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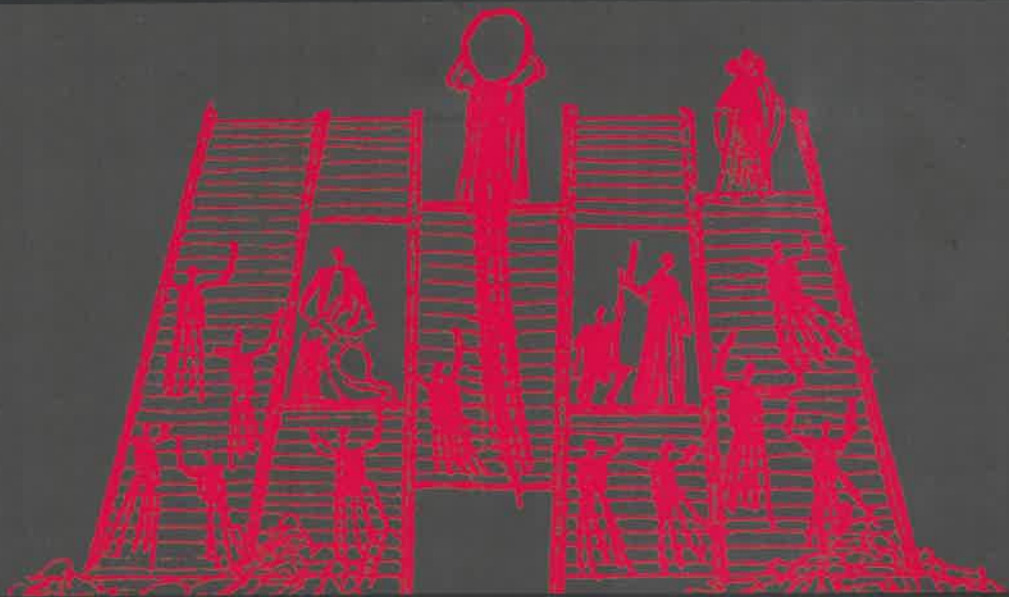


SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY
DEPARTMENT OF THEATRE STUDIES

THEATRE AND THEATRE STUDIES IN THE 21ST CENTURY

PROCEEDINGS

Edited by
Anna Tabaki & Walter Puchner



FIRST INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

ATHENS, 23 SEPTEMBER - 1 OCTOBER 2005

ERGO



THEATRE AND THEATRE STUDIES IN THE 21ST CENTURY



THÉÂTRE ET ÉTUDES THÉÂTRALES AU SEUIL DU XXI^{ÈME} SIÈCLE

NATIONAL AND KAPODISTRIAN
UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS
SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY
DEPARTMENT OF THEATRE STUDIES



UNIVERSITÉ NATIONALE ET
CAPODISTRIENNE D'ATHÈNES
FACULTÉ DE PHILOSOPHIE
DÉPARTEMENT D'ÉTUDES THÉÂTRALES

PREMIER CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL THÉÂTRE ET ÉTUDES THÉÂTRALES AU SEUIL DU XXI^{ème} SIÈCLE

(Athènes, 28 septembre – 1er octobre 2005)

ACTES

Sous la direction
de Anna Tabaki & Walter Puchner

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ATHÈNES 2010

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UNIVERSITY OF ATHENS
SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY
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FOREWORD

It was right after the millennium celebrations that we began to envisage, stimulated and mobilised by Prof. Walter Puchner, the holding in Athens, of an academic colloquium on an international scale, that is, of the international conference the proceedings of which constitute the present volume. It seemed to be the right moment to undertake an overview of givens and developments in theatre studies. Furthermore, the aim would be critically and dynamically to re-appraise traditional models and to suggest, in a, so to speak, programmatic perspective,¹ a global *problématique* pertaining to a number of new domains of interest. The subjects we had in mind included the theory of drama, the history and historiography of theatre, the reception of Ancient Greek Drama, as well as university curricula or strategies and perspectives of theatre studies.

Specialists from around the globe (including various European countries, the US, Canada and Israel) gathered in a lively and friendly atmosphere, while personalities from the world of the stage as well as students were present among the audience. This was certainly a most effective convergence of different generations and various approaches to the dramatic genre and event. The present volume reflects the osmosis we aimed at and provides readers who are interested with a multifaceted body of material for reflection, animated by a fertile comparative perspective and involving theory as well as practice, new orientations along with historical and literary studies.

I would like to express my gratitude not only to institutional authorities already mentioned in the Programme, whose support made the conference possible, but also to a number of individuals, who have helped a great deal and made its realisation easier. There are, first and foremost, our colleagues on the organising committee, especially Platon Mavromoustakos, who was our link to the European Network of Research and Documentation of Performances of Ancient Greek Drama (Arcnet), and Anna Karakatsoulis and Iossif Vivilakis for their substantial help. I also thank Ms Fabienne Vogin, Ph.D. in classical studies and Ph.D. in history, and Mr. Geoffrey Cox, professor of English, who have edited French and English texts, respectively, as well as Ms Panayota Pramantioti, M.A. in theatre studies, who assisted me in my task as an editor of the volume. Finally, many thanks to Mr. Panayotis Anastassopoulos and his excellent team at Ergo Publications, especially Ms Anneta Roubini, for supervising the layout and printing of the volume.

ANNA TABAKI

¹ See especially WALTER PUCHNER, "The Objectives of the Conference"/ "Les Objectifs du Congrès" and "Theatrolgia quo vadis?" pp. 13-16, 17-23.

AVANT-PROPOS

Lorsque nous avons envisagé, mobilisés et motivés par Walter Puchner, l'organisation à Athènes d'une Rencontre scientifique portant sur l'échelle internationale, à savoir un Congrès dont les Actes figurent dans ce volume, nous venions de sortir de la célébration du millénaire. Le moment nous semblait fort propice, d'une part, pour entreprendre un bilan des acquis en études théâtrales. L'enjeu, d'autre part, visait à une remise en question dynamique des modèles d'analyse traditionnels, proposant avec persistance, de manière programmatique,¹ dirais-je, une contemplation sphérique, traitant maints domaines nouveaux du champ. Les axes de la thématique proposée embrassaient tant des questions liées à la théorie du drame, à l'histoire et à l'historiographie théâtrales, à la réception du théâtre grec ancien, que des questions concernant les *cursus* universitaires, la stratégie et les perspectives des études théâtrales.

Les travaux, très animés, se sont déroulés dans une ambiance amicale entre spécialistes venus des quatre coins du monde – de plusieurs pays de l'Europe, des États-Unis, du Canada, d'Israël –; dans l'auditoire se trouvaient de nombreuses gens du théâtre et beaucoup d'étudiants. On a assisté, certes, à une convergence heureuse des générations et des préoccupations autour du genre et du spectacle dramatiques. Miroir de cette osmose désirée, ce volume offrira au lecteur intéressé un matériau de réflexion polyvalent, rehaussé d'un comparatisme fertile, couvrant la théorie et la pratique, les orientations nouvelles allant de pair avec des contributions historiographiques ou littéraires.

J'aimerais remercier, outre les institutions déjà mentionnées dans le programme des travaux, qui nous ont permis de réaliser le Congrès, quelques personnes qui ont sensiblement facilité notre tâche. Tout d'abord, je voudrais exprimer tous mes sentiments de gratitude aux collègues du Comité d'Organisation, notamment Platon Mavromoustakos, qui nous a mis en contact avec ses partenaires du Réseau européen de recherche et de documentation sur les représentations du drame grec ancien,² Anna Karakatsoulis et Iossif Vivilakis, pour leur soutien efficace. Ensuite, je tiens à remercier vivement Fabienne Vogin, agrégée de Lettres classiques et docteur en Histoire, et Geoffrey Cox, professeur d'anglais, qui ont revu les textes en français et en anglais, ainsi que Panayota Pramantioti, titulaire d'un master en études théâtrales, qui m'a assistée dans la tâche générale de supervision de la publication. Enfin, tous mes remerciements vont à Panayotis Anastassopoulos et à son excellente équipe des Éditions Ergo, notamment Aneta Roubini, pour la mise en page soignée et la supervision technique.

ANNA TABAKI

¹ Voir, dans ce volume, WALTER PUCHNER, "The Objectives of the Conference" / «Les objectifs du Congrès», et «Theatrologia quo vadis ? », pp. 13-16, 17-23.

² European Network of Research and Documentation of Performances of Ancient Greek Drama (Arcnet).

WALTER PUCHNER

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE CONFERENCE

Objectives

Recent theatre praxis is questioning the holistic approaches of theatre theory, as structuralism and semiotics, and has already relativized in some sense every single element of the performance as communicative event between actors and spectators. Specifically terms as code, message, encoding and decoding, semantics, meaning, plot, character, role etc. as well as communication itself as a describable process on stage and between stage and audience are not any longer unquestionable and self evident factors of analysis. The revolution of theatre makers against theatre theory and the new open forms of practice, sometimes crossing the traditional borderlines of the conventional theatrical situation may be possibly summarized in slogans as “no more theories”, “take your hands off the mystery of performance”, “let theatre makers create freely” and so on. This new situation has a significant impact on future theatre theory, on the term “theatre” itself and on theatre studies as well.

Postmodern particularism sheds also new light on theatre historiography, which after an a-historic period is again in the centre of attention and interest. The integral models of evolutionism have given place to more particular and differentiated methodologies, emphasizing now more on the personality and the individual narration of the historiographer – there are only histories of theatre, not just a single one – and focusing on breaks, cuts and new beginnings in the imagined continuum of evolution. The positivist optimism of the possibility of reconstructing performances of the past now is limited down to the ability of documenting just the aesthetic norms of theatre production and reception of a certain period or genre.

In the changes of the canon of repertoire, stressing out today intercultural performance, post-colonial drama and theatre practice in the Third World in general, some periods of theatre history seem to be more actual than others: this is happening for instance in the case of the revival and reception of Ancient Greek Drama, which holds today a significant percentage of the global repertoire played worldwide and is worth greater and more intensive efforts of scholarly research. Classical philology admits that recent interpretation of theatre makers and staging in front of a contemporary audience may show the traditional texts in some new light, as well as theatre practitioners understand that the scholarly tradition of commenting and interpreting these texts is not just paperwork done behind the closed doors

of universities. The problems of translation are today more actual than ever.

Closely connected with the restructuring of theatre studies on the pre- and postgraduate level is also the question of satisfactory absorption of the alumni by the business market, – teatrologist as an occupation and as a profession. The situation in every country is remarkably different. What strategy should theatre studies follow? Should the curriculum be more closely orientated to professional conditions and the needs of the market, or is theatre education a worthy goal in itself, independent from changing structures of economy and culture? Are universities institutions of fabrication of diplomas without response on the labor market, or thresholders of education ideals which should resist farming compromises with the every changing functions of theatre in society?

Theatre in education may profit from the new reservoir of open forms of performances, between free role-playing, psycho-drama, rewriting society and history in improvised plays staged by children, pupils and students, revolting against and deviating from traditional school performances. A numerous international bibliography on this topic written by psychologists, pedagogues, theatre theorists and actors is growing daily.

This congress will mostly try to put questions, not so much to give answers. Maybe the time for answers has not come yet – we are in the beginning of a new century and obviously of a new era. But it seems very essential to formulate questions in such a way, that future answers are possible. To put a right question is a more difficult task than to answer it. Every child can easily ask a lot of questions, where the wisest men have only one answer: silence. But what is the right thing? Maybe the opposite of right is not false, but another right.

WALTER PUCHNER

LES OBJECTIFS DU CONGRÈS

Objectifs

La praxis théâtrale récente met en doute les approches holistiques de la théorie du drame, telles que le structuralisme et la sémiotique. Par ailleurs et, dans un certain sens, elle a déjà relativisé chacun des éléments de la représentation en tant que fait de communication entre les acteurs et les spectateurs. En particulier, des termes tels que: code, message, encodage et décodage, sémantique, signification, intrigue, personnage, rôle, etc., ainsi que la communication elle-même en tant que processus descriptible se déroulant sur la scène et entre la scène et le public ne constituent plus de facteurs d'analyse fiables, allant de soi ni vérifiables. La révolte des gens du théâtre contre la théorie et les nouvelles formes liminales de pratique qui, parfois, vont au-delà des frontières traditionnelles de la situation théâtrale conventionnelle, pourrait être résumée en quelques slogans – étiquettes, tels que «s'en est fini des théories», «bas les mains du mystère de la représentation», «laissez les gens du théâtre créer en toute liberté», et ainsi de suite. Cette nouvelle situation a un impact significatif sur toute théorie future visant le théâtre, sur le terme de «théâtre» lui-même ainsi que sur les études portant sur cet objet.

Le particularisme postmoderne éclaire d'une nouvelle lumière l'historiographie du théâtre qui, après une période anhistorique, se trouve à nouveau au centre de l'attention et de l'intérêt. Les paradigmes de l'évolutionnisme ont cédé la place à des méthodologies plus spécifiques et différenciées, qui mettent à présent l'accent sur la personnalité et la narration individuelle de l'historiographe – il existe des histoires du théâtre et non une seule – et concentrent leur attention sur les interruptions, les ruptures et les nouveaux commencements dans le continuum imaginé de l'évolution. L'optimisme positiviste qui considérait qu'il était possible de reconstituer des représentations du passé se voit, à présent, limité à la capacité de ne documenter que les normes esthétiques de la production théâtrale et de l'accueil se rapportant à une période ou un genre précis.

Dans les changements du canon du répertoire, qui mettent actuellement en évidence les représentations interculturelles, le théâtre et la pratique théâtrale post-coloniaux au Tiers Monde en général, certaines périodes de l'histoire du théâtre semblent être plus d'actualité que d'autres: c'est, par exemple, le cas en ce qui concerne l'intérêt renouvelé et la réception

du théâtre grec ancien qui, de nos jours, représente un pourcentage significatif du répertoire qui est joué dans le monde entier et qui mériterait que des efforts plus importants et plus intensifs de recherche spécialisée lui soient consacrés. La philologie classique admet que l'interprétation récente proposée par les gens du théâtre et la mise en scène présentée au public actuel peuvent jeter quelque nouvelle lumière sur les anciens textes en même temps que les acteurs du théâtre comprennent que la tradition érudite du commentaire et de l'interprétation de ces textes est plus qu'un travail de paperasse mené derrière les portes closes des Universités. Les problèmes de traduction sont, de nos jours, plus d'actualité que jamais.

Parmi les questions étroitement liées aux études de théâtre, aux niveaux aussi bien du premier que du troisième cycle, figure celle de l'absorption à un taux satisfaisant des anciens étudiants par le marché de l'emploi, – à savoir, la question du spécialiste du théâtre en tant qu'occupation et profession. La situation présente des différences significatives entre les pays. Quelle devrait être la stratégie poursuivie par les études de théâtre ? Le programme des cours devrait-il être orienté vers les conditions professionnelles et les besoins du marché ou bien l'éducation au théâtre peut être un but ayant sa propre valeur, indépendamment des structures économiques et culturelles qui changent ? Les Universités, sont-elles des établissements de fabrication de diplômes qui n'ont pas leur contre-partie sur le marché de l'emploi ? Ou bien, sont-elles les gardiens des idéaux de l'enseignement qui devraient résister aux compromis avec les fonctions en constant changement du théâtre dans la société ?

Dans le domaine de l'enseignement, le théâtre pourrait profiter du nouveau réservoir des formes ouvertes de représentations, entre le libre jeu de rôle, le psychodrame, la réécriture de la société et de l'histoire dans des pièces improvisées par les enfants, les élèves et les étudiants, dans un mouvement de révolte contre et d'éloignement par rapport aux représentations scolaires traditionnelles. De nombreux travaux de psychologues, pédagogues, théoriciens et acteurs du théâtre viennent tous les jours enrichir la bibliographie internationale portant sur cette question.

Ce congrès, à notre avis, s'efforcera surtout de poser des questions et pas tellement de donner des réponses. Peut-être que le temps des réponses n'est pas encore là – nous sommes au début d'un nouveau siècle et, de toute évidence, d'une nouvelle ère. Mais, il apparaît particulièrement important de formuler les questions de manière à ce que les réponses futures soient possibles et non a priori exclues. Poser la bonne question est une tâche plus difficile que d'en formuler la réponse. Les enfants peuvent poser plein de questions tandis que les sages n'ont qu'une réponse: le silence. Mais, quelle serait la réponse correcte ? Il se pourrait que le contraire de «correct» ne soit pas «faux» mais quelque autre «correct».

WALTER PUCHNER

THEATROLOGIA QUO VADIS ?

*A*t the dawn of a new century, the science of the theatre is moving into a new era and facing the necessity of answering a series of questions concerning its own very foundations in theory and historiography. This was the main reason for organising this conference on 'Theatre and theatre studies in the 21st century', gathering nearly 50 scholars from the USA, Canada, Israel, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Ireland, Finland, Holland, Belgium, Russia, Bulgaria, Georgia and, of course, Greece, here in Athens, where the beginnings of theatre are traditionally located. This conference will try to raise questions. Perhaps the time for answers to such questions has not come yet; we are at the beginning of a new century and obviously of a new era – not only for the theatre. But the theatre in many cases is a mirror of the times, and in a sense more essential than historical reality itself. It seems most important to put questions in such a way that future answers are possible. To put a right question is a more difficult task than to answer it. Any child can easily ask a lot of questions to which the wisest man has only one answer: silence. The difficulty lies in being able to find the right questions – the answers will come by themselves in their time. And it may be that there is not only one right answer, but many. Because the opposite of the right is not necessarily the false, but maybe another right.

So this is a conference of questions, because many things are questionable. And I will start this search for right questions with 24 questions on the science of theatre in the new century. The number 24 in the Greek tradition has a special symbolism: there are 24 books of the Homeric epics, there are 24 strophes in the Byzantine hymns to the Virgin Mary, there are 24 letters in the Greek alphabet. These letters I will use in trying to find the first right questions for the conference. They will move from the theory of the theatre to the unprecedented 'renaissance' of ancient Greek drama in the repertoires all over the world, from the theory and methodology of theatre historiography, with some emphasis on modern Greek matters, to theatre in education and the future of Theatre Studies.

A What do the voices of contemporary theatre artists mean: 'no more theories', 'take your hands off the mystery of performance', 'let artists create freely' and so on, which sound like a sort of revolution of theatre practice against theatre theory ?

B

How can this accumulation of theoretical models in theatre theory and the escalation of the relevant bibliography after the 1960s be explained, starting from social psychology, sociology, linguistics, communication science, speech-act theory, culturology, phenomenology, comparativism, structuralism, deconstruction and so on, usually called 'critical theory', and culminating in the semiotic model, at the same time borrowing models and terms from many different disciplines, creating a sort of academic language unintelligible to most common readers ?

G

Specifically, the holistic approaches of structuralism and semiotics with their authoritarian claim of explaining the whole of the sensitive aesthetic synthesis of a theatre performance – were they able in the end to analyse the most complex and fluid 'code' of a theatre production or are they simply just a method among others attempting to give an idea of the complexity of the fictitious reality created on stage ?

D

Is it possible that contemporary avant-garde theatre praxis may be crossing the traditional borderlines of conventional theatrical practice, relativising in a sense every single element of the performance as a communicative event between actors and spectators, disputing especially terms like 'code', 'message', 'encoding' and 'decoding', 'semantics', 'meaning', 'plot', 'character', 'role', etc., as well as communication itself as a describable procedure on the stage and between the stage and the audience – is it possible that these are conscious reactions of the theatre-makers to escape the concepts of theatre theory which are no more than restrictions of creative freedom after all ?

E

Is it possible to reduce the theatrical sign – which on stage may be an aesthetic sign of a real one – to simply an instrument of communication and a vehicle of transposition of meanings to the audience, or is every single sign or a combination of signs much more than a mere functional signifier of an encoded message, having a specific material existence and force, the corporality of acting bodies, which evoke sensual and aesthetic reactions beyond the mere deciphering of intended information ? How can the aesthetic and bodily experience of the spectator of a contemporary performance production be described ? It is not the traditional identification with plot and characters, the suspense about what is coming next and what the end will be, but a specific participation in the flow of inner energy and psychic impulses, created, for instance, by slow motion or the total lack of meanings. How can the semiotic model handle such a situation ?

¿
Who will write in the future the historical injustice that the Czech semiologists of theatre of the linguistic School of Prague in the inter-War period remained untranslated for nearly 50 years and that their models were much more sensitive to the particular aesthetics and the complexity of theatre art than the more dogmatic concepts of the French and other semiologists after the reception of Polish structuralism in the West before and after 1970 ?

ℵ
Many critics and analysts of culture agree that the public life of our era is highly theatrical, as it was in the Hellenistic and Roman period. Are there clear limits between being and performing ? How can the traditional concept of the world as a theatre be reduced from a literary metaphor to existing reality ? How can the immense complexity of culture and society be differentiated as far as the degree of intensiveness and the quality of performability is concerned ?

ℶ
What is the contribution of performance studies to such a differentiation, as they are cultivated in some universities in the Western world, by comparing ceremonies and rituals from all five continents, football matches and bullfights, children's games and political speeches with theatre performances in the same methodological framework ? Are aesthetics a criterion for differentiation or not ? And if so, in what way ?

ℷ
The canon of repertoire and directing of most experimental theatres, and not only these, has significantly changed today, stressing intercultural performances, post-colonial drama and theatre practices of the Third World in general. Is this just a superficial acceptance and use of different aesthetics as a fashion of exoticism or does it mean that the aesthetics and thematics of European and Western theatre in general are undergoing a fundamental modification which also affects the very basic concepts of the theatre and drama itself ?

ℸ
It has been rightly observed that in these fundamental changes of the repertoire, some periods of theatre history seem to be more topical than others: this is happening, for instance, in the case of the revival and reception of Ancient Greek Drama, which holds today the significant proportion of one per cent of the world-wide repertoire, and this fact deserves greater and more intensive efforts of scholarly research. In the 1990s there were more productions of Ancient Greek Drama all over the world than in any other period of the history of the European theatre, but also more than in any other decade of the twentieth century. What does that really mean ?

A

It seems natural that Greece has the lion's share in this intensive cultivation of Ancient Greek Drama. But why are other countries doing the same? Is it a temporary or more permanent fashion of intra-European exoticism, comparable to trans-cultural performances which are a difficult task in directing? Is it a deeper relationship of our time with the fifth century B.C. and less with the humanistic values invoked by scholarly interpretation? Is it perhaps the very different and challenging dramatic form of Ancient Greek Drama, with the alternation of episodes and chorus parts as well as the fact that the myths are relatively well known and provide material for modernisation, intertextuality and other post-modern strategies of handling a given text?

M

Classical philology has admitted that today's interpretations and stagings of the ancient plays may show the traditional texts in a new light to contemporary audiences. On the other hand, theatre artists understand that the scholarly tradition of commenting on and interpreting these texts is not just paperwork, done behind the closed doors of universities. The problems of translation are today more real than ever. Is that enough to explain the phenomenon? What remains from the ancient original in translation? Is it sure that every translation is in fact an interpretation?

N

The principal tendencies of interpretation in the twentieth century were ritualisation and modernisation, sometimes with extreme aesthetic results and far-reaching interventions and adaptations. These tendencies seem, partly at least, to give way to a deeper study of the social and religious functions of the ancient drama in antiquity and to a greater respect for plot and form. Does that mean an aesthetic reform of traditional humanism, according to the experiences of the blood-stained twentieth century?

F

Perhaps it is the ancient Greek preference for the particular, the concrete, the various manifestations of a certain thing, the antipathy for totalitarian concepts, that links classical Greece with post-modern suspiciousness of holistic views. But post-modern particularism sheds new light also on theatre historiography, which after an unhistoric period, is again at the centre of attention and interest. Is it true that except for metaphysics, nothing exists beyond and outside history? Not even the historians?

O

The integral models of evolutionism have given place to more particular and differentiated

methodologies, emphasising now more the personality and the individual narration of the historiographer – there are only histories of theatre, not just a single one – and focusing on breaks, turning-points, and new beginnings in the imaginary continuum of evolution. Does that mean that every chapter is independent of the book, and every theatre historian writes his own history of the theatre ? What then is the role and the function of the ideal of objectivity and the basis of facts and evidence ?

π

This modest confession of subjectivity may have some undesirable side-effects, when the predominant master narration eliminates discussion and different opinions and approaches, excludes bibliography and sources of evidence and offers only its own version without critical remarks on its own methodology. Nobody has the right in a scholarly work not to mention names and works of scholars dealing with the same topic and avoid discussing their results. Is it possible that there may exist entirely different histories on the same subject ? Where are the ethical limits for subjectivity abolishing scientific essence ?

ρ

Concerning theatre history, the positivist optimism about the possibility of reconstructing performances of the past is now being limited to the ability of documenting just the aesthetic norms of theatre productions and their reception into a certain period or genre. Does that mean that theatre histories are just guesswork ?

σ

The history of modern Greek theatre and drama since the end of the sixteenth century is a good example of such a ‘post-modern’ approach, because it consists of a series of discontinuities and breaks. Does that mean that we also have to search for such things in research fields where the evolution is uninterrupted ?

τ

Theatre in education may profit from the new reservoir of open forms of performances, moving between free role-playing, psycho-drama, rewriting society and history in improvised plays staged by children, pupils and students, revolting against and deviating from traditional school performances. Does that mean that traditional school performances with conventional drama are no longer a desirable medium for the enrichment and socialisation of the personality ?

υ

There is an extensive international bibliography on this topic, written by psychologists,

pedagogues, theatre theorists and actors which is growing daily. Is it impossible to integrate into this huge variety of new theatrical expressions traditional theatre forms, such as, for instance, for Greece, the shadow-puppet theatre (Karaghiozis) and the puppet theatre of Fasoulis ?

Ø

Closely related to the issue of theatre in education is the future of theatre studies, independently of the international differentiation according to the English-American model, which includes theatre practice and gives arts diplomas, or the European continental model, focusing mainly on theory and history of the theatre, and aiming at a scientific diploma. In Greece, both systems are represented. But is theatre in education a main market of employment for the graduates of theatre studies ? What strategies of integration are being followed in different countries and what experiences have been acquired ?

X

The restructuring of theatre studies on the under – and postgraduate level is also a question of sufficient absorption of the alumni by the work market – the theatrologist as an occupation and as a profession. Conditions are remarkably different in every country. What strategy should theatre studies follow ? Should the curriculum be more closely orientated to professional requirements and the needs of the market, or is theatre education a worthy goal in itself, independent of changing structures of economy and culture ?

Y

And is this issue part of a much larger one, which cannot be answered in one or the other way, but only by a combination of opposites: are the universities institutions for the production of degrees without connection with the work market, or treasurers of educational ideals which should resist far-reaching compromises with the ever-changing functions of education in society ? Where is the golden mean in this dilemma ?

Q

How will Theatre Studies draw in future the border lines of their curriculum as far as Performance Studies are concerned, since the basic terms of traditional theatre are no longer valid in experimental performances ? The curriculums of these departments are characterised by a remarkable vagueness and offer 'a little bit of everything' in the sciences of social and cultural analysis. What profile should Theatre Studies have, given the fact that a great part of contemporary theatre production remains conventional one way or another ? Is it wise to give in immediately to the manifold dilemmas of post-modernism and reform *de profundis* the curriculum, according to only a part of theatre practice ? For sure, theory

is following practice and not *vice versa*, but should they not retain a review of the whole specific field of knowledge ?

And in this way we come to an end, without having answered any of the questions. Neither are we sure whether among them there is a single right one. The right questions will take shape and crystallise step by step in the discussions, and answers will come then, in the same way, to meet them and us. The right question is already half the answer. And to finish with another question: should we have taken this initiative of organising such a conference in Athens or not ? The answer will come by itself: half of it now and the other half after the conference.

I

Theories on theatre – Aspects of theory
and historiography



Questions d'histoire et d'historiographie théâtrales
Autour de la théorie du drame

MARVIN CARLSON

THEATRE RESEARCH IN A DIGITAL WORLD

During most of my career as a theatre researcher I have worked with material that is now described as analog information, mostly books and papers, supplemented by visual images of various kinds. The results of this research were then for the most part preserved and circulated as further analog material, primarily articles and books. As the twentieth century drew to a close, however, I found that like most of my colleagues I was working and living more and more in a digital world. At first, this primarily affected my writing, as I moved from typewriter to word-processor, but gradually I found that digitalisation began to affect more and more of the research itself. At first this was largely confined to simple checking of facts or the gathering of straightforward information. More and more I found that looking up such information in digital form through the internet was much quicker and more efficient than going to the library or even consulting a book in my own collection. When I was seeking information on more recent work, the internet became even more valuable. If, for example, I was interested in a contemporary European director, printed biographical information on him, if available at all, would most likely be some years out of date, while the internet could often tell me what he was directing even up to the most current work.

As more and more of the world's analog information is being converted into digital form, this ease of access becomes ever greater. While a few decades ago I could use my computer instead of going to my shelf to consult a dictionary or a history text, or use it instead of going to the library to consult an encyclopedia or some more specialised work, today in many cases I can use the computer instead of travelling to some distant country to consult a special archive. Many major libraries are now scanning their manuscript collections. For example, the scholar of medieval theatre can consult a French data base that includes some 1,600 manuscripts and 31,000 images from the Mazarine and Sainte-Geneviève libraries in Paris,¹ and similar projects are underway elsewhere in Europe. So far, on-line resources of this sort have been primarily devoted to the digital equivalent of traditional analogic material, but since moving images and sound can be stored digitally as easily as visual reproductions of documents, it is clear that theatre students and researchers will soon be able to access such material with equal ease. Again for the medieval

¹ <http://liberfloridus.cines.fr>

theatre, one might note the 'Video Showcase' created by the Studio for Digital Projects and Research at New York University. This website² offers a collection of digital clips several minutes in length showing actors, storytellers, singers, musicians, mimes, puppeteers and dancers presenting a variety of medieval texts. A similar archive concerned with contemporary performance is being developed at New York University by the Hemispheric Institute of Performance and Politics, established in 2001. Its goal is to develop a data bank for performance documentation through North and South America.³

Another digital development that promises to be of particular use to theatre research is the creation of what have been called metadata or hypertext archives. The theatre is a research area that is particularly well suited to this sort of technological study because any individual performance can be viewed from such a wide variety of perspectives. An important pioneer in such work in America was Professor Jack Wolcott at the University of Washington, who in 1984 began to work on the Olympus Project, funded by IBM and dedicated to research on the use of computer technology in education. Their first major undertaking, in 1986, was a digital reconstruction of a 17th century English court entertainment, *Florimène*, for which extensive drawings and descriptions remain. They created a computer-generated three-dimensional space utilising an early form of CADD software (Computer Assisted Drafting and Design), the kind of programme by means of which are created the enormously detailed environments containing moving figures that are so familiar in today's world of computer games.

Wolcott went on to develop three-dimensional digital models of several historical theatres such as the Hellenistic theatre at Pergamon, which were discussed in a 1990 article in *Theatre Design and Technology* called 'Learning Theatre History in the Third Dimension'.⁴ This work anticipated a far more ambitious project of this same type launched in Europe in 1998, developed by a consortium of European scholars and computer experts led by members of the University of Warwick in England.⁵ This project, Theatron, has to date created virtual models of sixteen major European theatre spaces, including classic examples such as the theatres of Dionysus, Epidaurus and Pompeii, medieval fairground theatres and pageants, Renaissance theatres such as Sabbioneta and the London Globe, eighteenth and nineteenth-century theatres such as Drottningholm and Bayreuth and twentieth-century examples such as the Vieux-Colombier in Paris and the Schaubühne am Lehninerplatz in Berlin.

² <http://euterpe.bobst.nyu.edu/mednar/>

³ <http://hemi.unirio.br/eng/archive/index.shtml>

⁴ *TDI* 26:4 (Fall, 1990)

⁵ www.theatron.org

Up until the present, historical theatre spaces have been studied through analogic sources such as historical texts, drawings, and photographs. In a few cases, full-scale simulations have been constructed for study, from the Renaissance Teatro Olimpico, which sought to reproduce a classical stage, up the contemporary reconstructions of the Elizabethan Globe in England, the United States, Germany, and Japan, but such projects have been fairly rare, because of their difficulty and expense.

The digital technology of projects like *Theatron* offers an alternative approach to this type of physical reconstruction by creating virtual spaces which allow a visitor to the site the same freedom of movement and perspective. Moreover, in addition to the cost of erecting actual replicas of historic theatres, like the London Globe, once such structures are built it is difficult to modify them in the light of changing evidence or scholarly opinion, and more difficult still to allow them to reflect conflicting interpretations of the historical evidence. Virtual reconstructions, on the other hand “can readily be modified, juxtaposed with alternative hypotheses”, and even more important, “can be distributed world-wide, simultaneously and collectively experienced by users separated by real space”.⁶

So far, *Theatron*, like the Washington *Florimène* project, has been concerned only with the creation of virtual theatrical spaces, but other projects have built upon such work to create much more complicated and ambitious projects in the digitalisation of theatre history. Again, Wolcott at Washington provided an early model of such work. He followed the *Florimène* project in the late 1980s with the much more ambitious *Philadelphia Project*, which looked at the first theatre building erected for professional performance in the United States, the Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia. Working from the ground plan, elevation, sketches and accounts of contemporaries, Wolcott and his students spent four years creating a detailed three-dimensional virtual reconstruction of this famous theatre. As the project was developing, other researchers became involved, most notably the curators of the Textile Collection of the Henry Art Gallery, developing links from the theatre model to hundreds of examples of men’s and women’s clothing that might have been worn by both the actors and the audience at the original theatre.

Of more direct immediate relevance to theatre history, the *Philadelphia Project* developed eight short ‘scenes’ in which actors wearing historically accurate clothing, could be seen performing in period settings such as were used at the theatre. The backgrounds used were from a nineteenth-century British toy theatre, and the actors were inserted electronically into these backgrounds. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the sort of work pioneered by early researchers like Wolcott, now called Live Performance Simula-

⁶ HUGH DENARD, “Performing the Past: The Virtual Revolution in Performance History.” In *Performance Documentation and Preservation in an Online Environment*, ed. Kenneth Schlesinger, 59 (New York: Theatre Library Association, 2004).

tion, is becoming one of the most ambitious and exciting areas of contemporary research in theatre history.

An outstanding current example of this sort of research is the Virtual Vaudeville project headed by David Z. Saltz, the founding director of the Interactive Performance Laboratory at the University of Georgia. This project began in September of 2000 at a workshop organised by the National Initiative for a Networked Cultural Heritage (NINCH), a diverse non-profit coalition of arts, humanities and social science organisations, created in 1993 to provide leadership to the cultural community in the evolution of the digital environment. Its sponsoring organisations were the American Council of Learned Societies, the Coalition for Networked Information, and the Getty Information Institute, part of the J. Paul Getty Trust.⁷ From this workshop developed what came to be called the 'Live Performance Simulation System', designed to recreate historical performance in a virtual reality environment similar to that of a 3D computer game. A wide variety of scholars from seven American universities have been involved in this project, including specialists in 3D computer animation, along with a scenic designer and several theatre and music artists and scholars.

The Live Performance Simulation System is based on the same general premises as those of *Theatron*. However, while *Theatron*, at least at this point, has provided only virtual walk-throughs of historic theatres, Live Performance Simulation has followed, to a far greater extent, the path suggested by Wolcott's *Philadelphia Project*, placing virtual actors in performance on the stage, and going much further than Wolcott by also creating virtual theatrical support personnel and even virtual audiences. The goal is a total theatrical experience, superior to a film or video record, which can only offer a single perspective, while a theatre audience member can look anywhere, even at something not on the stage. It is also superior to the sort of total immersion offered by a modern reconstruction like the London Globe, where the audience member has the total freedom of perspective of any theatre experience, but in looking about sees only a stage and auditorium that seek to replicate a past theatre, while the performers and other personnel, as well as the other audience members, are all, like the spectator, anachronistic visitors from the twenty-first century.

For their first major project, called 'Virtual Vaudeville', the researchers selected a typical vaudeville theatre, B.F. Martin's Union Square Theatre in New York in the year 1895, digitally recreating that theatre along with its patrons, performers, and staff. Four actual vaudeville acts of the period were digitally recreated, based on extensive archival research: the strongman Sandow the Magnificent, the Irish singer Maggie Cline, the comic stage Jew Frank Bush, and the sketch comedy of the four Cohans, whose youngest member,

⁷ www.ninch.org

George M. Cohan, went on to become one of the great stars of early twentieth-century Broadway.⁸

These simulated performances can be experienced in two different ways. In one, the 'invisible camera' mode, viewers can move through 3D space to observe the performance from any angle they choose, including even from on stage. They can also zoom in on details, on stage and off: parts of a performer's costume, decorations on the walls of the theatre, the upholstery on the seats. The alternative mode involves what is perhaps the most innovative and ambitious part of this project, the simulated audience view. A typical matinee audience at the theatre would have numbered about 800 spectators, and the researchers sought to reflect in their virtual audience as closely as possible the distribution of gender, class and ethnicity in different parts of the auditorium. The goal was thus not only "to fill the seats with historically accurate and convincing faces and costumes", but to animate each figure "to respond to every moment of every act in a way consistent with their demographic profile". Thus "when Frank Bush portrays his Irish character, the Irish spectators in the gallery – a notoriously boisterous group – should respond very differently from the WASP characters in the boxes".⁹

Eight hundred individual audience members operating in such detail would have been far too difficult to programme, and so 32 basic audience groups were created, such as one of upper-class white men and one of middle-class African-American women, with suitable responses for each group. Then three to five physical variations in face and costume were designed for each group, which were further diversified by variations in hats and facial hair. Four specific spectators, called 'avatars', can be selected by the viewer, who may watch the performance through their eyes instead of using the 'invisible camera' mode. Each 'avatar' represents a different socio-economic group: Mrs Dorothy Shopper, a wealthy socialite attending the performance with her young daughter, Mr Luigi Calzilaio, a recent Italian immigrant, attending with his more Americanised brother, Mr Jake Spender, a young 'sport' sitting next to a Chorus Girl, and Miss Lucy Teacher, an African-American schoolteacher sitting with her boyfriend in the segregated second balcony. The viewer can move the avatar's head to focus on different areas of stage or auditorium and can trigger a limited set of responses, including laughter, applause, or on occasion, dialogue with the person in the next seat. The viewer selects a generic response and the system provides a specific one, taking into account what is happening on stage and the viewer's previous responses, so that every experience of the performance event is unique.

⁸ Descriptions of the Virtual Vaudeville project are taken from its website, www.virtualvaudeville.com, and from DAVID Z. SALTZ, "Virtual Vaudeville: A Digital Simulation of Historical Theatre." in *Performance Documentation*, 30-37.

⁹ SALTZ, 35.

The kind of elaborate simulated environment represented by the Virtual Vaudeville Project clearly requires a considerable commitment in time and physical resources, but the rapid evolving of digital technology and simulation programmes guarantees that the future will see more and more experiments of this sort, and it seems very likely that as Professor Saltz and his colleagues predict, such simulations will become an important tool both in visualising historical performance and in testing hypotheses about historical performance practices.

Such virtual historical performance is one of the most spectacular examples of the current application of digital technology to historical research, but certainly not the only or even the most typical one. Another important development is the linking together of material into large relational databases, so that the researcher is not limited to the traditional linear model of analog information but may explore a vast range of possible related material connected through digital hypertext. The study of theatre can particularly profit from such a development because any given performance involves multiple creators, creations, and trajectories. Thus the study of a single traditional theatrical performance might involve considering the contributions of actors, musicians, authors, composers, choreographers, costume, prop, set, lighting and sound designers, directors and producers, not to mention technicians and for that matter, audience members. Not only do all these participants need to be considered in the understanding of a single performance but each should also be related to many other performances, social and cultural activities, and physical objects. In the past, this has normally and necessarily been done in a primarily linear fashion, tracing certain aspects and leaving others to other times or other researchers.

Even so limited a relational database as Wolcott's *Philadelphia Project* suggests how digital technology can revolutionise such investigation, since any part of any production can be linked to any other part as well as to a potentially infinite web of other data. As archives, libraries, and theatres around the globe are creating more and more repositories of digital material and more complex webs interrelating this material, theatre research increasingly can operate within the sort of network for which Wolcott provided only a very preliminary and rudimentary study.

Among the many groups involved in developing such a network is the Global Performing Arts Consortium (GloPAC), an international organisation of institutions and individuals organised in 1998 and committed to using innovative digital technologies to create easily accessible, multimedia and multilingual information resources for the study and preservation of the performing arts. Participants include major universities, such as Cornell, where the project originated, museums such as the St Petersburg State Museum of Theatre and Music, the Museum of the City of New York, and the San Francisco Performing Arts Library, and performing arts organisations such as the Chinese Opera Society in Singapore and the International Foundation for Arts in Japan.

