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Ancient drama as a therapeutic tool

The theatrical performances by inpatients at the Dromokaiteion Hospital in the 1960s – The performance of Aeschylus' *Eumenides* in 1965

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Abstract

In the 1960s, a pioneering method of group psychotherapy – based on ancient drama – was applied at the Dromokaiteion Psychiatric Hospital by psychiatrist Dr. George Lyketsos. During the therapeutic process, the participating inpatients were taught ancient drama and took active part in rehearsals with the aim of presenting performances of ancient Greek tragedies. The present article attempts to outline the psychotherapeutic method followed by Lyketsos from 1960 to 1965, with reference to the 1965 performance of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, in which long-term inmates at the Dromokaiteion participated as actors. In addition, the article attempts to identify the "Lyketsos method" in relation to the wider field of drama therapy, while aiming to trace any elective affinities with Jacob Moreno's "psychodrama".

Keywords: drama therapy, psychodrama, theatre, ancient Greek drama, Dromokaiteion, George Lyketsos, Jacob Moreno

Introduction

This article is a developed version of my unpublished paper entitled "Ancient Drama as a Therapeutic Tool: The Case of the Performance of Aeschylus' *Eumenides* by Long-term Mental Patients at the Dromokaiteion of Athens, September 1965", presented at the 2nd Symposium on Dramatherapy & 3rd International Conference on Expressive Therapy.¹ Since then, and especially after successfully defending my doctoral thesis on the modern Greek performances of Aeschylus' tragedies, I have attempted to expand this research, the main points of which I will present in the following lines. The impetus for writing this article was an unsigned article of 1965, which was published in the journal *Theatro* entitled "Διδασκαλία αρχαίων τραγωδιών για θεραπεία σχιζοφρενών" [Teaching Ancient Tragedies for the Treatment of Schizophrenics] and entered in the column "The Quarter", where theatrical current affairs were commented on. Its anonymous author refers to the activity of Professor George Lyketsos, director of the First Psychiatric Clinic at the Dromokaiteion Psychiatric Hospital in the 1960s.

Dr. George Lyketsos (1916–2011), Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Athens, was an eminent personality in the field of psychiatry and psychotherapy, in Greece and abroad, with many years of active presence in the local scientific and social scene. Educated in England and the United States, he became director of the First Psychiatric Clinic at the Dromokaiteion Psychiatric Hospital in the 1950s. In his effort to achieve the service of "habeas animum", i.e. the right of man to be the master of his soul, much ground needed to be covered (Lyketsos, 1998, p. 10). Indicative of the philosophy for the treatment of mental illness at the time is the title of the *Theatro* article, where people living with a mental illness are described as "schizophrenics" and the line separating them from the so-called mentally healthy is considered vertical and impenetrable. Lyketsos belonged to the group of psychiatrists who attempted to change this situation, aiming to humanise structures and de-institutionalise patients, while encouraging their communication with the outside world, something that was considered almost unthinkable at the time (Christodoulou, 2011). Moving in this direction, the eminent psychiatrist attempted to introduce, among other things, a method of drama therapy; an emerging therapeutic approach that has its origins in the "psychodrama" of the famous psychiatrist Jacob Moreno. The possible eclectic affinities between Lyketsos and Moreno are a crucial issue, which we will address below.

The fact is, however, that during the 1950s,

a tendency to distance itself from the outdated practices of the past began to emerge at the Dromokaiteion. Lyketsos, influenced by the esteemed scientist in the field of psychiatry and psychoanalysis – but also his personal friend – Dimitrios Kouretas, turns towards the psychoanalytic explanation of schizophrenia and "begins to show confidence in therapies through communication and speech and [to] apply the first group therapies for chronically incarcerated schizophrenics" (Panagiotopoulou, 2009, p. 60). The method of drama therapy and the performances of ancient tragedy with patients as actors were part of Lyketsos' formulation of a philosophy that placed the concept of "therapeutic community" at the centre of the patients' psychotherapy, a philosophy that was quite pioneering for Greek standards at that time (p. 61).

