

## **The Hollywood Films of Irene Papas**

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Irene Papas is the most recognizable and well-known Greek film star of either gender and has enjoyed a considerable international career, spanning over fifty years and over eighty films. An actor with incredible range, power, and subtlety, one could say that her reputation rests mainly on her long career in European cinema, where she had the opportunity to play her most impressive roles. While Papas is typically most remembered for her role as the sensual widow in *Zorba the Greek* (1964), she is also often identified with her portrayal of the heroines of ancient Greek tragedy, notably in *Antigone* (1961), *Electra* (1962), as Helen in *The Trojan Women* (1971), and as Clytemnestra in *Iphigenia* (1977).<sup>1</sup> These roles not only solidified her reputation as an actor of the first order, but also made her something of a national hero and national symbol in Greece, so much so that her persona has even become a symbol of “the Greek woman.”<sup>2</sup>

As an international movie star, Papas’ public persona grew out of a combination of her personal physical attributes, personality, talent, and the roles she has chosen to play, as well as industry driven and media “marketing” of her image. Her career began at the tail end of the heyday of the star driven studio system, a system that was being replicated by the Greek studios in the 1950s. John Belton points out that the film industry developed the star system from its earliest days as an integral part of the business, and thus stars are a “manufactured” part of a cinema product that plays a “crucial role” in its economic or financial (and ostensibly, if not necessarily, its aesthetic) success.<sup>3</sup> But the cultural meaning of stars themselves seems to transcend the industry, and even the individual films in which stars appear. As Christine Gledhill suggests, while the star is a “product of mass culture” and an “industrial marketing device,” she is also “a social sign, carrying social meanings and ideological values, which expresses the

intimacies of individual personality, inviting desire and identification.”<sup>4</sup> Thus Papas’ connection to the powerful female characters in ancient drama has contributed to perceptions of her on-screen persona, and has also influenced some of the ways she has come to “represent” Greek women in general. Promotion stills of the period, for example, highlight her “classical beauty” by having her stand next to ancient Greek statues. A central question, then, when considering the Hollywood films of Irene Papas is how well did this persona translate into mainstream American cinema, if at all? In what ways did her few appearances in major Hollywood productions employ her screen persona, and what do those films say about America’s perception of Greek women?

Beyond her classical roles, Papas has quite often been typecast as a strong female figure who exhibits not only beauty and sensuality, but also fierce independence and spirit. Papas, perhaps even more than her contemporary, Melina Mercouri, seems to embody the often-contradictory complexities of Greekness, and more specifically, *feminine* Greekness on screen.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, her screen persona also seems at odds more generally with the way women have been traditionally portrayed in the mainstream Greek cinema of the time. As Maria Komninos puts it: “Even in post-war years, Greek commercial cinema mainly promoted the image of the naughty rich girl who, instead of pursuing a career, was focused on finding a good husband. Films that promoted the image of independent Greek women struggling against the prejudices of the male dominated society were few and far between.”<sup>6</sup> Papas’ roles, along with Mercouri’s were often those “few” that ran counter to the prevailing conventions.

The role as Helen in *The Trojan Women* illustrates at least in part the way Papas’ persona has developed in conjunction with ancient figures. Director Michael Cacoyannis suggests that the ancient texts themselves provided the model: “I think there is a connection between ancient and modern Greece. Women in Euripides are always raising their voices against oppression. And—well, who could be more liberated, from a modern point of view, than Helen or Clytemnestra, who rules with an iron will and a harsh tongue?”<sup>7</sup> While not truly a “Hollywood” production in the sense that it was made for a major studio or even made in America by an American director, the film harnessed the star-power of Katharine Hepburn and Vanessa Redgrave, along with that of Papas, to generate interest in the ancient drama. Despite the weaknesses of the production, Papas brings to Helen a very powerful understanding of the role. The viewer’s introduction to the character is partially screened by the wooden slats of her prison.

