dating recordings accurately. The dating problems are partly due to gaps in the record company files between 1936 and 1941.

Greek writers on music have typically relied on the memoirs of musicians active during the Metaxás era without consulting contemporary documents. Kóstas Vlisídis is an exception. He used the contemporary Greek press as a source for dating the advent of musical censorship and came up with the date of November 1937, which certainly appears more reasonable than the previous suggestions.[60]

The actual date for the introduction of the systematic censorship of music seems to be September 1937, as stated in a letter by the Lambrópulos Brothers Company (Lambropoulos Frères S.A.) in Athens to the Gramophone Company in Hayes, Middlesex, Great Britain.[61] The letter is in reply to an enquiry by Daniel DesFoldes, the manager of foreign records at the RCA record company in Camden, New Jersey, USA. On 8 November 1938, DesFoldes wrote to Rex Palmer of the Gramophone Company and asked if the famous singer Róza Eskenázi and her ensemble could record the songs 'Harikláki', 'Hasapáki', 'Katifé' and possibly a *zeïbékiko* in Athens. In addition, DesFoldes ordered an ensemble consisting of violin, clarinet, mandolin and guitar to record a *sirtó polítiko* and a *kalamatianó*. In his postscript, DesFoldes wonders why he has not received new sample records from Greece for quite some time.

The reason why DesFoldes wanted new recordings by Róza Eskenázi explicitly was the enormous popularity of the singer among Greek Americans and other immigrant groups from the Levant. The pieces, especially 'Harikláki' and 'Hasapáki' ('Egó tha páro hasapáki') were also particularly liked in those communities.

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[58] The catalogue number DGX 36 contains the original 1932 bouzouki-guitar duet from the USA while DG 275 is a Greek guitar duet cover version of the hit tune, also from 1932.

[59] Gauntlett 1985, 111.

[60] Vlisidis 2001, 10.

[61] EMIA, Róza Eskenázi file; also selectively cited in Gauntlett 2001, 157 n. 36.

As a response to the enquiry, the Lambrópulos Brothers Company, the agent for Columbia and His Master's Voice in Greece, explains in a letter dated 7 December 1938, that since September 1937 they had been unable to record anything without the authorisation of the state censorship, which examined the music and the lyrics of each title to be recorded (Fig. 11). According to the letter, the titles RCA asked for could not pass the censorship and thus could not be recorded. Furthermore, the Lambrópulos Brothers express their reluctance to record a *sirtó polítiko* and a *kalamatianó* by pointing out that pieces in those genera had already been recorded by Greek Columbia and His Master's Voice and were thus available to RCA.[62]

LAMBROPOULOS FRÈRES S.A.

GRANDS MAGASINS DE NOUVEAUTES

Siège: Rues du Stade-Eole
ATHÈNES

FABRIQUE: PATISSIA - ATHÈNES

ATHÈNES, LE 7 Decembre 1938

The Gramophone Co.Ltd.
Overseas Department
Hayes-Middlesex

Messieurs,

ENREGISTREMENTS POUR VICTOR COMPANY

En réponse à votre estimée du 30 ecoulé, nous nous empressons de vous informer que depuis Septembre 1937 nous ne pouvons procéder à aucun enrégistrement sans avoir reçu préalablement autorisation d'une Censure de l'Etat (constituée spécialement à ce but) qui examine d'abord la musique et les paroles de chaque titre à enrégistrer.

Cette Censure rejette absolument et sans exéption toutes chansons du type Harikláki, Hasapáki, Katifé et Zeybekika. Par conséquent, leur enrégistrement n'est pas possible.

A ce qui concerne l'enrégistrement des titres Sirto Politiko et Kalamatiano avec orchestre populaire, nous croyons que vous pouvez l'éviter, étant donné que nous avons déjà ces titres (orchestre populaire) sur disques H.M.V., savoir: Disque AO.1018 (Sirto Politiko) et disque No.2261 (Kalamatiano).

Veuillez agréer, Messieurs, nos civilités empressées.

Fig. 11. The letter from the Lambropoulos Brothers Company to the Gramophone Company Overseas Department.

