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## Tradition and Change in Greek Shadow Theater

### *Introduction*

GREEK SHADOW THEATER, which is primarily an urban phenomenon, was largely ignored until recently by Greek folklorists, who focused their attention almost exclusively on the culture of rural Greece. The decades of the 1960s and 1970s, however, witnessed a remarkable surge in interest in Greek shadow theater.<sup>1</sup> Much attention was devoted to the link between Greek shadow theater and ancient Greek comedy, the relationship between the Greek and the Turkish traditions of shadow theater, and the "Hellenization" of Greek shadow theater in the 19th century.<sup>2</sup> Works in the latter area focused on such topics as the evolution of the full cast of "traditional" characters and the development of the "complete" repertoire of "classical" plays. In stressing the importance of Greek shadow theater, Greek folklorists have claimed that Karagiozis, the poor, hungry trickster, with his hunchback, bare feet, and long arm, who has come to personify the tradition of Greek shadow theater, is "the genuine stereotype of the common Greek" (Zarikos 1976:75), "the only genuine expression of modern Greek reality" and "the voice of the modern Greek people" (Trezou 1976:62).

However, while popular and scholarly interest in Greek shadow theater was increasing dramatically, the tradition itself was undergoing drastic, and what many considered disturbing, changes. Well-known puppeteers were growing old, and no young people were taking their place. Fewer and fewer puppeteers were traveling through Greece giving performances in small cities and towns, while open-air theaters in large cities were being forced to close, to make way for apartment buildings and stores. Furthermore, live shadow theater performances were declining in popularity because of increased competition from movie theaters and television. Puppeteers recorded plays on long-playing records and gave short weekly performances for children on national television. Comic booklike pamphlets, or *filadhia*,<sup>3</sup> containing shadow theater plays were published inexpensively and anonymously and were advertised as "the indispensable companion of every child." Karagiozis, then, had taken his place beside Mickey Mouse, Davy Crockett, and other comic book characters on the shelves of kiosks and stationery stores throughout Greece.

The reaction of Greek folklorists to the entry of Greek shadow theater plays

into the world of mass media and popular culture has been uniformly negative. In their opinion these developments have constituted an adulteration or corruption of the tradition of Greek shadow theater. According to them Greek shadow theater has been cheapened, exploited, commercialized, and bastardized to such an extent that its very survival has been threatened (Biris 1952:67; Ioannou 1971:I,40; Photiadis 1977:197, 234).

I suggest that this hostile reaction to the recent developments in Greek shadow theater is the result of a false dichotomy between traditional and modern, genuine and spurious, art and commerce, which itself comes from a romantic and fundamentally misleading view of folklore as something pure, oral, unchanging, and worthy of study, in contrast to the expressive forms of mass media and popular culture, which are unoriginal, commercialized, and not worthy of study. Dorson (1978), Paredes and Stekert (1971), and others have argued that folklorists and anthropologists must turn their attention to the new genres and media of urban folklore and popular culture in order to appreciate the valuable insights they have to offer into the rapidly changing cultures of which they are a part.<sup>4</sup> The study of such phenomena also provides an important opportunity to examine the creative process through which traditional forms of folklore adapt themselves to new conditions and contexts.

In this paper I argue that the technique of syntagmatic structural analysis, developed most fully by the Russian formalist Vladimir Propp, unlike the more widely known technique of paradigmatic structural analysis pioneered by Claude Lévi-Strauss, is able to shed light on the process by which, paradoxically, Greek shadow theater and other narrative forms are able to remain traditional at the same time that they are constantly changing. By applying Propp's analytic technique to a group of Greek shadow theater plays with titles such as *Karagiozis the Baker*, *Karagiozis the Fisherman*, and *Karagiozis the Teacher*, which were first written down during the period between 1925 and 1940, I will show that all these plays exhibit the same syntagmatic structure, that is, they all consist of the same sequence of basic narrative units. I will then demonstrate that Greek shadow theater plays published in the 1960s with such "nontraditional" titles as *Karagiozis the Tour Guide*, *Karagiozis as James Bond*, and *Karagiozis the Astronaut*, exhibit virtually the same syntagmatic structure as earlier plays, while at the same time incorporating what is clearly new material from other contemporary narrative genres and from current events and more general social issues.

### *A Structural Approach to the Study of Creativity in Narrative Forms*

The anthropological analysis of narrative forms of all kinds has as its purpose the interpretation of the messages that are communicated by these narratives. A specifically structural approach to the analysis of narrative rests on the assumption that narrative forms such as myths or folktales constitute "languages" whose "grammars" must be learned before the messages conveyed by the "narrative utterances" can be understood. Following the lead of

Claude Lévi-Strauss, structural anthropologists have shown that narratives are made up of “constituent units” that belong to a higher order than the constituent units of language (phonemes and morphemes, for example), and that whatever meaning these narratives contain does not reside in the individual units that constitute the narratives, but rather in the way these units are combined, that is, in their relationships with other units (Lévi-Strauss 1963:210). The constituent units of narrative, like the constituent units of language, are related to one another in two fundamentally different ways, paradigmatically and syntagmatically.

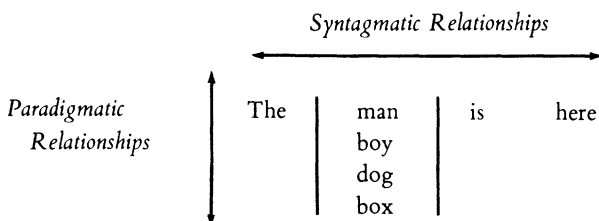
Paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationships are clearly described by John Peradotto as follows:

A linguistic unit sustains a paradigmatic relationship with other units that could be conceivably substituted for it in the same context. It sustains a syntagmatic relationship with all other units that occur with it and constitute its context, that is, units that may precede, follow, include it, or be included within it. Paradigms constitute a substitutional set. In linguistic activity, elements are selected from such sets and combined in a restricted linear context in which their interrelationship is syntagmatic. Paradigms are united in a virtual set *in absentia*; by definition, they never occur together. Syntagms are united *in praesentia*; they occur together in an actual series or chain. [Peradotto 1977:85–86]<sup>5</sup>

For example, the morphemic unit *man* stands in syntagmatic relationship with the units *The*, *is*, and *here* because it can occur in the context: *The man is here*.<sup>6</sup> It stands in paradigmatic relationship with the units *boy*, *dog*, and *box* because they can all be substituted for it in the same context (see Table 1).

Any structural analysis of linguistic or narrative forms must take into consideration both the syntagmatic and the paradigmatic relationships that exist between the constituent units involved. As Terence Turner has forcefully demonstrated (1969, 1977), the structural analysis of myth devised by Claude Lévi-Strauss, which has become the model for the structural analysis of narrative forms in anthropology, focuses almost exclusively on the paradigmatic aspect of myth structure and largely ignores the syntagmatic aspect. Discussing Lévi-Strauss’s analysis of the Oedipus myth, Turner states that concern for the “*syntagmatic* order of relations in the myth, that is, the pattern of contiguous associations between actions and events that comprises the story or plot” is totally displaced by concern for the “*paradigmatic* order (that is, the set

Table 1.



of categories of like and unlike elements drawn upon to fill the ‘slots’ in the syntagmatic pattern of the plot)” (1977:111). According to Turner, Lévi-Strauss makes the error of rejecting the syntagmatic dimension of myth as irrelevant to the structure of myth and thus “leaving himself with a purely paradigmatic model” (1977:121).

This paradigmatic bias that characterizes the structuralism of Lévi-Strauss results in an almost complete disregard for the sequence of events in the narrative. Instead, Lévi-Strauss is concerned with identifying atemporal paradigms in which binary oppositions such as nature/culture, life/death, and male/female are mediated. In “The Story of Asdiwal,” for example, Lévi-Strauss argues that the sequence of events in a narrative (“the chronological order in which things happen”) constitutes only “the apparent content of the myth,” and that the atemporal “schemata” into which these sequences can be organized constitute the more important underlying or latent structure (1967a:17, 21). Elsewhere Lévi-Strauss suggests that in the analysis of narrative forms “the order of chronological succession [should be] reabsorbed into an atemporal matrix structure” (1976:138).

In order to offset this paradigmatic bias, I suggest as a complement to the technique of structural analysis pioneered by Claude Lévi-Strauss the technique of syntagmatic structural analysis developed most fully by the Russian formalist Vladimir Propp in *Morphology of the Folktale* (1968) (first published in Russian in 1928). Here Propp demonstrates that one of the essential properties of narrative structure is the organization of narrative units in a temporal sequence. According to Propp the syntagmatic structure of a narrative is the chronological order of the linear sequence of narrative units. For Propp it is the order of events, the unfolding of plot through time, that is of paramount importance. In a reply to Lévi-Strauss’s (1976) critical review of *Morphology of the Folktale*, Propp accuses Lévi-Strauss of showing a “lack of interest in plot, in narrative” and of focusing on the “logical system” underlying a narrative instead of the “chronological series” of narrative units that constitutes the plot. According to Propp, Lévi-Strauss’s paradigmatic approach results in “the forced removal of the functions from the temporal sequence [which] destroys the delicate thread of the narrative” (Propp 1976:286–287).