However, the focus on her eyes in close-up, as well as the partial nudity as she bathes is suggestive of the mythical beauty and seductive power Helen is meant to possess. In her main scene, Helen is brought out to speak to Menelaus in a sumptuous, backless white robe that stands in stark contrast to the tattered rags worn by Hecuba and the other Trojan women. As she defends her innocence, she uses her sensuous looks to try to sway him. The camera lingers on her face, and later pans very slowly up her naked back, which also emphasizes her sensuality. Rhetorically, Helen deflects blame for running away with Paris and the subsequent ten-year siege onto the gods, onto Paris, and onto the weak and foolish Menelaus himself. While Hecuba condemns her as cunning and ambitious, in the end, she convinces Menelaus to spare her until they return to Greece. She struts and smiles, confident in her knowledge that she can still use her beauty to control the men in the story. Her mischievous smile at the end of the scene reveals that she is fully aware of what she has done, and that she knows she will likely “get away with it.” Vincent Canby described Papas’ performance in the film this way: “...her dark, ageless, almost masculine beauty gives real dimension to the role of the woman who was once the most beautiful in the world, and may still be.”<sup>8</sup> This sense of the mixture of a masculine-like power coupled with sensuous, seductive femininity is evocative of Papas’ screen persona. In her “modern” film roles these qualities contribute to the sense of Papas as a symbol of Greek women in general.

Papas’ “Hollywood career” began rather less powerfully and auspiciously than her role of Helen. In a 1969 interview with Papas, the critic Roger Ebert wrote that essentially Hollywood had no idea how to treat a woman of Papas’ caliber, treating the promotion of her image as a “sort of modified cheesecake” starlet: “There are a lot of pretty girls in movies, but not many women. Irene Papas is a woman, a lady, a great actress. We do not have many like her.”<sup>9</sup> It is clear that, for Ebert at least, the Hollywood “star-mill” was simply trying to force Papas into standard, preconceived and prefabricated marketing strategies of the day. Later in Ebert’s interview, after having described some of her “serious” roles as well as her political stance in relation to the Junta, when actress Hayley Mills enters the room Papas makes a comment that is indicative of her Hollywood career, “I was in a picture with her.... You don’t remember? Ah, well, I do many bit parts: I’m not too proud, and they pay well.”<sup>10</sup> This comment gives us some insight into how Papas herself felt about her roles in American films, and if one could not characterize all the roles she played in Hollywood productions as “bit parts,” she almost never was given more than a supporting role.

Irene Papas made her American film debut in just such a bit part, her very small role in *The Man from Cairo* (1953), a second-rate B-movie *noir* vehicle for an aging George Raft. Papas is employed as the sultry dancer Yvonne Lebeau in a way commensurate with the studio treatment of a budding starlet: she spends the majority of her screen time (approximately one minute) speaking to Raft over her shoulder from a bathtub.<sup>11</sup> The focus of the camera in the scene is clearly on Papas' large, dark eyes as well as the soapy water lapping just above her breast, on her exposed shoulder, and her knee protruding from the water. Here is an evocation of an exotic, Orientalized beauty befitting the *noir* setting in Algiers, although the character is ostensibly French and not an Arab. The character exudes sensuality, but beyond this more or less sensationalized treatment, she has essentially little or no connection to the main plot of the film. In her next scene, wearing a flower-print dress, Lebeau receives the "McGuffin" that Raft's character will seek for the better part of the film, and then she is promptly murdered. One recognizes the sensual possibilities in the creation of Papas' on-screen persona in this small role, but clearly there is no depth of character here.<sup>12</sup>