[62] DesFoldes was not satisfied with Lambrópulos' suggestion of using old matrices. Therefore the Greek-American clarinettist Antónios Sakellaríu was asked to record 'Kalamatianós' and 'Sirtós polítikos' for RCA, which he did in New York on 11 September 1939 (mat. BS 041410-1, BS BS 041411-1; cat. Orthophonic S-498). 'Harikláki' and 'Hasapáki' were also recorded, but not for RCA. (Spottswood 1990, 1218). Victoria Hazan, a Sephardic Jew from Smyrna, recorded the two songs as 'ómorfi mu Harikláki' (mat. 1CV 165 A; cat. Metropolitan 165) and 'Na se haró hasapáki' (mat. 1CV 156 B; cat. Metropolitan 156) in New York circa 1943.

How should we interpret the letter? The songs 'Harikláki' and 'Katifé' belong to the Ottoman popular music repertoire of the early 20th century.[63] 'Hasapáki', in the same style, was copyrighted by the Smyrna-born composer Dimítris Barúsis or Barús alias Lorántzos (1860-1944). Apparently the censor had a prejudice against the Ottoman musical style and instrumentation, but there seems to have been no absolute recording ban on the style. In addition, there certainly was no ban on pieces in the *zeïbékiko* rhythm. But since Róza Eskenázi would sing in Ottoman style and her ensemble would use Ottoman instruments, the possibility of being censored may have existed. Obviously the Lambrópulos Brothers did not want to jeopardise their business. In addition, after the mid 1930s, Ottoman-Greek music did not sell as well as in the early 1930s. Possibly the company did not want to invest in recordings which would not be highly profitable in Greece.

As related below, the Lambrópulos Brothers Company, and Themistoklís Lambrópulos personally, had been sentenced to a fine in the early days of the Metaxás era, which explains why the company wanted to minimise any risk of being charged again. It was public knowledge that the police served the regime with conspicuous enthusiasm; people were penalised for trivialities.[64] This tendency was strengthened after Emergency Law No. 1092 of February 1938, when the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism enforced even stricter press censorship and harsher penalties for the publishing of material without the authorisation of the censor.[65]

In addition to the letter from the Lambrópulos Brothers, there is a further piece of evidence supporting the dating of the introduction of systematic preventive censorship to September 1937. It seems that about that time the first censorship number or Ἀριθμὸς Ἀδείας, literally 'permit number', appeared on record labels (shortened as ἀρ. ἀδ. or ΑΡ. ΑΔ.). The lowest censorship number I have been able to find is 101: 'Yia séna ipofério' (mat. GO 2828; cat. Odeon GA 7067) by Márkos Vamvakáris recorded in September or November 1937. The highest censorship number of a recording released before the German invasion of Greece seems to be 2163 for 'To kólpo su den épiase' (mat. CG 2149; cat Columbia DG 6581) by Dimítris Sémsis and Yeórgos Papasidéris, recorded by Papasidéris on 4 March 1941. This means that the censor inspected and accepted over two thousand compositions in three and a half years.

The Principles of the Censorship

It is possible to reconstruct the list of criteria for musical censorship used during the Fourth of August Regime through a source from the 1950s. The criteria for the censorship of song lyrics in force in 1951 were listed in the announcement on forbidden songs by the Athens Police Headquarters, which was published in a newspaper that year: the lyrics should not offend religion, the Fatherland, ethics, and Greek moral standards and customs.[66] The list is almost identical with the criteria for the censorship of books, theatre

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63 Panayiótis Túntas adapted the melody of 'Harikláki' from the Constantinople urban folk song 'Daryldyn my cicim bana'. The earliest known recording was made by Mme. Mary Steele in May 1921 in New York (mat. 87427–2; cat. Columbia E9030). Similarly, 'Kadifés' is a Greek-language adaptation of the Constantinople urban folk song 'Kadifeden kesesi'.

