

Cold War Illuminations of the Classical Past: 'The Sound and Light Show' on the Athenian Acropolis

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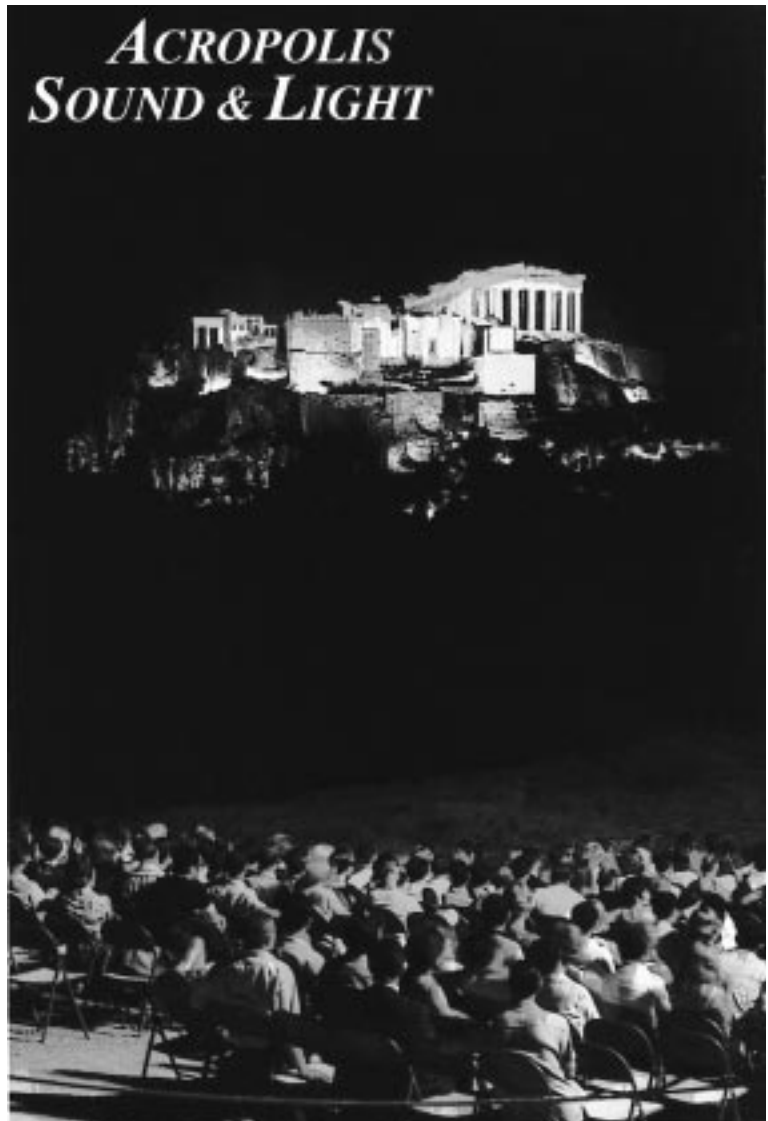
Three times a night, international audiences spill out of oversized tour buses and find seats in rows of folding metal chairs set up out of doors on the Pnyx hill opposite the Acropolis in Athens (plate 39). They are lulled by gentle music until lights come up on the monuments across the way, and a recorded voice booms from nearby loudspeakers:

The hill where all do gather. The Pnyx! You are on the very spot where Athenians of old would flock to hear the most beautiful tongue of this earth spoken to the greatest people of the world. Tonight on this hill we shall revive once more the Golden Age of Athens!¹

For the next forty-five minutes, the story of the fifth-century triumph of the Athenians over their barbaric Persian enemies, constructed of snippets of Herodotus and Thucydides translated into florid Elizabethan prose, will be narrated to the accompaniment of flashing lights and an original score. The preface to the show's programme proclaims proudly:

The Greek National Tourist Organisation feels satisfaction in being able, by means of the spectacle 'Son et Lumière', to offer to the worshippers of the Greek spirit and to visitors of the sacred rock of the Acropolis yet another artistic event by which the most important historical happenings that took place upon this spot are brought before them. We shall feel yet greater satisfaction if by this effort we may contribute further to the idea that all who search for truth, in thought, in art or in beauty, may draw nearer to the unsurpassable grandeur and the infinite beauty of the sacred rock, the birth-place of human consciousness.

In this article, I will ask what is at stake in 'The Sound and Light Show' on the Athenian Acropolis, what agendas lie behind the construction of the Acropolis as 'the birth-place of human consciousness', and who benefits from such language and such a representation of history. I will begin by analysing the text of the show that I saw as a tourist in Athens in 1995, and then turn back to 1959, the year in which 'The Sound and Light Show' made its star-studded and internationally fêted premier.



39 Postcard of 'The Sound and Light Show', Athens.

Two broad assumptions have guided my thinking throughout this project. The first is that cultural phenomena such as 'The Sound and Light Show' are products of the social and political circumstances in which they are produced; that they are part of larger, hegemonic discourses; and that, when read 'against the grain', they can be mined as repositories of information about contemporary ideas and social values.² Secondly, I will argue that the Acropolis can be understood as a site of cultural memory. The concept of a 'lieu de mémoire' has been thoughtfully articulated and exhaustively illustrated in Pierre Nora's recent multi-volume study of 'the construction of the French past', which examines such embodiments of 'Frenchness' as Joan of Arc, the cathedral and school textbooks.³ Nora defines these 'lieux' (translated as 'realms' in the English-language edition) as 'pure signs'

invested with a 'symbolic aura', which have 'become symbolic elements of the memorial heritage of a community'.⁴ Of course I am not arguing for the evaporation of the physical reality of the Acropolis into some purely abstract, Saussurian ether; nor am I suggesting that there is anything intrinsically 'Greek' about the monuments. But one of the aims of this paper will be to demonstrate that the Acropolis can usefully be understood as a sign or site of memory, in that its meanings and significance are highly unstable and have, at moments of crisis, often been determined by the claims of competing political 'communities' for its memorial heritage.

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In many ways, 'The Sound and Light Show' can be read as an attempt to put the Acropolis in a museum. By this I mean that the Show, like a museum, foists its own master narrative onto the otherwise multivalent relics of the past, closing doors for its captive audience to alternative histories, dissenting voices or inappropriate questions. This is, of course, not all that museums do; I do not mean to deny or denigrate the inestimably valuable service they perform of caring for their objects and making them available to the public. But it is also true that museums grant themselves the right to decide what version of their possessions' history will be presented to viewers; and the stories chosen are invariably the ones most flattering to the institution. From the total silence in the galleries of the British Museum on the Greek claim for the repatriation of the 'Elgin Marbles'⁵ to the New York Museum of Modern Art's careful construction of an art-historical framework for its photography collection,⁶ the museum's control of the historiography of its collections is almost always self-serving and intellectually limiting.⁷

Moreover, the history of the art presented in large, public museums is often radically decontextualizing in terms of the historical conditions of production, use or function of the objects. Museum displays and wall text often choose instead to recontextualize the objects in broader narratives of such transhistorical categories as style or artistic genius, a process in which the academic discipline of art history has long been complicit. It is this recontextualizing process that allows painted Greek pots, for example, produced in all likelihood as common tableware, to metamorphose in their glass museum cases into precious works of fine art. Artists' names are in turn invented, and their oeuvres dutifully demarcated, allowing the pots to be studied like Italian Renaissance paintings for the stories of personal rivalries and the evolution of naturalistic figure drawing they (can be made to) tell.⁸ Museum objects are thus made to rise above the historical accidents of their creation in cultures temporally and geographically remote from our own, and are repositioned in the grand trajectory of universal human progress or Western civilization – trajectories which culminate, of course, with the owner/teller in the present.⁹

Many of the same museological and historiographical forces are at work at 'The Sound and Light Show'. The first level at which our perception of the monuments is conditioned lies in the show's choice to explicate them through Herodotus and Thucydides, rather than, say, a discussion of how, technically, they were built; of the architectural and engineering innovations they employ; of the religious rituals enacted on the site; or of the site's pre- or post-classical

history. With this choice, the text of the show, like many a museum display, narrows the scope of the history that the monuments are allowed to represent, and discourages us from asking different questions whose answers may be less pleasing or flattering to our modern sensibilities – such as, ‘who was allowed into the Parthenon?’ ‘how was it paid for?’ or ‘why is it in such bad shape today?’