Drama therapy and psychodrama

But what do we mean when we refer to the concepts of "drama therapy" and "psychodrama"? Exhaustive analysis of this issue cannot be ventured in the context of this article. We will content ourselves with the following: Drama therapy, in general, constitutes a method of therapy through art and refers to approaches that emphasise theatre "as a means of self-expression and playful group interaction" and base their techniques on improvisation and theatrical exercises (Johnson, 1984, p. 105). Drama therapy through theatre is of particular interest, thanks mainly to the use of theatre's semiotic system; therapeutic possibilities are provided by acting (role-playing, improvisation, movement), the dramatic text (words of the play), but also the performance, or "opsis" (masks, costumes, lighting). According to Jennings and Minde (1996), through theatre we can "experience feelings, emotions and energies that are not possible in real life"; great plays, such as those of the ancient tragic poets, "contain themes that touch each one of us and act as a means of exploring people's individual and family lives" (p. 25). From a technical point of view, drama therapy uses the theatrical semiotic systems "as imaginary stimulation for dramatization of stories and myths, detailed improvisation of situations or the enactment and exploration of classical (e.g., Greek and Shakespearean) texts"; however, it is stressed that drama therapy is a process rather than outcome-oriented and evolves through various stages; so it does not (usually) involve a final work presented in front of an audience (Kedem-Tahar & Felix-Kellerman 1996, p. 29).² Moreover, theatre offers "a distancing process that helps us control the experience and watch it from different perspectives" (Jennings & Minde,



1996, p. 25). Wilshire (1982) argues that we are too close to the experience to see it: "Theatre helps us, on the one hand, to maintain a (theatrical) distance from things and, on the other hand, to get close to them" (p. 32). In other words, we can see things better because they are not there. We are already in the area where psychodrama is based.

Born of Jewish descent in Bucharest, Moreno became interested from a very young age in the rituals of primitive civilisations that led to ancient Greek theatre and the concept of "catharsis" that ancient drama contains. For Moreno, catharsis comes not so much from the recognition and awareness of the internal conflicts of tragedy, but from the "playing out" of these conflicts, from the movement-action-motion process experienced individually and collectively (Bakirtzis, 2003, p. 61).³ Psychodrama, a type of group psychotherapy introduced by Moreno in the 1920s and established after 1934 with the publication of *Who Shall Survive*, can be defined as the science that explores truth through dramatic methods by transcending interpersonal relationships and personal worlds (Moreno & Fox, 1987, p. 13). Psychodrama includes five elements: the stage (the space of expression of psychodrama), the protagonist (the person who re-enacts his/her experience), the director (the facilitator of the psychodramatic encounter),

the therapeutic assistants or auxiliary "I's" (supporting actors who re-enact the protagonist's story) and the audience (spectators of the psychodramatic encounter). Essentially, it is a method of psychotherapy where participants are encouraged "to continue and complete their actions through dramatization, role-playing and dramatic self-presentation", using both verbal and non-verbal communications; the scenes dramatised may incorporate memories of past events, unfinished situations, fantasies or spontaneous expressions of present mental states (the techniques used vary and include reversal, doubling, mirroring, concretising, maximising, soliloquy etc.) (Kellerman 1992, p. 20).