GloPAC is currently engaged in two major types of projects. The larger of these is the Global Performing Arts Database (GloPAD), available to the public on-line.¹⁰ In this prototype database, a researcher can search for certain plays, for example, and find images of those plays along with detailed descriptive information, plus links to various productions. Further links allow the researcher to find information on actors and other people associated with each production, actors appearing in other roles, for example, or images of other productions by the same director. Among the approximately 4,500 images currently available, GloPAD contains over 600 images on the work of the Russian director Meyerhold from various theatres and is being extended to include non-Meyerhold material from each theatre. Gradually more and more complex webs of data retrieval will be developed to enable a user to view further layers of detailed information according to his or her particular interest. There is also a browse function that allows a viewer to call up a range of material from a particular geographical region, such as Singapore or Japan, or a particular subject, such as the costumes of servants.

GloPAC's second major project is the creation of Performing Arts Resource Centers (PARCs), which are web-based environments that combine scholarly content with technological sophistication and lead the user back to GloPAD for further layers of information. Each PARC has a particular focus, either geographical, temporal, ethnic, or thematic. Two prototypes of the PARCs have so far been developed, one focusing on Japan¹¹ and the other on the work of Meyerhold.¹² The Japan PARC includes an interactive text of the Japanese Noh play *Atsumori*, which provides an English translation of this play in the middle frame, with Japanese text to the right, notes and glossary below, and interactive images to the left, which link to the glossary and to GloPAD. This PARC also includes such material as a slide presentation on 'Costuming the Warrior in Noh' and an interactive 3-D model of a Noh stage. Such presentations promote a new, digitally-based process of 'reading', enabling viewers to explore and combine material in a variety of ways, depending on their particular interests.

Given the ambition of these various representative projects, the work done so far is only a tiny part of what all hope eventually to offer, consisting for the most part of models and prototypes. It must be remembered, however, that the field of digital research in theatre is extremely young, the pioneering work of Wolcott going back only 20 years and all of the other projects I have described launched within the past few years. The first conference ever dedicated to the documentation of performing arts resources in a virtual environment was held as recently as 10 October 2003 at New York's Lincoln Center. There more

¹⁰ www.glopac.org

¹¹ www.glopac.org/lparc

¹² www.meyerhold.org

than a hundred archivists, curators, educators, librarians, practitioners, scholars, and students shared information on this rapidly developing new area of theatre studies.¹³

Nevertheless, it seems almost certain that in the coming century these scattered test databanks and prototypes will prove to be only the beginning of a quite new way of approaching our discipline. In them are emerging the outlines of a very different sort of theatre study, drawing upon a wide range of new approaches taking advantage of the new digital world in which we are living to create original ways of both documenting and studying performance.

¹³ The proceedings were published in Schlesinger. See also the website <http://tla.library.unt.edu/symposium.html>

STRATOS E. CONSTANTINIDIS

THE EMOTIONAL PROBLEM IN THE COURTROOM AND THE THEATRE:
SHOULD WE WORRY MORE WHEN FICTION IMITATES
THE NARRATIVES OF REALITY OR WHEN REALITY IMITATES
THE NARRATIVES OF FICTION DURING THE ERA OF BIG BROTHER ?

The Three Components: Make-Believe, Reality, and Interweaving

Good morning ! I would like to thank the faculty in the Department of Theatre Studies at the University of Athens for organising this important conference, for their generous hospitality, and for giving me this opportunity to discuss with you such a perplexing issue as the relationship between reality and make-believe, or as I put it in the title of my abstract, the emotional problem in the courtroom and the theatre.

During the next 20 minutes, I will share with you a few preliminary observations about the way the courtroom and the theatre engage people's emotions and understanding. I should clarify right away that my notion of 'theatre' includes movie-theatres and home-theatres (i.e., television, videotapes, and DVDs). The issue itself is more complex than my talk could possibly suggest, but, for the sake of brevity, it can be broken down into three simpler components.

The first component is what is commonly referred to as 'make-believe'. It is a fact of life that people shed a tear or two over a tragic story like that of Iphigenia regardless of whether they are watching it as a play in the theatre (e.g., Euripides's *Iphigenia at Aulis*) or as a film in the cinema (e.g., Cacoyannis's *Iphigenia*, 1977) or as a network broadcast on television in their living rooms, or as a videotape or DVD in their home theatres. What is not an easy thing to explain logically or empirically is why people react that way.

Why are people having a real emotional response to what they know is a fake show ? Regardless of the medium in which the story is released, some people become concerned about the future of a hero or a heroine in distress, when they know full well that neither of them is real nor in any real danger. The behaviour of people who experience real emotions for fake persons and events during show-time in theatres, cinemas, television broadcasts, and home theatres is regarded as illogical or irrational because it shows a lack of common sense or sound judgment. But, then, why do some people indulge periodically in behaviour that is deemed illogical or irrational ?

The second component of the issue is what is commonly referred to as 'reality'. Viewers are not seen as illogical or unreasonable when they witness and respond emotionally to the

drama of real people and events. A reality show makes the implicit claim that it is not faking it, but, instead, presents an edited portion of an event that has actually taken place. Reality shows profess to resolve the state of uncertainty that reasonable people feel when they watch make-believe shows. Law-related reality television shows make an even stronger claim to reality and reason. The legal filters in courtrooms are expected to keep emotions under control during court proceedings before judgment is passed by classifying emotions as admissible or inadmissible. Any jurors who harbour emotions such as mercy, sympathy, anger, vengeance, disgust, contempt, or fear provide grounds for jury nullification because their emotions encroach on reason.

However, one cannot help but observe that legal proceedings do permit arguments and pleas about the emotional state of the litigants in cases of 'hate crimes', crimes committed in 'the heat of passion', 'temporary insanity', and 'diminished capacity'. Some judges, when they instruct juries, allow the emotion of mercy as acceptable, while they rule out the emotion of sympathy as unacceptable. The emotion of revenge is permitted in the courtroom through 'victim impact statements' during which the court is informed not only about the devastation the crime caused to the victim, but also, in some jurisdictions, about the sentence the victim would like to see imposed on the offender. Overtly or covertly, emotions are indeed present in a courtroom, and are brought there by people who do not have legal training – such as litigants, jurors, witnesses, and the public – but also by prosecutors, defence attorneys, and judges. Law-related reality television shows capitalise on courtroom scenes that are verbally or visually engaging, especially when emotions are not adequately suppressed by the legal filters designed to mute them. Even when cameras are not allowed in the courtroom, some emotions like rage displayed by segments of the public outside the courtroom – as, for example, at the acquittal of the four police officers accused of beating Rodney King in Los Angeles in 1991 – illustrate that often legal cases are argued and legal choices are made in an emotional minefield.¹ The third component of the issue is what is commonly referred to as 'interweaving' or 'intertextuality' because the Latin word for weaving is 'intertexto'. People presumably cannot understand any kind of discourse – factual or fictive – outside its relation to, and dependence on, other fictional or factual discourses with which they are already familiar. Interdependent discourses are an impure mix of textual structures, narrative practices, in-

¹ Rodney King was pulled over for driving recklessly while intoxicated. He was beaten 56 times by Los Angeles police officers with night sticks and was stunned twice with 50,000 volt tasers. A bystander (George Holliday) videotaped the beating. When the videotape was broadcast, it raised a public outcry about police brutality and racism. The four officers connected with the beating were charged with excessive force in subduing the suspect, were tried, and were acquitted. Their acquittal shocked many Americans and caused the Los Angeles riots in 1992. The four officers were then charged with violating King's civil rights. King testified in a federal trial in 1993 and a federal judge sentenced two of the LAPD officers to 30 months in prison on this charge. Although King received \$3.8 million in a civil suit against the LAPD, he is currently bankrupt and living in a drug rehab centre.

stitutional sites, and rules of application. The web of relationships that sustains them in show business sets up a network of expectations for producers and viewers alike about the form and content of shows. While the literal and figurative intermingling of discourses is 'weaving' the form and content of a new show, it also situates its set of sign systems in the context of other systems of signifying practices in a culture. It allows other signifying practices to traverse a show and to keep it interactive. In this sense, each new show results from absorbing and transforming other shows that echo each other but also are transposed into one another – so that the meanings in one show are overlaid with meanings from another.

Interweaving makes possible the fusion of fact with fiction, of reality with make-believe, during the genesis of a show, opening it up to a great number of significations and permutations – including imitation, parody, and pastiche. Hundreds of theorists during the second half of the twentieth century, from Julia Kristeva to Jacques Derrida, have shown how and why interweaving is a fundamental mode of textual production – including theatre, film, and television production – that affects the discourses of 'fiction'. What remains perplexing is how and why interweaving is affecting the discourses of reality shows in theatre, film, or television. This confusion is not caused by a lack of definitional clarity between the products of make-believe (e.g., fiction or fantasy) and the products of actuality (e.g., history or documentary). Dictionary definitions of 'fiction' and 'fact' set them up as antonyms. Make-believe shows are typically defined as made-up stories that are imagined, invented, fabricated, artificial, and feigned, with little or no basis in reality, and intended to either entertain or deceive – depending on the presence or absence of appropriate interpretative frames. Reality-based shows, on the other hand, are typically defined as actual stories that are authentic, genuine, true, and natural, with little or no basis in fiction, and intended to either entertain or inform – depending on the presence or absence of appropriate interpretive frames.

Poetic licence and legislative licence

When the three components – make-believe, reality, and interweaving – are re-assembled to be examined as a working system, understanding becomes a more difficult task. For instance, what people know to be a make-believe show can be based on fictional persons and events, but also on historical persons and events – or a combination of both historical and fictional persons and events. The standard definition of fictional is: anyone or anything that people at any point in their history understand or believe never to have existed. Or, as English historian Arnold Toynbee (1889-1975) put it, "When we call a piece of literature a work of fiction, we mean no more than that the characters could not be identified with any persons who have lived in the flesh, nor the incidents with any particular events that have actually taken place".

Toynbee's description seems to be correct, except for two things: first, human knowledge and beliefs are often fallible; and, second, reality is mutable often because of human ingenuity, which invents but also destroys. For example, what people collectively or individually know or believe to be factual (i.e., real and true) may actually be fiction (i.e., unreal and false) – or *vice versa*. King Priam's Troy existed as a real city for Alexander in Pella in the fourth century B.C.; but, later this Troy ceased to exist for Friedrich Max Müller, the Anglo-German orientalist at Oxford University in the nineteenth century;² and King Priam's Troy became a figment of Homer's poetic imagination until Heinrich Schliemann began his archeological dig at Hissarlik.

Sometimes fact and fiction are woven together, especially in works of art. Toynbee noted the fusion of make-believe and reality in the case of the *Iliad*. "It has been said of the *Iliad*", Toynbee wrote, "that anyone who starts reading it as history will find that it is full of fiction, but, equally, anyone who starts reading it as fiction will find that it is full of history". However, the interweaving of fact and fiction in theatre, film, and television has become more intricate during the 'golden age' of television than Toynbee could have imagined, and more alarming than Plato would have thought possible during the 'golden age' of Greek theatre.

Poetic licence has helped interweaving to operate effectively in the discourses of fiction because it allows authors to deviate from established rules, conventional forms, logic, truth or fact in order to produce a desired effect. Poetic licence enables authors to make the impossible appear possible in the fantasy worlds of fiction. This enablement or empowerment that frames fiction as reality and uses the narratives of non-fiction to make it more appealing to viewers has not gone unopposed. Was Plato among the first to be black-listed as one of the founding fathers of the anti-fictional prejudice?³ In *The Republic*, he argued

² "I know but one Ilium, and that is the Ilium sung by Homer", Friedrich Max Müller (1823-1900) wrote to Heinrich Schliemann. "It is unlikely that that Ilium will be located in the trenches of Hissarlik, but much rather will be found among the Muses who reside on Mount Olympus." (Schliemann, *Briefwechsel*, 1842-1875, Vol. 1, p. 247). Müller quotes *The Iliad* (II.484-487) to support his claim about the non-reality of Homer's Troy: "Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι / ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαὶ ἐστέ, πάροστε τε, ἵστε τε πάντα, ὑμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν, οὐδὲ τι ἴδμεν / οἳ τινες ἠγεμόνες Δαναῶν καὶ κοίρανοι ἦσαν."

³ Plato's objections – interspersed in *The Republic*, *The Laws*, *Gorgias* and *The Apology* – can be summed up as follows: works of fiction are of questionable value to society (A) when they are used to educate people in the real affairs of life (*Republic* 6060e; *Laws* 810c) because works of fiction are full of unreliable statements composed by authors who were not in their right mind (*Ion* 534; *Laws* 719c) since they have succumbed to irrational inspiration (*Apology* 22c); (B) when they distort the people's sense of reality by weakening their reason and fueling their emotions (*Republic* 395d), because works of fiction that tempt people to find pleasure instead of truth lead people into irresponsible behaviour (*Republic* 378); (C) when they turn people into imitators or impersonators of others because imitations or impersonations corrupt people by tempting them to 'rehearse' more than one personality or social role (*Republic* iii, 392d-294c; also Chapters 2, 3, and 10); (D) when they pander to the base tastes of the public by presenting human vices in obscene or sensational ways (*Republic* 397a; *Gorgias* 502-503) because such works of fiction lower the educational standards with disastrous effects on the moral and intellectual upbringing of the younger

that mimetic artists – performers in our case – make appearances look real because their art contains a deceptive power that fuels viewer emotions, but stifles viewer reason temporarily by making them respond to imitations as if they were real. Their artworks – performances in our case – are on a par with mirror images because they imitate particular appearances which, in turn, are themselves imitations of original, eternal forms. In short, people do not exactly take fiction for reality in Plato's theory of imitation; they take appearance for reality. Appearance is not quite reality, but it is not quite make-believe either. For example, people do not make the mistake of taking the performer playing the role of Iphigenia in Euripides' tragedy for the real Iphigenia, but they often make the mistake of taking the image (prosopeion, mask, persona) on the stage to represent the real form (prosopon, face, person) of Iphigenia.

Poetic licence, however, is not enough for interweaving to operate effectively in the discourses of non-fiction. What is also needed is legislative licence to allow authors to deviate from established rules, conventional forms, logic, truth or fact in order to produce a desired effect. Legislative licence enables authors to use the forms and formulas of fiction genres in the actual worlds of reality shows. This enablement or empowerment that frames reality as entertainment and uses the narratives of fiction to make it more appealing to viewers has been opposed by the advocates of the anti-reality prejudice.⁴ However, it has not been sufficiently theorised or studied. Should critics worry more when fiction imitates the narratives of reality, or, when reality imitates the narratives of fiction? Why should people bother worrying at all? The 'golden age' of intertextuality and fusion in American television provides interesting examples of what is at stake.

By a coincidence, the 'golden age' of American television began in 1984, the year English novelist George Orwell (1903-1950) chose as a title for his novel about *Big Brother*.⁵ Up until 1984, broadcast regulations enforced a separation between fiction and non-fiction, between news and entertainment, and between advertising and any of the above. Up until 1984, commercials were limited to sixteen minutes per broadcast hour. Clear boundaries and time restrictions were enforced because the public had the right to be informed or entertained without being confused and goaded endlessly to buy products, services, or ideas. Up until 1984, the Federal Communications Commission⁶ blocked the broadcast of programme-

citizens (*Laws 659,700*).

⁴ Robin Andersen, Maire Messenger Davies, etc.

⁵ According to Anthony Burgess, Orwell got the idea for *Big Brother* in *Nineteen Eighty-Four* from advertising billboards displayed during the Second World War for educational correspondence courses run by a company called *Bennett's*. The original posters showed Mr Bennett himself—a kindly fatherly figure—offering guidance and support to prospective students with the slogan "Let me be your father". When Mr Bennett died, his company was inherited by his son, who replaced his father's figure on the poster with his own, and his father's slogan with a new slogan: "Let me be your big brother".

⁶ The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) was established by the U.S. Congress in the Com-

length advertisements because they violated the sixteen-minute time restriction. So, 1984 became a watershed year when deregulation gradually began to remove time restrictions and boundaries between news and entertainment, fiction and non-fiction programming.⁷

The dominant trend in the 'aesthetics' of deregulation was set by advertising companies. It was geared to tear down the barriers between advertising and media content. The merging of fiction and non-fiction programming with persuasive communication began in 1984 when the FCC eliminated regulations on the commercial content of television which had been established in the 1950s and 1960s. Advertising companies imitated or copied directly the genres and formats of stage plays, feature films, and fiction television shows, as well as various forms of news programming – from news broadcasts to talk shows. In this way, advertisements – whether they were selling products or politicians to the public – activated two sets of narratives: 1) they activated the narratives of entertainment to resonate layers of meaning already included in the familiar environment of show business. Products and politicians were embedded within the media culture – as in the case of U.S. presidential candidate Bill Clinton, who deliberately played the saxophone as a guest on shows like *Saturday Night Live* but, later, unwittingly became the laughing-stock of tabloid 'magazines' and stand-up comedians for his sexual escapades; 2) they activated the narratives of the newsroom and talk shows to resonate layers of meaning already included in the familiar landscape of the news industry.⁸

munications Act of 1934. It is an independent U.S. agency created, directed, and empowered by congressional statute. It is charged with regulating all non-Federal Government use of the radio spectrum (including radio and television broadcasting), and all interstate telecommunications (wire, satellite, and cable) as well as all international communications that originate or terminate in the United States. The FCC is directed by five Commissioners appointed by the U.S. President and confirmed by the U.S. Senate for five-year terms. The President designates one of the Commissioners to serve as Chairperson. Only three Commissioners may be members of the same political party. None of them can have a financial interest in any Commission-related business. The FCC has one major regulatory weapon: revoking licences. Broadcast licences are supposed to be renewed every eight years (previously, every three years) if the station meets the "public interest, convenience, or necessity". Fewer than 1% of station renewal requests are not immediately granted and only a small fraction of those are actually denied.

⁷ Deregulation is a process that governments use to eliminate selected business regulations and to encourage a more efficient operation of markets, because fewer regulations supposedly promote competition, more consumer choices, higher productivity, better efficiency and lower prices. Deregulation becomes desirable when the regulated industries gain control of government regulatory agencies and use them to serve their own interests. However, the deregulation process itself is often controlled by the regulated industries. Deregulation in the U.S.A. in the last quarter of the twentieth century included the deregulation of savings and loans, the transportation market, the gas market, the electricity market, and the media market. The Telecommunications Act of 1996 revised policies by modifying earlier legislation (primarily the Communications Act of 1934) which regulated broadcasting by over-the-air television and radio stations; cable television operators; satellite broadcasters; wireline telephone companies (local and long distance), wireless telephone companies, etc. The Act of 1996 removed barriers which had previously prevented telecommunication companies from competing head-to-head.

⁸ However, the merging of fiction and non-fiction was further consolidated and legitimised in 1996 when the media market was significantly deregulated by the Telecommunications Act of 1996, which revised

The influence of advertising on media content created several hybrid media forms – like tabloid news, fake news,⁹ infomercials,¹⁰ advertorials,¹¹ advertainments, moviemercials, and programercials – which blurred the distinction between fact and fiction, make-believe and reality, truth and falsehood, as the narratives of fiction and non-fiction were imitated and were copying each another. The demand to beat the competition and maximise profits in the corporate media industry made traditional news broadcasting more aggressive or tabloid-like. The number of unchecked or sensationalised stories in the news media increased. The facts about the real people and events covered were sometimes exposed or falsified, jeopardising a plaintiff's right to privacy or a defendant's right to a fair trial. What *TV Guide* referred to as “fake news” asserted itself in this environment of exaggeration and unmediated bias. Fake news (a.k.a. VNRs, i.e., video news releases)¹² is a term coined to

the Communications Act of 1934. Under the guidelines of the Communications Act of 1934, the FCC required that television stations fully and fairly disclose the identity of those who pay to air commercial messages. The Telecommunications Act of 1996 was approved by the 104th Congress and was signed into law by U. S. President Bill Clinton.

⁹ Fake news and infomercials proliferated, becoming, together with the home-shopping network, the fastest-growing programming services on cable television in the 1990s.

¹⁰ Infomercials (information+commercials; a.k.a. 'paid programming') result from disguised strategies designed to represent the viewpoints and serve the interest of a sponsor. Infomercials are television commercials that run as long as typical television programmes – either 30 or 60 minutes. Made to closely resemble actual television programming such as talk shows, they barely mention that they are advertisements. Infomercials are designed to solicit the viewers' direct, impulsive response with an on-the-spot purchase which is specific and quantifiable. Infomercials use celebrities or known professionals – such as Cher, George Foreman, Kevin Trudeau, and William Shatner – who attest to the value or effectiveness of the products on display. Often short ads that promote the product directly are inserted into the long infomercials, making the infomercial look more authentic by contrast. Infomercials have also been used for election campaigns – e.g., U.S. Presidential Candidate Ross Perot announced his 1996 candidacy with an infomercial. The U.S. Congress investigated infomercials in 1990, and concluded that “consumers need more protection against not only fraudulent infomercial claims, but also sales pitches disguised as objective reporting”. The lawsuit of the Center for the Study of Commercialism argued that the brief identification that is usually given at the beginning of the infomercials can easily be missed because of both the length of the infomercials and the propensity of television viewers to flip channels with the remote control. The Center further argued that infomercials (like VNRs) are designed to exploit the people's lack of awareness that they are watching an advertisement, and make them more susceptible to the commercial motives of the information presented to them. The Center asked the FCC to mandate a continuous on-screen identification of infomercials, an idea that was resisted by PR firms because it would diminish the effectiveness of infomercials.

¹¹ Advertorials (ad+editorials) result from the way PR firms design and disguise their strategies to serve the interests of their clients by collapsing the boundary between fiction and non-fiction. An advertorial is an ad written to look like an objective opinion editorial, a seemingly independent news story, and presented in a printed publication, when, in fact, it is designed to promote the interests, products, services, or opinions of its corporate clients and persuade the public. Clients have content approval of advertorials, otherwise they would not spend money to see the flaws of their products or viewpoints advertised. Sometimes PR firms will go as far as creating a newspaper or magazine for their clients that looks like a traditional newspaper or magazine, but, in fact, is created to market the products of their client. Airline in-flight magazines are a well-known example.

¹² VNRs are yet another form of news releases made possible by technological development. A news (or

describe carefully scripted and rehearsed advertisements that conceal their commercial agenda by adopting the form of a television news feature.¹³

Fake news, infomercials, and advertorials are good examples of how promotional releases are disguised as news programming and are made to simulate familiar forms of non-fiction in order to increase their appeal and persuasiveness. Advertainments, moviermercials,¹⁴ and programercials are good examples of how a product and its message are disguised as entertainment programming, and are made to simulate familiar forms of fiction in order to increase their appeal and persuasiveness. A case of how interweaving was used by advertising

press) release is a written or recorded communication directed at the assignment editors of the news media (newspapers, magazines, radio stations, television stations, and/or television networks) announcing something claimed as having news value. A news release is different from a news article. A news article is a compilation of facts developed by journalists and published in the news media, while a news release is generally biased towards the objectives of its author. Public relations firms aim to attract favourable media attention to their clients and/or the products marketed by their clients. For example, many articles in magazines like *Video Game* and *Business* are recycled press releases. A news release is embargoed when news organisations are asked not to release the story – such as a copy of a presidential speech which they receive several hours in advance – until a specified time. Fake-news stories are deceptive because they are made to look as if they had been produced by television reporters, when in fact they are produced by public-relations firms and shipped to television stations. They are often aired without the stations identifying them as advertisements. If a television station does not want to broadcast intact the pre-taped, fully produced, ready-to-air fake news, then public relation firms will offer the station an alternative, the so-called 'B-roll', that allows the station to interject its own reporters and anchormen – an adjustment that makes fake news look more authentic. The 'B-roll' is a track with sound and footage that can be edited and re-assembled at a television station so as to feature the voice and face of the station's reporters. In the case of an interview, for example, this adjustment makes the interviewee on the tape appear as if he or she is answering the questions of the station's reporter when, in fact, the interviewee's answers were pre-taped and directed to an invisible 'reporter' off camera many hours or days earlier. Stations use VNRs to fill airtime or forego the expense of sending their camera crews to shoot original news footage. See DAVID LIEBERMAN, «Fake News», *TV Guide* (Feb. 1992): 10–26.

¹³ The single largest client whose interests were served by fake news in the 1990s was the pharmaceutical industry. Drug advertisements, disguised as news segments announcing major medical 'breakthroughs', excluded any negative information, and thus stimulated public demand for new drugs. As news segments, fake news circumvents FDA regulations about truth-in-advertising which require pharmaceutical companies to include in their advertisements a warning about a drug's potential misuses and hazardous side-effects. According to the Nielsen Media Research group, about 4,000 fake news stories were produced and released in 1991 alone. Fifteen per cent of the television stations aired intact one fake-news story per week. Seventy-eight per cent of the television stations aired one edited fake-news story per week. Television stations that aired fake-news stories (edited or unedited) have been criticised for taking advantage of the public's trust because fake-news stories are masqueraded as if they are independent reporting and the work of journalists, when, in fact, they are authored by PR operatives who used to be journalists. When fake-news stories that serve corporate or government interests are aired as 'independent' journalism, the borderline between journalism and public relations get badly tangled and journalists are not acting in the best interests of the public.

¹⁴ A moviermercial (movie+commercial) is an advertisement that uses memorable footage from popular movies to promote a product or viewpoint. For example, in the 1948 comedy, *Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream House*, Muriel (Myrna Loy) describes to a contractor the colour of her preference. It is "practically an apple red, somewhere between a healthy wine sap and an unripened Jonathan", she says. This footage was inserted into a television advertisement created by the Gianattino & Meredith Advertising Company for Benjamin Moore paints in 1992.

firms to design and disguise their strategies by collapsing the boundary between fiction and non-fiction, is an advertisement about a fast-food chain released as an advertainment. An advertainment (ad+entertainment) is an ad that is scripted to imitate a character or a scene from a popular fiction show. The actor who impersonates that character in the fiction show is also the actor hired to deliver the imitation act of the advertisement. Viewers can be fooled momentarily as they quickly make the transition from the fiction of the show to the 'reality' of the advertainment.¹⁵

Some fictional characters have defined a star's personality in the public eye so powerfully that it is not always necessary to dramatise the narrative of the advertisement, or to keep the star in character. For instance, Ian Buchanan, a Scottish actor, who played the role of Dr Gregory Madden in *All My Children*, Duke Lavery in *General Hospital*, and Dr James Warwick in *The Bold and the Beautiful*, appears in a television advertisement and boldly steps out of character: "I'm not a doctor", he says, "but I play one on television".¹⁶ It is his fictional dimension that grants him the authority to give medical advice to the television viewers in the 'real' world of advertisement. He presumably earned that trust and recognition through the fictional medical cases that he diagnosed during three different fiction shows over a dozen years. I can hear Plato turning over in his grave.¹⁷

A programercial that effectively merged the world of fiction with the world of facts, in a way that Plato could not have anticipated, was aired in the United States in 1993. A programercial (programme+commercial) is an ad that inserts itself in real time into television fiction and/or non-fiction programming by tying shows to promotions of products or people

¹⁵ One of these ads begins with Erica Kane (Susan Lucci), a lead female character in the daytime soap opera *All My Children* writing a letter with tears in her eyes. She writes how sorry she is for leaving and how much she wants to come back. One assumes that she is addressing this letter to her lover, Jackson Montgomery (Walt Willey), in the show. It is quickly revealed, however, that the letter is addressed to Wendy's, a fast-food chain of restaurants. Wendy's corporate headquarters are located in Columbus, Ohio.

¹⁶ *All My Children* (1970-present) is a soap opera that is broadcast on the ABC TV network. Its 9,000th episode was aired on 12-16-2004. The story is set in Pine Valley, a suburb of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The show became successful because it fictionalised young love which brought young viewers to ABC. It became the first soap opera to discuss the Vietnam War. It caused controversy when a female character (Erica), who is a model, decided to have an abortion, not for health reasons, but to keep her modelling job. Her choice got much media attention because *Roe v. Wade* had been decided in the U.S. Supreme Court a few months earlier. Erica developed a potentially fatal infection after having the abortion. ABC received many telephone calls from doctors and nurses offering medical opinions on how best to treat the character's case. The controversy made the show's ratings rise from 8.2 to 9.1.

¹⁷ One of Plato's complaints about the *Iliad* was that Homer—who was trained in the art of poetry, not in the art of war—could not give an informed opinion on the good or bad military leadership displayed by Agamemnon or Achilles. Plato was the first to close the door to fiction for one more reason: mimetic artists create appearances, but cannot invent fictions because they are beholden to material particulars whose appearance they imitate. In short, Homer could not have composed the *Iliad* without the benefit of an actual war with Troy.

in one episode or series of episodes.¹⁸ One 1993 programercial showed the cast of CBS's *60 Minutes*, a television newsmagazine,¹⁹ appearing in an episode of CBS's *Murphy Brown*, an American situation comedy (1988-1998). *Murphy Brown* (Candice Bergen) is an investigative journalist and news anchor for FYI, a fictional news magazine.²⁰ *Murphy* authorises a biography of herself, and her biographer interviews her friends and colleagues.²¹ This episode infused the world of reality into the world of fantasy for its viewers,²² causing a ratings boost for both television shows. The appearance of real journalists on a fiction television show did not hurt either *60 Minutes* or *Murphy Brown*, but instead promoted both of them.

As more real people and products are getting promoted by entering the plot lines of fictional narratives, and vice versa, the escalating fusion of facts (news), fiction (entertainment) and advertising becomes mind-boggling. It requires viewers to make many inter-textual connections, especially when fragments of facts and fiction from the mosaic of forms and narratives of popular culture are de-contextualised from their initial forms and narratives and then are re-contextualised by being mixed and matched with other fragments in new forms and narratives. This process of recombination, that forges all sorts of unexpected associations, has been referred to as a 'pastiche' in the era of postmodernism.²³

¹⁸ The television situation comedy *Home Improvement* is a vehicle for product promotion because it displays an array of tools for its viewers week after week. The fictional comedy makes the general idea of home improvements attractive, whereas 'Tool Time' (i.e., the show-within-the show) which is hosted by Tim Taylor (Tim Allen) and Al Borland (Richard Karn) in real time before a studio audience advertises the tools to the television audiences. The sponsor of 'Tool Time' (i.e., the show-within-the-show) was Binford Tools, a fictitious tool manufacturing company. The programercial potential of this show is significant.

¹⁹ *60 Minutes* (1968-present) is an investigative journalism show, known for its ability to generate news and controversy. Each show consists of three long-form news stories which often focus on allegations of wrong-doing and corruption on the part of corporations, politicians, and other public officials. The alleged suspects are either subjected to an interview, or are shown fleeing from the approaching journalist and his camera crew.

²⁰ *Murphy* became pregnant and had a child during the show's 1991-1992 season, drawing some criticism during the 1992 U.S. presidential campaign. When Vice President Dan Quayle spoke at the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco, California, on 19 May 1992, he criticised *Murphy Brown* (a fictional character) for ignoring the importance of fathers and bearing a child alone. His remarks caused a public discussion on family values, culminating in the 1992-93 season premiere ('You Say Potatoe, I Say Potato') where the television characters reacted to Quayle's comments and produced a special episode of FYI showcasing and celebrating the diversity of the modern American family.

²¹ Meanwhile, *Murphy* has a dream in which the journalists of *60 Minutes* (along with some Republican senators involved in the hearings over the controversy between Justice Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill) appear on her show and make remarks about *Murphy's* character. All of them comment on her behaviour at the Republican National Convention in 1980. In this episode, reality is fused with fiction as the boundaries between the two are blurred. Real journalists and senators speak about a fictional journalist, placing her within actual political history as a participant in the Republican National Convention in 1980 when, in fact, *Murphy* and the first episode of the show were not created until eight years later.

²² SCOTT R. OLSON, "Meta-television: Popular Postmodernism," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 4/31 (1987): 284-300.

²³ Pastiche, in the postmodern era, is an incongruous, imitative hodgepodge or patchwork of words,

Without the use of recognisable references which would allow viewers to 'read' a show in relation to other narratives – like those of familiar media genres, story formulas, and characters – the viewers' ability to understand and relate to the show or to a scene with the show diminishes.

Law-related Reality Television Shows with Courtroom Scenes

Reality television shows present easily recognisable references that do not strain the average viewer's understanding. However, they strain the time restrictions and budget limitations that are placed on a study like mine because the numbers of reality television shows have increased enormously since the early years of television. According to the Nielsen Media Research, reality television shows account for about 56% of all of the shows on American television – both cable and broadcasting.²⁴ Reality television shows can be divided into at least seven different types: a) celebrity reality shows, like *The Osbournes* (2002–2005), which present 'extraordinary' people in ordinary situations;²⁵ b) common-man reality shows, like *The Real World* (1992–present), which present 'ordinary' people in extraordinary situations;²⁶ c) cinema *verité*-styled reality shows, like *Cops* (1989–present), which present the performance of selected law – enforcement agents on the job;²⁷ d) hidden camera reality shows, like *Candid*

passages, materials, forms, motifs, etc., taken from different sources with or without a sense of parody. According to Fredric Jameson in 'Postmodernism and Consumer Society', pastiche is what becomes of parody in an era in which culture is so fragmented that there is no stable point of reference or concept of the normal.

²⁴ Reality television shows, because of their relatively low production costs, became popular with television network executives who wished to maximise profits. Fake television shows (drama series and sitcom series) were pushed to the back burner when *Survivor* became a huge ratings success in the United States in 2000.

²⁵ *The Osbournes*, broadcast by MTV, became noted for its frequent use of foul language. The show featured the domestic life of rock-and-roll singer Ozzy Osbourne and his dysfunctional family – i.e., his wife (Sharon), his son (Jack), his daughter (Kelly), and his adopted son (Rob). His other daughter, Aimee, refused to participate in the show, and publicly criticised the show and her parents for their antics. The series followed the family members as they dealt with Sharon's battle with cancer, and the aftermath of a vehicular accident that nearly killed Ozzy.

²⁶ *The Real World*, broadcast by MTV, is one of the first reality television shows to gain a national audience. The show presents the lives of seven strangers who audition to live in a house together. The daily happenings in their lives interacting with their housemates are filmed. The camera footage is then edited into half-hour episodes. The show takes place in a different city every season. When its third season took place in San Francisco, the show gained widespread attention because it included two housemates, Pedro Zamora, a gay man with AIDS who died in 1994, and Puck, a bicycle messenger with poor hygiene and an offensive attitude.

²⁷ *Cops*, broadcast by the Fox Network, is made up of footage shot by cameramen who film the job performance of selected police officers and sheriff's deputies while they are arresting suspects. The show's opening spiel mentions that *Cops* is filmed on location and that "all suspects are innocent until proven guilty in a court-of-law". The show has aired over 600 episodes filmed in over 140 cities in the United States, earned four Emmy nominations, and won the American Television Award in 1993. The show's theme song, 'Bad Boys', is sung by Reggae group Inner Circle.

Camera (1951-1954, 1960-1966), which present the unwitting conduct of random passers-by;²⁸ e) game-based reality shows, like *Survivor* (2000-present), which present contestants enclosed in real environments while competing to win a prize;²⁹ f) dating reality shows, like *The Bachelor* (2002-present), which allow contestants to choose their dates from a group of available suitors through a process of elimination;³⁰ and g) law-related reality shows.

I chose to focus on law-related reality shows with courtroom scenes because they share many characteristics with all of the above types; are fewer in number; easier to locate traces of emotion in them; and their claim to reality has not been challenged as effectively as that

²⁸ *Candid Camera*, broadcast by CBS, was a precursor of the so-called reality television shows. It was a mixed show because it involved both real people and actors who impersonated policemen, etc. The show was based on brief episodes enacted by hired actors who would engage unwitting passers-by in unusual situations. Woody Allen launched his career writing brief scenarios for *Candid Camera*, and actors like Buster Keaton performed in these scenarios. The conduct of an unsuspecting passer-by who became the victim of an actor's prank was filmed by a hidden camera. At the end of each episode the hidden camera and the prank were revealed to the victim. This show put actors and real people (both ordinary people and celebrities) into contrived, unreal situations. *Candid Camera* is currently broadcast by PAX Network and is hosted by Peter Funt (Allen Funt's son) and Dina Eastwood (Clint Eastwood's wife). Allen Funt appeared on the radio reality show *Candid Microphone* broadcast by ABC radio in the 1940s, before he created the television reality show *Candid Camera* in the 1950s.

²⁹ *Survivor*, broadcast by CBS, is a reality game show with episodes of 60-minute running time. Typically, the show consists of contestants isolated in a remote location competing for a cash prize. Each series starts with 16 players and in each episode one player is voted off by the other remaining players. Initially, the players are divided into two eight-person 'tribes' which compete against each other in tasks requiring endurance, intelligence, teamwork, dexterity, or will power. Each episode has an 'immunity challenge' and the tribe that loses this challenge must vote off one member of the tribe. Most episodes also have a 'reward challenge' and the winning tribe will receive a prize such as additional food or equipment. The voting is done in secret at the end of each episode. The show's host, Jeff Probst, questions and provokes the players about events that have occurred and their opinions about the other players. The player who is voted out leaves the competition and gives his/her final words, which air during the credits of the episode. At the very end of the show, the million-dollar winner, who is selected by vote, is announced. The monetary prizes for all rankings in a normal 16-player game are: Winner \$1 million, Runner-up \$100,000, Third \$85,000, Fourth \$70,000, Fifth \$60,000, Sixth \$50,000, Seventh \$40,000, Eighth \$30,000, Ninth 20,000, Tenth \$15,000, Eleventh \$12,000, Twelfth \$10,000, Thirteenth \$8,000, Fourteenth \$6,000, Fifteenth \$4,000, Sixteenth \$2,000. The million-dollar winner also typically wins an automobile, as does the winner of a randomly selected reward/immunity challenge. While the show is based on the theme of wilderness survival, the real basis of the show is interpersonal relationships. The survival aspects are difficult enough to discomfort the players, but contestants are rarely truly endangered. The survival skill required is the ability to make deals and form alliances with other players to keep from being voted off. Because of the steadily diminishing number of players, and the fact that the players being voted off will in turn choose the ultimate winner, considerable political skills are required.

³⁰ *The Bachelor*, broadcast by the ABC network, presents a wealthy single man wooed by a pool of about 25 women. Each woman goes on an individual date with the bachelor; they meet each other's families, and go on an overnight date. The women are eliminated one by one over a period of several weeks until the bachelor selects one. The runner-up woman from the first season, Trista Rehn, later starred in *The Bachelorette*, a spin-off show in which the situation was gender-reversed. Over time viewers began to grow cynical of the 'true love' premise of the show because every couple from the first five seasons broke up. To sustain interest, a number of twists were introduced, but as ratings continued to plummet, the show was moved to a new time-slot and a new city (New York City and, later Paris, France).

of other types of reality television shows. Law-related reality television shows with courtroom scenes are commonly defined as featuring real people instead of actors impersonating real people, and as documenting actual events, instead of presenting scripted stories that are based on real or fictional events. A short list of law-related reality television shows with courtroom scenes would include at least fifty-four shows that were produced between 1949 and 2005.³¹

Law-related fiction shows with courtroom scenes can be traced back to Aeschylus' *Oresteia*. Their popularity has grown so much in recent decades that even science fiction shows, like *Outer Limits* or *Star Trek the Next Generation*, that normally have nothing to do with law have incorporated courtroom scenes and legal concepts into the plots of some of their episodes. Obviously, the drama of legal cases and the theatrics of courtroom performances are deemed instructive and entertaining by the public, but also profitable by the producers of these shows. The number of fiction law-related shows with courtroom scenes that are recorded in the annals of theatre, cinema, radio, and television is impressive. Some of these shows were based on real stories and real persons, while others were based on fictitious stories and persons. No matter how much their stories were based on fact or fiction, no matter how much their characters were based on real or imaginary persons, all of them were performed by actors –sometimes amateurs, sometimes professionals– impersonating real or imaginary people re-enacting real or imaginary events. Impersonation and re-enactment were the two key causes that kept reality at bay, even when actors were extremely skilful in impersonating real people and re-enacting real stories, or even when audience members, like William Taylor Coleridge, were willing to suspend their disbelief.³²

³¹ *The Black Robe* (1949-4/1950), *They Stand Accused* (1949-1952, September-December 1954), *Famous Jury Trials* (1949-1952), *Your Witness* (1949-1950), *Politics on Trial* (September-October 1952), *Court of Last Resort* (1957-1958), *The Verdict is Yours* (1957-1962), *Divorce Court* (1957-1969, 1984-1991, 1999-present), *Night Court U.S.A.* (1958), *Traffic Court* (1958-1959), *Day in Court* (1958-1965), *Accused* (1958-1959), *Courtroom U.S.A.* (1960), *The Witness* (1960-1961), *Morning Court* (1960-1961), *People's Court* (1981-1993, 1996-present), *Lie Detector* (1982-1983), *Miller's Court* (1982-1985), *Guilty or Innocent* (1984), *Superior Court* (1986-1990), *The Judge* (1986-1992), *Headlines on Trial* (1987), *Kids Court* (1988-1994), *On Trial* (1988-1989), *Trial by Jury* (1989-1990), *Trialwatch* (January-July 1991), *Verdict* (June-September 1991), *Courtroom Television Network* (1991-present), *American Justice* (1992-present), *Final Appeal* (September-October 1992), *Jones and Jury* (1994-1995), *Judge for Yourself* (1994-1995), *Judge Judy* (1996-present), *Science Court* (1997-2000), *Judge and Jury* (1998-1999), *Judge Joe Brown* (1998-present), *Judge Mills Lane* (1998-2001), *Judge Wapner's Animal Court* (1998-2001), *Sex Court* (1998-present), *Blame Game* (1999-2001), *Judge Greg Mathis* (1999-present), *Arrest & Trial* (2000-2001), *Curtis Court* (2000-2001), *Judge Hatchett* (2000-present), *Moral Court* (2000-2001), *Power of Attorney* (2000-2001), *The Prosecutors: In Pursuit of Justice* (2000-2001), *Texas Justice* (2001-present), *Celebrity Justice* (2002-present), *Crime and Punishment* (2002-present), *State v.* (June-July 2002), *Style Court* (2003-present), *Eye for an Eye* (2003-present), and *The Law Firm* (July-present 2005).