Her next American film, a western, is *Tribute to a Bad Man* (1956), where Papas plays a substantial and complex role as Jocasta Constantine opposite yet another aging star, James Cagney.<sup>13</sup> Here Papas portrays a Greek woman who, because of the misfortunes of immigration, is forced to work playing piano in a "hurdy-gurdy" saloon, despite her evident refinement, sophistication and forthright character. She is educated, passionate, sensitive, and deeply loyal to Rodock (Cagney), who meets her in the saloon and "saves" her by bringing her to his isolated ranch. Rodock likes her because she is "feisty," and thus seems to fit with his own combative nature. It is clear that she is not the typical naïve love interest one often finds in westerns; she is worldly, a "woman with a past" who smokes "cigareets" and who uses her looks and her figure to avoid hard work, as she admits to Steve, the young cowhand who falls in love with her. Indeed, her beauty and her unmarried status act as a matter of contention on the ranch, where all the lonely cowhands lust after her, which causes Rodock's intense jealousy. Jocasta's beauty and refinement also stand out in contrast to the one other female character in the film, the homely, plainspoken wife of the neighboring rancher who steals Rodock's horses. In the character of Jocasta, one perceives a more fully developed persona for Papas, and one that reflects the features for which she is known. For example, Jocasta is the moral center of the film, and while she loves the "bad man" Rodock deeply, she is unafraid to speak her mind and argue with him,

attempting to convince him to cease his vicious vigilantism. She is willing to leave him over her principles. She is strong and independent in the film, standing up more than once to the very rough and often violent Rodock. Moreover, she feels free to leave him anytime she wants to, and tells him so. Yet, because she truly loves Rodock, at the end of the film she decides to return to him and leave Steve in the lurch, knowing that her love, devotion and commitment have caused Rodock to change his ways. She returns to the ranch to finally establish the “normal” life she desires, and he finally offers his hand in marriage on the basis of deep love and trust.

One of the features of *Tribute to a Bad Man* is its presentation of the figure of the immigrant.<sup>14</sup> While the story has more than one immigrant character, notably the stock-character Chinese bunkhouse cook, who is pure stereotype, Jocasta offers a more nuanced and complex perspective. Initially, Jocasta does appear to stand as an immigrant stereotype; she could be any immigrant woman from Europe, and not very much is overtly made of her Greekness. In her first scene, when Steve gawks at her, she asks him if it is because of her beauty or her strangeness and her thickly accented English. Later Papas uses some Greek in her dialogue with Cagney and sings an old folk song in Greek while the men in the bunkhouse listen. In another scene, after the couple argues, Rodock asks her to play an old Greek tune he likes in an attempt to soothe her, but she refuses and angrily storms out of the room. Because Jocasta becomes a fully developed character in the film the stereotypical treatment falls away as the story progresses. Her education, sensitivity and resourcefulness (and not just her beauty) make the cowhands look up to her. This is illustrated when she writes a letter for the illiterate Steve, in which she expresses his feelings to his mother in a way that he himself is entirely incapable of doing. Her moral stance about violence and justice are given added weight by her immigrant status and experience. She tells Steve about having lost her family to war and violence, rejecting those modes of being in every way. This puts her directly at odds with the rough ways of the American frontier espoused by Rodock. By the end of the film, however, it is the American Rodock who in essence must assimilate to her ways and accept her moral perspective. If this runs counter to the popular assimilationist narrative of the immigrant experience, it bolsters the notion that American identity grows in reality from a negotiation between “immigrant” and “mainstream” values. Nevertheless, the character of Jocasta seems to fit the model of the strong, independent female figure indicative of Papas’ screen persona generally, and, as one critic has suggested, also offers some connection to the ancient tradition as well.<sup>15</sup>