The privileging of Herodotus and Thucydides is hardly surprising, however; the subordination of the visual image to the written word as mere illustration is a deeply engrained tradition in our culture. More striking is the show’s next level of historiographical conditioning, namely the story it uses the monuments to tell. The chosen tale is that of the triumph of democratic goodness over Eastern, tyrannical badness. The messy complexities and contingencies of fifth-century Athenian history are reduced to simplistic clichés of light vs. darkness, and good vs. evil. Throughout the text, the Persians are presented as cardboard-cut-out bad guys, ‘reckless’, ‘blood-thirsty’ and ‘barbaric’, while the Athenians are ever ‘courageous’, ‘noble’ and ‘heroic’. This perspective is largely due to the choice to base the text on the writings of Herodotus and Thucydides, thereby uncritically adopting and perpetuating their biases and prejudices. Consider, for example, the following passage, which comes at the end of the treatment of the Battle of Salamis, after Xerxes’s final defeat:

A Voice: ‘The people of Asia shall bow no more before this cruel Persian law. The ruthless king doth sob his ebbing power. The rule of force hath come to dust. This land with bloodshed stained, this isle of Ajax which waves do whip, hath smothered, crushed and crumbled the golden day of Persia’s might.’

(musical interlude)

Pericles: ‘Our fathers are worthy of praise, but it is to us, the living, who have now reached maturity, that the Republic owes its self-sufficiency in all things. In peace as in war. What manner of life has led us to this power? The constitution which governs us has been given the name of Democracy. Her purpose is the service of the greatest number. We are all equal before the Law. Only personal merit opens the way to honour. In our public life we are free and in no way do we spy upon the particular behaviour of our citizens. We have given to the mind countless refreshment. The greatness of our city draws to her treasures from the whole world and it may be said that Athens is the school of Greece.’

Pericles’s speech is a paraphrase of one section of his famous Funeral Oration, recounted by Thucydides (2.35–46). In the narrative sequence of the show, this speech follows directly upon the Athenian victory in 480 BCE over the Persians at Salamis, implying a causal relationship between the defeat of her enemies from the East on the one hand and the democracy and greatness of Athens on the other. The classicists and historians in the audience may well squirm at this suggestion, however, for the moment preferred by tradition for the birth of Athenian democracy, the reforms of Kleisthenes in 508, predates the Battle of Salamis by

twenty-eight years. Furthermore, Pericles's speech was delivered in 430 BCE, a full fifty years after Salamis, and commemorated those fallen not in the glorious Persian War, but rather in the first year of the disastrous Peloponnesian conflict, which was to bring about the humiliating destruction of Athens's democratic 'golden age'. None of this irony or complexity, however, is allowed to muddy the version of history presented by 'The Sound and Light Show'. Incredibly, there is no mention of the Peloponnesian War (let alone of Athenian hubris or defeat) anywhere in the forty-five-minute narration of fifth-century Athenian history, even though the conflict began just two years after the Parthenon's completion and was the sole topic to which Thucydides's history was devoted.

Moreover, immediately *after* Pericles's speech in the narrative of 'The Sound and Light Show' comes the treatment of the building of the Parthenon. The temple is thus presented as the product and embodiment of the democratic ideals expressed in the Funeral Oration. In fact, construction of the Parthenon began in 447 BCE, seventeen years before Pericles delivered his speech, and is a manifestation much less of democracy than of imperialism, funded, as it was, with the wealth Athens acquired by exacting tribute from her so-called allies in the Delian League. Needless to say, the text of the show omits any discussion of how the building was paid for.

The ease with which 'The Sound and Light Show' conjures up images of tyrannical barbarians from the East clashing with noble, democratic heroes is due not only to the text's extensive borrowings from Herodotus and Thucydides. It is also made possible by the degree to which Western Europe and the United States have adopted that historical model in our culture at large. The implied line of causality evident in the passages discussed above (defeat of evil Eastern empire → democracy → cultural and artistic flourishing), simplistic or distorted as it may be, fits comfortably into the modern rhetoric of Western civilization.¹⁰ The phrases chosen from Pericles's lengthy Funeral Oration are those that bear the closest resemblance to European and American ideas of democracy. At the show's climactic finale, when spotlights blast across the Parthenon and the voice of Athena herself is heard, she sounds rather like a cross between a constitutional preamble and the Statue of Liberty, promising:

For aeons to come, I shall be Athena Polias, the Athena who overcame the Erinyes, the ever-living forces of darkness. I shall stand for order, law and clarity. For centuries to come I shall be all manner of thought, of love, of reason, which shall guard against pride and fanaticism . . . Come to me, all ye truth-seekers. Come to this consecrated rock, where great courage and virtue and infinite beauty have mingled to give birth to the consciousness of Man.

Like the museum's version of universalizing history, the past on display at 'The Sound and Light Show' is most striking for all that it omits. Gone is any trace of the strangeness of ancient Greek religious practices, of the imperialism and self-destruction of Athenian politics, of the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman histories of the Acropolis – in other words, of any aspect of the Acropolis's history that does not conform to the notion of Greece as the cradle of reason, humanism and democracy. In the same way that museums encourage us to view artefacts from

distant cultures as part of our own ‘heritage’, so ‘The Sound and Light Show’ presents a version of history that allows us to smooth the path and connect the dots between past and present into a seamless continuum of Western civilization.

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To understand the political stakes in such a construction of ancient history, one must turn back to the moment of the inception and premier of ‘The Sound and Light Show’ in Greece in 1959. In the following section, I will give a brief sketch of the major themes and events in Greek political life in the period leading up to and during the show’s debut, in order to understand how the show fits into its historical moment and to further my argument that the show should be understood as an essentially political phenomenon.¹¹

From 1944 to 1949 a civil war was fought in Greece between the British- and later American-backed Greek government and the Communist EAM–ELAS (National Liberation Front and the People’s National Army of Liberation). The Communist party’s strength, organization and military resources had grown rapidly during World War II, when the party formed the backbone of the Greek Resistance. In 1944 the radical ELAS refused to cooperate with the restored, British-supported Greek government. This eventually led to open, violent conflict between the Communist guerilla bands and the British-reinforced, national Greek army. In 1947, when Britain began to back away from such foreign involvement, the United States stepped in.¹² Lacking support from the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the Greek Communists were defeated early in 1949 through a combination of American, British and Greek military power.

