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NON-THEATRICAL ENTERTAINMENTS IN GREECE: THROUGH THE EYES OF FOREIGN TRAVELLERS, 1750-1850

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The entertainments of the Greek people during the period just prior and immediately subsequent to the Greek revolution grew, according to foreign travellers who visited Greece during that time, from basically homogeneous popular entertainments of a limited nature to entertainments which polarized lower and upper classes and native and foreign factions. Guys, a French traveller to Turkish-occupied Crete in 1750, describes its typically limited early state: "Les Grecs aiment encore les fêtes, les spectacles, le luxe; mais le gouvernement leur impose une constrainte qui le décourage. Tout luxe extérieur est interdit; mais ils s'en dédommagent dans l'intérieur de leurs maisons."[1] Certainly, few theatrical entertainments occurred prior to the revolution. The English traveller Galt, among others, makes the claim of the mainland in 1810 that "there was a local and temporal interest in the Greek drama, which distance and the lapse of ages has destroyed."[2] Another visitor to Greece, Thomas Hughes, writes in 1818 that Athenians, "abridged of the refined pleasures of music and the theatre, rarely indulging in the sensualities of the dinner table, disqualified by want of education, . . . only break the dull monotony of life occasionally by a dance."[3] For a period in the late 1820's through 1843 a great expectation of a national theatre arose throughout the liberated islands as well as the mainland, but by the 1850's that flurry was reduced to a despairing state.[4]

The most pervasive forms of entertainment prior to the revolution, religious festivals, permitted the people to maintain a semblance of national identity and assured them respite from the harshness of their lives. Great congregations came together to celebrate the numerous holidays; each village, having its own saints and its own festivals, attracted visitors from remote towns and nearby islands. As Hobhouse, a visitor to the mainland in 1809, reports, "This oppressed people would find life too long and burthensome, were it not for their religious festivals, and accordingly they have retained much of the joyful part of the ceremony attached to the funeral rites of their ancestors."[5]

The festival season included a variety of celebrations, ranging from trivial games (playing tricks on friends, dangling cake or an egg on a stick or string, for example)[6] to more stately religious pilgrimages and processions in which icons of the Virgin or the tomb of Christ were carried. While not viewed in the Greek mind as entertainments, religious ceremonies served much the same purpose—elevation of feeling, artfulness, and relief from daily trials.

Under the Turkish occupation, dancing was unusually popular at the festivals; dramatic in nature and expressing a diversity of circumstances, it often developed into a high art, as testified by a number of foreign travellers, among them Guys:

> Vous avez dit, & vrai, [monsieur] les danses ont été chez les Grecs une image vivant des actions & des mœurs; elles les font encore. Le labyrinthe de Crète n'existe plus; mais Dédale, Thésée & Ariadne, qui dansant encore chez les Grecs, semblant, par les charmes de la danse, le reproduire à nos yeux. Nous voyons, par le même secours, les marches d'Alexandre, & la tactique de Pyrrhus. Le peuple, qui agit en tout machinalement, & que ne voit dans ce qu'il fait que ce qui flatte son goût, se livre aveuglement à ses usages; il n'appartient qu'à l'œil observateur d'en sentrer les raisons.[7]

Guys' view of the modern Greek as reminiscent of his ancient progenitor represented a convention among the largely aristocratic venturers to Greece who rarely took the common Greek on his own terms.