But what is the relationship/difference between drama therapy and psychodrama? Interpreting Jennings and Minde (1996, p. 28), we can suggest that drama therapy "develops within the context of dramatic reality", i.e. it deals with mythological material, stories (plays) that speak about human beings. In contrast (but also correspondingly), psychodrama "elaborates the life of a single individual"; it traces his/her experiences and uses them as a material to determine situations of the present or even the future. Psychodrama is not just about a therapeutic process using theatrical techniques where participants play given roles, but more importantly, it

has to do with “recreating episodes” of their lives, as members of the therapeutic community play the roles of important people in their lives; it is a process of exploration. The main difference, then, is that in Moreno’s classic psychodrama there is no myth. The scene represents only the subjective experience of the participants. Its practice has a specific structure and techniques that differ from those of drama therapy. Moreover, drama therapy (in contemporary practice) is oriented “towards creative-expressive learning of roles”, as opposed to psychodrama, which is more oriented “towards experiential learning, including specific working through of emotional, cognitive, interpersonal, behavioral and [other] non-specific issues” (Kedem-Tahar & Felix-Kellerman, 1996, p. 34). Finally, seen through the “prism” of the “art/psychotherapy” system, there is an important differentiation between the concepts of drama therapy and psychodrama: “Whereas in psychodrama the soul (psyche) is the aim and the action (drama) is the means, the opposite is true for drama therapy, in which, drama itself (as pure art) is the aim and the psyche is the means (of expression)” (p. 29). This is not a simple semantic difference, but one in the basic philosophy of each concept. The table below lists the main features of comparison between psychodrama and drama therapy, as presented in a corresponding table by Kedem-Tahar and Felix-Kellermann (1996).

Let us now return to Lyketsos and the Dromokaiteion. The therapeutic method applied by the psychiatrist at this treatment centre seems to draw its philosophy from key principles of psy-

chodrama using basic practices of drama therapy; essentially, theatrical techniques are used in combination with the main principle of Moreno’s psychodrama which is: “Personal drama is shared with others, with the community, and thus ceases to be a strictly personal-private affair ... it becomes a source of communication through the spontaneous representation, here and now, of the past, present or future (imagination, desire, projection into the future) history of the individual or group” (Bakirtzis, 2003, p. 61). The element that Lyketsos adds, turning the whole psychotherapeutic process into a hybrid method of artistic expression, is the performance at the end of the programme.

Ancient drama at the Dromokaiteion

According to Lyketsos (1998), ever since Aeschylus singled out the tragic psychic conflict, ancient tragedy has offered its “spaciousness” to the psychosocial life of the individual, transcending the concept of mental state in such a way that “the universal laws that govern the universe and human drives, emotions and thoughts are revealed to all” (p. 318). Lyketsos incorporated ancient drama as a therapeutic medium in his approach by the winter of 1960. We should point out Lyketsos’ conviction that working on ancient tragedy with patients should not only result in a presentation/performance at the end of a months-long therapeutic process, but should also be presented on a stage that resembles an ancient theatre. Thus, when financial conditions allowed, he managed to push for the construction of an ancient open theatre with a *koilon*

	Psychodrama	Drama therapy
Definition	Group psychotherapy Psyche (aim) - Drama (means)	Expressive art therapy Drama (aim) - Psyche (means)
Theory	J. L. Moreno and others Spontaneity - Creativity	No one “founder” Theatre theory
Aims	Therapeutic (self-awareness)	Aesthetic (expression)
Therapeutic factors	Catharsis, Action-insight, “As if”, Magic	Play, Improvisation, Group work, Rituals
Practice	Clear structure Imagination and Reality Focus on individual Specific techniques	Unclear structure Imagination, Myth Focus on group No specific techniques
Target population	Conflicts, Life crisis, Psychological-minded	Developmental deficiencies, Handicapped / retarded
Therapist functions	Analyst, Therapist, Group leader	Dramaturg, Teacher, Artist, Shaman

Table 1. Comparative overview Psychodrama - Drama therapy (Kedem-Tahar & Felix-Kellerman, 1996, p. 34)

(1958). The first play he decided to teach to a group of long-term patients of the First Clinic was the Aeschylean *Prometheus Bound*.⁴ Under the supervision of Lyketsos, and with the assistance of a social worker, a group of inpatients worked on this very tragedy, resulting in a performance in September 1961, in the newly built ancient-like theatre at the Dromokaiteion. The audience consisted of the institution's inmates as well as a limited number of relatives and friends. The process was deemed a success, resulting in a similar work the following year, but this time by two different groups of patients, who performed the Sophoclean *Oedipus Tyrannus* and *Electra*. Episodes from the two tragedies were presented at Mental Health Week in May 1962.⁵ The experience of these two performances convinced Lyketsos that group work on ancient drama offered remarkable therapeutic possibilities for patients with chronic mental illness.