After the Civil War, Greek political life, under a system of proportional representation, was plagued by chronic instability until 1952, when the United States threatened to withhold the millions of Marshall Plan dollars that it was pouring into Greece if the prevailing pattern of short-lived, faction-ridden coalitions – which often included the communist EAM – did not cease. A system of majority representation was thus instituted under the new Prime Minister Constantine Karamanlis, who also banned the Communist party once and for all. Karamanlis subsequently oversaw one of the most prosperous periods in modern Greek history, characterized by rapid modernization and an astonishing growth in the Greek economy, as well as by Greece’s entry into NATO and the European Common Market. The stability came with a serious price, however. As David Holden has argued:

They [the successive Greek governments from 1952 to 1962] started from the premise that the containment of communism was the most vital requirement of Greek public life. From that all else flowed: friendship with the United States of America and suspicion of the Soviet Union and its satellites; . . . the continued suppression of the Communist Party . . .; the long-term imprisonment of a hard core of over a thousand [communist] party members or active collaborators. . .; and the subordination of certain traditional national interests to the wider demands of anti-communist strategy within NATO.¹³

In the late 1950s the clash between these subordinated ‘national interests’ and NATO strategy reached the point of extreme crisis, triggered by NATO’s hostile views on the Cyprus question. The struggle for Cypriot *enosis* – the expulsion of the occupying British forces and the political unification of the island with Greece – had long been a primary concern of Greek politics and public opinion, but the conflict intensified in 1956, when the British authorities in Cyprus arrested and exiled Archbishop Makarios, a Cypriot religious and political leader, in response to a wave of violence and terrorism on the island. The arrest prompted massive demonstrations in Athens, the recall of the Greek ambassador from London, and even the suspension of the teaching of English in public schools. The Soviet Union seized the moment to declare its unconditional support for Cypriot *enosis*, earning the accolades of the Greek press. When an alarmed United States responded, at the 1957 NATO conference, by canvassing support for the installation of American nuclear weapons on Greek territory, anti-NATO sentiment in Greece swelled. In elections prompted by the crisis, in the spring of 1958, the crypto-communist United Democratic Left (EDA) rode this wave to win an unprecedented 79 seats in the 300-member chamber, 61 more than it had previously held, and thus vaulted into the position of chief opposition. Karamanlis’s party remained in power, but with a much smaller majority.

The resurgence of the far left in the 1958 elections set off alarm bells both in Greece and in NATO. Karamanlis stepped up his anti-Communist policies at home, imprisoning a large group of Communists on charges of treason. Recognizing the connection between the unresolved Cyprus problem and popular support for the EDA, Karamanlis also negotiated a compromise settlement with the British and Turkish governments. He reaffirmed Greece’s commitment to the Western Alliance by signing an agreement with the United States allowing the installation of ballistic missiles in Greece. Karamanlis also fostered European investment in Greece, leading to the establishment of a German nitrogen plant at Ptolemais and sugar refinery at Larisa, and a French oil-prospecting concern in Thessaly. He developed the tourist infrastructure and, by 1960, tourism was Greece’s third largest source of revenue (after agriculture and manufacturing). When Greece was finally admitted into the European Common Market, in 1961, Karamanlis’s chief negotiator declared, ‘We have rejoined the mainstream of western history.’¹⁴

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This was the political climate in which ‘The Sound and Light Show’ on the Athenian Acropolis was born. It is not difficult to read the show’s version of ancient history, in which democracy is synonymous with the West and with all that is beautiful and good, as an emblem of the Cold War.¹⁵ With its explicit connections between ancient Greek democracy and the modern political ideals of the West, the show can be understood as the cultural expression of Karamanlis’s staunchly pro-NATO, pro-capitalist (and pro-tourism) political agenda of the late 1950s. At the same time, the show’s erasure of Greece’s post-classical history from its narrative obliterates entirely the nation’s Byzantine period, as well as its three and a half centuries under Ottoman rule. This selective editing of the past is also, in its Cold War context, a very useful one, for it eliminates all historical connections between Greece and the East.

The political significance of ‘The Sound and Light Show’ is, however, even more complex; for, despite its high propaganda value for the Greek government (not to mention its exclusive focus on ancient Greek monuments), the show itself was largely a product of France. That Greece should seek to forge cultural ties to France in the late 1950s is not surprising: France held a seat on the United Nations Security Council, and Greece was in need of allies in that powerful body to resolve the Cyprus crisis favourably. Furthermore, after Turkey, Greece’s primary opponent in the Cyprus conflict was France’s age-old rival, Britain. The Suez Canal crisis, in which France had sided with Egypt against Britain, offered a reassuring precedent.

In February 1959 the private French company *Son et Lumière* reached an agreement with the Greek government to stage one of their trademark shows on the Athenian Acropolis, resulting in the production of the world’s largest and most costly Sound and Light Show.¹⁶ Seven French technicians, assisted by ‘hundreds of Greek workers’, spent two months in Athens overseeing the installation of 35 km of cable, a 5-ton organ-stop, 1,500 spotlights, 48 loudspeakers and 150 electronic circuits carrying 6,600 volts, all at a cost of 120 million francs.¹⁷ As the Greek newspapers made clear, this was not a labour of love; the agreement stipulated that *Son et Lumière* would take home a significant percentage of the profits.¹⁸

By contrast, there is almost no mention of the company *Son et Lumière* in the extensive French newspaper coverage of the event. Rather, credit for the initiative is given chiefly to the French politician Jean de Broglie, who does not appear to have had any affiliation with the company.¹⁹ There seems to have been some confusion as to what cultural organization Mr de Broglie headed, and under whose aegis he organized ‘The Sound and Light Show’ on the Athenian Acropolis. One paper describes him as ‘président de l’Association pour la défense et la protection des sites’,²⁰ on one day and as ‘président à l’Assemblée nationale des sites de France’, on the next.²¹ Another paper refers to him as the ‘président de l’Association pour la défense et la mise en valeur des sites’.²² What is significant in these confused attributions is the erasure of the role of the private company *Son et Lumière* and its replacement by some ill-defined but official-sounding association. The impression of French governmental sponsorship of the show was reaffirmed by the much-reported fact that Jean Bayien, the author of the show’s text, was a former ambassador to Greece, and by the fact (to which I will return below) that the keynote address at the Show’s premier was delivered by French Minister of Culture André Malraux. The discussion in the newspaper *L’Aurore* is typical:

The initiative is due to Mr. Jean de Broglie, independent deputy and president of the Association pour la défense et la mise en valeur des sites. This gigantic historical re-enactment is also a symbol of Franco-Hellenic cultural cooperation. And that is the reason why Mr. André Malraux, Minister of Culture, was there last night in person in Athens to represent the French government at the inauguration of this ‘Sound and Light’, which represents a great show of spirit [*esprit*].²³