Holidays gave rise to spontaneous serenading[8] and door to door visitations by large parties of celebrants. On the first of May, garlanded and flower-bearing parties of men, women, and girls passed from house to house announcing spring; they sang and left a strand of flowers at each home, in return for which they received a small token to help finance a great party which lasted eight days. The celebration culminated in a division of the celebrants into teams for a stone fight followed by a parade of the victors.[9] The last days of the carnival season provided some opportunity for other forms of mimetic entertainment as inhabitants paraded and sang through the streets of Athens at all hours of the night. Hobhouse remarks in 1810 that Athenians actually masqueraded during carnival as principal Turks;[10] one mimic, in 1813, imitated the Greek Archbishop and was excommunicated for the affront.[11]

More specifically dramatic were the folk plays performed at some of the festivals, especially those associated with carnival. In Athens under the occupation, citizens commonly formed troupes during carnival which moved through the streets performing various scenes of satire and national life.[12] Other carnival folk plays treated subjects ranging from robberies, court-room trials, and peasant or gypsy weddings to funerals of the Cheese-Eater or King Carnival.[13] Features of common carnival plays included

wearing animal heads, animal tails, garlands of onions and garlic, and bells; hands were sometimes blackened, and sacks of ashes were often carried;[14] processions and a mocking of bystanders sometimes occurred, as did enactments of death and resurrection.[15] Such plays continued into the post-war period. De Vere, in the 1850's, for example, reports a performance in which an old man impersonates Lent and is "decapitated, amid many characteristic solemnities. . . ."[16]

Beyond the performance of folk plays at the religious festivals, there is evidence, both before and after the revolution, of some fool shows. Hobhouse reports the capers of a fool at Ali Pasha's court in Tepellene in 1810,[17] and Hughes a fool performance at a Greek wedding at Ioannina in 1813: "a fool or a zany was called in to divert the company by acting with a clown a kind of pantomime, the ludicrous nature of which consisted in practical jokes and hard knocks upon the clown's pate, which strongly excited the risible faculties of the spectators."[18] Again, Waddington, in 1824, notes the presence at carnival in Athens of "drunken buffoons, harlequins, and painted jesters. . . riotously parading the streets."[19] The festival fool, an apparent survival of the Byzantine mime, unavoidably called up reminiscences by the foreign traveller of the classival Pan, as in Cochrane's note concerning the last day of carnival in Athens:

> an old man placed himself upon an ass, with his head to the tail of the animal, playing on a lyre, to which his comrades danced. I could not observe this latter part of the scene without connecting it with the memory of that mythology from traditional associations with which it had probably arised.[20]

Fools were not, nevertheless, at any time during the period surveyed, a common source of amusement in Greek lands. Bards, on the other hand, apparently were. As late as 1856, Baird can still write of festivals in Tripolitza to which blind bards "flock in considerable numbers." Carriers of popular history and creators of folk literature, these balladeers continued to respond to a real need in the people for definition of a nation's feelings:

> In a hospitable khan, or in the open street, a crowd hangs on the minstrel's lips; while he chants the heroic lay of some famous klepht, or recounts the actions of the no less courageous citizens of Souli. . . . Then, again, a more lively theme excites to the dance, accompanied by the inharmonious notes of a rude guitar.[21]

Like the festivals, bazaars and fairs—which presented a vast array of Greek, Albanian, and Turkish dress and manners—provided large-scale diversions for the native population during the occupation.[22] Such fairs in Ioannina were set up outside the city and provided Ali Pasha with the opportunity to measure the wealth of inhabitants of the province and to assess their taxes. Devoted to the exigencies of trade, the fairs, more commercial than celebratory, were, nevertheless, colorful and attracted dancers,

singers, jugglers, story-tellers, and fools: none, however, were as impressive as the whirling dervishes who danced in passionate fits of ecstasy. Hughes refers to one performance in 1812 in which, excited by "a beating of drums more violent than the cymbals of the Corybantes," the dervishes hop and jump about a room twirling like harlequins:

> their exclamations appear as if uttered by persons in the excruciating tortures of the rack, or even bring to imagination the place of accursed souls: in the mean time their looks become wild, the foam starts from their mouths, their turbans fall to the ground, their hair floats about in disorder, their garments collapse, and some of the performers sink down in a state of perfect insensibility. . . . a different set of devotees commence that curious, beautiful, and mysterious dance which consists in twirling the body round rapidly like a top, or as upon a pivot, whilst they are moving in a circular orbit with their flowing robes distended like a parachute by the velocity of the motion. . . .[23]