In the aforementioned *Theatro* article, Lyketsos analyses the mechanism of "catharsis" that a patient undergoes through ancient tragedy.⁶ More specifically:

1. A patient is subjected to intense suggestion due to the psychological conflicts of the characters, conflicts which are contained in the tragic myth.
2. This is followed by the emotional involvement of the actors-patients, as well as the audience consisting of patients who identify with the heroes of the tragedy.
3. Finally, there enters catharsis, characterised by an emotional discharge of the participants through the expression of deeply repressed experiences.

According to Lyketsos, through catharsis, patients achieve relief from inner psychological conflicts as well as from the feeling of guilt they may feel. Contributing to this effect are the elements of the projection of human mental suffering onto the gods (an inherent element of ancient drama), but also the punishment of the morally unacceptable actions of the heroes.

In particular, it is interesting to see how ancient drama works therapeutically for people with long-term mental conditions who play the roles in the performance according to the Greek scientist's hypotheses. Lyketsos distinguishes the following characteristics:

- Actors-patients with a weakened or disorganised "I" strengthen and reorganise their "I" with the help of the complementary "I" of the facilitator (director) by facing dramatic conflicts. It is also possible to transform the patients' "Superego" into a "more harmonious balance" through their contact with the facilitator, who acts as a stable

consciousness for patients with a rigid consciousness and as a reinforcing one when their consciousness has become weak.⁷

- The actors-patients who play the main characters (not including the ones who participate in the Chorus or those who watch as spectators), in trying to portray the mental conflicts of the role, have the opportunity to revive and realise their personal conflicts. Relief from feelings of guilt is achieved due to the "immunity" offered by performing an alien role.
- The actors-patients, hidden behind the role, during the months of teaching, participate in the heroes' mental fluctuations, achieving experiential participation and introspection of the fundamental mental conflicts of life (a symptom from which, one could say, all people with mental conditions suffer).

The performance of the *Eumenides* (1965)

The case addressed in this paper, which is reproduced in the 1965 article, focuses on the performance of Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, the third part of the *Oresteia* trilogy. The performance was given by a group of Lyketsos' patients on 14 September 1965, in the open-air theatre at the Dromokaiteion, in the context of the 15th Session of the European Mental Health Union. The group was facilitated by a social worker and collaborator of Lyketsos, Eleni Lykaki, under the supervision of Lyketsos himself. According to data provided by Lykaki, the patients who formed the *Eumenides* troupe had already been inmates for 2 to 27 years. The rehearsals lasted nine months and involved a group of 35 people in total. For more efficient teaching, the troupe was divided into four smaller groups of 8–9 persons. The aim of the project was to create a group with a consciousness of unity. The facilitator, observing the relationships that developed within the group during rehearsals, recorded the following:

- Some participants acted as leaders, while others lagged behind.
- The Chorus, which required equal contribution from all, provided opportunities for collaboration between participants and the possibility of developing contact with each other; in short, it worked cohesively. The patients who were members of the Chorus reportedly took, in turns, responsibility for each other.
- The role of the teaching-mentor shifted during the course of rehearsals: Initially he was the one in control of the group, but as the group became cohesive, his role was reduced and responsibility for the group was taken over by the participants. In order to understand some typical cases of