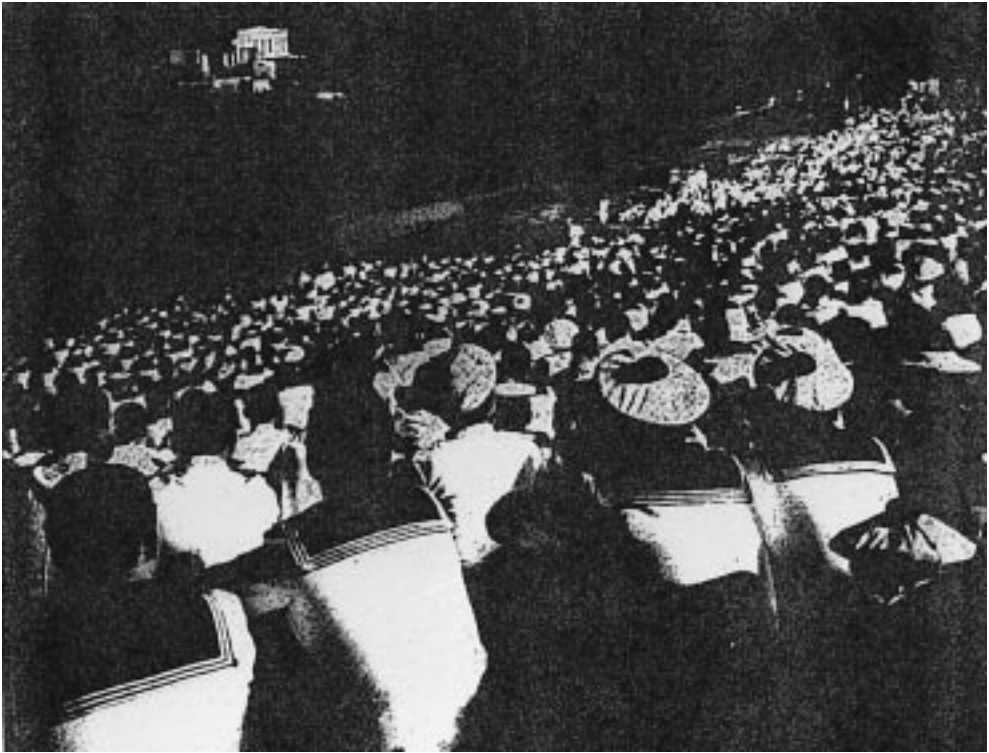
This passage clearly demonstrates the rhetorical and political value of France’s official, government seal on ‘The Sound and Light Show’. It allowed the project to

be discussed not as a private commercial enterprise on foreign soil but rather as a ‘symbol of Franco-Hellenic cooperation’. The lofty, patriotic and preservationist ideals evoked by the Association’s various names, with their promises of defending and protecting sites and showing them off to their advantage (‘mettre en valeur’), gave the entire affair the veneer of a civilizing mission abroad.

The self-congratulatory rhetoric of official French patronage was fully in evidence at the opening ceremonies on 29 May 1959, when no fewer than 2,500 members of the French Navy arrived in the Greek capital and paraded up to the Pnyx hill to watch the show’s premier. The spectacle could have left little doubt that ‘The Sound and Light Show’ – whether run by the benevolent French government or by a profit-seeking French company with the human and monumental resources of a cash-poor Mediterranean state – was as much a display of modern French might as of ancient Greek glory. The double-edgedness of such patronage is easily recognizable in French newspaper coverage of the naval pageant, which invariably combined the language and imagery of cross-cultural benefaction and enrichment with that of military conquest. A rather ominous photograph published in *Le Figaro*, for example, shows a massive horde of French naval officers swarming over the Pnyx hill, facing across to a tiny, somewhat vulnerable-looking little Parthenon (plate 40).²⁴ In a similar spirit, a headline in *France-Soir* proclaimed, ‘2,500 French Naval Officers Took the Acropolis of Athens by Storm (... ont pris d’assaut ...),’ while the article went on to reassure readers that: ‘This cortege, in all-white uniforms with red pompoms, took on the appearance of an immense procession on its way to pay homage to beauty, while Athena herself welcomed them with these immortal words: “Come to me ...”’²⁵ The target of the ‘assault’ turns out to be merely that of offering respectful homage to ancient beauty. Likewise, a front-page article in *Le Figaro* begins with boastful, bellicose numbers (‘Twenty-one warships, that is to say a good portion of our Mediterranean fleet, were under review this morning ...’), and describes in some detail the military capabilities of the ships.²⁶ After this martial opening, it goes on to outline the diplomatic events of the day (the exchange of gifts between French and Greek officials, a luncheon, etc.) and characterizes the whole affair as ‘an excellent celebration of Franco-Greek friendship’.²⁷ The article continues:

Our two cultures understand and complete one another and almost all Athenians speak our language perfectly ... For Greece, as for the France of Henry IV, the arts and the sea are the lifeblood [*mamelles*]. All the descendants of Ulysses feel a passion for the things of the sea, whether they are professional ship-owners or simple amateur sailors, and nothing could please them more than the sight of a handsome French squadron in town.²⁸

The echoes in this version of events of the age-old stereotype of the simple, noble fishermen–savages dazzled by the sight of the fancy European warships pulling up on their beaches are faint but unmistakable. The benevolent paternalism and patronage implied by the aegis of ‘protecting and defending sites’ slides precipitously into an outright display of imperialism when the banner is carried by 21 warships and 2,500 naval officers.



40 Two thousand five hundred French naval officers at the world premier of 'The Sound and Light Show', from 'Quand la flotte française écoutait le récit de Marathon', in *Le Figaro*, 1 June 1957, p. 16.

Here again, the metaphor of the museum, or an ethnographic collection, is useful in thinking about the cultural imperialism underpinning the very premise of 'The Sound and Light Show'. In an ethnographic museum, nation *x* claims for itself the right to put the cultural artefacts of nation *y* on display for its own aestheticizing interpretation and pleasure.²⁹ In 'The Sound and Light Show', nation *x* goes to nation *y* to present the monuments and history of nation *y* to nation *y*'s own citizens and to foreign tourists, for the diplomatic and financial gain of nation *x*. In both cases, nation *x* claims for itself the right to tell nation *y*'s history; furthermore, such a spectacle would be inconceivable if the protagonists and setting were reversed. Indeed, it is almost laughable to imagine a Greek company attempting to set up shop at the Bastille with spotlights and a voiceover about the French Revolution.

I have discussed above the political expediency of 'The Sound and Light Show' for Karamanlis's government. But what use could the show have been to France? Why the extraordinary amount of French media coverage;³⁰ why the involvement of this national association (whatever its title and purpose); why the Navy; why André Malraux?

One answer is that it was important for France to foster friendly relations between the two nations because France was, in the late in 1950s and early 1960s, in the process of developing a variety of economic interests in Greece. A

French company had recently signed a contract for an oil-prospecting concern on the borders of Thessaly and Macedonia, while another was negotiating with Stavros Niarkhos (Onassis's brother-in-law) for the joint establishment of an aluminium plant.³¹ But I would also argue that France's interest in a Greek sound and light show in 1959 should be set within the broader context of French international policy at the time, which was occupied first and foremost with the Algerian war of independence. International opinion had turned decidedly against France's colonial mission in north Africa since its bombing of a remote Tunisian frontier village in February 1958. General De Gaulle had returned to power in May of that year thanks to an uprising by European Algerians who demanded that the Algerian nationalists be defeated once and for all, but De Gaulle was sensitive to the international scene and to the realities of the situation. Later that year he made important concessions to the Muslim population in Algeria, promising to build schools and hospitals, to create jobs for them and to ensure their participation in the higher ranks of the civil services. By September 1959 De Gaulle had granted Algerians the right to vote for their independence. In the light of these events, France's desire to put its official, governmental stamp on the Athenian 'Sound and Light Show' can perhaps be read as an attempt to bolster international goodwill and improve its image abroad, particularly in terms of its relations in the Mediterranean. (It is perhaps not surprising that one of the key organizers of the Show, Jean de Broglie, would go on within a few years to become Secretary of State with responsibility for the Sahara.³²) 'The Sound and Light Show' allowed France to dress itself up in the guise of benevolent cultural patron; with the added irony, of course, that the language and imagery in which they paradoxically chose to celebrate this role – namely that of military conquest and imperialism – echoed the very behaviour that had got them into trouble in Algeria in the first place.