Propp’s aim is to develop a morphology of a group of Russian fairy tales. By morphology he means “a description of the tale according to its component parts and the relationship of these components to each other and the whole” (Propp 1968:19). He begins by defining the narrative units that compose the tale as “the functions of its dramatis personae” (1968:20). A function “is understood as an act of a character, defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of the action” (1968:21). The definition of a function most often takes the form of a noun expressing an action, such as interdiction, villainy, victory over the villain, solution of a task, etc.

Propp’s remarkable conclusions, based on his analysis of Afanás’ev’s (1945) collection of Russian fairy tales, can be summarized as follows:

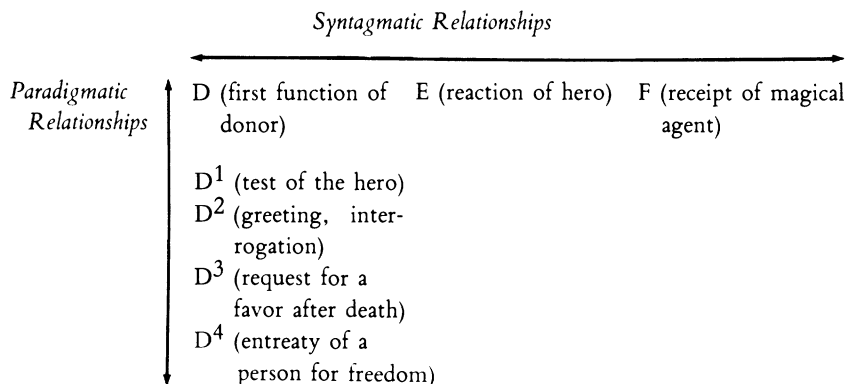
1. The number of functions known to the fairy tale is limited.
2. The sequence of functions is always identical.
3. All fairy tales are of one type in regard to their structure. [Propp 1968:21-23]

Just as Propp identifies a limited number of functions whose sequence constitutes the syntagmatic structure of Russian fairy tales, he also identifies a limited number of dramatis personae, such as the villain, the donor, and the hero, whose actions are the functions. Just as the function, an abstract unit, is realized in each tale by a particular example of the function, so the roles of the dramatis personae are assumed by a different character in each particular tale. Thus the role of the villain may be performed by a dragon in one tale, a witch in another, a stepmother in another, and so on.

Propp’s technique of syntagmatic structural analysis can be used to define a category of narratives that all exhibit the same sequence of functions (1968:22). What is more, Propp’s analysis enables us to understand how it is that all narratives of a particular structurally defined category are simultaneously the same and different. They are the same in regard to their syntagmatic structure; they all contain the same functions carried out in the same order by the same dramatis personae. Yet in every tale each function is realized differently; the role of each of the dramatis personae is played by a different character with a different set of attributes. The functions that constitute a particular narrative, like the dramatis personae who perform them, are syntagmatically related, while the different variants of a function, like the different characters who fill a particular role, are paradigmatically related since they substitute for one another in “slots” defined by the relevant function or role. Table 2 illustrates the parallel between functions as narrative units and lower order linguistic units such as the morphemes in the example above.

In this way, by focusing on both syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships between narrative units, we are able, in the words of Lévi-Strauss, “to resolve the apparent antinomy between the constancy of the form and the variability

Table 2.



of the content” (Lévi-Strauss 1976:127). We are able to understand what Propp calls “the two-fold quality of a tale: its amazing multiformity, picturesqueness, and color, and on the other hand, its no less striking uniformity, its repetition” (Propp 1968:20–21).<sup>7</sup>

Propp’s work on the morphology of Russian fairy tales has been criticized on the grounds that it deals with these narratives in isolation from their social and cultural context: “The problem is that Propp made no attempt to relate his extraordinary morphology to Russian (or Indo-European) culture as a whole” (Dundes 1968:xiii). However, this failure is not inherent in the technique of syntagmatic structural analysis itself, any more than it is inherent in the paradigmatic structural analysis of Lévi-Strauss, who has similarly been accused of a failure to attend closely to social and cultural context (Douglas 1971:62). As Dundes points out, “there is no reason in theory why the syntagmatic structure of folktales cannot be meaningfully related to other aspects of culture” (1968:xiii).

Propp’s work has also been characterized as “sterile” and “one-sided” because of its exclusive concern with the syntagmatic and its neglect of the paradigmatic (Turner 1977:122). I would respond on Propp’s behalf that while he does not deal with paradigmatic structure in *Morphology of the Folktale*, this is not a failure of his syntagmatic analysis per se. Furthermore, Propp does on several occasions refer to the necessity of carrying out paradigmatic analysis in order to arrive at a full understanding of Russian fairy tales. According to Propp, however, this must be done only after the completion of a thorough syntagmatic analysis.

Syntagmatic and paradigmatic methods of structural analysis can be used together to complement one another in several ways. First, if the object of analysis is a single narrative, syntagmatically defined narrative units or functions can be removed from their sequential order and arranged in order to investigate the paradigmatic relationships between functions that occur in a given narrative. For example, in the Foreword to *Morphology of the Folktale* Propp states that his “original intention was to present an investigation not only of the morphological [syntagmatic], but also of the logical [paradigmatic] structure peculiar to the tale” (1968:xxvi). Elsewhere he refers to the “logical plan” of a tale (1968:90). More specifically, Propp points out that many functions can be arranged in pairs while others can be arranged in groups (1968:64). This suggests the possibility of looking at the paradigmatic relationships, of binary opposition perhaps, between pairs of functions such as lack and liquidation of lack, or villainy and victory over the villain.

Another possibility is that of carrying out a paradigmatic analysis of the relationships that exist between the different personae at different points in the narrative. In this way a paradigm could be constructed stating the relationships between different characters for each function of the narrative. A narrative could then be seen as a succession of paradigms in which important cultural themes are expressed, each successive paradigm being a particular transformation of the underlying logical structure that is common to all functions.



In his analysis of the Oedipus myth, Terence Turner (1969, 1977), while extremely critical of Propp's work, seems to suggest just such an integration of syntagmatic and paradigmatic structural analysis. In contrast to Lévi-Strauss, he emphasizes "the structural importance of the internal segmentation of the narrative (indeed, of the narrative dimension *per se*)," which I take to be the syntagmatic structure of the narrative, and he advocates the paradigmatic analysis of each "episode" (Propp's "function") of the narrative, which he refers to as a "structural unit" and defines as "consisting of a single sentence." In this way, according to Turner, we can appreciate "the structural significance of the relations between the episodic segments of a narrative sequence" (1977:138–140).

A third type of analysis that deals with both syntagmatic and paradigmatic aspects of narrative structure may be employed if the object of analysis is a number of narratives belonging to the same structurally defined category. After the sequence of functions that characterizes this category of narratives has been identified through syntagmatic analysis, paradigmatic analysis may be applied to the different variants (which occur in different narratives) of a certain function or to the different characters (found in different narratives) who fill a particular role. In this case these variants and characters that correspond to one another by filling a syntagmatically defined slot, and even entire narratives, can be seen as transformations of one another. Thus one gains an understanding of the structural relations underlying a group of narratives (see Lévi-Strauss 1967b).

Propp himself suggests the possibility of this type of analysis on several occasions. He proposes the construction of tables containing information concerning the variants of functions and the attitudes of the *dramatis personae* in order to investigate "the laws of transformation" by which the different narratives of a certain genre are related to one another (1968:89, 91, 114). Propp even suggests the construction of a table in which the linear sequence of functions that constitute different tales are laid out horizontally. When several tales are set out in this manner, and variants of the same functions are placed under the same heading, "each heading (when the material is read vertically) offers an extremely graphic picture and may be studied entirely independently. . . . A comparison of the material under each heading makes possible the study of the transformation and metamorphosis of each element" (Propp 1968:119; see also Propp 1972).

Even more importantly, however, the work of Vladimir Propp offers anthropologists interested in the study of narrative forms the possibility of understanding the dynamic process through which a narrative tradition is able to change as the culture of which it is a part changes. In this way a narrative tradition is able to renew itself continually and remain alive, contemporary, and relevant to the new generations of people who will participate in it. Propp's work also offers potential insights into the process by which individual composers, performers, and artists are able to create narratives that are at the same time both new and traditional.