64 See Close 1986, 105.

65 Kofas 1983, 103.

66 Reproduced in Hatzidulís 1980.

plays and public lectures during the Metaxás dictatorship.[67] After the Second World War, the recording of overtly underground and hashish songs was banned in late June 1946, but the systematic preventive censorship of recorded music was reintroduced only somewhere between late 1947 and the first half of 1948, and it is likely that the criteria originate directly from the pre-war censorship.[68]

The actual procedure of censorship is unclear. According to some rumours, musicians performed in front of the censorship board. In reality, however, this would have taken too much time. It is more probable that the board received the lyrics and scores or transcriptions of music in written form. Vasílis Tsitsánis mentions in his memoirs that the recording director and composer Panayiótis Tóuntas wrote down his songs for the board.[69] For the same reason, there was a large number of transcriptions of contemporary popular pieces in the private archive of Dimítris Sémsis.[70]

The practice of inspecting the pieces in written form was very problematic for improvised musical genera, i.e. instrumental *taxímia* and vocal *manédes* in flowing rhythm. How could one transcribe a piece of music that is largely extemporised from the stock of traditional melodic formulae? For *manédes*, of course, it was possible to provide the lyrics. The procedure of preventive censorship was based on the Western idea of pre-composed music that is played from scores rather than improvised on the spot.

There must have been a considerable amount of bureaucracy involved in the censorship procedure. The stages a composition had to go through before it was made available to the public were very probably the following: the lyric writer and the composer submitted their composition to the censor as a manuscript. The censor either approved the manuscript in the original form or amended it. After the composition had passed the censorship and been given a censorship number it was possible to perform it publicly, publish it in printed form, offer it to a record company, and record it in the studio.

There are several stages in the development of musical censorship that can be reconstructed from the few available documents produced for and by the censors. All these lyric sheets, preserved in the Petrópulos Archive, were possibly connected with Dimítris Sémsis, the recording director of the Greek His Master's Voice company. The source value of the documents is not the highest possible, due to Petrópulos' unmethodical collecting and filing procedure; he did not prepare an archival catalogue with data on the items' titles, authors, datings, context information and donors.

The lyric sheet of the song 'Se pérno díhos frángo' by Kóstas Makrís and Dimítris Sémsis is provided with the stamp of the Bureau of Press Censorship of the First Army Corps and the initials of the censor (Fig. 12).[71] As the song was recorded in late 1937 or early 1938 by Stellákis Perpiniádis (mat. OGA 640; cat. HMV AO 2439), this and other

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[67] To próton étos 1937, 50-51.

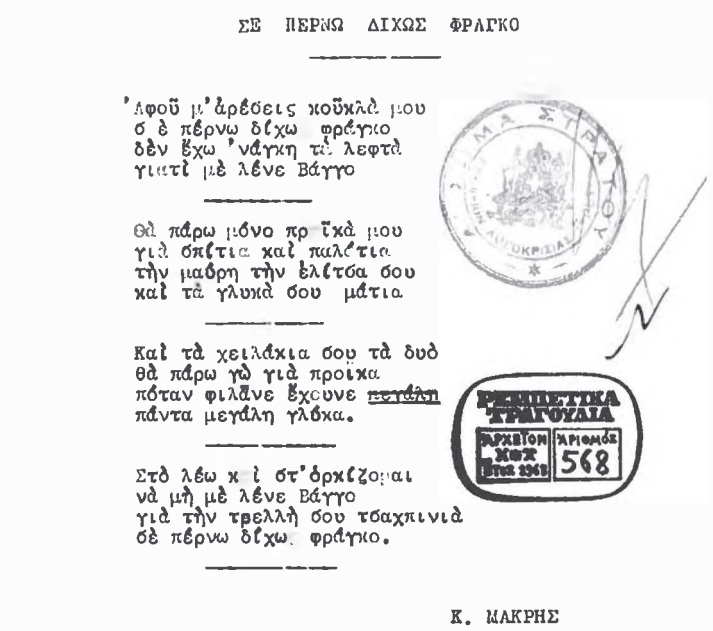
[68] AO 2764 ('Kátse froníma griniára' and 'To rimagméno spíti' composed by Vasílis Tsitsánis) recorded in October or November 1947 has no censorship number, whereas AO 2834 ('Sinnefiasméni kiriakí' and 'S' écho káni péra' composed by Tsitsánis, matrices OGA 1396 and OGA 1407) recorded in August 1948 has the censorship numbers 316-14800 and 341-16096. Clearly, systematic censorship was reintroduced somewhere between these dates.