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Much of the political ideology embedded in the text and newspaper coverage of 'The Sound and Light Show' was explicitly articulated in the keynote address at the opening ceremonies. This was delivered by French Minister of Culture André Malraux before an audience that included, in addition to the 2,500 French naval officers, the Greek royal family, numerous officials of the Greek government, including Karamanlis himself, and thousands of international visitors.

Malraux's speech echoed many of the show's primary themes: ancient Greece as the embodiment of all that is culturally enlightened ('the thing which most embodies for us that confused term "culture" – that ensemble of creations of art and of the spirit – it is to Greece that the glory is due for having made culture a staple ingredient [*un moyen majeur*] of man's formation')³³; ancient Greece as synonymous with 'the West' ('a secret Greece resides in the hearts of all men of the West');³⁴ and the dichotomy of East and West, with the latter representing the birthplace of human consciousness ('Facing the ancient Orient, we begin to understand that Greece created a type of man that had never existed before').³⁵ The militaristic aspects of the show were also evident in Malraux's speech: by means of a curious rhetorical twist, he managed to equate military strength with cultural enlightenment: 'Aeschylus and Sophocles wouldn't mean the same thing

to us if we didn't remember that they were soldiers. For the world, sovereign Greece is still Athena, pensive, leaning on her spear. And never before her had art united the spear with thought.³⁶ What then follows is an extraordinary elision of ancient and modern history, in which Malraux suggests that all the various wars fought on Greek soil over the previous 2,500 years are manifestations of the same single struggle for the rule of law over the tyranny of absolutism. It comes at the climactic conclusion of his speech, and is worth quoting in full:

This 'no' of refusal was that of Missalonghi, that of Solomos. The world has not forgotten that it was first that of Antigone and that of Prometheus. When the last casualty of the Greek Resistance fell to the ground where he would spend his first night of death, he fell on the earth where the most noble and the most ancient refusal of man was born, under the same stars that watched over the dead at Salamis. We have learned the same truth in the same blood spilled for the same cause, at the time when the Greeks and the Free French fought side by side in the battle of Egypt ...³⁷

Much could be said about this great whitewashing of the past, in which the complexities of history are so over-simplified that it can be claimed that the battles of World War II were fought 'with the same blood' and 'for the same cause' as the Greek War of Independence and the struggles against the Persians 2,500 years before. What I wish to note here is the political expediency of such a version of history in the context of the Cold War. Set within the framework of a panegyric to the democratic ideals of the West, Malraux's collapsing of past and present implies that the myriad wars of the past two and a half millennia are simply variations on the basic theme of West/freedom/culture vs. East/tyranny/ignorance. The conflicts of the Cold War, particularly as they were being played out within contemporary Greek politics, can easily be made to fit into this dichotomized model.

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It is worthwhile to pause for a moment in my discussion of 'The Sound and Light Show' to consider a roughly contemporary cultural event held in Athens. This event, a massive exhibition entitled 'The Hellenic Fight for Civilization', was on view in the Zappeion Building in 1968, and further suggests that the ideologies of Cold War politics were *meant* to be read into contemporary, government-sponsored cultural spectacles.

While no catalogue of this exhibition seems to have been published, a detailed brochure outlines the show's extensive contents and intellectual aims (plate 41).³⁸ Through the display of some 5,000 objects, from 'all the periods in the life and development of Hellenism from mythological times to the present', including 'works of art, relics, effigies, panoramic reproductions, documents and editions of great historical value, weapons of all ages, uniforms, medals, etc.', the exhibition aimed to 'describe the struggles of the Greeks, from distant antiquity to the present time, on behalf of the spiritual civilization and the prevalence of Greco-Christian ideals'.



41 Exhibition brochure for *The Hellenic Fight for Civilization*, Athens, 1960.

Macedonia and the island of Crete'. These were followed directly by 'the most striking hours of the Glory of the Greek Nation: the battles from 1922 to 1932, the War of 1912/1913, the War of Northern Epirus, World War I; battles of the Ukraine; battles in Asia Minor, the Army of Evros River, etc.'. Towards the end of the exhibition, one room was devoted to the 'all-out struggle of the Nation against the Red Threat (December 1944; Bandit Warfare; anarchist activities over the last few years)'. The final gallery presented 'the Golden Leaves of Greek History – a synopsis of the battles of Hellenism, from prehistoric times to the present day, in defence of Humanity's Spiritual Civilization'.

Two aspects of this exhibition are worth pointing out in relation to 'The Sound and Light Show'. The first is its construction of a unified 'Hellenic spirit', characterized by 'civilization' in the highest, post-Enlightenment sense of the term, which binds together the entire history of the geographical entity that is Greece. This recalls Athena's climactic vow at 'The Sound and Light Show' that 'for aeons

The brochure's description of the exhibition's thirty-one rooms makes it clear that this was a show with an outspoken political agenda. The tendentious slant is plainly evident in, for example, the show's construction of the Trojan War, as 'the first Panhellenic effort to repel the Asiatic invader'. Immediately following was a presentation of classical Athens and the Persian wars, in a gallery in which 'Pericles's 'Epitaphios' (i.e. funeral oration) is being read', presumably in some sort of continuous public performance. The next room, devoted to the Macedonian period, represented 'the universal diffusion of the Greek Spirit through the then known world'.

The content of these early rooms of the exhibition recalls many elements of 'The Sound and Light Show', with its focus on 'Asiatic' enemies, Pericles and an abiding 'Greek Spirit', as well as its silence on the Peloponnesian War. Even more remarkable, however, are the exhibition's similarities to Malraux's address, in terms of its ideologically laden telescoping of history.

Three later rooms presented 'the valiant battles of the Greek Nation from 1453 to 1821 to win its Freedom', while another two treated 'the battles of the Nation for the liberation of

to come, I shall be . . . the Athena who overcame the Erinyes, the ever-living forces of darkness. I shall stand for order, law and clarity . . . all manner of thought of love, of reason, which shall guard against pride and fanaticism.' Both the Show and the exhibition make the claim that this essential spirit ('Hellenism') is stronger than any accident of history, and so goes on existing, whether it is allowed to flourish, as in the age of Pericles, or is temporarily muted, as in the Ottoman period (in this exhibition construed as a four-hundred-year-long struggle for freedom). Such dark moments of oppression can only be transitory, the argument goes, for it is inevitable that the 'Hellenic spirit' will eventually break free of its bonds, as it did in the liberating dramas of Greece's various wars of independence.³⁹ This 'mythology' echoes directly the refrains of Malraux's speech, in which all of history becomes a single struggle of liberty against oppression, the 'no' of Antigone identical to the 'no' of Missalonghi and to that of the Greek Resistance.

The second aspect of 'The Hellenic Fight for Civilization' that mirrors 'The Sound and Light Show' is its partisan viewpoint, particularly apparent in its treatment of the Communist party. The five-year-long civil war between the Greek communists and the US- and British-backed government army is reduced to 'Bandit Warfare', while more recent Communist actions are described as 'anarchist activities'. The very inclusion of this material in the exhibition (and the near complete exclusion of any other contemporary political issues) implies that the 'Red Threat' represents the modern incarnation of the age-old enemy of the 'Hellenic spirit', those forces of evil, darkness and tyranny that have been bearing down on 'civilization' since the dawn of time.

* * *

The interpretation of 'The Sound and Light Show' for which I have been arguing focuses on its official, hegemonic uses and meanings. What makes the episode a particularly fruitful one for historical or historiographical analysis is the fact that this official rhetoric was hotly contested by contemporaries. It is to these alternative, dissenting voices that I will now, finally, turn my attention.