This apparent paradox can be resolved only if we are able to specify the rules artists must follow in order to create new narratives in the context of a narrative tradition. This involves identifying the areas in which artists are free to create and be innovative, on the one hand, and the areas in which they are restricted by tradition, on the other. It also involves distinguishing the specific aspects of a traditional narrative form that are free to change from those that must remain the same (see Ivanov and Toporov 1976).

Propp himself was aware of the insights his work offered into the creative process of generating new narratives according to traditional rules. He refers to the fact that a tale “can generate only forms that resemble itself” (1968:78). He also points out that using his morphological rule (the sequence of functions that constitute the syntagmatic structure of a tale) it would be possible to create “artificially” an unlimited number of “new” tales (1968:111). In his reply to Lévi-Strauss’s review of *Morphology of the Folktale* Propp argues that his morphology constitutes the “structural laws of the folktale” and that once such a morphology has been identified “it would be possible to compose an infinite number of tales that would all be constructed according to those same laws of the folktale” (Propp 1976:287).<sup>8</sup>

More specifically Propp shows that a storyteller “is constrained and does not create” as far as the overall sequence of functions is concerned, yet he is free to create in the following areas: the choice of variants of a function, the use of new variants of a function, the choice of characters to enact the roles of the *dramatis personae*, and the attributes and characteristics a character possesses. According to Propp the creator of a narrative often “receives his material from his surroundings or from current realities and adapts them to a tale.” He stresses that “everything drawn into a tale from outside is subject to its norms and laws” (1968:112, 113, 116). Discussing the relationships of transformation and substitution that exist between different tales, Propp offers the following example of what he calls “realistic substitution” in which new or modern forms are substituted for old: a “fabulous cottage” in one tale is replaced by a type of dwelling known in real life, such as a “two story house” (Propp 1972:146).<sup>9</sup> Thus the paradigmatic substitution of any one of an unlimited number of characters or variants of functions into a small number of “slots” specified by a syntagmatic structural rule is the essential feature of the process by which new, yet traditional narrative forms are created.

Syntagmatic structural analysis, therefore, serves as a first step in the development of a generative approach to the study of narrative forms. The goal of such an approach is to identify the syntagmatic structure of narratives of a certain type, as well as the rules that generate the great number of specific narratives of that type that actually exist and that may be created in the future. This approach specifies both the invariant and the variable elements of narrative texts (Ivanov and Toporov 1976). It also explains how a tradition can change and yet, paradoxically, continue to remain the same.

I would now like to present a syntagmatic structural analysis of a group of Greek shadow theater plays that are usually considered traditional. Then I will

apply this model to several more recent plays that are usually considered non-traditional and unworthy of study, in order to specify the precise relationships between these plays and the more traditional plays. In this way I hope to demonstrate the dynamism and creativity of Greek shadow theater. I also hope to show what the more recent plays can tell us about the rapidly changing culture of which they are a part.

### *A Morphology of Greek Shadow Theater Plays of the Comic Type*

By the end of the 19th century, Greek shadow theater had emerged as a well-established dramatic tradition with a fully developed cast of characters and a large repertoire of plays. During the first part of the 20th century Greek shadow theater reached its artistic peak and enjoyed its greatest popularity. Puppeteers gave performances in open-air theaters or coffeehouses in cities and towns throughout Greece.<sup>10</sup> More recently, with increased competition from television and movie theaters, the popularity of Greek shadow theater has declined. However, on a summer night in a small square or park in Athens or Thessaloniki one can still enjoy the boisterous humor and irreverent social commentary that Greek shadow theater has provided for so long.

Greek shadow theater plays are presented on a large white screen (*pani*) stretched tightly over a frame that measures approximately 20 feet wide and 10 feet high. This screen stands between the audience and the puppeteer, who is called a “Karagiozis-player” (*Karagiozopehtis*) after the main character of the plays. The screen is illuminated from behind and presents the audience, who are sitting in the dark, with a brightly lit “stage” on which the dramatic action takes place.

The puppets, or figures (*fighournes*), are pressed up against the screen by the puppeteer so that they are visible to the audience in front of the screen. The puppeteer manipulates each puppet with a metal rod about two feet long that is attached to the puppet’s shoulder with a hinge allowing the puppeteer to flip the puppet from one side to the other to face in either direction. The puppets themselves consist of several pieces, joined at the waist and knees to enable them to walk, dance, gesture, or strike one another. Karagiozis, the trickster, is one of the few puppets with a long flexible arm, consisting of as many as five or six pieces, that is controlled by a separate manipulation rod. Some puppets are made of heavy cardboard decorated with carved incisions. These puppets cast sharp black silhouettes against the bright screen. Other puppets are made of stiff, translucent leather and are painted in bright colors that are clearly visible to the audience through the white screen. Some characters are represented by more than one puppet. Karagiozis, for example, is represented by many puppets, corresponding to the various roles he plays in different performances. In addition, a puppeteer must have figures depicting buildings, animals, pieces of scenery, and other props.

Performances of Greek shadow theater plays may last several hours. They regularly begin with a prologue lasting 10 or 15 minutes, which contains a

fairly standard routine of songs, jokes, and roughhousing.<sup>11</sup> The prologue concludes with an introduction of the main performance, which follows after a short intermission. During a performance a puppeteer makes use of one or more assistants to hold or move secondary characters who appear on stage. In addition to being responsible for the visual aspect of the performance, each puppeteer must be able to portray the different voices and accents of all the characters. The singers and musicians who provided music for Greek shadow theater plays in the past have now been replaced in large part by record players.

There are several types of Greek shadow theater plays, the two most important of which are usually referred to as comic plays and historic or heroic plays. Plays of the historic or heroic type are inspired by the events of the Greek War of Independence against the Ottoman Empire, which began in 1821. In plays of the comic type, which provide the focus for this paper, Karagiozis is hired by the local Turkish ruler to perform some skilled service for which he is totally unqualified. While attempting to perform this service, Karagiozis deceives and humiliates several stock characters before his deceit is finally exposed and he is ineffectually punished.

There are about a dozen stock characters who appear regularly in Greek shadow theater plays of the comic type. Each character has a distinctive appearance and personality marked by a particular costume, voice, and accent, as well as by particular songs, jokes, and gestures. The most important of these characters is Karagiozis, by whose name the entire tradition of Greek shadow theater is known. Karagiozis lives in a ramshackle hut to the left of the screen opposite the ornate *serai* of the Turkish ruler. He is a trickster figure, poor and hungry, with a hunchback and a large nose. He is uneducated, unskilled, and perennially unemployed, but clever, delighting in deceit, and always ready to risk a beating in the hope of obtaining a hearty meal. His tricks and insults, together with jokes concerning his hunger, poverty, ugliness, and the frequent beatings he endures, are the source of much of the humor of Greek shadow theater.

Karagiozis's foil is Hadziavatis, a go-between and messenger of the Turkish ruler. He is a Greek but wears Turkish clothing and behaves in a humble and respectful manner toward his Turkish superiors. In return they treat him well and pay him for his services. The Turkish ruler, a Bey, Pasha, or Vizier, is the epitome of wealth and power. The contrast between Karagiozis and the Turk, the hut and the *serai*, could not be more pronounced. Another important character is Barbayiorghos, Karagiozis's uncle, a shepherd from the mountains of north-central Greece. He speaks with a very heavy northern Greek accent and wears a white pleated skirt (*foustanela*) and tasseled shoes (*tsarouhia*). He also has a large mustache and carries a shepherd's staff. Barbayiorghos is unsophisticated and gullible. However, by virtue of his great size and strength he can often be found at the conclusion of a play punishing Karagiozis for his trickery with a sound beating. The most important of the other stock characters are: Dhionisios, a dandy from Zakynthos, who wears a top hat and tails and whose affected speech is full of Italian words and phrases; Stavrakas, a tough character from the urban underworld with his threatening manner and

ever-present “worry-beads”; and Morfonios, whose enormous head, long nose, and whining nasal voice lead Karagiozis to compare him frequently to an elephant. Rounding out the cast of stock characters are Karagiozis’s wife and children, a Jew, and Veligeikas, an Albanian mercenary officer in the service of the Turk.

Most puppeteers began their careers and learned plays by working as assistants to older, more established puppeteers. Thus the tradition of Greek shadow theater was transmitted orally from one generation of puppeteers to the next. There is evidence, though, that puppeteers did commit plot outlines or summaries to writing and used these notes to maintain an active repertoire of several hundred plays (Ioannou 1971:I, 43). However, there is no evidence to suggest that such notes were used by puppeteers during actual performances.

