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# The Mountain Bandits of the Hellenic Shadow Theatre of *Karaghiozis*: Criminals or Heroes?

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*From the time of the legendary mountain bandit Davelis in the 1850s (and almost since the foundation of the modern Hellenic state in 1828), the fate of the modern Hellenic State has been marked either by a weakness to meet with the citizens' expectations or, in order to quieten subsequent reactions, by a series of oppressive measures, including dictatorships. This policy would unavoidably instigate some kind of aggressive retaliation in the form of banditry. Karaghiozis, a form of traditional shadow theatre that articulated the worldview of the lower social strata for more than half a century (1890-1960), became a vehicle through which artists and spectators communicated their own standpoint towards banditry and violent retaliation. It formulated a special category of plays that dramatised actual or fictitious bandits. In the first place, that group of plays may be regarded as an indication of the spectators' fascination with bandits or as a surrogate experience for the desire to take vengeance brought about by their misery. However, as it gradually developed its own poetics, it revealed a capacity for discrimination by establishing a series of codes regarding acceptable and objectionable banditry. Ioanna Papageorgiou is Assistant Professor in the Department of Theatre Studies at the University of Patras in Greece.<sup>1</sup>*

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## **Introduction**

**T**he Hellenic shadow theatre of *karaghiozis*,<sup>2</sup> as it developed at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, was a form of oral art with

noticeable influences from the literary tradition.<sup>3</sup> It was named after the principal figure, the constantly ravenous hunchback Karaghiozis (Fig. 1). It was performed by a single man, the *karaghiozopechtis*, who handled and impersonated all the two-dimensional puppets behind an illuminated cloth screen, the *berdés* (Figs. 2 & 3). Historically, it originated in the Ottoman *Karagöz* shadow play, but through a long process of adaptation to the culture of the lower social strata of Hellas, it acquired an indigenous identity.

The repertory of *karaghiozis* consisted mainly of comedies with plots structured around the adventures of a series of stock characters. *Karaghiozis* satirised all social values, sparing only God and fatherland. It also included social and detective dramas and stories from popular or supernatural tales with sorcerers, ghosts, vampires, angels, and devils. A significant portion of the performances represented patriotic and historical events that glorified the national resistance of Hellas against foreign invaders, mainly the Turks.<sup>4</sup> In non-comic plays, the participation of stock characters was minimised because the plot had to accommodate the social and historical events represented or the already-known story of the original novelistic or, rarely, filmic source. In some performances, only the figures of Karaghiozis and his companion Hadjiavatis (a servile and cajoling character in a secondary role) were retained.<sup>5</sup>

A special subcategory of the heroic performances was the so-called bandit plays. They formed a group of more than 40 plays (see Appendices 1 and 2),<sup>6</sup> their plots dramatising the exploits of real or, occasionally, fictitious bandits who operated in the Hellenic countryside from 1830 until the 1930s.

### ***Sources for this study***

The source material for this research consists of 32 texts, which are variations of 25 plays (see Appendix 1). The term 'text' refers to a written version of a 'play.'<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, access to sound or visual recordings of bandit play performances made during the period of the art's acme is not available. As a result, research of this oral art has been chiefly confined to written records, which are deficient in the "nonverbal and contextual features" of the performances.<sup>8</sup>



*Figure 1. Karaghiozis Baker (courtesy of Panos Kapetanidis)*



*Figure 2. The shadow theatre puppeteer Panos Kapetanidis behind the berdés (courtesy of P. Kapetanidis)*

Most of the texts mentioned in this paper were written down by the puppeteers themselves a few years after they retired. Three texts were derived from cheap pamphlets of uncertain authorship: although attributed to specific performers, they may not be original products of the craft's tradition because the performers, being almost illiterate, had no control over the printed outcome. Most likely they were composed by professional writers of popular literature.<sup>9</sup> About seven more texts are summaries or recordings of performances transcribed by a

third person and then published. Only five summaries, written and used by puppeteers themselves as a kind of usable memorandum, may be considered as immediate reflections of the reality of the performances. The scarcity of sound recordings as source material causes serious methodological concerns. However, even if the sources at hand were genuine recordings of real performances, they would still fall short of adequately representing the genre since the content of the plays varied among performances and puppeteers adjusted their material to the requirements of the specific context of each performance.<sup>10</sup>

Another methodological problem is that the author of 14 texts (43.7%) is Vasilaros (alias Vasilios Andrikopoulos), a puppeteer who digressed from the collective tradition of the craft owing to his literary proclivities. The majority of the written versions produced either by Vasilaros or other performers date from the 1970s. However, they should not be considered specimens of a late phase in the history of the Hellenic shadow theatre as most of them claim to be transcriptions of earlier performances. Vasilaros wrote down most of the texts in the 1970s after he had retired in 1968, supposedly recording the contents of the performances he had given while he was active.<sup>11</sup>



*Figure 3. Contemporary performance of the Hellenic shadow theatre of karaghiozis (courtesy of P. Kapetanidis)*

The oldest transcription of a bandit play yet discovered was created by Antonis Mollas dated 1918, while the most recent play is a summarised transcription dictated by Orestes in 1997. Therefore, the chronological range of the examined texts broadly covers the period between 1918 and 1997. The plots drew inspiration not so much from the actual lives of bandits but from their reflection through a series of other media, such as popular novels (published in *feuilletons*), other forms of popular theatre (pantomime and puppetry), and probably from popular myths about the most notorious bandits (see Appendix 1). Inevitably, the process of dramatisation was influenced by the structure and ideas of the source. However, the borrowings were not always subsumed by shadow theatre conventions. As Linda and Kostas Myrsiades argue, these “popular culture products feed on sensational tales in the media and on dime novels (*thrili*) that range from the romantic to the macabre.” Although they “borrow from and are influenced by the impact of bourgeois literary forces on popular culture that paralleled urbanisation of the performance,” they retain close ties to the Romeic world, that is, rural culture.<sup>12</sup> The prototypes for 11 of the 25 plays have not been traced. In all probability, most of them are original works of the shadow theatre oral tradition incorporating recurring themes from novels and pirate plays or stories, the best-known deeds of actual bandits, and finally, particular motifs of the tradition of *karaghiozis* such as the engagement of Karaghiozis as a servant, the abduction of a young girl by a suitor, and the stock scene of Karaghiozis being caught asleep and tricked.<sup>13</sup>



Figure 4. *Morfonios*. Puppet created by the shadow theatre puppeteer Kostas Makris in 2011 (courtesy of the Department of Theatre Studies, University of Patras)

The *karaghiozis* bandit plays that seemed to be 'original' did not merely utilise recurring themes and motifs of the craft's tradition; they incorporated more than two stock characters of the *berdés*. The figure of Karaghiozis is necessarily present in all of them and has a crucial part. He becomes either the head of a gendarme detachment (*Karaghiozis Leader of a Detachment*) or protects a young lady from the threats of robbers. Hadjiavatis is also always present, albeit in short parts. Other members of the puppet company appear in nine plays: Karaghiozis's uncle Barbagiorgos, a rustic mountain shepherd; Karaghiozis's son Kollitiris; Dionysios, from the island of Zante; the mother's boy Morfonios (Fig. 4); Stavrakas from the underworld; the Jew; the Vizier; the Turkish authority figure, and his beautiful daughter.<sup>14</sup>

In the bandit plays adapted from various literary sources, the secondary stock characters disappear almost totally, and Karaghiozis ceases to have a dynamic role. He becomes either a servant or an ineffective bodyguard to the victims of the bandits, or a peasant who, as a rule, helps the bandits (*Giagoulas Fotis*, *Giannis Bekiaris*, *The Robbers of Messene Karamalas and Vasilakis*, and *The Bandit Chief Tsakitzis*). His contribution to the performance is sometimes diminished to the role of a clown/servant who comments on the action and, in some instances, is employed as a messenger between the villagers and robbers.