In Greece, not surprisingly, the show was controversial from the outset. There is little mention in the Greek press of 'Franco-Hellenic friendship' or of the French naval officers whose presence at the event so dominated the French media. Rather, articles and editorials decried the transformation of the Acropolis into a garish 'Luna Park',⁴⁰ while others attacked the illicit, behind-the-scenes negotiations that had permitted the installation in the first place. The Greek government, they complained, had secretly 'sold the Acropolis and the Pnyx' to a private foreign company in a financial deal grossly disadvantageous to Greece.⁴¹ One critic went so far as to charge that:

The Rock of inaccessible Beauty has been transformed into a stage set for an opera which some director with no concept of taste has flooded with spotlights, focusing now here and now there and compelling the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, the Propylaea and the temple of Athena Nike to act as incompetent strolling players.⁴²

But even in France, responses to ‘The Sound and Light Show’ could be heard from many points of view. The show was parodied in a political cartoon in *L’Express*,⁴³ while a rather chauvinistic editorial in *Le Monde* objected to Malraux’s description of the Acropolis as ‘the only place on earth haunted simultaneously by the mind and by bravery’, arguing that the same claim could be made for a variety of sites in France, such as the halls of the school-cum-battleground at Sainte-Geneviève, or the tomb of Montaigne.⁴⁴ More substantive issues were raised by the brief but startlingly frank coverage of the event in *Le Nouvel Observateur*, which stated, in the caption of a large photograph of Malraux beneath the illuminated Parthenon, that:

All too recently the mere possession of a book by André Malraux earned serious trouble for the Greek political prisoners [*déportés*] who sought to read them. The government of Mr. Karamanlis wanted very much to forget this fascist past and not see anything in General de Gaulle’s Minister of the ancient fighter for Republican Spain. For his part, Mr. Malraux spoke only of the Greece of the fifth century ...⁴⁵

This brief description touches on many of the political subtexts seething beneath the placid façade of ‘The Sound and Light Show’. Unlike the rosier depictions of ‘all the descendants of Ulysses’ that filled the columns of most French papers, this article refused to shield its gaze politely from the underside of modern Greece, with its book-bannings and political arrests. It also hints at Malraux’s own tacit complicity in such practices by virtue of his refusal to condemn or even address them in a speech devoted to liberty and democracy.

The caption in *Le Nouvel Observateur* also makes reference to the great irony of Malraux’s presence at the Athenian ‘Sound and Light Show’ in the first place. Although by this time a mainstream, rightward-leaning Minister of Culture, Malraux had his own communist history, one that began, coincidentally, with a controversy over imperialism and ancient monuments.⁴⁶ In 1923, at the age of twenty-two, Malraux had been sent on an archaeological mission to Cambodia, and ended up briefly in prison when he refused to hand over the Khmer statues he had found to the French colonial authorities, who intended to export them to Paris. Malraux was disgusted by the destruction of indigenous cultural traditions by colonialism, and the experience prompted his authorship of a widely published pamphlet on the injustice of French colonialism in Cambodia, as well as his enrolment in the Communist party. He became a leader in international anti-fascist associations, fought in the Spanish Civil War, and articulated his radical political views in internationally renowned publications such as *Le Temps du Mépris* and *La Condition Humaine*. Malraux went on to serve as a brigade commander during World War II; but his politics mellowed considerably after the war. He publicly renounced his former affiliations; and it was as a representative of de Gaulle’s government that he addressed the crowd at the premier of ‘The Sound and Light Show’. His reputation as a Communist freedom-fighter, however, could not be forgotten so easily, and, as *Le Nouvel Observateur* pointed out, his presence on the stage that night was only possible thanks to the mutually blind eyes that he and his Greek hosts turned to one another’s political pasts.

No such blind eye was turned, however, by *L'Humanité*, the newspaper of the French Communists, who reported even more scathingly than *Le Nouvel Observateur* on the ironies of the ex-communist minister's speech. Under a front-page headline, 'Mr. Malraux Struck by Amnesia on the Acropolis',⁴⁷ the paper skewered Malraux for the omissions from his list of past and present humanitarian martyrs memorialized by the Acropolis monuments. The paper was particularly outraged over Malraux's failure to mention a certain Manolis Glezos who, as a young student at Athens University, had, together with his friend Apostolos Santas, jump-started the Greek Resistance movement in 1941 by scaling the slopes of the Acropolis and tearing down the Nazi flag then flying above the Parthenon. This brave act was one of the earliest and most famous of the Greek Resistance; and by a fortuitous coincidence, the debut of 'The Sound and Light Show' fell precisely on the date of its eighteenth anniversary. But Glezos, like many of the participants in the Greek Resistance, had gone on to become an active member of the Communist party. He had served as a Member of Parliament, and recently as the editor of the Communist newspaper *Avgi*. For these activities, he had been charged with treason in Karamanlis's crackdown after the resurgence of the Left in the spring elections of 1959, and was at the time in prison facing the death penalty.

L'Humanité was the only French newspaper to mention the Glezos connection in its coverage of 'The Sound and Light Show'. The front-page article on Malraux's amnesia directed readers to a related feature on page 3, entitled bluntly, 'Eighteen Years Ago Manolis Glezos Tore Down the Nazi Flag that Flew Over the Acropolis.'⁴⁸ It spelled out the ironic details of the case with dramatic fury:

Today, after that night worthy of the epics of Antiquity, Manolis Glezos is in prison, in secret, threatened with the death penalty by the government that calls itself a member of the 'free world' of western civilization and uses a fascist law written twenty years ago under a fascist regime, against the hero of the Acropolis!⁴⁹

The article ended with an appeal to readers to join the London- and Paris-based International Manolis Glezos Committee and to write letters to the Greek ambassador in Paris protesting Glezos's death sentence.

Indeed, despite all its optimistic rhetoric about freedom and democracy, the great irony of 'The Sound and Light Show' is that its debut led directly to a bitter, international clash over human rights in Greece. Left-leaning political activists in London and Paris took advantage of the attention the show focused on Greece and on the long history and symbolism of the Acropolis, and deflected the spotlight, so to speak, onto Glezos's desperate case. A few days after the premier, the French 'Association nationale des anciens combattants de la Résistance' published a letter in support of the actions of the International Manolis Glezos Committee, and a rally was planned in Athens for the following week. At this point, Karamanlis stepped in, however, banning not only the upcoming rally but all public assemblies in favour of Glezos in Greece, an act which only fanned the flames of political outrage.⁵⁰ Later that summer, under the weight of embarrassing international pressure, he commuted Glezos's death sentence to five years'



42 Postage stamp issued by the Soviet Union, 12 November 1959, depicting the imprisoned Greek Communist Manolis Glezos and the Acropolis, with the slogan ‘Liberty to the Greek Patriots’.



43 Postage stamp issued by Greece, 8 December 1959, depicting the executed Hungarian revolutionary Imre Nagy, with the slogan ‘Liberty to the People’.

imprisonment. But the issue would not go away: that November, the Soviet Union issued a postage stamp bearing Glezos’s portrait and the legend ‘Liberty to the Greek Patriots’, before a backdrop of the Acropolis (plate 42). Karamanlis responded to the philatelic challenge with a pair of Greek stamps honouring Imre Nagy – who had been executed in 1958 by the Soviets for his role in the failed 1956 uprising in Hungary – with the inscription ‘Liberty to the People’ (plate 43).⁵¹

Overall, the clamour from the left only strengthened Karamanlis’s resolve to ally his nation ever more tightly with Western European political and business interests. He signed agreements that year allowing the installation of American nuclear bases in Greece, received diplomatic visits from the Royal Air Force, and signed contracts with French and German corporations. It would be another three years before Glezos was freed on a King’s Birthday amnesty.