Around 1925, several well-known puppeteers began to publish written versions of plays in the form of *filadhia*, 32-page comic booklike pamphlets, each containing a single play. The *filadhia* were presumably bought by the same people who might attend oral performances of shadow theater plays. By publishing *filadhia*, puppeteers were simply employing another medium through which they could present their plays to the public. Thus a written tradition of Greek shadow theater plays developed from what had been primarily an oral tradition. This new written tradition did not in any way destroy or replace the older oral tradition. The two traditions continued to exist fairly independently, although influencing one another to some extent to be sure. The syntagmatic structural analysis of Greek shadow theater plays that follows is based on recently published collections of texts that were written by known puppeteers and originally published as *filadhia* in the 1920s (Ioannou 1971:I), or during the longer period from 1925 to 1945 (Angyra 1973).<sup>12</sup>

A syntagmatic structural analysis of Greek shadow theater plays of the comic type must begin with a list of the *dramatis personae* whose actions constitute the narrative units of the plays (Propp 1968:79–83).<sup>13</sup> These *dramatis personae* and the sequence of narrative units they perform are found in every play of this type, although different characters may fill the roles of particular *dramatis personae* in different plays.

The following *dramatis personae* participate in Greek shadow theater plays of the comic type:

Person of high status  
 Intermediary  
 Trickster  
 Assistant  
 Skilled person  
 Client  
 Punisher

The person of high status is usually the Turkish ruler but may occasionally be Barbayiorghos. The role of intermediary is regularly played by Hadziavatis. Karagiozis is both the trickster and the skilled person, while his assistants may

be his uncle, Barbayiorghos, or his wife and children. The clients are played by Hadziavatis, Barbayiorghos, Dhionisios, Stavrakas, Morfonios, the Jew, or Veligeakas, while the punisher is either Barbayiorghos or the Turk. The title of a comic play usually refers to the profession that Karagiozis, the trickster, will assume during the play. The titles of these plays take the form *Karagiozis the Clerk*, or *Karagiozis the Pharmacist*.<sup>14</sup>

Propp employed only one level of narrative unit, the function. However, Greek shadow theater plays of the comic type can best be analyzed using two such levels, the scene<sup>15</sup> and the function. The scene is a higher level of narrative unit in that each play is composed of an ordered sequence of scenes, while each scene in turn is composed of an ordered sequence of functions.

Comic plays are composed of the following sequence of scenes:

- I. *Assertion of lack* (The person of high status asserts the lack of a skilled person to the intermediary.)
- II. *Communication of lack* (The intermediary communicates this lack to the trickster.)
- III. *Assertion of ability to liquidate lack* (The trickster presents the person of high status with his claim to be the skilled person.)
- IV. *Acquisition of assistant(s)* (The trickster engages one or more assistants to help him perform the skilled service.)<sup>16</sup>
- V. *Liquidation of lack* (The trickster, pretending to be the skilled person, performs the required service for a series of clients. This scene is repeated with each client.)
- VI. *Punishment* (The trickster's deceit is exposed and he is ineffectually punished.)

Each scene in turn is composed of the following sequence of functions:

1. Entrance
2. Greeting
3. Negotiation of status
4. Assertion of lack (by A to B)
5. Liquidation of lack (by B for A)
6. Response to liquidation of lack (by A to B)
7. Renegotiation of status

A certain symmetry characterizes the sequence of functions that constitutes each scene of a comic play. The central core of each scene is the interaction between two dramatis personae that consists of functions 4, 5, and 6. This interaction is framed by the negotiation and renegotiation of status (functions 3 and 7). In addition, interesting parallels exist between the syntagmatic structure of each scene and the syntagmatic structure of an entire play. A correspondence can be established between the interactions that form the basis of each scene and the major interaction that forms the basis of the play. Scenes I and II correspond to function 4, in that they both involve the assertion of a lack. Scenes III and V correspond to function 5, in that they involve the liquidation of a lack. Finally, scene VI corresponds to function 6 in that it involves a response to the liquidation of the lack. Thus each play is an interaction composed of scenes; each scene is an interaction composed of functions; and the interactions

at the two levels of narrative analysis are parallel. In a sense, then, all the scenes in a comic play are the same, because they are composed of the same ordered sequence of seven functions. However, each scene is different from the others because it contains a unique combination of variants of the seven functions that define it.

The most common variants of the functions that make up scenes of Greek shadow theater plays of the comic type are the following:

1. Entrance
  - a. song
  - b. joke
2. Greeting
  - a. friendly
  - b. polite
  - c. insulting
  - d. mocking<sup>17</sup>
  - e. trick
  - f. beating
3. Negotiation of status
  - a. high—low
  - b. rich—poor
  - c. strong—weak
  - d. educated—uneducated
  - e. skilled—unskilled
  - f. urban—rural
  - g. Turk—Greek
  - h. Western European—Greek
  - i. human—nonhuman (animal or machine)
  - j. employer—employee
  - k. employee—customer or client
  - l. husband—wife
  - m. adult—child
  - n. uncle—nephew
  - o. trickster—dupe
4. Assertion of lack (by A to B)
  - a. intermediary
  - b. skilled person
  - c. assistant
  - d. goods or services
5. Liquidation of lack (by B for A)
  - a. honestly
  - b. deceitfully
6. Response to liquidation of lack (by A to B)
  - a. acceptance
  - b. payment
  - c. humiliation (of A by B)
  - d. ineffectual punishment (of B by A)
7. Renegotiation of status
  - a. high—low

- b. rich—poor
- c. strong—weak
- d. educated—uneducated
- e. skilled—unskilled
- f. urban—rural
- g. Turk—Greek
- h. Western European—Greek
- i. human—nonhuman (animal or machine)
- j. employer—employee
- k. employee—customer or client
- l. husband—wife
- m. adult—child
- n. uncle—nephew
- o. trickster—dupe

Not only do scenes differ from one another with respect to the variants of functions that constitute them, but they also differ with respect to the dramatis personae who perform these functions. Thus there is a definite correlation between certain dramatis personae and certain variants of functions. For example, the dramatis personae involved in scene I are the intermediary and the person of high status. In scene I the intermediary greets the person of high status politely (2b), while in scene III the trickster greets the person of high status mockingly (2d). Thus the variants of a function are determined by the scenes in which they occur. This, in turn, is equivalent to saying that they are determined by the dramatis personae who perform them.

In order to illustrate the complete syntagmatic structure of Greek shadow theater plays of the comic type, I will summarize the play *Karagiozis the Spiritualist* (Mihopoulos 1972:145–184), indicating the narrative units of scene and function, as well as the particular variants of functions that are involved.

*Scene I* An officer of the Turkish Vizier (the person of high status) enters singing a love song. Hadziavatis (the intermediary) does also (1a). Hadziavatis and the Turk greet each other politely (2b). Reference is made to Hadziavatis's position as a poor but faithful non-Moslem subject of the Ottoman Empire (*pistos rayias*) and to the Turk's position as a great notable (*meghalos prouhondas*) (3a, b, and g). The Turk asks Hadziavatis to find a famous spiritualist (skilled person) to give performances in the city square during the Moslem festival of Ramadan (4a and b). Hadziavatis agrees (5a), and the Turk gives him two gold sovereigns (6b). The scene ends with Hadziavatis commenting on how well the Turk treats his subordinates (7a).

*Scene II* Karagiozis (the trickster) appears on stage singing a humorous song about his lost donkey (1a). As he is swinging his arm to the rhythm of the song, he strikes Hadziavatis with a slap on the head (2f). Hadziavatis responds with an insult (2c). Karagiozis then claims to be a great artist (*meghalos kalitehnis*) who can help men communicate with the dead. He accuses Hadziavatis of being ignorant and illiterate (3d and e). When Hadziavatis tells Karagiozis that the Turk is trying to find a spiritualist (4b), Karagiozis claims



to be just the man the Turk is looking for (5b). Hadziavatis reluctantly accepts Karagiozis's claim (6a). As they move across the stage toward the *serai*, Karagiozis makes fun of Hadziavatis and the Turk with several derogatory puns on their names. He also refers to the many beatings he has suffered at the hands of the Turk (7a).

*Scene III* Karagiozis knocks loudly on the door of the *serai*, only to be knocked over backward down the stairs as a Turkish official opens the door (1b). After insulting Karagiozis and Hadziavatis, the Turk is greeted politely by Hadziavatis and mockingly by Karagiozis (2b, c, and d). Karagiozis then claims to be a famous spiritualist (3e) and to be able to perform the services sought by the Turk (5b). The Turk accepts Karagiozis's offer and gives him permission to perform (6a). As they leave, Karagiozis reasserts his high status as a great spiritualist, sends Hadziavatis off to announce his presence, and says how eagerly he looks forward to all the "little suckers" (*koroidhakia*) he will soon fleece (7e and o).

*Scene IV* Karagiozis's wife (assistant) enters and greets him insultingly (2c). Karagiozis tells her that she must help him in his performances as a spiritualist by impersonating the spirits with whom his clients wish to communicate (4c). She agrees to help him (5a) only when he reminds her that as his wife she is obliged to obey him (7l). Karagiozis then enlists the help of his son as well.