Itinerant performers travelled throughout Greece from fair to fair. Typically, throughout the Turkish empire, such performers were Greeks, Jews, Armenians, or gypsies, but rarely Turks,[24] save in special circumstances, such as the dances of the dervishes. One, taken for a Moslem, but possibly a gypsy, was met by Gell in 1804 in the Morea. He describes the player as depraved, for only in that state would a Moslem perform as a mountebank among Greeks; a Turk, he claims with certainty, would never do so. The performer carried a primitive instrument made from a parchment-covered gourd to which a long stick with three strings and a finger-board had been added. Bells were attached to a raised bridge over the belly. Discovered in a garden, reclining under a prickly fig, the mountebank is described as

> a hideous black, who started up on our approach, and told us he was just come from a fair at Mistra. In his hand he held an instrument of noise, for music it could not be called, with which he accompanied the many yells and gestures which he intended for singing and acting. There was an air of low profligacy about the man, which rendered him quite a curiosity, and I cannot say that I was not very much diverted. . . by his dress, his appearance, and his performance.[25]

Itinerants appeared in the cities throughout the year, some at festivals, others sporadically applying for leave to exhibit. Apparently, they were received with some interest. A Frenchman, who appeared in Athens in 1810, played to great effect: "the showman. . . played hocus pocus tricks, and vomited fire. Nothing was heard among the Turks but of the Magos; and the Greeks, little less astonished, abandoned themselves to the most mythological conjectures."[26] Gypsies, too, travelled frequently about, performing magic, telling fortunes, dancing, and playing tambourines for performing monkeys, bears, and even camels.[27]

Not strictly the province of professionals, dancing, singing, and the telling of tales were widely-spread among the people themselves from whose ranks numerous amateur entertainers sprung. Life on the road provided ample opportunity for such entertainment as traders and carters, gathered at camps and inns, often broke into dance or song, or spent long hours recounting their adventures in well-formed narratives. Wyse in the 1850's refers to a trip in the environs of Thebes during which his guides broke into a klephtic ballad of the adventures of the hero Kitzos Tsavellas; sung in three parts—strophe, antistrophe, epode—"The chant was melancholy, but exciting enough, rather of an elegiac character, and was thrown into a picturesque dramatic form, describing the occupations of a brigand life and of a brigand land. It was composed and sung with gusto, showing that the sympathy had not yet quite died out."[28] Life on the road prompted similar outbursts in the dancing of the romaiko, as Bremer notes, at "various stations in the shade of the olive trees."[29] Compared to the rapidity of European travel by railway, this traveller reflects, the Greek mode of transportation, with its consequent sociability, was conducive to good health and much good temper.

Guests visiting private homes were also treated to amateur performances, as Bremer again informs us, having been offered by her host and his wife in the Peloponnesos a speciment of Spartan music "more peculiar to my ears than melodious," and elsewhere narratives of the "most picuresque and amusing description."[30] Cochrane, who reports that the telling of tales was quite common in private homes throughout the year, speaks of a typical oral narrative in 1836, in this instance along the banks of the Ilissos, near the Temple of Zeus in Athens: "Some of the assembly, who, through their age, commanded respect, now whirled away the time by telling long stories, which Demetrie assured me were all invented for the occasion, after the style of the Arabian story tellers. The gesticulation of the orators was amusing, and the loud peals of laughter that arose from the auditors proved to me that the point of the story was a humorous one. . . ."[31]

Friends and relatives, gathered for formal occasions—weddings, baptisms—continued across the period in question to participate in highly structured expressions of popular art. Bremer describes one evening during which a number of Maniotes came forth to share with a gentleman in mourning moirologia, or funeral dirges, which were vivid and dramatic both in character and execution. Normally sung by women, the moirologia Bremer heard were performed as well by men

