



RECEPCIÓN CLÁSICA Y DICTADURAS EUROPEAS LEGITIMACIÓN Y RESISTENCIA

CLASSICAL RECEPTION AND EUROPEAN DICTATORSHIPS LEGITIMATION AND RESISTANCE

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Recepción Clásica y Dictaduras europeas: Legitimación y resistencia

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LIBRO DE RESÚMENES / ABSTRACTS

Narrations identitaires de prestige dans la Roumanie de Ceaușescu – autour de la mythologie officielle des Daces

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Cette intervention met en lumière l'intersection entre les politiques identitaires du régime communiste sous Ceaușescu (1965-1989) et l'élaboration d'une démarche exaltant la suprématie culturelle, linguistique et scientifique des Daces, affirmée à l'échelle européenne et même mondiale durant le second âge du fer (période La Tène) et l'Antiquité. Connue sous le nom de *protochronisme*, ce courant repose sur une approche pseudo-scientifique qui a émergé aussi bien dans des cercles académiques que non-académiques roumains. Bien qu'il ait atteint son apogée sous le régime communiste, le protochronisme puise ses racines au XIX^e siècle et persiste sous différentes formes après la chute du communisme, notamment dans les débats contemporains liés aux élections de décembre 2024.

Dans une logique particulière fondée sur une interprétation partisane et fantaisiste des sources grecques et latines, et avec la promotion de figures telles que Zalmoxis, les Roumains étaient célébrés comme les héritiers des Daces. Cette perspective tendait à minimiser, voire à occulter délibérément, l'origine latine du peuple roumain à certains moments clés de sa popularité.

La relation entre ce discours et l'extrémisme, ainsi que son lien avec l'orthodoxie, s'avère complexe. Selon les configurations historiques, l'exaltation des Daces s'est associée à l'extrême droite (notamment au mouvement légionnaire de l'Archange Michel durant l'entre-deux-guerres), au national-communisme antireligieux de Ceaușescu, ou plus récemment à des mouvements politiques contemporains qui instrumentalisent également l'orthodoxie.

Très présente dans le discours public, cette vision s'accompagne souvent d'une défiance voir même d'une révolte à l'égard de l'Europe et de l'Occident, perçus comme dominateurs.

**'Estado Novo', architecture and 'national rebirth':
the role of classicism among the regime's historicisms**

Joana Brites, University of Coimbra

Art, particularly architecture, contributed significantly during the Estado Novo ("New State"), the right-wing dictatorship that lasted in Portugal from 1933 to 1974, in shaping the worldview of the Portuguese people and their perception of the Government. The regime's public works – one of its most modernizing aspects – fueled the vision of a concrete and efficient State and that of a picturesque and traditionalist country. The relative aesthetic plurality cultivated, far from indicating an undefined cultural policy, constituted a conscious "inclusive" strategy parallel to those of other fascist regimes. It was based on an apparatus prepared and put into operation to prevent and repress deviation.

This paper aims to characterize the architecture of the Estado Novo as an alternative proposal to the "unpatriotic" image of the Modernist Movement and as a "regenerative" and "corrective" response to the modernization process. Architecture thus sought to constitute a tool and a reflection of the alleged process of "rebirth" and "national salvation." The strategy of compromise practiced on a large scale in the regime's public works will be presented: the so-called "national and modern," a process of nationalizing the "International Style" through regionalist and historicist elements. In this context, the role and place of the use of classical language and the hybridization often cultivated between classical, modernist, and other historicist languages will be discussed.

Screen Reflections on the Greek Dictatorship: The Art of Protest

Anastasia Bakogianni, Massey University

Greek Tragedy's dramatisation of thorny issues like war, oppression and violence makes it a powerful tool for protesting totalitarian regimes. But the critique is not always explicit or direct, it can also be masked, sometimes to evade censorship, and/or to promote specific ideological or political positions, and/or to problematize black and white interpretations of historical events. Two internationally famous independent film directors who adapted Greek tragic narratives and themes to engage both directly and indirectly with the Greek dictatorship (1967-1974) are Michael Cacoyannis and Theo Angelopoulos. In this comparative paper, illustrated by stills from their cinematic output and some representative video clips, I analyse the contrasting ways in which these two directors draw on Greek Tragedy to comment on, problematise, and protest the twentieth century historical and socio-political conditions that gave rise to so many totalitarian regimes around the globe, with a particular focus on Modern Greece and Cyprus. Music, the landscape, ancient and modern architecture, and indoor settings help to both locate and translocate

Angelopoulos' and Cacoyannis' cinematic narratives in both ancient and contemporary Greece thus creating a hybrid country of the imagination.

