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CARNIVAL

Clean Monday in Athens, 1800–1940: Transformations and Decarnivalization of a Traditional Festival

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ABSTRACT

This article discusses the transformations of the Clean Monday festival and its multiple meanings in Athens over a century and a half in the context of the growth of the city, the advance of modernity, the deepening of commodity relations, and secularization. The first day of the Lenten fast for Orthodox Christians formed part of carnival in terms of revelries, obscenity, and "magical thinking." Moreover, Clean Monday in Athens was a major open-air festivity in which commensality and dance validated communal ties. Various changes occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century: the celebrations were dispersed into the space around the city and loosened their ties to the urban community and Athenian identity; and modernity brought individualization, a reduction of the sacred and ritual element in favor of leisure, commercialization, and ultimately the de-carnavalization of the festival. Clean Monday did not decline but was eventually enriched with new meanings. Its links with folk culture were strengthened, as it was appropriated by various communities of internal migrants. Its association with a boys' culture of amusements was reinforced by the spread of kite flying. Finally, the character of Clean Monday as a day of contact between the city's inhabitants and nature and as a welcome to spring became dominant in the twentieth century and has remained so to this day.

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Nikos Potamianos

Clean Monday (or Koulouma, as it is also known), the first day of the Lenten fast for Orthodox Christians, has been called "the most demonstrative day" of Greek Carnival, the day on which carnival culminates.[1] The first day of abstinence from meat was traditionally combined not with prayer or church services but with festivities, and was, in a way, an extension into Lent of the spirit of revelry that characterizes carnival, as well as of the magical thinking that developed in rural carnival with rituals to aid the fertility of land and people.[2] Clean Monday was celebrated in all Greek lands, but there was a sentiment that it was a "predominantly Athenian festival" and it retained a special significance in the capital, at least until the beginning of the twentieth century.[3] Yet Clean Monday was eventually disconnected from carnival in the second half of the nineteenth century, as both carnival and Clean Monday in Athens shed their rural characteristics; "lost their ritual and political edges";[4] and were "civilized" in the context of urbanization, rise of a hegemonic middle class, and introduction of a modern commodified consumption culture.

Folklorists and ethnologists have studied such celebrations, focusing on the ancient origins of the rituals and the magical thinking behind them, the integration of the celebrations into the calendar cycle, their relationship to community dynamics, and the influence of urban culture on rural festivities.[5] They have also studied the religious festivals of local churches and patron saints, noting such aspects as the affirmation and cultivation of communal ties and the ritual performance of community, the negotiation of power relations and conspicuous consumption, commercial and communicative dimensions, practices of gift giving, and gender relations.[6] Sociologists and social anthropologists have been attracted both by the contribution of festivals to socialization and identity construction and by the ritual elements present in festivals, as these elements not only structure the festivals but also provide the basic keys for scholars to approach the social imaginary associated with them.[7] Historians of festivals in the modern era have focused especially on their relationship to power or their contribution to the construction, reproduction, and negotiation of national imaginary communities.[8] At the same time, such festivals as carnival open windows onto a multitude of phenomena, including social hierarchy and cultural hegemony, class and gender relations, forms of the political in different societies and times, power and resistance to it, urban structures and their interaction with festivals, issues of ethnic differentiation, conflicts, and integration, as well as social changes that unfold over the *longue durée*, such as the spread of literacy or the civilization process.[9]

This article aims to converse with these approaches and address some of the above issues (for example, the community dimension, the role of political authorities, class relations, and the festival's spatial dimensions). Moreover, taking advantage of the possibilities offered by the study of the evolution of the Clean Monday celebration in Athens in the longue durée,[10] I highlight the important changes that have occurred in the context of the growth of the city's population, the advance of modernity, and the deepening of commodity relations. At the heart of this study are the multiple meanings associated with the festival, both at specific moments and as the festival evolved. I show how the meanings of Clean Monday were modified or even radically transformed over time and how the appropriation of the festival by different actors affected the meaning of

1. Dimitrios Loukatos, *Συμπληρωματικά του χειμώνα και της άνοιξης* (Athens: Fillipotis, 1985), 148–51. The Orthodox Church does not observe Shrove Tuesday/Mardi Gras or Ash Wednesday. The Triodion, the pre-Lenten carnival season, lasting three weeks, ends on the last Sunday of carnival, and Lent begins on Clean Monday. According to Christian Roy, Ash Wednesday is included in the carnival season in some parts of Spain. Christian Roy, *Traditional Festivals: A Multicultural Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 1:49. All translations by author.

2. Georgios Megas, *Ελληνικαί εορταί και έθιμα της λαϊκής λατρείας* (Athens: n.p., 1963), 116–23; M. G. Varvounis, *Θεμελιώδεις έννοιες και μορφές της ελληνικής θρησκευτικής λαογραφίας* (Athens: Stratigikes ekdoseis, 2013), 269–70; and Loukatos, *Συμπληρωματικά*. Magical thinking, according to Karl S. Rosengren and Jason A. French, "holds a belief to some supernatural or alternative form of causality that extends beyond those that govern the natural world." Karl S. Rosengren and Jason A. French, "Magical Thinking," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Development of Imagination*, ed. Marjorie Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 45. In the case examined here, symbols, practices, and rituals referring to sex were linked by casual relations with the promotion of fertility of land, animals, and humans.

3. Edgar Garston, *Greece Revisited and Sketches in Lower Egypt in 1840* (London: Saunders & Otley, 1842), 1:95; *Efterpi*, March 1, 1849; Mi Hanesai, February 26, 1881; *Nea Efimeris*, March 7, 1888; Embros, February 18, 1914, and February 11, 1920; and Ioannis Papamanolis, Η νήσος Θήρα =Σαντορίνη (Piraeus: Sorotos, 1932), 40.

4. Aurélie Godet, "Behind the Masks: The Politics of Carnival," *Journal of Festive Studies* 2, no. 1 (2020): 4.

5. Megas, *Ελληνικαί εορταί*; Giorgos Siettos, Έθιμα στις γιορτές (Piraeus: n.p., 1975); and Dimitrios Loukatos, *Εισαγωγή στην ελληνική λαογραφία* (Athens: Morfotiko Idryma Ethnikis Trapezas, 1985).

6. Vasilis Nitsiakos and Varvara Kosmatou, "Φαρακλάτα Κεφαλονιάς: θρησκευτικά πανηγύρια και

the festival.[11] Finally, I illustrate how Clean Monday, on the cusp of carnival and Lent, gradually shed the carnival elements that had characterized it and became detached from the celebration of carnival in Athens, of which it had once been the culmination.

I examine the evolution of the festival of Clean Monday over the course of a century and a half in a changing urban environment: Athens, a medium-sized city (10,000 inhabitants) of the Ottoman Empire, which in 1834 became the capital of the Greek state and experienced a significant increase in its population in the years that followed (50,000 inhabitants in 1870, 115,000 in 1889, 315,000 in 1920, and almost 500,000 in 1940). The sources I have used to gather information on both the practices and the meanings of the events are mainly newspapers of the time (reportage, vignettes, and minor news items), as well as accounts by European travelers, memoirs of Greek writers, and police regulations.