patients who participated in the performance of the *Eumenides*, it would be useful to recall, in brief, the plot of Aeschylus' drama: Orestes has taken refuge in the temple of Apollo at Delphi, after the murder of his mother, Clytemnestra, and his stepfather, Aegisthus. Apollo advises him to leave while the Eumenides (Furies) sleep, and asks Hermes to accompany Orestes on his journey to Athens. The ghost of Clytemnestra appears and accuses the Furies of standing idly, demanding that Orestes be punished for her murder. The Furies then wake up and hunt down Orestes to punish him. The latter arrives at the Acropolis and seeks sanctuary with the goddess Athena, begging her to forgive him and absolve him of his guilt. Athena heeds Orestes' plea and has both sides take a stand and develop their arguments. One of the Furies assumes the role of prosecutor. Orestes, telling his life story, defends the act of matricide. A vote is held on Orestes' guilt or innocence, during which the Furies fear that he will be acquitted. They threaten that in such a development they will cause calamities in the city of Athens with an unstoppable cycle of parricides. Finally, Athena, with her decisive vote, acquits Orestes and

reassures the Furies, by promising offerings and sacrifices on behalf of the Athenian citizens. The Furies → Eumenides consent and peace ensues.

According to Eleni Lykaki, among the patients who joined the Chorus, there was a woman who had killed her husband twenty years ago. During the rehearsals, this woman identified herself with Clytemnestra, justifying the murder of Agamemnon, while expressing her disgust at Orestes' crime. The patient seemed to enjoy her participation in the Chorus that pursued Orestes, and even asked for the role of the Coryphaeus, which was given to her. At the point in the play where the Furies change into Eumenides, near the end of the drama, the patient refused to perform her role, making various excuses and inventing pretexts. The facilitator was forced to change casting, assigning the role of the Coryphaeus to another patient, while Lyketsos was quick to support the former with sessions regarding this particular issue. Lykaki reported similar reactions from other patients, who often omitted their characters' lines that related to their personal situations, although they had learned and memorised them. It was also reported that it took a great deal

of effort for many of the participants to achieve emotional engagement in the play. At first, they only mimicked and recited the words without being emotionally involved. At the point in the play where the Chorus moves threateningly against Orestes, the participants, in the early rehearsals, found it difficult to respond. But when it became clear that they could channel, or even idealise, their aggression in a creative way through the play, their attitude changed. Finally, there is the particular case of a patient with severe psychosomatic problems which subsided as a result of his participation in the Chorus of the Furies. The "aggression" imposed by the theatrical convention is said to have been beneficial in improving his problems. In conclusion, it is worth mentioning some thoughts expressed by a patient who took part in the psychotherapeutic process at the Dromokaiteion: "At first I was afraid to listen to the parts of the play where there were murders. We know that such murders happen every day in society. But in reality nothing happened and everyone survived. I felt relief, mental satisfaction and pleasure" (Fafaliou, 1995, p. 252).

We now return to the two basic principles of psychodrama, creativity and spontaneity, which are the cornerstones of Moreno's edifice.⁸ According to Moreno, during the process of psychodrama, personal drama is shared with the community and becomes a source of creation and communication through spontaneous representation (Bakirtzis, 2003, pp. 61–63). In contrast, in the case of psychotherapy through theatre (attempted here by Lyketsos), the drama used is a given and leads to creative imitation on the part of the patient. In this case, we are not dealing with a stage experience/performance, but with a process of iterative meetings that require teamwork and trust building. It is also interesting to note the following: in two newspaper articles, at the time of the presentation of the *Eumenides* (I refer to the article in *Theatro* and to an unsigned article in the newspaper *Eleftheria* published on 19 September 1965), the influence of Moreno on Lyketsos' method is invoked. However, neither in his autobiography entitled *Το μυθιστόρημα της ζωής μου* [The Novel of My Life] (Lyketsos, 1998), nor in his article "The Ancient Greek Tragedy as a Means of Psychotherapy for Mental Patients" (Lyketsos, 1980) referring to the use of tragedy for therapeutic purposes, does the Greek psychiatrist mention the famous scientist.⁹ This conscious (or not) omission of any reference to Moreno may be related to the emphasis that Lyketsos' therapeutic "system" allegedly places on ancient Greek tragedy, at least during the first five years of its "life". References/influences – relevant to therapeutic drama therapy