By the time Papas came to play in her next American film, the blockbuster World War II action-adventure film *The Guns of Navarone* (1961), she had become firmly established as an international star, having received much recognition and notoriety for her performance in *Antigone* the same year.<sup>16</sup> Cast as Maria Pappadimos, partisan fighter and sister of Spiros, a member of the special unit, here Papas is perhaps at her most “manly” in terms of persona.<sup>17</sup> Dressed in an overcoat, dungarees, army boots and a red headscarf, Maria is capable, unafraid, stoic, patriotic and heroic. She is a woman who lives up to the grandeur of her ancient precursors. In particular contrast to Anna (played by Gia Scala), who, despite her purported “credentials” as a ruthless partisan fighter who “kills without mercy,” is much softer and weaker than Maria, Papas’ face seems hard and chiseled. In her first scene, this hardness is emphasized when, meeting her brother after many years, she slaps him and admonishes him for never writing before “melting” into a loving sisterly embrace. She tells the troop Anna’s story with a sense of indignation and fierce loyalty, but also with compassion as she wipes the forehead of her unconscious colleague. It is clear that she is in charge and that she has stepped into her father’s shoes to lead the resistance against the Nazis on the island. She becomes the female counterpart to Mallory (Gregory Peck), bravely leading the unit through the tunnel into Mandrakos, dodging mortar fire and the strafing of German fighter planes. When Anna’s betrayal is revealed at the end of the film, it is Maria, despite her compassion, who kills without mercy when the men of the unit waver. As the men debate Anna’s fate, Maria stands gun in hand, listening passively. Then, when Mallory hesitates, pointing his pistol, it is Maria who fires. The camera pans up from the gun in her hand to reveal Maria’s ashen face, the look of disappointment and disgust smoldering in her eyes. Afterwards, as they leave, she pauses, momentarily overwrought by this sudden turn of events, but when Stavrou attempts to speak and comfort her, she quickly gathers herself and stoically marches on. The character is really “hard as nails,” and has the liberation and survival of her homeland as her most important objective.

At the same time, there is little of the sensual or seductive aspect of Papas’ persona here. In the quiet scenes in which she begins to form a relationship with Andreas (Anthony Quinn), she maintains the sort of “manly” prerogatives that make her a good partisan fighter. When she drives the truck with Andreas at her side, she is straightforward and businesslike: “Mr. Stavrou, I like you” she states, with a slight smile. One does not get the impression that Maria could fall in love at first sight; she is cool and rational, even about her “romantic” choices. Later, as she

watches Andrea shaving in the monastery, she merely raises her eyebrows and nods in approval without speaking. At the very end of the film, when she rescues the men in the motorboat, as she patches Stavrou's shoulder, she again stoically accepts the news about her brother's death. When Stavrou asks her to go to Crete with him, she refuses: her duty to her island comes first, and Stavrou returns to Navarone with her. Given the genre of the war adventure, the portrayal of Greek women in *The Guns of Navarone* as active, useful and powerful members of the resistance seems natural, if slightly two-dimensional. Maria fulfills a kind of patriotic stereotype of the hardy Greek village woman who is obviously as strong or stronger than any man who might cross her path. Yet she stands in contrast to the other village women in the film, especially in the wedding scene where the Germans capture Mallory and his men.

It is again in contrast to average village women that Papas' character stands in her next Hollywood role, as the beautiful and tortured widow in *Zorba the Greek* (1964). Karalis comments that Papas brings to the role an "elemental nobility," while Crowther praises her as "dark and intense," complaining that she is "got out of the way" too quickly in the film.<sup>18</sup> The widow is a tragic figure; beautiful and defiant of the men in the village who all dream of possessing her, knowing that they never will. She is ultimately helpless in the face of their patriarchal and vindictive society. As in so many of her other roles, Papas plays the widow with a mixture of proud independence and dignity, but also with a sensual power so potent that it drives Mavrandonis' son to commit suicide, and the rest of the men in the village to hate her for it.

From her initial scene, the widow is clearly different than the rest of the villagers. While the others crowd around the strangers, delighting in their novelty and grasping for a chance to profit by their visit, she looks on from a distance with aloof curiosity. She also differs sharply from the other "exceptional" woman in the village, Madame Hortense, the old and pathetic coquette with whom Zorba has a dalliance. As he does in *The Trojan Women*, Cacoyannis employs frequent close-ups of Papas' eyes, which here are even more effective and expressive in creating the sensual depth of the character. The next scene, when the men hide her goat in the café, the widow who is frantically searching for it in the rain does not hesitate to penetrate into that male-oriented space. Confident and unafraid, she is also angry and sullen at their practical joke, glaring at them as they "devour" her with their own lustful gazes. The men attempt to