> who sat squatted around the room. A dull humming or murmuring, continuous nasal sound announces that some one in the assembled group feels himself inspired, and is about to break forth in a song of lamentation. On this, he begins,

> and describes in a rhythmical manner, usually in unrhymed stanzas, the misfortune which has occurred, and the peculiar qualities and virtues of the persons who have suffered by it. When the improvisatore has said on this subject all that he has to say, he becomes silent. . . .
>
> The myriologues [sic] of the women are distinguished by more individual detail of description, more biographic touches than those of the men. They speak, for instance, of "the tree," under which the departed sat, when "she gave bread to the poor little boy," of "the well where she gave her sheep to drink," how "these became tame by her hand." They instanced many a of her goodness and amiability.[32]

The marriage ceremony was perhaps the most highly developed and most dramatic ritual of the popular culture. Among the most popular of occasions, weddings had always been staged in a variety of ways throughout the country, for customs varied from district to district.[33] Their attraction continued to be such that "to resist the witnessing of a wedding in Arcadia," as Bremer observes in 1859, "was a thing not to be thought of."[34] One elaborate pre-war wedding is related by Hobhouse in Epirus in 1812 as having occurred between a slave of the harem and an Albanian Christian in the vizir's service. A mixture of Albanian and Greek customs, the wedding entailed a procession which Hobhouse, a man of some experience, calls "the most grand and ridiculous of the many I saw in Turkey":

> At the head of the procession was the bridegroom with his band of musicians and lantern-bearers, followed also by a long crowd of men. Next came six young girls, splendidly dressed in gold and silver stuffs, with their long hair flowing over the shoulders. . . . Then appeared a woman more richly habited, carrying on her head a small red trunk, containing the portion with which the bride, according to custom, as belonging to the Harem, had been presented by Ali himself. Behind her came the bride herself. . . . She had scarcely any perceptible motion, except a slow march from side to side. . . . Her face, not a muscle of which moved, was daubed with a mask of white and red paint, and she seemed cautious not to alter, in the least, the position of her head, for fear of throwing off a high cap studded with pieces of gold money. Her left hand was held by an armed Albanian magnificently drest, and her right by a Greek priest. Behind her was a vast crowd of women with music and lanterns.[35]

The wedding procession, an important part of the Greek wedding ritual under the Turkish occupation, was, like other aspects of the rite, executed according to local customs which carried the weight of unwritten law (*agrafo nomo ek paradoseos*), a consideration which explains the stability of the ritual across the years. When violated, these customs bore, according to superstition, misfortunes (like that for marrying a foreigner—"*opios pandrefti me xeno ferni thanato sto spiti*" "whoever marries a foreigner, brings death to the house") more certain than any legal remedy.[36]

The whole set of wedding customs (the receiving of guests, the presentation of the bride to the family of the groom, the exchange of gifts, the drawing up and signing of the dowry agreement, the elaborate bathing and

dressing of the couple, the complicated performance of the marriage rite itself—with its exchange of wreaths, circling of the altar, holding of lighted candles, drinking of wine, and readings from the Bible—the carrying off of the bride in triumph, and the serenading of the newlyweds the morning after consummation of the union) was dramatically structured, the result of long years of refining a tradition to achieve its maximum effect.

If wedding ceremonies can be said to have changed during the period under consideration, it was only among the upper classes, though class distinctions in weddings did not touch on fundamental traditions or the rite itself. Contemplating marriage with a Greek peasant girl, Cochrane indicates in 1834 that differences between the customs of the gentry and those of the folk might be reduced to rather simple considerations: in particular, he appears concerned that his future bride might "not think herself tied in the indissoluble bonds of matrimony unless we had two fiddlers to precede us to church, and the bridegroom was dragged away between two men in their suite, she following; and the train being brought up by a donkey and a pair of paniers, with the household goods, beddings, etc."[37] Barid makes the point that class differences in the 1850's were related to the desire of the lower class to preserve traditions and of the upper class to bow to European tastes,[38] a general trend which had certainly accelerated in the post-war years and was to result, as we shall see, in a split between upper and lower class sensibilities.