– in Lyketsos' texts, if any, are limited to theoretical associations linking ancient drama with the psychological and psychosocial life of the individual (Aristotle, Plato, Kitto, Kouretas), while any references to psychodrama methods are ignored; for this reason, it is probably preferable, when talking about Lyketsos' work at the Dromokaiteion, not to refer to "psychodrama" but to a therapeutic method based on ancient drama infused with the theories of drama therapy and psychodrama. For the effectiveness of this method we have no evidence beyond the testimonies contained in his autobiography and in an account by Fafaliou titled *Ιερά Οδός 343: Μαρτυρίες από το Δρομοκαίτειο* [Iera Odos 343: Testimonies from the Dromokaiteion] (1995). We have no reason to doubt the therapeutic qualities of a method based on collectivity and theatre (especially when using ancient Greek drama as a tool). But we also highlight the view of Jennings and Minde (1996) who argue that "the more the psychotherapist uses theatre as a metaphor for life, or the more he translates the language and structure of theatre into everyday life, the further it moves away from the inherent healing that exists in theatre technique and drama therapy" (p. 29).

Anna Fafaliou (1995) provides us with additional interesting information on the issue of drama therapy that took place in this psychiatric hospital. Specifically, she refers to the attempt by psychiatrist Agni Pavlou-Karageoriadou and her director and husband, Klearchos Karageorgis, to work – in a similar way to Lyketsos – with a group of patients who would be taught *Richard III* by William Shakespeare, resulting in a performance at the end of rehearsals. This performance, dated 1963, may have served as a guiding experiment for that of the *Eumenides*. Having attended a teaching session with Moreno in Paris in 1955, Karageorgis claims that he thought of some free application of psychodrama that would fit in with the method that Lyketsos was following at the Dromokaiteion (Fafaliou, 1995, p. 253).¹⁰ Without ruling out the possibility that, during his work with the *Eumenides*, Lyketsos adopted and incorporated some of the techniques of Moreno's psychodrama that Karageorgis was aware of and followed in his own method, we can assume with some certainty that the successful teaching of Shakespeare's work convinced Lyketsos that the therapeutic use of works from the "great" repertoire was in the right direction.¹¹ We should not forget that this was the beginning of such therapeutic practices at a period of experimentation, when common ground allowed for their compositional use. In any case, the method of teaching tragedies for psychotherapeutic effects continued at the Dromokaiteion during the 1970s,



culminating in the performance of the Sophoclean *Oedipus Tyrannus* in October 1978. In fact, the realisation of this last performance was assisted by distinguished theatrical institutions in Greece such as the National Theatre and Theatro Technis (e.g. the costumes of the performance were kindly provided by the well-known stage designer of the National Theatre, Kleovoulos Klonis).

Conclusion

The article in *Theatro*, which refers to the performance of the *Eumenides*, comes to the following conclusion:

In general, it may not have been possible to achieve an absolute identification of the sick people with the heroes of the Tragedy, but they were certainly helped to realise certain "potentials", to have some emotional involvement in the drama and to improve, in general, their behaviour in life. Thus, generally speaking, with the help of ancient Tragedy, "catharsis" is achieved, for sick people who are in particular need of it, in order to liberate themselves mentally and heal.