[69] Hatzidulís 1979, 16.

[70] Torp 1993b, 33.

[71] PA 568. Document numbers refer to the numbering of the Petrópulos Archive.

similar documents[73] are from the first phase of the systematic preventive censorship of music. The lyric sheets are undated and do not contain censorship numbers or references to protocols. The censor who approved the lyrics has written his initials H N (Greek X N) as signature to all documents.[73]



ΣΕ ΠΕΡΝΩ ΔΙΧΩΣ ΦΡΑΓΚΟ

Ἀφοῦ μ' ἀρέσεις κοῦκλὰ μου
σ' ἐ πέρνω δίχω φράγκο
δὲν ἔχω 'νάγκη τὰ λεφτὰ
γιατί μὲ λένε Βάγγο

Θὰ πάρω μόνο πρ τικὰ μου
γιὰ σπίτια καὶ παλ'τια
τὴν μαύρη τὴν ἐλίτσα σου
καὶ τὰ γλυκὰ σου μάτια

Καὶ τὰ χειλάκια σου τὰ δυὸ
θὰ πάρω γὼ γιὰ προίκα
πόταν φιλᾶνε ἔχουνε μεγάλη
πάντα μεγάλη γλύκα.

Στὸ λέω κ ἰ στ'ὀρκίζομαι
νὰ μὴ μὲ λένε Βάγγο
γιὰ τὴν τρελλὴ σου τσαχπινιὰ
σὲ πέρνω δίχω φράγκο.

ΚΑΚΡΗΣ

ΕΠΙΤΡΕΠΕΤΑΙ ΤΑ ΡΑΓΟΥΔΙΑ
ΑΡΧΕΙΟΝ ΚΟΤ
ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ 568

Fig. 12. The lyric sheet of 'Se pérno díhos frángo' by Kóstas Makrís and Dimítris Sémsis.

In his memoirs, Stellákis Perpiniádis mentions that in early 1937, the board of musical censorship consisted of two men, Prátsikas and Psarúdas.[74] Possibly Perpiniádis is referring to the journalist and man of letters Yióryios Prátsikas (born 1897). Although Perpiniádis apparently gives too early a date for the existence of the systematical musical censorship, Prátsikas and Psarúdas were probably censors in the Bureau of Press Censorship of the First Army Corps. However, no available documents on musical censorship refer to these two men. Still, due to his education and profession, Yióryios Prátsikas could have made a perfect censor: besides inspecting the tenor of the lyrics, the censor could also amend the orthography, as in document PA 562, and omit expressions from the underground slang.[75]

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[73] I am indebted to Prof. Alexander Sideras for checking the deciphering of hand-written notes and signatures in the documents.

[74] Hatzidulis n.d., 30.

[75] Cf. Gauntlett 1985, 103-116.

From document PA 414 (Fig. 13) we can see that by March 1938 the censorship of song lyrics had been transferred from the First Army Corps to the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism, which marks the beginning of the second phase in the systematic preventive censorship of music. The change of censorship office may have been affected by slightly earlier developments in Germany. In December 1937, a special office for musical censorship was established in the Reich Ministry for Public Information and Propaganda. In the main, the office concentrated on the inspection of foreign compositions and popular German dance and jazz tunes. At the same time, Goebbels also completed the state control of the German record industry.[76]

Fig. 13. The lyric sheet of 'To spitáki mas'.

Judging from the censorship numbers, it seems there was an interim period during which both the Bureau of Press Censorship of the 1st Army Corps and the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism censored song lyrics. Document PA 555 containing the lyrics for ''Alla mu les ki' álla mu kánis' by Stélios Hrisínis was inspected by the 1st Army Corps. It was recorded by F. Zumídis (mat. GO 2995; cat. Odeon GA 7125) in the early autumn of 1938 under the censorship number 521. However, document PA 414 was approved on 2 March 1938 and given the censorship number 433 by the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism.