Post-war entertainments instanced a strong feeling of political and national identity among the people. Much was made, for example, of the appearance during Easter of the Catholic king and his Protestant queen in national costume at Orthodox services in 1837; they stayed through the liturgy which lasted until two o'clock in the morning.[39] Festivals after the liberation became as much an excuse for the expression of national feeling as for anything else. Plates were dashed to the ground at Easter and pistols were shot off; fear of a revolt against the king prompted prohibition of the latter practice in the 1850's, apparently without much effect.[40] One very old practice, in which effigies of Judas were paraded and publicly burned, had to be banned in 1847, the result of anti-Jewish riots and an attack in Athens on the prominent Don Pacifico—a Jew from Gibraltar who enjoyed British protection.[41]

The incessant din in the post-war period of both carnival and Easter was much spoken of, as was the turbulence of the dancing at many festivals. Certain types of dance, the romaiko and the sirto, in particular, were periodically forbidden, and, in at least one instance, dancers were denied the customary accompaniment of the kettle drums and fife, as these instruments had incited the dancers to raucous displays.[42] As Bremer indicates, the festivals were not universally well-received:

> And, in spite of all the anathemas of the patriarch against these festivals, the people continue, year after year, to dance and to sing the fast in, and forty days afterwards to dance and to sing out the same. . . .
>
> It appears to me less edifying that the Greeks should celebrate with the same dancing and singing Christmas, Easter, Ascension Day, and, indeed, every religious festival, nay, in fact, that in the country and in all small towns, dancing begins on every Sunday and festival immediately after divine service, and in front of the church. Some years ago, it is said that the very priest himself, after he had performed mass, would often become the leader of the dance, and achieve the highest bounds in the Sirto or Korsilamâ [sic]. But this is now forbidden.[43]

With the relief from oppression brought by the War of 1821, religious celebrations became so numerous that the Moslem peasant in some places became preferred to the Greek as a workman: the Greek, "between religion and amusement," Sir Thomas Wyse, overstating somewhat, reports in the 1850's, gave less than half his week to labor.[44]

The abuses complained of by foreign visitors were as much a result of elevated European expectations as of an excess of high spirits and low tastes among the newly liberated populace. When they imitated western manners, the common people could hardly have been expected to carry themselves with the grace of born Europeans. In 1836, for example, Gifford refers to a carnival in Pyrgo which mimicked a royal entry of the western type by means of "a procession of masques on horseback, by torchlight, representing the arrival of King Otho in Greece; his majesty being represented by a boy, ornamented with a tinfoil crown."[45] When not offending westerners with parodies of their manners, the common people, reverting to native type, were even less pleasing in European eyes. Bremer condemns Greek masquerading in general as "a miserable farce." Wishing the practice done away with, she describes carnival masquerading in Athens in 1860 as "some stupid and clumsy scenes, got up by the street-boys and young men, who disfigure their usually handsome countenances with the most repulsive masks."[46] They prefer, as the French visitor About informs us in 1852, "les déguisements antiques, les casques de carton et les boucliers de papier peint: les rues sont encombrées de héros d'Homère."[47] It did not take long for the dissonances of expectations and actualities between foreigners and common Greeks to become heightened along class and national lines.