³² William Taylor Coleridge used this term to describe the state of mind of some viewers who accept the stories and characters of make-believe shows as real and begin experiencing real emotions about the characters and their stories.

Within the intricate relationship between reality and make-believe, as they are presented through the media of theatre, film, television and home theatre, there are many changes in perspective presented in many new formats that now challenge the people's capacity to understand or know the difference between fact and fiction. The demarcation line is no longer clearly drawn by legislative guidance since deregulation began to take effect in 1984. I think it is important to take a closer look at how the people's emotions are now being engaged by the new emphasis on reality shows, and in particular the courtroom reality entertainment, and, also how and why interweaving is affecting the discourses of reality shows in theatre, film, and television. Thank you for listening.

CLAUDINE ELNÉCAVÉ

QUELQUES RÉFLEXIONS SUR LES MÉTAMORPHOSES DE LA THÉORIE DE LA MISE EN SCÈNE

*«Tout homme est une nuit;
le travail de l'artiste sera de mettre
cette nuit en plein jour».*

JEAN COCTEAU

Avant d'examiner le problème que suscite la théorie de la mise en scène, il convient de reprendre quelques définitions de la notion même de mise en scène. Selon A. Veinstein, «le terme mise en scène désigne l'activité qui consiste dans l'agencement en un certain temps et en un certain espace de jeu des différents éléments d'interprétation scénique d'une œuvre dramatique» (1955:7). Pour Appia, «l'art de la mise en scène est l'art de projeter dans l'espace ce que le dramaturge n'a pu que projeter dans le temps» (1954:38). Pour Artaud, «la mise en scène est dans une pièce de théâtre la partie véritable et spécifiquement théâtrale du spectacle» (1964B: 191, 162). Antoine, dans sa célèbre conférence de 1903, la définit en ces termes: «La mise en scène ne fournit pas seulement un juste cadre à l'action, elle en détermine le caractère véritable et en constitue l'atmosphère».¹

Si l'on s'arrête aux définitions d'Artaud et d'Antoine, on s'aperçoit qu'ils parlent tous deux de la mise en scène (ou, pour reprendre le terme de Marco de Marinis, du métatexte) comme d'un discours scénique qui fournit une ou la signification scénique du texte. Il convient par ailleurs de noter que le concept de mise en scène tel qu'il est défini depuis Antoine oblige à penser le texte comme troué, c'est-à-dire en attente d'interprétation, d'où l'interrogation épineuse: la mise en scène est-elle au service du texte, ou bien est-ce le texte qui est au service de la mise en scène ?

Il ne faut surtout pas oublier que tout texte est *a priori* basé sur un schéma de pré-mise en scène et que «le texte se prête à des interprétations, à une recherche de nombreuses significations».²

La mise en scène est sans conteste nécessaire à la compréhension du texte, donc mise au service du texte. Cela est une conclusion un peu hâtive, car il ne faut pas oublier le rôle que joue le metteur en scène, maître incontesté, au même titre et peut-être plus que l'auteur, qui

¹ Antoine, cité par BERNARD DORT, *Théâtres* (Paris: Seuil, Points, Essais, 1986): 14.

² PATRICE PAVIS, *Dictionnaire du théâtre* (Paris: Messidor/Éditions Sociales, 1987): 247.

se sert du texte comme matériau de mise en scène. Il s'en sert et à travers le texte poursuit son œuvre d'écriture scénique.

Il en ressort une fracture entre les metteurs en scène qui envisagent le texte comme texte et ceux qui l'envisagent comme matériau, en gros deux théories, l'une reposant sur la priorité du texte et l'autre sur celle de la mise en scène qui, comme l'a pertinemment noté André Helbo, «contient déjà sa propre situation»,³ étant elle-même une forme de création autonome, avec une histoire, un champ d'expérience où se produisent toutes sortes d'échanges entre théoriciens et praticiens.

Les théories en la matière pullulent. Un rapide passage en revue révèle une dynamique de glissement d'un modèle à l'autre, du modèle dit classique jusqu'aux expériences des avant-gardes, Meyerhold, Brecht, Artaud, Claudel, pour ne citer que les plus en vue. Que faut-il retenir de ces théories ? Que rejeter ? «Il ne faut jamais se demander ce que veut dire un texte, il faut se demander ce que peut dire un texte».⁴

Le rôle de la mise en scène est d'adapter le texte dramatique aux exigences esthétiques et sociologiques d'un public donné. Pavis souligne «qu'elle interroge toutes ces représentations culturelles, les donne à voir et à entendre, se les figure et se les approprie par le truchement de la scène et de la salle».⁵ Concernant les mises en scène des classiques, la question qui se pose est la suivante: dans quelle mesure la mise en scène doit-elle se soustraire à la tradition ou la suivre aveuglément – car une ignorance de la tradition théâtrale peut mener au contresens, en distillant le texte à l'aide de coupes, en inventant des fins qui diffèrent de l'original.

Le metteur en scène en liberté, par souci de modernisme, ne trahit-il pas l'auteur ? D'où la complexité de mettre en lumière le sous-texte basé sur les éléments paraverbaux. Complexité qui fait entrer la mise en scène dans la zone de l'entre-deux. Entre la fidélité au texte et le désir d'autonomie. Cette zone de l'entre-deux situe la mise en scène entre un avant (la tradition) et un maintenant (basé sur le goût du public). Étant donné qu'il faut prendre en considération le fait que le goût du public est changeant, le maintenant risque de devenir un avant, d'où le besoin de mettre le texte à l'heure d'aujourd'hui, du maintenant, à l'instar de Peter Sellars: «Un classique, c'est un texte qui reste toujours vrai et qui, en même temps, est interprété différemment par les générations successives. Lorsque l'on en aborde un, c'est tout à fait logique de le relire en fonction de la génération à laquelle on appartient et de l'époque où l'on vit».

Tout un chacun sait que l'acte théâtral est fondé, d'une part, sur le récit émanant de la parole racontée par les mouvements et les actions dans l'espace, et d'autre part, sur le discours que reçoit l'oreille (on connaît la remarque faite par Claudel: l'oreille voit) et sur

³ ANDRÉ HELBO, *Sémiotique de la représentation* (Paris: Éditions Complexe, 1975): 69.

⁴ Marc-Alain Ouaknine, cité par DANIEL MESGUISH, *Théâtre public* 124-125: 88.

⁵ PATRICE PAVIS, *Le théâtre au croisement des cultures* (Paris: José Corti, 1990): 7.

celui qu'enregistre l'œil, d'où l'évolution de la mise en voix, de la mise en espace, et le besoin de créer de nouveaux rapports entre la scène et la salle. Le dispositif scénique, qui est tout tension, vibre en créant des lignes verticales/horizontales/circulaires/parallèles, et l'on est tenté de se le représenter comme actant au même titre que les acteurs. Parfois on s'aperçoit que la fable est marginalisée au profit du dispositif scénique, qui devient sujet.

La mise en scène n'est plus au service de texte, c'est le texte qui s'adapte au dispositif scénique, comme c'est le cas chez certains metteurs en scène modernes qui, niant tout lien de cause à effet entre le texte et la scène, accordent à la mise en scène l'autonomie des choix esthétiques. Ainsi procèdent Robert Wilson,⁶ Gruber, Mesguich, Brook, Chéreau et Lassalle – j'en oublie, et non des moindres. Le metteur en scène devient de ce fait un roi parfois despotique. L'autonomie donne naissance à une esthétique d'incorporation de la mise en scène au mouvement général des arts plastiques. Cette esthétique se greffe sur une autre mise en scène, où se côtoient danse, musique, arts plastiques et arts du cirque. Cette façon de mettre en scène est devenue une norme que l'on peut définir comme la théorie de la mise en scène hybride ou, pour reprendre la formule de Vitez, comme celle du *«faire théâtre de tout»*.

La mise en scène fondée sur les moyens scéniques d'expression est un chantier en perpétuelle évolution, qui se fait et se défait au gré des metteurs en scène. On n'a pas prise sur elle car elle est en constante ébullition. Ce perpétuel mouvement révèle de nouvelles potentialités d'espaces scéniques. Par espaces scéniques, j'entends aussi bien l'espace lumière et l'espace vocal que l'espace plateau, l'espace scénique ne se limitant plus au plateau mais s'élargissant dans un hors espace comprenant aussi bien les coulisses que la salle. Cette modification de l'espace scénique crée une nouvelle plasticité de la mise en scène.

Aujourd'hui, il y a une confusion, un trouble, un chaos, surtout avec la nouvelle tendance du retour au texte qui prêche un dépouillement de la mise en scène afin de laisser respirer le texte, comme l'affirme Patrice Chéreau: *«Lorsqu'on commence à faire de la mise en scène, on écrase toujours un peu le texte [...] Après vingt ans, comme c'est mon cas, ce qui est intéressant, c'est le texte lui-même»*.⁷ Ou bien, comme le prône René de Obaldia, *«le texte commande la mise en scène»*.

En revanche, la démarche de mise en scène des classiques de Frédéric Fisbach est tout autre, même si, au début, elle se greffait sur celle de Chéreau, comme il le dit dans un entretien réalisé par Aurélia Guillet: *«Mon rapport au texte a changé. Dans le travail sur l'Annonce, il était hors de question de couper, il fallait affronter l'entièreté de l'œuvre, y compris les choses qui nous embêtaient. Maintenant, je pense un peu différemment, je peux envisager de couper certains passages, de les intervertir, de modifier certaines choses. Si, au*

⁶ Bob Wilson aime jouer des volumes et des architectures nés du jeu de la lumière.

⁷ *Théâtre français contemporain / Tribulations de l'écriture dramatique en France*: 19.

cours des répétitions, il y a des moments où il faut couper, recouper, recomposer, on le fait mais en fonction des besoins qui se manifestent à un moment précis.

Il serait naïf d'imaginer que cette nouvelle tendance du retour au texte s'accompagnerait d'un retour aux sources, en l'occurrence un retour aux mises en scène classiques, et cela à cause de deux facteurs majeurs: l'évolution des techniques à la pointe de la technologie: le laser, la projection d'images enregistrées ou prises sur le vif, l'emploi de vidéos, de décors projetés par diapositives agrandies, et j'en passe; le second (et peut-être le plus important): la réceptivité de l'auditoire de théâtre. De nos jours, il faut prendre en compte le fait que la majorité des spectateurs ou des spectateurs potentiels sont avant tout des consommateurs d'images avant d'être des lecteurs de mots, et que de surcroît, ils sont habitués aux nouvelles technologies.

Une nouvelle démarche s'impose, à l'instar de Michel Vinaver qui affirme avant tout que *«l'action se passe sur un plateau, à charge pour chaque spectateur d'imaginer le lieu ou les multiples lieux de la fiction représentée à partir d'une structure scénique et d'un mobilier scénique qui seront moins illustratifs qu'actifs»*,⁸ structure scénique basée sur une remise en question du plaisir du regard par le biais d'un renouvellement des formes scéniques qui s'articulerait autour de quelques axes fondamentaux.

En dépouillant la mise en scène de tout superflu, on permet au texte de respirer et, à la fois, la mise en lumière de la plasticité du dispositif de la représentation. En revanche, on pourrait prendre des éléments glanés ici ou là dans des mises en scènes dites classiques pour en faire une synthèse qui restera éternellement explosive. Dans un monde en mutation, et vu la malléabilité de la mise en scène, il serait pertinent de se demander si on pourrait encore parler de théorie de la mise en scène (question complexe, sensible et qui pourrait être sujette à caution).

Il serait absurde de proposer une démarche vers la théorie de la mise en scène, ce qui trahirait une certaine étroitesse de vue; il conviendrait plutôt de parler de théories des mises en scène car, comme l'a prouvé l'historicité du théâtre, la mise en scène étant au service du metteur en scène, de sa conception, de son interprétation des signes émis par l'auteur, elle est fluide, tout en mouvance, en état de devenir.

Mais qu'elle soit naturaliste, symboliste, minimaliste, la mise en scène est toujours en attente de renouveau. Un objet restant à modeler: *«Certains créateurs, comme Claude Régy, se donnent pour principe de 'ne pas mettre en scène', que ce soit plutôt une espèce de travail d'accouchement, laisser passer, ouvrir les parois pour que puisse librement s'écouler ce qui vient de loin dans l'inconscient de l'auteur, l'inconscient des acteurs et comme ça atteigne l'inconscient des spectateurs»*.⁹

⁸ MICHEL VINAVER, *Écrits sur le théâtre* (Paris: L'Arche, 1999, vol. 2): 214.

⁹ *L'Art du théâtre* 6 (1986-1987): 62.

Penser la mise en scène, c'est interroger les conditions et la finalité de la représentation, c'est aussi penser aux techniques qui y contribuent. Ce pluriel relève du facteur risque. Le risque de changer le texte afin de libérer l'imagination du spectateur.

La mise en scène est un objet restant à modeler selon le caprice des metteurs en scène et, de ce fait, difficile à cerner pour en faire une théorie: plutôt des théories. Une mise en scène n'est jamais un discours définitif, achevé, c'est toujours un discours ouvert. Étant donné que les mises en scène varient, il se crée une dynamique de mouvement vers d'autres techniques, qui donneront naissance à de nouvelles théories.

J. MICHAEL WALTON

CRISIS, WHAT CRISIS ?

The theme for this conference, *Theatre and Theatre Studies in the 21st Century*, is timely. The objectives outlined in the 2004 request for papers included the following statement about the perceived divide between theory and practice:

"The revolution of theatre makers against theatre theory and the new open forms of practice, sometimes crossing the traditional borderlines of the conventional theatrical situation may be possibly summarised in slogans as "no more theories", "take your hands off the mystery of performance", "let theatre makers create freely" and so on. This new situation has a significant impact on future theatre theory, on the term "theatre" itself and on theatre studies as well".

This was only one concern, though a key one, identified amongst a series which led to the seminal question "What strategy should theatre studies follow?" I want to consider one aspect of such a strategy here, the case for practice within Theatre Studies, in two distinct parts: the equivocal situation over 'practice as research', and inclusion of practical instruction as a core element in the undergraduate curriculum.

These issues are central at a time of growing factionalism within the discipline which threatens its independence and distinctive nature. The rival claims of literature, reception, historiography, education, the pragmatic, the professional, and a variety of theoretical approaches become ever harder to reconcile and – which concerns me more – ever more confusing for students. Two images from Strindberg's *A Dream Play* spring to mind. The first is that of the four Faculty Deans, of Theology, Philosophy, Law, and Medicine, fighting for primacy before the door, with its air-hole shaped like a four-leaf clover, which they believe conceals the secret of the universe. When the door is finally opened, there is nothing behind it.¹ For Faculty Deans supply your equivalent Professors of Drama.

The second image is that of the rapidly ageing officer, with his equally rapidly ageing bunch of flowers, still attempting to pay court to the fickle actress, Miss Victoria. The professional theatre becomes ever more suspicious of the professors who cannot profess; who may be ready to provide analysis of a piece of dialogue, but lack awareness of the implica-

¹ See AUGUST STRINDBERG, *A Dream Play*, translated by ELIZABETH SPRIGGE (New York: Anchor Books, 1955).

tions within the lines of the performance dimension.

We might add to these two images a third, from the same play, the desperate Kristin, ever pasting over the cracks in her attempt to prevent the walls falling down about her ears, but that is probably more pessimistic than the present situation suggests. Is Theatre Studies in a state of crisis? When has the Theatre not been in a state of crisis – and all the better for being a necessarily protean art whose ability to survive and thrive is rooted in a facility to adjust and re-form as circumstance requires? Any ‘crisis’ in Theatre Studies deserves scrutiny less in terms of the potential for failure which the term might imply than in the purer sense of the Ancient Greek *krisis*, ‘judgement’, ‘interpretation’, ‘decision’.

This requires some historical perspective, however brief, on the association between drama and the universities, and I hope my apologies will be accepted for basing these remarks primarily on the British experience. In England, any intermittent enthusiasm for dramatic performance within schools, universities or the legal societies known as the Inns of Court may have had a moral, but little other educational, intent. Until late in the nineteenth century, British universities were as conservative as any others in Europe and concentrated on a small number of areas of suitable study, including the classics, but not much more extended than those represented by Strindberg’s deans.

It was America that would lead the way in introducing Drama into the academic curriculum. The American Academy of Dramatic Arts was founded in New York in 1884 and, 15 years later, received its first charter from the University of the State of New York. George Pierce Baker’s ‘47 Workshop’ started at Harvard in 1912, Eugene O’Neill being one of the earliest students. Baker went on to found a postgraduate study centre at Yale in 1925, but by then a Department of Dramatic Arts had already been created at the Carnegie Institute of Technology in Pittsburgh, awarding first degrees in Theatre Arts from 1914. By 1960, more than 300 throughout North America offered the chance for students to major in Drama or Theatre in one form or another, and the 6,000 or more university productions in any one year offered the only opportunity in many cities to see serious plays staged.

In Britain, until after the Second World War, any formal study of drama in the universities was confined to adult education and extra-mural departments, its practice to university dramatic societies. As a result, the main difference that developed between the United Kingdom and the United States was that the more flexible American university system provided, with a few notable exceptions, most of the training for the professional stage, in performance, design, and management. Until the late nineteenth century, qualification for entering the acting profession in Britain was as haphazard as those enjoyed by Dickens’s Nicholas Nickleby when he joined the Vincent Crummies Theatre Company. Theatre happened ‘on the job’, the actor managers offering the nearest thing to training in the form of an in-house or on-stage apprenticeship.

Things began to change late in the nineteenth century with the founding of post-

secondary schools devoted to training for the acting profession: The London Academy of Music and Dramatic Art the earliest in 1861; The Royal Academy of Dramatic Art in 1904; and Central School of Speech and Drama in 1906. Other professional schools followed, but they were all either run privately, or under endowment. Most were in London. The Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama was not founded until 1950.

The universities moved even more slowly. The first independent British Drama Department was created at the University of Bristol in 1947, with Glynne Wickham as its first full-time appointment, but headed by the distinguished Professor of Classics, H. D. F. Kitto. In 1960, Wickham became its first Professor of Drama. 1962 saw the creation in rapid succession of new University Drama Departments at Manchester, Hull and Birmingham, in the north of England or the Midlands, followed in the later sixties by others in Wales (Bangor), Scotland (Glasgow), and at Exeter (the south-west of England). The fact that none of these was yet in Oxford, Cambridge, or London (though departments would later be developed at Goldsmith's, Westfield and Royal Holloway Colleges) created an immediate credibility gap in Britain between the scholarly study of drama and theatre and, on the one hand, academic respectability, on the other, the professional qualification.

The result was a strenuous debate within and amongst these new departments about what the function of a Drama Department should be. Wickham was a theatre historian whose three volumes of *Early English Stages* remain standard works. As the bearer of the flame, he was well enough aware that his initial task was to make the discipline of Drama acceptable in a conservative British university system that had taken long enough to accept English as a subject, never mind a practical or performing art. He gathered round him other historians and practitioners, such as George Rowell, George Brandt, Richard Southern, and Iris Brook, and the Bristol Department set out to establish itself as a different entity from any Department of English, French, German or Classics which might, and almost inevitably did, include the literary study of dramatic texts within its syllabus. At this time the Bristol Drama Department taught only Joint Honours undergraduate degree courses, Drama in tandem with another arts discipline. It took ten years to make a successful case for a dedicated performance space as a necessary part of the pedagogic initiative, and then, in Bristol, it was no more than a converted squash court, with a control room the size of a broom cupboard. Wickham's priority of academic credibility was achieved through a rigorous diet of the history and background of the theatre and its associated texts from Europe, Asia, and America.

The new Drama Departments of the early sixties were faced with deciding how to follow up Bristol's experience without simply replicating it. The decisions they made proved formative in the promotion of the subject in its own right. Manchester opened with a single honours degree in Drama in 1962 and appointed to its first Chair a distinguished professional director, Hugh Hunt, who for two years combined the job, possibly to Man-

chester's disadvantage, with his second stint as Artistic Director of the Abbey Theatre in Dublin. One of Hunt's successes was to establish the Contact Theatre Company in Manchester, later to become the Royal Exchange Theatre Company. The association with 'the profession' was one that Bristol had been able to cultivate in no more than a desultory fashion, principally through some cross-teaching with the Bristol Old Vic Theatre School. There was, however, no attempt made to claim at this time, or indeed, for many years after, that any university syllabus was a 'training' for a professional career in theatre.

Hull followed in 1963 with a policy of appointing staff, all of whom had professional experience in performance, technical or managerial positions. As a result, and through a happy combination of circumstances, the Department was soon housed in a purpose-built theatre and television studio which the Gulbenkian Foundation, which helped fund the complex, described as "the best teaching theatre in Europe".² This made it possible to develop a syllabus that included all areas of design, including lighting and mask-making; technical theatre; front-of-house management from advertising to box-office; acting, dance, directing; all alongside, but as an integral element within, the study of European theatre, in all its facets. Though joint degrees could be combined with English as well as with many other subjects from Ancient Greek to Theology, it was several years before any member of the drama staff was appointed at Hull whose first degree was in English language or literature.

Birmingham, in the happy position of creating a Drama Department in 1964, alongside a thriving Music Department whose first Professor had been the composer Edward Elgar, chose a similarly balanced but essentially performance-based route, latterly with a strong emphasis on playwriting, under the aegis of John Russell Brown, who would succeed Kenneth Tynan as script adviser to the National Theatre in London.

The universities which had taken the step of creating Drama degree courses quickly discovered attendant advantages. Significant numbers of students were poached from Oxbridge, attracted by the various and distinctive approaches of independent Drama Departments which were dedicated to the processes of theatre as well as to its history and texts. Contact with the local community was often enhanced through a regular and controlled programme of public productions and other forms of 'outreach'. New university theatres were built, several housing professional companies. The erratic standard of campus drama afforded by strictly amateur dramatic societies, however active, acquired some stability and semi-professional authority, with a repertoire that might never be commercially viable. By the late 1960s few public theatres could afford casts of over 60; to take

² J. MICHAEL WALTON, "Hull University Drama Department." In *People Make Plays: Aspects of Community Theatre in Hull since 1955*, ed. PAMELA DELLAR, 18-35 (Beverly: Highgate Press, 1992); reprinted without illustrations as "Hull University Drama Department 1963-1992, 18-35 (The University of Hull, 1993). See also DONALD H. ROY, *Hull University Drama Department, 21st Birthday, 1984*, (privately printed, 1984).

a risk on new translations not previously performed in Britain; or revivals of arcane classics unseen for hundreds of years. Drama Departments could.

A formidable application rate to read the subject, as high as 50 for every available place, made it easy to weed out those whose only interest in a university degree course in Drama was in order to become a performer. In a surprisingly short time, however, a portfolio of prominent alumni, from the 75-85% of graduates who used their drama directly in some way in their subsequent careers, offered evidence not only of the calibre of Drama graduates, but of the range of motor and presentational skills built into the teaching systems. The remainder were to apply such skills to a variety of managerial, commercial and even political positions. The rearguard within the academic system who still saw Drama as a 'soft' or 'subversive' subject (if for no better reason than that the students enjoyed it - shades of Dionysus) had to admit that a Drama Department offered excellent 'window-dressing' for a university. For university publicity material, open days and VIP visits, Drama Departments became the first port of call.

Things changed abruptly. As Secretary of State for Education with a degree in Chemistry, Margaret Thatcher had expressed the opinion that subjects such as Music and Drama were inappropriate within a university, and (less publicly) that there were anyway too many universities. As Prime Minister, she set out to do something about it. One morning in June 1981, every university in the country received a letter from the University Grants Committee identifying immediate budget cuts which varied from 6% to 46%. 'Recommendations' were attached as to how such cuts might be implemented, including the rationalising of small departments and, as a concrete proposal, the closing of half the, by now, 14 Departments of Drama. Explanations were sought for singling out the subject: reasons were given, all of which, especially those relating to costs, application rates, and vocational opportunities, could be statistically refuted both by university administrators and by the already active Standing Committee of University Drama Departments. The national press was remarkably supportive, even suggesting that the blame for targeting Drama might lie elsewhere than Downing Street:

"The fact that the guidelines were drawn up by an Oxbridge-dominated body but that Oxbridge, which does not have drama departments as such, will escape from these cuts only rubs salt into the wounds. Why didn't the UGC concentrate on Classics or Anglo-Saxon? The reason for that is simple enough. Not nearly as many applicants would have been diverted by such a closure. Drama is by far the most popular art subject at the universities which have been invited to close their departments".³

³ Editorial in *The Guardian*, 5 September 1981.

In the end, every one of the named departments was strongly supported by its home university, and none closed, at least in the immediate future. When a second round of cuts came three years later, Drama was no longer in the direct firing-line. "What's it feel like to have changed so quickly from sacrificial goat into holy cow?" as one newly-threatened senior colleague put it.

With Drama firmly established and a post-Thatcher period of massive expansion announced in higher education, suddenly everyone wanted to open a Drama Department. In not much more than ten years the number of Drama or Theatre Arts degree courses rose from 14 to over 40. More students were applying to read Drama or Theatre Studies than any of the foreign languages, almost as many as for English or History. Many professional schools, without the benefits of the universities' (at that time) automatic grants, found students voting with their minds and pockets for a broad grounding in drama which might not guarantee them a professional career – no professional school could guarantee that either – but at least a degree in a subject which engaged them and which offered a greater range of opportunities if their immediate theatrical ambitions could not be met. At the present time (2005) virtually all the established Drama Schools have taken refuge, one way or another, under the umbrella of the higher education sector.

Such apparent achievement for academic drama, however, proved to have a down side. The very popularity of the subject, in a world that was becoming more and more dominated by theories of market forces and business takeovers, left it vulnerable to funding policies where funds were meant to, but seldom did, follow student numbers. The original Drama Departments now face staff-student ratios which have risen from about 7 to 1 in the palmy days to, in many places, over 30 to 1, with the consequent diminution of personal contact and individual opportunity.

If that was one harmful consequence of success, there was another which was as insidious. As a result of relying overmuch on its own confessedly imprecise critical terms, Drama, or Theatre Studies, found itself invaded by all manner of predatory disciplines, from psychoanalysis to anthropology, philosophy to linguistics. A subject which had learnt to demonstrate its individuality while living in harmony with social history, performance values, and aesthetics, found itself overwhelmed by critical methodologies which it had sought to escape when Drama first established its independence from literature. The result has been that the wedge between scholar and practitioner that the early British Drama Departments tried to eliminate has not only been put back in place but hammered in more firmly than ever before. Theatre has currently reached the point where it can barely be studied except from the perspective of alternative and frequently conflicting agendas.

It is the backlash from this removal of the study of drama and theatre from its artistic into a purely intellectual framework that accounts, it must be assumed, for the sugges-

tion by the conference organisers that "Recent theatre praxis is questioning the holistic approaches of *theatre theory*"; of a "perceived revolution of theatre makers against theatre theory"; and a demand for the restoration of an uninterrogated artistic freedom.

So, we have been invited to speculate, where do we go from here ?

The future of Theatre Studies resolves primarily into questions of research and of curriculum: what should be happening in Drama or Theatre Departments; what should be taught; or investigated; where should the priorities lie ?

Clearly there must be variety amongst institutions. Nothing threatens academic study more than the kind of 'benchmarks' that have been suggested in recent years for the entire British system of higher education. That way lies the 'core curriculum' mentality that truly threatens university education as though it were something measurable only in terms of payback potential. A government that is incapable of looking further than the economics of supply and demand has so narrow a view of a national culture, it might be argued, as to be unfit to make sound decisions even on matters of economics, never mind education. Drama Departments do not exist in universities simply to feed the entertainment industries or they would all be offering courses only in soap opera.

What should be beyond dispute is that the theatre's adaptability must leave room, in its study, for a multitude of approaches, which may include aspects of heritage, tourism and intellectual analysis of many kinds, but cannot be defined by, or confined to, any of them in isolation. This is a discipline that, more than most, needs to cross boundaries, not exaggerate them. Such boundaries, in an art form as transitory and elusive as drama, will always result in on-going debate, healthy debate, over the relative balance between text and subtext; between the aural and the visual; between the literal and the image. There is also room for dramatic text to figure within intellectual discourse, way outside the performative frame. There will always be overlaps and alternative priorities. It would be a nervous and unconfident subject that laid exclusive claims to any area of study.

But the place for such unlimited overlap and disciplinary interchange, I would suggest, is at the level of research, in whatever manner seems acceptable to those who are working in the field. There, history can be investigated through the medium of literature, language from the perspective of philosophy, theatre through any of these. The sum of knowledge is increased, and the search for it justified, through new insights and new perspectives. Interestingly, three avenues that might seem currently among the most fruitful in Theatre Studies research, namely contextualisation of performance, translation and reception, all encroach on other disciplines and, at the same time, may all be defined within that fertile no man's land between completed text and audience response.

One further and more complex area of postgraduate investigation has been identified in the last few years as 'practice as research'. Though finding any comfortable definition for such has proved difficult, not least in the quinquennial Research Assessment Exercises

which British universities face, there seems to be a broad agreement within the university drama sector in Britain that the inclusion of personal practice within the range of sources on which a thesis may be written is both acceptable and welcome. The problems are considerable. A live performance is impossible satisfactorily to revisit, however much resort may be made to video record, dramaturgical log or recorded reception. Drama may be a throwaway art, but if theatre history has any value at all, then it must ally itself to the procedures of new historicism and disavow the magisterial response so evident in early scholarship on the nature of past performance. The methodologies of interrogation need closer definition.

There is an additional risk for scholars that they may be opening the door to a world where a practising playwright or director who left school at sixteen, is, by virtue of artistic output, a 'higher grade researcher' than a senior professor. Musicians, poets, and painters offer a similar challenge: but, challenge it is, and maybe it is no bad thing that scholarship does constantly face up to its relationship with creativity. It is certainly preferable to alienating artists by drowning them in a critical vocabulary which they can barely recognise. "A critic", suggested Kenneth Tynan, "is someone who knows the way but cannot drive the car."⁴

Teaching how to "drive the car", I would maintain, is a fundamental aspect of what Theatre Studies should be doing for its undergraduates, and not only drive it, but understand the workings of the internal combustion engine and know the Highway Code inside out. The students are unlikely to end up in Formula 1, but, to run this analogy into the ground, the BA degree will be the equivalent of passing the Driving Test. The future of academic drama surely resides in identifying its singularity as a discipline and its independence as a subject, as specialised as it is wide-ranging, as difficult as it appears simple, and as practical as it may be theoretical.

No one should be in the position to dictate a syllabus except those who will teach it, but I would like to pick out three qualities, cultivation of which characterise Drama as an academic study and which serve as the platform for all more detailed work. These can be identified under the loose headings of 'imagination', 'investigation', and 'perspective'.

The analogy to Music, with which Drama is so often misguidedly linked in the minds of university administrators, does make sense if you identify the basic vocabularies required to analyse a string quartet or a symphony, in such a way as to grasp a composer's purpose and design; and how you might similarly deal with dramatic text. The words *poiêtês* in ancient Greek, 'dramaturge' in French, and 'playwright' in English, are all 'making' words, 'craft' words, conveying as much about the shape and rhythm of a play as about what happens to be written down on a page. Anyone who can read can read a play. Sur-

⁴ KENNETH TYNAN, *The New York Times Magazine*, (9 Jan. 1966): 27.

prisingly few can use their 'imagination' in their reading, to unearth a play's shape and structure, its notation and pitch, its tempi and rhythm, the latent stage action. Such imaginative or informed reading of the dramatic text for its performance priorities can be taught, or, if not taught, at least nurtured. Drama may instinctively lean towards being a popular art, but both its skills and the appreciation of them are not, and have never been, universally accessible.

Then there is 'investigation'. Most playwrights of note create their work with a strong awareness of, and dedication to, the circumstances of likely performance. Not every director or actor tackling a period piece will feel the need of a comprehensive grounding in the architecture, space, climate, fashions, décor, *mores*, audience composition, and status *vis-à-vis* the players, never mind the political, religious, and social pressures of the time, before understanding how and why a play is as it is, and what can therefore be re-invented from an informed base in any new production. Theatre workers - and amongst theatre workers include translators - need to do their 'homework', however much or little may be carried over into production concept or rehearsal. Equally, it seems, such inquisitiveness is a frame of mind that can, and maybe should, be cultivated in any drama student and in every Drama Department. One might go further and suggest, as some of the most inspirational of theatre teachers have, that the study of a play for any purpose is pointless in a vacuum without a broad investigation of the culture that generated it.

To these two may be linked 'perspective', the perspective of as broad a knowledge of the history of theatre in all its manifestations as time and expertise will allow. It is from here that the understanding must come of what theatre is and what makes it different from other media. But to attempt any of this without some practical platform is, I would submit, little better than sucking a sweet with the paper on.

These three features, 'imagination', 'investigation', and 'perspective', should and do form the basis of most academic studies of drama. They do not look solely to the past, but that is where they are rooted and where they may best be commandeered to anticipate the theatre of the future. There is nothing very original or contentious here. What is missing is the dimension of creativity through practice which, as suggested above, is now established in Britain and America as a legitimate avenue of research even at doctoral and post-doctoral level, and which the conference invitation identifies as the "mystery of performance".

Here is the current crisis, here is the *krisis*. And here is where the chameleon Dionysus can offer justification for all manner of performance experience. It is comparatively easy to study the theatre of the past. But much of our theatre in the present has less to do with scripted drama than with devised material, inter-media presentation, and installation events. These merit practice as much as they deserve analysis. And what of the theatre of the future, which cannot but take account of new technology? The methodologies of

science are useful here, where experiment is inevitably linked to progress. Drama is more a laboratory subject than a literary one, with all that that implies. Jazz pianist Herbie Hancock suggested that "*Education is great, but there is a risk of stifling creativity*". University drama needs its scholars, of course it does. It also needs its jazz pianists.

Practical work within a university drama environment is as important as any other branch of drama study, not so that graduates may all add to the labour market, but so that they may become theatre managers, lighting designers, film and television directors, and playwrights who have some experience of what it is like to confront an audience, with all that that entails. Just as important, perhaps, is that actors should know how to create a soundtrack, carry out a risk assessment or use flying equipment. Practical work within a degree structure is partly creative, but partly a way of comprehending how the enterprise of theatre functions organically. Of course, not every Drama Department will have access to elaborate resources and be able to include set construction, theatre management or lighting design in the syllabus. Such things require expertise and money, though computer-assisted visualisation is widening the range of possibilities. On the other hand it is not that difficult to give a practical dimension to 'imagination', 'investigation', and 'perspective'. A practical workshop needs little more than an open space and basic furniture to hold an acting, movement or directing class. The most improbable of locations can be transformed into the home for a site-specific project. A devised scene on a theme, or as little as a single word, demands no more extensive an audience than the rest of the class. Here may be "the mystery of performance" but here too is the right and proper setting for the constructive interrogation of that mystery, not on the page but on the floor, not only in the head but also in the body. Personally, I believe that some sort of 'acting' classes should be on the curriculum for training nurses and doctors, lawyers and the police, social workers and priests.

Maybe in an ideal world no one would write a book about Greek tragedy who had never put on a mask; no actor would play in a Greek tragedy who did not have a thorough knowledge of the culture and occasion when the play was first performed; no critic would review one, or dramaturge advise on one, who had not done both. Of course, the world is not ideal, thank goodness, and nor is the theatre. But those who study theatre should surely be entitled to the most thorough grounding in every possible aspect of this living but mobile art that time and resources can afford. Its past may be buried in archives or on library shelves, which is where the scholars will find their primary and secondary sources. They will not find there the instincts to interpret what they find, nor will translators or dramaturges. That kind of 'training' begins when the course in Theatre Studies begins. Without it we risk creating a stratum of desiccated scholars who are incapable of understanding or assisting the professionals who should be their colleagues, and on whom, ultimately, the theatre depends to survive as a live and living art.

What is Theatre Studies for ? This is a question to which many of us have had to produce a whole series of different answers for the last 40 years. To university administrators the most effective response may be to anticipate what they want to hear, and then show how the discipline can meet those requirements through the vocabulary of transferable skills, the labour market, image, or cultural economics. Such factors so endeared themselves to a focus group of British businessmen a few years ago that they voted Drama the first degree they would recommend to recruiters. The undeclared philosophy, meanwhile, can still be to provide a climate within higher education where potential artists can discover what they can do and, more importantly, what they cannot; where they may make experiments on which their lives and careers do *not* depend; where they can learn from their mistakes and discover that, if a theatrical career is not for them, their years of education in drama have not been wasted. After all, as I think it was Tom Stoppard said, "For the most part it is our failures that civilise us".

And for the faint-hearted, or the browbeaten, let us return to Strindberg and the final stage direction of *A Dream Play*, after the disillusioned daughter of Indra departs:

"She goes into the castle. Music is heard. The background is lighted up by the burning Castle, and now shows a wall of human faces, questioning, mourning, despairing. While the Castle is burning, the flower-bud on the roof bursts into a giant chrysanthemum".

CURTAIN

LILA MARAKA

ACTIVATING IMAGINATION: MYTH,
HISTORY AND LITERATURE, MEMORY AND REMEMBRANCE
AS MATERIAL IN A THEATRE OF IMAGES

A TENDENCY IN CONTEMPORARY THEATRE WITH REFERENCE
TO THE WORKS OF HEINER MÜLLER

Theatre studies as a discipline focusing on, and theoretically engaged with, the phenomenon of the theatre tends *de facto* to become more historical in orientation when the phenomenon under investigation has attained a more concrete form, when the fluidity of previously evolving tendencies, all bearers of a certain potential outlook on the future, has crystallized into something more definite and tangible; when the general has become distinguishable from the specific, the characteristic from the fortuitous, the integrated from the isolated, when the tendencies recede and a general outline becomes perceptible. Nevertheless, a perceptive eye may, even examining the very recent past, surveying the ferment, the questioning, the experimentation, the proposals submitted, etc., identify the turning points that set the course for future developments.

In the twentieth century there were two such occasions that can be seen as having been catalytic for developments in the theatre. One was at the beginning of the century, namely the well-known movement of Anti-illusionism, with its art theatres, its great creative personalities, its explosion of genres, of experimentation and questioning; and a second, less commonly perceived one, at the beginning of the second half of the century, in the '60s, with an avant-garde producing 'modern' theatre that was daring in its expressive forms, lending professional substance to very advanced theatrical conceptions, advancing propositions, some of which did indeed prove to be harbingers of the future.

If one should seek to identify a common denominator in these two innovative, indeed revolutionary, endeavours, initiated – in no way coincidentally – by theatre people for whom theatre was at the very heart of their interests, it would be the challenge they posed to the binding and limiting priority of language, the redefinition of the theatre as a representational art whose objective is transposition of its material into visual imagery.