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76 Kater 1995, 98-107; Kater 1998, 361.

Document PA 414 is notable for traces of a complicated bureaucratic procedure. The rectangular approval stamp contains a protocol and a censorship number. Strangely enough, the high protocol number 4576 seems to imply that the censor did not inspect music exclusively. In addition to the rectangular stamp there is also the standard circular stamp of the Undersecretariat with the state coat of arms. The date is written by hand. The document is signed by a censor named Vizántios on behalf of the head of department. The identity of the chief is unknown. He may have been the director of all censorship at the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism, the pro-fascist Mihaïlis Papastratigákis.

Document PA 567 (Fig. 14) reveals that in early 1938 it took roughly a week for the censor at the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism to treat the song text 'Fíye, áponi, kakiá'. The lyrics sheet arrived at the Undersecretariat on 30 March and the text was approved on 7 April and given the censorship number 612. However, it had to wait for a long time before being recorded. This *syrtos* by Emmanuíl Hrisafákis was eventually recorded by Ríta Abatzí under the direction of Dimitris Sémsis on 17 August 1939 (mat. OGA 943; cat. HMV AO 2592).[77]

Fig. 14. The lyric sheet of 'Fíye, áponi, kakiá'.

77 PA 567.

Such a delay seems not to have been uncommon. For example, Yeórgos Kávuras recorded the songs 'Ta psaradákia' and 'O zontanós o horismós' (mat. GO 3154, GO 3155; cat. Parlophone B 21981) in early 1939. Their respective censorship numbers are 517 and 880, which means that permission for recording the former song had already been granted in early 1938 — considerably earlier than the latter. These delays, and the approved lyric sheets of numerous songs which were apparently never recorded, imply that for some reason record companies were not able to release all approved compositions. In addition, some matrices recorded during the Fourth of August Regime were either pressed and released after the Second World War, in 1946, or never released at all.[78]

On the other hand, some pieces were recorded only shortly after they were approved by the censor. 'Yia krátise ton órko su' by Dimítris Sémsis and Stélios Hrisínis passed the censorship on 27 July 1939 and was recorded by Nóta Kalléli and Maíri Panayiotáki shortly afterwards, on 14 August 1939 (mat. OGA 935; cat. HMV AO 2590).[79]

Fig. 15. The lyric sheet of 'Rubína'.

78 PA 421, 489, 562, 593.
79 PA 428 and 537.

By August 1940, the bureaucratic apparatus of censorship was more developed than ever. From document PA 593 (Fig. 15) we can see that there was a special Directorate for Popular Enlightenment/Propaganda (Διεύθυνσις Λαϊκῆς Διαφωτίσεως). The word διαφώτισις has the double meaning of 'enlightenment' and 'propaganda', which links the name of the Directorate closely with Goebbels' infamous Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda. The era that begins with the founding of this Directorate can be called the third phase of systematic musical censorship. Unfortunately, because of the unavailability of archival documents, the advent of the third phase is impossible to establish precisely.

The lyrics in document PA 593 were inspected very quickly: they were submitted on 29 August and were already approved by 31 August 1940. The signature of the head of department under the approval stamp is that of Símon Karás. Document PA 428 from July 1939 is also likely to have been signed by Karás, which means that he started his career as a censor during the second phase of systematic musical censorship. According to Ioánnis Arvanítis, Karás related to his students in the 1980s that he had been on the censorship board for music during the Fourth of August Regime. Karás certainly understated his personal contribution to musical censorship: in reality, he was a key figure in it.