Clean Monday 1800–62: Community, Commensality, and Carnival

In Ottoman Athens, as well as in the first three decades following the establishment of the Greek state (during the reign of Otto until 1862) for which there is more abundant evidence, Koulouma was celebrated with a mass public gathering and feasting in the plain and the small hills east of the city, around the Columns of the Olympian Zeus. On the grass, "cross-legged in the middle of the plain," sat "the whole population of Athens, men, women and children, accompanied by their donkeys loaded with food, bedding and all sorts of things for having a good time."[12] The day was (and still is) a holiday.[13] The city was deserted, and observers, both local and foreign, spoke of a throng of thousands of people in the countryside (five thousand according to the more moderate estimates, twenty thousand according to the most extravagant).[14] Particularly striking was the large number of women, their presence offering many opportunities for discreet flirtation at a time when women's presence in the public space was limited and fully controlled.[15] The revelers sat in groups in a circle, eating Lenten food and drinking wine, while some played music and sang, to which men and women danced circle dances separately.[16] By the 1860s, as the homosociality rule lost its strictness and men and women participated in social gatherings together, mixed groups of dancers also began to appear (although there were fewer women in the large central circles and more in the smaller circles based on friendly and related families).[17] Some smaller circles of dancers "symbolically enclosed" small piles of onions, symbols of the beginning of Lent, which Athenians are also mentioned in later years as holding in their hands.[18]

The royal couple, King Otto and Queen Amalia, also took part in the festival: mounted on horseback and "with a brilliant suite of attendants," they visited the area after noon and walked among the groups, watching the dancers. People greeted them with cheers, and they "accepted the invitation of more than one group, to partake of their wine-cup."[19] Their visit lasted an hour or so, the highlight of the festival, and after their departure, people began to leave.[20] The large gathering provided a first-class opportunity for political criticism and mobilization in the context of a democratizing political system that was close to the point of introducing universal male suffrage. In 1844, when the National Assembly decided to exclude "heterochthones" (those born outside the Greek state) from public office, in the midst of the general feasting, one could see two black flags surrounded by people who neither ate nor drank but stood "morose, smoking and pensive" under signs protesting the new law.[21] In 1845 a rumor circulated that there would be a

κοινωνική συγκρότηση," in *Λαογραφία-Εθνογραφία στα Επτάνησα*, ed. Georgios Moschopoulos (Argostoli: Etaireia Kefalliniakon Istorikon Erevnon, 2008), 345–53; Katerina Seraidari, "Το θρησκευτικό πανηγύρι στην Σίφνο και οι σχέσεις μεταξύ των δύο φύλων," in *Πρακτικά Γ' Διεθνούς Σιφναϊκού Συμποσίου* (Athens: Etaireia Sifnaikon Meleton, 2009), 567–76; Maria Bareli, "Τα πανηγύρια της Ικαρίας: Όψεις του δώρου, πρακτικές των κοινών, διαδικασίες κοινωνικής αναπαραγωγής και κοινωνικών μετασχηματισμών" (PhD diss., University of Crete, 2020); and Paraskevas Potiropoulos, "Η κληρονομιά του πανηγυριού: Πρακτικές επιτέλεσης, συμβολισμοί και ιστορική μνήμη στο 'Πανηγυράκι' της Αράχωβας," in *Πολιτιστικές κληρονομιές: Νέες αναγνώσεις - κριτικές προσεγγίσεις*, ed. Yannis Drinis, Vasilis Nitsiakos, and Paraskevas Potiropoulos (Athens: Ars Nova, 2022), 227–52. The other great local festival of Ottoman Athens was held at the Theseion after Easter. Liza Micheli, *Η Αθήνα σε τόνους ελάσσονες* (Athens: Dromena, 1987), 74–75.

7. Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985); Don Handelman, *Models and Mirrors: Towards an Anthropology of Public Events* (New York: Berghahn Books, 1998); Amitai Etzioni, "Holidays and Rituals: Neglected Seedbeds of Virtue," in *We Are What We Celebrate: Understanding Holidays and Rituals*, ed. Amitai Etzioni and Jared Bloom (New York: New York University Press, 2004),1–40; and Jack Santino, "The Carnivalesque and the Ritualesque," *Journal of American Folklore* 124, no. 491 (2011): 61–73. Alessandro Testa refers to festivals as "collective rituality." Alessandro Testa, "Doing Research on Festivals: Cui Bono?," *Journal of Festive Studies* 1, no. 1 (2019): 5–10.

8.On the relationship to power, see Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988); Alan Knight, "Popular Culture and the Revolutionary State in Mexico, 1910–1940," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 74, no. 3 (1994): 393–444; Matthew N. Truesdell, *Spectacular Politics: Louis-Napoleon Bonaparte and the Fête Impériale, 1849–1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Karin Friedrich, ed., *Festive Culture in Germany and*

riot, in 1847 various people called for the king to declare war on Turkey after a diplomatic incident, and in 1852 it was rumored that the crowd would chant "Down with the Constitution."[22] At the same time, the mass gathering was exploited from above: besides the king, politicians such as Ioannis Kolettis made sure that they were accompanied by their own cheering men. In 1844, the military garrison of Athens under Dimitrios Kallergis, which a few months earlier had mutinied, demanding a constitution, gave a banquet to the royal couple under the Columns of the Olympian Zeus and expressed their law-abidingness and loyalty in a political ritual that unfolded in front of the first great popular gathering held in Athens after the "revolution" of 1843.[23]

Some European travelers understood the meaning of the festival as a demonstration by Athenians that they were all observing the fast, there "to partake in public of their first Lenten meal."[24] Clean Monday was associated with meanings derived from the Christian church calendar and its position between carnival and Lent, but it also bore several other meanings.[25] First, the commensality of the festival was a practice that above all confirmed communal ties beyond class differences, and the same has been noted of the traditional circle dances.[26] The collective consumption of food and drink was a way of defining the community within which people lived together and reinforcing feelings of belonging and solidarity.[27]

Second, non-Christian magical thinking and practices were recorded at Koulouma. The place of their traditional celebration was not accidental. The "Pillars," as the Columns of the Olympian Zeus were popularly known, were located just outside the old city of Athens, in a direction in which the modern city was slow to expand. The location, ideal for the festival in terms of space and proximity to the ancient monument, was associated with rituals and had an aura of sanctity, as the Turkish inhabitants of Athens (due to the 1821 revolution) prayed there, made invocations for rain, and celebrated the Muslim religious holiday of Bayram.[28] Moreover, the threshing floors of Athens were located near the columns until 1858, which may have rendered the area suitable for rituals thought to assist in the fertility of land.[29] Such practices as the use of obscenity and phallic symbols characterized carnival and Clean Monday in many parts of Greece.[30] Perhaps it is as phallic symbols, not only as symbols of fasting and Lent, that we should view the leeks carried on Clean Monday by men who in the late nineteenth century were called koutsavakides (bully boys).[31] As for obscenity, one finds condemnatory reports in newspapers of a "shameless and filthy scene, which was played out by some individual of the Corybantian knifemen in front of a large group of the female sex and the most modest queen herself," or of "obscene and immoral songs" (presumably the carnival "gamotragouda") sung by the crowd on Clean Monday in 1864.[32] Such events provoked the explicit condemnation of Koulouma by the church as pagan and anti-Christian—albeit without the church placing much emphasis on "excommunication," and in any case without success.[33]

Travelers such as Jean-Alexandre Buchon were struck by the "semi-profane" continuation of carnival into Lent.[34] In fact, all my sources from this early period treat Koulouma as an integral part of carnival and indeed as its climactic event in Athens. In 1857, traveler Alain Proust wrote, with a touch of exaggeration, that "in Athens the revelry begins on the day carnival ends, the first day of Lent."[35] It is no coincidence that most European observers until the 1860s devoted a larger part of their description to Koulouma than to carnival.[36] That Clean Monday was perceived as part of carnival even earlier is evident from the inscriptions on one of the columns: "1800, February 18, we danced at Carnival."[37] It is telling that in 1847 there was an attempt—but with no

Europe from the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000); Panayotis G. Kimourtzis and Anna Mandilara, "Celebrating in King Otto's Greece: The Economics of Dynastic, National, and Religious Public Ceremonies during the Ottonian Monarchy (1832–62)," *Journal of Festive Studies* 4, no. 1 (2022): 144–64; and Maria Velioti, *Τελετουργία, εξουσία και μνήμη: Οι τελετές και τα Αποβατήρια του Όθωνα (1833–1862)* (Athens: Aigokeros, 2023). Cf. Alessandro Testa, "Rethinking the Festival: Power and Politics," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 26 (2014): 44–73. On imaginary communities, see Ellen M. Litwicki, "'Our Hearts Burn with Ardent Love for Two Countries': Ethnicity and Assimilation at Chicago Holiday Celebrations, 1876–1918," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 19, no. 3 (2000): 3–34; Victor Greene, "Dealing with Diversity: Milwaukee's Multiethnic Festivals and Urban Identity, 1840–1940," *Journal of Urban History* 31, no. 6 (2005): 820–49; and Alison Carrol, "In the Border's Shadow: Reimagining Urban Spaces in Strasbourg, 1918–1939," *Journal of Contemporary History* 48, no. 4 (2013): 666–87.