In articulating its objection to the theatrical tradition established in the course of a protracted three-century-long predominance of language, the aspiring 20th century renewal, but also the second one from the middle of the century, looked back to a theatrical tradition that had been preserved in areas beyond the boundaries of the territories settled by

literature. On the one hand, there is a tendency, starting with Meyerhold's using elements of Balagan, the folk Russian puppet theatre, but it can also be found again in proposals made by younger creative artists, in Luca Ronconi, for example, or Ariane Mnouchkine, to return to the other aspect of theatre: theatrical performance as spectacle, and a re-connection with public, popular forms of theatre such as puppet show and folk theatre, circus, acrobatic performance, fairy festivities, etc., a theatre, that is, which – far removed from any ambition for creation of theatrical illusion – was a combination of spectacle and game, a display of artistic virtuosity. Apart from this, starting from Craig and Appia and reaching its consummation later with Artaud, there is a forceful projection – in defiance of any claimed primacy of language – of the other aspect, the purely theatrical: theatre as bodily expression, theatre which leaps over centuries of rationalism in quest of its roots in ceremonial, magic, cults of great antiquity or from geographical areas from beyond Europe and its prevailing tradition of rationalism; all of these are elements on which the experimentation of the younger generation, Jerzy Grotowski, for example, or Peter Brook, was to rely for support.

The point of reference is not only the clearly extra-literary theatricality of the *Commedia dell'Arte*, with its specific characteristics of improvisation, bodily expressiveness, acrobatic virtuosity, etc. It is also the theatre of the Middle Ages, with its characteristic extravagance, its limitless narrative fluency, its weird and wonderful non-sequiturs of time and place. It is the absurd ecstasy of the Tragedy of Martyrs in the 17th century (predictably triggering the reaction of the rationalistic 18th century and the tradition thereby established). It is the theatre of the Far East, with rhythm as one of its component elements, and with the symbolism of its imagery. It is Opera, which *ipso facto* has a dimension beyond language and a pronounced element of spectacle. It is the forms, finally, of the popular theatre, that is forms which use images to convey concepts, forms which are characterized by colourfulness, abstraction, excess, absence of clear differentiation from game-playing, and which both seek and attain a relationship of immediacy with the public.

For this last element, the reconstitution of a participatory relationship with the public, was the prime desideratum in both of these renovating endeavours that mark the 20th century. Everything was done for the purpose of awakening the public, summoning it to active participation so that from being the passive recipient of a ready-made product, it should rediscover its original function of playing an active role in the theatrical performance, as co-producer of the final artistic result. It was this need that led to re-examination of theatre's self-definition, its methods, its expressive media and its materials.

A second basic element that characterizes all these proposals for renewal is the difference in conceptions concerning the content of the theatrical representation as an artistic work. This new conception might be defined briefly as disengagement from the stable, dialogical dramatic text with corresponding concentration on the dimension of spectacle.

This amounts to a theatrical transposition of content into representational image. Its elaboration involves deployment of a variety of features at different levels and of equally diverse origins. Language is treated as one of the materials to be utilized in theatrical representation and it is typically fragmentary, intensely metaphorical and necessarily associative, serving as it does the same essential impulse: activation of images.

This theatre, to avoid any misunderstanding, may indeed reject the limitations of the dramatic text, eschewing the logical, consistent unfolding of dramatic plot in favour of the fragment and the extract, the method of collage and montage. It does, however, continue to have a specific content, which it conveys through deployment of every available expressive means. Basically it tells a story in its own theatrical way, converting the material into a display of images.

The images that are the subject of the present discussion are not simple visual representations limited to the two dimensions of a painting, nor are they merely scenographic concepts for arrangement of the stage decor. They are proposals for giving form to interior states, subjective processes, impulses and visions. As proposals which originate in the creative imagination of the artist, they are addressed to the public for the purpose of activating its imagination, evoking, through association, on each occasion new – and in each instance different – images. The final result of this collaboration might be designated a Theatre of Images.

One necessary prerequisite for accomplishment of this process is that there should be some initial response to the proposed images on the part of the recipient, with memory and remembrance providing the requisite leverage both at the individual and at the collective level. For this purpose there must be a processing of the material drawn from the entire reservoir of human intellectual tradition (Myth, History, Literature, etc.) which is the shared possession of all. This theatre is thus supported by texts that are in no way required to be dramatic, often comprising prose texts, epic and not dialogical works, well-known elements of the world's literary heritage, which are freely utilized as raw material from which something new is to be created. The old and familiar is recalled to memory, conveyed as remembrance to the present, transformed into something new that is relevant to the present day and to the 'now' of the specific dramatic performance.

Ready-to-use material of this kind capable through association of evoking memories of specific images, symbols and archetypes is provided, for example, by ancient Greek Myth; the history of a people is its collective property; the great classic works of world literature are part of a common spiritual heritage. The Renaissance and Shakespeare, Hamlet, the Atreids and Oedipus, the French Revolution: these are all shared reference points and it is no accident that they served as subject-matter for some of the initial ground-breaking productions that in the '60s opened the road in the direction we have mentioned, because it turned out that they harboured in themselves the seed of future developments.

Let us recall to mind, very selectively and briefly, by way of example, some of those now legendary productions that have become engraved on our memories, performances that have remained reference points to the present day, recognized as landmarks in the development of contemporary theatre, way-stations in the great turn carried out in the mid 20th century.

Peter Brook's staging of *King Lear* (1962), for example, where for the first time there is a full revelation of his new conception of empty space, with all attention focused on the actor, or his experimental work in documentary theatre *US* (1966), along with many others in the subsequent decades that now belong to the History of Theatre. Of particular interest, however, in connection with what concerns us here is his collaboration in the establishment of the experimental "Theatre of Cruelty", with Charles Marovitz, who was well-known for his, provocative in their time, recyclings¹ of Shakespearean drama, in which Shakespeare was used literally as raw material, presupposing knowledge of it as common to all. Take for example their co-production *Collage Hamlet* (1964), which made a striking impression everywhere it was performed, being a drastically abbreviated, entirely restructured version of the play which, following an associational non-chronological structure, used fragments of verses and scenes, presenting a kaleidoscope of images in rapid succession.

Similarly successful internationally was Luca Ronconi's staging of *Orlando Furioso* (1969), based on the epic of Ariosto, where in a huge, uniform, multi-dimensional space, without boundaries between the stage and the auditorium, a variety of scenes were acted out simultaneously on moving platforms, with the audience circulating freely and choosing whichever scene it wished to watch. The theatrical revival of the Renaissance epic staged by Ronconi was indeed a visual feast, a dramatic super-spectacle, a revival of the dynamic popular theatre of Italy, with a plethora of actors, horsemen, monsters and fantastic beings, flying machines, gymnastic displays and acrobatics.

It was to the Renaissance, common inheritance at the origins of modern European history, that Jean-Louis Barrault also turned when, with *Rabelais* (1969), as a Frenchman addressing a French audience, he chose prose texts of the French Renaissance writer as the basis for his production. More politicized than Ronconi, working in the context of the French May of '68, Barrault sought and found parallels and similarities with contemporary events, highlighting, alongside the entertainment and spectacle, a deeper meaning, an additional element of content to that of *Orlando*. The production was also visually spectacular, full of movement and light, inventing impressive images to express the fantastic stories of the hero. It too utilized the phantasmagoric colour of popular entertainment,

¹ The term was introduced by MAROVITZ himself; see CHARLES MAROVITZ, *Recycling Shakespeare* (Hampshire & London: Macmillan, 1991).

providing spectacle, gymnastic and acrobatic displays, powerful rhythms, dancing, song, joy, total release, in a place which functioned on Sundays as a sports hall for catch fights and was set up accordingly, with narrow bridge-platforms leading from all sides to a circular central podium, enabling the whole auditorium to become a theatre stage.

It is in the history of France, and specifically the French Revolution of 1789, that Ariane Mnouchkine seeks a theme for a spectacle with content accessible to both audience and actors, perceiving that this historical event is part of a heritage shared by all French people. The vibrant, colourful, festive production of *1789* (1970), which was staged at the Parisian cartridge factory (Cartoucherie de Vincennes) and subsequently toured many places and become known to even more people as a cinema film, presented the historical events from a new perspective. The audience saw them in the way that they were understood and experienced, and in the way that they could be communicated, by ordinary people: mimes, acrobats, jugglers and other entertainers at fairs, etc. The text is a canvas, a script for action performed simultaneously on five platforms, with audience participation taken for granted, with a great variety of expressive media, light, movement, dance, images, even projection onto screens at the back of the platforms; all this in the service of a theatrical spectacle whose overall effect remains indelibly etched on the memory of the participating member of the audience.

Starting with the improvisations of *Les Clowns* (1969), inspired by the Commedia dell'Arte and the tradition of the popular theatre, Mnouchkine progressed to the common heritage of History, utilizing means of expression from the same sources for the purposes of theatrical performance. Subsequently she too was to turn to the Renaissance with her Shakespearean cycle (*Les Shakespeares* in the '80s) and then to ancient Tragedy with her production *Les Atrides* (in the '90s). In both instances she utilized representational art forms of the Far East to bridge the temporal distance, an exotic device which has in any case served the needs of other creative theatrical artists we have mentioned, all of whom turned at some point to the aesthetic means of Eastern theatre. All were likewise to attempt to utilize materials from the common reservoir of ancient Greek tragic Myth, to give an interpretation of their own to contemporary social phenomena and social situations.

These developments followed from the '70s onwards, when Mnouchkine was to move on from carnivalesque historical themes to Tragedy embellished with visually expressive elements borrowed from the Far East, whereas Brook's explorations followed the course of investigating the myths of other civilizations, aiming through the Theatre of Images not only at activation of the imagination but also at broadening of consciousness both of artist-producers as a group and of the co-producing public participating in the productive process. Also from the '70s onwards the American Robert Wilson was to make, with great dynamism, his appearance on the scene, operating in his own way along much the same lines as Brook.

It is impossible not to mention Wilson in this connection because for him, whose point of departure was dance, theatrical presentation was more a matter of movement and the bodily expression of image, using language first and foremost as vocal material to be included in the artistic work on the basis of equality with all the other expressive media, at the same time diversifying into other forms of expression: of handicapped people, the autistic, the deaf and dumb (e.g. *Deafman Glance*, 1970). Wilson's theatre combines slow ritual movement with a minimalistic text and live scenic tableaux. It is a collage of visionary images unfolding very, very slowly, employing visual and auditory effects suggesting affinities with Performance Art.²

Let us cast our minds back to his first great international success *KA MOUNTAIN* (1972), or to the very well-known *Einstein on the Beach* (1975), or indeed to *The CIVILwarS: a tree is best measured when it is down* (1984), a grandiose super-production lasting twelve hours, in five acts, with 15 scenes and 13 intermedia links ("Knee plays") between them, which had been scheduled for performance in five different parts of the world (Rotterdam 1983, Cologne/Tokyo/Rome 1984, Los Angeles 1985 – though in its final integrated form, for the Olympic Games of that year, it was destined never to be performed).

It was around the same time, in the '70s, that international recognition came for the German theatrical writer Heiner Müller, whose work (although it came perforce to an end with his death in 1995, prior to the expiry of the 20th century itself) falls entirely into the category outlined above,³ having conquered the entire field of contemporary theatre with an ever increasing and accelerating dynamic.

It may be the case that all the key architects of the tendency we are examining derive from the field of theatre (directors, actors, managers of theatrical troupes, etc.) with concern for renewal of the theatre and its expressive potential as the motive behind their proposals. This nevertheless does not mean that the theatrical writer in them was also suppressed. As we made clear at the beginning, there is a specific content to be transmitted. The basis for the production is provided by a text, a script at least, which, as far as its mode of development is concerned, may even be open to participation from the audience. It is thus of particular interest from the viewpoint of this essay to examine how an essentially theatrical writer like Müller is situated in relation to all this. I say 'essentially' because his interest in the theatre was always there.⁴ Some of his theatrical works are simply texts

² Wilson calls his works 'operas', from the Latin 'opus' [= work], because they lack both the action and the psychological realism in characterization of a drama.

³ And it is not coincidentally that he was the author of the German version of Robert Wilson's *The CIVILwarS* (Cologne, 1984).

⁴ Moreover in his final creative phase, rather than writing dramatic works himself, he concentrated on direction (like Bertolt Brecht, and indeed with the "Berliner Ensemble") staging both his own plays and those of others.

without the slightest pretence at dialogue. Many of them have been edited down into a few pages or are brief scripts prescribing stage action and images for presentation, associative and reiterative sections, interpolations and projections, with the result that the theatrical representation of images lends itself to potentially infinite expansion.

By his own admission, he was interested in theatre with a social mission, functioning as a workshop to activate the collective imagination,⁵ and he himself consciously sought to stimulate the public, which he considered co-producer of the performance,⁶ into active participation rather than the complacency of passive consumption, loading them with as much simultaneous input as possible.⁷

His work is by the general consensus of critics and researchers replete with imagery, metaphors, visionary conceptions, etc., and it is arguable that the process of shaping it for presentation on stage continually suggested new images. Besides, he himself perceived his works as proposals for stage representation of images, and as he very characteristically said, he accepts the theatrical solutions of other directors by staging his works, regarding the texts he had written as merely the tip of the iceberg.⁸

Müller is at the same time a typical example of the poet essentially belonging to a posterior age for whom, on the one hand, all previous literature, as well as myth, legend, history, even theoretical inquiry, constitute material at the disposal of any interested party,⁹ and who, on the other, takes for granted, as a gift both to his public and to himself, the knowledge of that material that is drawn from the collective memory and deployed in such a way that something new may emerge: a problematic that involves both himself and his own age. Drama, he has said, always unfolds as a theatrical representation in the present time¹⁰ and it is created only between the stage and the auditorium.¹¹ It is for this reason that all pre-existing raw material, such as myth, legend, history, literary loca and so on, in his work serve essentially only one function, which is always the same: interpretation of contemporary reality, of the historical present both of himself and of his audience whenever (even at a future point in time) it may be confronted with the proposal that the writer has formulated, and called upon, as co-producer of the artistic work, to respond, incorporating the new data which it will have in the meantime acquired.

⁵ See HEINER MÜLLER, *Gesammelte Irrtümer* [= *Collected Errors*], (Frankfurt/M, 1986): 40 f. (henceforth the volume will be mentioned as Errors 1); HEINER MÜLLER, *Rotwelsch*, Berlin, 1982, 111, 117 f.; etc.

⁶ See author's collection of texts, HEINER MÜLLER, *Texte*, (Berlin, 1989, vol 4): 125, HEINER MÜLLER, *Gesammelte Irrtümer 2*, (Frankfurt/M, 1990): 63 (henceforth the volume will be mentioned as Errors 2); etc.

⁷ See Errors 1, 20.

⁸ See Errors 1, 138 f.; HEINER MÜLLER, *Krieg ohne Schlacht* [= *War without Battle*], (Köln, 1992): 294 (henceforth the book will be mentioned as *Autobiography*).

⁹ Take for example the titles *Hamletmachine*, *Oedipuscomment*, *Electratext*, *Medeamaterial*.

¹⁰ See Errors 1, 31.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 39.

We shall now endeavour to make these observations more concrete by providing some examples from the work of Heiner Müller, examining the use and the function of materials drawn from parts of a common heritage that emerge as images from the collective memory to create, enriched with aspects and elements of personal memory, new representations for the activated imagination.

The mythical figure of Medea, for example, is evoked in three works by Müller: there is a narrative reference to the story of Medea, and indeed with a separate subtitle of its own, *Medeacomment*, in the context of a scene in the theatrical work *Cement* (1972),¹² then a dramatic representation of the mythological act of infanticide is given in a brief scene, without words, *Medeaplay* (1974),¹³ while a more thorough treatment of the subject appears in the central part of the dramatic triptych *Despoiled Shore Medeamaterial Landscape with Argonauts* (final elaboration 1982).¹⁴

Whereas in the first two texts only the social aspect is developed (an exposure of the social mechanisms that lead the woman to Medea's atrocious deed), in the third, in whose central part in the title the name of Medea is specifically yoked to the characterization 'material', the dimensions assumed by the mythical figure greatly transcend this aspect. Here Medea functions as a symbol for volcanic eruption, revenge and punishment, recalling by association all the wronged and the oppressed, not only women but also peoples and races, even nature itself, heedlessly exploited by contemporary man, engineer in the final analysis of his own destruction.

The part of Medea, apparently a dialogue but in fact consisting of a torrential monologue of the heroine, is flanked by two purely narrative parts, both descriptions of landscape, in a broader sense of course, as the description includes memories and visions, comments and maxims, hints and denunciations, overt and coded suggestions, associations, metaphors, and images. In this cumulative juxtaposition of images, the problematic that is laid down and functions as the frame of the whole is the wider dimension of the destruction of Nature. At the centre, apart from the conflict between the woman and the man in the persons of Medea and Jason, the field of vision expands via the expedition for the seizure of the Golden Fleece into confrontation with colonial conquest and plunder of the world by the white man, the representative of Western civilization.¹⁵

¹² HEINER MÜLLER, *Zement, Texte*, vol. 2, 65 ff.

¹³ HEINER MÜLLER, *Medeaspiel, Texte*, vol. 3, 17.

¹⁴ HEINER MÜLLER, *Verkommenes Ufer Medeamaterial Landschaft mit Argonauten, Texte*, vol. 7, 91 ff.

¹⁵ Müller himself specifically indicated: "The story of Jason is the most ancient myth of colonization, at least for the Greeks – and its conclusion establishes a threshold: the transition from myth to history. Jason is to meet with death through the agency of his own ship. [...] With colonization, European history embarks on the course on which it has continued to the present day. The fact that it is the means of colonization that kills the colonizer foreshadows its demise." (Errors 1, 130 f.). For Müller the Argonaut is not contemporary man in general but a specific historical and socio-political configuration of contemporary man.

The expedition of the Argonauts as an expedition of colonization; Jason the archetypal European Conquistador and the contemporary dominant White Man; Colchis the occupied, plundered colony, today a country of the Third World. This is one factor informing the frame of the theatrical triptych. The other is the proliferation of plunder throughout the globe, exhaustion of the planet's resources and wealth, the rape of Nature by the heedless contemporary Argonaut of the consumer society. The final result is his own eclipse, as was indeed foreshadowed in the ancient myth by the revolt of the object, something Müller does not omit to mention.¹⁶ It is about a "revolution of the dead and war of the landscapes"¹⁷ that Sasportas, the Negro revolutionary, former slave in a Caribbean colony, also speaks in the play *The Mission*.

We thus see that Müller uses myth as raw material which he elaborates in order to interpret phenomena, situations, structures, etc. of the contemporary age and present-day society. The mythical figure of Medea serves as an image in formulating a multi-sided problematic symbolizing every manifestation of conquest, plunder, enslavement, exploitation, betrayal, and also the revolt of the victim. Like a site for collective memory, Medea emerges as the most appropriate image-symbol for giving form to that International of the oppressed and their revolt: women, countries, peoples, the planet, nature, "the negroes of every race",¹⁸ as they are characteristically called in the play *The Mission*. European civilization and its androcentric social system based on cold application of rationalism, on conquest and property, domination and exploitation, comes face to face with an anarchistic, frightening, incomprehensible – to it – revolt of its victims: women, the Third World and the entire planet Earth.¹⁹

The presence of Myth in the work of Müller is not of course confined to Medea and the material from the expedition of the Argonauts, cited here as an example. On the contrary, as already noted by the research, it is omnipresent, whether in the form of entire works or, as is more commonly the case, through insertable sections as well as through utilization of scattered motifs, references, parallels, etc. because Myth for the writer is, as indicated, raw material for deployment in formulating what is important to him, exploiting, of course, all its dimensions and all the interpretative weight of the centuries that have intervened.

¹⁶ The indication that Jason's head was broken by the Argo is made at the beginning of the text, in lines 12-14 (HEINER MÜLLER, *Verkommenes Ufer*, 91).

¹⁷ HEINER MÜLLER, *Der Auftrag, Texte*, vol. 7, 69.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ A more detailed exposition of the positions briefly mentioned above has been undertaken in the article by the author, LILA MARAKA, «Η Μήδεια ως τόπος. Η μορφή της Μήδειας στο έργο του Χάινερ Μύλλερ» ["Medea as Literary Locus. The Figure of Medea in the Works of Heiner Müller"], *Επιστημονική Επετηρίς της Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής* [Scientific Yearbook of the Philosophical Faculty of the University of Athens], vol. XXXII, (Athens, 2000): 153-172.

An equally important parameter in the work of Heiner Müller is History,²⁰ whose presence, again, is not exhausted in the subject-matter of some specific works but is the object of a continuing problematic, a permanent confrontation that is evident both in the totality of his literary work and in other texts including his critical and theoretical views. Müller's interest in history is nevertheless not historical, that is to say, it is not focused on examination of the past. It is always the present that concerns him, his own contemporary reality, for the interpretation of which he utilizes history. Knowledge and assimilation of the past are necessary for proper understanding of the present, as present-day phenomena and situations are the product of events in the past. History, in other words, acts upon the present and the knowledge of it, casting light on the chain of consequence and on interrelationships with contemporary situations and present-day existence, shows the real meaning of the phenomena of the present and, rendering them harmless, puts an end to the vicious circle of collective traumas and unacknowledged causality that spawn dangerous behaviour.²¹ It is for this reason that the dramatist Heiner Müller treats History as a storehouse of raw material, by means of whose representation contemporary reality is recognized for what it is, along with all its interconnections both with the past, which acts upon it and shapes it, and with the future, which finds expression through its expectations and prospects.

The interweaving of past, present and future is an essential parameter in comprehending the way History is treated by Heiner Müller and very relevant, apart from anything else, to his more generally anti-realistic view of the theatre, whose mission is not to illustrate or simply reproduce reality but to transpose it, as he has said, through the process of representation, into another reality, that of the producers, among whom are numbered the audience: "*Transposition to another part of time and space. In the theatre History can be represented only as simultaneity of past, present and future.*"²² Given that on each separate occasion it is addressed to a new audience, to a future co-producer, the theatrical work from the outset includes its future dimension.

The writer's intention to interpret the present through images drawn from the past is evident, for example, in the first group of plays with which he made his appearance in the 1950s, the so-called 'Stories from the Production', whose thematic revolves around the

²⁰ About the function of German history in the works of Heiner Müller see in the article by the author, LILA MARAKA, «Το κάτοπτρο της ιστορίας: η λειτουργία της γερμανικής ιστορίας στο έργο του Χάινερ Μύλλερ» ["The mirror of History"] in *Η λογοτεχνία και οι προϋποθέσεις της: Τιμητικό Αφιέρωμα στην Τζίνα Πολίτη [Literature and its presuppositions]*, ed. T. KRODIRI / K. KITSI-MΥΤΑΚΟΥ, 161-186 (Ithessalonica: University Studio Press, 1999).

²¹ See the English-language interview with the writer, "Walls": "In order to get rid of the nightmare of history you first have to acknowledge the existence of history. You have to know about history. It would come back in the old-fashioned way, as a nightmare, Hamlet's ghost. You have to analyze it first and then you can denounce it, get rid of it." (Rotwelsch, 19).

²² Errors 2, 63.

then contemporary reality of the socialist German Democratic Republic, with references to, and associations with, the recent past of Nazism and the War, still fresh in the memory as remembrance of the personal experience both of Müller and of his audience. Subsequently the historical field expands: the past with which contemporary phenomena are associated goes back to the Prussia of Frederick the Great, together with all that it symbolizes as an image and as collective memory: militarism, discipline, harshness, violence, etc. Or it goes even further back in search of utilizable images, extending as far as legendary pre-history and early German history.

A characteristic example of this kind of expansion is the play *Germania Death in Berlin* (1956/1971),²³ where historical references cover a spectrum starting from the years of the Teutonic Nibelungen legend and the first historical Roman period preserved by the Roman historian Tacitus, moving via the Prussia of Frederick the Great, the failed revolution of November 1918, Hitler, fascism and the Second World War, to end in present-day reality. The contraposition of past and present is incorporated directly into the text through the symmetrical structure of six twinned scenes, whereby for each scene from the past there is a corresponding scene from the present, with the theatrical transposition of the material managed through cumulative apposition of surrealistic dreamlike scenes, along with much blood, violence, massacres, mutilations, piles of corpses, etc., interspersed with an interlude in the manner of Grand Guignol, associative enlistment of literary or historical personages comprising common points of reference, etc.

Another play centred on the theme of German history is *Gundling's Life Frederick of Prussia Lessing's Sleep Dream Scream* (1976),²⁴ which, in keeping with its surrealistic-dreamlike approach, is characterized in its subtitle as a frightful fairy-tale. It deploys in its theatrical language all of the author's characteristic visual and representational apparatus, features from the puppet theatre, children's verse, theatrical representation, etc. This work is in the form of a trilogy consisting of three autonomous sections, three stories whose protagonists are the three people mentioned in the title, the only connection between them being the historical framework of eighteenth-century Prussia. In this play the confrontation with German history and the German past in its extreme Prussian historical embodiment continues. The images and representations drawn from it serve once more as a medium for interpreting present-day situations and phenomena. The present-day aspect is perpetually present, whether in the modern psycho-analytic viewpoint that serves as a basis for interpreting authoritarian behaviour as the outcome of the experience of violence,²⁵ or through paralleling the writer himself as a German in-

²³ HEINER MÜLLER, *Germania Tod in Berlin, Texte*, vol. 5, 35 ff.

²⁴ HEINER MÜLLER, *Leben Gundlings Friedrich von Preußen Lessings Schlaf Traum Schrei, Texte*, vol. 7, 9 ff.

²⁵ Antonia Grunenberg interprets the work as an analysis of the mechanisms of repression and subjection in authoritarian social education, through which violence is internalized and the subject experiencing

tellectual with the three historical personages,²⁶ particularly Frederick and even more so Lessing,²⁷ as well as in some autobiographical elements, fragments of personally traumatic remembrance,²⁸ along with a plethora of present-day and even futuristic images and representations interspersed throughout the trilogy, the main emphasis falling on the second picture in the Lessing section, which unfolds in the United States, in an automobile graveyard.

This list of examples could be extended beyond the realm of myth and history into other areas that are part of the common possession of human consciousness; examples from the cultural heritage: legend, tradition, stories, literature, theatre and drama, not to mention traumatic collective experiences such as war and fascism, or ideas and visions such as socialism, revolution, etc., and it would include all the theatrical works of Heiner Müller, since this technique of activating the imagination through the projection of images from the memory into active consciousness and with their assistance formulating new content, is a decisive element of the writer's entire opus.

The images conjured up by Müller, and inspired by him, are visions with content. His theatre has frequently been described as a continuation of the theatre of Artaud²⁹ and indeed has affinities with Artaud in the intensity of the visionary imagery. But Heiner Müller is not a practitioner of cruelty for cruelty's sake as many of Artaud's followers are. His images and metaphors may be cruel, repellent, and replete with violence, killing and blood. Their aim is nevertheless through this painful process to bring to the surface traumas, memories, compulsions, dependency and subjugation so that it may become possible to interpret social behaviours which at first sight seem inexplicable, the ultimate hope be-

it led to accept it and practise it (see ANTONIA GRUNENBERG, "Eine Lust an der Zerstörung", *German Democratic Republic Culture and Society*, vol. 5, 260).

²⁶ The indication that the central theme of the play is the intellectual's relationship to power is one made by Müller himself (Autobiography, 269).

²⁷ Müller speaks of his own self-representation in the person of Lessing (Autobiography, 270) and of his identification with Frederick (ibid 269).

²⁸ The enumeration of suicidal women, for example, and the trauma of the suicide of his first wife, the poet Inge Müller.

²⁹ He himself considers that the idea of Artaud having exerted a direct influence on his work is primarily an invention of his critics, as many elements of similarity between the two were present in his own work before he even read Artaud. For him this can be explained by the reality that his attitude to his experience possessed similarities to Artaud's (see *Errors* I, 152). Nevertheless, he believed that the theories of Artaud introduced a most welcome ferment into conventional theatre and that some of his ideas can well be applied today, such as rejection of the traditional distinction between stage and audience, restoration of a living function of theatre, disengagement from the cult of rationality, etc. Müller's esteem for Artaud is evident in the reference to his name when he enumerates literary artists to whom he feels close (see *Rotwelsch*, 97 f.). He has also composed a brief and very characteristic text dedicated to him, beginning with the words: "Artaud, the language of the torture" and concluding with the poetic image: "His writings bloom beneath the sun of the tortures that shines simultaneously over all continents of the world. When they are read on the ruins of Europe, they will be classics." (*Rotwelsch*, 169).

ing for development of an awareness that can bring one to new levels of human existence and co-existence, in harmonious reconciliation with nature.

The theatre of images, frightening but intensely poetic images, created by Heiner Müller utilizing in thoroughly organic fashion all the common elements in the human intellectual heritage, which he treats as pre-existent material for free utilization by everyone, including both the writer and the public, as material drawn from memory and recollected into remembrance through activation of the imagination, both the writer's and that of the public, this theatre has not only succeeded in winning a distinctive place in contemporary theatre, but it also possesses a perspective towards the future. This work has the potential to remain modern in the future also, since on each separate occasion the awakening of imagery in an activated imagination suggests new images corresponding to the consciousness of each new public. Younger ages, future times, each add their own material and their own new experiences, each lending to the work a new dimension above and beyond the concrete historical moment of which it is a creation.³⁰ This is what Müller himself meant when he made the remark that "*the theatre can be something contemporary, only if it can at the same time convey something from the past and look forward to something in the future.*"³¹ That is the parameter that makes the theatre of Heiner Müller such a fitting illustration of our initial position that the Theatre of Images, using as material all the common deposit of the human intellectual heritage, is a tendency in contemporary theatre with developmental potential for the future.

³⁰ The theatrical texts of Heiner Müller have this dimension. "*They wait on history*" as their creator have said ("Letter to R. Steinweg", *Texte*, vol. 6, 85). That is to say, they wait for the future to become present, and then past, so that all the potential inherent within them may duly unfold. Müller has also made, on another occasion, the remark: "*I write more than I know. I write in an other time than the one I'm living in.*" (Interview with the writer, "Walls", *Rotwelsch*, 41).

³¹ Errors 2, 154.

ROUTINE DÉNUÉE D'ART (OU QUI A TUÉ LA THÉORIE ?)

Était ici, à Athènes, que Socrate et Phèdre se promenaient un jour, il y a quelques milliers d'années. Le philosophe contemple les rives de l'Ilissos et s'exclame devant la beauté du paysage: la «mélodie d'été, qui fait écho au chœur des cigales !», l'odeur exquise, «le charme sans pareil» d'une source qui coule (230 a), tout «a bien l'air d'être divin !» (238 c).¹ Baigné dans la nature, il compose une vraie synesthésie, où «les parfums, les couleurs et les sons se répondent». ² Enfin, les deux interlocuteurs, assis à l'ombre d'un haut platane, examinent un discours de Lysias. Comme il l'avait déjà fait dans le *Gorgias*, Socrate se demande si l'art oratoire est effectivement un art ou, au contraire, un exercice mécanique, une espèce de routine, car, dit-il, «l'art de la parole» n'est pas digne de son nom s'il n'est pas attaché à la Vérité (*Phèdre* 260 e).

Que fait donc Socrate quand il veut discuter la valeur de la rhétorique ? Fait-il ce que nous faisons aujourd'hui au sujet de la théorie ? Pas du tout. Il continue sa promenade à la campagne, pieds nus, comme c'est d'ailleurs son habitude; Phèdre l'est aussi, par hasard (229 a). Ils marcheront ainsi à même le sol ou dans l'eau d'une fontaine qui coule sous le platane; ils seront très près de la terre, et pas dans les nuages, n'en déplaise à Aristophane. Le choix d'un arbre dont l'épais feuillage les protège du soleil complète cette image qui évoque un sentiment de la nature d'autant plus surprenant qu'il est peut-être unique dans les textes que l'Antiquité grecque nous a légués. Socrate oppose à la rhétorique sophistique une autre, philosophique, apparentée à la méthode dialectique. Selon lui, Phèdre sera incapable de traiter de quoi que ce soit s'il n'a pas d'abord «dignement philosophé» (261 a). La nature et la philosophie, comme la Vérité, viennent à l'appui de la rhétorique. Mais le divin Platon sous-entend une quatrième composante de son système, à savoir l'inspiration: nous savons qu'au bord de la rivière Ilissos se trouvait un temple consacré aux Muses.

Socrate critique l'art oratoire tel qu'il est pratiqué à son époque, et surtout les stéréotypes qui l'accompagnent (*Gorgias* 465 a, *Phèdre* 260 e, 270 b). Il existe apparemment une tout autre rhétorique qu'il faut utiliser. Or, dans son *Dictionnaire du théâtre*, dans l'article intitulé précisément «Rhétorique», Patrice Pavis remarque que nous pourrions «considérer la mise en scène comme ensemble de discours destinés à transmettre au spectateur le

¹ PLATON, *Phèdre*. Texte établi et traduit par LÉON ROBIN (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1970).

² CHARLES BAUDELAIRE, «Correspondances», *Les Fleurs du mal*.

plus efficacement possible le message textuel et scénique».³ La rhétorique revient donc à Platon, qui la voyait non pas comme un traité normatif mais comme un support de l'art et, sinon un art en elle-même, au moins une expérience de l'art (*Gorgias* 465 a).

Aujourd'hui, la rhétorique regagne de plus en plus l'ancienne dignité qu'elle avait pu avoir, tandis que la théorie, impératrice des arts et des lettres au XX^e siècle, est tellement maltraitée, tant par ses adversaires que par ses disciples, que nous ne pouvons plus la reconnaître. Ce n'est pas mon but de vous rappeler tous les sens du vocable *theoria* pendant l'Antiquité, afin de bien souligner les origines nobles et même sacrées de la notion. Mais je ne peux pas m'empêcher de penser que le mot a la même étymologie que *thearios* (ou *theorios*), épithète attribuée à Apollon en tant que dieu des oracles. Par ailleurs, chez Platon, *theoria* signifie «vision» ou «intuition» et s'identifie avec la vérité contemplée. Pour Hérodote, la théorie (*theorein*) forme avec l'histoire (*historein*) la base de l'historiographie.

Au risque de trop simplifier, je dirai que *théorie* renvoie à une manière de penser et de travailler. La théorie du théâtre, ce n'est qu'un ensemble de concepts qui nous aident à étudier le théâtre; c'est les principes et les méthodes dont nous nous servons pour bien comprendre l'art du théâtre et transmettre ces connaissances à nos étudiants et au public. On peut trouver une définition concise et fonctionnelle de la théorie du théâtre dans la «Préface» de l'étude magistrale de Marvin Carlson, *Theories of the Theatre*,⁴ où sont mentionnées les affinités de la théorie avec l'esthétique et la critique.

Les auteurs de *l'Esthétique théâtrale*, anthologie de textes théoriques, annoncent dans leur «Avertissement»: «Il nous a paru que la formation historique, technique et pratique de nos étudiants devait se compléter par une réflexion sur les grands problèmes du théâtre, tels qu'ils ont été vécus et exposés par des créateurs, des philosophes ou des écrivains».⁵ Nous sommes ici très loin des affirmations dogmatiques dont on accuse les adeptes de la théorie. Sa fonction didactique devient évidente. Et on a le droit de se demander: que font ces étudiants après l'acquisition de leur diplôme? Laisent-ils entre les murs de la classe toute la théorie qu'ils ont apprise? Ont-ils jamais l'occasion de mettre leurs connaissances au service du théâtre? Patrice Pavis, dès la couverture de son *Dictionnaire*, insiste sur «l'importance des notions critiques pour comprendre le fonctionnement interne du théâtre».

Bien entendu, ce n'est pas cette théorie-là que les «dissidents» condamnent, qu'ils accusent d'avoir créé un chaos idéologique. Leur but est de détrôner l'Impératrice, ou, comme ils disent, «la Théorie comme elle est pratiquée et enseignée» aujourd'hui, comme «pratique

³ PATRICE PAVIS, *Dictionnaire du Théâtre. Termes et concepts de l'analyse théâtrale* (Paris: Éditions sociales, 1980).

⁴ MARVIN CARLSON, *Theories of the Theatre. A Historical and Critical Survey, from the Greeks to the Present* (Ithaca et Londres: Cornell University Press, Expanded Edition, 1993): 9-11.

⁵ MONIQUE BORIE et al., éd., *Esthétique théâtrale. Textes de Platon à Brecht* (Paris: Scdes, 1982): 7.

opprimante de notre temps». ⁶ Et, dans un sens, et dans un sens seulement, ils ont raison: la théorie devient inutile et même dangereuse si elle attire notre attention exclusivement sur elle-même et non sur l'*art* qu'elle se propose d'étudier. Mais combattre la théorie est encore plus dangereux, car c'est oublier une affirmation essentielle, formulée par Gianni Vattimo, que l'être n'est plus pensé aujourd'hui «comme structure mais comme événement». ⁷

Non seulement beaucoup de metteurs en scène – ce qui serait compréhensible – mais aussi beaucoup de théâtrologues ne croient pas que le théâtre comme discours dramatique et scénique puisse être un objet d'analyse, opposant *analyse* à *art* et oubliant qu'il s'agit d'un terme philosophique. Cependant, *analyser* n'est pas seulement décomposer ou diviser. C'est aussi: effectuer un mouvement vers l'origine; remonter de la conséquence au principe. Or, faire un trajet du spectacle à sa théorie, c'est expliquer les origines du spectacle afin de pouvoir le renouveler sans cesse. C'est le principe analytique qui nous guide vers les origines, qui nous met en présence d'un théâtre-parole évolué en théâtre-action. Lorsque Stanislavski analyse la pièce avant de la faire jouer, c'est plutôt le faire que le dire qui guide sa pensée. De même Vitez, qui demande à ses acteurs de jouer directement sur la scène, sans avoir exploré le texte: c'est de la pratique qu'il tire le sens de la pièce. Mais si un metteur en scène fait lire le texte avant de faire monter les acteurs sur la scène, il aurait beaucoup à gagner s'il le lisait avec un spécialiste du texte dramatique. Tant qu'on utilisera des textes, on aura besoin de théoriciens.

Je propose donc de faire une enquête policière afin de répondre à la question: qui sont les tueurs sans gages de la Théorie ?

Tout d'abord, la terminologie si elle est *superflue* et *rébarbative*, surtout l'obscurité et la confusion même qui peuvent en résulter. En écrivant sur le théâtre d'une manière étrangère à sa nature, en remplaçant son art protéiforme par la routine répétitive, on le fait taire, au lieu de le faire parler et, par la suite, agir. Voilà peut-être pourquoi les trois théoriciens de *L'Impromptu de l'Alma* sont tous nommés Bartholoméus par Ionesco: même stratégie, même nom. Comme au théâtre, le caractère du «personnage» remplace le nom. Mais attention. Je souligne les deux adjectifs utilisés ci-dessus pour éviter tout malentendu, car il est évident que sans terminologie le discours scientifique perd sa précision.

Autre tueur de la Théorie: la rhétorique dite sophistique, toujours bien vivante même (surtout) aujourd'hui. Elle attire notre attention sur le commentaire et pas sur l'œuvre. Elle pourrait, à la rigueur, produire un discours plutôt philosophique que critique, un discours autonome, mais elle pourrait également aller trop loin, autrement dit, ne pas hésiter à rivaliser avec l'œuvre, à lui imposer silence, à la remplacer enfin par un discours délirant,

⁶ DAPHNE PATAI et WILL H. CORRAL, éd., *Theory's Empire. An Anthology of Dissent* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005): 1.

⁷ GIANNI VATTIMO, *Éthique de l'interprétation*, trad. JACQUES ROLLAND (Paris: Éditions La Découverte, 1991): 97.

qui n'a aucun rapport ni avec l'œuvre ni avec le délire amoureux, inspiré d'Aphrodite et d'Éros, dont parle Socrate dans le *Phèdre* (265 b).

Encore un tueur de la Théorie: le savoir purement cérébral, souvent superficiel. Edward Albee joue sur cette notion dans *Jeu de mariage* (*Marriage Play*), en citant Alexander Pope: «A little learning is a dang'rous thing» (*The Essay on Criticism*). Il est vrai que ce type de savoir conduit facilement au dogmatisme, à un discours gonflé de certitude, et aboutit à un décalage entre les promesses faites par une lecture théorique et les banalités qui en résultent parfois. Ce discours est souvent accompagné d'une admiration sans bornes pour la théorie, ce qui montre un manque d'esprit critique. Bien sûr, je ne parle pas ici de théoriciens mais de théorisateurs, ceux qui n'ont pas tenu compte de la critique dirigée contre la théorie, surtout celle qui nous signale que tout système théorique est un système philosophique; il se doit donc d'être cohérent. Dans leurs études, de révolution qu'elle était, la théorie devient dictature.