**The Anxious Search for Role Models.
On the Position of the Classics in Czechoslovakia
at the Time of General Stalinisation**

Jakub Čechvala, Czech Academy of Sciences

The so-called Cold War brought with it such extreme external polarisation that it inevitably seeped into the otherwise rather self-contained field of classical studies. In the West, one encounters more implicit ideologising, but even here one sometimes finds such explicit assessments as in the pages of *The Classical Journal*. This is particularly true of the 1948 issue, in which we read: "There are two types of society in the world today. One is authoritarian; the other is democratic." In the same article, the rhetoric of the Cold War also determines the purpose of classical studies in a polarised world: "And that is the society that the present generation of students will face: either a real world with weapons or a cold war of ideas and ideals." It was in 1948 that Czechoslovakia passed into the Soviet sphere of influence after the Communist takeover, with far-reaching consequences for all levels of society. In my paper, I will focus on the effects in the academic sphere. I will characterise the external processes of the Sovietization of our educational system and the Stalinisation of Marxism and scholarship in general. I will then outline the extent to which these processes affected and transformed the more peripheral field of Classical Studies, and the internal mechanisms of compromise it employed in the early 1950s.

**Scipione in camicia nera.
Il cinema fascista, la guerra d'Africa e la storia romana**

Roberto Danese, Università degli Studi di Urbino

The Fascist Regime modelled many of its symbologies on the world of ancient Rome. However, while considering cinema a formidable political propaganda tool, he produced only one major film set in ancient Rome: *Scipione l'Africano* by Carmine Gallone from 1937. The movie carefully follows the historical sources, but the cinematic language transforms it into a powerful metaphor of the imperialistic African wars promoted by the Regime in 1936. The ancient historical events are shown in such a way as to recall to the viewer's mind some crucial events of the fascist colonial politics. Thus, a narration apparently close to ancient sources becomes an implicit confirmation of Fascism as heir to Rome's greatness. The use of lights, profilmic geometries, shots, long shots, voices establishes a process of continuous identification between Mussolini and Scipio, between the Roman republic and the fascist State, between the fascist colonial conquests in Africa and the second Punic war.

Rebirth of Roman and Renaissance mythology during the Third Reich: *Botticelli* (1942), a 'Kraft deutscher Freude' ballet entertainment

Massimo De Giusti, Sorbonne – ESCP Paris

Nicole Haitzinger, Paris Lodron Universität Salzburg

In this co-presentation, the ballet *Botticelli* (1942), staged by Friderica Derra de Moroda in collaboration with the Italian set designer and theater director Luigi Malipiero, is presented as exemplary of the ambivalent tensions between politics and aesthetics during the Nazi era. After Hitler's rise to power, from the mid-1930s, cultural and propaganda battles of words were fought on several fronts at once over the fundamental question "What is German dance?", particularly in the Propaganda Ministry and the Reich Chamber of Culture. In contrast to the expressionism in the visual arts, which had been declared 'degenerate', so-called German expressionist dance remained the most important and worthy of support current of Nazi cultural policy until the end of the 1930s, while ballet was devalued as a foreign, international and 'roman' art. From the beginning of the 1940s and after the gradual disempowerment of Rudolf von Laban as the recognized 'leader' of a German dance community, Friderica Derra de Moroda was appointed head of the KdF Ballet with the task of developing a stage dance model that would, firstly, synthesize the three competing currents of modern dance, ballet and folk dance and, secondly, do justice to Goebbels' formula "Dance must be lively and show beautiful female bodies". (Diary, 27.6.1937).