* * *

Despite the very rocky history of modern Greece’s commitment to democracy, ‘The Sound and Light Show’ has been running continuously since 1959, transforming the Acropolis monuments every night into a transhistorical symbol of freedom and beauty, and pitting the West against the East. At the moment of its inception, this rhetoric, fraught with Cold War ideology, served the anti-Communist stance of the Karamanlis government. The French also carefully packaged their own self-image at the show, turning a small, private capitalist

venture into a national demonstration of military strength and benevolent cultural patronage. Meanwhile, for dissenting voices, the Acropolis took on a different set of meanings, drawn from different moments of the past and relevant to different concerns of the present. The conflicting claims of Glezos vs. the Nazis, the Communists vs. Malraux, Karamanlis vs. the International Glezos Committee, all can be read as struggles over the meaning and appropriation of this site of memory.

The Acropolis monuments are perhaps the most recognized and emulated symbol of the ancient world. From the full-scale reproduction of the Parthenon built in Nashville, Tennessee's Centennial Park to the countless government buildings, banks and museums around the world that echo its distinctive façade, the monuments have symbolized innumerable causes and ideals in the course of their 2,500 year history.⁵² 'The Sound and Light Show', like the wall-text of a museum, represents an attempt to pin those meanings down on behalf of dominant political ideology, to fix the 'memorial heritage' of the Acropolis once and for all. But as the snowballing international controversies following the show's premier indicate, such attempts to petrify the multivalent signs of the past are bound to fail.

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Notes

A very different version of this essay was presented as a Part II dissertation in the Classical Tripos at Cambridge University in 1996. I would like to thank Mary Beard for her support and criticism of the project, as well as Smith College and the Dorothy Duveen Burns Trust for funding my postgraduate studies in England. It was also presented at a session on the historiography of ancient art at the 2000 College Art Association's annual meetings; I am very grateful to Alice Donohue and Mark Fullerton for their thoughtful organization of that panel. The present version has benefited greatly from the insightful comments of Tally Kampen, Barbara Kellum, Ken Lapatin, Karen Van Dyck and Robert Nemes, as well as the anonymous reviewer at *Art History*. Special thanks finally to Amy Robinson, who sat through the show with me.

- 1 The text is transcribed in the programme available for purchase after the performance.
- 2 I do not mean to suggest that 'The Sound and Light Show' exercises any sort of monopolistic control of the Acropolis monuments; only a small portion of visitors to Athens attend the spectacle, and of those it is to be hoped that a fair number are sceptical critics of its contents. The show is, nevertheless, officially sponsored by the National Tourist Organization of Greece. It features prominently on the itineraries of nearly every major package tour of Greece, and sells enough tickets to merit three performances a night, seven nights a week, six months per year – and has done so for the past forty-one years. I do, therefore, believe that its impact on popular experience of the Acropolis is considerable.
- 3 P. Nora, *Lieux de Mémoire*, Paris, 1992 [English edition, New York, 1996].
- 4 P. Nora, 'General Introduction: Between Memory and History', *ibid.*, pp. 1–20.
- 5 See, most recently, 'British Museum Still House of Secrecy on Elgin Marbles', *Guardian*, 24 September 1999.
- 6 C. Phillips, 'The Judgment Seat of Photography', *The Contest of Meaning. Critical Histories of Photography*, ed. R. Bolton, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1989. A. Solomon-Godeau, 'Canon Fodder: Authoring Eugène Atget', *Photography at the Dock*, Minneapolis, 1991, pp. 29–51.
- 7 Recent and important exceptions to this rule, on the embarrassing question of fakes in museum collections, can be found in the published papers of the *Getty Kouros Colloquium*, Athens, 1993, and in the Bibliothèque nationale's *Vrai ou Faux? Copier, Imiter, Falsifier*, Paris, 1991.
- 8 M. Beard, 'Adopting an Approach II', *Looking at Greek Vases*, eds T. Rasmussen and N. Spivey, Cambridge, 1986, pp. 12–35. M. Vickers and D. Gill, *Artful Crafts: Ancient Greek Silverware and*

- Pottery*, Oxford, 1994. For a defence of connoisseurship in Greek vase studies, see M. Robertson, 'Adopting an Approach I', in *Looking at Greek Vases*, pp. 1–12.
- 9 The recent literature on museology is considerable. My approach to the subject is greatly indebted to the work of Carol Duncan, whose *Civilizing Rituals. Inside Public Art Museums*, London, 1995, includes a thorough bibliography.
 - 10 For a recent discussion of this rhetoric in action, see F. S. Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War. The CIA and the World of Arts and Letters*, New York, 2000.
 - 11 For this section, I have relied upon the following: R. Clogg, *A Short History of Greece*, Cambridge, 1986; T.A. Coulombis, *Greek Political Reaction to American and NATO Influences*, New Haven, 1966; M. Genevoix, *The Greece of Karamanlis*, London, 1973; D. Holden, *Greece Without Columns. The Making of the Modern Greeks*, Philadelphia, 1972; C. M. Woodhouse, *Karamanlis, The Restorer of Greek Democracy*, Oxford, 1982; and K. Young, *The Greek Passion*, London, 1969.
 - 12 Indeed, it was in the context of a request to Congress for \$400 million in aid to the politically volatile nations of Greece and Turkey that US President Truman first outlined the policy of Communist containment that would become the Truman Doctrine.
 - 13 Holden, *op. cit.* (note 11), p. 178.
 - 14 The phrase is echoed in Woodhouse's panegyric biography of Karamanlis. Summing up the Prime Minister's achievements, he writes, 'Greece, from which the stream of European civilization originally flowed, had re-entered the mainstream.' Woodhouse, *op. cit.* (note 11), p. 266.
 - 15 Of course, the nexus of ideas associating Greece, democracy, beauty, civilization and Western European culture was not born in the 1950s, but had a much longer history, dating back at least to the eighteenth century.
 - 16 First developed in 1952, *Son et Lumière* spectacles were performed at the castles of the Loire valley. P. Robert-Houdin, *La féerie nocturne des châteaux de la Loire*, Paris, 1954. The details of the company's negotiations with Greece, its first foreign venture, remain murky.
 - 17 'Lumière sur l'Acropole', *Le Figaro* 29 May 1959, p. 14.
 - 18 'Echos kai Phos e Louna Park Sten Acropole' ['Son et Lumière, or, the Acropolis as Luna Park'] *Eleutheria*, 30 May 1959, p. 1.
 - 19 De Broglie was at the time a high-ranking, independent deputy in the civil service.
 - 20 'Voici comment André Malraux occupera la tribune de Démosthène pour s'adresser aux Athéniens', *Le Figaro*, May 28 1959, p. 18. 'Malraux ouvre ce soir le premier spectacle "Son et Lumière de l'Acropole"', *Paris-Presse L'Intransigeant*, 28 May 1959, p. 8, also uses this title.
 - 21 'Lumière sur l'Acropole', *op. cit.* (note 17), p. 14.
 - 22 'Son et Lumière sur l'Acropole', *L'Aurore*, 29 May 1959, p. 14.
 - 23 *ibid.* 'L'initiative en revient à M. Jean de Broglie, député de l'Eure et président de l'Association pour la défense et la mise en valeur des sites. Cette gigantesque évocation historique est aussi le symbole de la coopération culturelle franco-hellénique. Et c'est pourquoi, M. André Malraux, ministre de la Culture, était hier soir en personne à Athènes pour représenter le gouvernement français à l'inauguration de ce "Son et Lumière" que s'identifie à une grande manifestation de l'esprit.' All translations from the French are my own.
 - 24 'Quand la flotte française écoutait le récit de Marathon', *Le Figaro*, 1 June 1959, p. 16.
 - 25 '2,500 marins français ont pris d'assaut l'Acropole d'Athènes', *France-Soir*, 30 May 1959, p. 7. 'Ce cortège, colorié-uniformes blanc et pompons rouges, prenait la figure d'une immense procession allant rendre hommage à la beauté, tandis qu'Athènes elle-même les accueillait par ces paroles immortelles: "Montez vers moi..."'
 - 26 'Grande parade de la marine française avant le "Son et Lumière" sur la colline sacrée de l'Acropole', *Le Figaro*, 28 May 1959, p. 1. 'Vingt et un bâtiments de guerre français, c'est-à-dire une bonne partie de notre flotte méditerranéenne, a été passée en revue ce matin ...'
 - 27 '... une excellente fête d'amitié franco-grecque'.
 - 28 'Nos deux cultures se comprennent et se complètent et presque tous les Athéniens parlent parfaitement notre langue ... La Grèce, comme la France d'Henri IV, a deux mamelles: les arts et la marine. Tous les descendants d'Ulysse éprouvent la passion des choses de la mer, qu'ils soient armateurs de profession ou simples navigateurs d'occasion, et rien ne pouvait leur faire plus de plaisir que l'envoi chez eux d'une belle escadre française.'
 - 29 See the many articles in *Exhibiting Cultures*, eds I. Karp and S.D. Lavine, Washington, 1991.
 - 30 Between 28 May and 1 June 1959, 'The Sound and Light Show' was featured on the front page of nearly every nationally circulating French newspaper that I was able to locate in the Colindale Newspaper Library in London. The coverage in many of the larger papers, such as *Le Figaro*, ran to several pages, and often encompassed many days' worth of lead-up and follow-up reports as well.
 - 31 Woodhouse, *op. cit.* (note 11), p. 104ff.
 - 32 J. Lacouture, *De Gaulle the Ruler, 1945–1970*, New York, 1992, pp. 302–305.
 - 33 'Ce que recouvre pour nous le mot si confus de culture – l'ensemble des créations de l'art et de l'esprit – c'est à la Grèce que revient la gloire d'en avoir fait un moyen majeur de formation de l'homme.' All citations of Malraux's speech come from the transcript published in 'Etranger, va