humiliate her, but Zorba intervenes; she spits as she exits the café in another gesture of disdain. In the next moment, she gratefully accepts Basil's umbrella after first refusing it. Again, her expressive eyes look up at him in gratitude for his kind gesture. It is at that precise moment that the sexual tension of the film develops. It permeates the rest of the story, as Zorba repeatedly cajoles the reluctant Basil into pursuing her. She sends him a gift of rosewater, apparently to no avail, but the gesture is both one of gratitude and a pointed invitation; she does not merely passively wait for him to act. Their next encounter, alone on the road outside of the village, is perhaps the most tension-filled of the film. Without a word they approach one another, he with his timid stare, she with an expectant look and a slight smile. When he fails to speak to her, she passes him with a disappointed look, but does not turn around again as she proudly walks towards home. Finally, Basil resolves late one night to visit her after she has rejected Mavrandonis' son. After he enters her house, she weeps but convinces him to stay. The love scene is awkward and timid for both characters, but it is she who takes the initiative, offering herself to him by undoing her hair and disrobing. It is a gesture of submission as well as a direct expression of her own desire. She is suddenly insulted and humiliated when he hesitates, but when he falls to her feet, hugging her knees in an abject and meek posture, she turns it into a tender embrace. In the morning, she awakens to see the villagers carrying the dead body of Mavrandonis' son, horrified as they throw stones at her house.

Papas' final scene in *Zorba the Greek* is, of course, the tragic execution of the widow outside the church. She walks with a proud gait until she reaches the threshold, but when Mavrandonis bars her entry, she is suddenly transformed into a hunted and trapped creature. The men surround her, draw their knives to punish her while Basil looks on, once again unable to act. It is Zorba who temporarily comes to her rescue, but to no avail. Her dignity and her pride, as well as her beauty have led to this dramatic act of vengeance on the part of the villagers. Once again Papas' persona is one of a strong, independent female figure who also exudes a powerful sensuality and is unafraid to express and fulfill her desire, even in the face of the conventions of a closed and deeply contradictory society.

It is rather unfortunate that in the same year as *Zorba the Greek*, Papas also appeared in the Walt Disney Studios production *The Moon-Spinners*. Papas is employed in a fairly conventional and two-dimensional role, and is completely underutilized in a script that focuses

on one of Disney's child stars, Hayley Mills.<sup>19</sup> This is the bit part Papas refers to in her interview with Roger Ebert. Papas' character is Sophia, the traditional and submissive sister of Stratos (Eli Wallach), a crooked hotel owner on Crete. In her limited role, Sophia questions Stratos about his dishonest actions and worries quite a bit. She is neither strong-willed nor independent, but asserts her right to know what is going on in her own home. Stratos effectively and rather easily "puts her in her place." Here Papas' screen persona fulfills only the basic and flat stereotypical representation a traditional Greek woman. Even worse, despite its being competently made and with a decent cast, the story is told entirely from the perspective of its English protagonists, relying heavily on broad clichés of Greeks as backwards and dirty, as well as cunning and conniving.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, generally in the film Greeks are presented as "uncivilized natives" worthy of anthropological study but otherwise not to be taken very seriously. The protagonist's aunt collects Greek folk songs for the BBC. Another English character colludes with Stratos in the theft and illegal sale of antiquities. On the whole, the film does not present a very positive image of Greeks, although it does celebrate the grandeur of the Cretan landscape.

Papas' next American appearance was in *The Brotherhood* (1968), in which she portrays Ida, who is not a Greek, but the Sicilian wife of a mafia capo played by Kirk Douglas. Here Papas, or rather her on-screen persona, simply stands in for the "ethnic type" required by the genre of the film. As in *The Moon-Spinners*, Ida is a fairly flat, underdeveloped character. The film does not take much advantage of Papas' presence, leaving her to mainly sit quietly in the background as the mafiosi work out their business. At one point, she even gives her lines off-screen where she is ostensibly in the kitchen washing dishes.