For Derra de Moroda and Malipiero, the subject of *Botticelli* is particularly suitable as a twofold rebirth – of Roman antiquity and the Italian Renaissance – to combine the conflicting positions in a dance-theatrical production in the sense of a 'Discordia concors'. The central reference for this is Botticelli's painting *Primavera* (1486–1490). It is well known that in this painting not only the nine figures are modeled in a mythical and natural way, but the entire plant world (such as laurel, flor(enti)a, oranges) can be interpreted heraldically.

The underlying ideological and aesthetic continuity between the political-territorial experience of Renaissance Florence, expressed through references to Roman antiquity, and its apophanic development during the Nazi regime is one of the goals of our presentation.

Twenty-first Century Authoritarian Politics and Greco-Roman Antiquity: The View from the United States

Curtis Dozier, Vassar College

The surging popularity of populist, nativist, and far-right parties across Europe (and indeed, the wider world) illustrates that the political legacies of European dictatorships remain very much alive. This phenomenon raises the question, in the present conference, of the role, if any, that Greco-Roman antiquity plays in such a resurgence. In this presentation I offer examples from the United States, taken from overtly white nationalist publications, the mainstream press, and the policies of elected political officials to suggest that the cultural prestige of the ancient world remains a potent rhetorical tool for the promotion of authoritarian politics.

La noción de imperio civilizador como proyecto nacional (fascista)

Antonio Duplá Ansuategui, Universidad del País Vasco

En un trabajo ya clásico sobre el clasicismo como una de las matrices culturales del fascismo, en origen un capítulo de su libro *Le vie del classicismo* (1989), Luciano Canfora situaba la idea imperial como una de esas matrices. Efectivamente, la vocación de imperio está presente en todas las variantes de la ideología fascista como uno de sus vectores fundamentales. En esa ideología imperial, la antigua Roma aparece inevitablemente como un precedente sobresaliente y como un modelo de imperialismo supuestamente civilizador, que se ve obligado a recurrir a la guerra precisamente para extender la paz y la civilización a las poblaciones bárbaras. Esa perspectiva imperial e imperialista se enfrenta en el propio mundo antiguo a otros modelos negativos, como pueda ser el cartaginés, así como en el mundo moderno ese modelo de imperio civilizador se opondrá a los modelos explotadores y plutocráticos encarnados en los imperios británico y holandés. En la modernidad esa vocación imperial civilizadora asumirá la dimensión evangelizadora cristiana y así tanto en el fascismo italiano, tras el Pacto de Letrán de 1929, como en el caso del franquismo español, desde un primer momento, la Iglesia apoyará decididamente a los respectivos regímenes.

Para analizar estas tendencias y sus modelos antiguos se estudiarán diversas obras de la época, como *El Imperio de España* (Antonio Tovar, 1937 y 1941) o *Idea de Imperio* (Santiago Montero, 1943), así como algunas publicaciones falangistas, como las revistas *JERARQVIA* y *Escorial*. Para el caso italiano se utilizarán referencias de destacados historiadores, como Gaetano de Sanctis (autor de la conocida frase «Cartagine, un peso morto nella civiltà classica») y Ettore Pais, así como discursos del propio Benito Mussolini. Los discursos pronunciados respectivamente por Galeazzo Ciano, ministro de Asuntos Exteriores del Duce y Ramón Serrano Suñer, ministro franquista, en junio de 1939 en Tarragona, al calor de la reinauguración de la copia del Augusto

de Prima Porta, regalo de Mussolini a la ciudad, ejemplifican a la perfección esa vocación civilizadora mediterránea y universal.

Una última reflexión pretende unir esa ideología imperialista con el reciente revisionismo histórico al que asistimos en el ámbito español que, si bien puede no ser necesariamente franquista, sí coincide con el franquismo en su reivindicación de las glorias imperiales. El necesario contrapunto puede venir dado por obras como *Imperiofilia y el populismo nacionalcatólico* de José Luis Villacañas.