9. Reid Mitchell, *All on a Mardi Gras Day: Episodes in the History of the New Orleans Carnival* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995); Elaine Glovka Spencer, "Custom, Commerce and Contention: Rhenish Carnival Celebrations, 1890–1914," *German Studies Review* 20, no. 3 (1997): 323–41; James Brophy, *Popular Culture and the Public Sphere in the Rhineland, 1800–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Kristen McCleary, "Ethnic Identity and Elite Idyll: A Comparison of Carnival in Buenos Aires, Argentina and Montevideo, Uruguay, 1900–1920," *Social Identity* 16, no. 4 (2010): 497–517; Gilles Bertrand, *Histoire du carnaval de Venise* (Paris: Pygmalion, 2013); Felipe Ferreira, *L'invention du carnaval au XIXe siècle: Paris, Nice, Rio de Janeiro* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2014); and Nikos Potamianos, "Carnival and Urban Space in Athens, 1834–1940," *Urban History* 51, no. 2 (2024): 372-390.

10. Cf. Nita Kumar, *The Artisans of Banaras: Popular Culture and Identity, 1880–1986* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988); Bertrand, *Histoire du carnaval de Venise*; Awad Halabi, *Palestinian Rituals of Identity: The Prophet Moses Festival*

follow-up—to introduce to Athens the funeral of carnival, the closing event of carnival on its last day as in other cities, such as Paris.[38]

Apart from the all-day "revelry," there was a sense that carnival continued.[39] Some of the people gathered at the columns were in disguise, as implied by the well-known rhyme of the time, "Masqueraders and citizens / come and meet at the Columns." According to Edgar Garston, who wrote about his travels in Greece in 1840, Clean Monday was distinguished from the last days of carnival only by abstinence from meat, "the maskers still retaining their carnival attire."[40] Buchon probably incorrectly attributed the disguises of the first day of Lent to the (very few) Catholic inhabitants of Athens, whose carnival was still continuing, and observed that some groups wore their masks on the back of their heads as a sign that carnival was over.[41] However, costumes, and certainly smudging the face with soot, charcoal, and lampblack from pots and pans, formed part of the Clean Monday traditions of many regions of Greece.[42] As an old custom, "all Athenians" were smudged at Koulouma, and the lover of "old Athens" Dimitris Kambouroglou recalled people dancing, half-smudged and wearing masks, at the Koulouma of 1862.[43] In a nutshell, Clean Monday in the Ottoman and Ottonian era, the gathering, feasting, and dancing on the grass outside the city of a mixed-class and mixed-gender crowd, appears indisputably as a part of a rural-type carnival, with regard to disguise, symbols, and free speech (in terms of both politics and sexuality).

Transformations of Clean Monday from the 1860s to the Interwar Years

Athenians gradually had abandoned the habit of smudging or masquerading on Clean Monday by the end of the nineteenth century.[44] The 1853 police ban on the wearing of masks "or having the face otherwise deformed" by participants in the "civic merriment" on Clean Monday at the columns contributed to this shift.[45] Sometimes some of the (now professionalized) performers of the Athens Carnival shows continued their performances on Clean Monday, but Clean Monday was now clearly differentiated from carnival, indicated by, among other things, the disappearance of such rural carnival practices as bawdy songs.[46] The church and religious circles ceased to concern themselves with Koulouma and focused their criticism on the revelry and costumes of carnival itself.[47] What one might call the de-carnivalization of Clean Monday coincided with important changes in the Athens Carnival—the prevalence of European music and dances, invention of new spectacles, flourishing of satirical masquerade at first, followed by more sophisticated costumes and masked balls—developments that Clean Monday did not follow. The urbanization of the Athens Carnival led to its clear differentiation from Clean Monday, with the emergence of other days as its highlights (*Tsiknopempti* or "Smoky Thursday," when grilled meat was eaten, and the last Sunday, known as Cheesefare Sunday, on which a parade was established at the end of the nineteenth century).[48] Moreover, as religious sentiment declined, there was less need for a "transitional day" between carnival and Lent that retained features of both.[49] In other parts of Greece, meanwhile, the close connection between Clean Monday and the spirit of carnival was maintained.[50]

At the same time, the crowd that gathered at the Columns of the Olympian Zeus was dwindling, even though the city was growing. The first critical development was the change of dynasty after the revolution of 1862. The Catholic Otto of Bavaria was succeeded by the Protestant George of

in Jerusalem, 1850–1948 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2022); and Mark Teeuwen, *Kyoto's Gion Festival: A Social History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2023).

11. Cf. Halabi, *Palestinian Rituals of Identity.*

12. Siettos, *Έθιμα στις γιορτές*, 436; and Felicia Skene's statement from 1847, quoted in Yannis Vlachoyiannis, "Μασκαράδες και πολίται στις Κολώνες να βρεθείτε," *Bouketo*, March 12, 1931, 252 (Vlachoyiannis's article was spread over several issues of *Bouketo* in 1931).

13. *Paliggenesia*, February 11, 1863

14. Jean-Alexandre Buchon, *La Grèce continentale et la Morée* (Paris: Librairie de Charles Gosselin, 1843), 81; Christiana Lyt, *Μια Δανέζα στην αυλή του Όθωνα* (Athens: Ermis, 1988), 110–11; *Tachypteros Fimi*, February 9, 1844, and February 23, 1851; and *Ανέκδοτες επιστολές της βασίλισσας Αμαλίας στον πατέρα της, 1836–1853* (Athens: Estia, 2011), 1:378, 2:506. The population of the municipality of Athens was around twenty-five thousand in 1850. Lila Leontidou, *Πόλεις της σιωπής: Εργατικός εποικισμός της Αθήνας και του Πειραιά 1909–1940* (Athens: ETBA, 1989), 48.

15. Garston, *Greece Revisited*, 96 (referring to 1840); Efterpi, March 1, 1849; and *Tachypteros Fimi*, February 15, 1852.

16. *Ανέκδοτες επιστολές της βασίλισσας Αμαλίας*, 1:69 (referring to 1837); Garston, *Greece Revisited*, 96; Buchon, La Grèce continentale, 81–82; Edmond About, *Η Ελλάδα του Όθωνος* (Athens: Tolidis, n.d.), 193 (referring to 1854); Vlachoyiannis, "Μασκαράδες και πολίται στις Κολώνες να βρεθείτε," *Bouketo*, March 19, 1931, 276 (referring to 1856); Fredrika Bremer, *Η Ελλάδα και οι Έλληνες την εποχή του Όθωνα* (Athens: Istoritis, 2002), 252–56 (referring to 1859); and Dimitrios Kambouroglou, *Απομνημονεύματα μιας μακράς ζωής 1852–1932* (Athens: Karavias, 1985), 83 (referring to 1862).

17. Steps had been taken in the direction of loosening the homosociality rule already from the years of the 1821 revolution. *Ludwig Ross, Αναμνήσεις και ανακοινώσεις από την Ελλάδα (1832–33)* (Athens: Tolidis, 1976), 138, 277; and Garston,

Denmark, who from the first moment ostentatiously avoided attending a festival that still retained its connection with carnival, preferring countryside excursions instead.[51] Otto's presence had provided the incentive for a large part of the Athenian elite to continue taking part in a celebration that was now well below the bourgeois standards of "civilization" and sophistication.