*Scene V* Dhionisios, the first client to arrive, enters singing a love song about his girl friend who is far away on his beloved island of Zakyntos (1a). He gives Karagiozis a friendly greeting and is rewarded with a blow to the head (2a and f). In response to a comment of Dhionisios, Karagiozis denies he is hungry and claims he can help Dhionisios communicate miraculously with spirits (3b and e). Dhionisios asks if Karagiozis can help him communicate with the spirit of his girl friend on Zakyntos (4d). Karagiozis says he can and begins to call out her name. Karagiozis's son, hidden from view, begins to shake a nearby table, while Karagiozis's wife, from inside their hut, impersonates the voice of Dhionisios's girl friend (5b). Karagiozis then demands and receives a half sovereign from Dhionisios (6b and c). After Dhionisios leaves, Karagiozis's wife expresses her regret that they have tricked poor Dhionisios. Karagiozis, however, claims that they have simply given him pleasure (7k and o.).

This scene is repeated three times. Morfonios and Barbayiorghos are the other two clients.

*Scene VI* The Turk, impressed with the reports he has heard about Karagiozis's remarkable abilities, is suspicious, and decides to put him to the test. When Karagiozis hears someone knocking on the door of his hut, he insults him, but when he steps outside and sees the Turk, he greets him politely (2b and c). The Turk and Karagiozis address each other as "Mr. Spiritualist" and "Honorable Vizier" (3a and e). The Turk asks Karagiozis to help him communicate with his daughter who, he says, is visiting the Sultan in Constantinople (4d). Karagiozis agrees, and the Turk has a pleasant conversation with the "spirit" of his daughter (5b). The Turk congratulates Karagiozis and

promises him a surprise. Karagiozis, expecting “a sack full of gold sovereigns,” is shocked to see the Turk’s daughter emerge from the *serai*. The Turk reprimands Karagiozis bitterly for deceiving people and taking their money, calling him a rascal and a liar. When he threatens to punish Karagiozis severely, Karagiozis pleads for mercy. He is forgiven on the condition that he give the clients back their money. Karagiozis agrees, and the Turk leaves. Karagiozis says: “What a trick the Vizier played on me to catch me. I got off lightly. Let’s see how I can escape from the others.” He goes into his hut to hide, but Dhionisios and Barbayiorghos find him. Dhionisios begins to beat Karagiozis, who blames Hadziavatis for everything and starts beating him. Barbayiorghos then begins to beat Karagiozis. Karagiozis, however, unchastened as always, flees with Barbayiorghos in close pursuit (6d).

The syntagmatic structural analysis applied here by way of example to the play *Karagiozis the Spiritualist* can be applied equally well to other Greek shadow theater plays of the comic type. In fact, it constitutes a structural definition of this type of play. If a play exhibits this structure, then and only then can it be considered an example of this type.<sup>18</sup> More importantly, however, for the purposes of this paper, this analysis provides a basis for a generative approach to the problem of creativity and change in Greek shadow theater.

I now turn to a consideration of plays that are more recent than those for which the above structural analysis was developed and that are often considered by scholars to be corrupt, bastardized, and not worthy of study. I will demonstrate that these plays can be considered traditional because they exhibit basically the same syntagmatic structure as the plays analyzed above, yet they are clearly new or nontraditional in the sense that contemporary material has been substituted paradigmatically into the slots provided by functions and dramatis personae. This analysis suggests, in fact, that the dichotomy between traditional and nontraditional, old and new, genuine and spurious, is a false one. We are simply confronted with a dramatic narrative tradition that is constantly changing and renewing itself in order to remain interesting and meaningful to those who participate in it.

#### *Tradition and Change in Greek Shadow Theater*

During the 1960s the Athenian publishing house Darema published several series of comic booklike pamphlets or *filadhia* containing Greek shadow theater plays.<sup>19</sup> Each pamphlet is 32 pages long and contains one complete play of the comic type. Unlike the earlier *filadhia* analyzed above, these *filadhia* were published anonymously. No author or puppeteer is cited. On the covers of these *filadhia* are colored pictures depicting Karagiozis and other shadow theater characters in a scene from the play contained within. On the back cover of some editions are colored figures to be cut out, pasted on cardboard, and used by children to give their own performances.

The anonymous authors who wrote the texts for these *filadhia* were always in need of new material in order to satisfy their publishers’ desire to produce a

constant stream of new *filadhia*. These authors were able to generate a seemingly infinite number of new plays in the manner I have suggested above. The following partial list of new professions undertaken by Karagiozis in these *filadhia* attests eloquently to the creative or generative power of the syntagmatic structure of comic plays: bullfighter, soccer player, jockey, skier, boxer, wrestler, Olympic champion, card shark, burglar, black marketeer, tightrope walker, wild animal tamer, cowboy, fireman, pirate, boy scout, deep-sea explorer, arctic explorer, detective, spy, diplomat, shipowner, model, actor, tourist, hotel keeper, archaeologist, millionaire, banker, typist, ticket taker, chauffeur, dentist, painter, funeral director, newspaper reporter, telephone operator, high school student, and seller of lottery tickets.

In general, the syntagmatic structure of these plays conforms well to the analysis offered here. There is, however, one minor difference between the structure of some of the more recently published plays and that of the older plays. Because of the use of a large type size, the more recent plays are shorter than the older plays (4,000–5,000 words as opposed to 6,000–8,000 words). As a result, the entire first scene and some elements that are not central to the plot (such as the songs and jokes of the first function) are sometimes omitted in the more recent plays.

The most obvious slot into which new material is substituted in the generative process of composing new plays is the role of the skilled person. Furthermore, with each new profession Karagiozis assumes, the particular identity and social position of the Turk changes, as does the nature of the goods and services sought by the clients. New songs, jokes, puns, and insults enter the plays as new variants of the same seven functions. The dramatis personae also take on new qualities, characteristics, and attributes. They wear new forms or styles of clothing, perform new gestures, speak new languages, employ new means of transportation to travel to new locations, and refer frequently to specific aspects of contemporary Greek culture.

An excellent example of these more recent plays is *Karagiozis the Tour Guide*, published in pamphlet form by Darema in 1966.<sup>20</sup> The following analysis demonstrates the extraordinary synthesis produced by the introduction of contemporary material into a traditional form. The play is set against the background of the rapid growth in tourism which took place in Greece during the 1960s, contributing greatly to the drastic social and cultural change that was occurring at the time, and providing a new context for the expression of the ambivalence and tension that have so frequently characterized the relationships between Greeks and foreigners.<sup>21</sup> The play (which lacks the first scene) begins with a humorous monologue in which Karagiozis laments his poverty, saying that if it were not for his ramshackle hut, he and his family would be living like “ragamuffin tourists with their tents and their empty packs.” The introductory monologue in which Karagiozis laments his poverty could not be more traditional. The reference to backpacking tourists and their tents simply replaces the traditional reference to gypsies and their tents. When Hadziavatis appears on stage, Karagiozis greets him by threatening to punch him so hard

he will “turn into a rocket.” Again, the threatened blow is traditional, but the image of the rocket is new.

Hadziavatis then tells Karagiozis that the Turk is looking for someone who speaks foreign languages and has studied archaeology in order “to accompany tourists, to ‘be their guide’ as we say” (*yia na sinodhevi tous touristes, na tous ‘xenaghi’ opos leme*). The term *xenagho* is used in such a way as to indicate it is an unfamiliar term. Hadziavatis explains the term further, adding that someone must “take walks with the tourists.” Karagiozis replies brusquely that he is no “governess” (implying that the tourists are children), but after a moment’s thought agrees to take the job and asks who will pay him. Hadziavatis replies that “O *Tourismos*” will pay, referring to the National Organization of Tourism (*Ethnikos Orghanismos Tourismou*). Karagiozis asks: “And who is this *Tourtourismos*, a fellow countryman of ours or a foreigner?” Karagiozis’s use of “*Tourtourismos*” (from *tourtourisma* meaning shivering or shuddering) instead of “*Tourismos*” (tourism) is a new form of the traditional pun by which Karagiozis regularly insults the Turk.<sup>22</sup> When Hadziavatis corrects him, Karagiozis responds by asserting his status as a respected tour guide who speaks many languages and has studied at many universities. Hadziavatis accepts these preposterous claims and takes Karagiozis to meet the Turk who is identified as the director of the National Organization of Tourism.

After a brief encounter with Dhionisios, Karagiozis and Hadziavatis arrive at the “office” of the Turk. The office has replaced the *serai* as the location where interactions with people of high status take place. The Turk is pleased that Hadziavatis has found him a tour guide and says that the Sultan will be overjoyed to learn of the rapid growth in both the tourist industry and the tour guiding profession. When the Turk comments on Karagiozis’s nonsensical chatter, Karagiozis replies that he has developed the habit of speaking that way because he has spent so much time with tourists: “If you don’t use a lot of words with them, they say you don’t know anything, and they won’t pay you.” In such cases he has had to resort to picking their pockets in order to get paid. While Karagiozis is negotiating his salary, he stresses the importance of tourism for the country’s economy.