### ***The Social and Political Context for the Bandit Plays***

As has been mentioned, the bandit plays were a subcategory of the heroic performances that mainly celebrated the exploits of the *kleftes* (robbers), that is, the pre-revolutionary bandits who, for various reasons, had taken refuge in the mountains fighting against any oppressive power (either the Ottoman government or the upper-class strata of Hellenic society).<sup>15</sup> The term 'pre-revolutionary' refers to the period before the outbreak of the Hellenic Revolution against the Ottoman Empire in 1821, which resulted in the foundation of the independent Hellenic State. Those pre-revolutionary bandits provided a ready army for the Revolution.<sup>16</sup> *Kleftes* had strong connections, and they were often interchangeable with another type of irregular, the *armatoloi*. The latter were mercenary bands hired by the Ottoman State to protect mountain territories of the empire from the exploits of *kleftes*.<sup>17</sup> Eric Hobsbawm has ranked both of them in the category of social bandits.<sup>18</sup>

The first generation of post-revolutionary brigands in the newly founded Hellenic State mostly included the same pre-war *kleftes* and *armatoloi* who could not assimilate into the malfunctioning structures of the new country and returned to their previous occupation.<sup>19</sup> They carried on the ethics and internal laws of the pre-war activities and organisation of *kleftes*, but they were re-named *listés*, that is, 'thieves.'<sup>20</sup> Banditry was not a mere symptom of the painful transition from enslavement to freedom. This phenomenon lasted for a century, vanishing only a few years before the outbreak of World War 2. Throughout its history, the modern

Hellenic State was marked by a failure to meet the expectations of its citizens and by subsequent reactions, which were dealt with through a series of oppressive measures, including dictatorship. In turn, this failure instigated further aggressive retaliation of all kinds. Interestingly, the same social, economic, and national conditions that bred the problem of violence triggered the people's fascination with outlaws. From the time of the legendary mountain bandit Davelis in the 1850s (and even earlier, arguably since the foundation of the modern Hellenic State in 1828) until recently (as can be seen in a certain favourable disposition toward the activities of the extreme-leftist organisation of city guerrillas '17 November,' and the criminal exploits of the brothers Palaiokostas<sup>21</sup>), the need for violent (actual or fictive) reaction against oppression or injustice has persisted. Undoubtedly, this need has subsided considerably, but it survives mainly because of the country's current economic crisis.

Historians have ascribed the shortcomings of the Hellenic State in establishing effective social, military, and ideological control over its subjects to a series of historical issues.<sup>22</sup> Perhaps the most important reason is the continuous transformation of the social and administrative structures of the country. At the very beginning of the Hellenic State in the 1830s, the Bavarian viceroys who escorted the under-aged King Otto (a German, appointed as king of Hellas by the European Great Powers) imposed a legal and administrative system foreign to native customs. This system was integrated through a painful process of social transformation. The Bavarian viceroys forced a centralised Western type of governance onto heterogeneous local societies that had been structured according to various systems of social organisation (clan and feudal systems and autonomous communal villages).<sup>23</sup> In coping with the conflicting interests of their representatives and the interference of powerful European countries, the succeeding governments were incapable of effectively dealing with the unwillingness of local communities to conform to the new centralised system. The state, already feeble because of its small size, was further weakened by the poverty that followed after the long war for independence and the reluctance of the authorities to solve the problem of the undistributed lands left unoccupied after the removal of their Muslim owners.<sup>24</sup> A major factor that defined the history of modern Hellas was the channelling of its powers toward the liberation of the Greek people under Ottoman occupation. In many instances, the Hellenic State utilised the bands of mountain outlaws for its frequent wars against the Ottoman Empire from 1854 until 1912.<sup>25</sup> It was not unusual for a bandit to turn from an outlaw to a defender of the nation and then back to a brigand, when he could not find alternative means of survival.<sup>26</sup> On the whole, during the long history of banditry, a complex set of relationships was built between outlaws and government officers or politicians.<sup>27</sup>

The gradual breakdown of traditional rural society was exacerbated by the problematic industrialisation of the country, which generated an incomplete transition from its pre-capitalistic agrarian phase to its modern urban status.

Further, as the economy of Hellas depended considerably on the exports of sultana raisins to the British market, when those exports were reduced drastically at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the economic crisis was intensified, generating an army of unemployed peasants. Some of them immigrated to the United States. A few, following the tradition of their forefathers, became brigands in the mountains or cities. The majority of the impoverished peasants flooded into the suburbs of large cities, such as Athens and Patras, in search of a better livelihood, but they mostly lived in wretched conditions, unemployed and neglected by the state. Their main entertainments were popular forms of music, the tavern, and the bandit and heroic plays of *karaghiozis* and the puppet theatre.

Those who stayed behind in their villages had to cope with poverty, corruption, and, on occasion, the violence of state officers, as well as the terror exerted by their fellow villagers who had become brigands. The hatred and fear caused by bandits as late as 1936 are explicitly depicted in a school essay written by a girl in a village at Khalkidhiki. The girl describes an old lady's reaction to the display of the decapitated body of the local bandit Giannis Karatzovalis (probably the last Greek mountain bandit):

Because of you, 'tympanum' [the corpse was swollen], my family line has been destroyed. All my family has been exiled and I was left alone!<sup>28</sup> But you died! You suffered! You were afflicted by the bitterness of an olive! They have left you no hands! Your body has been pierced all over by the bullets! But is there any profit for me anymore? Now I curse you for the last time! I wish that nobody accepts you in Hades!<sup>29</sup>

Despite their cruelty and acts of terror, the bandits' deeds were immortalised in folk songs,<sup>30</sup> narratives, paintings, and popular novels.<sup>31</sup> Outlaws were not always considered as threats: on the contrary, they were frequently seen as protectors of impoverished peasants against corrupt state officers and as defenders of traditional values.<sup>32</sup>

The living conditions of the lower social strata did not change considerably until the 1970s. Hellenic people, those who did not experience the trauma of immigration abroad, had to fight a national war in 1912, World Wars 1 and 2, the Greco-Turkish war of 1918-1922, and a bloody civil conflict in 1946-1949. Further, whenever the ruling classes failed to silence their opponents with democratic methods, they appointed dictatorial governments. As a result, though banditry had disappeared by 1936, social discontent did not. During the German occupation, thousands of people joined the resistance forces of the Communist Party and, after the end of the war, remained in the mountains, fighting against the liberal government. In the post-war period, a considerable number among them were deemed a threat to society and then exiled in secluded islands. Their subdued resistance continued in the ensuing years and provided the seed of the resistance

against the Regime of the Colonels in 1967–1974. The leader of the contemporary organisation of the city guerrillas ‘17 November’ was drawn from left-wing armed groups formed during this dictatorship.<sup>33</sup>

### ***Banditry and Violence: Complex Popular Reception***

The study of the evolving historical context in which the bandit plays of *karaghiozis* were performed allows a deeper understanding of the audience’s response to the phenomenon of banditry. The former never reached the popularity of comedies and heroic plays, but they remained in the staple repertory of puppeteers. The main bulk of the plays were introduced into the *karaghiozis* repertory during the 1930s, which saw an outstanding proliferation of new titles (see Appendix 1). An initial investigation of shadow theatre performances during that decade in the city of Patras reveals that bandit plays comprised between approximately 5.3% and 11.5% of the total number of performances. After 1936, the percentage declined, perhaps because of the severe censorship imposed by the dictator Ioannis Metaxas. However, the percentage climbed back to 8.3 in 1940, shortly before Hellas entered World War 2.<sup>34</sup> The survival of bandit plays in the *karaghiozis* repertory after the war indicates that the legacy bequeathed by mountain bandits continued to thrive because social conditions never ceased to trigger people’s dissatisfaction.