In the press, Clean Monday had formerly been described as a kind of descent of the rich to the people: one could see "great lords and ladies lying on the grass, eating and drinking, unconcerned and in perfect equality with the mob, olives, fish roe, oysters, and onions."[52] The presence of prominent members of the bourgeoisie, as well as visits by ambassadors, foreign officers, and other "famous foreigners," such as the British Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian state in 1858, were once recorded in the society pages.[53] Such news items disappeared from the 1860s onward. Already by the end of Otto's reign, some signs of distancing of the Athens bourgeoisie were recorded: in 1859 a Finnish traveler, after describing the festival dances, reported that "some carriages with foreign and wealthy Greeks remained at the temple of the Olympian Zeus, from where they had a view of this bright and lively scene."[54] The distancing of the elite, or at least of a part of it (closer to Western culture), from the events was expressed not by totally withdrawing but by treating them as a spectacle, just as European officials and travelers did. Descriptions of the festival in these transitional years emphasized that revelers were of the popular classes.[55] In a book published in 1858, the British ambassador Thomas Wyse gave a description of Clean Monday that distinguished between the "lower order," who flooded the area of the Columns of the Olympian Zeus and its environs from early in the morning, and the "higher class," who came out "at two o' clock on foot or in carriage, and mix[ed] with the crowd."[56] The timing was probably no coincidence, as Otto visited the festival at noon. The absence of the new king would therefore have freed some of the elite from the "obligation" of participating in the public festival of Clean Monday. As one newspaper put it in 1864, George's decision not to participate "also impeded many of the great and good, who for the sake of the spectacle had previously visited those heading to the Koulouma."[57]

The departure of the elites formed part of a trend of distancing themselves from popular culture, which was also expressed shortly afterward in the fierce criticism of the street carnival and the attempt to reform it.[58] I assume that in the case of Greece it was in the third quarter of the nineteenth century that the elites abandoned their earlier biculturalism (i.e., their simultaneous participation in high and low/folk culture), a development that had occurred much earlier in western Europe.[59] The distancing of the Athenian bourgeoisie from a festival that had always had a strong communal aspect also contributed to the weakening of communal ties, in a city that was growing and becoming less and less a face-to-face society.

According to a melancholy commentator in 1888, the alienation of the bourgeoisie from popular festivals was responsible for the decline of the traditional Koulouma at the Columns of the Olympian Zeus.[60] Of course, it is not accurate, as shown below, to say that the traditional celebration lost all vitality: people continued to gather at the columns in the following decades. However, this ceased to be the place where "Koulouma was officially celebrated."[61] The last newspaper reference I am aware of claiming that "all Athens" gathered at the columns on Clean Monday was in 1875.[62] In 1879, a journalist observed that the traffic around the columns and the surrounding hills was not as lively as it had once been, as "many families, according to the newer system, scattered into the surrounding countryside."[63] As the city expanded, new peri-

Greece Revisited, 88, 92–93. But it was mostly in the following years that homosociality as a rule receded, since a Europeanized culture of mixed gatherings spread to wider sections of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. Eleni Varika, *Η εξέγερση των κυριών: Η γένεση μιας φεμινιστικής συνείδησης στην Ελλάδα 1833–1907* (Athens: Idryma Emporikis Trapezas, 1987), 49–50. On mixed groups, see Bremer, Η Ελλάδα, 253–56.

18. Bremer, *Η Ελλάδα*, 254. See also *Syllogos*, March 8, 1888; *Akropolis*, February 18, 1892, and February 18, 1903; and *Neai Archai*, February 7, 1923.

19. Garston, *Greece Revisited*, 97 (referring to 1840).

20. Wilhelmine von Plüskow, *Ημερολόγιο της Βιλελμίνης φον Πλύσκω*, trans. Vana and Michael Busse, February 26, 1849 entry, Busse docu; *Efterpi*, March1, 1849; *Tachypteros Fimi*, February 23, 1851; Vlachoyiannis, "Μασκαράδες και πολίται στις Κολώνες να βρεθείτε," *Bouketo*, March 19, 1931, 276 (referring to *Athina*, February 29, 1856); and Bremer, *Η Ελλάδα*, 255.

21. Vlachoyiannis, "Μασκαράδες και πολίται στις Κολώνες να βρεθείτε," *Bouketo*, March 5, 1931, 220, and March 12, 1931, 252 (referring to *Athina*, February 9, 1844).

22. Vlachoyiannis, "Μασκαράδες και πολίται στις Κολώνες να βρεθείτε," *Bouketo*, March 19, 1931, 276 (referring to *Aion*, February 28, 1845); *Ανέκδοτες επιστολές της βασίλισσας Αμαλίας*, 2:203 (referring to 1847); and *Tachypteros Fimi*, February 21, 1852.

23. Vlachoyiannis, "Μασκαράδες και πολίται στις Κολώνες να βρεθείτε," *Bouketo*, March 5, 1931, 220, and March 12, 1931, 252 (referring to *Athina*, February 9, 1844); and *Tachypteros Fimi*, February 9, 1844. The new Greek state, created with a revolution in 1821 and a sort of popular mobilization that liberated democratic dynamics, became an absolute monarchy in 1834, but soon the king was forced to accept a rather progressive constitution, after a military coup in 1843 that met with wide popular approval. Gunnar Hering, *Τα Πολιτικά Κόμματα στην Ελλάδα 1821–1936* (Athens: Morfotiko Idryma Ethnikis Trapezas, 2008).

urban areas became places of celebration of Clean Monday. Sources from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries first mention the hills around the Acropolis, near the Theseion and Filopappou Hill, as well as more distant areas serving other neighborhoods of the city: Arditto, Kolokynthou and Kolonos, Patissia, Ambelokipi, and later Kallithea and Tavros, and also Kifissia, familiar to the bourgeoisie from their summer holidays there, as well as Faliro, to which I refer at greater length below.[64]

At these new excursion locations, forms of community celebration of Clean Monday may have been reproduced, to the extent that they drew people from surrounding neighborhoods (that is, face-to-face societies). However, the development of these areas as excursion sites was largely linked to the spread of the custom of more individualized visits to country taverns, beer houses, and other establishments, on a smaller scale (family/friend group). This practice of celebrating Clean Monday began with the more affluent and required some basic financial means. In 1903, in its report on Koulouma, the newspaper *Akropolis* noted that, alongside families who walked or took the tram to Patissia or Tavros for a picnic on the grass, "families of some means sat at the beer houses and country taverns and hotel-restaurants."[65] On the same day, *Kairoi* wrote about the people visiting the "small eateries" of the Polygono and the "gardens and country beer houses" of Ambelokipi. By 1907, it was "people especially of the popular classes" who had picnics on Filopappou Hill and at Kolokynthou at Koulouma rather than visiting taverns.[67] It is typical of the speed with which this practice spread to the broader middle classes that, just fifteen years earlier, Athenians who celebrated Koulouma at the beer houses of Patissia were called not only "more refined" (than those who went to the city's hills) but also *frangomathimenoi* ("Europeanized," following Western fads).[68]

Even in earlier times, pubs in the city did well on Koulouma; in 1881, testimony of publicans about the much-reduced consumption of wine in their shops was used as evidence of the drop in traffic on Clean Monday.[69] However, the pubs must not have been in competition with countryside excursions: men dropped in before or after, and they enjoyed glory days when the weather was not conducive to outdoor festivities. The changes in habits in the first decades of the twentieth century are evident in newspaper reports, in which mentions of people flocking to entertainment venues became an integral part.[70] For example, articles on the rainy Clean Monday of 1920 focused on proprietors of country taverns who "cast looks of despair at the sky," seeing the great loss in profits that threatened them.[71] In the following decades, the car provided new opportunities for visiting more distant country venues.[72]