Ce n'est pas le destin de la théorie de neutraliser la surprise cachée dans l'œuvre. L'art étant plus puissant que la théorie,⁸ il se trouve obligé de la subvertir ou de se cacher sous les mots ou les gestes. La preuve en est que les grands poètes dramatiques n'ont pas dédaigné la théorie du théâtre. Ils deviennent théoriciens et pratiquent la théorie chaque fois qu'ils veulent proclamer la révolution qu'ils préparent. Il se peut même que la meilleure théorie du théâtre soit écrite par des praticiens. Et si c'est Aristophane qui parle de tragédie, comme vers la fin des *Grenouilles*, il est comme tout autre critique ou spectateur. Mais quand il satirise la comédie, comme au début de la même pièce, le résultat peut déclencher une révolution théâtrale. Le critique et le praticien se confrontent pendant que le poète comique fait valoir l'originalité de sa propre entreprise: pas de stéréotypes dans son cas, mais des voix qui naissent d'une situation précise.

Aristophane raille les conventions de la comédie, étant lui-même pour la liberté de l'art. Molière critique les acteurs de l'Hôtel de Bourgogne. Il est pour le jeu naturel. Mais si le spectacle réfute la théorie de l'auteur dramatique, nous autres, «théoriciens», nous avons beaucoup à gagner, car la théorie devient un intertexte négatif, mais intertexte toujours,⁹ du produit artistique. Nous devenons alors spectateurs de la naissance d'un art authentique, pendant que la théorie prend conscience de sa faiblesse et chante la gloire de l'art. Le théoricien devient plus modeste. Il peut même partager l'opinion de Nietzsche: «Nous

⁸ C'est ce que j'avance dans plusieurs de mes études, mais sans oublier que la théorie inspire autant qu'elle est inspirée, et sans diminuer sa force créatrice. Voir notamment «Le langage des dieux», *Παρουσία* IA-IB (1997): 66 ; «Λογοτεχνία/Τεχνολογία», *Φιλολόγος* 89 (1997): 273-274. Un bon exemple en est Brecht dont la théâtralité est le résultat d'un va-et-vient entre ses écrits sur le théâtre et ses pièces épico-dramatiques.

⁹ Je me permets de renvoyer à mon petit livre *Le discours spéculaire ou Méduse revisitée* (Thessalonique: University Studio Press, 2003): 52, 54, où je définis *intertexte* par opposition à *emprunt*, ce dernier étant la vue directe de la tête de Méduse.

ne parlons si abstraitement de la poésie que parce que nous sommes tous de mauvais poètes». ¹⁰

Théorie et pratique, sœurs ennemies, se heurtent et par la suite se réconcilient. Le principe de distanciation, par exemple, a aidé beaucoup de praticiens du théâtre à renouveler leur art; mais lorsque Brecht, préparant les journées d'étude sur Stanislavski, demande à ses auditeurs ce qu'ils savent du metteur en scène russe, quelqu'un remarque: «Mais vous êtes contre l'identification». «Moi ? Non», répond-il, «Je suis pour, à une phase précise des répétitions». ¹¹ En lisant *Mère Courage*, on devine l'existence de la distanciation au fond de l'écriture, mais que se passe-t-il quand on voit la pièce sur la scène ? On nous dit que l'auteur même l'enseignait autrement. Quelle révélation alors pour le théoricien ! Le conflit entre l'art du poète et l'art du metteur en scène, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit de la même personne, réaffirme le droit à la liberté de tout art.

Faisant une distinction nette entre praticiens et théoriciens, Gaston Baty, lui-même metteur en scène et théoricien, déclarait dans son livre *Rideau baissé*: «Il ne s'agit pas de parler de tout cela, mais de rendre tout cela sensible». ¹² La vieille antithèse parole/spectacle peut résumer cette querelle: le théoricien parle, le metteur en scène donne à voir. Mais pourquoi est-ce que l'un annule l'autre ? Il est vrai qu'Aristote oppose théorie à pratique, mais il n'hésite pas à appeler la théorie mode de vie divin. Et Molière, dans *L'Impromptu de Versailles*, appelle «comédie des comédiens» ¹³ une pièce fondée sur la critique et la théorie.

Si nous sommes d'accord qu'il n'y a pas d'écriture sans art et que sans lecture, l'écriture est mort-née, nous pouvons ajouter que sans théorie, la lecture est une affaire personnelle: elle n'est pas symbolique, c'est-à-dire, pour utiliser le mot *symbole* dans son sens juridique pendant l'Antiquité, elle n'est pas un pacte entre les cités. Comme principe qui nous guide, fil conducteur qui nous aide à choisir la forme qu'il nous faut pour étudier l'œuvre, la théorie est en relation continue avec l'œuvre. Si vous voulez, l'œuvre est le principe féminin, tandis que le principe théorique est masculin. Il fertilise l'œuvre, mais c'est l'œuvre qui donne naissance aux produits de l'imaginaire.

Je viens de dire que la théorie est un principe. Je me trompe peut-être mais c'est comme principe uni et unique qu'elle doit être étudiée. La tendance récente de préférer *théories* au pluriel pour éviter le dogmatisme n'est qu'une manière d'affaiblir la théorie: je crains que la maxime latine «divise afin de régner» (*divide ut regnes*) ne soit ici bien à propos.

¹⁰ FRIEDRICH NIETZSCHE, *La naissance de la Tragédie*, trad. MICHEL HAAR, PHILIPPE LACOUÉ-LABARTE et JEAN-LUC NANCY (Paris: Gallimard, 1977): 73.

¹¹ BERTOLT BRECHT, *Écrits sur le théâtre*, t. II, trad. JEAN TAILLEUR et ÉDITH WINKLER (Paris: L'Arche, 1979): 186.

¹² Dans BORIS et al., 288.

¹³ MOLIÈRE, *Œuvres complètes*, t. I, texte établi par GEORGES COUTON (Paris: Gallimard / Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1971): 678.

Si, par exemple, pour étudier *Au pays d'Ibsen* de Kambanellis, on se servait de théories psychanalytiques, on ne ferait probablement que des commentaires partiels et même évidents, passant sous silence l'originalité de l'écriture de l'auteur dramatique grec. Au lieu d'imposer notre point de vue sur le texte, nous pourrions lui permettre de nous guider. Ainsi, la psychanalyse, pas comme modèle mais comme principe théorique, nous aiderait à observer la naissance du discours propre à Kambanellis, le jeu du désir de son écriture d'être transplantée dans un autre «pays», en d'autres termes, de faire un trajet du théâtre réaliste au métathéâtre. Mais le miracle, c'est que le dramaturge grec fait ce passage à l'aide des *Revenants* d'Ibsen. L'œuvre nous oblige donc à nous demander: comment pourrait-on jouer cette pièce dont le thème est la théâtralité, tout en tenant compte du fait que *Les Revenants* est un chef-d'œuvre du théâtre réaliste et que Kambanellis lui-même a écrit sa propre histoire sur la scène grecque en tant que dramaturge réaliste ?

J'ai appris, pendant ma longue expérience en classe, que, lorsque nous invitons les étudiants à venir à la théorie, nous devons les avertir d'emblée qu'elle est complexe et que, simplifiée, elle n'est plus théorie, mais commentaire banal. Sinon, elle est dangereuse: tout le théâtre peut être réduit à un jeu subtil complètement créé par le modèle.

Une critique adressée à la théorie est qu'elle ne produit pas d'œuvres d'art. Mais c'est plutôt le contraire qui doit être vrai: l'art est l'imaginaire de la théorie et non forcément l'inverse. Racine écrit son théâtre comme s'il avait inventé lui-même les trois unités, tandis que, quelques décennies avant lui, Corneille se sentait obligé de s'excuser parce qu'il n'avait pas utilisé la règle des trois unités dans *Mélie*. Il dit dans son «Examen»: «Cette pièce fut mon coup d'essai, et elle n'a garde d'être dans les règles, puisque je ne savais pas alors qu'il y en eût».¹⁴ Il aurait dû ajouter qu'il n'avait pas besoin de savoir ce que le théâtre de l'époque exigeait de lui, puisque c'était lui qui le créait. Nous avons recours à l'interprétation et à la théorie pour passer d'une forme de l'œuvre à une autre – décoder la pièce écrite pour l'encoder sur la scène –, pas nécessairement pour écrire une pièce.

L'art oratoire, dit Socrate à Phèdre, est une *psychagogie*, en d'autres termes, à la fois «récréation» et «une façon de mener les âmes» (*Phèdre* 261 a), et tout cela à l'aide du discours. Et Nietzsche aspire à voir celui qu'il appelle «auditeur artiste» exercer la fonction de critique dramatique, car le critique commun est, dit-il, un «être inapte au plaisir».¹⁵ Et nous pourrions nous demander: pourquoi le plaisir devant le texte dramatique, comme devant tout art, a-t-il disparu ? Dans le *Phèdre*, Socrate étudie l'essence de l'âme et de l'amour en même temps que l'essence de la rhétorique. C'est ainsi que l'Intelligible se lie avec le Sensible.

Les critiques les plus sévères de la théorie constatent qu'elle est traitée comme une religion par ses adeptes. Si, en effet, la théorie est une religion, elle n'est pas menacée par

¹⁴ PIERRE CORNEILLE, *Théâtre complet*, t. I, texte établi par MAURICE RAT (Paris: Classiques Garnier, s.d.): 6.

¹⁵ NIETZSCHE, 145.

l'athéisme mais par l'hypocrisie de tous ceux qui ne s'en servent que pour partager sa gloire et de tous ceux qui la condamnent sans la connaître vraiment. On a peut-être le droit de brûler la Bibliothèque d'Alexandrie mais après avoir lu attentivement tous les livres qui s'y trouvent. Mon but n'est pas donc de convaincre les infidèles de venir à la foi, mais de dire à ceux qui l'utilisent d'une manière superficielle – en leur rappelant ses qualités visuelles et visionnaires: bas les mains du mystère de la théorie. Quant à un autre slogan cité dans les Objectifs de ce congrès: «laissez les gens du théâtre créer en toute liberté», j'y ajouterai que les théoriciens du théâtre sont «gens du théâtre».

ANNA TABAKI

LA RÉCEPTION ET SES MÉTAMORPHOSES: L'EXEMPLE GREC MODERNE À TRAVERS LE DISCOURS PRÉFACIEL

Réfléchir sur la réception et ses métamorphoses et élucider la question de l'étude de la réception et de ses absences: tel est le cadre général de cette approche.

Néanmoins, il me semble opportun de procéder à une évaluation rétrospective, surtout lorsque nous devons circonscrire le phénomène d'une culture nationale par rapport à un contexte de données scientifiques élargies, faisant face à des pratiques méthodologiques multiples qui rajeunissent sans cesse. Il s'agit, certes, d'une étape de méditation qui nous permet de prendre meilleure conscience de ce qui nous entoure, des acquis obtenus mais aussi d'un certain nombre d'absences et des *desiderata* qui devront être éventuellement comblés dans l'avenir.

Comme j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de le souligner, en Grèce, les acquis comparatistes renferment bien des équivoques.¹ D'une part, le monde grec appartient à une culture ancienne et limitrophe, située à travers les âges à un carrefour de civilisations, d'où la motivation quasi inhérente pour les *parallélismes*, les *analogies* et la capacité d'assimilation des diverses influences reçues.² Mais d'autre part, en ce qui concerne les temps modernes, le monde grec représente une culture «périphérique», qui éprouve le besoin d'intégrer les notions modernes à son *canon* littéraire et dramatique, d'incorporer les courants et les théories réciproques, les auteurs en vogue, mais qui assimile ces innovations à pas inégaux, ce qui la pousse quelquefois au premier rang, à un niveau presque synchronique, ou qui lui fait, dans d'autres cas, recevoir avec quelque retard, ou encore négliger certaines étapes intermédiaires, quelques relais de la trame. Je pense que ces omissions arbitraires, ou plutôt ces rebondissements hasardeux, sont l'une des spécificités pertinentes des cultures périphériques, qui essaient de poursuivre le tourbillonnement des idées, des courants et des pratiques diverses au niveau mondial, notre exemple allant surtout de concert avec le modèle européen, voire occidental.

L'on peut, certes, trouver des réponses satisfaisantes ou encore des explications valides se rattachant à une analyse des facteurs historiques et sociaux. Une des absences

¹ ANNA TABAKI, «La littérature comparée en Grèce: Équivoques du passé et perspectives», *Neohelicon*, XXVIII (2001): 67-78.

² ANNA TABAKI, «Η Συγκριτική Φιλολογία στην Ελλάδα: ένας σημερινός απολογισμός» [«La Littérature comparée en Grèce: Un bilan actuel»], *Σύγκριση/Comparaison*, 10 (1999): 18-35; *eadem*, «La littérature comparée en Grèce: Équivoques du passé et perspectives».

principales qui scelle, à mon avis, l'évolution des idées remonte au passé: c'est la non-existence d'une Renaissance homogène englobant les territoires de culture hellénique aux siècles correspondants. Les quelques berceaux (Crète,³ îles Ioniennes) ainsi que le rapport presque ininterrompu avec la culture antique, sauvegardé notamment au niveau scolaire, dans les manuels d'enseignement qui reproduisaient des connaissances stéréotypées, ne sont pas des indices suffisants, car ils ne sont pas arrivés à produire les métamorphoses profondes survenues en Occident. C'est ainsi que l'on avait remarqué fort à propos que la culture grecque moderne entra dans l'ère des Lumières sans avoir connu de véritable Renaissance.⁴ Certes, si l'on désire parcourir l'évolution des idées jusqu'au XX^e siècle, on constatera aisément, à travers une volonté continue et essentiellement éclectique de s'aligner sur les nouveautés occidentales, qui renferme parfois des attitudes introverties ou hostiles à l'égard de l'étranger,⁵ bien des moments de décalage, de silence ou d'absence.

Venons-en maintenant à ce qui constitue notre sujet de délibération, la *réception*. Je suis persuadée que, à l'exception de deux exemples précis, à savoir l'ère de la Renaissance crétoise et le XX^e siècle (surtout sa seconde moitié), la science comparatiste grecque n'a que très peu profité des instruments de travail qui ont déterminé cette discipline dans sa longue marche. Partant de la riche filière des œuvres de la Renaissance italienne, les chercheurs qui se sont penchés sur la production crétoise, dont la dramaturgie demeure le point culminant, ont développé avec efficacité des méthodes de comparatisme classique, découvrant à tour de rôle les influences, les analogies et les parallélismes entre les cultures en question. C'est seulement dans les dernières décennies du XX^e siècle qu'on a tenté de focaliser l'intérêt de la recherche sur d'autres pistes, touchant la théorie du drame ou le côté scénique, c'est-à-dire de décodifier le «mystère» (dû au manque de documents) qui recouvre l'acte de la représentation et de reconstituer l'audience, le public éventuel. Néanmoins, nous devons mentionner dans ce contexte les études fondamentales du regretté Nikolaos Panayotakis, celles de Stylianos Alexiou ainsi que celles de Walter Puchner, qui avance même quelques stimulantes hypothèses de travail sur les similitudes culturelles entre le complexe insulaire grec sous domination vénitienne et les côtes dalmates, en particulier Raguse.⁶

³ Voir le volume collectif paru sous la direction de DAVID HOLTON, *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete* (Cambridge-University Press, 1991).

⁴ C. TH. DIMARAS, *La Grèce au temps des Lumières* (Genève: Droz, 1968). Cf. ANNA TABAKI, «Les Lumières néohelléniques. Un essai de définition et de périodisation», *The Enlightenment in Europe. Les Lumières en Europe. Aufklärung in Europa. Unity and Diversity. Unité et Diversité. Einheit und Vielfalt*. Edited by / édité par / hrsg. von WERNER SCHNEIDERS [European Science Foundation] Concepts et Symboles du Dix-huitième siècle Européen · Concepts & Symbols of the Eighteenth Century in Europe, BME · Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag 2003: 45-56.

⁵ Voir à titre d'exemple la documentation fournie dans mon étude: «La formation du 'génie national' en Grèce: Ambivalences culturelles et esthétiques», *Revue des Études Néohelléniques* VI/1 (1996) [mars 1999], (Paris-Athènes: Daedalus): surtout p. 67 sq.

⁶ WALTER PUCHNER, "The Theatre in South-East Europe in the Wake of Nationalism", in *Tendances*

Comme dans l'étude de la littérature grecque moderne en général, on peut discerner beaucoup plus de disponibilités pour étudier la production dramaturgique contemporaine et l'on applique des outils de travail herméneutique plus denses et variés. Les études d'analyse sémiologique ou celles de la réception selon les orientations des années 1980 ne font plus défaut, y compris celles qui introduisent la problématique de l'étude du sexe (*gender studies*), de la couleur, de la littérature post-coloniale,⁷ etc. Parmi les collègues qui ont adopté à tour de rôle ces orientations, nous devons mentionner entre autres Zoé Samara, Aphroditī Sivetidou, Marika Thomadaki, notre plus jeune collègue Kaiti Diamantakou ainsi que Savas Patsalidis, Dimitris Tsatsoulis, ou encore Georges Pefanis.

En revanche, les siècles précédents, à savoir le *corpus* des textes et des pratiques théâtrales qui englobent le XVIII^e, le XIX^e et le début du XX^e siècle de concert avec l'étude des aspects multiples de l'impact des mouvements homologues étrangers, à savoir occidentaux, ne jouissent que rarement d'approches plus souples et plus synthétiques, soucieuses d'étudier la réception comme un facteur polyvalent. En d'autres termes, des études essayant de briser les menottes d'une composition des faits linéaire qui a longtemps prévalu comme l'interprétation la plus appropriée dans la lignée de l'historiographie traditionnelle.

Dans ce genre d'études, il s'agit plutôt de la *réception classique* où l'émetteur tient la première place et où le récepteur et le mécanisme de réception sont superficiellement abordés. Mais ce que je reproche surtout, et je ne suis pas la seule à souligner cette lacune (je pense notamment aux analyses exhaustives et aux remarques de mon collègue Walter Puchner), c'est la rigidité, voire l'injustice d'une approche se limitant au premier degré, qui néglige d'effleurer le parfum du texte, lui ôtant tout son poids esthétique et stylistique autant que, éventuellement, sa propre théâtralité.

Cette mutilation a bien sûr ses raisons. Elle s'appuie pour une grande part sur des postulats imposés par l'approche idéologique de la langue, suite à l'impact du mouvement vulgariste (fin du XIX^e siècle). Ce que la montée de la langue puriste (*καθαρεύουσα*) a commencé à créer, à partir de la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle, creusant des barrières d'incompréhension et de mésestime, voire de désapprobation esthétique vis-à-vis des textes antérieurs, le vulgarisme triomphant n'a pu que le parachever. Mais si l'on ne peut pas regarder le passé avec sensibilité et perspicacité, si l'on ne veut pas aborder les textes dramatiques (qu'il s'agisse des textes originaux ou de traductions) avec le respect dû à des «entités autonomes», si l'on néglige complètement de décodifier leur théâtralité, en demeurant le plus souvent et presque uniquement à une lecture idéologique de base, pourquoi donc aller plus loin, se lancer sur la piste de la réception, de la description du genre,

actuelles de la Littérature comparée dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe / Contemporary Trends of Comparative Literature in South-Eastern Europe, éd. ANNA TABAKI, 75-134 (Athènes: IRN/FNRS, 2006).

⁷ Cf. ANNA TABAKI, «La littérature comparée en Grèce: Équivoques du passé et perspectives», 76.

du style, des solutions adoptées par le traducteur ou l'écrivain grec, en explorant la signification de leurs procédés, l'horizon d'attente de l'œuvre et l'horizon d'expérience du récepteur, du public, etc. ? Même le grand sujet de la réception du drame antique, malgré une effervescence bienvenue, n'a joui en Grèce que d'approches se limitant surtout au premier degré, insistant presque à l'unanimité sur la nécessité des inventaires ainsi que sur des études quantitatives et descriptives.

Il semble, pourtant, qu'un vent rénovateur vient de souffler. Concernant la littérature grecque moderne en général, les dernières décennies du XX^e siècle ont profondément renouvelé l'optique des spécialistes vis-à-vis du XVIII^e et du XIX^e siècle. On a vu l'édition critique de textes oubliés ou méconnus et l'application de méthodes contemporaines d'analyse, visant surtout la *nouvelle* et le *roman*. L'heure de la production théâtrale a sonné et il existe actuellement un noyau de spécialistes qui abordent les œuvres théâtrales dans leur diachronie d'un œil modernisé, essayant d'infiltrer, en outre, dans leurs analyses les normes du mécanisme de la réception.

«Ως η διψώσα έλαφος... »

«Comme la biche assoiffée...» réclamait C. Th. Dimaras dans un «Entretien» qu'il avait accordé à la Revue *Synchona Themata*, en 1988. Pour préciser plus loin:

«La biche assoiffée, à laquelle je reviens régulièrement, c'est l'influence. Ce n'est pas l'influence que nous recevons, c'est l'influence que nous choisissons.»⁸

Il s'agit, certes, d'un oxymore, mais si l'on veut aller aux débuts d'une trajectoire qui a doté notre sensibilité scientifique de quelques notions élémentaires sur la réception du texte, en l'occurrence du texte dramatique, nos pas nous conduiront, non aux premiers historiens du théâtre grec moderne (Nikolaos Lascaris, Yannis Sidéris ou M. Valsas), mais forcément à Dimaras, historien de la littérature et comparatiste reconnu. C'est lui qui, le premier, a valorisé dans le contexte grec la notion de la *simultanéité* dont l'introducteur fut, comme chacun le sait, Paul Van Tieghem. À partir de 1946, Dimaras a développé ses points de vue sur le thème de la *coïncidence*, des *causes multiples* qui déterminent le phénomène culturel et éclaircissent à un point satisfaisant les mécanismes sous-jacents de l'influence et de la réception des œuvres et auteurs.⁹ C'est lui également qui a fait émerger dans le contexte grec la valeur du «discours préfaciel», ce texte-clef qui a été ultérieurement classifié par Genette

⁸ Voir: «Ως η διψώσα έλαφος...». Συνέντευξη με τον Κ. Θ. Δημαρά [«Comme la biche assoiffée...». Entretien avec C. Th. Dimaras], in *Σύγχρονα Θέματα* [*Synchona Themata*], 25 (nos 35-36-37, déc. 1988).

⁹ C. TH. DIMARAS, «Πηγές της έμπνευσης του Κάλβου» [«Sources de l'inspiration de Calvos»], première publication dans la revue *Νέα Έστια* [*Nea Hestia*], Noël 1964; et aussi, «Les coïncidences dans l'histoire des lettres et dans l'histoire des idées», communication présentée au IV^e Congrès International de Littérature Comparée (Fribourg, 1964); une traduction grecque a paru dans la revue *Εποχές* [*Epoches*] 21, janvier 1965.

comme un *paratexte*, mettant en relief sa signification toute particulière.¹⁰

Dimaras a procuré de bonne heure, tout d'abord dans son *Histoire de la littérature néo-hellénique* (première édition en 1948-1949), œuvre de référence marquant un renouveau profond de la critique littéraire et menant à une synthèse globale de l'histoire culturelle de l'Hellénisme moderne de ses débuts jusqu'à la génération des années trente, un bon nombre d'exemples de soumission de la préface à l'investigation fructueuse du monde des idées et de celui des mentalités, c'est-à-dire des options culturelles et esthétiques adoptées par l'écrivain ou le traducteur, le discours dramatique lui-même ne faisant point défaut dans ses analyses. Beaucoup plus tard, les spécialistes du XIX^e siècle, vu l'intérêt accru dont a joui la préface dans la bataille des idées, soit en tant que manifeste de tel ou tel courant rénovateur, soit en tant que texte réfutatoire, lieu privilégié de confession des attitudes et goûts de l'auteur, espace de révélation de ses lectures et de ses préoccupations théoriques, voire du parfum de toute une époque en ébullition, ont saisi la nécessité de dresser des anthologies ou des choix de préfaces.¹¹ Enfin, le discours préfaciel et l'élaboration, à travers lui, d'une théorie normative furent un champ favori de la recherche touchant au domaine de la traduction.¹²

J'en viens donc à mon dernier point, la place tenue par le «discours préfaciel» dans le réseau de la réception dramaturgique.

Choisissons quelques exemples illustrant deux courants qui parcourent le XVIII^e et le XIX^e siècles, à savoir les Lumières et le Romantisme. La première préface qui mérite une attention toute particulière est celle de 1779 qui précède l'édition de six tragédies héroïques de Métastase en grec moderne. Son poids est notamment idéologique, ou par extension culturel, et met en corrélation de la manière la plus évidente l'implication du théâtre moderne avec les devises majeures des Lumières: amour de la connaissance, du savoir au sens le plus large, mobilité, curiosité développée et épanouie à maints égards.¹³

¹⁰ GÉRARD GENETTE, *Seuils*, (Paris: éditions du Seuil, coll. «Poétique», 1987): 152.

¹¹ Voir P. D. MASTRODIMITRIS, *Πρόλογοι Νεοελληνικών Μυθιστορημάτων (1830-1930)* [Préfaces de romans grecs modernes (1830-1930)], 3^e édition enrichie de textes nouveaux (Athènes: Éditions Domos, 1992).

¹² HENRI MITTERAND, «La préface et ses lois: avant-propos romantiques», *Le discours du roman*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1980): 21-34; BERNARD WEINBERG (éd.), *Critical Prefaces of the French Renaissance* (Northwestern UP: Evanston, 1950); LIEVEN D'HULST, *Cent ans de théorie française de la traduction. De Batteux à Littré (1747-1847)* (Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1990). Cf. DESPINA PROVATA, «Le discours préfaciel des traducteurs grecs du XIX^e siècle. La formation des mentalités», in *Identity and Alterity in Literature, 18th-20th c.*, vol. 3. *Translation and Intercultural Relations. Proceedings*, eds ANNA TABAKI, STESSI ATHINI, (Athènes: Éditions Domos, 2001): 133-146.

¹³ ANNA TABAKI, *Η νεοελληνική δραματουργία και οι δυτικές της επιδράσεις (18^ο-19^ο αι.). Μια συγκριτική προσέγγιση* [La dramaturgie néohellénique et ses influences occidentales (XVIII^e-XIX^e siècles). Une approche comparée], 2^e édition, (Athènes: Ergo, 2002): 23-25; eadem, *Le théâtre néohellénique. Genèse et formation. Ses composantes sociales, idéologiques et esthétiques*, (Paris: EHESS, 1995; Lille: Diffusion Septentrion, Presses Universitaires, 2001): 426-429.

Très suggestives sont également les préfaces dont l'éditeur viennois Polyzoïs Lambaniziotis dota ses éditions successives des comédies goldoniennes, à commencer par celle de *Pamela nubile* (transposée en grec comme *Ἡ ἀρετὴ τῆς Παμέλας* [*La vertu de Pamela*], 1791). Conscient d'introduire un genre qui pouvait sembler audacieux dans une société dominée par les tenants du traditionalisme, il plaide en faveur de l'utilité de la comédie, en exaltant même la moralité; en même temps, très soucieux de jeter des ponts, il fait allusion au «prédécesseur du théâtre moderne», à savoir le théâtre antique.¹⁴ Dans les éditions suivantes, l'éditeur nous fournit des éléments qui prouvent la réception favorable de ses traductions et leur bonne diffusion dans les territoires balkaniques.

Pour rester dans le domaine de la comédie, l'importante préface que Constantin Oeconomos élaborera pour son adaptation de *L'Avare* de Molière demeure très significative et interprétable à maints niveaux. Il met avant tout l'accent sur le recyclage des valeurs: *Antiquité - Europe éclairée - Grèce régénérée*, une des idées maîtresses des Lumières grecques. Adeptes fidèles d'Aristote et lecteur assidu de Charles Batteux et de Laharpe,¹⁵ il tient sérieusement compte des remarques connues de nature morale et dramatique de Jean-Jacques Rousseau et de Diderot à l'égard de Molière. Imprégné d'un éclectisme fécond, il se détache dans une certaine mesure des interprétations classicisantes de la *Poétique* d'Aristote et travaille consciencieusement sur la théorie d'une «comédie nationale», s'appuyant surtout sur le caractère changeant et local du comique, argumentation qu'il a empruntée au philosophe écossais Hugh Blair.¹⁶

Parmi les documents qui méritent une étude exhaustive et approfondie figurent les *paratextes* (préfaces, avis de l'auteur et commentaires critiques soigneusement mis à la fin de chaque œuvre) dont Jean Zambélios dote ses 12 tragédies. Celui-ci appartient au climat du classicisme alférien et exprime dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle une des voix les mieux articulées et les plus mûres qui travaillent à la formation de la «tragédie nationale». Comme son œuvre se situe à cheval entre un néo-classicisme intransigeant et l'infiltration des éléments romantiques, de concert avec l'émergence et la formulation graduelle d'une idéologie nationale/nationaliste,¹⁷ il devient un miroir qui reflète les osmose de son époque. De plus, il représente un cas typique de ce que nous pouvons appeler *analogies* ou *concordances* dans le phénomène de la réception. Ses recherches métriques et stylistiques mettent en évidence la conscience de renouvellement de la tradition antique, avec le souci

¹⁴ ANNA TABAKI, *Η νεοελληνική δραματουργία*, 25-26; *eadem*, *Le théâtre néohellénique. Genèse et formation*, 417-418.

¹⁵ Voir ANNA TABAKI, «Modernité et émergence des canons littéraires et dramatiques: La *Poétique* (*Grammatika*) de Constantin Oeconomos», *Neohelicon* XXXI (2004) 2: 27-34.

¹⁶ ANNA TABAKI, *Le théâtre néohellénique. Genèse et formation*, 448-462.

¹⁷ ANNA TABAKI, *Το νεοελληνικό θέατρο (18^ο-19^ο αι.)*. *Ερμηνευτικές προσεγγίσεις* [*Le théâtre néohellénique (XVIII-XIX^e siècles). Approches interprétatives*], (Athènes: Diavlos, 2005): 218.

de sélectionner chez les Modernes (notamment les Italiens et les Allemands) les solutions appropriées à la genèse d'un «théâtre national».¹⁸

Néanmoins, le mouvement romantique aura bien sûr en Grèce ses manifestes: en premier lieu, la Préface réfutatoire d'Alexandre Rizo Rangabé, qui précède son drame *Φροσύνη* (*Frossyni*, 1837), exploitation d'un épisode historique de l'Hellénisme moderne. Dans son long texte, il expose certaines notions fondamentales de l'argumentation hugolienne concernant l'esthétique théâtrale, sans toutefois nommer l'écrivain français une seule fois. La source principale où Rangabé semble avoir puisé son argumentation est sans doute la *Préface de Cromwell* (1827); de même, on a mis en évidence quelques ressemblances avec la préface des *Odes et Ballades* (en particulier, celle de 1824), en insistant sur le motif de l'ignorance, commun aux deux auteurs, sans qu'il faille exclure, à mon avis, l'influence du noyau des textes de Stendhal qui forment son *Racine et Shakespeare* (1822-1824), en particulier le Chapitre premier. Les échos de la *Préface de Cromwell* y demeurent, certes, les plus forts.¹⁹

En plein XIX^e siècle, alors que les tendances philosophiques de l'interprétation de l'histoire nationale avaient déjà fécondé les esprits et que les siècles byzantins venaient d'être réhabilités, ayant été désormais exploités en tant que source d'inspiration artistique, Dimitrios Vernardakis, physionomie pléthorique de culture allemande, unissant dans son œuvre la préoccupation philosophique et juridique et le penchant pour la littérature, notamment pour l'art dramatique, fit ses débuts de dramaturge en publiant *Μαρία Δοξαπατρή* (*Maria Doxapatri*, Munich, 1858), drame médiéval tiré des *Chroniques de Morée*. La pièce était précédée d'une longue Préface théorique portant le titre: «Προλεγόμενα περί ἔθνικοῦ ἑλληνικοῦ δράματος καὶ ἰδίως τοῦ παρόντος» [Prolégomènes sur le drame national grec et spécialement le présent]. Ce texte dense et synthétique représente le manifeste le plus complet autant que le plus pénétrant du théâtre romantique grec. Il trahit l'influence décisive d'August Wilhelm Schlegel visant la définition du drame – en adoptant la distinction capitale entre le caractère «plastique» de la tragédie classique et le caractère «pictural» du drame romantique et en y ajoutant la dimension hégélienne de la Destinée (Εἰμαρμένη), (p. θ'), la division des écoles nationales (p. ι'-ια'), notamment sur l'appréciation de Shakespeare et du théâtre allemand, tandis qu'il désapprouve complètement le théâtre français. Sont également perceptibles bien des germes de la pensée hégélienne touchant le domaine de l'es-

¹⁸ ANNA TABAKI, *Le théâtre néohellénique. Genèse et formation*, 176-217.

¹⁹ C. TH. DIMARAS, *Ελληνικός Ρομαντισμός [Le Romantisme grec]*, (Athènes: éditions Hermès, 1982): 150-154; ANNA TABAKI, «L'impact de la pensée et de l'œuvre de Victor Hugo en Grèce (ca 1830-1880)», in *Le rayonnement international de Victor Hugo. Édité par Francis Claudon. Actes du Symposium de l'Association internationale de Littérature Comparée. XI^e Congrès international (Paris, août 1985)*, vol. I, 183-196 (Peter Lang, New York-Bern-Frankfurt am Main-Paris, 1989); Cf. DESPINA PROVATA, *Victor Hugo en Grèce (1842-1902)*, thèse de doctorat, (Paris: Université Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV), 1994): 284-290.

thétique, notamment la théorie du beau; il introduit dans cette discussion Victor Cousin, qu'il considère comme le plus grand critique de France: «*Outre l'imagination et la raison, l'homme de goût doit posséder l'amour éclairé mais ardent de la beauté [...]*» (p. vθ').²⁰ Rejetant la tragédie antique en disant que sa résurrection est une chimère («τὴν σήμερον πλέον ἢ ἀνάστασις τῆς ἀρχαίας τραγωδίας, ἣν φαίνονται τινες ὄνειροπολοῦντες εἶναι χίμαιρα», p. η'), il s'oriente vers Shakespeare et le théâtre allemand, portant même sa prédilection vers Schiller et Goethe. Il lance sa proposition visant à la création d'un «drame national», axée sur l'association de l'ethnique et du caractère chrétien de la Nation. Les Prolégomènes se déroulent, pour ainsi dire, en deux parties. L'essence de la première repose sur la conception romantique du drame, à prépondérance allemande, suivie de sa proposition visant le drame national grec. Dans la seconde partie sont d'abord examinées des questions relatives à la critique littéraire qui lui était contemporaine, à savoir la critique officielle (académique) grecque représentée par les concours poétiques. Cependant, cette partie est axée autour de la théorie générale du beau associée à celle du bien (τὸ καλόν, ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀγαθόν) et elle est redevable tant à la poétique classique (Aristote, Horace) qu'à des sources romantiques. Néanmoins, si dans la première partie de son discours, l'argumentation de Vernardakis est notamment à rechercher dans le domaine de la critique autant que dans celui de l'art dramatique (Schlegel, Lessing,²¹ Goethe), dans la seconde elle est plutôt orientée vers des sources philosophiques (Platon, Schelling, Hegel, Herder).²²

Il lance donc sa proposition visant à la création d'un «drame national», reposant sur l'osmose de la dimension ethnique avec l'essence chrétienne de la Nation. Néanmoins, toute son activité ultérieure de dramaturge ne fut qu'un jeu d'expérimentation aboutissant à un amalgame d'éléments classiques et romantiques. Car, quelques années plus tard, Vernardakis, de concert avec les orientations nouvelles de son époque qui cherche à se rallier encore une fois à l'esprit néoclassique, mais surtout à travers ses traductions d'Euripide, renoua ses liens avec l'Antiquité, abandonna la vision d'un théâtre shakespearien et cultiva l'image d'un drame national plutôt classicisant. En réalité, nous sommes beaucoup moins devant l'expression d'une rupture capitale avec ses convictions romantiques que devant la fusion de ces éléments hétéroclites, animés et traversés par une idéologie nationale.

²⁰ Vernardakis se réfère à l'essai de VICTOR COUSIN, *Du vrai, du beau et du bien*. Cf. ANNA TABAKI, «La formation du 'génie national' en Grèce: Ambivalences culturelles et esthétiques», 73.

²¹ Il se réfère à deux reprises à la *Dramaturgie de Hambourg* et à *Emilia Galotti*.

²² GEORGIA LADOYANNI, «Η αντιζυγία του γαλλικού και του γερμανικού προτύπου στη δραματική θεωρία του 19^{ου} αιώνα. Δημ. Βερναρδάκης και Σπ. Βασιλειάδης» [«La pondération des modèles français et allemand dans la théorie dramatique du XIX^e siècle. Dém. Vernardakis et Sp. Vassiliadis»], in *Ο Ελληνικός Κόσμος ανάμεσα στην Ανατολή και τη Δύση 1453-1981. Πρακτικά του Α' Ευρωπαϊκού Συνεδρίου Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών* (Βερολίνο, 2-4 Οκτωβρίου 1998) [*Le monde grec entre l'Orient et l'Occident 1453-1981. Actes du 1^{er} Congrès Européen d'Études Néohelléniques* (Berlin, 2-4 octobre 1998)], eds ASTERIOS ARGYRIOU, KONSTANTINOS A. DIMADIS, ANASTASIA DANAË LAZARIDOU, (Athènes: Ellinika Grammata, 1999): vol. I, 371-382, en particulier 370.

Quant à la forme de ses «tragédies iambiques», nous assistons à un véritable mariage du classique avec le romantique. Vernardakis, qui représente l'un des sommets du romantisme grec, reflète dans ses Préfaces successives et dans ses œuvres le processus évolutif de sa pensée et dans un certain sens certaines des antithèses majeures et des symbioses insolites du mouvement. Il fut pour sa part, comme une pléiade de dramaturges qui forment la constellation du mouvement grec, absolument attaché à l'idée d'un grand théâtre, partisan de la langue savante, adepte de la Grande Idée, critique et méfiant vis-à-vis de l'Europe occidentale, surtout pendant la dernière étape de son activité d'écrivain, et complètement hostile au théâtre bourgeois et naturaliste des années 1880.²³

Issu du climat romantique grec dont l'une des spécificités locales fut le dialogue renouvelé avec l'Antiquité, qui devient au fur et à mesure une obsession de refus ou de mimésis sélective, Jean Raptarchis s'adonna très jeune à la traduction des classiques grecs.²⁴ Son armature idéologique, combinée à son admiration débordante pour la civilisation antique, soumise aux revendications urgentes de création d'une scène nationale, si impérieusement imposées au milieu du XIX^e siècle, scelle justement sa préface aux traductions de six drames de Victor Hugo.²⁵

Aspirant à un théâtre qui soit l'école commune de l'humanité («το μετὰ τὸ διδασκαλεῖον δεύτερον τοῦτο, ὡς εἶπεν, σπουδαστήριον», p. θ'), ou encore, une sorte d'école sociale, servant à polir les mœurs (p. ι'), et reprenant ainsi dans son discours quelques-unes des idées maîtresses des Lumières qui semblent être encore en vigueur en pleine ère romantique, Raptarchis essaie d'harmoniser les valeurs des Anciens et des Modernes, en l'occurrence Victor Hugo, au service de la scène nationale. Il défend le théâtre, miroir de la nature soumis à l'inspiration magique de l'art et de l'harmonie, contre les préjugés qui le condamnent «en ce siècle des lumières et des progrès» comme un facteur de corruption morale (p. ις'). Il procède ensuite à une évaluation exhaustive de sa tâche de traducteur en

²³ DIMITRIS SPATHIS, «Ο θεατρικός Βερναρδάκης: κλασικός ή ρομαντικός;» [«Vernardakis dramaturge: classique ou romantique ?»], *Λεσβιακά [Lesviaká]* XI (1987): 58-88. Cf. ANNA TABAKI, *La dramaturgie néohellénique et ses influences occidentales (XVIII^e-XIX^e siècles)*, 121-124; eadem, «La formation du 'génie national' en Grèce: Ambivalences culturelles et esthétiques», 74-75.