Whilst a complete analysis of the different aspects of the bandit plays cannot be presented in this article (that is, an analysis of the poetics, structure, or ideas of the plays), it will instead focus on the seemingly ambivalent stance of the plays toward banditry in the period after Independence, when the operations of mountain outlaws assumed a social rather than a national importance.

Linda and Kostas Myrsiades propose an interesting ideological interpretation of the bandit plays, originating in the (Bakhtinian) dichotomy between official and unofficial culture. In discussing the seminal book by Giannis Kiourtsakis, *Carnival and Karaghiozis: the routes and the transformations of popular laughter*,<sup>35</sup> they distinguish two aspects in Hellenic culture: the unofficial Romeic rural world characterised by plurality, change, and insubordination, and the official bourgeois Hellenic world which required order, unity, and homogeneity. According to their opinion, the *karaghiozis* theatre was a popular product created in an urban setting but which retained clear ties to rural traditions and behaviours through an interactive rural–urban relationship.<sup>36</sup> More specifically, they argue that the *listi* plays expressed more strongly the unofficial rural culture of Hellas compared with the heroic plays because the latter were more heavily influenced by the official bourgeois culture. They do, however, point out the dual derivation of the bandits’ ‘egoism’ in European individualism (personal heroism in defence of fledgling state interests) and Oriental [sic] self-interestedness. They share the opinion of shadow-theatre puppeteer Giorgos Charidimos (1924–1996) regarding the two-minded

stance of the central figure of Karaghiozis toward the bandits. Karaghiozis intermittently takes on the role of a *pallikari*, a hero type, to hunt down bandits, or stands by as a servant who calls on the *listi* to intercede when an injustice is done.<sup>37</sup> Nonetheless, as this article ventures to illustrate, a closer examination of several bandit-play texts reveals that Karaghiozis's stance is not as ambivalent as it seems.

The 25 plays examined describe the exploits of approximately 33 bandits.<sup>38</sup> Unlike the folk songs about pre-revolutionary *kleftes* that reflected the collective function of those bands, *karaghiozis* performances tended to dramatise the deeds of the chief.<sup>39</sup> From this perspective, the plays formulated a kind of superman of the masses, to use the term coined by Umberto Eco in his book of the same title.<sup>40</sup> However, the majority of the chiefs of shadow theatre bandits could in no way be deemed as superheroes.<sup>41</sup>

The social/national origins of those bandit chiefs varied from play to play. In one play, the bandit chief is female, the legendary Maria Pentagiotissa, an historical *femme fatale*, transformed into a mountain bandit by a popular novel of that period.<sup>42</sup> In the shadow theatre version, she turns to banditry after being driven by hatred against her fellow villagers who had unjustly blamed her for the assassination of her brother by her lover. In another, the bandit chief Karipis is Italian, most probably drawn from an unknown translated popular novel of the period. He becomes obsessed with the Italian princess who managed to disband his gang, and abducts her. Two more outlaws are depicted as pirates who kidnap, or try to kidnap, a young girl. In another, the bandit chief Tsakitzis, is an historical figure who belonged to the ethnic group of Zeybeks in Asia Minor. In the specific shadow theatre version, he is acknowledged as a Greek and he avenges Turkish atrocities against his people. The rest of the bandits are males of Hellenic nationality. Twelve of them are identified with actual bandits.<sup>43</sup> With certain exceptions, they live in the Hellenic mountains and their banditry reaches nearby villages or towns. They may have strong connections in Athenian high society, such as the fictitious Iron and Black bandit chiefs, brigands with chivalrous ways whose origins can be attributed to popular novels.

These two gentlemen bandits, together with the legendary Davelis (Figs. 5 & 6), could be considered samples of Eco's superman of the masses. The common pattern that makes them admirable is not simply their practice of redistributing wealth by robbing the rich and helping the poor, or avenging the injustices of the powerful against the weak. Closely similar to the *kleftes* of the heroic performances, these bandits take vengeance on agents of foreign powers that dare humiliate the people's national pride through their meddling in domestic affairs. The Black bandit chief abducts the French police officers sent to Hellas to teach the local police how to do their jobs properly. The Iron bandit chief blows up the flagship of the French and British fleet blockading the port of Piraeus during the Crimean War in 1854, while Davelis abducts a French police officer in retaliation for the occupation of the

Hellenic capital. Hence, they stand as surrogate avengers of all the insults the Hellenic nation had suffered from powerful nations. Nevertheless, except for the Black bandit chief, they are not elevated to superhuman status, in contrast with their prototypes in popular novels. A violent death is their common fate. In the cases of Davelis and Giagoulas however, puppeteers avoided dramatising their execution.

Figure 5. The bandit chief Davelis, sketch by Vasilaros (courtesy of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies)

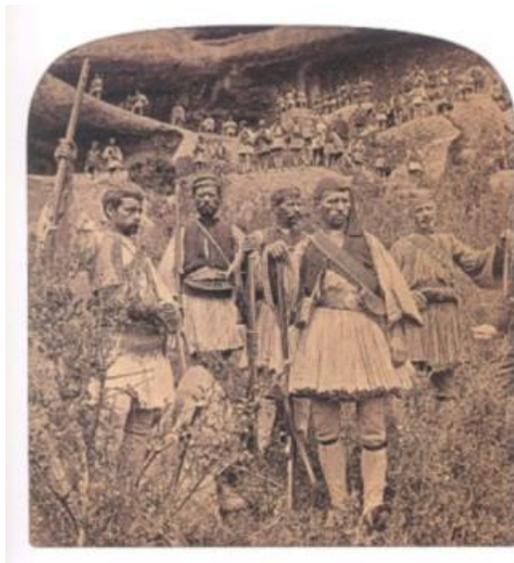


Figure 6. Davelis's band of brigands

The Iron bandit chief's vengeance on the British takes place in the second part of the play. In the first part, he kills a Turkish officer in Constantinople who threatened the Greek consul. Tsakitzis undertakes a similar feat, killing a Turkish gendarme. Both are eventually executed whilst singing patriotic songs. In contrast with the Iron bandit, Tsakitzis was not a fictional superman of the masses invented by a bourgeois writer. He was a real brigand who adopted the practices of social banditry to survive the hardships of outlawry. He created a nexus of allies among the poor who hid him from the police,<sup>44</sup> and had an actual impact on people's lives. Nevertheless, in the play, any kind of self-interest disappears from his motives. Stirred by feelings of family honour and national pride, the shadow theatre version of Tsakitzis protects the people from the atrocities of state officers, forces a young man to marry his abandoned fiancé, and finally robs a train with foreign passengers. He may seem an egoistic character, as he stands at the centre of the action, but he justifies his ego by conforming to heroic codes that are publicly defined and oriented.

In judging the impact of Tsakitzis and Davelis on their spectators, we notice that, although the prototypes are actual bandits, their impact is not much different from that of a superman of the masses after their transformation into fictional heroes. They stand as symbols of justice. They provide spectators with a surrogate feeling of rectification, which, experienced in a symbolic way through art, diminishes the discontent caused by actual social injustices and, in this way, restores the threatened social cohesion.