The decisive first step toward this transformation in practices of Clean Monday and the shift to entertainment venues had taken place in the 1870s, when Faliro, the nearest beach to Athens, was developed as an alternative excursion destination. Faliro had been connected to Athens a few years earlier by train (it was also connected by tram from the 1890s), and the railway company invested significant amounts of money to transform Faliro into a recreational and summer holiday resort.[73] The new infrastructure—hotels, theaters, a well-laid-out quayside with entertainment venues, and easy (though slightly expensive) access by public transport—attracted the Athenian bourgeoisie, who in those years were detaching themselves from the traditional Koulouma and seeking a place, "civilized" and exclusive, that suited them, where they could enjoy "refined" consumption of food and drink sitting in restaurants rather than on the ground. This class aspect is evident in how the newspaper *Efimeris* pushed the Faliro Koulouma in the first

24. Garston, *Greece Revisited*, 95. See also About, *Η Ελλάδα του Όθωνος*, 193.

25. For example, there were elements that formed an introduction to Lent and the spirit of contemplation that should characterize it, such as housewives' general spring cleaning—which seems to have given Clean Monday its name, along with the notion of spiritual purification during Lent—and such customs as baking *lagana*, a special kind of unleavened bread. Megas, *Ελληνικαί εορταί*, 116; and Ioannis Korkas, *Κοζανίτικες εικόνες* (Kozani: Institouto vivliou kai anagnosis, 2001), 37–41. Of course, secularization and the decline of religious sentiment in the modern era diminished the importance of Lent generally, gradually allowing entertainment to continue even after Clean Monday. Grigorios Xenopoulos's comment in *Theatis*, March 20, 1926.

26. On commensality, see Susanne Kerner, Cynthia Chou, and Morten Warmind, eds., *Commensality: From Everyday Food to Feast* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015); and Bareli, Τα πανηγύρια της Ικαρίας, 30, 316–21. On traditional circle dances, see Vasilis Nitsiakos, *Οι ορεινές κοινότητες της βόρειας Πίνδου* (Athens: Plethron, 1995), 133–50; and Paraskevas Potiropoulos, "Χοροί και χώροι: Συμβολικές διαστάσεις της τοπικής ταυτότητας στην Κρανιά Τρικάλων," in *3ο συνέδριο λαϊκού πολιτισμού*, ed. Kalliopi Panopoulou (Serres: DEPKA/Dimos Serron, 2006), 227–38.

27. For meanings of dining together convivially in 1830s Athens, see Ross, *Αναμνήσεις*, 59.

28. Kostas Biris, *Τα Αττικά του Εβλιά Τσελαμπή: Αι Αθήναι και τα περίχωρά των κατά τον 17ον αιώνα* (Athens: n.p., 1959), 47; and Aikaterini Coumarianou, *Αθήνα: Η πόλη, οι άνθρωποι; Αφηγήσεις και μαρτυρίες 12ος-19ος αιώνας* (Athens: Potamos, 2005), 246 (referring to Everett, a traveler who visited Athens in 1819).

29. Diefthynsis tis dioikitikis astynomias Athinon kai Peiraios, *Αστυνομικαί διατάξεις* (Athens: n.p., 1849–57), April 16, 1858.

30. Megas, *Ελληνικαί εορταί*, 117–18; Vradyni, March 9, 1925; and Tasos Vamvakas and Yannis Kossyvas, *Αποκριάτικο δρώμενο ευετηρίας*

year it was held (advising "those who wish to avoid the jostling and dust at the Columns" to go there instead) and described the makeup of the excursioners: "the best people, the friendliest, the most artistic" went down to Faliro. In 1892, *Akropolis* saw in Faliro "all the best people of Athens, the aristocracy, the *high life*."[75]

In the following years, however, Faliro, too, evolved into a place of "thronging crowds." The assertion of the snobbish, grand-bourgeois hero of a popular 1909 novel is telling: Faliro used to be an exclusive haunt of the "aristocracy" but then came "the semi-vulgar [i.e., members of the lower middle classes] and then the mob, the people!"[76] On the first Clean Monday excursion to Faliro, in 1877, three thousand Athenians came down by train, while in 1879 over one thousand excursionists were reported. No quantitative data exist for the following years, but sources provide a picture of constantly increasing numbers until 1900, when the tram company issued thirty thousand tickets.[77] In Palio Faliro, the classic form of the Clean Monday festival also developed, with more lower-class people from Piraeus and Athens who did not eat in restaurants but brought their food in baskets and made merry on the rocks, on the sand, or in the hills.[78] On Clean Monday in 1903, *Akropolis* commented that "the high class, the sober people" who frequented Neo Faliro drank their coffee in silence with "neither laughter nor singing." The "somnolent aristocracy" contrasted with the merriment and dancing that prevailed in Palio Faliro, where workers celebrated.[79] Eventually, then, the two cultural poles of bourgeois and popular culture were reproduced in Faliro, too, as was the case with other excursion destinations in the interwar period.[80] What I wish to emphasize here is the important role that Faliro played at the end of the nineteenth century in the development of a different model of celebrating Clean Monday: individualized, outside communal ties, and more "exclusive" in terms of class, within a commercial circuit that was expanding to include more activities and new spheres of profitability.

Nevertheless, this is not a tale of cultural destruction but a story of the transformation of the practices and meanings associated with Clean Monday. Symbolisms of communal solidarity of all the city inhabitants may have been relaxed, for example, but they were partially replaced by new forms of community ties.[81] The Athenian festival of Koulouma was appropriated by communities of internal migrants from other regions of Greece. Clean Monday is one of the few occasions when "provincial Athens" emerges in our sources, its cultural diversity produced by various geographical origins of first- or second-generation migrants to the capital. Western-style music and dances dominated the Athens Carnival by the end of the nineteenth century, but as soon as Clean Monday came round, shawms, *daouli* drums, and other traditional instruments began to play.[82] Perhaps also thanks to the association of folk songs with the countryside, where Koulouma was celebrated, Clean Monday was the day of triumph of folk music and dances.[83] In 1888, when the traditional celebration at the columns had well and truly ceased to gather the whole city together, Yannis Vlachoyiannis, a young provincial student visiting the Columns of the Olympian Zeus, was "enchanted by the colorful and polyphonic variety of this vast and truly panhellenic festival," where he saw dances and folk costumes from every corner of Greece in a "popular fellowship, a panhellenic gathering."[84]

The columns were declining as a place of celebration, and although they remained a hangout of Roumeliotes (people coming from the mountains of central Greece), in 1912, *Akropolis* noted that "the custom of Roumeliotes and Peloponnesians dancing in the areas around the River Ilissos and the green hills" around the city had degenerated into a dance by a few milkmen to

Νέδουσας Ταϋγέτου (Kalamata: Elytron, 2006).

31. *Akropolis*, February 18, 1892, and February 18, 1903.

32. Vlachoyiannis, "Μασκαράδες και πολίται στις Κολώνες να βρεθείτε," *Bouketo*, March 19, 1931, 276 (referring to *Proinos Kiryx*, February 23, 1846); and *Paliggenesia*, March 3, 1864.

33. Bremer, *Η Ελλάδα*, 256; Alain Proust, *Ένας χειμώνας στην Αθήνα του 1857* (Athens: Eirmos, 1990), 106; Vlachoyiannis, "Μασκαράδες και πολίται στις Κολώνες να βρεθείτε," *Bouketo*, March 19, 1931, 276 (referring to *Athina*, February 29, 1856; and Avgi, February 5, 1858); *Merimna*, February 17, 1860; *Paliggenesia*, February 16, 1865; Thomas Wyse, *An Excursion in the Peloponnesus* (London: Day & Son, 1865), 2:101; *Alitheia*, February 24, 1870; *Elliniki Epitheorisis*, March 1, 1875; and Dimitrios Kambouroglou, *Αι Αθήναι που φεύγουν* (Athens: Koyevinas, 1933), 89.