A group of tourists, wearing shorts and carrying backpacks, arrives at the hut of Karagiozis. Their leader, who holds a guidebook and speaks broken Greek (as do the Jew and Veligekas, the Albanian, in other plays), asks Karagiozis to show them some archaeological sites. Karagiozis takes them to a hillside with some ruined houses. When the leader of the group of tourists then asks to be shown some ancient graves, Karagiozis takes them to a contemporary Orthodox graveyard.

Finally Karagiozis decides to take the tourists to the village of his uncle, Barbaiorghos the shepherd, where they can enjoy rural Greek hospitality at its best. After much eating, drinking, and dancing the tourists fall asleep. In the evening Karagiozis collects ten dollars from each of them and brings them by donkey back to the city where they meet the Turk. Everyone is pleased with the day’s events. For Karagiozis, however, the play does not end on a happy note. When he awakes the following morning, he discovers much to his hor-

ror that his son has taken all his ill-gotten ten-dollar bills and, mistaking them for decals, has pasted them on the walls of the hut. Karagiozis, then, is neither completely successful in his deceitful undertaking, nor is he seriously punished. The ambiguous ending leaves Karagiozis ready as always to take advantage of similar opportunities in the future.

The syntagmatic structure of some of the more recent plays is an interesting transformation of the structure of earlier plays. According to the structural model developed above, in scene V Karagiozis deceives the clients (function 5b) and the clients are humiliated (function 6c). Then in scene VI, the final scene, Karagiozis is ineffectually punished (function 6d). In some more recent plays, however, scenes V and VI are collapsed into one scene in which Karagiozis performs the required service in a manner that more closely resembles the heroic defeat of an enemy rather than the mischievous deceit of a client. Instead of deceiving clients and being ineffectually punished, Karagiozis overcomes enemies by means that often involve deception, and is then rewarded. It seems likely that this transformation in the syntagmatic structure of these plays is a result of influence or interference from the plot structures of the different narrative genres from which the content of these plays is derived. Three genres that have influenced the plays that will be considered here are war stories, spy stories, and science fiction stories.

In the years following the occupation of Greece by Germany and Italy during World War II, plays were composed and performed that dealt with Karagiozis's heroic exploits against the occupying forces. Some of these plays are *Karagiozis Hostage in Haidhari and in Germany*,<sup>23</sup> *Karagiozis at Hitler's Place*, *Karagiozis at the Ovens of the Spirits*, and *In the Claws of the Gestapo* (Myrsiades 1978:57). Another play of this type, *Karagiozis the Inventor of Italian Bombers* (Mimaros and Roulias n.d.) is of particular interest here because of the extremely close relationship it bears to an older and more traditional play, *Karagiozis the Inventor*.<sup>24</sup>

In *Karagiozis the Inventor*, whose syntagmatic structure conforms well to the model presented above, the Turk, who is suffering badly from the heat, asks Hadziavatis to find an inventor who can make some kind of machine to ventilate and cool the *serai*. Hadziavatis brings Karagiozis, who claims to be a famous inventor, to the *serai*, where Karagiozis boasts that he will be able to bring "European" air from "abroad" by "wireless" to cool the *serai*. He also claims to have just invented a pill to make donkeys move as fast as automobiles.

When Karagiozis arrives at the *serai* to demonstrate his inventions, a large crowd has gathered, including Dhionisios, Stavrakas, and Barbayiorghos. While Barbayiorghos is opening his donkey's mouth to feed him Karagiozis's new pill, Karagiozis, unseen by anyone, inserts a wad of cotton soaked in turpentine in the donkey's anus. The donkey runs off wildly, chased in vain by Barbayiorghos. Having suitably impressed everyone, Karagiozis explains his other invention. It is a pinwheel with four vanes, which the Turk can nail to his chair and turn with his hand or with his breath. While Karagiozis is showing the Turk how his invention blows away smoke from a small stove fun-

neled through a stovepipe to the pinwheel, Barbayiorghos returns, having discovered Karagiozis's trick, and gives Karagiozis a beating. In the ensuing struggle Karagiozis's invention is destroyed. The play ends with Karagiozis promising to build a new one and threatening to do to Barbayiorghos what he has just done to his donkey.

The play *Karagiozis the Inventor of Italian Bombers* provides a fine illustration of the manner in which a new play is created through the incorporation of contemporary material into a preexisting structural form. In this play Mussolini and his children take the place of the Turk and his family, while the Palazzo Venezia in Rome takes the place of the *serai*.<sup>25</sup> Karagiozis, together with Hadziavatis, Barbayiorghos, Dhionisios, and Stavrakas, has come to Rome in order to capture Mussolini and bring him to Greece as a prisoner. With Karagiozis and the others hiding inside the hut that stands opposite the palace, Hadziavatis appears on stage dressed in an Italian uniform singing an Italian song. To Mussolini, Hadziavatis is "my faithful Giovanni," just as he is the trusted messenger of the Turk in other plays. Hadziavatis has promised to bring Mussolini a man who has invented a new type of bomber that can carry more bombs and fly higher and faster than any other bomber yet made. Needless to say, the inventor turns out to be Karagiozis. The mechanic who will assist him is Barbayiorghos.

In the process of arranging a meeting between Karagiozis and Mussolini there are many puns, songs, and jokes that are very insulting to the Italians. Karagiozis refers to the city of *Romi* (Rome) as *Vromi* (suggesting *vromia*, meaning filth, excrement), and Mussolini's children frequently mention the humiliating defeats inflicted on the Italians by the Greeks on the Albanian front and by the Ethiopians on the African front.

When Hadziavatis finally introduces Karagiozis to Mussolini, Hadziavatis greets Mussolini with a fascist salute. Karagiozis then greets Mussolini by extending an open palm toward his face in a *moundza*, one of the most insulting gestures in Greek culture. This gestural pun or parody by which Karagiozis insults Mussolini as he seems to be repeating Hadziavatis's gesture of respect parallels an identical situation that often occurs in more traditional plays. When Hadziavatis presents Karagiozis (pretending to be the skilled person) to the Turk, Hadziavatis greets the Turk with a *temenas*, a traditional Turkish gesture of respect in which one touches the fingers of his right hand to his lips and then to his forehead. Karagiozis then insults the Turk by transforming that gesture into a *moundza*.

When Mussolini and his children come to Karagiozis's "workshop" (actually his hut), Karagiozis demonstrates the new bomber he has invented. The plane itself consists of two chairs placed on top of a table so as to resemble the wings of a plane. The engine consists of a small stove, a stovepipe, and a pinwheel. Mussolini and his children then enter the workshop one by one, where they are captured by Barbayiorghos and the others, to be taken to Greece and paraded through the streets of Athens during Carnival. In this postoccupation play, then, new gestures, new puns, new characters, and new inventions fill the slots of a traditional narrative form.

Another play that illustrates the creativity and dynamism of Greek shadow theater at its best is *Karagiozis as James Bond*, published by Darema in 1966. In this play, inspired no doubt by the popularity of Ian Fleming's novels in the late 1950s and the success of the James Bond films in the early and mid-1960s, the Turk is the Minister of National Defense. In the opening scene of the play he confides to Hadziavatis that someone has stolen the plans for the country's new rocket. He says that only one person in the world can recover the stolen plans, the amazing secret agent (*praktor*) James Bond, and asks Hadziavatis to find James Bond and bring him to the ministry. The Turk also tells Hadziavatis that if James Bond is successful, he will receive a reward of 100,000 piasters, while Hadziavatis will receive a commission of 10,000 piasters.<sup>26</sup>

Hadziavatis replies that he will look for this James Bond, even though he knows him only from the movies. Hadziavatis meets Karagiozis, and after the usual jokes about Karagiozis's poverty and hunger, tells him that they must come to the assistance of the Minister of National Defense. Karagiozis asks if he is needed to intercede on the minister's behalf in an attempt to secure foreign military aid (a reference to the growing American military presence in Greece at that time). When Hadziavatis says he is searching for James Bond, Karagiozis reveals that he is none other than James Bond himself. Hadziavatis says: "What are you talking about, you fool? Wouldn't I have known if you were James Bond?" Karagiozis replies: "You idiot, if everyone knew who I was, what kind of secret agent would I be?"