Karaghiozis, the shadow theatre character with whom spectators used to identify themselves, either comes to their aid offering useful information and help or is a recipient of their generosity. He admires them, and for their sake, he may even be beaten by the authorities, as happens in the play of *Tsakitzis*. An illuminating insight into the audience's reaction to the performances of bandit plays is provided in a review by the journalist Nikolaos Episkopopoulos in the Athenian newspaper *Neon Asty* in 1902. Though assuming a condescending attitude, he describes his experience of a performance of *Fotis Davelis* by the hand puppeteer Christos Konitsiotis, which dramatises the episode of the French police officer's abduction by the bandit:

It was said that during the performance of Aeschylus's *The Persians*, the spectators' enthusiasm was so great by the recollection of the gigantic naval battle in Salamis that they burst out to take up weapons. Yesterday at Konitsiotis, elevation was so high that I was about to think that the auditors would go up to the mountains.<sup>45</sup>

The bourgeois journalist was afraid that young spectators would grow up to be actual robbers. Judging by the decrease of bandit plays in *karaghiozis* performances during Ioannis Metaxas's dictatorship of 1936–1940, the state itself can be assumed

to have deemed those plays dangerous for social stability and discouraged shadow theatre puppeteers from performing them.<sup>46</sup>

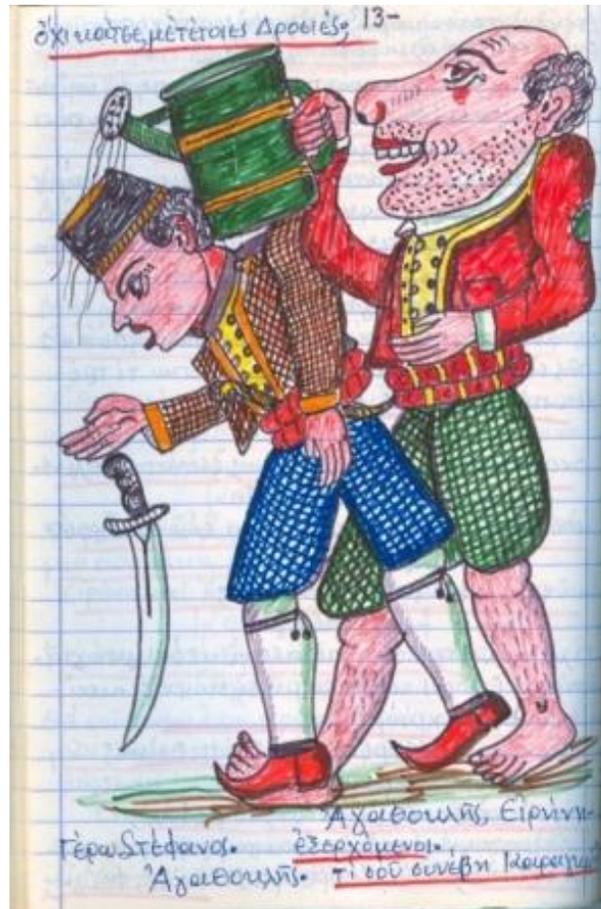


Figure 7. Karaghiozis and the pirate Aziz from *The Repentant Robber*, drawing by Vasilaros (courtesy of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies)

The manifesto of social banditry, as defined by Hobsbawm, is clearly echoed in the play *Giannis Bekiaris* by Orestes, a left-wing puppeteer who fought against the Germans with the army of the Communist Party. In the play, the hero explains to a priest the codes of 'honourable' banditry:

I have resorted to the mountains in order to help the poor. Nobody can dishonour my name. I'm Giannis Bekiaris. I am not a thief. I take from the rich, I provide poor girls with a dowry, I help them marry rich shepherds, and I persecute the robbers and the thieves. I am not a thief myself.<sup>47</sup>

He later kills his second-in-command for having sexual relationships with a young woman while knowing that, being an outlaw, he could not marry her. A similar crime of honour drove Giagoulas and Mitroulias to the mountains. They killed the man who had abused a close female relative.

The bandits who more or less conform to the type of social bandit or superman of the masses do not number more than 12. The ethics of three more outlaws (Pentagiotissa, Aggelogiannos, and Panopoulos) are not as straightforward: the texts are either unclear or divergent in their views toward bandits. Pentagiotissa's turning to outlawry is partly justified as she was a victim of slander. However, as a brigand, she behaves rather brutally. She hands a young girl over to the sexual desires of her men for having composed a libelous song about her. We are not informed whether her orders are executed, but at the end of the play, the two women reconcile. As a *femme fatale*, Pentagiotissa is by definition an ambivalent type.<sup>48</sup> Aggelogiannos, her male counterpart, was a criminal hotly pursued by women. Regarding Panopoulos, the shadow play tradition is divided. The principal figure Karaghiozis approves of the brigand in the version of the left-leaning Orestes, but in the royalist Vasilaros's text, Karaghiozis becomes the bandit's victim.

About 16 brigands from the sample behave like common criminals. In many cases, they function as the bad heroes of a detective story set in the countryside, offering a sensational spectacle full of suspense.<sup>49</sup> Karaghiozis turns against them, assisting either their rich victims or the state itself by serving as a gendarme officer; although he believes that both his rich lord and the bandit are nothing but thieves, and poor people are not really threatened by the former.<sup>50</sup>

Karaghiozis condemns these outlaws mostly because they break the traditional ethics of rural society that modernisation had begun to dissolve in the real world.<sup>51</sup> They are condemned to hell because they violate the custom of hospitality (Panopoulos in Vasilaros's version), dishonour virgins and commit the disgraceful act of kidnapping women or boys (Kalpouzos, Vaggos, Velios, Passadoros, *Abduction of the Vizier's Daughter*, *Abduction of Beautiful Helen*), have no *bessa* (meaning they are untrustworthy), and betray their comrades or pretend to be another bandit for personal profit (Panopoulos in Vasilaros's version, Skoumbréi). Moreover, these bandits may make alliances with the Turks (Velios), and they do not show mercy to their victims (Velios, Karipis, Panopoulos in Vasilaros's version) or become unnecessarily violent (Delis). In their behaviour, the admirable pride of the heroic bandits deteriorates into egoism and self-interest. However, both the audience and artists can be merciful toward a violent bandit when he sincerely repents for his crimes. The Repentant Robber, after having killed a hundred people, is forgiven by an angel of God because he successfully passes the test of penitence by assassinating (again) a pirate who attempted to violate the corpse of a female victim (Fig. 7). On the other hand, disapproval follows those driven by selfish motives or objectionable passions, usually lust (Delis, Krikelas).

Finally, a heinous crime for a bandit to commit consists of hindering the love affairs of young people (this motif is found in five texts).<sup>52</sup>

### *Conclusion*

The popular bandit novel—a formulation of bourgeois writers—expresses a contradictory position to the *karaghiozis* plays. According to Christos Dermentzopoulos, throughout the greater part of these novels, the authors tend to mock the new state system and support the traditional social values defended by the bandits. However, toward the end, the authors, perhaps to comply with censorship rules, tended to defend the modern state against the fading social codes of rural Hellas.<sup>53</sup>

Unlike bandit novels, the *karaghiozis* plays represent a less ambiguous viewpoint. They create more explicit distinctions between the diverse paths of banditry. Although the puppeteer Giorgos Charidimos believed that the brigands, whatever good they may have done, were still murderers who had to die,<sup>54</sup> surviving texts indicate that mountain outlaws did become popular heroes as long as they respected traditional or national values and protected the helpless against poverty, injustice, and corruption. As such, selfish and cruel motives disappear from the *berdés*, allowing heroism to take centre stage as a potential, albeit unattainable, alternative to bleak reality. In contrast, selfish and purposeless cruelty is condemned. In the realm of the shadow theatre art, the mixed sentiments of fear and solace caused by actual banditry are manifestly separated.