34. Buchon, *La Grèce continentale*, 79.

35. Proust, *Ένας χειμώνας*, 106. The newspaper *Efterpi* agreed that Clean Monday was the "brightest of all carnival days." *Efterpi*, March 1, 1849. See also *Merimna*, February 17, 1860. Clean Monday also appears as an indispensable part of carnival in other parts of twentieth-century Greece. Siettos, *Έθιμα στις γιορτές*, 440–42; and Markos Vamvakaris, *Αυτοβιογραφία* (Athens: Papazisis, 1978), 58–62 (referring to the city of Hermoupolis in the 1910s, a group of street musicians worked from the first day of the carnival period until Clean Monday); and Jane Cowan, "Women, Men and Pre-Lenten Carnival in Northern Greece: An Anthropological Exploration of Gender Transformation in Symbol and Practice," *Rural History* 5, no. 2 (1994): 195–210.

36. For example, see Lyt, Μια Δανέζα, 110–11; Christiana Lyt, *Στην Αθήνα του 1847–1848* (Athens: Ermis, 1991), 164; About, *Η Ελλάδα του Όθωνος*, 192–93; and Kambouroglou, *Απομνημονεύματα*, 81–83.

37. Micheli, *Η Αθήνα σε τόνους ελάσσονες*, 119.

38. Felicia Skene described "a fantastic ceremony": "At noon a grotesque figure, representing the late carnival, is carried to his grave in procession, with a great deal of

merriment and glee, where he is ignominiously decapitated and buried." Felicia Skene, *Wayfaring Sketches among the Greeks and Turks* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1847), 54, quoted in Vlachoyiannis, "Μασκαράδες και πολίται στις Κολώνες να βρεθείτε," Bouketo, March 12, 1931, 252. Buchon affirmed that no such custom existed previously. Buchon, *La Grèce continentale*, 79 (referring to a voyage in 1841). The funeral or burning of carnival is mentioned in other parts of Greece, such as Tinos or the villages of Epirus. Alekos Florakis, *Τήνος: Λαϊκός πολιτισμός* (Athens: Elliniko vivlio, 1971), 208; and Megas, *Ελληνικαί εορταί*, 121.

39. *Efterpi*, March 1, 1851.

40. Garston, *Greece Revisited*, 93

41.Buchon, *La Grèce continentale*, 81. See also *Eleftheron Vima*, June 3, 1929.

42. Megas, *Ελληνικαί εορταί*, 96–97; Varvounis, *Θεμελιώδεις έννοιες*, 269–70; and Nikos Politis, *Το καρναβάλι της Πάτρας* (Patras: Achaikes Ekdoseis, 1987), 40.

43. *Skrip*, February 18, 1903; and Kambouroglou, *Απομνημονεύματα*, 83.

44. Efimeris commented that "some people still wear masks." *Efimeris*, February 7, 1877. *Asty* reported smudged faces, but ten years later Skrip referred to them as a custom of the past. *Asty*, March 1, 1894; and *Skrip*, February 18, 1903.

45. Diefthynsis tis dioikitikis astynomias, *Αστυνομικαί διατάξεις*, February 10, 1853. This was probably an extra security measure on the day of the largest mass gathering in Athens, which would not have been as zealously implemented every year.

46. For instance, regarding the continuation of performances, in 1908 a theatrical sketch was performed at the columns on a cart by disguised persons, who then asked the audience for money. *Skrip*, February 26, 1908. See also Embros, March 1, 1905; *Akropolis*, February 10, 1909; *Skrip*, February 22, 1911; and Miltos Lidorikis, *Έζησα την Αθήνα της μπελ επόκ* (Athens: Polaris, 2017), 354.

47. See Logos, February 11 and 18, 1884; *Neon Asty*, February 22, 1902;

the shrilling of a *karamuza* pipe at the columns.[85] The Lykeion ton Ellinidon ladies' association attempted to preserve this tradition by organizing a more formal celebration at the columns in 1916, turning it into a spectacle with elaborate local costumes and a dance demonstration.[86] A more permanent and substantial initiative was that of the milkmen's guild (the vast majority of whom came from Roumeli) in establishing its annual festival at the columns on Clean Monday.[87] The survival of Clean Monday as a "day of purely Greek customs" (which was dominated by the local culture of migrant communities) in the Athens countryside was assisted by the wars and conscription of the 1910s and 1920s, which resulted in the constant presence of provincial soldiers in Athens.[88] In 1931, Vlachoyiannis, the provincial student of 1888 mentioned above, complained that the Roumeliotes had forgotten their dances and the festival had lost "its local color." At the same time, however, he reported that many people were climbing the hills around the Acropolis (which had now become the focus of a more traditional picnic celebration), "with many musical instruments from Smyrna and Constantinople."[89] These were obviously some of the hundreds of thousands of refugees who had come to Greece from Asia Minor after the defeat by Turkey in 1922 and who formed the largest ethnic-regional community of the interwar period. They added their own touches to the festival.

Gradually, and as the dances, too, declined, the central meaning of Clean Monday became linked with nature through an excursion to the countryside, an early May Day, weather permitting. The connection with the countryside had always been there, but the meaning of this connection changed as Athens also changed and grew. In 1893, Koulouma "had long since lost its indigenous character" with its corresponding customs, and it was changing year by year into "a simple promenade."[90] This "simple promenade," however, was assuming a different aspect as Athenians moved away from nature. Early twentieth-century newspaper vignettes on Clean Monday already made ample reference to the beauty of the countryside of Attica with which the excursionists came into contact. But it was mainly in the interwar years that contact with nature was expressed as a need.[91] Clean Monday was described as a "nature-lovers' holiday" and a "most ancient bucolic tradition."[92] The return of spring and the sun, the blossoming flowers and "the scent of the first chamomile," the pine forests and the beaches were lyrically lauded.[93] Excursions were described as an Athenian outing "to the fresh air of the countryside" by bus and by car.[94] Apart from groups of friends and family, nature clubs also went on excursions: in 1927, two hundred members of one such club took the train to Kifissia, climbed the slopes of Mount Penteli, and, "after a short naturalist talk," ate and danced folk dances.[95] By 1938, there were eleven nature and excursion clubs in Athens, organizing excursions on Clean Monday to the somewhat more distant countryside of Attica.[96]

Finally, elements of the festival specifically associated with children were reinforced. Kite flying in particular became widespread; it was a spring activity that became specifically identified with Clean Monday in the twentieth century.[97] References to kite flying as a children's activity are found as early as the beginning of the twentieth century, but the sources do not state that it was a large-scale practice.[98] It was from the interwar period onward that kites were established as a necessary part of the fun of Clean Monday, and the contribution of refugees from Asia Minor was probably decisive here, judging by the emphasis on the large numbers of kites flown in Smyrna/Izmir before 1922.[99] This was essentially a boys' activity, with kites bought or made by children or fathers (who sometimes flew them themselves). This activity also provided an opportunity for the expression of rivalry between children from different neighborhoods.[100] A particular children's

culture flourished and solidified as games as an activity became increasingly associated with childhood, which was beginning (at first in urban and bourgeois contexts) to be recognized as a period of human life with its own characteristics, needs, and rights.[101] Traditional fairytales and classic novels for adults were adapted and assimilated into this culture, as were elements of the folklore of festivals, such as carnival or Clean Monday.[102] These elements were increasingly reproduced by virtue of the fact that they lent themselves to functioning as suitable children's activities or spectacles at a time when children's needs were becoming increasingly central to the family life of the middle classes.

Conclusion

As I have illustrated, the festival of Clean Monday was transformed over a century and a half. The festival started as part of a rural-type carnival in a small town that still maintained a close relationship with its rural hinterland and many of whose inhabitants were farmers. It was a celebration reminiscent of the festivities held in Greece at local church festivals, in which commensality and the circle dance validated communal ties in a way that classical social theorists, such as Émile Durkheim, have discussed. Located on the cusp between carnival and Lent, Clean Monday drew elements from both, but it was an integral part of carnival revelries.

This festival changed in the second half of the nineteenth century. As Athens grew significantly, processes of individualization unfolded with the advance of modernity, and the upper classes became increasingly distanced from manifestations of popular culture, the celebrations were both dispersed into the space around the city and loosened their ties to the community (that of the city as a whole) and Athenian identity. As the logic of the market and commodity relations spread to new areas of social life, entertainment became commodified and more and more people preferred to sit at one of the proliferating country taverns rather than on the ground while having a picnic. The ritual element receded and the association of the festival with carnival was greatly reduced, as various elements that incorporated it into the carnival universe (such as masquerading or obscene gestures and songs) were eliminated and as the Athens Carnival was also changing, heading in different directions.