More permanent forms of amusement than periodic fairs, festivals, and rituals—those of the reading and coffee-houses and baths (available in the cities and towns of Greece)—testify to the growing split among the Greeks themselves, a split between those of western as opposed to native factions, between those with upper as opposed to lower class tastes. Galt, visiting Athens in 1810, described the baths and coffee-houses as "the only places of public amusement which the Athenians of the nineteenth Christian

century enjoy."[48] For a mere drachma and a half the baths, still largely for members of the leisure class in 1836, according to Cochrane, provided a cool room, a hot steam-room, shampooing, drenching in luke-warm water, and a room for reclining on a bed with coffee, pipe, and newspaper.[49] Reading-houses catered to the same class, while coffee-houses sprung up to provide for the common folk; together they constituted a far too prevalent and unpromising feature of the social conditions of Athens, according to Pedicaris in 1845:

> The principal places of amusement in Athens are the coffee-houses and the Leschae, or the reading-rooms; the former of which are the resort of the many, the latter of the élite. Both are supplied with means of amusement and gratification—with coffee, pipes, newspapers, etc. But the Lesche is provided not only with the local newspapers, but with the journals and the periodicals of the rest of Europe, and it is furnished in a style highly creditable to the taste and the liberality of the Greeks. . . . it is painful to see the coffee-shops in the best of [Greece's] cities crowded from morning till midnight with the refuse of their population, or with babbling idlers, whose sole occupation seems to be the business of others. . . it is painful to meet with such a sight when Greece is suffering more for want of hands than for want of tongues. . . . The reading-rooms, indeed, differ from the coffee-houses only in degree, but not in kind—the one is the lower and the other the upper house of parliament.[50]

As this traveller indicates, the "many" and the "élite" did indeed enjoy separate leisure activities. Upper class amusements which appealed to more refined bourgeois western-European tastes were rarely frequented, it appears, by members of the lower ranks:

> The *houte volee* [sic] of Athens may be seen almost every day, either at noon, when the music of the royal band calls them before the palace, or when the cool of the evening invites them to their promenades; but the *people* are too busy to join in these recreations, and those who are interested in them, must watch for the occasions when they gather to celebrate their national festivals under the olive groves of the Academy; on the "purple hills of the flowery Hymettus;" before the temple of Theseus; on the banks of the classical Illissus [sic]. It is at these places, and at stated times of the year, that we see something of the *Greeks*.[51]

Accounts by foreign travellers indicate that after the revolution such distinctions were commonly maintained. In one instance, a German band which had appeared to some applause on Sunday afternoons along the upper-class promenade in front of the theatre in Athens, was poorly, though politely received at a popular festival, the Feast of Pentecost, held at Kaisariani; "the people," Cochrane noted, "evidently preferred their own wild strains, played by their rude instruments, to all the recherché harmony of the German musicians."[52] The upper ranks apparently attended the popular festivals only sporadically, and then only as spectators. At the Temple of Zeus during the last day of carnival in 1860, Bremer refers to foreigners and Greeks of quality overlooking from their carriages on a hill

the festive scene in the valley below. The royal couple descended on horseback to be seen riding about through the crowd with its suite.[53]

Preferring indoor entertainments at carnival, the upper class engaged in masquerading at private parties which became quite elaborate under the monarchy. Cochrane describes one typical dramatic masque performed at the home of an upper-class Athenian family in 1836:

> several masks entered the room, attired as Agamemnon, Achilles, Nestor, Ulysses, etc., and they subsequently enacted their parts (particularly that where Agamemnon quarrels with Achilles about the fair Briseis) with great spirit and energy. I have often heard Greek plays spouted at Cambridge; but I must confess that the individuals did not seem to feel what they uttered as they did on the present occasion; nor was the imagination of the spectator equally roused and excited. The masks, in this instance, were some attachés from public offices; and, being educated men, they spoke with a fluency and pathos, and with an energy of action, which were quite striking, and which charmed me much.[54]