Two Cases of a Song being banned

There are two very different cases of a song being banned during the Metaxás dictatorship before the introduction of systematic preventive censorship. Interestingly, both of the songs in question were still on the list of banned songs of the Athens Police Headquarters in 1951.[80]

The first song banned under the Metaxás dictatorship was the hit 'Varvára' (mat. CG 1359; cat. Columbia DG 6159) by Panayiótis Túntas, recorded by Stellákis Perpiniádis in January 1936. The song became so popular that its lyrics were reproduced at the beginning of the second edition of *Néa tragúdia* in July 1936. A scene from the song was printed on the cover (Fig. 16). We can see a sensual young woman in a bathing costume holding a fishing rod. If we look carefully, we can see that the fish in the water have men's heads. According to Stellákis Perpiniádis,[81] shortly after Metaxás rose to power 'Varvára' was banned, and discs of it were confiscated from shops and destroyed. Túntas, the Lambrópulos Brothers Company and Themistoklís Lambrópulos were fined.

There have been various speculations about the reasons for the ban. For instance, it has been claimed that the name of Metaxás' daughter was Varvára and that is why the song was forbidden.[82] However, passages of Metaxás' biography make it clear that he had no daughter named Varvára. His two daughters were Lukía and Naná.[83]

'Varvára' may have actually been banned simply due to a humorous double entendre about the daily working life of a prostitute (see Appendix 1). The moral standards of the regime were extremely conservative, which is illustrated in the strict

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80 Reproduced in Hatzidulís 1980.
81 In Hatzidulís n.d., 28-39.
82 Ibid., 30; Papaïoánnu 1982, 75.
83 See e.g. Vatikiotis 1998.

instructions it gave to the press after the coup: "Don't print pictures of girls in bathing suits, even athletic pictures."[84] The sparklingly risqué story of 'Varvára' was certainly too much for the authorities.

Fig. 16. The cover of *Néa tragúdia* from July 1936 with a scene from the song 'Varvára'.

Since 'Varvára' was such a big success, completely new lyrics were written for the same melody immediately after the ban, and Stellákis Perpiniádis recorded the tune in September 1936 under the title 'I Maríka i daskála' ('Marika the Teacher'; mat. CG 1436; cat. Columbia DG 6249) (see Appendix 2). With some imagination one can see sexual metaphors also in this text: Maríka the frustrated spinster has two big houses, i.e. breasts, and stares longingly and lasciviously at the young men she wants to make love with but does not dare to. In both songs, fish are a metaphor for male sexual organs: the skilled angler Varvára catches whoppers while Maríka's stomach remains empty.[85]

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[84] Cited in Kofas 1983, 100.

[85] I am indepted to Tony Klein for drawing my attention to this interpretation.

Túntas exploited the very successful melody yet again for 'Manolios ke Dimitrúla' (mat. CG 1808; cat. Columbia DG 6414), which Stellákis Perpiniadis recorded in September 1938. This was not the end of the story. In late 1940, during the Italian invasion of Greece, composers of popular music realised that popular songs with patriotic lyrics could be commercially successful, so they thus wrote such pieces. Perpiniädis recorded the fourth 'Varvara' variation, an anti-Mussolini song 'Àku Dutze mu ta nea' ('My Duce, Hear the News') (mat. OGA 1144, cat. HMV AO 2691), in November 1940.

Arising from human error, another case of a ban has been somewhat mysterious. The famous singer Kostas Rúkunas (1903-1984) relates in his memoirs that his song about the collision of two ships was withdrawn by order of a judge somewhere between 1934 and 1936.[86] Riikunas, however, recalls incorrectly: according to the matrix number, he actually recorded the song 'I adikopnigmeni' ('The Unfairly Drowned') in 1937. The lyrics relate the story of a marine accident that took place on 1 August 1937 outside the Piraeus harbour (see Appendix 3). The two ships mentioned in the song are the diesel passenger boat Anastäsis and the passenger boat idra coming from the island of Salamis. After the collision the Anastäsis sank and 25 people were drowned."[87]

The label does not have a censorship number; the song was recorded and released in August. According to Rúkunas[88], the two captains of the ships hired lawyers to have the record withdrawn from circulation. It was done immediately and effectively, and as a result the record is extremely rare; only two copies are known to exist.[89]

Afterword

The current paper is a preliminary study on Greek music policy under the dictatorship of General Ioännis Metaxäs. Clearly more scholarly research on the Fourth of August Regime is necessary in order to form a more accurate picture of its attitude to music.