These changes, however, did not lead to the decline of the celebration of Clean Monday, which was enriched with new meanings. At first, the festival's links with folk culture were strengthened, as it was appropriated by various communities of internal migrants, who did not allow Western music and dances to dominate it as they did carnival. Gradually, the character of Clean Monday as a day of contact between the city's inhabitants and nature and as a welcome to spring—calendar and weather permitting—came to dominate and has remained dominant to this day. This aspect of the celebration had always existed, but it took on new meaning in an urban society that was increasingly distancing itself from nature. Finally, the association of the festival with a particular child/youth (and specifically boys') culture of amusements was reinforced by the spread of kite flying.

These were radical changes to the content of the festival, although many of its forms remained more or less the same.[103] In general, these changes confirm developments that have been pointed out in the literature about some key features of modernity as they appear in the transformation of festivals (and also of the "notion of the festive itself"): the focus on

and *Anaplasis*, February 12, 1908.

48. On the Athens Carnival, see Nikos Potamianos, *Της αναιδείας θεάματα: Κοινωνική ιστορία της Αποκριάς στην Αθήνα, 1800–1940* (Herakleion: Panepistimiakes Ekdoseis Kritis, 2020).

49. Loukatos, *Συμπληρωματικά*, 148

50. Megas, *Ελληνικαί εορταί*, 117–18.

51. *Paliggenesia*, March 3, 1864. At that year's Koulouma, "the whole city thronged" to the columns, "except for their Royal Highnesses, who considered this festival contrary to religious custom." *Alitheia*, February 12, 1874.

52. *Efterpi*, March 1, 1851.

53. For instance, *Tachypteros* Fimi mentioned the presence of ministers and the mayor. *Tachypteros* Fimi, February 23, 1851. On the presence of other prominent members, see Vlachoyiannis, "Μασκαράδες και πολίται στις Κολώνες να βρεθείτε," *Bouketo*, March 19, 1931, 276, and March 26, 1931, 300 (referring to *Athina*, February 29, 1856; *Avgi*, February 5, 1858; and *Alitheia*, February 8, 1866).

54. Bremer, *H Ελλάδα*, 252–56.

55. In 1858, *Avgi* specifically mentioned the dancers being observed with curiosity by various "famous foreigners," stating "here were shepherds, there farmers, there tailors, and elsewhere men wearing *vrakes*." Vlachoyiannis, "Μασκαράδες και πολίται στις Κολώνες να βρεθείτε," *Bouketo*, March 19, 1931, 276. Similarly, Kambouroglou, who was nine years old in 1862, recollected that the Koulouma revelers that year "were chiefly working men." Kambouroglou, *Απομνημονεύματα*, 83.

56.Wyse, quoted in Vlachoyiannis, "Μασκαράδες και πολίται στις Κολώνες να βρεθείτε," *Bouketo*, March 26, 1931, 300.

57. *Paliggenesia*, March 3, 1864.

58. Potamianos, *Της αναιδείας θεάματα*, 117–24.

59. Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: T.

Smith, 1978).

60. Theodoros Vellianitis, "Κοινωνική κατάστασις της Ελλάδος 1862–1888," in *Eikosipentaetiris 1863–1888* (Athens: Estia, 1888), 36–42.

61. As it was "once upon a time," according to *Evdomas*, February 14, 1887.

62. *Efimeris*, February 24, 1875.

63. *Efimeris*, February 13, 1879. *Proinos Kirix* and *Elliniki Epitheorisis* commented on the small crowd at the columns. *Proinos Kirix*, February 29, 1872; and *Elliniki Epitheorisis*, March 1, 1875.

64. *Alitheia*, February 24, 1870; *Paliggenesia*, February 21, 1884; *Nea Efimeris*, February 5, 1885, and March 8, 1888; *Akropolis*, February 18, 1892, and February 7, 1912; *Estia*, February 14, 1895, and February 18, 1914; *Esperini Akropolis*, February 17, 1898; *Embros*, February 13 1901, February 18, 1903, March 1, 1905, February 22, 1911, February 19, 1919; and March 2, 1921; *Skrip*, February 18, 1903; *Astir*, February 23, 1916; and *Neαι Archai*, February 7, 1923

65. *Akropolis*, February 18, 1903.

66. *Kairoi*, February 18, 1903.

67. *Kairoi*, March 6, 1907.

68. *Syllogos*, March 8, 1888.

69. *Mi Hanesai*, February 26, 1881. Clean Monday revelries in taverns are also mentioned in *Paliggenesia*, February 21, 1884; *Akropolis*, February 18, 1892, and February 7, 1912; and *Skrip*, February 26, 1908.

70. For instance, *Embros*, March 6, 1918, and February 15, 1922.

71. *Kathimerini*, February 11, 1920; and *Embros*, February 11, 1920. See also *Embros*, February 28, 1928; and *Eleftheron Vima*, February 20, 1934.

72. *Ethnos*, March 9, 1924; *Eleftheron Vima*, March 15, 1932; and *Proia*, March 15, 1932.

73. Kostas Biris, *Αι Αθήναι από του 19ου εις τον 20όν αιώνα* (Athens: Melissa, 1999), 196–97; Evangelia Bafouni, "Νέο Φάληρο: Από το κοσμοπολίτικο θέρετρο στη

the individual rather than the community, the reduction of the sacred and ritual element, the smoother integration of the festival into secular everyday life, and the commercialization and reinforcement of the leisure aspect of the festival, while the gathering of the festive crowd loses its importance as an opportunity for social/political protest and collective mobilization.[104] In the case of Clean Monday, however, these changes did not lead to a long, drawn out decline, as was the case with the festivities on local religious festivals. On the contrary, Clean Monday has continued to thrive to the present, despite its disconnection from carnival, as it has become associated with certain social groups and actors and responded to new needs that emerged in the twentieth century.

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βιομηχανική περιοχή," in *Δρόμοι κοινοί: Μελέτες για την κοινωνία και τον πολιτισμό αφιερωμένες στην Αικατερίνη Κουμαριανού* (Athens: EMNE-Mnimon, 2009), 215–30.

74. *Efimeris*, February 7 and 8, 1877.

75. *Akropolis*, February 18, 1892 (it also mentioned Kifissia as a place where the upper class celebrated Clean Monday). See also *Efimeris*, March 1, 1894. *Asty* found the picture of Faliro "more human" and "more formal" than that at the Columns of Olympian Zeus, where drunkards, street vendors, and folk songs predominated. *Asty*, March 1, 1894.

76. Aristeidis Kyriakos's 1909 novel, *Ο σύλλογος των αγάμων και οι Φίφτυ Του*, quoted in Apostolos Dourvaris, *Ο Αριστείδης Ν. Κυριακός και το λαϊκό ανάγνωσμα* (Athens: Stigmi, 1992), 129–38, quotations on 132.

77. Ora, February 8, 1877; *Efimeris*, February 7 and 8, 1877, February 28, 1878, February 13, 1879, March 4, 1880, and February 9, 1893; *Nea Efimeris*, February 8, 1882, and February 5, 1885; *Paliggenesia*, February 21, 1884; *Akropolis*, February 25, 1886, and February 22, 1900; Estia, February 14, 1895; and *Asty*, February 6, 1896. In 1903, *Embros* estimated—with a large dose of exaggeration—that three-quarters of Athens had descended on Faliro. *Embros*, February 18, 1903.

78. *Embros*, February 13, 1901, and February 18, 1903; and *Skrip* March 1, 1905.

79. *Akropolis*, February 18, 1903.