²⁴ CHRYSOTHEMIS STAMATOPOULOU-VASILAKOU, «Ο Κωνσταντινουπολίτης λόγιος Ιωάννης Μ. Ραπτάρης και η συμβολή του στη μετακένωση της αρχαίας ελληνικής δραματουργίας» [L'érudit constantinopolitain Jean M. Raptarchis et sa contribution au 'transvasement' de la dramaturgie grecque ancienne], in *Ζητήματα Ιστορίας του νεοελληνικού θεάτρου. Μελέτες αφιερωμένες στον Δημήτρη Σπάθη*, [Questions d'histoire du théâtre néohellénique. Hommage à Dimitris Spathis], éds ΕΡΗΦΙ ΒΑΡΗΙΑΔΙ - ΝΙΚΙΦΟΡΟΣ ΠΑΠΑΝΔΡΕΟΥ, 97-115 (Hérakleion, Éditions Universitaires de Crète, 2007).

²⁵ *Δράματα Τρία Βικτωρος Ούγον του Γάλλου, Λουκρητία Βοργία, Άγγελος Τύραννος του Παταβίου και Μαρία ή Τυδώρις. Μεταφρασθέντα ελευθέρως και διάφοροι προσθήκαι και προλεγόμενοι κοσμηθέντα, Εκδίδονται υπό Ιωάννου Μ. Ραπτάρχου (...)* Έν Κωνσταντινουπόλει (...) [Trois Drames du Français Victor Hugo, Lucrèce Borgia, Angelo, tyran de Padoue et Marie Tudor, Traduits librement et enrichis d'additions et de prolégomènes, Publiés par Jean M. Raptarchis (...)] À Constantinople (...), 1861. Προλεγόμενα [Prolégomènes], ε'-νε'.

s'adonnant à une analyse dramaturgique comparée entre l'original hugolien et son propre texte.²⁶ Ses conclusions, données à la suite de ses commentaires sur *Lucrece Borgia*,²⁷ exaltent la mission sociale et nationale du théâtre et mettent l'accent sur la formation, à l'heure actuelle, d'une nationalité européenne aux valeurs culturelles communes (p. νδ' -ve').

Puisons notre dernier exemple dans le contexte d'un romantisme grandiloquent qui adopte un esprit de mélancolie morbide (πεισιθάνατος). Partisan de ces tendances, Spyridon Vassiliadis (1845-1874), poète, critique et dramaturge qui mourut très jeune, à l'âge de 28 ans (de même, notre exemple précédent, Jean Raptarchis se suicida à l'âge de 33 ans), aspire à se libérer des lieux communs du romantisme en s'orientant vers des sujets empruntés à l'Antiquité.²⁸ Dans ses écrits en prose et dans ses critiques, il s'avère hostile à certains postulats romantiques; il exprime également une méfiance tenace face à l'invasion des attitudes et des mœurs étrangères, comme cela ressort de son article consacré au Théâtre français, à savoir le vaudeville.²⁹ La publication de *l'Étude concernant la vie des Grecs modernes* de N. G. Politis³⁰ lui offre justement le prétexte pour contester la théorie unitaire de l'historiographe C. Pappargopoulos et qualifia la période médiévale de pourriture byzantine (βυζαντινή σηπεδόνα). Il se penche, en revanche, très attentivement sur les temps antiques dont il s'efforce de saisir l'esprit. La continuation directe de l'esprit de l'Antiquité persiste, selon lui, dans la muse populaire, à savoir les chants démotiques. Son chef-d'œuvre, *Γαλάτεια* (*Galatée*), compris dans son recueil *Ἄρτικαὶ Νύκτες* (*Nuits d'Attique*, 1873), suivi d'une Préface fort intéressante et suggestive de ses lectures, exploite deux sources d'inspiration: le mythe du roi de Chypre Pygmalion combiné au motif de la chanson populaire grecque: «Les frères bien-aimés et la femme infidèle» («Τ' ἀγαπημένα ἀδέρφια καὶ ἡ ἄπιστη γυναίκα»), pris dans le recueil de Passow. Selon Vassiliadis, il n'y a que deux sources de la poésie, et en l'occurrence du drame national: la création littéraire de l'Antiquité et l'esprit du peuple. Sa réflexion très

²⁶ Sur les aspirations de Jean Raptarchis, voir aussi CHRYSOTHEMIS STAMATOPOULOU-VASILAKOU, «Ιωάννης Μ. Ραπτάρχης. Ένας παραγνωρισμένος του ελληνότροπου ρομαντισμού» [«Ioannis M. Raptarchis. Un auteur méconnu du romantisme hellénocentrique»], in Stephanos. *Hommage à Walter Puchner*, édité par les soins de IOSSIF VIVILAKIS, 1157-1172 (Athènes: Ergo 2007).

²⁷ Raptarchis avait commis au sujet de *Lucrece Borgia* un plagiat, puisqu'il a reproduit presque fidèlement la traduction auparavant élaborée par Jean Isidoridis Skylitsis, publiée en 1852. En outre, il avait repris dans la partie biographique sur V. Hugo des articles anonymes parus dans des revues grecques en 1852 et en 1858, sans en mentionner les sources. Voir DESPINA PROVATA, «Le discours préfaciel», 141, 146 (notes 28, 29, 30).

²⁸ Voir l'étude bien documentée et exhaustive de MARIA DIMAKI ZORA, Σ. Ν. Βασιλειάδης, *Η ζωή και το έργο του* [S. N. Vassiliadis. *Sa vie et son œuvre*] (Athènes: Fondation Kostas et Eleni Ouranis, 2002); KYRIAKI PETRAKOU, «Οι κλασικο-ρομαντικές αντιφάσεις του Σπυρίδωνος Βασιλειάδη» [«Les contradictions classiques et romantiques de Spyridon Vassiliadis»], in *Πρακτικά Α΄ Πανελληνίου Θεατρολογικού Συνεδρίου. Το ελληνικό θέατρο από τον 17^ο στον 20^ο αιώνα* [Actes du Premier Congrès Panhellénique d'Études Théâtrales. *Le théâtre grec du XVII^e au XX^e siècle*], Athènes: Éditions Ergo, 2003): 143-157.

²⁹ SPYRIDON VASSILIADIS, «Γαλλικόν Θέατρον» [«Théâtre Français»], *Στοά* [Stoa], feuille du 16 février 1874.

³⁰ N. G. POLITIS, *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* [Étude concernant la vie des Grecs modernes] (1871). Cf. SPYRIDON VASSILIADIS, *Ἄρτικαὶ Νύκτες* [Nuits d'Attique], vol. III (Athènes 1875); il s'agit d'une édition posthume, comprenant ses œuvres en prose.

riche en nuances est traversée d'un éclectisme apparent. Ainsi, dans les Prologues de ses drames *Καλλέργαι* [*Kallergai*] et *Galatée*, Vassiliadis aborde-t-il certains thèmes constitutifs de son idéologie et de sa théorie esthétique en présentant, d'une manière systématique, sa conception de l'art. Son approche herméneutique concernant le caractère du «drame national grec» s'appuie sur quelques paramètres tels le climat, le milieu naturel, l'histoire et la psychologie du peuple grec, ses traits nationaux et sociaux pertinents ainsi que son propre psychisme. Il s'agit, certes, d'idées anciennes, déjà développées dans l'Antiquité et revalorisées par le romantisme européen; elles forment, en outre, le noyau de la théorie formulée par Hippolyte Taine, dont Vassiliadis connaissait l'œuvre.³¹

Ses goûts et ses convictions idéologiques orientent décidément ses lectures théoriques vers la bibliographie française.³² Dans ses écrits, il met successivement en valeur le fameux ouvrage de Mme de Staël, *De l'Allemagne* et le dernier chapitre de l'essai de Victor Hugo sur Shakespeare intitulé «Le beau serviteur du vrai». Il adopte les idées de Saint-Marc Girardin exprimées dans son *Cours de Littérature dramatique* et utilise Hippolyte Taine dont il mentionne deux ouvrages: son *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* – où est exposée la théorie selon laquelle l'œuvre littéraire est sujette à trois facteurs déterminants, *race, milieu et moment* – ainsi que son essai *De l'idéal dans l'art*. Nous retrouvons enfin dans son Prologue aux drames *Kallergai* et *Λουκάς Νοταράς* [*Loukas Notaras*] une référence à Sainte-Beuve (*Causeries du lundi*) et à Victor Cousin (*Du Vrai, du Beau et du Bien*).³³

Et ainsi de suite. Chaque Préface importante possède des éléments qui nous permettent de discerner les lectures théoriques de son auteur, le choix éclectique de ses «influences», par analogie toujours à ses besoins esthétiques et idéologiques.

En conclusion, en Grèce, malgré quelques exemples notoires qui ont attiré l'attention des chercheurs, le domaine de la réception demeure encore, dans le champ des études théâtrales, presque une *terra incognita*, sollicitant notre attention et notre sensibilité comparatiste, et pour cause. L'ère actuelle, celle de l'esprit postmoderne, permet justement de se détacher d'approches monolithiques, de choisir des outils flexibles, dépassant le dilemme, à mon avis quasi périmé: pure historicité ou étude du texte et de la représentation et de leurs signifiés, approche sociologique ou interprétation culturelle. Sans doute devons-nous opter pour le pluralisme et la coexistence des outils méthodologiques, afin d'élargir nos perspectives et saisir le problème complexe de la réception et de ses métamorphoses.

³¹ Cf. LITSA HATZOPOULOU (éd.), *Σπυρίδων Ν. Βασιλειάδης, Αττικά Νύκτες. Επιλογή από το λογοτεχνικό και κριτικό του έργο* [Spyridon N. Vassiliadis, *Nuits d'Attique. Choix de son œuvre littéraire et critique*] (Athènes: Fondation Kostas et Eleni Ouranis, 2003): 61, 63-64.

³² GEORGIA LADOYANNI, «Η αντιζύγια του γαλλικού και του γερμανικού προτύπου στη δραματική θεωρία του 19^{ου} αιώνα», 373.

³³ Cf. LITSA HATZOPOULOU (éd.), *Σπυρίδων Ν. Βασιλειάδης, Αττικά Νύκτες. Επιλογή από το λογοτεχνικό και κριτικό του έργο*, 293.

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THEATRE AFTER EVOLUTIONISM
AND FORMALISM. THE GREEK CASE

After an interregnum of a-historical approaches in recent decades, theatre history is again being discussed and able to focus scholarly interest. This impulse is coming from the practitioners of theatre, recognising that today there is no theatre practice without sound historical knowledge,¹ as well as from historiography itself, now interested in the history of everyday life and mentalities.² The problems of reconstruction and methodology in this field are in some ways similar to those of theatre historiography, mainly because of the usual lack of direct sources. The banishment of history from the canon was not so much a reaction to historiography itself, as much as to the philosophical and holistic approaches to history such as evolutionism. Evolutionism, essentially starting with Hegel's *Geschichtsphilosophie* and becoming popular with Darwinism, was the main historical concept in culture sciences up to the post-War period. This reaction against evolutionism was linked to political postulates after 1968 and gave way to more formalistic concepts such as Systemtheorie, structuralism, semiotics, comparativism without limits in time and space, and after that, deconstruction, post-modernism, etc. Under the influence of the fashion of 'post-histoire', no major project in theatre historiography was undertaken in these decades.³

Despite the fact of an enormous bibliography, the mere formalistic approaches, combining many different methodologies and terminologies, did not lead to any really adequate result.⁴ On a purely theoretical level, the theatre performance seems to be too com-

¹ See, for instance, the statement of Peter Stein: "Ich bin der Meinung, daß die Erforschung der geschichtlichen Dimension überhaupt erst die Voraussetzung schafft für den Spielraum der Regie" (H. MAINUSCH, *Regie und Interpretation. Gespräche mit Regisseuren*. (Munich, 1986): 114).

² See, for instance, P. SCHÖTTLER, 'Mentalitäten, Ideologie, Diskurse. Zur sozialgeschichtlichen Thematik der 'dritten' Ebene', in *Alltagsgeschichte. Zur Rekonstruktion historischer Erfahrung und Lebensweisen* ed. A. LÜDTKE, 88-136 (Frankfurt/New York, 1989).

³ Typically, Brockett's *History* goes back to 1968 (O. BROCKETT, *History of the Theatre*. Boston, etc. 1968, 1974, 1977, 1982, 1987, 1991, 1995, 1999, 2003). When the Americans at the end of the 20th century searched for a reliable history of world theatre, they had to translate from German the *Weltgeschichte des Theaters* by M. Berthold, Stuttgart 1968 (see M. BERTHOLD, *The History of World Theater: From the Beginning to the Baroque*, trans. EDITH SIMMONS. (New York, 1999). See also H.-P. BAYERDÖRFFER, 'Probleme der Theatergeschichtsschreibung', in *Theaterwissenschaft heute. Eine Einführung* ed. R. MÖHRMANN, 41-63, esp. 41 ff (Berlin, 1990).

⁴ The turning-point from optimism to pessimism is clearly evident in PATRICE PAVIS'S, *Dictionary of the Theatre. Terms, concepts, and analysis*. Toronto, etc., 1998 (Paris 1996). See also W. PUCHNER, *Από τη θεωρία του θεάτρου στις θεωρίες του θεατρικού. Εξελίξεις στην επιστήμη του θεάτρου στο τέλος του 20^{ου}*

plex to be analysed *in vivo* but only in an abstract manner as a system.⁵ Theatre shares this complexity with culture and society itself, but also with music, language, religion, etc. The most elaborate and effective model, the semiotic one, shows exactly this partial impossibility of analysing one hundred per cent the production and reception of a theatre play.⁶ A mysterious residuum of aesthetic quality and ways of communication always remains. As theory without history is metaphysics,⁷ formalistic approaches, following on the developments in semiology and anthropology, turned back to concreteness and historicity, with immediately better results for the analysis of aesthetic dimensions.⁸ A theatre sign is not a mere instrument for the conveying of meanings, but has also an aesthetic quality and performative entity in itself.

Maybe it is that postmodern particularism and antipathy to holistic approaches – they are considered totalitarian – prevented complex theatre histories, but on the other hand it also enhanced mistrust for theoretical constructs far from practical experience. It was the practitioners of theatre who revolted with their endless variety of experimental performances⁹ against the sterile classifications of formalistic theories, questioning and relativising every single category of abstract performance analysis.¹⁰ This reaction has forced theatre theory to new explorations beyond the semiotic model and closer to an empirical ground of concrete performative events. Without the historical dimension, presence is a place of nowhere. As the Greek word ‘ou-topos’ says, *utopia*.

The essential category of history is time. It is not the archetypical cyclic time of mythus and ritus, as shaped in Heraclian thought, but the unilinear continuum of irreversible progression. There are combinations of the two models of time such as the spiral progression, which Oswald Spengler elaborated in the sequel to Nietzsche’s philosophy.¹¹ Philosophy of

αὐδία. [From the theory of the theatre to the theories of the theatrical. Evolution in the science of the theatre in the end of 20th c.] (Athens, 2003). Actually there has been no comprehensive bibliography on the theory of theatre in recent decades. See for instance C. BALME, *Einführung in die Theaterwissenschaft*. (Berlin, 1999): 187-195.

⁵ See E. FISCHER-LICHTE, *Semiotik des Theaters*, Vol. 1, *Das System der theatralischen Zeichen*. (Tübingen, 1983, 1988).

⁶ For the partly effective analysis of video-film see GUIDO HISS, “Zur Aufführungsanalyse,” in MÖHRMANN, *Theaterwissenschaft heute*, *op. cit.*: 65-80 (with more bibliography). Keir Elam tried to give some notation system for theatre performance together with the text (*The Semiotic of Theatre and Drama*), 192 ff (London/New York, 1980).

⁷ See, for instance, J. DE GOFF, R. CHARTIER, J. REVEL, *Die Rückeroberung des historischen Denkens. Grundlagen der neuen Geschichtswissenschaft*. (Frankfurt/M., 1990).

⁸ See, for instance, E. FISCHER-LICHTE, “Theatre and the Civilizing Process. An Approach to the History of Acting,” in *Interpreting the Theatrical Past. An Approach to the History of Acting* T. POSTLEWAIT/ B. A. MCCONACHIE, 19-36 (Iowa UP, 1989).

⁹ See M. CARLSON, *Performance. A critical introduction*. (New York, 1996).

¹⁰ Some scholars have called these categories a ‘dead list’. See T. KOWZAN, *Littérature et spectacle dans leur rapports esthétiques, thématiques et sémiologiques*. (Warsaw, 1970).

¹¹ O. SPENGLER, *Der Untergang des Abendlands*. 1920.

history, religion and metaphysics formed in the European tradition the concept of evolution as an integrative framework for every historical event. Ethnographical and anthropological material from five continents was assimilated into this all-comprehensive concept of a harmonious continuous world-wide development and enrichment of human culture. But *post-histoire* and post-modernism, hostile to holistic and integrated concepts, prefer the unrelated and independent detail, not the picture or the mosaic, but *collage* and *pastiche*.

One of the consequences of this world-view of scattered parts is the emphasis given to discontinuities, ruptures, breaks and cuts in imagined evolution. Evolution in the times of human history is just a mental construct without historical reality. In theatre history, such objections were formulated first in the history of medieval religious theatre, questioning the evolutionary model of Karl Young by Hardison, de Boor, Drumbl and others.¹² But essentially this critique can *mutatis mutandis* be extended to other chapters of theatre history, or to whole national theatre histories. For instance, Germany is a good example of discontinuities, if geographical decentralisation is taken as a main criterion. Or Italy, if the common standardised language is taken as a *conditio sine qua non*. In Spain, discontinuity is a chronological one after the Golden Age of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. More homogeneous is theatre history for example in France or in England. And in Athens of the fifth century B.C. theatre history is a real uninterrupted continuum.

But the concepts of causality and teleology as a chain of events orientated to the very end of the continuum in recent phenomena is misleading also in another sense: the material of facts and evidence usually is arranged according to the cultural hegemony¹³ or manipulated from a later historical perspective, giving emphasis to avant-garde movements or the first manifestation of aesthetic or other tendencies which were not really significant at that time. What is not so much taken into account is what we can call 'the simultaneity of the non-simultaneous', coming from different strata of history. Late medieval religious plays were staged in folk performances still in the nineteenth century, at the same time as in Hungary, in the private theatres of the magnates, baroque opera was again cultivated, and in most European capitals under the auspices of realism, historicism revived on the stage all historical periods together. A more democratic glance at theatre manifestations, at a given historical moment, will discern much more than the hegemonic forms of the later historical canon. The theatres of one single period often come together in one single repertoire, even in one single performance. This becomes very clear if we take into account

¹² K. YOUNG, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1993); O. B. HARDISON, "Darwin, mutations and the origin of medieval drama," in *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* 1-34 (Baltimore, 1965); H. DE BOOR, *Die Textgeschichte der lateinischen Osterfeiern*. (Tübingen, 1967); J. DRUMBL, *Quem quaeritis. Teatro sacro dell'alto medioevo*. (Rome, 1981).

¹³ B. A. MCCONAGHIE, "Using the Concept of Cultural Hegemony to Write Theatre History," in *Interpreting the Theatrical Past*, 37-58.

the reception side: the mentality of audiences,¹⁴ changing at a slower pace and resisting rapid aesthetic movements. Theatre as a social institution is located in a time other than that of the aesthetic or thematic selections of repertoire.

In the sense of reservation against imagined evolutionism, the theatre history of modern Greece since the end of the sixteenth century is an outstanding example for the post-modern search for discontinuities. It starts with a flourishing theatre life in Venetian Crete with extraordinary tragedies, such as *Erophile* by Georgios Chortatsis (c. 1600), comedies, pastoral plays and religious dramas.¹⁵ Eight texts are the only remains of a whole dramatic production, as Crete was the most wealthy province of the Serenissima in the Mediterranean. The plays were written in Cretan dialect, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth century was a leading literary and highly developed medium of expression. *Erophile*, at least, is part of *Weltliteratur* in Goethe's sense. This theatrical life was sharply cut short in 1669 by the Ottoman occupation of the island. Not a single dramatic work was written or staged in Crete after that and before the twentieth century. The total absence of theatre activity is the rule in Ottoman South-Eastern Europe,¹⁶ with the exception of shadow theatre¹⁷ and some religious performances of the Jesuits in Greek on the islands of Archipelago and in Constantinople itself.¹⁸

The situation is different in the Ionian Islands in the south of the Adriatic Sea, because they never fell under Ottoman rule and were part of the Venetian dominions in the Mediterranean up to the fall of the Serenissima at the end of the eighteenth century. Theatre in Corfu, Zante and Cefalonia can be traced from the sixteenth to the twentieth century, being the only theatre tradition located without interruption in the same geographical area. This tradition, written in the dialect of the Ionian Islands, also included folk theatre but also Italian opera from the first half of the eighteenth century. Many performances in Italian can be traced in the eighteenth and nineteenth century.¹⁹ But after 1800 most of the drama

¹⁴ See, for instance, M. CARLSON, "Theatre Audiences and the Reading of Performance," in *Interpreting the Theatrical Past*, *op. cit.*: 82-98, and *Idem*, *The Haunted Stage. The Theatre as a Memory Machine*. (Michigan UP, 2001).

¹⁵ See now D. HOLTON (ed.), *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*. (Cambridge, 1991).

¹⁶ For an overview of theatre history in South-Eastern Europe see W. PUCHNER, *Historisches Drama und gesellschaftskritische Komödie in den Ländern Südosteuropas im 19. Jahrhundert. Vom Theater des Nationalismus zum Nationaltheater*. (Frankfurt/M., etc., 1994), as well as the article by the same, "A short outline of theatre history of the Balkan peninsula (From Renaissance to Mid-War years)", *Παράβασις/Parabasis. Scientific Bulletin of the Department of Theatre Studies at the University of Athens* 5 (2004): 29-79.

¹⁷ W. PUCHNER, "Das osmanische Schattentheater auf der Balkanhalbinsel zur Zeit der Türkenherrschaft. Verbreitung, Funktion, Assimilation." *Südost-Forschungen* 56 (1997): 151-188.

¹⁸ W. PUCHNER, *Griechisches Schuldrama und religiöses Barocktheater im ägäischen Raum zur Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1580-1750)*. (Vienna, 1999) (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, vol. 277).

¹⁹ For bibliography see now E. D. GOULI, "Συμβολή στην επτανησιακή θεατρική βιβλιογραφία." ["Contribution to the Ionian theatrical bibliography"] *Πόρφυρας/Porphyras* 114 (2005): 765-782. There is no

production used a more erudite language (*katharevousa*), following the paradigm of patriotic drama shortly before and after the Greek Revolution of 1821.²⁰

This differentiation in language and style is made evident by the Greek dramatic satires written in Constantinople itself from the end of the seventeenth century by clerics or members of Phanariot families who were appointed by the Sultan to rule the principalities of Moldavia and Walachia in today's Romania. In this mixed style many dramas of Molière, Metastasio and Goldoni were translated, later also of Alfieri and Kotzebue, published usually in Venice and, after the *caduta di Serenissima*, in Vienna.²¹ The dramaturgical paradigm is now the *haute tragédie* of French classicism with Ancient Greek subject-matter and in moralising comedy, Molière and Goldoni.²² The tradition of classicistic tragedy and comedy as cultivated in Venetian Crete is now forgotten or suppressed.

In the years after the Greek Revolution, the capital Athens had only a sparse theatre life: more important up to 1870 was the port of Ermoupolis on Syra, Smyrna, Alexandria, and Constantinople itself. Dramatic production was written now in a more archaising style, in an attempt to copy the Attic dialect of ancient Greece and the erudite tradition of the Byzantine scholarly literature. Classicism was the overall aesthetic concept for tragedy; comedy used a more moderate language, closer to bourgeois speaking practices.²³ Shakespeare and Romanticism broke the rule of classicism only for a short time.

After 1870, Athens entered the era of its 'belle époque' and began to concentrate the whole of Greek theatre life in its theatres. A new generation of poets and dramatists started writing in a totally different style, using the language of folk songs and rural culture. This subsequent change of style and language also had ideological and literary implications, as together with 'demoticism', the theatre of modernism prevailed together with French 'pièce bien faite' in the Greek theatres over the plays of Classicism and Romanticism.²⁴ This

comprehensive history of theatre in the Ionian Islands.

²⁰ On Greek *diglossia* see J. NIEHOFF-PANAGIOTIDIS, *Koine und Diglossie*. (Wiesbaden, 1994) (Mediterranean Language and Culture Monograph Series, vol. 10); G. HERING, "Die Auseinandersetzungen über die griechische Schriftsprache," in *Nostos. Gesammelte Schriften zur südosteuropäischen Geschichte* ed. M. A. STASSINOPOULOU, 189-264 etc (Frankfurt/M., etc., 1995).

²¹ See mainly A. TABAKI, *Le théâtre néohellénique: Génèse et formation. Ses composantes sociales, idéologiques et esthétiques*, 3 vols. (Paris, thèse EHESS, 1995); Lille: Diffusion Septentrion, Presses Universitaires, 2001).

²² See also W. PUCHNER, "Influssi italiani sul teatro greco," *Sincronie, Rivista semestrale di letteratura, teatro e sistemi di pensiero* II, 3 (gennaio-giugno 1998, Roma, Vecchiarelli editore): 183-232.

²³ W. PUCHNER, "Die neugriechische Literatur von 1827 bis 1888," *Hellenika* (2001): 27-75, Idem, "Zur Dialektik von Fremdheit im gemeinsamen 'Haus Europa'. Die Rezeption Europas im griechischen Theaterwesen von 1800-1930", in *Exotica. Konsum und Inszenierung des Fremden im 19. Jahrhundert* eds. J.-P. BAYERDÖRFER / E. HELLMUTH, 279-294 (Münster, 2003 [2004]).

²⁴ W. PUCHNER, "Modernism in modern Greek theatre (1895-1922)," *Κάματος, Cambridge papers in Modern Greek* 6 (1998): 51-80; Idem, "Moderne oder Avantgarde? Das griechische Drama zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts," in *Die literarische Avantgarde in Südosteuropa und ihre politische und gesellschaftliche Bedeutung* ed. R. LAUER, 255-270 (Munich, 2001).

re-orientation in language, style, aesthetics, dramatic models and ideology was so deep-rooted that in the twentieth century, after 1925, no plays of the nineteenth century, written in *katharevousa*, with a very few exceptions, were ever staged. Traditional theatre centres like Corfu, Ermoupolis, Smyrna, Alexandria, also Constantinople, lost their vitality of activity, and Athens, together with some Greek provincial towns, was the only real centre of theatre life.

So after the rupture of 1800, we can see yet another, going even deeper, round about 1900. In this sense, modern Greece is almost a model case for the post-modern search for discontinuities and ruptures, on a language level, of style, dramaturgically, ideologically, in the sense of social function and perception, but also as far as the Western models of drama and theatre are concerned. Modern Greek history of theatre is not in real danger of evolutionistic and harmonising concepts. And despite the reservations of post-modern theatrical historiography, it has to be written anew, because unlike the case of the main national theatre histories of Europe, a whole series of new facts, texts, performances, actors, theatres, details of theatre life, etc. has been recently discovered by research. That means that all the older histories of Modern Greek theatre are definitely out of date. There is increasing evidence for the fact that this history was much more important than was considered before. And it is very modern, or post-modern, in the sense that it takes place in a geographically decentralised way on entirely different language and style levels following various dramaturgical models; the performances were undertaken by socially and artistically very different actors within the framework of distinctive ideologies and were addressed itself to motley audiences. That makes the Greek case modern, and the history of Modern Greek Theatre post-modern.

GEORGES P. PEFANIS

LE MAÎTRE OMNIPOTENT DE LA SCÈNE
ASPECTS ET LIMITES DE LA MÉTAPHORE THÉÂTRALE
AU DÉBUT DU XXI^E SIÈCLE

La métaphore théâtrale est présente dans la constitution de l'esprit européen dès l'instant où est apparue en Grèce la première forme d'art théâtral et de pensée philosophique: lieu commun apprécié, non seulement de la théâtrologie mais également de toutes les sciences humaines et sociales. L'image de l'homme en tant qu'acteur et celle du monde en tant que théâtre, avec ses rôles habituellement préconçus et un tout-puissant spectateur-metteur en scène – se sont imposées au monde occidental grâce non seulement aux grands dramaturges,¹ mais aussi aux penseurs qui les ont érigées en motif de leur pensée philosophique, théologique et politique, dès l'époque de Démocrite et de Pythagore.²

De nos jours, s'accomplit un glissement d'intérêt, de la perspective plutôt «philosophique» du *Theatrum Mundi* vers l'optique pratique et empirique de la performance ritualisée. La métaphore théâtrale classique exigeait une *Weltanschauung* et fonctionnait comme principe supra-historique. C'est surtout à partir de la Seconde Guerre mondiale que la *philosophia perennis* explose en plusieurs théories et en disciplines diverses et que l'ensemble universel de référence de la métaphore théâtrale n'existe plus, le monde n'étant plus lui-même considéré comme un tout organique. Avec lui, le monde du théâtre a cessé

¹ Comme le prétend Jean Jacquot dans son article «Le théâtre du monde»: de Shakespeare à Calderón», *Revue de littérature comparée* XXXI (1957): 341.

² Pour un retour historique sur cet sujet, voir LYNDA G. CHRISTIAN, *Theatrum mundi. The history of an idea* (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1987). Voir aussi RICHARD BERNHIMER, «Theatrum Mundi», *The Art Bulletin* 38 (1956): 225-247, JACQUOT, 341-372, MINOS KOKOLAKIS, *The dramatic simile of life* (Athens 1960), ANNE RIGHTER, *Shakespeare and the idea of the play* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1962), HERBERT WEISINGER, «Theatrum Mundi: Illusion as Reality», *The Agony and the Triumph. Papers on the Use and the Abuse of a Myth* (Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1964): 58-70, THOMAS WHITAKER, *Fields of Play in Modern Drama* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), THOMAS VAN LAAN, *Role-Playing in Shakespeare* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), KENT T. VAN DEN BERG, *Playhouse and Cosmos. Shakespearean Theater as Metaphor* (London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, Newark: University Press of Delaware, 1985), IOSSIF VIVILAKIS, *Η θεατρική ορολογία στους Πατέρες της Εκκλησίας. Συμβολή στη σχέση Εκκλησίας και Θεάτρου* [La terminologie théâtrale chez les Pères de l'Église. Contribution à la relation entre Église et théâtre] (thèse, Athènes 1996) et «Η σκηνή του βίου. Η παραβολή του κοσμοθεάτρου στους εκκλησιαστικούς Πατέρες» [«La scène de la vie. La parabole du théâtre du monde chez les Pères de l'Église»], dans son livre *Για το ιερό και το δράμα, Θεατρολογικές προεγγύσεις* [Sur le sacré et le drame, Approches théâtrologiques]: 125-146 (Athènes: Armos, 2004), MATTHEW H. WIKANDER, *The Fangs of Malice: Hypocrisy, Sincerity and acting* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2002).

d'être considéré comme uniforme. Le passage progressif d'*universalia* à *fragmenta* est déterminant pour les deux pôles de la métaphore, donc pour la métaphore en tant que telle.

Le XX^e siècle a mis en valeur les perspectives de la métaphore théâtrale de diverses façons et dans des champs scientifiques variés: en sociologie de la connaissance,³ dans l'étude du comportement narcissique collectif,⁴ dans la consommation de biens matériels,⁵ la critique des médias, dans les études culturelles et l'anthropologie interprétative,⁶ dans le récit d'histoires,⁷ en politique⁸ et en diplomatie:⁹ en un mot, dans l'éventail tout entier de la vie privée et publique.¹⁰ Nous avons là la scène de l'inconscient¹¹ et le théâtre des sciences.¹² Nous avons là la scène du comportement conventionnel et du rituel social,¹³ le théâtre des rôles sociaux dans les rencontres particulières,¹⁴ celui des dif-

³ Voir PETER BERGER et THOMAS LUCKMANN, *The Social Construction of Reality* (1966), traduction grecque: *Η κοινωνική κατασκευή της πραγματικότητας* (Athènes: Nissos, 2004).

⁴ Voir CHRISTOPHER LASH, *The Culture of Narcissism* (1979), traduction grecque: *Η κουλτούρα του ναρκισσισμού. Η αμερικανική ζωή σε μια εποχή μειούμενων προσδοκιών* (Athènes: Nissides, s.d.).

⁵ JEAN BAUDRILLARD, *La société de consommation* (Paris: Gallimard, 1989).

⁶ Dans les études de VICTOR TURNER, *Drama, Fields and Metaphors: Symbolic actions in human Society* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1975 [1974]), *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982), et CLIFFORD GEERTZ, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973), traduction grecque: *Η ερμηνεία των πολιτισμών*, (Athènes: Alexandraia, 2003) et NEGARA, *The Theatre State in Nineteenth-Century Bali* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980).

⁷ BARBARA KIRSHENBLATT-GIMBLETT, «A Parable in Context: A Social Interactional Analysis of Storytelling Performance», in *Folklore: Performance and Communication*, éd. Dan BEN-AMOS & KENNETH S. GOLDSTEIN, 105-130 (The Hague: Mouton, 1975).

⁸ Voir VALERIA WAGNER, *Bound to Act. Models of Action, Dramas of Inaction* (Stanford University Press, California, 1999), BETSY BOLTON, *Women, Nationalism, and the Romantic Stage: Theatre and politics in Britain, 1780-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) et LIONEL PILKINGTON, *Theatre and State in Twentieth-Century Ireland: Cultivating the People* (London & New York: Routledge, 2001), L. M. BOGAD, *Electoral Guerrilla Theatre* (London & New York: Routledge, 2005).

⁹ Voir LASH.

¹⁰ RICHARD SENNETT, *The Fall of Public Man* (1993) [*Η τυραννία της οικειότητας. Ο δημόσιος και ο ιδιωτικός χώρος στον δυτικό πολιτισμό*], (Athènes: Nefeli, 1999).

¹¹ ERIC BERNE, *What Do You Do After You Say Hello?* (New York: Grove Press, 1972), JEAN-FRANÇOIS LYOTARD, «The Unconscious as Mise-en-scène», in *Performance in Postmodern Culture*, éd. MICHEL BENAMOU et CHARLES CARAMELLO, 87-98 (Madison: Center for Twentieth Century Studies, University of Wisconsin-Coda Press, 1977), OCTAVE MANNONI, *Clefs pour l'imaginaire ou L'autre scène* (Paris: Seuil, 1985), YVES THORET, *La Théâtralité: étude freudienne* (Paris: Dunod, 1993), PEGGY PHELAN, *Unmarked. The politics of Performance* (London & New York: Routledge, 1993).

¹² Voir DANIEL RAICHVARG, *Science et spectacle. Figures d'une rencontre* (Nice: Z'Éditions, 1993), ROBERT P. CREASE, *The Play of Nature: Experimentation as Performance* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993).

¹³ Voir CATHERINE BELL, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

¹⁴ Voir IRVING GOFFMAN, *La mise en scène de la vie quotidienne*, 1. *La présentation de soi* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1987 [1973]), *Les cadres de l'expérience* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1991 [1974]), *Συναντήσεις / Rencontres* (Athènes: Alexandraia, 1991 [1966]).

férends publics,¹⁵ de l'identité psychologique et de la thérapie,¹⁶ et même celui des conseils scientifiques.¹⁷ L'ultra-superviseur spectateur-metteur en scène de l'époque classique peut avoir, aujourd'hui, disparu de la scène contemporaine, l'observation assidue et opiniâtre des autres – intimes et étrangers – existe toujours. Le soi performatif se tient continuellement sous leur regard vigilant. Et, au quotidien – ce quotidien où il n'est pas facile de distinguer l'être du paraître –, ce regard crée une autre dimension.

Dans tous les cas, ce qui apparaît évident à travers sa polymorphie, c'est le fait que la métaphore théâtrale se trouve au point de deux perspectives complémentaires: la théâtralisation de la vie sociale et celle de l'anatomie sociale du phénomène théâtral. C'est dans ces deux perspectives que se coulent, d'une façon ou d'une autre, toutes les théories qui se développent au cours du XX^e siècle autour de la définition majeure du théâtre ou de sa présence dans la vie quotidienne des individus et des groupes.

En parlant de métaphore théâtrale, il faut rappeler que dans chacune de ses expressions coexistent deux niveaux différents de signification: une signification centrale, reliée au sens propre des deux termes de la métaphore conçus séparément («monde» – «théâtre», «homme» – «acteur») et une nouvelle signification, qui constitue une extension hypothétique de la signification centrale, c'est-à-dire un transfert de celle-ci vers un cadre nouveau. Centre et cadre nouveau certifient qu'il y a toujours une différence entre eux. Là où il y a métaphore, il y a conflit, et par conséquent, l'application d'un terme est métaphorique seulement si elle est dans une certaine mesure contre-indiquée. Comme l'écrit Nelson Goodman, «une métaphore est une idylle entre un prédicat qui a un passé et un objet qui cède tout en protestant».¹⁸ Autrement dit, si le monde est théâtre, c'est parce que monde et théâtre se définissent l'un l'autre sur la base d'une différence, bien dissimulée et pourtant fondamentale, selon laquelle le monde n'est pas théâtre ou du moins ne s'identifie pas à lui.

¹⁵ ELAINE HADLEY, *Melodramatic Tactics. Theatricalized Dissent in the English Marketplace, 1800-1885* (Stanford University Press, California, 1995).

¹⁶ D. W. WINNICOTT, *Playing and reality* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1971), LAURA SHELEEN, *Théâtre pour devenir autre* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1983), JACOB LÉVY MORENO, *Théâtre de la spontanéité* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1984), PATRICIA ATTIGUI, *De l'illusion théâtrale à l'espace thérapeutique: jeu, transfert et psychose* (Paris: Denoël, 1993), ROBERT J. LANDY, *Persona and Performance* (1993), traduction grecque: Προσωπικότητα και προσωπίο. Ο ρόλος στο δράμα, τη θεραπεία και την καθημερινότητα (Athènes: Ellinika Grammata, 2001).

¹⁷ STEPHEN HILGARTNER, *Science on Stage. Expert Advice as Public Drama* (Stanford University Press, California, 2000).

¹⁸ NELSON GOODMAN, *Langages de l'art*, (Nîmes: Jacqueline Chambon, 1990 [1968]): 101. Au sujet de la thématique des relations tensionnelles dans la métaphore, voir DOUGLAS BERGGREN, «The use and the abuse of metaphor», *Review of Metaphysics* 16, I (1962): 237-258, II (1963): 450-472, PHILIPP WHEELWRIGHT, *Metaphor and Reality* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1962), *The Burning Fountain* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1968), COLIN MURRAY TURBAYNE, *The Myth of Metaphor* (Columbia: The University of South Carolina Press, 1970), et notamment PAUL RICŒUR, *La métaphore vive* (Paris: Seuil, 1975), traduction grecque: Η ζωντανή μεταφορά (Athènes: Kritiki, 1998).

Une seconde observation vient tout de suite contrebalancer la première et concerne une relation (par exemple de similitude ou de parenté) qui lie les deux termes de la métaphore. Si le théâtre est considéré comme un constructeur d'«êtres» sociaux alternatifs,¹⁹ et par voie de conséquence, comme un paradigme pour la vie sociale,²⁰ la métaphore théâtrale a une certaine «logique», puisqu'elle utilise à la base les similitudes ou les analogies qui existent entre le monde et le théâtre. Divergence et similitude sont donc, comme dans chaque métaphore, deux mouvements inséparables, puisque chacun d'entre eux compense l'œuvre de l'autre.

Au jeu des parallélismes, des analogies, des correspondances et des contrastes de la métaphore théâtrale, même les différenciations entre le théâtre et le monde renforcent leur contiguïté. Car ces différenciations sous-entendent les similitudes: elles délimitent les territoires non-communs de deux mondes, définissent les régions adjacentes et déterminent indirectement les espaces communs. Les différenciations se forment sur la base de certains critères.

1. *Le critère de la répétitivité.* Richard Schechner a tenté d'introduire la distinction entre le comportement théâtral ou rituel répétitif et «préparé» et le comportement singulier qui ne peut être répété au quotidien. Ce critère se base sur le fait que le théâtre consiste en une présence double et imparfaite, une représentation d'événements «ici et maintenant», qui se sont déroulés «ailleurs, autrefois»;²¹ il est renforcé, en outre, par la présence des répétitions, où est confirmée parfois la présence d'un «texte» antérieur et où est soigneusement préparé le produit final, la forme achevée et définitive de la performance. Ainsi le spectacle offert à la scène se «réalise»-t-il pour la seconde fois au moins: c'est le bien connu «comportement rétabli» / «*restored behavior*».²² Il arrive souvent cependant – et Schechner lui-même le reconnaît – que dans la vie quotidienne, un «texte» ou un rôle pré-établi dicte un comportement qui se répète régulièrement à l'identique.