The results presented here raise further questions that deserve to be answered. How was the state control of music actually organised? What sort of statuses did the ethnic minorities and their music have? Who were the censors of music? What other functions besides musical censorship did the Directorate for Popular Enlightenment/ Propaganda have? How was live music controlled—if at all? Were there plans or attempts to control musicianship and live performances in Greece as in Nazi Germany, where the membership of the *Reichsmusikkammer* (Reich Chamber of Music) was compulsory for all professional musicians? Such a method of control would have been logical to Metaxäs since his goal was a corporate state.

These questions are answerable if we only have access to historical sources. This is problematic: if extant at all, the bulk of primary sources is probably scattered. Due to differences in bureaucratic location, it is hard to assume that the protocols of the music censors from the Bureau of Press Censorship of the First Army Corps, from the Undersecretariat of Press and Tourism, and from the Directorate for Popular Enlightenment/ Propaganda would have ended up in the same section of archive files. The uncovering of documents on music produced by the regime would be of the utmost importance.

Department of Music University of Tampere

[86] Rúkunas 1974,33.
[87] Dúnis 2000.
[88] Rúkunas 1974,33.
[89] One copy is in the possession of Mr. Ilías Barúnis, Athens. I am indebted to him for a transcription of the lyrics of the song and an excerpt from the recording.

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Filmed Material

The Metaxás Collection at the Greek Film Archive, Athens.

The Dorisos Collection at the Greek Film Archive, Athens.

Appendix 1

Varvára
Comp. Panayiótis Túntas
Rec. Stellákis Perpiniádis, Athens January 1936
(Mat. CG 1359; cat. Columbia DG 6159)

Varvára always spends the night in Glifáda
fishing for sea-basses and dark grey mullets.
She waits all night with her fishing-rod in hand.
She waits for the fish to nibble and move the fishing-rod.

A strong, beautiful and spry grey mullet
nibbles Varvára's fishing-rod and moves it.
But Varvára is not confused; she hooked and got it.
She holds it in both her hands and doubles up with laughter.

Look, Varvára, you don't have to be afraid.
Such a mullet with a claw is hard to find.
O Varvára, it may not slip and dive back to the sea.
Hold it by the head so it does not escape.

She puts it in her basket and shouts for joy:
I have skill, I have grace to hook every fish.
I am waiting all the night for a fattened mullet
which will come to nibble and move my fishing rod.

Appendix 2

Maríka the Teacher
Comp. Panayiótis Tóuntas
Rec. Stellákis Perpiniádis, Athens September 1936
(Mat. CG 1436; cat. Columbia DG 6249)

Maríka the teacher who has two big houses
Goes out at six o'clock in the morning to the market place.
She holds her basket and stares with hunger.
She wants tender beef or some fresh fish.

A young first-rate youth, Panayiótis the fisherman
Recognises the teacher and says "Good morning,
I have two fine sea-basses that just arrived from Rafína.
Buy one of them for cooking a fish soup."

"Sea-bass does not suit me, I want to fry the fish.
If I don't find bonito, I'll buy bogue or whitebate.
If I don't find such fish, I'll buy one *oka* of beets.
And if I add some oil, I'll chew also in the evening."

So every day she goes out this way but she doesn't buy anything.
The stingy teacher who has two big houses.
She likes all fresh things but she's afraid to buy them.
And so because of her meanness her stomach remains empty.

Appendix 3

The Unfairly Drowned
Comp. Kóstas Rúkunas
Rec. Kóstas Rúkunas, Athens ca. late August 1937
(Mat. GO 2766; cat. Odeon 7048)

Two captains work sloppily
And so many drown needlessly.
People listen to the news carefully
About the two ships which collide outside the port of Piraeus.

One is the Anastási, the other the Idráki.
The awful news spread opposite to Párlama.
Lads, think now how they are crying,
Women, men and children shouting "Save us!".

Thus their fate had been written
That they be unfairly drowned
And those who had been waiting for them
Are now all dressed in black.

List of Figures

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