The bandit plays of *karaghiozis* functioned as vehicles through which artists and spectators communicated their stance toward banditry and violent retaliation. Initially, these plays may be regarded as an indication of the unchecked fascination of both spectators and artists for the representation of crime and violence. However, their reaction to the spectacle of bandit plays was not as passive or uniform as expected. The plays reveal a careful and discriminating response through establishing a series of codes that differentiate acceptable and objectionable banditry.

**APPENDIX 1: BANDIT PLAYS OF THE HELLENIC SHADOW THEATRE  
(KARAGHIOZIS) – TEXTS**

	<b>TITLE</b>	<b>TEXT</b>	<b>ARTIST</b>	<b>PLOT SOURCE</b>	<b>FIRST KNOWN RECORD</b>	<b>BANDIT CHIEF NAME - TYPE</b>
1.	<i>The Bandit Chief Christos Davelis</i> [O Listarchos Davelis]	Notebook Collection Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS), Rethymnon, Crete, Notebook No. 10, 1974	Vasilaros	Pantomime (1880s) Puppet theatre, 1895 <sup>55</sup>	1913, Performance by Andreas Sotiropoulos	Christos Davelis: National hero
2.	<i>The Bandit Chief Vaggos and the Abduction of Anthoula</i> [Vaggos o Archilistis kai Apagogi tis Antoulas]	Notebook. Collection IMS, No. 45, 1973	Vasilaros	Novel?, 1915 <sup>56</sup>	1919, performance by Dimitris Manolopoulos	Vaggos: Criminal
3.	<i>Giagoulas Fotis</i>	Notebook, 1926 [published] <sup>57</sup>	Spatharis, Sotiris	Novel, 1925 <sup>58</sup>	1926 <sup>59</sup>	Fotis Giagoulas: Social Bandit
4.	<i>The Abduction of Beautiful Helen and Antiochus</i> [H Apagogi tis Oraias Elenis] Other titles: <i>The Algerian Robbers</i> or <i>The Algerian Pirates</i>	Notebook Collection: IMS, No. 47, 1975	Vasilaros	Puppet Theatre, 1902 <sup>60</sup>	1930, performance by Dinos Theodoropoulos	Algerian pirate: Criminal
5.	<i>The King of the Mountains. The Bandit Chief Tsakitzis</i> [O Vasilevs ton Vounon. Listarchos Tsakitzis]	Notebook Performing Arts Documents Collection, Hellenic Literary and Historical Archives, National Bank Cultural Foundation (ELIA-MIET) Athens, No. 190, n.d.	Samaras, Giannis	Novel? 1929 <sup>61</sup>	1930, performance by Theodoropoulos: <i>Tsakitzis and Karaghiozis in America</i>	Tsakitzis: Social bandit – National hero
6.	<i>The King of the</i>	Notebook	Lenderis	Unknown	1931,	King of the

	<i>Mountains</i> [O Vasilevs ton Vounon]	Collection ELIA, No. 278, n.d.	, Dionisis		performance Theodoropoulos	Mountains: National hero
7.	<i>The Masked Men. The Iron Bandit Chief and the Blowing up of the British Fleet's Flagship</i> [Oi Prosopodiforoi, o Siderenios Anthropos kai i Anatinaxis tis Agglakis Navarchidas] Other title: <i>The Masked Bandit Chief</i>	Notebook Collection IMS, No. 47, 1975	Vasilaros	Unknown	1932, performance, Theodoropoulos	Iron Man: Social bandit and national hero
8.	<i>The Bandit Chief Karipis of Italy</i> [O Archilistis Karipis tis Italias]	Notebook Collection IMS, No. 41, 1972	Vasilaros – Michael Margaritis	Unknown	1933	Karipis: Italian criminal bandit
9.	<i>Maria Pentagiotissa</i>	Notebook Collection ELIA [no No., n.d.]	Tolias [Apostolos Karasteriopoulos]	Novel, 1908 <sup>62</sup>	1934, performance by Vasilaros	Maria Pentagiotissa: woman mixed type
10.	<i>The Bandit Chief Delis and the Priest's Daughter Aggelo</i> [O Listarchos Delis kai i Aggelo tou Papa]	Notebooks 1. Collection ELIA, No. 12, 1967 & No. 79, n.d. 2. Collection IMS, No. 24, n.d. [1969-71]	Vasilaros and Bobotinos, Ioannis	Novel, 1922 <sup>63</sup>	1939	Delis: Criminal
11.	<i>The Bandit Chief Panopoulos and the Captivation of Spyros Stavroulopoulos</i> [O Listarchos Panpoulos kai i Aichmalosia tou Spyrou Stavroulopoulou]	1. Notebook Collection ELIA, No. 8, 1964 2. Published extract from a play dictated by the player, 1997 <sup>64</sup>	1. Vasilaros 2. Orestis	Novel, 1902 <sup>65</sup> 2. Unknown	1939	Kostas Panopoulos: 1. Criminal 2. Social bandit
12.	<i>The Bandit Chief Kalpouzos and the Beautiful Helen</i> [O Listarchos Kalpouzos and i Oraia Eleni]	Notebooks Collection ELIA, No 12, 1964 & No. 27, n.d.	Konitsiotis, Christos – Vasilaros	Puppet Theatre, 1914 <sup>66</sup>	1964	Kalpouzos: Criminal

13.	<i>Injustice Is not Forgiven. Giannos and Pagona</i> [To Adiko den Sygxoreitai. Giannos kai Pagona]	1. Notebook Collection IMS, No. 3, 1975. 2 & 3. Summaries of performances recorded during the period 1974-1995, and published by Tsipiras <sup>67</sup>	1. Vasilaros 2. Orestes 3. Athinaios, Manthos	Unknown	1965 [The play was included in Michopoulos' repertory] <sup>68</sup>	- Giannis Spanos: justified bandit - Karakitsos: Criminal
14.	<i>The Black Bandit Chief and the French Delegation in Athens</i> [O Mavros Archilistis kai I Galliki Apostoli eis tas Athinas]	Notebook Collection: IMS, No. 24, 1971	Vasilaros	Novel, n.d. [before 1921] <sup>69</sup>	1971	Thanasas: Superman
15.	<i>The Bandit Chief Aggelogianos</i> [Listarchos Aggelogiannos]	Notebook Collection IMS, No. 23, 1972	Vasilaros	Short story published in the newspaper <i>Vradini</i> (n.d)	1972	Aggelogiannos: Mixed type
16.	<i>The Bandit Chief Krikelas and the Adopted Daughter Theano</i> [O Listarchos Krikelas kai i Psychokori Theano]	Notebook Collection IMS, No. 26, 1973	Vasilaros	Novel, 1911 <sup>70</sup>	1973	Krikelas: Criminal
17.	<i>The Repentant Bandit. 99 plus One 100</i> [O Metanoimenos Listis. 99 kai Enas 100]	Notebook Collection IMS, No. 47, 1975	Vasilaros	Unknown	1975	1. Karanikas: forgiven bandit 2. Algerian pirate, Aziz: criminal
18.	<i>The Robbers of Messene Karamalas and Vasilakis</i> [Oi Listaitis Mesinias Karamalas kai Vasilakis]	Notebook Collection ELIA, No. 12, n.d	Vasilaros	Unknown	Unknown	Karamalas & Vasilakis: Social bandits
19.	<i>The Bloody Wedding and the Bandit Chief Mitroulias</i>	Notebook Collection ELIA, No. 162, n.d	Tolias	Unknown	Unknown	Mitroulias: Social bandit