Ancient myth, contemporary theories and political allegory in Christa Wolf' *Medea*: the limits of a complex narrative construction

Jacqueline Fabre-Serris, Université de Lille

In her *Medea*, Christa Wolf uses Medea's move from Colchis to Corinth to allude to and contrast two political regimes, one dictatorial: East Germany (DDR), the other a liberal democracy: West Germany (FRG). Christa Wolf highlights not only the differences but also the similarities between the two regimes. She criticizes the gradual loss of the communist ideals and the totalitarian drift of the DDR, and she describes the FRG as an example of an inegalitarian society dominated by the lure of gold, in which the government is also autocratic. In context, this position stems from the attacks Christa Wolf suffered, as an emblematic figure after the reunification, for collaborating with the Stasi, even though she had distanced herself politically from the East German regime for many years. In this paper I will analyze Christa Wolf's novel as a complex narrative construction in the service of this political reading, particularly through the use of contemporary theories about archaic societies: matriarchy, agrarian cults (feasts and sacrifices), the role of the scapegoat. I will then underline the limits of this narrative construction in service of a rather heavy demonstration aimed at supporting a questionable political positioning. Christa Wolf defends the East-German regime in the name of its primitive ideal and denounces political practices such as the use of lies, cabals, fear and exclusion, which are obviously signs of dictatorial power, arguing that they are as *also* characteristic of West or reunified Germany ... even though they are historically specific to East Germany. Christa Wolf argues for a greater social and political role for women, while at the same time showing the ineffectiveness of Medea's actions in promoting her conduct, especially her demands for truth and justice, for their liberating effects. My paper will examine how 'her feminism' is presented and analyzed in the various voices of the novel, and why it is ultimately equated with a utopia.

Totalitarismo, censura, resistencia y libertad: el radioteatro clásico en la Europa del siglo XX

Carmen González Vázquez, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

Los comienzos de las emisiones radiofónicas en nuestro país se integran en la dictadura del Capitán General de Cataluña Miguel Primo de Rivera y Orbaneja, quien encabezó un golpe de Estado el 13 de septiembre de 1923 con el apoyo del rey Alfonso XIII y que se mantendría en el poder hasta el 28 de enero de 1930. Es un momento también en el que cae el telón para los títulos de teatro griego que habían llegado a la escena durante las dos décadas anteriores. Un medio de comunicación de masas se abre camino, pues, en un régimen totalitario que llevaba ya ocho meses instaurado y con intenciones de extender aquellos noventa días que había pretendido durar.

Los directivos de las emisoras aprovecharon rápidamente las posibilidades y alcance de la difusión masiva, de la que no fueron conscientes los mandatarios políticos. La radio se convirtió en un elemento subversivo de crítica y reflexión hasta que fue tomada y controlada por los vencedores de la guerra civil española.

En nuestra intervención nos centraremos en el papel de resistencia radiofónica a través del teatro antiguo en España en cuatro momentos: dictadura de Primo de Rivera (1923-1930), dictablanda de Dámaso Berenguer (1930-1931), guerra civil (1936-1939) y dictadura de Francisco Franco (1939-1969, fecha de la última emisión de una obra clásica en antena).

Además, completaremos la situación en España con las emisiones de radios europeas que trataron de alertar sobre el fascismo hitleriano.

Roman Aggressors, Illyrian Yugoslavs Yugoslavia in the Cold War and the history of the Iron Age

Tvrtko Jakovina, University of Zagreb / Università degli Studi di Bologna

Federal, Tito's or Republican Yugoslavia (1945-1991) rested on several fundamental values: the victory of the Partisan army in the Second World War; Tito as an unquestionable leader with a pronounced personality cult; socialist self-management, as a specific Yugoslav, anti-Stalinist form of socialism and another symbol of resistance to the empire - this time Soviet; and non-alignment in international relations. Arguably the most important was brotherhood and unity of all Yugoslav peoples and nationalities (minorities). Numerous humanities disciplines during the Yugoslav era sought to operate within these frameworks, which built a common Yugoslav identity during the Cold War.

Drawing on the first analyses and interpretations of ancient history following World War I and the creation of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (as seen, for example, in the works of Croatian historian Ferdo Šišić), all inhabitants of Yugoslav space during the Iron Age (first millennium before Christ) were

considered Illyrians. This interpretation persisted after World War II within the frameworks of the new communist ideology.

The first post-war archaeological research and the establishment of humanities disciplines in Montenegro, Macedonia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina—regions where they had previously either not existed at all or were underdeveloped—were supported by scholars from the so-called "developed" republics. Many Croatian and Slovenian epigraphers, archaeologists, historians (as well as physicists, musicians, and others), some on the assignment and others as a form of punishment, went to conduct research or teach in Skopje and less affluent parts of Yugoslavia.