While one reviewer calls the character "peasant-strong,"<sup>21</sup> perhaps evoking the sense of Papas' persona from films like *The Guns of Navarone*, or *Zorba the Greek*, her main function in the film is to act either as the beautiful and exquisitely dressed "trophy wife" at official Mafia gatherings, or as the domestic support of her very patriarchal husband. In one scene when Frank comes home drunk, Ida literally supports him, helping him stay upright as he stumbles up the stairs, where she dutifully begins to undress him for bed. Later in the same scene, at least, Papas is allowed to exhibit the more sensual side of her persona, as Ida is not only a "good wife" but also playful and passionate, still sexy in middle-age. As the couple begins to make love she shows some spirit and control of the relationship when she climbs on top of him. He whispers

“you make the rules” to her while she kisses him tenderly on the forehead. But, sadly for Ida, Frank passes out before she can fulfill her desire, and the scene is ultimately played for comic relief in an otherwise heavy drama. In the end, although Ida is fully aware of the situation in the film, she lacks the agency or the power to intervene in her husband’s world. In the final scene, just before Frank is to be murdered by his own brother to fulfill a vendetta, Ida can merely sit and watch him go. As always, Papas’ expressive eyes convey the tragic helplessness of the character.

Soon afterwards, Papas appeared in another film with Anthony Quinn, in a Greek-American story adapted from Harry Mark Petrakis’ novel *A Dream of Kings* (1969). Although she remains in an essentially supporting role, in this film Papas returns to a full-fledged application of her on-screen persona as Calliope, the wife of the protagonist Matsoukas.<sup>22</sup> Calliope is strong-willed and “fiery,” showing her emotions, especially anger, towards her husband.<sup>23</sup> Like all of Petrakis’ strong female characters, Calliope is also the foundation of the family and holds the family together while Matsoukas wastes their money on harebrained schemes and fools around with other women. Moreover, she is realistic about the health of their son and his chances for survival, whereas Matsoukas harbors fantasies that a trip to the homeland will cure him. Like most of her characters, Papas employs her sensual side as well. For example, when Matsoukas comes home broke and drunk at dawn, she initially scolds him and begins a fight, but then relents to his playfulness in bed. Papas plays the scene with depth and complexity, showing not only Calliope’s spirited side but also her tenderness and understanding of her problematic husband. In a later scene, she shows him tough love as she nurses him after he has been worked over by the Turk. In the end, despite their differences, despite his philandering and squandering of their small earnings, she shows her faith and loyalty to him. When he desperately wants to go to Greece with their son, and gives him all of her savings in order to allow him to realize his dream. Here, Calliope is more like Jocasta in *Tribute to a Bad Man*: she seems to understand her “bad man” more than he does himself, and she is willing to accept him with all his faults. By the same token, where Jocasta succeeds in reforming Rodock in the end, Matsoukas remains irascible.

After a very long absence from Hollywood, Papas made her final appearance in an American film in *Captain Corelli’s Mandolin* (2001), another star-filled blockbuster about the

World War II. Her role as Drosoula, the aged mother and would-be of Mandras is very limited; Papas is once more quite underutilized, and is buried under the romantic subplots that dominate the film.<sup>24</sup> More often than not, she plays a reactive role, watching the action unfold before her and silently conveying her emotions. Her first scene attempts to show how “peasant-strong” she is, and in a way is a parody of her first scene in *The Guns of Navarone*. When Mandras is injured by the canon shot during the St. Gerasimos celebration, her first reaction is to slap and admonish him as he lies on the doctor’s table. As in some of her other roles, Drosoula is mostly a motherly stereotype, while as a widow there are faint echoes of *Zorba*. Oddly, in most of her scenes she does not speak, and relies successfully in the expressiveness of her face, and, as always her eyes, to convey Drosoula’s emotional state. For example, when Pelagia and Mandras are betrothed, she stands beaming next her son, or, more effectively, when Pelagia comes to her house for news of her intended. Often, she sits with the other older women of the village, as in the various café scenes, simply following the action as nothing more than a part of the scenery. Ultimately, while Papas brings to Drosoula as much as she has to any of her roles, because the role is so small it has little impact in a large but fairly mediocre epic tale whose story lies elsewhere. In essence the film’s true focus is Pelagia, played by Penelope Cruz, but she is but a tepid version of the strong women that Papas has portrayed throughout her career.