	[ <i>O Matomenos Gamos kai o Listarchos Mitroulias</i> ]					
20.	<i>Passadoros Abducts Hirigié</i> [ <i>O Passadoros Kleveiti Hairigié</i> ]  Other title: <i>The Bandit Chief Passadoros and the Abduction of the Beautiful Alice</i>	1. Summary of the plot recorded by Louis Roussel, 1918-19 <sup>71</sup> 2. Summary of performances recorded by Tsipiras in the years 1974-1995 <sup>72</sup>	1. Mollas, Antonis  2. Thanasis Spyropoulos, & Nikos Panagiotáras	Puppet Theatre, 1890s <sup>73</sup>	1918	Passadoros: Criminal
21.	<i>The Abduction of the Vizier's Daughter</i> [ <i>H Apagogi tis Vezyropoulas</i> ]	Little book [fylladio]. Athens: D. Dellis, n.d. [1924-25]	Mollas, Antonis	Unknown	1924-1925	- Proforas, or Spinós: Criminal - Captain Stratos: Social bandit
22.	<i>Karaghiozis Leader of a Detachment</i> [ <i>O Karaghiozis Apospasmatarchis</i> ]	Little book, Athens: 'Keravnos' and 'Pallas Athina', n.d. [~1925]	Manos, Kostas	Unknown	1924-1925	Velios: Criminal
23.	<i>The Bandit Chief Tromaras</i> [ <i>O Listarchos Tromaras</i> ]	Little book. Athens: D. Dellis, 1925	Mollas, Antonis	Novel? 1915 <sup>74</sup>	1925	Tromaras: Criminal
24.	<i>Captain Mavrodimos</i> [ <i>Kapetan Mavrodimos</i> ]	Publication, 1972 <sup>75</sup>	Michopoulos, Panagiotis	Unknown	1972	1. Mavrodimos: Social bandit 2. Tsanakas: Criminal
25.	<i>Giannis Bekiaris</i> Other titles: <i>The Blockade in 1917 and the Bandit Chief Bekiaris</i> <i>The Mysterious Colonel and the Bandit Chief Bekiaris</i>	Published transcription of a tape-recorded performance, and a dictation by the player, 1997 <sup>76</sup>	Orestes	Unknown	1930 performance by Giannis Moros	1. Giannis Bekiaris: Social bandit  2. The brothers Skoubréi: Criminals

**APPENDIX 2: BANDIT PLAYS WITH NO ACCESSIBLE RECORDINGS**

1.	<i>Karaghiozis Bandit Chief</i>	Published three times after 1925 by Markos Xanthos, Attikos and Ioannis Moustakas
2.	<i>The Bandit Chief Thanasoulas</i>	Performance by A. Sotiropoulos, 1927
3.	<i>The Robber-pirates of Spain</i>	Performance by Andreas Voutsinas and Nikas [alias Nikolaos Andrikopoulos], 1927
4.	<i>The Robbers of Calabria</i>	Performance, Theodoropoulos, 1930
5.	<i>The Robber-pirates and the General Alphonse</i>	Performance, Theodoropoulos, 1930
6.	<i>The Triumph of the Robber-Pirate</i>	Performance, Theodoropoulos, 1930
7.	<i>The Bandit Chief of Pyrgos and Karaghiozis Revenge</i>	Performance, Theodoropoulos, 1930
8.	<i>The Bloodthirsty Bandit Chief Chatzaras</i>	Performance, Theodoropoulos, 1930
9.	<i>The Mysterious Bandit Chief</i>	Performance. Theodoropoulos, 1931
10.	<i>The Dead Bandit Chief</i>	Performance, Theodoropoulos, 1931
11.	<i>The Bandit Chief Will Burn You</i>	Performance, Theodoropoulos, 1932
12.	<i>The Bandit Chief of Justice and the Capture of the Captain</i>	Performance, Sotiripoulos and A. Voutsinas, 1934
13.	<i>The Bandit Chief Lafouzanis</i>	Performance, Savvas Gitsaris, sound record, 1969, Collection Whitman/Rinvolucris Harvard University
14.	<i>Hatzilias</i>	Performed by Orestes and Panagiotis Michopoulos <sup>77</sup>
15.	<i>Karakitsos</i>	Performed by Orestes <sup>78</sup>
16.	<i>Papakyritsopoulos</i>	Performed by Orestes <sup>79</sup>
17.	<i>The Bandits Tsekouréi and the Court Trial</i>	Performed by Memos <sup>80</sup>
18.	<i>The Bandit Chief Trebelas</i>	Performed during the years 1974-1999 <sup>81</sup>
19.	<i>The Bandits of the Cities. Karaghiozis and the Great Stasinsis</i>	Performed by Kouzaros

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<sup>2</sup> In the text, the term 'Karaghiozis' with a capital initial will indicate the name of the principal figure, while the term 'karaghiozis' will denote the genre of the Hellenic shadow theatre.

<sup>3</sup> A comprehensive study of the shadow theatre of *karaghiozis* could not be presented in this essay. For further information on the subject (in the English language), see the two studies by Linda Myrsiades and Kostas Myrsiades, *Karagiozis: Culture and Comedy in Greek Puppet Theatre* (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1992) and *The Karagiozis Heroic Performance in Greek Shadow Theatre* (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1988). See also Rom Gudas, *The Bitter-Sweet Art: Karaghiozis, the Greek Shadow Theatre* (Athens: Gnosis, 1986).

<sup>4</sup> On the genres of *karaghiozis*, see Kostas Tsipiras, *The Sound of Karaghiozis [O Hchos tou Karaghiozi]* (Athens: Nea Synora-A. A. Livanis, 2001), 63-80.

<sup>5</sup> Thodoros Hadjipantazis, "The Adjustment of Literary Texts to Karaghiozis' Repertory," *Opseis tis Laikis kai Logias Logotechnias: Epistomoniki Synantisi Aferomeni ston Gianni Apostoloki, Thessaloniki, 14-15 Maiou 1992*. Published by *Epistimoniki Epetiris tis Philosophikis Scholis*, Aristotle University of Salonica, 2nd period, Parartima 5 (Salonika: 1994), 125.

<sup>6</sup> The number of plays ranges from 40 to 44. Some titles may refer to the same play because shadow theatre puppeteers tended to change the titles of plays. Consequently, as there are no records of the plot for many titles, it is impossible to deduce the exact number of plays. The cited titles were drawn from the following: (1) the research program K. Karatheodoris, (2) information provided by puppeteers in their memoirs, (3) published texts, and (4) information provided by puppeteers' manuscripts.

<sup>7</sup> The few sound recordings of bandit plays that are kept in the Whitman/Rinvoluceri collection at Harvard University have not been used in the research for this article because the collection could not be accessed.

<sup>8</sup> Elizabeth Fine, *Folklore Text: From Performance to Print* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1994), n.p. [Preface].

<sup>9</sup> Anna Stavrakopoulou, "Katsandonis and Karaghiozis: From the 19<sup>th</sup> Century Novel to the Shadow Theatre Screen," in *Stefanos*, festschrift for Professor Walter Puchner, 1173-1181, ed. Iossif Vivilakis (Athens: Ergo, 2007), 1178.

<sup>10</sup> The oldest known bandit play of *karaghiozis* is *The Bandit Chief Davelis*. The version written by the puppeteer Vasilaros dramatised the capture of a French police agent by Davelis. However, the newspaper advertisement for a performance presented by Giannis Moros in Patras in 1930 has as its subject matter another famous deed of Davelis, that is, his revenge against the monk who betrayed him to the police. See newspaper *Neologos Patron*, March 25, 1930.

<sup>11</sup> Aris Milionis, *Shadows under Candlelight [Skies sto Fws ton Kerion]* (Patras: "Peri Technon," 2001), 63, 70. Hadjipantazis, "The Adjustment of Literary Texts to Karaghiozis' Repertory," 115.