In 1963, the Center for Balkan Studies of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ANUBiH) was founded in Sarajevo, with a particular focus on researching the Illyrian heritage of Yugoslavia. The Illyrians became the "proto-Yugoslavs," those who once inhabited the territory of Yugoslavia. Research was thus a joint effort: Slovenian epigrapher Jaroslav Šašel was in charge of Latin epigraphy, Croatia's Duje Rendić handled Greek epigraphy, Radoslav Katičić from Zagreb studied mythology, and so on. In Sarajevo, however, as was often the case, divisions remained among Muslims, Croats, and Serbs.

All those who had once traversed this territory were considered Illyrians, and the Illyrian wars with the Romans were portrayed as the precursor to the later struggles of Yugoslav peoples against various invaders and occupiers. The last of these, defeated in 1945, were the Germans and Italians. Italian identification with Roman tradition, coupled with the strong Catholicism of certain element of Croatian population, made Roman heritage somewhat undesirable. For Croats, Rome (and, by extension, Italy) represented a fear of subjugation and a sense that the Romans were essentially occupiers.

Only the touristic potential of the Diocletian's Palace, the Arena in Pula and several other significant sites, along with the fact that some ancient landmarks were located in the very centers of modern cities, eventually spurred research into this segment of heritage.

The way Cold War Yugoslavia interpreted its own regime and rise to power in World War II was projected back onto earlier historical epochs, with a striking reflection in interpretations of the ancient world. Today, because of this in some of former parts of Yugoslavia, the Illyrian name and the study of Illyrians are often associated with "Yugo-nostalgia" and are, therefore, negative.

In this paper, I will demonstrate how ancient tradition—from teaching Latin to archaeological research and interpretations of ancient history—constructed a Cold War understanding of Yugoslav reality.

Mujeres poetas en el franquismo: el mito clásico como resistencia

Rosa Marina Sáez, Universidad de Zaragoza

Durante la dictadura franquista la producción poética femenina presenta una gran diversidad temática y formal, que hoy en día todavía no ha sido suficientemente visibilizada. Aunque una parte de las escritoras se desarrollaron dentro de la esfera ideológica del régimen, que reducía el espacio femenino al ámbito del hogar y la iglesia, y por tanto limitaba las temáticas aceptables para la creación literaria, otras mujeres mostraron actitudes críticas y reivindicativas, en la medida en que la censura lo permitía.

En ese sentido, los relatos míticos, caracterizados por su gran versatilidad y sus infinitas posibilidades de reinterpretación y relectura, permiten a las autoras plantear problemas relacionados con las situaciones de opresión y de invisibilidad que sufrían como mujeres. En esta ocasión se estudiarán algunos tratamientos poéticos de estos relatos fundacionales de la cultura occidental en obras publicadas desde los comienzos de la Dictadura, con figuras como Carmen Conde, pasando por la revisión tardía de la *Odisea* en Ítaca, de Francisca Aguirre (1972), para terminar con la creación de una mitología propia, surgida tras la Transición, en poemarios como *Narcisia* de Juana Castro (1986).

Working for Propaganda: Ancient Mythology in Soviet Animation

Hanna Paulouskaya, University of Warsaw

Unlike Hollywood's sword-and-sandal epics, the Soviet Union produced numerous animated films centered on ancient mythology and culture. These works, created both in Moscow and across the USSR republics, aimed to educate Soviet audiences about ancient civilizations while appropriating their narratives for ideological purposes.

In this paper, I will examine early Soviet adaptations of Greek myths, focusing on their intended goals and the extent to which they aligned with Communist Party demands. I will also explore whether the filmmakers managed to incorporate messages that diverged from official propaganda. To address these questions, I will analyze two animated films: *The Argonauts* (*Argonavtebi*), directed by Lado Mujiri (Tbilisi, 1936), and *The Return from Olympus* (*Vozvrashchenie s Olimpa*), directed by Aleksandra Snezhko-Blotskaya (Moscow, 1969). Drawing on memoirs, archival materials, and studio discussions from Soyuzmultfilm, including screenplay drafts, I will investigate the production histories of these films and the creative tensions surrounding their development. This approach will shed light on how ancient myths were reinterpreted within the Soviet ideological framework, as well as the subtle ways filmmakers navigated between state mandates and artistic expression.