When one thinks of Irene Papas, one quickly associates her with her most powerful roles, and one may be tempted to think of her as continually typecast as the strong, independent yet passionate and sensual Greek woman. Yet a close examination of the roles in her Hollywood films suggests that each one, while more or less contained within the various parameters of her on-screen persona, is played distinctively, highlighting specific aspects of her persona that coincide with the needs of each film. As for whether these roles imply anything about how Americans may perceive Greek women, or Greeks in general, it is difficult to say with much certainty. While it is tempting to view her mainly as a kind of outspoken feminist stereotype connected to her roles in ancient Greek drama, which she also brings to her roles in these American films, one can likewise see that she has also often been cast in a more traditionalist light fulfilling a certain kind of “ethnic” figure which may be more or less shallow depending on its treatment. Certainly, Papas the woman transcends her own on-screen persona, and, as Roger Ebert suggested nearly fifty years ago, women and actors like her have been few and far between.

<sup>1</sup> Papas also played Penelope (1968) and Anticleia (1997) in two different made-for-television versions of *The Odyssey*.

<sup>2</sup> To this day, at the age of ninety, newspaper articles and fanzine or cinema blogs refer to her in terms that reflect her symbolic status as a national figure: “the modern/living Caryatid” (η σύγχρονη/ζωντανή Καρυάτιδα), “the ‘Priestess’ of Greek Cinema” (η “Ιέρεια” του Ελληνικού Κινηματογράφου), “The Woman Greece” (η γυναίκα Ελλάδα), and “the Greek Woman of the World” (η Ελληνίδα του Κόσμου). See various websites in References.

<sup>3</sup> John Belton. *American Cinema, American Culture*. (2<sup>nd</sup> edition) Boston: McGraw Hill, 2005, page 93.

<sup>4</sup> Christine Gledhill, (ed.). *Stardom: Industry of Desire*. London: Routledge, 1991, page xiii.

<sup>5</sup> This is often expressed as the chasm between perceptions of ancient Greek culture versus modern Greek culture, particularly as applied to female gender stereotypes. See Vassiliki Tsitsopoulou. “Greekness, Gender Stereotypes, and the Hollywood Musical in Jules Dassin’s *Never on Sunday*.” *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 18: 1 (2000): pages 80-81.

<sup>6</sup> Maria Komninos. “Representations of Women in Greek Cinema.” *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 37: 1,2 (2011): pages 75-89. For further discussion of female stereotypes and female roles generally in mainstream Greek cinema, see Athena Kartalou. “Gender, Professional, and Class Identities in *Miss Director* and *Modern Cinderella*.” *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 18:1 (2000): pages 105-118 and Persephone Tselentis Apostolidis. “Female Presence and Male Absence: Recent Films by Greek Women.” *Film Criticism* 27:2 (Winter 2002-03): pages 43- 58.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Winkler Martin M. Winkler. *Classical Myth and Culture in the Cinema*. Cary, New York: Oxford, 2001. P.75. ProQuest ebrary. Web. 28 October 2016. Papas echoes such sentiments later in the same interview. On the “challenge” of playing the role of Helen she says: “that part needs more acting; more meaning had to be put into it...It’s difficult when you play a role that’s more ambiguous. It is not advantageous, the role of Helen...As Helen you really have to sweat” (88).

<sup>8</sup> Vincent Canby. “Trojan Women: Cacoyannis Presents a Star-Filled Drama.” *New York Times*, September 28, 1971. Web. 28 October 2016.

<sup>9</sup> Roger Ebert. “Interview with Irene Papas.” July 13, 1969. Web. 28 October 2016.

<<http://www.rogerebert.com/interviews/interview-with-irene-papas>>

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Given the extremely small role she is given here, it could probably be considered a testament to her later career and international recognizability as a star that the modern packaging material (on the back cover of the DVD case, copyrighted 2012) mentions her at all in the summary blurb: “Tough-guy Raft investigates the wartime theft of \$100 million in gold somewhere in the Algerian desert. Solid film noir with action, adventure and...Irene Papas in a tub!” By contrast, the main female lead, Gianna Maria Canale – a minor Italian star at best – is completely forgotten beyond the rather poor likeness of her arm in arm with Raft on the cover art. A drawing of Papas in the tub is also included in the rather lurid cover art.