- dire à Lacédémone ...' *Le Figaro*, 29 May 1959, pp. 1, 14.
- 34 'une Grèce secrète repose au coeur de tous les hommes d'Occident.'
- 35 'En face de l'ancien Orient, nous commençons à comprendre que la Grèce a crée un type d'homme qui n'avait jamais existé.'
- 36 'Eschyle et Sophocle ne nous atteindraient pas de même façon si nous ne nous souvenons qu'ils furent des combattants. Pour le monde, la Grèce souveraine est encore l'Athena pensive appuyée sur sa lance. Et jamais avant elle, l'art n'avait uni la lance et la pensée.'
- 37 'Ce Non de nier fut celui de Missolonghi, celui de Solomos. Le monde n'a pas oublié qu'il avait été d'abord celui d'Antigone et celui de Prométhée. Lorsque le dernier tué de la Résistance grecque s'est collé au sol sur lequel il allait passer sa première nuit de mort, il est tombé sur la terre où était né le plus noble et le plus ancien des refus humains, sous les mêmes étoiles que avaient veillé les morts de Salamine. Nous avons appris la même vérité dans le même sang versé pour la même cause, au temps où les Grecs et les Français Libres combattaient côte à côte dans la bataille d'Égypte ...'
- 38 I would like to thank Rebecca Molholt for bringing this brochure to my attention.
- 39 The analogy with the legendary 'Greek fire' is a frequent and enduring one: see, for example, O. Taplin, *Greek Fire. The Influence of Ancient Greece on the Modern World*. New York, 1990.
- 40 'Echos kai Phos e Louna Park Sten Acropole' ['Son et Lumière, or, the Acropolis as Luna Park'], *Eleutheria*, 30 May 1959, p. 1.
- 41 'Siopo kai Skotos: Apokalupeis kai Skandala' ['Silence and Darkness: Disclosures and Scandals'], *Eleutheria*, 5 June 1959, p. 1.
- 42 Discussed briefly and translated by D. Philippides, 'The Parthenon as Appreciated by Greek Society', *The Parthenon and its Impact in Modern Times*, ed. P. Tournikiotis, Athens, 1994, pp. 280–309, at p. 298.
- 43 'Son et Lumière', *L'Express*, (cartoon), 28 May 1959, p. 7.
- 44 'Acropoles', *Le Monde*, 1 June 1959, p. 1: '...le seul lieu du monde hanté à la fois par l'esprit et le courage.'
- 45 'Tout récemment encore la simple possession d'un livre d'André Malraux valait de sérieux ennuis aux déportés politiques grecs qui cherchaient à les lire. Le gouvernement de M. Caramanlis a bien voulu oublier ce fâcheux passé et ne point voir dans le ministre du général de Gaulle l'ancien combattant de l'Espagne républicaine. De son côté, M. Malraux ne s'adressa, dans son discours, qu'à la Grèce du cinquième siècle ...' no title, *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 4 June 1959, p. 2.
- 46 M. de Courcel, *Malraux, Life and Work*, London, 1976; W. Langlois, 'Malraux and the Greek Ideal', *Via Malraux, Ecrits de Walter Langlois*, ed. D. Bevan, Wolfville, 1986, pp. 294–317.
- 47 'M. Malraux frappe d'amnesie sur l'Acropole', *L'Humanité*, 30 May 1959, p. 1.
- 48 'Il y 18 ans Manolis Glezos arrachait le drapeau nazi qui flottait sur l'Acropole', *L'Humanité*, 30 May 1959, p. 3.
- 49 'Aujourd'hui, après cette nuit digne des épopées de l'Antiquité, Manolis Glezos est en prison, au secret, menacé de la peine de mort par des gouvernants qui se réclament du "monde libre", de la civilisation occidentale et utilisent une loi fasciste élaborée il y a vingt ans par un régime fasciste, contre le héros de l'Acropole!'
- 50 'Le gouvernement grec interdit les manifestations en faveur de Manolis Glezos', *L'Humanité*, 1 June 1959.
- 51 *Scott's Standard Postage Stamp Catalogue*, Sidney, Ohio, 1987, Russia #2270 and Greece #664-5. Both nations eventually agreed to withdraw the stamps from circulation. For a brief discussion of the episode, see S. G. Esrati, 'Stamps Used to Fight Political Battles', *Linn's Stamp News*, n.p., 30 September 1985. I would like to thank Csaba Kohalmi and the Society for Hungarian Philately for their kind assistance and for bringing this article to my attention.
- 52 R. Browning, 'The Parthenon in History', *Imperial Spoils: The Curious Case of the Elgin Marbles*, ed. C. Hitchens, New York, 1987, pp. 13–27; P. Tournikiotis, op. cit. (note 42), *passim*.

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