Karagiozis greets the Turk as the "Minister of Defense of Olympiakos" (a popular Athenian soccer team) and "Minister of the National (soccer) Team" (*Ipourghos Ethnikis Omadhas*) instead of the correct "Minister of National Defense" (*Ipourghos Ethnikis Aminis*). After he is hired and given an unlimited expense account, Karagiozis goes off to his uncle's restaurant to eat an enormous meal. After his meal, Karagiozis orders coffee. He is at a loss when asked what kind of coffee he wants: Turkish coffee, Nescafé, espresso, French coffee, American coffee, or *café au lait* (evidence of the manner in which the tastes and desires of foreign tourists are catered to in restaurants and coffee shops throughout Greece). As he drinks his coffee, Karagiozis overhears Veligekas, an aide-de-camp of the Minister of Defense, talking with Dhionisios, Stavrakas, and a Chinese spy.<sup>27</sup> Veligekas has stolen the rocket plans and intends to sell them to the Chinese spy with the assistance of Dhionisios and Stavrakas.

Karagiozis and his uncle Barbayiorghos are able to capture Dhionisios and Stavrakas, but Veligekas and the Chinese spy escape with the plans. Karagiozis returns to the office of the Turk to map out strategy. There Karagiozis reveals his true identity, saying: "You didn't actually believe that I was the real James Bond, did you? . . . My name is Karagiozis. I'm just a poor man, but I'm smart, and I manage pretty well." When Karagiozis reveals his plan to capture Veligekas and the Chinese spy, a Turkish officer says: "Even the real James Bond couldn't have thought up that plan." Karagiozis replies: "You don't think the real James Bond is any smarter than we are, do you?" suggesting that Greeks are in no way inferior to Western Europeans.

Karagiozis and the Turkish soldiers allow Dhionisios and Stavrakas to escape, follow them to their secret hideout, capture Veligeakas and the Chinese spy, and recover the rocket plans. Karagiozis is rewarded with a medal of honor, five sacks of gold florins, and a large piece of land out in the country where he and his family can spend their summers. A joyous victory celebration brings the play to an end. In this play, then, under the influence of the narrative structure of spy stories in general, and James Bond stories in particular, Karagiozis's traditional deceit of clients followed by ineffectual or partial punishment is transformed into a defeat of enemies which is unambiguously rewarded.

The final group of plays to be considered here deals with the theme of space travel. These plays, influenced by the Soviet and American accomplishments in space exploration taking place in the 1960s, include *Karagiozis the Astronaut* (1961), *Karagiozis on Mars* (1965), *Karagiozis on the Moon* (1966), and *Karagiozis the Conqueror of the Moon* (1966). The plots of these plays generally run as follows. Through the mediation of Hadziavatis, Karagiozis is hired by the Turk, who runs some kind of "interplanetary" employment or travel agency, to go to the moon or to Mars. Accompanied by various stock characters, Karagiozis travels by spaceship to another planet where he encounters "Moon men" or "Martians." After various adventures and near escapes, he returns safely to earth.

These plays provide many opportunities for the substitution of new material from the worlds of space exploration and science fiction into a traditional plot structure. New puns are introduced that take full advantage of the many possibilities offered by technical terms that are unfamiliar to some of the characters. Barbayiorghos, for example, calls a *dhiastimoplio* (spaceship) a *vlastimoplio* (blasphemy-ship), and an *aerodhromio* (airport) an *alepodhromio* (fox-port). In another play Barbayiorghos thinks that the spaceship that will take him to the moon (*selini*) is a bus that will take him to "*Selinia sti Salamina*" (Selinia on the island of Salamis). Another character is under the impression that he is going to *Haidhari* (a suburb of Athens) rather than to the moon (*fengari*). Humorous scenes in which Barbayiorghos refers to a spaceship as if it were a bus parallel scenes in earlier plays in which Barbayiorghos refers to a boat as if it were a donkey cart (Ioannou 1971:I, 130).

These plays also provide opportunities for the introduction of new costumes and uniforms. When Karagiozis and Hadziavatis appear on stage dressed in space suits, they are mistaken for foreign military officers, musicians, pest exterminators, and gas station attendants. Martians are described as having long tails and horns "like Kalikandzari" (mischievous spirits or goblins often associated with the spirits of the dead). Thus "creatures from outer space" substitute for the fantastic beings of traditional Greek folklore who appear in such plays as *Karagiozis and the Revenant*, *The Tower of the Ghosts*, and *Karagiozis and the Haunted Tree*.

Creativity and change in Greek shadow theater can also be observed in the distinctive songs that mark the first appearance of different characters on stage.



Plays frequently begin with Hadziavatis singing a sad and melancholy song (known as an *amanes*<sup>28</sup>) such as the following:

I sing my sorrow  
and my grief.  
I sing like a lonely nightingale.  
I lament the trials of my life. [Angyra 1973:105]

In *Karagiozis on Mars* Hadziavatis complains of his poor, unhappy life here on earth and sings:

Aman, aman, aman, aman.  
I have decided  
to board a rocket  
and go to Mars.

Aman, aman, aman, aman.  
I'll go to Mars,  
and who cares  
if Gagarin got there first.<sup>29</sup>

Another character whose songs are a regular feature of Greek shadow theater plays is Dhionisios. He usually sings about a beautiful woman and the unfulfilled and all-consuming love he feels for her:

That blond hair of yours,  
braided with a silk ribbon!  
Every hair is a knife  
that mortally wounds me.

I am like a half-dead bird.  
Cut off my head,  
so I will sigh no more. [Angyra 1973:264–265]

In *Karagiozis on Mars* Dhionisios appears on stage singing:

Because of you, my black haired beauty,  
heart of my hearts,  
I am abandoning everything  
and setting off for Mars.

Because of you, my blond and brown haired beauty,  
I am losing my mind.  
I am volunteering  
on a rocket bound for space.<sup>30</sup>

The play *Karagiozis on the Moon*, published by Darema in 1966, is particular-

ly interesting because it combines material from the worlds of space travel and science fiction with themes from an earlier play, *Karagiozis in America*, to comment in a novel and humorous manner on a phenomenon that has long been an important feature of Greek life—emigration abroad in search of better jobs and a higher standard of living. Karagiozis and Hadziavatis decide to go to the moon because “there must be plenty of jobs there, and we’ll earn lots of money.” They go to the Turk’s office to get their papers (visas and work permits presumably). Because they have no money, they will work on board the spaceship during the trip to pay for their passage. They will be paid by the “Astronautical Company” (*Astronafitiki Eteria*), suggestive of the shipping companies (*naftikes eteries*) that have provided jobs and transportation for so many Greeks unable to earn a satisfactory living at home. Karagiozis’s uncle Barbayiorghos offers to take care of Karagiozis’s wife and children while he is away, as long as he promises to come back with a lot of money.<sup>31</sup>

When Karagiozis and Hadziavatis arrive on the moon, they find themselves in an underground city, a labyrinth of artificially lit stores and apartments. The first person they meet there is a Greek restaurant owner, who offers them jobs as waiters for six dollars a day. Karagiozis and Hadziavatis turn down the chance to get rich because they do not want to live like field mice or cockroaches. In addition, they dislike the climate. When they suggest going to a restaurant out in the country for a relaxed meal, they learn that they can only eat at very expensive fast-food restaurants. Karagiozis says: “This place is like America. . . . Let’s go back home, even though there is work on the moon.” When they arrive back on earth (Greece), Karagiozis concludes: “We may be poor here, but we have our diversions—our little disputes and our money making schemes.” So concludes a wonderfully perceptive and accurate portrayal of the experiences, attitudes, and values of the many Greeks who have lived and worked abroad.

### Conclusion

In this paper I have attempted to demonstrate the power and the value of syntagmatic structural analysis as developed by the Russian formalist Vladimir Propp. This kind of analysis can serve as the basis for structural definitions of various types of narratives. It can also be used to explain what Propp has called “the two-fold quality of a tale: its amazing multiformity, picturesqueness, and color, and on the other hand, its no less striking uniformity, its repetition” (1968:20–21). More importantly, however, the combination of the techniques of syntagmatic and paradigmatic structural analysis offers important insights into the creative process by which a narrative tradition is able to change in some respects while remaining the same in others. Using this approach we can begin to understand how the composers of traditional narrative forms are able to generate an unlimited number of narratives using a relatively small number of narrative units or slots into which new material is substituted according to a set of narrative rules. By demonstrating that Greek shadow theater plays published in comic booklike pamphlets in the 1960s and usually considered to be

corrupt and bastardized exhibit the same syntagmatic structure as earlier plays that are generally accepted as traditional or genuine, I have tried to show that, properly speaking, there is no dichotomy between traditional and modern, or genuine and spurious plays. There is simply a dynamic narrative tradition that is constantly changing, like the larger cultural context of which it is part.