Dances, balls, and musical evenings at private homes were most popular among members of the upper class, for more pedestrian amusements were considered unbecoming and vulgar. Trained by an Italian dancing master then very much in vogue, members of the upper classes in the 1850's danced polonaises, quadrilles, cotillions, and waltzes to the accompaniment of a German orchestra and sang Italian and German airs. At this time they were reported to have attended, on the average, only three or four balls a year and, because of a post-war dearth of European instruments,[55] had to share the only orchestra in the capital with the theatre of Athens. When the king wished to hear music at dinner, the theatre had to delay its opening. Conversely, balls had to be held later in the evening, after the theatre had let out.[56] In spite of the foreign tastes of the upper ranks, however, their traditional dances, as their weddings, did not differ markedly from those performed by commoners, as Hughes, attending in 1812 one such ball at a private home, indicates:

> the whole set, taking each other by the hand in a regular alternation of male and female, form a long undulating line, moving slowly backwards and forwards whilst the first couple perform a few more agile movements, at certain intervals elevating their hands, or the hankerchief which they hold between them, to allow the whole party to pass beneath like a set of children who are playing at thread-my-needle: sometimes however the coryphaeus, if he happen to be an active man, cuts strange capers and jumps about in fine contrast with the languid motions of his followers. . . . wretched music, a concatenation of discords, was assisted, and sometimes nearly drowned, by the voices of the company proceeding through their nasal organs. . . this orchestra was quite overpowering.[57]

Still, the musical entertainments of the upper class continued to be associated in the popular mind with scandalous flirting and lovers' trysts, with private indoor parties and intimate partner dances, socializing of a

type which, in a conservative culture, ranked with the immorality of women on stage (a commonplace after 1840) and Italian theatricals, both tolerated and enjoyed by members of the upper ranks.

Limited to attendance at amusements appropriate to their station, aristocrats and those of the élite bourgeoisie spent long hours in social conversation, on hunting parties and excursions. They could be found on balmy evenings along the road to Patissia promenading or riding in carriages, sometimes entertained at band concerts or greeted by the king and queen on horseback; if they received permission, they could stroll through the royal gardens.[58] The monarchy provided them with rare state occasions of some elegance, such as the inauguration of the council of state and royal entries. The royal entry of King Otho's father, the King of Bavaria, into Athens in 1835 involved, for example, the erection of two ceremonial Doric arches (one at disembarkation in Piraeus and a second on Ermou Street as the party entered Athens), a ninety-gun salute, a great procession with military entourage, strewn branches and large crowds, two receptions, and a royal concert.[59]

Between the formal parties and state occasions, long periods of emptiness and boredom intervened, relieved only intermittently by visiting foreign theatrical troupes and some native attempts at establishing a theatre. The need thus arose among the post-war upper classes for more sustained and more sophisticated theatrical and musical entertainments than those available to them. The more oriental common folk remained satisfied with communal diversions typical of the pre-war period, with fairs, festivals, and the performances of itinerants, mountebanks, and talented amateurs who passed among the lower classes. The people at large had at their disposal more than sufficient opportunities for entertainment, if one considers both the number of festivals on the Greek religious calendar and the hard life and lack of leisure time in the lower class. At the same time, within the upper ranks an inclination for European fashions and diversions prevailed, with which the royal court, infused with Bavarians, Englishmen, and Frenchmen, all too readily concurred. Elevated Greeks pandered to the needs of the foreign circle around the king, permitting that small group—and through it, the king—to dictate the social life of a nation which, at base, had very little, if anything, in common with European tastes.[60]

A survey of foreign travellers to Greece during the century spanning the period 1750-1850 shows, in conclusion, little change in lower class entertainments—festival and ceremonial celebrations, fairs, processions, visitations, folk plays, games, fool shows, performances of itinerant jugglers, acrobats, and minstrels, mimicry, dancing, singing, and story-telling—though some western influences became noticeable (dancing around a May-pole, for example, and the mimicry of western-style royal entries). But in the

growing middle class as well as in the ranks of the rich and politically-favored significant changes did occur, a response to increased contact with western nations and a growing recognition of social change in Greece itself. The precedence taken by literate pursuits typical of educated classes—reading clubs, promenades, concerts, balls, receptions, hunting parties—could only lead to a split in sensibility between the upper and lower classes that was to persist until the last quarter of the nineteenth century when revival of interest in performances of the people and subsequent acceptance of popular taste made possible a coherent culture of national feeling in a society which reflected a more unified view of itself through its entertainments.