<sup>12</sup> Myrsiades and Myrsiades, *Culture and Comedy in Greek Puppet Theater*, 72.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 125. Linda Myrsiades, "Oral Traditional Form in the Karaghiozis Performance," *Ellinika* 36 (1985): 116-52 at 123-24.

<sup>14</sup> See the online collection of Hellenic shadow theatre puppets at British Museum, accessed January 9, 2014:

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx?place=40600&object=20478](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx?place=40600&object=20478)

<sup>15</sup> Giorgos Dermentzopoulos, *Mainland Hellenic Popular Ideology: Socio-Political Study of Folk Songs [H Elladiki Laiki Ideologia. Politikokoinoniki Meleti tou Dimotikou Tragoudiou]* (Athens: Antonis Livanis, 1979), 43-56.

<sup>16</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (London: Abacus, 2001), 94.

<sup>17</sup> Alexis Politis, "Robbery, Financial Surplus, Stock-Breeding," *Nea Hestia*, 1857 (March 2013): 104-7.

<sup>18</sup> Hobsbawm, *Bandits*, 17, 82-3. See also Myrsiades and Myrsiades, *Karaghiozis Heroic Performance*, 45-46.

<sup>19</sup> Myrsiades and Myrsiades, *Karaghiozis: Culture & Comedy*, 73.

<sup>20</sup> *Kleftes* means 'thieves' as well but historically the term has been associated in the mind of the Hellenic people with the national heroes of the Revolution.

<sup>21</sup> The organisation '17 November' was disbanded by the police in 2002. In the 27 years of its activity from 1975 it perpetrated more than a hundred attacks, killing 23 men (mainly U. S. and Turkish diplomats and army officers, Greek politicians, publishers, policemen, judges, and industrialists). The brothers Vasilis and Nikos Palaiokostas were repeatedly sentenced by Hellenic justice for kidnappings and bank robberies. They became notorious for their audacious escapes from high security prisons (2006 and 2009) using helicopters and defying state authority. See George Kassimeris, *Europe's Last Red Terrorists: The Revolutionary Organisation 17 November*, trans. [in

Greek] Errikos Bartzinopoulos and G. Kassimeris (Athens: Kastaniotis, 2002), 14-16. Malcolm Brabant, "Police Capture Key Greek Fugitive," *BBC News*, last updated 14 September 2006, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/5346616.stm>.

<sup>22</sup> On banditry in Hellas during the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries see Ioannis Koliopoulos, *Robbers: Central Hellas in the Middle of 19<sup>th</sup> Century* (Athens: Hermes, 1988), 1977; Vasilios Sfyroeras, "Period of Interior Abnormalities and Foreign Pressures (1847–1853)," in *History of the Hellenic Nation* Vol. 13 (Athens: Ekdotiki Athinon, 1977), 132-43; Ioannis Mazarakis, "Macedonia on the Eve of [Macedonian] War," in *History of the Hellenic Nation* Vol. 13 (Athens: Ekdotiki Athinon, 1977), 14, 220-54.

<sup>23</sup> Kontogiorgis, *Hellenic Popular Ideology*, 43-97.

<sup>24</sup> Koliopoulos, *Robbers*, 1-6, 16, 41-44.

<sup>25</sup> Hobsbawm, *Bandits*, 118. Mazarakis, "Macedonia on the Eve of War," *ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Ioannis Koliopoulos, "The Position of Greek People in Macedonia from 1881 until 1896," *History of the Hellenic Nation*, Vol. 14, 219-20.

<sup>27</sup> Koliopoulos, *Robbers*, 158-160. Politis, "Robbery, Financial Surplus, Stock-Breeding," 112-15. Christos Dermentzopoulos, "Popular Culture and Memory: The Case of the Bandit Chief Panopoulos' Confession to Society," *Outopia* 43 (2001): 92-94. See also the novel by Edmond About, *Le Roi des Montagnes* [1857], trans. [in Greek] A. A. Eleftheriou, ed. Tassos Vournas (Athens: Afoi Tolidi, n.d.), 72-73, 138, 158-174, etc.

<sup>28</sup> Among the measures applied by Hellenic authorities against banditry was the banishment of the local people who protected or catered to bandits. See Koliopoulos, *Robbers*, 33-36.

<sup>29</sup> Giannis Kanatas, *Captain Giannis Karatzovalis and Banditry in Khalkidhiki [O Kapetan Giannis Karatzobalis kai i Listokrateia sti Khalkidhiki]* (Polygyros: n.p., 2007), 97. Originally published in Vasilios K. Papavasiliou, *Secrets of Literary Compositions at the Primary School* (Thessaloniki: n.p. 1972).

<sup>30</sup> Folk songs about bandit chiefs are available on the following websites: "Katakali–Fotis Giagoulas," accessed July 19, 2013, <http://www.katakali.net/drupal/?q=listarxoi/fotis-giagkoylas> and "Davelis," *YouTube*, last modified October 15, 2009, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EDcGCjYIE3Q>.

<sup>31</sup> Bandit novels were the most widely read genre of popular literature in Hellas at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. See Christos Dermentzopoulos, *Bandit Novel in Hellas: Myths-Representations-Ideology [To Listriko Mythistorima stin Ellada]* (Athens: Plethron, 1997), 15.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 87-91.

<sup>33</sup> Alexis Papahelas and Tassos, Telloglou, *File 17 November [Fakelos 17 Noemvri]* (Athens: Kollaros, 2002), 49-66.

<sup>34</sup> According to the results of the research project financed by the program K. Karatheodoris, the bandit plays performed each year in Patras during the 1930s were approximately as follows (the cited figures are not absolutely accurate because the content of many performed plays has not been identified):

Year	Bandit plays	Total number of recorded performances
1930	16–17	208
1931	10	189
1932	19–20	245
1933	8	93
1934	6	115
1935	3	26
1934	3–4	58
1937	18	310
1938	11	240
1939	10	233
1940	14	168

The significant proliferation of plays during the 1930s can be attributed to the activity of the inventive shadow theatre puppeteer Dinos Theodoropoulos. See Anna Stavrakopoulou, "Tradition and Innovation: the Puppeteer Dinos Theodoropoulos in Patras of the 1930s," in *Acta of First Panhellenic Theater Conference: Greek Theatre from the 17th to 20th century*, ed. Iossif Vivilakis (Athens: Department of Theatre Studies, University of Athens-Ergo, 2002), 263-274.

<sup>35</sup> Giannis Kiourtsakis, *Carnival and Karaghiozis: the routes and the transformations of popular laughter* (Athens: Kedros, 1985).

<sup>36</sup> Myrsiades and Myrsiades, *Culture and Comedy*, 17-30.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 72-74.

<sup>38</sup> The play *Fotis Giagoulas* includes four more notorious mountain robbers, namely, Gadaras, Papageorgiou, Ganiatsos, and Tsamitas, whereas *The Bandit Chief Davelis* includes another two, namely, Kakarapis and Kalabalikis. However, they play secondary roles in the plot.

<sup>39</sup> Kontogiorgis, *Hellenic Popular Ideology*, 36. The author specifies that, in contrast with the folk songs on *klephtes*, the personality of the chief is dominant in the songs on *armatoloi* (note 37).

<sup>40</sup> Umberto Eco, *Il Superuomo di Massa [O Yperanthropos ton mazon]*, tran. Efi Kallifatidis (Athens: Gnosi, 1994-95).

<sup>41</sup> A more accurate term for those plays would be 'bandit chief plays' instead of 'bandit plays' (*listarchika* instead of *listrika*).

<sup>42</sup> Aristides Kyriakos, *Maria Pentagiotissa* (Athens: Saravanos, 1908).

<sup>43</sup> Real-life bandits included Fotis Giagoulas; Krikelas; Mavrodimos; Giannis Bekiaris; Christos Davelis; Kostas Panopoulos; Tsakitzis; the brothers Skoubréi; Tromaras; Tsanakas; Velios; and probably Karamalas and Vasilakis.