Finally, I have tried to show that Greek shadow theater plays published in the 1960s, often considered unworthy of study, constitute a valuable commentary on modern Greek culture. They offer important insights into issues and problems that are very much a part of contemporary Greek life. The plays that have been considered here deal with such phenomena as tourism, occupation, and emigration, all of which involve what are often difficult relationships between Greeks and powerful foreigners. These foreigners are not the Ottoman Turks of earlier Greek shadow theater plays, who occupied Greece for four hundred years. They are new foreigners: fascist soldiers from Germany and Italy, backpacking tourists from Western Europe and the United States, and inhabitants of other planets who behave strangely like the Germans and Americans encountered by generations of Greek emigrants. Yet the problems these foreigners pose and the questions they raise are still the same: Who are they? What do they want? What is the best way to deal with them? Greek shadow theater plays of all periods suggest some possible answers to these persistent and difficult questions.

### Notes

I first learned of the existence of Greek shadow theater in Athens in 1972 from Homer Davis and Dimitris Tenezakis. The puppeteer Giorgos Haridimos has always responded generously to my interest in his work. The syntagmatic structural analysis of Greek shadow theater plays presented here was formulated during the writing of my Master's thesis, *Greek Shadow Theater: A Metasocial Commentary*, in 1974 for the Department of Anthropology of Princeton University. Vincent Crapanzano, Hildred Geertz, and Peter Seitel offered me valuable advice and support. I would also like to thank Michael Herzfeld, Linda Myrsiades, and the anonymous reviewers of the *Journal of American Folklore* for their many helpful comments and suggestions. A shorter version of this paper was presented at a conference entitled "Le théâtre d'ombres aujourd'hui" that was held in Charleville-Mézières, France, in September, 1982.

<sup>1</sup> Among the most important publications to appear during this period were Spatharis (1960), the collection of articles published in volume 10 of the periodical *Theatro* (1963), Ioannou (1971), Mihopoulos (1972), Angyra (1973), Siphakis (1976), Yayannos et al. (1976), Photiadis (1977), and Petropoulos (1978). Puchner (1978) presents a valuable bibliography of material dealing with Greek shadow theater.

<sup>2</sup> On Turkish shadow theater see Martinovitch (1933), Siyavusgil (1961), and And (1975). For a comparison of Greek and Turkish shadow theaters see Mistakidou (1978). On the early history of Greek shadow theater see Myrsiades (1976).

<sup>3</sup> In the transliteration of Greek words and phrases in the text I have been guided by a desire to approximate modern pronunciation. Bibliographical citations, however, are given in more conventional transcription.

<sup>4</sup> Loukatos (1963), Petropoulos (1968, 1971), and Damianakos (1976) have examined various aspects of Greek urban folklore and popular culture.

<sup>5</sup> See also Lyons (1968), Jakobson and Halle (1956), and Saussure (1955).

<sup>6</sup> This example is a slightly simplified version of that given by Peradotto (1977:86). For examples of the relevance of the distinction between paradigmatic and syntagmatic in the structural analysis of non-linguistic systems of communication such as food and dress, see Douglas (1971) and Barthes (1967:63).

<sup>7</sup> Another context in which an understanding of syntagmatic and paradigmatic relationships is helpful is

Albert Lord's discussion of formulas in oral poetry. He refers to a group of related formulas as "a substitution system" since many different words can be substituted for one another in each system of formulas (1971:35). For example:

in        the        tower  
   castle  
   house

<sup>8</sup> Propp's interest in the generative process by which new narratives are created is indicated in a passage from Goethe that served as an epigraph to chapter 9 of *Morphology of the Folktale* in the original but was omitted in the English translation. Discussing the morphology of plant forms, Goethe states that using an original plant form as a model "it will afterwards be theoretically possible to invent an infinity of plants which should be consistent, i.e., which, though they do not exist, yet *could* exist" (cited in Ivanov and Toporov 1976:265; see also Propp 1976:278).

<sup>9</sup> He adds that "most of these substitutions can be explained very simply, but some of them require special ethnographic research" (Propp 1972:146). This indicates that Propp did realize the importance of social and cultural context for a full understanding of a tale.

<sup>10</sup> The memoirs of Sotiris Spatharis (1960) provide a valuable account of the life of a puppeteer during this period.

<sup>11</sup> On the prologue of Greek shadow theater plays see Myrsiades (1980).

<sup>12</sup> The focus of this paper is the examination of change and innovation in Greek shadow theater through a structural analysis of written texts. The social and performance context of Greek shadow theater plays (Ben-Amos and Goldstein 1975), the interaction between the puppeteer and his audience, and the relationship between written and oral traditions of Greek shadow theater plays (Lord 1971:chapter 6; Finnegan 1977:chapter 5) are interesting and important topics but are unfortunately beyond the scope of this paper.

<sup>13</sup> For another attempt to apply Propp's technique of syntagmatic structural analysis to Greek shadow theater plays, see Siphakis (1976). Pasqualino (1977, 1983) has applied the technique of syntagmatic structural analysis to puppet theater in Southern Italy.

<sup>14</sup> Among the other professions that Karagiozis assumes in these plays are the following: cook, servant, ship's captain, dragoman, lawyer, doctor, midwife, cantor, count, soothsayer, magician, inventor, groom, Turkish priest, Turkish judge, mayor, and member of parliament.

<sup>15</sup> The narrative units defined here as scenes do not necessarily correspond to act or scene divisions in written texts of the plays as published in the form of *filadhia*. Rather, the narrative units I identify as scenes are separated and marked off from one another in oral performances of plays. The most obvious marker indicating a transition from one scene to the next is the exit of one character and the entrance of another.

<sup>16</sup> This scene is optional. In some plays it occurs after scene II.

<sup>17</sup> A mocking greeting differs from an insulting one in that it is not perceived as demeaning by the person to whom it is addressed.

<sup>18</sup> See Propp (1968:chapter 1) for a discussion of the use of syntagmatic structural analysis in classifying narrative forms.

<sup>19</sup> Two other Athenian publishing houses to publish such *filadhia* were Angyra and Astir.

<sup>20</sup> All Darema *filadhia* are listed in the bibliography under Darema Editions. I am indebted to Linda Myrsiades for providing me with the publication dates of several undated Darema *filadhia*.

<sup>21</sup> For an example of the impact of tourism on one Greek community see Loukissas (1978).

<sup>22</sup> Older forms of this pun are the substitution of *kamila* (camel) for *Kiamil* (a proper Turkish name) and the substitution of *patsas* (tripe) for the term of address *papas* (pasha). On the importance of this type of humor in Greek shadow theater see Danforth (1976).

<sup>23</sup> Haidhari, a suburb to the west of Athens, was the site of a German prison camp during World War II.

<sup>24</sup> *Karagiozis the Inventor of Italian Bombers*, written by the puppeteers Th. Mimaros and D. Roulias (n.d.), was published in pamphlet form by Saliverou. *Karagiozis the Inventor*, by the puppeteer Yiannis Moustakas, can be found in the Angyra collection (1973:179-201).

<sup>25</sup> In plays set in the context of World War II such as this a German or an Italian literally substitutes for

the Turk as high status foreigner. On other occasions, however, this substitution is symbolic. Sotiris Spatharis (1960:146–147) reports the performance during the German occupation of a traditional historic play in which a Turkish soldier was killed by a Greek. When Spatharis was accused by the Greek police, who were collaborating with the Germans, of inciting resistance, he pointed to the fezes on the puppets' heads and said that they were Turkish gendarmes not Greek. Spatharis was released. Fortunately for him, the Greek police who questioned him did not understand the nature or the power of symbols.

<sup>26</sup> Greek shadow theater, it seems, is not immune to the effects of inflation. In traditional plays the intermediary and the skilled person are promised a small number of liras, florins, or piasters, monetary units of much value in the period of the Ottoman Empire. Although the meaning or value of these obsolete units of currency had been lost by the 1960s, the units themselves are still used. Yet in order to convey the meaning of "a very large amount of money" at a time when the important monetary unit is the drachma (worth only two or three cents), extremely high numbers must be used. The monetary unit, then, is traditional, while the numbers are not.

<sup>27</sup> The presence of a Chinese spy in a Greek shadow theater play of this period can be understood in light of the Chinese presence in Albania from 1961 through 1978.

<sup>28</sup> The term *amanes* is derived from the plaintive refrain *aman*, meaning alas.

<sup>29</sup> Yuri Gagarin, the Soviet cosmonaut, was the first man to orbit the earth in space on April 12, 1961.

<sup>30</sup> When Karagiozis asks him how many women he is in love with, Dhionisios replies: "One and only one, but she dyes her hair."

<sup>31</sup> Leaving wives and children with relatives in Greece was common practice for the many men who worked in Germany as *gastarbeiters* during the 1960s. The emigration of Greeks abroad (primarily to the United States) reached a peak in the period between 1905 and 1915, but it rose again significantly during the 1960s (with Germany as the most frequent destination). See McNeill (1978:112, 255–256).

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