NOTES

1. M. Guys, *Voyage littéraire de la Grèce, ou lettres sur les Grecs, anciens et modernes, avec un parallele de leurs mœurs* (Paris: Veuve Duchesne, 1783), I, 481.

2. John Galt, *Letters from the Levant; Containing Views of the State of Society, Manners, Opinions, and Commerce in Greece, and Several of the Principal Islands in the Archipelago* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1813), pp. 200-201.

3. Thomas Smart Hughes, *Travels in Sicily, Greece, and Albania* (London: J. Mawman, 1820), I, 263-264.

4. See Edmond About, *La Grèce contemporaine* (Paris: Librairie de l'Hachette et cie, 1854), p. 432 ff; *Athènes moderne* (Athens: P. A. Sakellarios, 1860), p. 83; Fredericka Bremer, *Greece and the Greeks: The Narrative of a Winter Residence and Summer Travel in Greece and Its Islands*, trans. Mary Howitt (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1863), I, 26-27; N. I. Laskaris, "To neoellinikon theatron tou 1842-1844" [Modern Greek Theatre of 1842-1844], *Nea estia*, 25 (1939), 452-456, 519-524, 625-630, 700-704, 767-772; Laskaris, *Istoria tou neoellinikou theatrou* [History of Modern Greek Theatre], II, 268 ff.

5. John C. Hobhouse, *A Journey Through Albania and Other Provinces of Turkey in Europe and Asia, to Constantinople, During the Years 1809 and 1810* (Philadelphia: M. Carey and Son, 1817), I, 425.

6. About, p. 294; see also Vyron Konstantaras, "I apokria stin Turkokratimeni Athina" [Carnival in Turkish-Dominated Athens]. *Elliniki dimiourgia*, 5, No. 50 (1 Mar. 1950), 377.

7. Guys, I, 205.

8. Galt, pp. 190-191; see also George Cochrane, *Wanderings in Greece* (London: Henry Colburn, 1837), II, 97.

9. Stelios Sperantsas, "I giorti ton louloudion" [The Festival of Flowers], *Elliniki dimiourgia*, 11, No. 126 (1 May 1953), 555-556; see also Konstantaras, "Ta christougena kai i paradosi sti Turkokratimeni Athina" [Christmas and Its Presentation in Turkish-dominated Athens], *Elliniki dimourgia*, 6, No. 69 (15 Dec. 1950), 913.

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11. Hughes, II, 64.

12. Konstantaras, "Carnival," 376.

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14. See also Vasilios Kalphantis, "O gamos tou Karaghiozi sti Gonousa tis Korinthias" [The Marriage of Karaghiozis in Gonousa, Korinth], *Laografia*, 17 (1957), 634-637.

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27. Konstantaras, "Carnival," 376.

28. Sir Thomas Wyse, *Impressions of Greece* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1871), 75.

29. See Bremer, I, 73-75.

30. Ibid., 109, 222.

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32. Bremer, I, 222-223.

33. Baird, p. 94.

34. Bremer, I, 76.

35. Hobhouse, I, 158-159.

36. Konstantaras, "Enas Athinikos gamos stin poki tis Turko-kratias" [An Athenian Wedding During the Period of Turkish Domination], *Elliniki dimiourgia*, 4, No. 34 (1 July 1949), 7; Baird, p. 88.

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39. Yannis Vlachoyannis, "Episimon Pascha apo tis epanastaseos" [Official Easter from the Revolution], *Elliniki dimiourgia*, 7, No. 78 (1 May 1951), 682.

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41. Baird, p. 129; About, pp. 362-363.

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43. Ibid., 219-220.

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