80. In the 1930s, there were both references to the "popular sandy beaches of the Saronic Gulf," where the click of "neighborhood heels" is heard, and advertisements for the organized beach of Glyfada, where "there is none of the 'mixing of the classes' observed at other venues," so that "the smart set can party unaffectedly." *Eleftheron Vima*, February 25, 1936, and February 22, 1931.

81. Here we can also include the collective celebration of Clean Monday in 1893 in the hills around the city by the first socialist group of Athens, in the context of forging bonds among its two hundred members. *Socialistis*, February 1893.

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82. On Western-style music and dance, see Potamianos, *Της Αναιδείας θεάματα*, 156–59. On instruments, see, for example, *Efimeris ton Syntechnion*, March 5, 1891; *Akropolis*, February 18, 1892; *Estia*, February 14, 1895; *Embros*, February 13, 1901, and March 1, 1905; *Kairoi*, February 18, 1903; *Tachydromos*, February 26, 1908; and *Panathinaia*, March 15, 1910.

83. One can find a few references to European dances on Clean Monday at country restaurants and venues with a bourgeois clientele as well. The Melas Hotel in Kifissia hosted a European-style dance in 1903. *Skrip*, February 18, 1903. See also *Embros*, March 2, 1921.

84. There were also some people trying to dance European dances. Vlachoyiannis, "Μασκαράδες και πολίται στις Κολώνες να βρεθείτε," *Bouketo*, February 19, 1931, 191.

85. *Akropolis*, February 7, 1912. See also, on the fading of the Roumeliote revelry at the columns, *Skrip*, February 10, 1904.

86. Patris, February 18, 1916; and *Λογοδοσία Λυκείου Ελληνίδων* 1916 (Athens: n.p., n.d.), 11, 13. One of the goals of the more conservative wings of the women's movement in early twentieth-century Greece was to focus on cultivating and preserving traditional folk culture. Efi Avdela, ed., *Το Λύκειον των Ελληνίδων 100 χρόνια* (Athens: Politistiko Idryma Omilou Peiraios, 2010).

87. Yannis Simonetis, *Θησείο: Γειτονιές που χάθηκαν* (Athens: Filippotis, 1991), 60. Matina Anameterou was probably referring to a similar pattern when she recalled that in the 1930s on Clean Mondays "bakers gathered on Filopappou [most of them from the same region, Epirus] and printers in Galatsi." Matina Anameterou, interview by the Athens Oral History Group, June 30, 2013. Members of an association from the Epirote village of Vourbiani gathered in 1905 behind the Panathenaic Stadium. *Embros*, March 1, 1905. Impressively, milkmen were still celebrating Clean Monday at the columns in 1987. Minas Alexiadis, *Νεωτερική ελληνική λαογραφία: Συναγωγή μελετών* (Athens: Kardamitsa, 2008), 248–49.

88. *Embros*, February 15, 1922. Soldiers from the provinces are mentioned in *Astir*, February 23, 1916; *Embros*, February 19, 1919, and

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March 2, 1921; *Skrip*, March 2, 1921; *Kathimerini*, February 7, 1923; and *Eleftheron Vima*, February 25, 1936.

89. Vlachoyiannis, "Μασκαράδες και πολίται στις Κολώνες να βρεθείτε," *Bouketo*, February 26, 1931, 202–3. See also *Ethniki*, March 9, 1927; Dimitris Lampikis, *Απ' όσα βλέπουμε στην Αθήνα* (Athens: Vassileiou, 1930), 129–31; and *Akropolis*, February 28, 1933, for the still-thriving celebration of Clean Monday with folk dances on Filopappou Hill.

90. *Efimeris*, February 9, 1893. A commentator of *Ethnos* also lamented the loss of the "color" of the Athens Koulouma. *Ethnos*, March 7, 1924.

91. This is the case for novelists as well. Anastasia Natsina, *Η φύση τόσο κοντά, τόσο μακριά* (Athens: Kallipos, 2023), 39–68. The first naturalist and hiking clubs were founded in the early twentieth century, but the number of clubs and their members became noticeable only during the interwar period. Iossif Botetzagias and Sakis Kourouzidis, "Η εμφάνιση και η ανάπτυξη του ελληνικού περιβαλλοντικού κινήματος," in *Περιβαλλοντική Ιστορία: Μελέτες για την αρχαία και τη σύγχρονη Ελλάδα*, ed. Chloe Vlassopoulou and Georgia Liarakou (Athens: Pedio, 2011), 121–37. Even then, the Greek naturalist movement could in no way compare in size with the back-to-nature and *lebensreform* movements in industrialized countries, such as Germany and Britain. John Alexander Williams, "'The Chords of the German Soul Are Tuned to Nature': The Movement to Preserve the Natural Heimat from the Kaiserreich to the Third Reich," *Central European History* 29, no. 3 (1996): 339–84; and Anna Bramwell, *Ecology in the 20th Century: A History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989).

92. *Athinaika Nea*, March 15, 1932, and March 16, 1937.

93. *Eleftheron Vima*, February 25, 1936. See also *Eleftheron Vima*, March 3, 1925; and *Kyriakatiki*, March 21, 1926.

94. *Eleftheron Vima*, February 25, 1936.

95 *Embros*, March 9, 1927.

96. *Athinaika Nea*, March 4, 1938. See also *Eleftheron Vima*, February 22,

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97. Dimitrios Loukatos, *Πασχαλινά και της Άνοιξης* (Athens: Filippotis, 1980), 15–24.

98. *Akropolis*, February 18, 1903, and February 7, 1912; *Embros*, March 1, 1905.

99. Stella Epifaniou-Petraki, *Λαογραφικά της Σμύρνης* (Athens: To elliniko vivlio, 1964), 70–71; and Loukatos, *Πασχαλινά και της Άνοιξης*. Cf. Dora Stambouloglou-Kassotaki, *Στο χορό των αναμνήσεων* (Athens: n.p., 2002), 29.

100. Antonios Verveniotis, *Η Αθήνα του 1900* (Athens: n.p., 1963), 107–9; Simonetis, *Θησείο*, 56–58; Anne Anthony, *Greek Holiday* (Athens: Icaros, 1957), 92; Loukatos, *Πασχαλινά και της Άνοιξης*; and Dimitris Xiromamos, interview by the Athens Oral History Group, June 9, 2013.

101. Konstantina Bada, "Το παιχνίδι στην παραδοσιακή ελληνική κοινωνία," *Εθνογραφικά* 9 (1993): 73–81; and Stephen Kline, "The Making of Children's Culture," in *The Children's Culture Reader*, edited by Henry Jenkins (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 95–109.

102. Marianthi Kaplanoglou, *Ελληνική λαϊκή παράδοση: Τα παραμύθια στα περιοδικά για παιδιά και νέους (1836–1922)* (Athens: Ellinika Grammata, 1998); Donna E. Norton, *Through the Eyes of a Child: An Introduction to Children's Literature* (Chicago: Pearson, 2003); and Andrew O'Malley, *Children's Literature, Popular Culture, and Robinson Crusoe* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

103. While I agree with the point made by Testa that transformations coexist with permanencies in the evolution of festivals such as carnival, I do not believe there is any danger of "overestimating transformations and ruptures." Alessandro Testa, *Rituality and Social (Dis)Order: The Historical Anthropology of Popular Carnival in Europe* (New York: Routledge, 2021), 19.

104. On the "notion of the festive itself," see Laurent Sébastien Fournier, "Traditional Festivals: From European Ethnology to Festive Studies," *Journal of Festive Studies* 1, no. 1 (2019): 22. On key features of modernity, see Charles Tilly, *The Contentious French*

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(Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986); Mack P. Holt, "Festivals," in *Encyclopedia of European Social History from 1350 to 2000*, ed. Peter Stearns (New York: Scribner, 2001), 5:41–51; Georges Vigarello, *Du jeu ancien au show sportif: La naissance d'un mythe* (Paris: Seuil, 2002); Jean Maisonneuve, *Les conduites rituelles* (Paris: PUF, 2004), 59; and Fournier, "Traditional Festivals."

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