2. *Le critère de la réflexivité.* C'est un critère puissant et subtil dans sa conception, critère proposé par Marvin Carlson dans son livre *Performance. A critical Introduction*. Il est certain que dans les manifestations et les cérémonies sociales, s'exprime un effort de

¹⁹ ELISABETH BURNS, *Theatricality: A study of convention in the theatre and in social life*, 231-232 (London: Longman Group, 1972).

²⁰ ELISABETH BURNS, «La métaphore théâtrale. Le monde comme scène et le théâtre comme paradigme», *Discours social* 5 (1975): 5-21. Il faut dire ici que ce paradigme n'est d'habitude qu'un «cadre de référence» et qu'il ne présuppose pas nécessairement un rôle conscient ou calculé. Voir SHELDON L. MESSINGER, HAROLD SAMPSON et ROBERT D. TOWNE, «Life as Theater: Some Notes on the Dramaturgic Approach to Social Reality», *Sociometry* XXV (1962): 98-110.

²¹ RICHARD SCHECHNER, *Performance theory*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1988): 169.

²² RICHARD SCHECHNER, *Between Theater and Anthropology*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985): 35.

définition des individus et des groupes sociaux. Au théâtre cependant, cet effort se définit avant tout comme une recherche consciente de définition et de redéfinition de la culture par l'acteur et le spectateur, qui acceptent tous deux le spectacle comme étant une exploration de soi, d'autrui et des possibilités alternatives d'interprétation du monde. Et l'on doit souligner que cette préoccupation est d'une importance fondamentale pour la qualité des spectacles, mais aussi pour la consistance du théâtral en tant que tel. Néanmoins, on ne peut pas facilement la refuser à ceux qui participent à un événement populaire ou à une cérémonie religieuse.²³

3. *Le critère de l'interaction ouverte* se focalise davantage sur les performances que sur le théâtre traditionnel et souligne l'interaction nécessaire des *performers* et des spectateurs dans le déroulement de l'événement théâtral. Une interaction ouverte est ce processus fluide qui suppose la participation active du public, plus même, son implication consciente dans la création de l'événement. L'interaction ouverte, cependant, ne marque pas un espace exclusivement théâtral, puisque de telles interactions sont courantes dans les différentes connexions de la vie quotidienne.

4. *Le critère de la participation* est lié au précédent. La représentation théâtrale est vécue par un individu qui, au cours du déroulement de la représentation, fait partie d'un groupe et a conscience de ce fait. Le théâtre, en opposition avec les autres arts, est un art tripartite, puisqu'il suppose la présence d'un acteur, du public et du «moi». Autrement dit, la représentation théâtrale ne peut avoir lieu avec un seul spectateur. Alan Read, qui propose à nouveau ce critère, l'utilise pour opposer le théâtre au sentiment religieux, aux manifestations et au processus thérapeutique.²⁴ L'on doit cependant souligner que dans les trois cas, le critère de la participation peut être valable. Dans la thérapie de groupe, il va de soi que, comme pour les participants à un événement populaire ou pour qu'une expérience religieuse soit suscitée et cultivée, la présence des autres est importante.

5. *Le critère de la corporalité*. Après Grotowski, et, en nous rapprochant progressivement des dernières décennies du XX^e siècle, à travers le *body art*, le corps de l'acteur prend de plus en plus d'importance dans le processus de la performance théâtrale. Très tôt, Roland Barthes avait associé la corporalité à la théâtralité et parlait de la dualité du corps théâtral.²⁵ Le corps en tant que source de mouvement, de changement, d'action et de désir, est considéré comme un obstacle naturel à tous les pouvoirs qui imposent des structures

²³ Voir WALTER PUCHNER, *Λαϊκό θέατρο στην Ελλάδα και στα Βαλκάνια. Συγκριτική μελέτη [Théâtre populaire en Grèce et dans les Balkans. Étude comparative]* (Athènes: Patakis, 1989).

²⁴ ALAN READ, *Theatre and Everyday Life. An Ethics of Performance*, (London & New York: Routledge, 1993): 94.

²⁵ ROLAND BARTHES, «Le théâtre de Baudelaire», *Essais critiques*, 43 (Paris: Seuil, 1964).

monolithiques et rigides dans les relations humaines. Évoquant la liberté du corps carnavalesque dans Bakhtine, Randy Martin, par exemple, parle de «*circulation polyphonique des sentiments humains*»;²⁶ plus emphatique encore, Michel Bernard considère le corps comme la fondation de la théâtralité, mais ce même philosophe élargit les limites de la théâtralité à toutes les formes de l'expression humaine et particulièrement au langage.²⁷

Les pensées de Bernard sont fort révélatrices sur la dualité innée du corps, qui se présente à l'autre comme quelque chose de différent bien que restant le même. De cette ambivalence émerge la théâtralité, mais il s'agit là d'une ambivalence qui dépasse de beaucoup les limites de la représentation théâtrale et s'ouvre au pouvoir de la vie quotidienne en tant que scène théâtrale.²⁸

6. *Le critère de l'autonomie du discours scénique.* Emprunté à l'analyse de la textualité de l'œuvre dramatique de Keir Elam,²⁹ ce critère pourrait prolonger les modalités de la cohérence textuelle à l'art scénique en présupposant une relation analogique: tout comme le texte dramatique se différencie du discours quotidien, la représentation théâtrale se différencie de la vie de tous les jours. Le critère d'autonomie du discours scénique peut être considéré comme étant un instrument incisif de discrimination entre le discours scénique et le discours quotidien, mais il présuppose la présence et l'influence d'un «*texte*» ou d'une œuvre dramatique, parfaitement structurée et formulée, au début de l'action scénique. Cependant, d'autres formes d'expression scénique – telles que le mime ou la danse – sont ainsi écartées du débat. De surcroît, toutes les distinctions précédentes se focalisent sur la scène, le metteur en scène, l'acteur et, bien entendu, derrière eux sur l'auteur, excluant ainsi le spectateur et sa participation innovante.

7. *Le critère de la triple distinction.* Josette Féral introduit un critère: celui de la triple distinction.³⁰ La première se situe entre ce qui se déroule sur scène et l'environnement. Cette mise en cadre est tout aussi importante que la présence scénique elle-même, car elle règle le comportement du spectateur, garantissant ainsi les conditions nécessaires de participation et de compréhension.

²⁶ RANDY MARTIN, *Performance as Political Act: The Embodied Self*, (New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1990).

²⁷ MICHEL BERNARD, *L'expressivité du corps. Recherche sur les fondements de la théâtralité* (Paris: J. P. Delarge, 1976): 176.

²⁸ Parmi les études sur la dimension corporelle au théâtre, voir STANTON B. GARNER, *Bodied Spaces. Phenomenology and Performance in Contemporary Drama* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1994), SIMON SHEPHERD, *Theatre, Body and Pleasure* (London & New York: Routledge, 2005).

²⁹ Voir KEIR ELAM, *The Semiotics of Theatre and Drama*, (London: Routledge, 1980): 180-184; traduction grecque: *Η σημειωτική θεάτρου και δράματος*, 210-215 (Athènes: Ellinika Grammata, 2001), GEORGES P. PEFANIS, *Το θέατρο και τα σύμβολα. Διαδικασίες συμβόλισης του δραματικού λόγου [Le théâtre et les symboles. Processus de symbolisation du texte dramatique]*, (Athènes: Ellinika Grammata, 1999): 154-158.

³⁰ JOSETTE FÉRAL, «Foreword», *Substance*, 31, 2-3 (2002): 3-13.

Selon la seconde distinction, chaque acte et chaque objet de la représentation s'inscrivent à la fois dans l'espace du réel et dans celui de la fiction. Le spectateur lui-même ne peut d'ailleurs pas limiter son regard à un seul niveau. Ainsi, simultanément au jeu scénique des significations qu'il observe et recompose, il joue lui-même un autre jeu, celui de la tension créatrice entre le social (ou l'historique) et la fiction.

Cependant, cette dualité caractérise l'œuvre de l'acteur, qui vit une autre tension féconde entre le personnage qu'il interprète et sa personnalité propre, entre l'autre et lui-même ou, autrement dit, entre les forces symboliques et instinctives qu'il est appelé à contrôler et à équilibrer au cours de la performance. Cette troisième distinction souligne le « flottement » entre les exigences du rôle et les écarts de recherche de son interprétation, qui est le pôle vivant de l'art de l'acteur et du charme qu'il dégage et qui séduit le spectateur.

Ces trois distinctions constituent les trois conditions de la présence de la théâtralité, mais, comme le note Féral, c'est seulement la présence simultanée des trois conditions qui permet la présence de la théâtralité dans un événement ou dans une situation. Ce qui est juste, car chaque condition prise indépendamment peut également se présenter dans des espaces autres que théâtraux, et pour cette raison, ne peut garantir un caractère purement théâtral aux faits.

8. *Le critère de l'engagement moral.* Le théâtre est directement lié au monde du quotidien, mais appartient au monde de l'imaginaire; il est art de la matière et de la chair, parce qu'il est art qui transcende la matière et la chair. C'est pour cette raison que nous ne pouvons considérer ce qui se déroule sur scène de la même façon que nous jugeons les événements et les faits au quotidien.

Ici se situe l'origine de la critique de Bruce Wilshire³¹ concernant la sociologie des rôles et l'analyse face à face dans les études de Goffman.³² Wilshire s'oppose à l'usage systématique de la métaphore théâtrale, car il méconnaît deux paramètres: la conscience qui fonde tous les rôles envisageables de l'individu social et, consécutivement, l'engagement moral de cette conscience face aux rôles et aux actes que ces rôles entraînent. La personne peut être définie comme une entité qui organise les expériences et les vécus au-delà des environnements locaux et de leur influence, contrairement à l'artiste scénique, qui se définit par son œuvre artistique et seulement par elle. La personne dans sa totalité ne peut être distinguée de ce qu'elle montre aux autres à travers les rôles qu'elle « interprète » devant eux. En revanche, l'acteur peut et doit se distinguer de son rôle. L'« acteur » de la vie quotidienne est cependant toujours responsable du choix de ses rôles, c'est pour cela qu'il ne peut que les distinguer comme des moyens par rapport aux buts qu'il se pose dans la vie:

³¹ BRUCE WILSHIRE, *Role playing and identity. The limits of theatre as metaphor* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991 [1982]).

³² VOIT GOFFMAN, *La mise en scène de la vie quotidienne*, 1. *La présentation de soi*.

il adopte ce rôle pour atteindre un but. En écrivant: «Goffman a omis le membre le plus important de mon "public" – moi-même, moi-même, en tant que présent à moi-même dans tous mes rôles»,³³ Wilshire nous rappelle les positions de Sartre: «Il est une "représentation" pour les autres et pour moi-même, cela signifie que je ne puis l'être qu'en représentation. Mais précisément, si je me le représente, je ne le suis point, j'en suis séparé, comme l'objet du sujet, séparé par rien, mais ce rien m'isole de lui, je ne puis l'être, je ne puis que jouer à l'être...».³⁴ La conscience, pourrions-nous dire, est sans cesse présente dans chaque rôle: dans le rôle théâtral elle se focalise sur l'interprétation même du rôle, dans le rôle social elle se concentre de même sur le contenu du rôle. Wilshire a donc raison quand il assure que ma responsabilité en ce qui concerne mon comportement social est fondamentalement différente de la responsabilité que j'assume quant à mon comportement scénique: la première est une responsabilité morale, la seconde esthétique. Il devient injuste quand il affirme que Goffman, en esthétisant le comportement social, contribue à son propre affaiblissement. Goffman ne vise pas à l'esthétisation du comportement social, pas plus qu'à lever les limites entre le théâtre et la vie sociale. Bien au contraire, il maintient que «la vie elle-même est quelque chose qui se déroule de façon théâtrale. Le monde entier, cela va de soi, n'est pas un théâtre, mais il n'est pas facile de définir ce par quoi il s'en distingue».³⁵ Marvin Carlson, de son côté, invoquant l'influence que peut exercer le théâtre sur la vie sociale, de telle sorte qu'il provoque à son encontre la censure, a remarqué que le critère de l'engagement moral est parfois valable sur scène aussi.³⁶ Ces passionnants arguments peuvent peut-être trouver un espace de convergence dans la perspective de ces deux chercheurs, mais celle-ci nous éloignerait de l'idée de métaphore théâtrale.

L'examen des précédents critères de distinction entre le théâtre et le monde aide à prendre conscience du fait que dans l'étude de la métaphore théâtrale, quelle que soit l'orientation que nous prenions, nous devons consentir, dans nos énonciations, à un certain degré de relativité. La métaphore théâtrale puise son contenu et sa force dans certaines conditions et non dans une référence générale et arbitraire, c'est pour cela qu'elle doit être envisagée comme relation ou comme processus, plutôt que comme essence première des choses.³⁷ Nombre de caractéristiques que l'on impute, en général, au théâtre, ne sont pas exclusivement théâtrales et sont également observables dans certaines manifestations de la vie quotidienne et religieuse, les événements publics, et même les manifestations sociales

³³ WILSHIRE, 279.

³⁴ JEAN-PAUL SARTRE, *L'être et le néant*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1986): 96.

³⁵ GOFFMAN, 73.

³⁶ MARVIN CARLSON, «Theatre History, Methodology and Distinctives», *Theatre Research International*, 20, 2 (1995): 90-96.

³⁷ RICHARD SCHECHNER, *Performance Studies. An Introduction*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2002): 41-42.

conventionnelles. Dans ces cas-là, on peut parler d'aspects théâtro-morphes du monde ou d'espaces culturels où la théâtralité peut s'immiscer, cohabiter et fusionner avec d'autres expériences religieuses et sociales.

Nous pourrions donc dire, de façon moins énergique, que dans les espaces culturels où peut s'insinuer, quelque peu, la théâtralité, la métaphore théâtrale trouve un équilibre entre la fonction de divergence et celle de similitude. On pourrait d'ailleurs faire une hypothèse de plus: si nous concevons une cérémonie religieuse ou une grande fête populaire – tel le carnaval de l'Europe du Moyen Âge – comme étant une performance, il est alors possible que l'équilibre des deux fonctions de la métaphore théâtrale s'associe à l'équilibre des deux autres fonctions que Marco de Marinis et Jean Alter attribuent à chaque représentation théâtrale, la fonction anaphorique et la fonction représentative.³⁸

La métaphore théâtrale constitue pour les études théâtrales un «tremplin» pour pénétrer plus avant dans le dialogue contemporain du général avec le particulier, mais aussi du diachronique avec l'historique, pour continuer à infiltrer d'autres domaines scientifiques et à créer de nouveaux cadres de recherche et champs de réflexion. Comme tout discours métaphorique, la métaphore théâtrale renvoie toujours au monde, retrace la réalité, et donne ainsi la place à de nouvelles perspectives de recherche. Ainsi la théâtrologie peut-elle mettre en valeur l'opposition entre le sens manifeste et la dynamique des significations, en protégeant le premier sans pour autant cesser son effort de conception de la seconde. Sous cet angle, si la définition de nos instruments conceptuels est importante, la conception de la dynamique des significations qui résulte de ces instruments l'est tout autant. La métaphore théâtrale nous guide vers la théâtralité du monde, qui, chaque fois, se rattache au présent de chaque lecteur/spectateur, en une transition sans cesse renouvelée de l'espace impersonnel de la théorie au lieu habité par des humains, occasionnant ainsi des significations nouvelles et, parfois, inopinées. Peut-être, dans ces cas-là, la métaphore théâtrale peut-elle être considérée comme un poème en minuscule, ainsi que le voudrait Ricœur.

³⁸ MARCO DE MARINIS, *The Semiotics of Performance*, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993 [1982]): 48-49, et JEAN ALTER, *A Sociosemiotic Theory of Theatre*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990): 60-64.

KYRIAKI PETRAKOU

THE APPEAL OF MODERN GREEK THEATRE ABROAD:
THE CASE OF NIKOS KAZANTZAKIS

Ancient Greek Theatre is a separate chapter in every history of the theatre. Modern Greek Theatre is only incidentally mentioned in a few of them. Modern Greek Theatre, however, is not negligible in either drama production or theatre praxis. It can exhibit a lot of significant plays written by talented and productive, even prolific, writers, and many important companies, some of which have given successful performances abroad which had a great appeal. Yet, individual success, even if it has a strong impact and provides the basis for further activities, is forgotten eventually if not recorded and published, so that the historian of the theatre may be able to find his information somewhere. In a congress held by the Modern Greek Program of the Ohio State University on the subject 'Whither the Neohellenic? A Conference-Workshop', in 1996, some interesting conclusions came up concerning the English-speaking world, and these instigated a more general research programme, in the Department of Theatre Studies, under my supervision and conducted by postgraduate students of the Department and myself, in order to investigate globally what the universal appeal of Modern Greek Theatre can possibly be. The American conclusions about the translations and market-appeal of Modern Greek Literature in general were that there is an overwhelming difference between the appeals of ancient and modern Greek culture. Greece occupies a peripheral position in the world-culture, like Denmark, Belgium or Portugal – always excepting the ancient culture. Although in the United States, in Australia and in Europe in the last 25 (1997) more and more cultural centres and academic departments of Neohellenic Studies have appeared, still there is a visible decline of interest in modern Greek culture and especially in modern Greek literature. Together with this the interest of publishers is declining: the number of readers is constantly diminishing. The triad Cavafy-Seferis-Kazantzakis seems to have a good reception, with Elytis at a lower level. The explanation given in the article is that the effacement of Greek national calamities was followed by the effacement of philhellenism; also, the Westernisation of the Greek way of life has rendered it less exotic and therefore less interesting – together with its literature – than East-European, Third World, post-colonial and in general non-Western authors, who now receive wide attention and critical response, while their works are abundantly translated and sold.¹ Focusing

¹ GREGORY JUSDANIS, "Introduction: Modern Greek ! Why ?" *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 15, No. 2 (1997): 167-174.

on Modern Greek Drama, Stratos Constantinidis discovers that the number of English translations of modern Greek plays is also diminishing compared with the past decade of 1970-1990, which was a 'boom' period. The geometrical curve drawn by his statistics is obviously declining. Judging by translations and academic essays on Modern Greek Theatre, his deduction is that the number of plays in English translations is rather small and even smaller is the number of translations fit for performance. He believes that the fate of Modern Greek Theatre abroad depends on both theatre companies and academic activities and remains optimistic that, since interest in Modern Greek Theatre has not vanished altogether, it may still have a future in the English-speaking world.² According to this piece of research, Nikos Kazantzakis is first in the list of playwrights, as he is also in the list of novelists. As a poet he is extremely popular too, as his *Odyssey* was for many years a best-seller in the United States and has elicited a great deal of critical response. In the field of theoretical critique, Cretan Theatre comes first, with essays on Karaghiozis competing with it, while the third place is again occupied by essays on Kazantzakis.

The Greek research deductions concerning the world as a whole differ. Although the goal would seem unattainable, it was not really so, as most of the information came from the playwrights themselves or their trustees, who are in a position to know what has happened to their plays. Still, not even the playwrights knew all the translations made of their plays or their performances abroad. The causes of these omissions are various and complicated. In many cases communication between the writer and the translator and/or the theatre company was inadequate. The reasons were of all kinds: conditions, chance, political situation, personal contacts and relations, attitude of the writers or of the other party, misunderstandings which the distance made fatal. In some cases the playwright discovered that a company had staged one of his/her plays without informing him/her in order to avoid paying royalties. Even so, the best part of possible information could not be provided in this way, as research all over the world is truly impossible. The sample collected is certainly not complete, but I believe it can be considered as a cross-section and it can provide worthwhile conclusions. The writers were asked to provide the archive of this research project with all the available material (mostly photo-copies): the translations, published and unpublished, performance programmes, press information, performance and academic critique. Many of them responded promptly and now a large amount of such material has accumulated in the library of the Department of Theatre Studies at the disposal of Theatrology students, researchers or artists. This activity has inspired many playwrights to add more and more material as time goes by and the archive is constantly

² STRATOS E. CONSTANTINIDIS, "The Appeal of Modern Greek Drama and its Future in the English-Speaking World". *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 15, No. 2 (1997): 175-186.

being enriched.³ Besides the information derived from the writers, all the major libraries in Athens were explored. Richer in material, as expected, were the library of the Museum and Centre of Greek Theatre and the library of the Association of Greek Playwrights. Also used were the bibliographies of Professors Erasmia-Louisa Stavropoulou on Modern Greek Literature (*Βιβλιογραφία μεταφράσεων νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας*, E.A.I.A., Athens 1986) and Stratos Constantinidis on the English drama translations ("Greek Theater: An Annotated Bibliography of Plays Translated and Essays Written from 1824 to 1994." *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 14, No. 1 [May 1996], special issue: 123-138). Besides these, all relevant works and bibliographies about individual writers, the internet, the press, even random information were consulted, indicating that further research may still reveal a lot.⁴ The translation list is certainly much more complete than that of performances; still the latter must be taken into account, as the appeal of theatre can be really judged by its presence on the stage and not dealt with only as literature. The data of the research project were statistically processed by a specialist.⁵ Because exhaustive recording was impossible for the above-mentioned reasons, the resultant diagrams must be dealt with circumspectly; still, they are sufficiently indicative for our conclusions.

From the charts it may be seen (with surprise perhaps) that the greatest (by far) number of translations and performances belongs to Giannis Ritsos,⁶ who would not be thought of by specialists and non-specialists as a playwright, but as a poet *par excellence*. Of course, he has written some works for the theatre. It seems that his poetry, especially the monologues of the *Third Dimension*, contains the element of theatricality which has inspired both theatre artists and audiences by their applause to incorporate many of his works in the life of the theatre.⁷ After intensive reflection, the *Third Dimension* was admitted as a collection of theatre plays, while the *Moonlight Sonata* and some other works were

³ The results of the information collected through this research programme were published recently by the Department of Theatre Studies. See ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ ΠΕΤΡΑΚΟΥ, *Η απήχηση του νεοελληνικού θεάτρου στο εξωτερικό. Μεταφράσεις - Παραστάσεις* [*The Appeal of Modern Greek Theatre Abroad. Translations - Performances*], *Παράβασις - Μελετήματα* [4]. (Athens: Department of Theatre Studies, University of Athens-Ergo 2005).

⁴ E.g., many playwrights did know that there were translations and performances of their plays in the former Soviet Union, but they did not manage to ascertain what exactly had happened. As a second example, the late Vasilis Ziogas left a note with places where some of his plays had been staged, without mentioning which plays or when they had been staged. Loula Anagnostaki's plays have certainly been staged abroad, but she was unwilling to provide us with information.

⁵ Dr Georgios Cambourakis, tenured lecturer in the Electrical and Computer Engineering School of the National Technical University of Athens.

⁶ And yet the records extend only to 1993. There are certainly many more up to the present day. See ΕΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΗ ΜΑΚΡΥΝΙΟΛΑ, *Βιβλιογραφία Γιάννη Ρίτσου* [*Bibliography of Giannis Ritsos*]. Athens: Εταιρεία Σπουδών Νεοελληνικού Πολιτισμού και Γενικής Παιδείας, [Modern Greek Culture and General Education Association] 1993 (including performances).

⁷ Research projects of the Department of Theatre Studies (Univ. of Athens) have shown an equally intensive theatrical presence of the poet's works in Greece.

included only in the performances, as to many of which it is difficult to say whether they were regular theatre performances or 'poetical evenings', whatever both terms may mean. The matter certainly calls for more discussion. As expected, the 'patriarch' of post-War Modern Greek Theatre, Iakovos Kambanellis, follows in both translations and performances.⁸ Nikos Kazantzakis' dramas, which most of his critics consider failures or describe as 'anti-theatrical', have a strong presence abroad, much more than the plays of others better known as dramatists. This is possibly influenced by his renown as a novelist and a poet (of the – unpopular in Greece – *Odyssey*). In this first group, Antonis Doriadis is also a dominating figure. Perhaps the presence of the writer himself abroad is decisive to a high degree for the acquaintance with and appreciation of his work. In this matter, the performance list is more representative of the real appeal the work of a writer may exercise, as a play may be translated in Greece but the channel for its promotion abroad cannot always be found or no such effort follows after all.⁹ Judging by the language, the English translations outnumber all others, but many of them were made in Greece. German and French translations follow, with the advantage that they were mostly made in Germany and France, respectively. Romania and its language show a rather high percentage, while it is possible that in Russia (ex-Soviet Union) many more translations and performances took place than those we have been able to discover.

In chronological order, we can see that during the nineteenth century there are few translations and fewer performances. The curves rise after 1960, although the ups and downs are difficult to interpret because of the gaps in the data. The peaks, however, both in translations and performances can be seen in the 15 years after the end of the seven-year dictatorship. Perhaps the writers became intensively active then, as they had problems with passports and travelling before.

In the nineteenth century, despite the small size and modest economy and culture of Greece, the national ambitions and cultural aspirations of the Greeks were high – the Great Idea. Although theatrical affairs in both drama production and theatrical praxis were only developing, some of the most important writers of the age (the last quarter of the century), such as Alexandros and Kleon Rangavis, Dimitrios Koromilas and Angelos Vlachos, translated their plays themselves or had them translated, in some cases they even wrote them in French and gave them to foreign companies which happened to be in Greece to stage them. Some plays were indeed played abroad.¹⁰ Then in the first half of the twentieth century there seem to have been hardly any performances in foreign countries. Spyros

⁸ In Constantinidis' diagram (see note 2) he is second, coming after Kazantzakis.

⁹ Some writers told me in private conversation that they found the negotiations so complicated and exhausting that they gave up.

¹⁰ For concentrated data available see note 3.

Melas' plays had an impressive presence perhaps, but information was difficult to verify.¹¹ The exportation of Greek dramatic works outside the Greek borders really started after the Second World War and the first writer who was able to achieve this was Nikos Kazantzakis. The idea had come to him much earlier, at the beginning of the thirties, when Pandelis Prevelakis was studying in Paris. Kazantzakis aimed really high: he thought that he could translate his tragedy *Nicephoros Phocas* and Prevelakis should forward it to Georges Pitoëff through their mutual writer-journalist friend Renault de Jouvenel.¹² As perhaps could be expected, nothing came of it. In 1946, Kazantzakis settled in France, started publishing abroad and gaining world-wide fame; he was nominated twice for the Nobel Prize. In 1948, his tragedy *Julian the Apostate* was selected by the director of a company of young theatre artists (Georges Carmier) in order to be performed in a competition for young theatre companies (Concours de Jeunes Troupes). The means of the company were rather limited. It was played with the title *Saint Julien l' Apostat* and Kazantzakis appeared as Nicolai Kazan. He attended the rehearsals and wrote to Prevelakis that the actor who played the leading part was excellent,¹³ but did not stay for the performance. A letter informed him that it was warmly applauded,¹⁴ it was not awarded the prize though. Still it was a beginning. It was produced again on the radio in France in 1963 with Catherine Sellers in the part of Marina.

The previous year (1947) Kazantzakis had translated his tragedy *Melissa* and given it to some French intellectuals who admired him. At first, a theatre director, Maurice Jacquemont, promised to do his best to stage it, then Jean Louis Barrault asked for it and said he was "hanté" (obsessed) by it and would like to stage it if he could, but it seems he could not after all. Then Jacquemont gave it to Albert Camus, who wrote a beautiful letter to Kazantzakis praising it and promised to help in finding a company to stage it.¹⁵ Kazant-

¹¹ See ΣΠΥΡΟΣ ΜΕΛΑΣ, *Πενήντα χρόνια θέατρο* [Fifty Years in the Theatre]. (Athens: Fexis, 1960): 415-424. However, they were not taken into consideration, as a lot of information derived from this book in the verification proved inaccurate. It cannot be all false, however, and it is a pity that Melas does not provide more concrete information.

¹² ΝΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΖΑΝΤΖΑΚΗΣ, *Τετρακόσια γράμματα του Καζαντζάκη στον Πρεβελάκη* [400 letters from Kazantzakis to Prevelakis]. (Athens: Eleni N. Kazantzakis, 1984) (1st ed. 1965): 313-314. For the same purpose he wrote his novels *Toda-Raba* (1929) and *Le jardin des rochers* (1936) in French, which were translated into Greek by Giannis Maglis and Pandelis Prevelakis, respectively.

¹³ ΚΑΖΑΝΤΖΑΚΗΣ, 590. Perhaps this talented young actor was Michel Piccoli, whose name is among the cast in the programme of the performance, which can be found in the Kazantzakis Museum in the village of Myrtia near Heraklion in Crete. Unfortunately, it is not stated which actor played which part.

¹⁴ ΕΛΕΝΙ ΚΑΖΑΝΤΖΑΚΗΣ, *Ο ασυμβίβαστος* [A Biography based on his Letters]. (Athens: Eleni Kazantzakis, 1977): 554.

¹⁵ «Mardi 22.10.1947. Cher Monsieur, *Melissa* est une très belle pièce, que j'ai lue avec une sorte de reconnaissance. Il n'y a rien à y ajouter, ou retrancher. Et il faut la faire jouer sans tarder. Puis-je vous voir cette semaine...? Je veux déjà vous dire ma gratitude pour m'avoir fait lire cette superbe tragédie. Votre dévoué Albert Camus», *Hellenika* III (1967): 64.

zakis' hope to see his favourite tragedy played was not realised during his life-time. Its first performance, though, was indeed in France, in 1960. The company won the prize in a competition for young companies (Concours des Jeunes Compagnies) which had been held in France every year since 1946. Six companies competed each time and it was perhaps the same competition in which *Julian the Apostate* was presented. Then the company participated with *Melissa* in the Festival of Liège, where the critics praised it to the skies, and afterwards went on tour. Its success established the director Antoine Bourseiller and Nikos Kazantzakis as a playwright in France. In Paris most of the reviews were favourable, although Gabriel Marcel called the play "Grand Guignol" and wrote that it was not in the style of Shakespeare's tragedies, as most critics maintained, but it rather resembled the dramas of Crébillon.¹⁶

Kazantzakis' increasing fame aroused the interest of the theatre artists. In 1954, the National Theatre of Mannheim decided to stage his biblical drama *Sodom and Gomorrah* in a translation by one Hans Schwarz, which was judged as inadequate by all the critics. It was stated in the press that the German people was attempting to resume its contact with its great cultural currents together with the secondary currents of other countries, so that the international spirit of Goethe should be reborn. As Kazantzakis' play gave the impression that the writer intended to create a Greek *Faust*, *Sodom and Gomorrah* was selected for staging.¹⁷ Unfortunately, its performance was a failure. Kazantzakis was present in the opening night, had to give a conference to aggressive journalists, and complained to Prevelakis that the director and the actors had turned his play into a ballet without consulting him in the preparation, with the result that they completely misunderstood its meaning. He asked the manager of the theatre to drop performances and after some nights he did so.¹⁸ Its next production was in 1959 in the United States in Hollywood, in the translation of Kimon Friar and directed by the Greek-American James Elliott. It was the time after Kazantzakis' death, when *The Odyssey* in the translation of Kimon Friar had become a best-seller in the U.S.A., and the novels too. Many impressive things were written in the press, an artistic committee was formed to decide about the staging with Elia Kazan among its members (if all the things the newspapers said were true) and the opening night was a social event attended by celebrities like Gregory Peck, Spyros Skouras, José Ferrer, etc. Still, the reviews give the impression that the performance by the Theatre Group of the University of California was rather a cultural event than an artistic one. The critics liked the play and disliked the translation and the performance. A few years later, in 1963, it was

¹⁶ For a more complete account of the performance and excerpts of the reviews see KYRIAKI PETRAKOU, *Ο Καζαντζάκης και το θέατρο* [Kazantzakis and the Theatre] (Athens: Militos, 2005): 327-329. The reviews have been collected in the Kazantzakis Museum by Giorgos Anemogiannis.

¹⁷ *Το Βήμα*, 27 Jan. 1955.

¹⁸ PETRAKOU, 449.

staged again regularly in New York, in the same translation by Kimon Friar but entitled *Burn me to Ashes*. It had a rich critical response, but the critics were divided. Some were extremely positive, others were ironical.¹⁹

In 1908 or 1909, Kazantzakis wrote a symbolist play entitled *Comedy: a One-Act Tragedy*, which, although it was astonishingly modern and unusual in the Greek theatrical or literary milieu, elicited only some slight critical response by a friend-critic when it was published in 1909 and then was completely forgotten even by its author. Its subject, like its style, was really unique for its time and place and was the first of Kazantzakis' works expressing a religious crisis. It is really subversive and could have been considered blasphemous by the Church more easily than his novels in the last decade of his life, because of which the Church threatened to excommunicate him. It presents several people on the threshold of death, a priest and a nun among them, who wait with anguish for God to appear but confront only his absence and his terrible silence. The previously devoted priest revolts; he swears at and curses the name of God as a dishonest being, a fraud. After Kazantzakis' death, it was re-published in 1958 and the ethnologist-student of religion Karl Kerényi wrote a famous essay in which he related as a forerunner Kazantzakis' *Comedy* with Sartre's *Huis-Clos* and Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*. James Elliott, the director of the first production of *Sodom and Gomorrah*, happened to be in Greece in that same year looking for a suitable modern Greek play in order to introduce Modern Greek Theatre in the United States, where it was utterly unknown. After a lot of publicity and suspense, Elliott returned to the United States and staged *Sodom and Gomorrah*, as mentioned above. *Comedy* had a series of productions all over the world, except for Greece, where it was only recently (1997) adapted into a television film. In Canada, it was also presented on television in 1966 and in France adapted for the radio in 1969. Its first regular performance was in 1970 by a company called Künacht Seminartheater, in Zürich, translated by Argyris Sfountouris, obviously of Greek origin, but with Swiss actors and director (Nicolas Zbinden). It was not considered just a cultural event but an instigation for an public discussion about Christ, as it was thought (in Zürich) that theological subjects after the Second World War had become a private matter, a kind of taboo that nobody dared to speak about any more. This public discussion was conducted by Sfountouris, a university teacher and two priests. They talked about *Comedy* and *The Last Temptation*. Three years later, the same company, under the name 'Kazantzakis-Bühne Zürich', gave a revival with the prospect of introducing important unknown foreign plays to Swiss audiences. The critics were not especially favourable to either the play or the company, still there were some positive ones who praised them and pointed out that Swiss theatrical life needed enlivening by Eastern European cultural products and this Greek play provided a sound that was missing. In 1971, it was played in

¹⁹ PETRAKOU, 450-453.

the United States, in the University of Michigan by the Student Laboratory Theater.

Going back to the fifties, during Kazantzakis' lifetime his devoted translator Börje Knös, besides his novels, translated his tragedy *Theseus*, which was adapted and presented on the radio in Sweden. But his most impressive theatrical successes came from his novels. In 1954, *Christ Re-crucified* was adapted into a drama by Ragnvald Skrede and played by the state Norske Theatret in Oslo. This production was so successful that the play stayed on for a long time, and next year the same adaptation was used by another company in Helsinki.²⁰ In 1957, the Greek-American writer and director Michael Antonakes adapted it under the title *He Who Must Die*. It was performed in an experimental production in New York in 1957, by the company of Yale University in 1960, by the College of Salem in 1972, by the Greek Theatre of New York in New York again in 1980. In 1961, its French adaptation by François Daviel was staged at Versailles and the laudatory reviews urged Jean-Louis Barrault the next year to invite the company (Théâtre Montansier – Marcelle Tassencourt director) to Paris.²¹ It impressed even Gabriel Marcel this time.²² In 1964 there was a Flemish adaptation by Jef van der Heyden which was produced in Anvers. Before Kazantzakis died, the Czech composer Bohuslav Martinu collaborated with him in the adaptation of the novel into an opera libretto, under the title *Greek Passion*. This opera was a smash success and is still produced to this day. It instigated a practice of making adaptations of Kazantzakis' novels into operas or musicals that still holds. In 1987, the Hungarian composer Szokolay Sándor had his own opera out of *Christ Re-crucified*, entitled *Ecce Homo*, produced at the Opera of Budapest.

A prose adaptation of *The Odyssey* was produced in the United States in 1970 by the University of Michigan Players. I have also found a musical one by Morton Achter and another musical play entitled *Odysseus* by Thomas Beveridge, based on Kazantzakis' epic.

The favourite novel, however, was *Alexis Zorbas*, as might be expected. In the United States, it started in 1968 a brilliant career adapted as a musical by Joseph Stein (text), John Kander (music), and Fred Ebb (lyrics). This adaptation was used by many other companies in other cities (Boston 1968, New Haven 1968, Los Angeles 1970, Milburn, New Jersey 1970 with the Greek actor Titos Vandis in the title role), then in other countries (Helsinki 1970, Vienna 1971, Leipzig 1982, Verona 1988, Paris 1991, to name but a few).²³ Another adaptation was in Belgium-Brussels by Bernard Damien in 1982. Michalis Kakogiannis directed it on Broadway in 1984, with the same leading actors, Anthony Quinn and Lila Kendrova, as in his famous film, where it was on for three years.

²⁰ In the Kazantzakis Museum there is abundant press material from Norwegian and Finnish newspapers, some of which with an English translation.

²¹ Press material in the Kazantzakis Museum.

²² *Nouvelles Littéraires*, 7 Juin 1962.

²³ ΠΕΤΡΑΚΟΥ, *Ο Καζάντζακης και το θέατρο*, 45-49. Press material in the Kazantzakis Museum.

Even before it was produced in Greece, *Christopher Columbus*, translated by Miguel Castillo Didier, was produced in Tucuman, Argentina in 1966 and in Buenos Aires in 1967 in the legendary Teatro Colón, then in Caracas, Venezuela in 1968. In 1975, a TV adaptation by Pierre Cavassilas was produced in France, with Victor Garivier and Brigitte Fossey in the leading parts and music composed by Mikis Theodorakis. In 1984, it was produced on the radio and in 1992 there was a regular production by the Théâtre du Sens company which was presented in France and Spain. There has also been information about another Spanish adaptation in 1997 and an American production in 1998 or 1999 in New York.

It seems that Kazantzakis' plays, like his novels, opened the road for other contemporary Greek playwrights. In France, which was the cultural Omphalos for the Greek intellectuals as for the whole world, after Spyridon Vasiliadis' *Galatée* in 1880 and Dimitrios Koromilas' *Une mission* in Marseille in 1887, his *Julien l' Apostat* was perhaps the first modern Greek play to be produced in 1948. It was followed only in 1957 by Margarita Lyberaki's *L'autre Alexandre*. In Germany his *Sodom and Gomorrah* in 1954 was also the first play by a contemporary Greek playwright. In America, in the United States in 1959 with *Sodom and Gomorrah* and in 1966 in Canada with his *Comedy: a One-Act Tragedy*, he was also the pioneer. In South America, he appeared first with his *Christopher Columbus* in 1966 in Argentina. In Switzerland his *Comedy* again allowed modern Greek theatre to make its debut. His regular dramas, however, with a few exceptions, have had more a *success d'estime* than a regular artistic and financial response. The hits were really the prose and especially the musical adaptations of his novels which have had a great and lasting success all over the world, following that of the novels and *The Odyssey*.

Going back to the Modern Greek Theatre in general, a total of 278 productions abroad have been identified in several countries. Most of them, however, were instigated by Greeks living abroad or as cultural events of limited range. The conclusion about its appeal is somewhat pessimistic: Modern Greek Drama, even when extended outside the Greek borders, has not become an autonomous artistic product which can be incorporated and naturalised as a section of the universal culture. Only Kazantzakis' operas and musicals have achieved this goal. For the time being it is still a specific and unavailable product, not so much because of lack of production but mainly because of lack of demand. We know by the laws of marketing that there are methods to control production and demand; however, that is a subject beyond the scope of this paper.

SIRKKU AALTONEN

DOES THE EEL HAVE A GENDER?
PROCESSES OF INTERPRETATION INTO ENGLISH
OF THREE PLAYS BY LAURA RUOHONEN

When the stage director Svetlana Dimcović was preparing Laura Ruohonen's *Queen C* for the production at the Gate Theatre in London in 2003, she asked the translator for clarification or explanation of some, for her important, points, in the text. One of them concerned the significance of the eel in the play. Similarly, when the translator David Hackston was preparing a translation of Ruohonen's *An Island Far From Here* for the production by youth theatre groups in England (the play was chosen for the Shell Connections at the Royal National Theatre in 2003), he wanted to discuss the text with the playwright and ask for explanation or clarification on points in the text which, he thought, were not clear. In both these cases, the text was felt to give insufficient indication of the preferred reading. Extra-textual considerations, although more closely tied to their form of expression, were also seen to obstruct the view to the reading of Ruohonen's *Olga* when a bilingual translator, Angela Landon, was commissioned to make a gloss translation (or a literal translation) of the play for the production at the Traverse Theatre in Edinburgh in 2001. Landon's commission was to provide with commentary those points in the text where she thought the difference between languages and views of the world needed explanation.