Almost sixty years after the presentation of *Eumenides* by patients at the Dromokaiteion Psychiatric Hospital, we should mention that the inspiration of an innovative doctor and his willingness to experi-

ment, his understanding of the European and global developments in his field of interest, together with the maturation of the social conditions and scientific data of the time, led to an important psychotherapeutic, but also theatrical event. The performance of the *Eumenides*, as well as Lyketsos' general involvement with ancient drama and its incorporation as a therapeutic medium at the Dromokaiteion Psychiatric Hospital, apart from its historical value, that is, apart from being an important effort that served as a precursor to the therapeutic method of drama therapy (much less psychodrama), also claims a place in the theatrical and educational affairs of Greece (and beyond), mainly as a process that combines scientific work with mental healing and artistic creation. Regardless of any therapeutic or artistic effects, the adoption of ancient drama as an official psychotherapeutic tool by such an important medical institution in Greece in the early 1960s demonstrates the undeniable importance of drama therapy, not only in the field of psychotherapy, but mainly in the evolution of post-war Greek society. The relatively ignored 1965 performance of the *Eumenides* by mentally ill patients reveals an unknown aspect of contemporary Greek reality, where scientific innovation is combined with the "revival" of antiquity, while social contribution is distilled into artistic effect.

PS: In March 2023, I visited the Dromokaiteion to study the institution's archives. When I finished researching the files (documents and photos), I decided to go up to the ancient theatre that is tucked into the forest. Although the place looked abandoned, something in the air gave evidence that a very small piece of theatrical history had taken place here, on this stage. The echoes of the Eumenides sounded in my ears for a moment, and turning to the forest, I felt that mythical chthonic deities were hidden in the trees. For a moment I connected with the audience of the 1965 performance and felt as a fellow traveller with the patients who tried, through tragedy, to feel part of a collective.

Notes

1. The conference was organised by the Aion Institute of Drama Therapy and took place at the Harokopio University from 20 to 22 October 2017.
2. In addition, the authors state that "there is a strong emphasis on the ritualistic sphere of therapeutic rituals and the various cultural models of expression" (Kedem-Tahar & Felix-Kellerman, 1996, p. 34).
3. According to Moreno, it is not about turning patients into actors, but about urging them to be who they are on stage, deeper and clearer than they appear in everyday life.
4. In the years to come he would work with plays such as *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Oedipus at Colonus*, *Electra*, *Andromache*, *Antigone* and *Eumenides*.
5. The *Theatro* article states that this is the world's first performance of an ancient tragedy by schizophrenics, which was filmed by a crew from the Greek Ministry of the Presidency of the Government and scenes were included in the 1960 international film *World Mental Health*.
6. The features of the "catharsis" mechanism are repeated in Lyketsos (1980).
7. Corresponding to the complementary "I" of the facilitator, Moreno's psychodrama uses auxiliary "I's" to go deeper into personal problems that are difficult to emerge and be perceived by the protagonist.
8. Regarding the concept of "spontaneity", it is worth mentioning that psychodrama was originally based on Moreno's observations on the "spontaneous improvisations" of professional actors (and children) when they approached role-playing exercises. Moreno became enthusiastic about the therapeutic possibilities and the "social implications of a wholly spontaneous theatre" (Kedem-Tahar & Felix-Kellerman, 1996, p. 27).
9. Indicative of the importance that Lyketsos himself attributed to the teaching of ancient drama at the Dromokaiteion is the fact that in his autobiography, the photograph adorning the second page of the cover depicts a scene from a performance of the *Eumenides* that took place at the sanatorium, while referencing the book chapter dedicated to psychotherapy through ancient drama. It should be noted here that even if Lyketsos embraced Moreno's principles, his particular work is closer to drama therapy. The two approaches are often confused even today by the general public, and it is possible that writers of the time were unaware of the difference and referred to psychodrama due to misunderstanding.
10. Karageorgis argues that despite Lyketsos' "wonderful work", the procedure followed by the psychiatrist involved teaching the play and performing it without the purpose of psychotherapy.
11. Lyketsos seems to have been inspired more by the healing function of the community, the fundamental elements of spontaneity and therapeutic catharsis introduced by Moreno than by the techniques of psychodrama per se.

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