<sup>12</sup> The *Times* review pans the film, and suggests Papas and the other actors simply “go through their assigned motions” in an unimaginative and tedious way. H. H. T. “George Raft in ‘The Man from Cairo’ and a new Stage Bill Seen at the Palace.” *New York Times*, December 17, 1953. Web.

<sup>13</sup> The credits to the film read “introducing Irene Papas,” but as we have seen above, this was really her second appearance in an American production, however forgettable the first.

<sup>14</sup> This may have been an unintentional consequence of casting Papas in the role. It is rumored that the role was originally intended for Grace Kelly, which one surmises would have made the character and the film entirely different (see IMDB). It is clear, however, that Papas’ contribution to the development of the character and her use of her own Greek background deepens the thematic content of the film considerably.

<sup>15</sup> See Colin for an interesting take on the allusion to *Oedipus* in the film: “Even the name Jocasta is highly suggestive, with its allusions to Greek mythology – Jocasta was the mother of Oedipus, who of course unwittingly killed his father and proceeded to marry his mother. I think it’s therefore intended that we see Rodock as a kind of Laius figure, simultaneously in love with Jocasta, deeply suspicious of what it may lead to, and also forever aware of the threat to him posed by younger men. Nevertheless, while an awareness of this aspect can add another layer of appreciation, it’s not an essential reading of the plot.” Colin. “Tribute to a Bad Man.” *Riding the High Country, Reviews and Ramblings* (June 19, 2014). Web. 19 November 2016. <<https://livius1.wordpress.com/2014/06/19/tribute-to-a-bad-man/>>

<sup>16</sup> Vrasidas Karalis. *A History of Greek Cinema*. New York: Continuum, 2012, page 98.

<sup>17</sup> Crowther's *Times* review of the film is rather negative, and he fails to appreciate the nuances of Papas' performance. Bosley Crowther. "A Robust Drama: 'Guns of Navarone' is at Two Theatres." *New York Times*, June 23, 1961. Web. 28 October 2016.

<sup>18</sup> See Karalis, *History*, page 103; and Bosley Crowther. "'Zorba the Greek' is at Sutton: Anthony Quinn Stars in Adaptation of Novel." *New York Times*, December 18, 1964. Web. 28 October 2016.

<sup>19</sup> The anonymous reviewer in *Variety* (1963) puts it this way: "Irene Papas, a superb Greek actress with a wonderfully expressive face, gives more dignity and feeling to her tiny role that it deserves." "Review: The Moon-Spinners." *Variety*. December 31, 1963. Web. 6 September 2016.

<sup>20</sup> Eli Wallach's character Stratos is especially contemptibly evil, "vicious, unfeeling and rotten to the core" (*Variety*, 1963). One could argue, however, that his performance of the "ethnic type" here does not differ significantly from his portrayals of villains in his more well-known roles in spaghetti-westerns such as *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*.

<sup>21</sup> Vincent Canby. "The Mafia Deals with its Generation Gap: 'Brotherhood' Pits Old Regime Against New Kirk Douglas Effective as Underworld Chief." *New York Times*, January 17, 1969. Web. 15 October 2016.

<sup>22</sup> Of her portrayal of this role Papas said, "I don't think Mr. Petrakis will like my performance...I've heard that he wanted me for the role, but I don't know if he'll like what I did. As for myself, I simply followed the instructions of the director. To play the scene the way I want to, I would have to be the director myself." See Ebert. Interview.

<sup>23</sup> Critic Howard Thompson hardly mentions Papas in his review, but his comment is very expressive: "The keen eyes and strapping physique of Quinn render him as exasperating to us as to his wife, whom Irene Papas understandably plays like a walking blowtorch." Howard Thompson. "Screen: 'Dream of Kings.'" *New York Times*, December 16, 1969. Web. 28 October 2016.

<sup>24</sup> Papas' role in this film is so small that she is ignored in practically every review of it.

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