**Between Two Oppressions:
Greek and Roman Comedy on the Czech Postwar Stage**

Alena Sarkissian, Charles University Prague

In the first three years following the Nazi occupation of the Czech lands, the theatre worked to make up for what it had missed. As a result, plays banned during the Protectorate Böhmen und Mähren by censors appeared the repertoire. Overall, an optimistic mood prevailed in the theatre, and comedy dominated on stage. It not only reflected the past period, but also expressed hopes for the future. This paper will examine the role of Greek and Roman comedy in reflecting the occupation and war in Czechoslovakia. It will first focus on the reflection of Nazi subjugation through Plautus' comedies, and then present a short analysis of stage productions of Aristophanes' *The Peace* and its adaptations, demonstrating that the social moods at the time already foreshadowed the imminent communist takeover in February 1948.

**Is this Sparta? Competing discourses on the appropriation of the past by
the 4th August regime in Greece (1936–1941)**

Yannis Stamos, University of Thessaly

The proposed paper examines the appropriation and contestation of Sparta as a model by the Metaxas dictatorship in Greece (1936–1941), also known as the 4th August regime. Through an analysis of diverse sources, including official propaganda, clandestine press, prison diaries, and illegal pamphlets, it explores how both supporters and opponents of the regime engaged with Spartan imagery and ideals. The research addresses the conference's thematic axis of identity, focusing on how the regime attempted to legitimize its rule by invoking a glorified Spartan past. Crucially, it also investigates how the Spartan model was subverted by opposition groups, particularly communists and less so liberal politicians. By examining these competing discourses, the paper highlights how Sparta became a central battleground for political legitimacy and national identity construction during this period. This study of competing narratives surrounding Sparta offers insights into the complex dynamics of classical reception in 20th-century European dictatorships. It contributes to a broader understanding of how classical references were utilized beyond the well-studied cases of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, exploring key aspects of the Greek case.

Reception of ancient Greek drama under Italian and Portuguese dictatorships

Sara Troiani, Universidade de Coimbra

As emphasised by numerous studies, Italian fascism and the Portuguese New State demonstrated a particular commitment to cultural propaganda, exerting significant influence on theatrical activity. This medium played a pivotal role in the dissemination of the ideological tenets of these two regimes. The present study focuses on the reception of ancient Greek drama under the two dictatorships and investigates how Greek theatre productions followed different developments, reflecting the socio-political transformations that took place in Italy and Portugal at different moments in the history of the twentieth century.

The so-called 'classical performances' framed the Italian fascist cultural propaganda. Predominantly produced and distributed by the National Institute of Ancient Drama, an institution controlled and financially supported by the government, Greek drama performances were staged in restored Greco-Roman monuments, bringing together heterogeneous audiences from different social classes and creating a sense of community through a shared past. Moreover, open-air classical performances strengthened the regime's external self-promotion by encouraging international tourism to Italy to attend these revivals.

Under the forty years of Portuguese dictatorship, Greek theatre performances evolved from alignment with the ideology of the regime to resistance. During the first two decades of the New State's rule, censorship tightly controlled the staging of Greek drama rewritings in the national theatres, and ancient plays were broadcast on radio by the official Portuguese Radio and Television. In the following years, however, the independent work of amateurs and university theatres openly defied the regime by imbuing the ancient texts with political meaning.

Shaping a Resistance Identity through Theater: Culture War under the Greek Military Dictatorship, 1967-1974

Gonda Van Steen, King's College London

Greek ultra-right-wingers turned to a plan called the Prometheus Plan to seize power in the early morning hours of 21 April 1967. According to the plan, army troops rounded up hundreds of local opponents, leftists, artists, and others, whom, they suspected, would react or go underground. The military regime also imposed strict censorship rules that targeted theatre, especially. But theatre troupes mobilized and fought back over the course of the next 6-7 years. Their resistance theatre, which engaged with the Classics but also moved beyond the classical patrimony, was important and proved formative for cultural life then and in the decades that followed. The "stage of emergency" of the dictatorship

years bestowed a lasting legacy of innovative and experimental forms and contents on Greek culture—to which Greece resorts in times of crisis.