<sup>44</sup> Thomas Korovinis, "The History of Tsakitzis," in *Introduction to Tsakitzis by Yaşar Kemal*, trans. from the Turkish by Th. Korovinis (Athens: Agra, 1994), 17.

<sup>45</sup> Apostolos Magouliotis, *History of Neohellenic Puppet-Theatre (1870-1938) [Istoria tou Neoellinikou Kouklotheatrou (1870-1938)]* (Athens: Papazisis, 2012), 146 [from *Neon Asty*, 29 September, 1902].

<sup>46</sup> During the period 1936-1940, only the plays *Iron Bandit Chief*, *Tsakitzis*, *The Repentant Robber*, *The Pirates of Alger*, *Captain Tromaras*, *The Robbers of Calabria*, *Maria Pentagiotissa*, and *The King of the Mountains* appeared occasionally on the *berdés* in Patras (from the research program K. Karatheodoris).

<sup>47</sup> Vasilis Christopoulos, *Orestes: The Shadow-Theatre Puppeteer from Patras, Anestis Vakaloglou [O Patrinos Karaghiozopaichtis Anestis Vakaloglou]* (Patras: Achaikés Ekdoseis, 1999), 172.

<sup>48</sup> On *femme fatales*, see Linda Saladin, *Fetishism and fatal women: Gender, Power, and Reflexive Discourse* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 28-29.

<sup>49</sup> The popular shadow theatre puppeteer Dinos Theodoropoulos advertised *The Dead Bandit Chief* as a performance of "terror and horror." See newspapers *Tilegraphos* and *Neologos Patron*, May 9, 1931.

<sup>50</sup> Vasilaros, *The Bandit Chief Krikelas and the Adopted Daughter Theano*, Notebook Collection, Institute for Mediterranean Studies (IMS), Rethymnon, Crete, Notebook No. 26, 1973, 7-11.

<sup>51</sup> On the ethics of traditional rural society and the conflict between tradition and the modern state as it was represented in the popular bandit novel, see Dermentzopoulos, *Bandit Novel*, 170-73.

<sup>52</sup> *Passadoros Abducts Hirigié*, *The Abduction of Beautiful Helen*, *The Bandit Chief Kalpouzos*, *The Bandit Chief Vagos*, and *Injustice is not Forgiven*. *Giannos and Pagona*.

<sup>53</sup> Dermentzopoulos, *Bandit Novel*, 169.

<sup>54</sup> Myrsiades and Myrsiades, *Culture and Comedy*, 73.

<sup>55</sup> Magouliotis, *History of Neohellenic Puppet-Theatre*, 144. Thodoros Hadjipantazis, *From Nile to Danube*, Vol. B1 (Heraklion: Crete University Press, 2012), 191.

<sup>56</sup> Ar. Kyriakos, *The Chief-Bandit Vaggos and the Magic Love Potion [Vaggos o Archilistis kai to Magiko Votani tis Agapis]* (Athens: Dovletis, 1915). The novel has not been traced yet, and therefore any relation between it and the text of *karaghiozis* has not been checked.

- <sup>57</sup> Sotirios and Eygenios Spatharis, *The Karaghiozis of Spatharis [O Karaghiozis ton Spatharidon]*, ed. G. Soldatos (Athens: Nefeli, 1979), 139-14.
- <sup>58</sup> Michael Androulis, *The Uncoughed Giagoulas and Chryso [O Asylliptos Giagoulas kai i Chryso]* (Athens: Dellis, 1925).
- <sup>59</sup> The dates in the appendix, when cited with no further indication, have been derived from the Notebooks. The dates of performances are drawn from the newspapers of Patras (program K. Karatheodoris).
- <sup>60</sup> Magouliotis, *History of Neohellenic Puppet-Theatre*, 132.
- <sup>61</sup> Themistocles Tsakiridis, *Tsakitzis, the Efes of Aydın [Tsakitzis o Efes tou Aïdiniou]*, *feuilleton* in per. *Acropolis*, 1929. The novel has not been traced yet, and therefore, any relation between it and the text of *karaghiozis* has not been verified.
- <sup>62</sup> Kyriakos, *Maria Pentagiotissa*. An anonymous shortened edition of the novel may have been used as the prototype of *karaghiozis'* adaptation (Athens: 'To Kentron' Aristophanous Papadimitriou, 1924).
- <sup>63</sup> Ar. Kyriakos, *The King of the Mountains Delis, and the Priest's Daughter Aggelo [O Vasilevs ton Vounon Delis kai i Aggelo tou Papa]* (Athens: D. Delis and V. Vouniseas, 1922). The *karaghiozis* adaptation has brought about significant changes to the plot.
- <sup>64</sup> Christopoulos, *Orestes*, 153-55.
- <sup>65</sup> Aimilios Athinaios [Aristides Kyriakos], *History of Bandits [Istoria ton Liston]* (Athens: Antonios Saravanos, 1902), 1493-1725. The *karaghiozis* adaptation has made significant changes to the bandit's character.
- <sup>66</sup> Magouliotis, *History of Neohellenic Puppet-Theatre*, 132.
- <sup>67</sup> Tsipiras, *Sound of Karaghiozis*, 77 and 111-14.
- <sup>68</sup> I. T. Pampoukis, "About Karaghiozis' Repertory. From Michopoulos's Archive," *Eos* 90 (1965): 58.
- <sup>69</sup> Ar. Kyriakos, *The Black Bandit Chief and the World Famous Greek Policeman Von Kolokotronis [O Mavros Archilistis kai o Diethnous Fimis Ellin Astynomos Fon Kolokotronis]* (Athens: Dylis, n.d.) Elias Oikonomopoulos, *The Black Bandit Chief in Paris [O Mavros Archilistis sto Parisi]* (Athens: Saravanos-Delis-Vouniseas, 1921).
- <sup>70</sup> Ar. Kyriakos, *The Adopted Daughter and the Bandit Chief Krikelas [H Psychokori kai o Listarchos Krikelas]* (Athens: Saravanos, 1911).
- <sup>71</sup> Michalis Ieronymidis, *The Athenian Karaghiozis of Antonis Mollas [O Athinaïkos Karaghiozis tou Antoni Molla]* (Athens: Christos Dardanos, 2003), 320-22.
- <sup>72</sup> Tsipiras, *Sound of Karaghiozis*, 7 and 133-34.
- <sup>73</sup> Thodoros Hadjipantazis, *Karaghiozis' Invasion in the Athens of the 1890s [H Eisvoli tou Karaghiozi stin Athina tou 1890]* (Athens: Stigmi, 1984), 50.
- <sup>74</sup> Phokion Fotopoulos, *The Courageous Vasilos and the Bandit Chief Tromaras [H Leventissa Vasilos kai o Listarchos Tromaras]* (Athens: Saravanos, 1915). The novel has not been traced yet, and therefore any relation between it and the text of *karaghiozis* has not been verified.
- <sup>75</sup> Panagiotis Michopoulos, *Five Comedies and Two Heroic Plays [Pente komodies kai dyo Hroika]* (Athens: Ermeias, 1972), 217-50.
- <sup>76</sup> Christopoulos, *Orestes*, 159-176.
- <sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 156. Pampoukis, "Karaghiozis' Repertory," 58.
- <sup>78</sup> Christopoulos, *Orestes*, 156.
- <sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>80</sup> Fotis Vogiatzis, *The Shadow Theatre in Thessaly* (Karditsa: Ektypotiki Karditsas, 1995).
- <sup>81</sup> Tsipiras, *Sound of Karaghiozis*, 75.