Freedom of word in Principate and in communistic Poland – some remarks

Elżbieta Wesołowska, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (Poland)

The Principate was a period of strange political fiction, as historians claim, a rare phenomenon in political history, when the ruler built the illusion of a completely different system than the one he had just created. Because the state created by the brilliant Octavian Augustus was by no means a *restituta res publica* and a return to *mores maiorum*, as the official propaganda of the time proclaimed, but a continuation of the political system built by Julius Caesar, and thus the construction of the foundations of an autocratic system in which personal and civic freedom became a rationed commodity, if that is how it can be described. Freedom of speech was restricted and a division was created into institutionalized debate (the senate, *comitia*, army), an expression of civic attitude and concern for the *res publica*, and at the same time easier to control, and noninstitutionalized, perhaps for this very reason potentially dangerous, in the opinion of the rulers.

If there were repressions of various kinds (often very severe), for example, due to an attitude against the authorities, such as *lese majesty* (*crimen laesae maiestatis*), or activities considered oppositional, then it was usually an *ex post* action, not a preventive one. In the case of the artist's freedom of speech, the matter was all the more clear because any repercussions appeared after the work appeared in the public space, because there was no censorship institution in the modern understanding of the term. The system of the so-called people's democracy after the establishment of communist Poland in 1944 was also a political fiction. If we compare the methods of controlling the speech of citizens during the principate and in communist Poland, we can say that censorship had similar but also different faces at the same time: In Poland, it was usually preventive censorship. Therefore, each book went through the hands of a censor before printing. Each one also had a marking on the last page, a special symbol. That is why writers often played peek-a-boo, camouflaging various meanings or refraining from publishing them (e.g., Herbert).

In the first case, they risked that the print run would be withdrawn and destroyed, which was a kind of equivalent of destroying book collections in Rome. Censorship in Poland evolved during the more than 40 years of communism. It was the harshest during Stalinism, when even disloyal gestures (e.g., a joke about Stalin) could land you in prison. There was an extremely strong method of disciplining society, that is, in order to travel to the West, you first had to get a passport (to be returned). There were also paradoxes. My father, a *Cichociemny*, waited 25 years for the publication of a book about his formation, and he finally got permission – during martial law! At that time, the

so-called second circulation appeared, i.e. books published by amateurs outside censorship (e.g. Miłosz). It was forbidden to: a/ undermine the system b/ deny friendship with the Soviet Union, the authorities were particularly allergic to statements about the murder of Polish officers in Katyn. c/ criticize current moves by the authorities (e.g. the Order of Virtuti Militari for Brezhnev). d/ express enthusiasm for the Western lifestyle and standard of living.

So both authorities had an extensive apparatus of repression: 1. In Rome it was exile – in Poland prison; in Rome *damnatio memoriae* – in Poland a ban on the publication of a given book or work, sometimes for many years in connection with the person himself; in Rome burning banned books – in Poland destroying the print run of books or magazines; in Rome the dangerous category of the so-called *crimen laesae maiestatis* – in Poland - inviolability of the good name of the authorities; in Rome the divinity and omnipotence of the emperor – in communist Poland the foundations of the system were inviolable. Perhaps the most interesting mechanism operated in both eras in the matter of physical freedom: in Rome, a rebellious citizen was sentenced to exile of varying severity, sometimes to death – in Poland, a citizen was punished by being detained in the country in prison or by being refused a passport, and was therefore banned from traveling abroad.

Never before in Poland were political jokes so highly valued as they were then, and never before were allusions from the stage so brilliantly picked up as they were then, even if the text being spoken was written many years before communism in Poland, such as the famous phrase from Wyspiański's "Wesele" /The Chinese hold on tight/ or the anti-Russian words from Mickiewicz's "Dziady" recited on stage in 1968. We were supposedly the "cheeriest barracks" of the communist camp, but until 1953 political death sentences were passed, and during martial law people also died, often treacherously, like Father Popiełuszko or relatives of people involved in the opposition, which was a perfidious way of revenge.