The three translations, the stage version which was used at the Gate, the introductory translation prepared by Hackston for the Connections, and the gloss translation produced by Landon are similar in that they all look beyond the text for help with interpretation. They are different, however, in their view of what features need explanation and why. They involve different types of translation. A gloss translation involves intralingual translation as it generates, in places, two parallel texts: an explanation of an expression in the source text and its idiomatic counterpart. An introductory translation, targeted at only a vaguely defined audience, generates a more or less homeless interlingual translation, a hybrid which is situated between the two languages. Finally, the stage version anticipates reactive intersemiotic translation by the director and actors.

My aim in this paper is to look at the three processes of interpretation to find out what features in the source text are deemed ambiguous and in need for clarification in the different types of translations (readings). I am also interested in how the practitioners'

reading of what elements are significant differs depending on their role in the process involving translation.

The texts involved in the study are

- 1) the introductory and stage translation of Laura Ruohonen's *Queen C*
- 2) the introductory translation of Ruohonen's *An Island Far From Here*
- 3) the gloss translation of *Olga*

For my reading of significant elements in *Queen C* and *An Island Far From Here*, I have relied on paratextual material, such as the translators' notes and letters exchanged in completing the translations. I have the correspondence between the director Svetlana Dimcović and the translator David Hackston concerning *Queen C*, and in the case of *An Island*, I will use the commentary Hackston has written in the text. In the gloss translation of *Olga*, bracketed explanations and/or idiomatic counterparts of the source text expressions are regarded as an indication of significance.

My research methodology comes from culture – orientated translation studies as it considers texts in their cultural environment and is interested in the way in which culture impacts upon and constrains translation. I am also a systems theorist in that I see theatre translation constrained by the theatrical system of which it is an element.

Finnish drama in English translation

The choice of three contemporary Finnish plays and their translations into English limits the generalisability of the findings. Finnish theatre is part of the text-centred Western theatre (see Aaltonen 2000, 17-20), and although one of the Nordic countries, Finns speak their own Finno-Ugrian language, which belongs to a different family of languages from those of their neighbours. Finnish culture is marginal in the Western cultural hierarchy, and the Finnish language is usually impenetrable without the mediation of an intermediary language or intermediary translation. When Finnish drama is marketed to English theatres, three types of translations may be needed in the process. The first, an introductory English translation, is commissioned in Finland and intended to convince foreign theatre practitioners of the potential of the play. Once accepted for production, English theatres may commission a gloss-translation, which constitutes a metatextual commentary on how the source text is constructed on the text-linguistic level. Finally, a stage version may be created for a specific production, using either the introductory or gloss translation, or both. The stage version re-actualises the play for its new audience, while the other two translations are targeted at theatre practitioners. The three types of translations, the introductory, gloss and stage translations, are thus motivated by different aims. The introductory translation, prepared in the source culture, is aimed at selling the text (its way

of retelling a story with a particular dramaturgy) to theatre practitioners in a variety of language-cultures, while the gloss translation prepares a new source text. The stage version is aimed at selling the text to specific theatre audiences in a particular segment of a larger language-culture (for a detailed discussion of the three types, see Aaltonen 2004). The domestic inscription, or re-actualization, in introductory translations is likely to differ from that of the more closely targeted stage translation. All types may involve collaboration between the playwright and translator, the playwright, translator and director, or the translator and director.

In the mainstream commercial theatre, plays from marginal cultures are not necessarily a good selling-line, and the more marginal or exotic the image of the source culture, the higher the threshold for acceptance for reasons other than as a cultural curiosity. Programming a translated play is a huge financial risk. Marginal (theatre) cultures do not support each other's drama even within geographically, economically or culturally unified areas such as Europe.

The Anglo-American market, although very desirable, is practically impenetrable, and only very few playwrights can hope to get their work accepted for production there. Finnish playwrights are a good case in point. Although the total of well over 200 Finnish plays are available in English translation, the number of Finnish plays performed in the English-speaking countries is small. Since 1990, 11 Finnish plays have been performed in the U.S.A., Canada has admitted two, England four, Ireland one and Scotland four plays. (<http://www/teatteri.org/naytelmat/index.html>). It is obvious that small and marginal language-cultures have to work hard and also have a great deal of luck in gaining acceptance for a production abroad. International projects, such as the European Platform project or foreign national projects, like the English Shell Connections at the Royal National Theatre, aimed at promoting contemporary drama, have helped playwrights like Laura Ruohonen to gain a foothold abroad. Public readings and theatre festivals are very important too. Still, lucky coincidences play a very significant role. For example, a Scottish play was staged in Helsinki in 1999, and the Artistic and Literary Directors of the Scottish Traverse Theatre came to see the production. On this trip they were told about *Olga*, became interested, and took the text (an introductory translation of the play) home. subsequently, *Olga* was premiered in Edinburgh two years later as "the first contemporary Finnish play to be performed at a leading UK theatre". The stage director at the Traverse was visiting from the Rough Magic Theatre in Ireland and took *Olga* to Ireland as well. Ruohonen's *An Island Far from Here* found its way to the Shell Connections also through the production at the Traverse. The producer at the Royal National Theatre read the Traverse translation of *Olga*, became interested, and the theatre decided to include Ruohonen in the 2003 Shell Connections.

The Case of «Queen C»

Theatre translation is similar to map-making in that in it, a translator draws a map of the play which the stage director will use to find a path for the actors through the play, and to direct them along this path. In this map, some factors are more significant than others, and through the significance given to these factors, the play is made to mean. This process is visible in the collaboration of the translator David Hackston and the stage director Svetlana Dimcović of the Gate Theatre London when Laura Ruohonen's *Queen C* was prepared for the stage.

My material consists of two versions of Laura Ruohonen's play *Queen C* and the discussion, in the form of an exchange of letters, between the translator, David Hackston, who is responsible for both versions, and the stage director Svetlana Dimcović, who directed the play for The Gate. Hackston's first version was written before the play was targeted at any particular production (an introductory translation, prepared for the Platform Project), and this version was then revised for the production at The Gate in 2003.

After reading the introductory translation of *Queen C*, Dimcović asked in her letter to Hackston for clarification or explanation of what she called *pivotal points in the text* (Dimcović, n.d.). The motivation for her query was that she needed to prepare the text to direct and help the actors with their interpretation. In his letter, Hackston replied to Dimcović's queries and explained the choices he had made in the text. Some revisions were then made in the final stage version.

Queen C is not a play which would necessarily attract large audiences. It is only loosely based on the life of Queen Christina, who ruled Sweden for some 20 years in the 17th century. It has a loosely woven plot and combines episodes with Queen Christina and other characters. The characters communicate largely through monologues; they do not speak to each other but rather past each other. In addition to the exceptional formal structure of the play – episodes rather than a continuous plot, monologues rather than dialogue in scenes – the choice of topic, a Nordic Queen from the 17th century, also makes it a demanding text.

The general impression of the stage director was, as could have been anticipated, that *Queen C* was a difficult text. In particular, the stage director found it difficult as a blueprint for directing the actors because of the ambiguity of its language: *The language formed a matte glass through which the characters could be seen to speak and act* (Dimcović, n.d.).

There was not sufficient motivation in the text why the characters spoke in a particular way. The sentence structures were long and complex, and the characters were not talking to each other. Also the lines were long. The characters were piling up ideas and elaborating them in an endless train of thought without connectors showing the logic in them. All the characters used the same style.

The translator explained that this was a feature of the author's style, and not as such an element of characterisation. Complicated sentence structures indicated that the world of the play was not real, but fantasy. Complexity functioned in the external world between the playwright and the audience but was superfluous in the fictional world of the characters (Hackston, n.d.). As a compromise, in some places the long sentences were revised and split up and connectors changed to clarify the logic for the actors.

Another problem in characterisation was the mixing of styles of very elevated language and dialect or slightly more vulgar terms. For example, the Queen Mother used dialectal forms, standard and colloquial language but also almost slangy language. The director found this puzzling. The interplay of language and the style was never allocated to one single character either. Christina herself speaks both very elegantly but also swears occasionally. Why did characters mix styles, and were all the characters supposed to speak in exactly the same way and not have a unique self? How characters spoke made them into who they were, and it was as important as what they actually said. Should such strong and different characters all use the same style? According to Dimcović, the actors would wonder if the Queen Mother should sound a little dated and Christina laddish and tougher in her lack of femininity (Dimcović, n.d.).

Again, the translator explained that the feature was there for a purpose, as the mixing of styles was a feature of Ruohonen's style of writing. In the play, there were two worlds present at once: the 'real world' in which the characters used quasi-naturalistic language and their 'inner world' when the writing tended to be more poetic and stylised. This explained the mixing of styles within the same scene, even within the same speech (Hackston, n.d.). The explanation satisfied the stage director, and the interplay of styles (informal and formal styles) was not removed.

In *Queen C*, the setting of the royal court has an almost agent-like feature, a large eel, living in the well in the palace garden. The significance of the eel becomes clear both at the beginning and at the end of the play. The English stage director was puzzled by the significance given to an eel. Did the eel have any special meaning in Finnish culture? In English the eel was a slimy fish and could thus connote a 'slimy' person. What was its common, everyday significance in Finland? And what was its mythical, historical, socio-historical, sexual, religious, spiritual or folklore/folktale significance? In the text, the eel had no character, and still it was so powerful that it even affected the Queen's decision to abdicate and leave the country (Dimcović, n.d.).

According to the translator, the character of the eel had to be constructed by the evidence in the text, which was a mixture of fact and fiction. General knowledge of the eel was scarce also in Finland; it did not carry a class connotation, and the species was rare. The eel did not feature strongly in Finnish folklore either (Hackston, n.d.).

Only once was significance added to a particular linguistic expression. The discursive markers of feminist discussion and the distinction between biological sex and socially constructed gender were also visible in the translator's choice to use the words *femaleness* and *maleness*, for example when the philosopher Descartes is speaking about the divide between biology and mind: (...) *what is the state between femaleness and maleness? What is the being between femaleness and maleness?* (Ruohonen & Hackston 2002, 20). The stage director found the use of words *femaleness* and *maleness* awkward, as these particular words would not be used in English. She felt that they would de-sexualise the question of gender. Could these be replaced (Dimcović, n.d.)? Here again, the translator's choice had been conscious, and he had deliberately wanted to avoid, for example, the word *feminine*. Although the translator, a native speaker of English himself, gave his motives in his letter for his choice of *femaleness* and *maleness* by their use in feminist academic discourse to refer to biological sex as opposed to socially constructed gender (Hackston, n.d.), the terms disappeared from the final version.

On the basis of the exchange of letters between the stage director and the translator, the most important ambiguities for the stage director in the preparation of an intersemiotic translation of *Queen C* concerned characterisation and character identification as well as an element of the setting important for both the theme and the protagonist's main objective. In one case, the ambiguity concerned the choice of a particular expression, which was, however, an important social discourse marker.

The Case of «An Island Far from Here»

When Laura Ruohonen was invited to write a play for the 2003 Shell Connections at the Royal National Theatre in England, she decided to rewrite her text *Kellarimunmo*, 'cellar granny', for it. The play is a simple story of two sisters who find an old lady living in their cellar. Only the sisters, *Lida* and *Sofia*, are identified by first names while the other characters are described in terms of their relationship with the girls or each other. The play is set in an unidentifiable location somewhere in Finland, and it is only vaguely tied to a geographical place through some references to the surroundings or weather. The translator of the play into English, David Hackston, became involved in the project from the beginning and started his work already on the earlier Finnish version, bearing in mind that some changes would also be made in the Finnish text. However, he knew that the play would be put on stage in England. In this respect his translation is not a typical homeless translation used to introduce the play to foreign theatre practitioners.

In the first Finnish draft, the translator identified some 85 segments which he either had found unclear or wanted to discuss with the playwright. The majority were linguistic queries and concerned Finnish idioms, less familiar colloquial, dialectal or slangy epithets

or onomatopoeic verbs, and some old-fashioned expressions. Although seemingly on the linguistic level, these would also be important for characterisation through the manner of speaking and a character's situational style.

Some 20 remarks indicated explicitly that the translator was conscious of the theatrical production of the text. What did the old lady mean when she was comparing her son in a monologue to a stone (Ruohonen & Hackston 2002a, 11)? What did two characters mean by their remarks which did not seem to fit in the context (Ruohonen & Hackston 2002a, 21)? Some stage directions were also found to be ambiguous: why was one of the characters getting drunk so late (Ruohonen & Hackston 2002a, 30)? The translator also suggested the leaving out of the stage direction concerning an unspecified gesture, a 'liar sign' which one of the girls was making at her sister (Ruohonen & Hackston 2002a, 43). In a couple of cases the translator wondered about the inconsistency in the logic of the line. Why did a character change the tense of the verb all of a sudden (Ruohonen & Hackston 2002a, 3)? Why did a list jump from two to three to one and two (Ruohonen & Hackston 2002a, 21)?

Some eight inquiries concerned the significance of a stylistic feature which would be a feature of the author's style rather than have importance for character construction. Was the fragmented layout of the lines or tautology intentional (Ruohonen & Hackston 2002a, 9)? There were too many adjectives in the description of a landscape (Ruohonen & Hackston 2002a, 20), and, the opposite, the English of a character's speech would gain in effect if it were made more descriptive (Ruohonen & Hackston 2002a, 29). The translator suggested the use of some English idioms which would increase the sense of familiarity for an English audience (Ruohonen & Hackston 2002a, 27).

The majority of the translator's queries in preparing an introductory translation focused on details rather than larger segments of expression. Theatrical implications of the segments were tied to the logic or sense of the lines. Unlike the stage director, the translator was also aware of the author's style of writing which did not serve a dramatic function. The translator showed awareness of the audience by inserting in the text English idioms and consciously avoiding unfamiliar or difficult features.

The case of «Olga»

A gloss translation is incomplete as it only points out the sites of indeterminacy but avoids making choices. This is in line with a gloss translator's commission, which is primarily to explain the segments where the source language differs in its expressions from the target language. She is not supposed to be concerned with the production on stage. The translation is intended to be used as raw material, a new source text, for the stage translator to work on. Gloss translators are commonly employed, for example, in Great Britain, while they are practically unknown, say, in Finland. The praxis has been a target of severe criti-

cism as it has been seen as an excuse for justifying an ethnocentric translation strategy and enabling writers to rewrite plays by foreign dramatists as they think fit, whilst still claiming that they are producing something called a translation (Bassnett 2001, 62). It has also been seen to have led to a situation of asking playwrights with no knowledge of a foreign language to 'adapt' plays for the British stage, in an attempt to draw larger audiences; the logic being that the theatre-going public may not be prepared to go and watch a play by a writer whose name they can barely pronounce, but if So-and-So 'translated' it, then it must be okay (Hackston 2004).

Whatever the ins and outs of using a gloss translation, when the introductory translation of *Olga* had raised the interest of the Traverse Theatre, it commissioned the bilingual Scottish-Finnish translator Angela Landon to write a gloss translation of the play. This was then used by Linda McLean, a Scottish playwright, to prepare the stage version. In the theatre programme of the production at the Traverse, the different translations of the play were distinguished by a hierarchical listing: Linda McLean's translation was called a "version", while Angela Landon's was described as a literal translation (theatre programme for *Olga* at the Traverse Theatre).

In her gloss translation, Landon identified a need for commentary on some 120 points. The Finnish expressions that prompted a comment were chosen on the basis of a variety of criteria. Some represented figurative language; others were regarded as important because of their etymology. In some cases the explanation concerned the author's idiosyncratic expression. Occasionally the translator made herself visible by including a remark about the English expression and suggesting an alternative. Commentaries on topical cultural markers ranged from representatives of political parties to a cup of tea. Non-fictional place names were occasionally translated. (for a more detailed discussion with examples, see Aaltonen 2004a).

Stylistic differences were usually not commented on, although these might have been useful for character identification or construction. The fact that Finnish does not distinguish feminine and masculine gender in the third person singular pronoun was pointed out and so was the use of 'it' to replace them, but the stylistic implication of this was not commented on (Ruohonen & Landon, n.d., 4). Nor did the translator comment on the Finnish use of the 2nd person plural pronoun for polite address, which may, and did in *Olga*, have dramaturgical implications. Olga and the young drop-out Rundis use the polite form first (Ruohonen & Landon n.d., 6) but quite soon change to the familiar form (e.g., Ruohonen & Landon n.d., 16-22). Nor was there any commentary on the stylistic implications of the swearwords or epithets. The translation described the Finnish use of *owl* or *wallcrazy* to indicate a derogatory description of a character, but not what the situational style was (Ruohonen & Landon n.d., 13). In some places the translator suggested a stylistic shift from 'mother' to 'mum' (Ruohonen & Landon n.d., 5) and from *Yes, yes* to *Yeah, yeah*

(Ruohonen & Landon n.d., 6) but did not explain the reason for this.

The majority of Landon's remarks (90 in all) concerned the linguistic form of the Finnish expressions, that is, when it differed from that of English. Topical cultural markers, expressive of different social praxis, were commented on in 12 cases. Other comments concerned stylistic options, linguistic alternatives, or metaphorical code-switching. All in all, the gloss translator was concerned with the small segments of language, usually individual words or phrases, underlining the difference between the way the two languages construct their expressions. The translation was a metatextual commentary on the source text and targeted at one person only, the playwright who would write the stage version of her text.

Conclusions

In theatre translation it seems to be a commonly held view that a foreign language and culture may in places block the view to the stories about human life told in drama. As my case study above shows, this was the case in processes of preparing drama for productions abroad. The language of the source text or cultural differences were seen as possible problems in all types of translation. All practitioners assumed that a story could be found if only the obstacles of linguistic expression could be removed. All practitioners assumed that extra-textual, background information was necessary, and the text alone not sufficient for constructing a reading of the play.

Consideration of the playwright's style without a dramatic function was visible only in the notes which accompanied the introductory translation. For the stage translator it was not of interest, and she expected the language to serve primarily a dramatic function. She was interested in the largest segments of language. The translator of an introductory version was also interested in the theatrical potential of the text but clearly in smaller segments. He was interested in what a particular segment indicated of a character in a particular exchange rather than in the play as a whole. His interest was also in the logic of the lines. He was aware of the playwright's style of writing, but he also aimed at removing unfamiliarity by replacing less well-known features with idiomatic expressions. Familiar language would thus re-actualise the play for the anticipated audience. A gloss translator was interested in linguistic details rather than the text as a whole. Neither the dramatic function of the segments nor features of the author's style were commented on.

When a gloss, an introductory or a stage version are being prepared of a foreign play-text, translators adopt different points of view as to what is significant in the text. All agree that the readings suggested by the text rely most importantly on extra-textual factors. What these factors are needs further research. My findings suggest that a translator's reading is, at least partly, related to his/her understanding of the significance of the entire language system, theatrical and dramatic conventions and society at large.

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PIRKKO KOSKI

ANNA LIISA AND CORPOREALITY OF MEMORY

*"Yes, that was when I felt the little body twitch
under my hand and then it was still.
I took my hand away – no more sounds,
life had gone out". (Anna Liisa, p. 52).*

*"Oh, what I would have given to have had the child there beside me,
alive again". (p. 53).*

In her play *Anna Liisa*, of 1895, the Finnish classical dramatist Minna Canth gave the lines above to the main character, Anna Liisa, who is missing her new-born baby, whom she had in her past killed in despair after secretly giving birth to it in a forest. Mikko Roiha, the Finnish director of the Vaasa City Theatre's production in 2003, multiplied these lines and, apart from Anna Liisa, the whole village repeatedly whispers them like a classical chorus (see photo 1). These lines emphasise the tragic past event that begins the story, and frames Roiha's interpretation in a way which clearly differentiates it from traditional performances of this classic work.

Anna Liisa's longing and penance is illustrated not only through choral repetition. The child, who in the play gets little space, and even then only in speech, appears on-stage in the performance. Four years have passed since her unhappy birth and death, and she appears around that age, moving across the stage repeatedly in her white shirt (see photo 2). Before the end, Anna Liisa tenderly lowers her body into a kind of grave, a hole on the sloping floor, which, however, leaves an image of something more than a grave in the forest. The interpretation has still another special feature: Anna Liisa's figure has been duplicated, and two actors of slightly different character but similar dress chant her lines together. Then and now are present through these characters (see photo 3). At a vital moment in the drama, one of the *doppelgangers* shoots the other after an image of social pressure, and carries out the rest of the action alone. In this way, the interpretation also emphasises Anna Liisa's confusion around the memory of the child: missing – and then killing – her own devotion.

The production stages Anna Liisa's present but also the possible alternative from her past. It points to the child and her death, a topic which has been observable in drama since *Medea*, but also the tender and real love which led to its birth. These two are also visually linked, while both the child and her father are dressed in white and differ from the

others, who wear dark colours. The Child and Anna Liisa's doppelganger make the memory concrete, and the chorus witnesses its painfulness.

By foregrounding the dead child, the production links this originally realistic play closely to the tragic tradition of infanticide. Instead of the traditional public confession and social reconciliation, Anna Liisa's illumination is based on her individual strength in facing and living with her past deed: she buries her child again and kills the loving self who gave birth to it. The villagers' chorus's comments become antagonistic and in the end it blesses Anna Liisa's inner struggle. A well-structured play of intrigues about secret crime and public reconciliation becomes a performance about human existence and individual ethical responsibility.

Narration and ethics

The production made dialogue in the realistic traditional visible – into *images* – and transformed the spoken lines into corporeal memories. It also foregrounded certain lines through repetition. The spectators were faced with several parallel stories instead of one, and the original tempo was slowed.¹ They witnessed her process of choices instead of her story. My aim is to discuss these narrative strategies and their results, and to propose that producing *images* instead of speaking or action, which is common in today's theatre, even more generally could lead a play from this realistic period to similar effects. A rich dramatic text is open to various approaches, which, however, mark performances unequally. This production touched the audience in a different way from the original text. In doing so, it changed not only the play's theme but also its genre.

Finnish literary discussion has during recent years repeatedly linked narratives and ethical questions and discussed the way in which narratives can provide values, emotions and beliefs: analysing ethics needs to be linked with poetics.² In *Anna Liisa*, parallel narratives foregrounded the protagonist's anxiety in the face of her past and present: her 'ethical dilemma' when these two collided with each other. As Esa Saarinen writes (following Sartre), from an existential viewpoint, the human being is alone and without any systematic safeguard. The individual cannot escape the complexity and burden of the real world.³ Roiha's production acts out this complexity.

¹ This narrative strategy changes the balance between plot and story by including in the performance, its discursive time, what in this play's production has usually been left out, behind the point-of-attack. See, e.g., MANFRED PFISTER, *The Theory and Analysis of Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 291-294.

² See, e.g., KLAUS BRAX, "Lukusalien tomu tahrii!" *Avain* 2 (2004): 54-60. Klaus Brax introduces here (and surveys more closely in his other writings) ideas about ethics in post-modern literature and literary criticism, often closely linked with Emmanuel Levinas' thinking.

³ ESA SAARINEN, "Fenomenologia ja eksistentialismi." in *Nykyajan filosofia, toim. Ilkka Niimiluoto ja Esa*

My analysis will follow this line and review how the performative strategies changed the play's focus. When the production performed Anna Liisa's illumination of awareness about the 'burden of the real world' by showing her alternatives, this 'post-dramatic' interpretation recovered some forgotten potentials of the text. The traditional interpretations of successive crime, confession, and reconciliation emphasise the difference between the old and new character, and a repentance which releases from the sin. The repentance in this interpretation means the encounter with the past in the present and living with that memory, with that sin; a tragic fate of a human being.⁴ The interpretation might make possible or even be typical of what George Steiner in his *The Death of Tragedy* questions: modern tragedy.

In *Anna Liisa*, the original realistic, one-dimensional narration yielded a moral result and possibly also pleasure to the spectator, but not a tragic catharsis. In Roiha's interpretation, instead of a moral result, the main character is faced with alternative models, both with happy and unhappy features and visible on stage. The tragic mode and the possibility for catharsis are based on the existential ontological attitude: individual freedom and the individual's necessity to choose. Human freedom is not freedom from ethical experience, or from the conflict between good and bad/evil. On the contrary, it is freedom of choice within that conflict, and created by the conflict. Good and bad include their possible opponents.⁵

In *Anna Liisa*, the existential ontology functions on the fictive level and in that possible world. Anna Liisa's past has changed into a *surrogation* in the present, into a real performative memory with social power.⁶ Anna Liisa settles – she has to do so – her account with her past. As in the deconstructive concept of ethics, values as such are not denied. Instead, there is an attempt to settle them with responsibility.⁷ In this case, Anna Liisa not only settles her *now* but, by killing her doppelganger, also lays to rest the images from her past, her memories.

Saarinen, 234 (Helsinki: WSOY, 2002).

⁴ JUHA RÄIKKÄ, *Katumuksen filosofia*, (Helsinki: WSOY, 2003): 19–23. Juha Räikkä has written about repentance and does not accept a radical change as in a religious awakening as being a real repentance in the ethical meaning.

⁵ MIKA OJUTKANGAS, "Eettinen kokemus," *Tieteessä tapahtuu* 8 (2003): 22–25.

⁶ JOSEPH ROACH, *Cities of the Dead* (New York: Colombia University Press): 4. This is reminiscent on an individual level of what Joseph Roach writes about memory in his *Cities of the Dead*, about social performances which make "visible the play of difference and identity".

⁷ See SARA HEINÄMAA and JOHANNA OKSALA, "Johdanto," in *Rakkaudesta toiseen*, 18 (Helsinki: Gaudeamus 2001).

The play and its performance tradition

Anna Liisa, written in 1895, has a structure typical of its period, which was strongly influenced by the work of Henrik Ibsen. The point of attack comes late in the story and everything happens in a few days in the same setting. Anna Liisa lives then as a highly appreciated and serious-minded daughter of a prosperous farmer and plans to marry a respectable man in the neighbourhood. She has hidden her crime and tries to forget it. Her former socially disregarded lover and the child's father returns now after having raised some money and, knowing her plan to marry someone else, demands that she go with him instead. His mother, who had buried the child, follows him. When the crime is disclosed to Anna Liisa's family, her parents promise their daughter to this lover in order to avoid social shame; however, she will marry him only after the public celebration of the banns of marriage to her new fiancé occur, which has already been announced to the neighbours. During this celebration, Anna Liisa confesses her guilt and is ready to go to jail, terrified but also heroically winning the approval of her community. This has been traditionally seen as a religious move: contrition asking for forgiveness from others. Her groom's lines show this clearly:

“May God be with you, Anna-Liisa. Just one word more – you are, after all, the person I thought you were from the very beginning” (p. 105).

The modern traditional interpretation on stage shows how the main character becomes whole, finds harmony by confessing and atoning for her sins. An unworthy man had seduced her in her early and innocent youth. The child has no central role; Anna Liisa's crime and punishment – and public confession especially – are emphasised. *Anna Liisa* has been interpreted as psychological and/or social drama. The interpretation follows Lutheran moral codes very clearly. It is easy to read Canth's play in this context, where psychological and social analyses overshadow Anna Liisa's tragedy. This reading follows the realistic mode and problem play genre of the period of the play. It has no link with passion or Greek tragedy such as *Medea*.

Anna Liisa's premiere at the Finnish Theatre in 1895 was a success. The history of the Theatre depicts the excitement of the audience, who followed with concentration Anna Liisa's release from her burden, and her illumination. During the performance, the spectators' sympathy changed into deep empathy. Apart from the influence of Ibsen, the intertextual links to or similarities with other works of the original period are clear: Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment*, Leo Tolstoy's *The Power of Darkness* and *Resurrection* or August Strindberg's *Crown Bride* some years later. The historian Aspelin-Haapkylä does not point to any models, but his interpretation follows his analysis of Tolstoy's *The Power of Dark-*

ness. A later historian of the Theatre points explicitly to Tolstoyan influence. These two dramatists depict anguish after infanticide, confession, and release following it.⁸

Towards the end of the 19th century, Tolstoy and the Russian drama more generally influenced Canth's plays. Annamari Sarajas has shown how Ibsen and the Western realism had to give place to interest in Russian literature both in Canth's neighbourhood and in fact in all Northern countries. This discussion was especially lively between the middle-aged Canth and young writers with close links to the new trends in Europe.⁹

One intertextual line from *Anna Liisa's* text has been traced to Gounoud's *Faust* and the Romantic opera tradition. Hanna Suutela refers to "the theme of an imprisoned and fallen woman", to Canth's opportunity of seeing the opera at the Finnish Theatre, and to some intertextual links between the play and that opera. She also sees a link to the hysteria discussion in the 1890s.¹⁰ These features, however, do not seem to influence the developing performance tradition of this play very much.

Researchers from the post-War period such as Greta von Frenckell-Thesleff have seen a link with Greek tragedies and their narrative strength, the way in which action firmly moves towards the tragic end, revealing past deeds.¹¹ This structural analysis did not, however, notice thematic parallels with *Medea*. On the other hand, Frenckell-Thesleff also saw *Anna Liisa* as "a typical work of the 1890s", the period between Realism and emerging Symbolism.¹²

Feminist interpretations seem to have been activated from the 1980s onwards. Finnish actor and writer Anna-Leena Härkönen sheds light on this while writing about her experiences of a TV interpretation as Anna Liisa. That production told a love-story and chose the theme of truthfulness, avoiding religious sentiments.¹³ This kind of interpretation of *Anna Liisa* is still based on traditional narrative structures and is grounded in psychology.

It might also be interesting to know the dramatist's own experience as a mother: her depression and fear after she gave birth to her youngest child. She was afraid that she would kill the baby. Her physical memory may be included in the body of the dramatic character. Some of Anna Liisa's lines are physical, including an image of a hand and small body. Canth's maternal memories bring to the fore the question of infanticide, *Medea*, and "the fact that childbirth in the ancient world posed tremendous risks for mother and

⁸ See ELIEL ASPELIN-HAAPKYLÄ, *Suomalaisen teatterin historia IV* (Helsinki: SKS, 1910): 56; RAFAEL KOSKIMIES, *Suomen Kansallisteatteri 1902/1917* (Helsinki: Otava, 1953): 181.

⁹ ANNAMARI SARAJAS, *Tunnuskuvia* (Porvoo-Helsinki: WSOY, 1968): 92-93, 115.

¹⁰ HANNA SUUTELA, *Impyät* (Helsinki: Like, 2005): 220-223.

¹¹ GRETA VON FRENCKELL-THESELEFF, *Minna Canth* (Helsinki: Otava, 1994): 308.

¹² FRENCKELL-THESELEFF, 312.

¹³ ANNA-LEENA HÄRKÖNEN, "Rikos ja rangaistus. Minna Canth: Anna-Liisa," in *Kirjojen Suomi*, ed. Juhani Salokannel, 116-118 (Helsinki: Otava, 1996).

child.”¹⁴ This parallel, strongly based on bodily experiences, already points to new waves with strongly performative features.

This motherly worry also takes shape in Roiha’s interpretation in an intertextual image from a well-known and emotionally dense source, a well-known lyrical song, written by Aleksis Kivi in his classical novel *Seven Brothers* and composed by Jean Sibelius. It is a beautiful lullaby by a hypersensitive mother: “The Reaper’s grove, a Peaceful grove, – there will I take my child – far is all horror and quarrel, far the traitorous world.” The villagers sing it together, and their testimony strengthens the feeling of loss.

Tragedy, objects, images

Roiha’s interpretation breaks in many ways with the traditional model seen on the Finnish stage for the past century. Instead of a character who learns to submit to God’s will, becoming filled with contrition and regaining her status as a socially and/or morally appreciated individual, Anna Liisa’s survival in Roiha’s production is based on the killing of the contradictory character – a part of herself – and leaving only half of herself. The villagers’ oppressive chorus stresses Anna Liisa’s loss, not her crime.

Instead of the wholeness and moral closures of the traditional interpretations, the production leaves the spectator confronted with questions of choices and repentance – not punishment – in life. Anna Liisa’s tragedy does not concentrate on the conflict between her deed and the moral codes of her society. The villagers echo Anna Liisa’s own inner voice. Anna Liisa’s tragedy is based on the palpable absence of a child, physically seen, present on stage. This memory and the doppelgänger testify to her loss. Instead of it being a matter of childish innocence and seduction by an immoral man in her youth, Anna Liisa was betrayed by her own feebleness and also by her love, which seems to have been real.

George Steiner compares “idealisms” which betray tragic characters with the Weird Sisters in *Macbeth*. According to him,

*“Outside and within man is l’autre, the “otherness” of the world. Call it what you will: a hidden or malevolent God, blind fate, the solicitations of hell, or the brute fury of our animal blood”.*¹⁵

Generally, modern drama is distinguished from tragedy, but as an alternative Steiner refers to later Ibsen and the material objects with symbolic values, e.g., General Gabler’s pistols, the tarantella in *A Doll’s House* or Lövborg with – or in fact without – the Dionysian vine leaves on his head. The character’s masks grow too close to the skin and lead to

¹⁴ p. 55.

¹⁵ GEORGE STEINER, *The Death of Tragedy* (Wiltshire: Faber and Faber, 1961): 8–9.

disaster. "And it is the association of an explicit, responsible image of life with the material setting and objects best able to denote and dramatize this image that is the source of Ibsen's power", writes Steiner in his *The Death of Tragedy*.¹⁶

With Canth's use of Ibsen's style, a hidden devotion and crime in *Anna Liisa* lead the main character into crisis, but they have no material equivalent in traditional theatre productions. However, Canth seems to have adapted Ibsen's potential for tragedy, but it has not appeared in the play's modern productions, which have emphasised Anna Liisa's basic innocence. Roiha makes Anna Liisa's 'ideals' visible and present and does it in a way which does not fit into the modern project of a unifying psychological and/or social disaster and attaining harmony by atoning for sins. The child can be seen as the material object and a symbol of her devotion, which she cannot reach any more. This interpretation comes close to melodrama.¹⁷ Melodrama is not far from tragedy.

It does not, however, become wholly clear what Anna Liisa's 'ideals' really are in Roiha's interpretation, what the child denotes besides the mother's longing and despair – her crime, her "fury of animal blood", or temptations to follow the invitation to a normative life? In this way, while also testifying to the play's potential for today's interpretation generally, Roiha exhibits a way of adapting the concept of tragedy to a post-modern context, where ethical problems do not always get clear moral answers. The production emphasises this ambiguity. Anna Liisa's tragedy means being aware of this fate. In a way, Anna Liisa solves her fate as Hedda Gabler does: she takes her life into her own hands.

Instead of history, in *Anna Liisa* the past is performed in and with the present, as a memory and a surrogation of the past. "Forgotten but not gone", as Joseph Roach formulates it with irony.¹⁸ The past is present but never like it originally was. When the narration becomes slower when duplicated, memories get a special status; they become objects which are important as such. Halting thinking into an image means that a kind of non-transparent source of this delay is included in the image, it is a question of an ontological reflection.¹⁹

In Freddie Rokem's interpretation of Strindberg's *Ghost Sonata*, silence and objects get special attention. According to his interpretation of the play, human speech has become almost useless and empty, but "objects cannot lie", they and "memories of a dead past all tell their strange tales".²⁰ "For this reason, the truth is revealed in the meeting with death,

¹⁶ STEINER, 294-295.

¹⁷ In fact, Roiha himself likes that connection.

¹⁸ ROACH, 2.

¹⁹ See HANNU SIVENIUS, "Taiteen varjo ja varjojen taide. Emmanuel Levinasin käsitys etiikan ja estetiikan suhteesta," in *Etiikka ja estetiikka*, ed. ILONA REINERS and ANITA SEPPÄ, 236 (Helsinki: Gaudeamus, 1998). Sivenius also refers to Levinas.

²⁰ FREDDIE ROKEM, *Strindberg's Secrets Codes* (Norwich: Norvik Press, 2004): 98.

when the human being becomes monumentalized and is transformed into an object; something which he himself can view from outside, as a conscious observer, or can be viewed by others [...].²¹ In my interpretation of *Anna Liisa*, this happens when the child or the duplicated character is on stage, and speech also becomes “transformed into an object” – or image – with the villagers’ repetitive whispering. There “strange tales” capture the audience.

In Joseph Roach’s *Cities of the Dead*, “making visible the play of difference and identity within the larger ensemble of relations”²² is linked with cultural self-definition, while the writer discusses memory, performance, and substitution. He examines “how culture reproduces and re-creates itself by a process that can be best described by the word *surrogation*”.²³ I would see the same at an individual level here. The production includes different approaches to the past: memories by Anna Liisa, attitudes of the community and the story of her former lover, but we are looking at them through Anna Liisa’s eyes. The production shows the decision by Anna Liisa as personal.

Anna Liisa’s interpretative performance is gendered, sensual, and strongly embodied. Anna Liisa’s two identities collide like two parades in Roach’s example of New Orleans, where two carnivalesque versions of Africa perform disparity instead of an inviolable identity of origin.²⁴ The child and the other Anna Liisa on stage, as surrogations which according to Roach “rarely if ever succeed” in filling the space of the dead,²⁵ illustrate the disparity of origin and the deficiency of memory. In a way, the production has no real historical time. Through this kind of narration, even infanticide becomes a performance – and does not call for any psychological basis.

Staged memory and ethics

Since *Medea*, the story of a woman who kills her child has been portrayed in many different plays and on numerous stages. What makes us enjoy this terrifying theme? Is it simply the Aristotelian concept of pity and terror? Is it what Anne Ubersfeld proposes as a pleasure of the spectator, the feeling of relief that what happens concerns the other and not me?

The narrative structure of Roiha’s *Anna Liisa* makes possible certain interpretations. In fact, I would like to illustrate the importance of ‘the other’ in *Anna Liisa*, but see its importance as being because it really *concerns* us on different levels. The main character’s longing and penance are made corporeal and visible on stage, as well as her need to choose her own way, and both the main character and the spectator faces that image. ‘The other’

²¹ ROHEM, 99.

²² ROACH, 4.

²³ ROACH, 2.

²⁴ ROACH, 25.

²⁵ ROACH, 2.

concerns both the fictional Anna Liisa and the spectator. We are not only following the story, we are testifying to Anna Liisa's being in the world where the desired 'other' cannot be reached. Viewing and seeing – as in Strindberg in Rokem's analysis – becomes important. Partly because of this, Roiha's interpretation of this post-modern time comes closer to tragedy than to psychological drama. This takes us closer to *Medea*, but it is also interesting to notice that the dead child is present as a voice in *Crown Bride* by August Strindberg, a writer who gave impetuses to later Modernistic playwrights. Theatre has at different times utilised its potential for breaking up linear dramatic narratives.

In Roiha's interpretation, instead of the focus being on the conflict between Anna Liisa and society, Anna Liisa's character as such becomes central: her desire to reach 'the other' in the past, and through this, the idea of the unattainable. The radical unattainability of the desired 'other' is a central concept in ethical discussions of gender and sexuality.²⁶ Roiha's production emphasises Anna Liisa's longing, the contradictions in her female love, and her social context, which asks for destruction of her other self. The production ends in a traditional reconciliation and illumination but in an untraditional context of maternal, sexual, and patriarchal contradictions.

Kuisma Korhonen discusses the question of poetics and ethics, mim-ethics, encounter, and recognition. Saying (*Le Dire*) represents the original opportunity of encountering, and it precedes everything that is said (*Le Dit*). Focusing on saying 'in its revelation' gives for a while a feeling of this meeting. Genuinely ethical moral choice has gone through an indissoluble state; the ethical can be found in the open moment before closure. Most moral choices are tragic because we do not know their final results, and on the other hand moral decisions which are only based on law or manners are not genuinely ethical.²⁷

Roiha's interpretation follows these ideas very closely, and in fact creates a two-layer structure; one of them is made up of fiction, another of reception. My claim is that the beauty of Roiha's cruel story is very much based on theatre's ability to show the moment before closure and the individual's alternations as embodied and imagined. This leads beyond good and bad, from moral concerns to a more abstract ethical arena. It is also a question of suffering, how to make it visible.²⁸

Medea's end raises problems in modern productions, where the killing of one's child becomes inconceivable. Her deed has been interpreted as revenge, "she often reacts as many deceived wives might react", and as a weapon in the fight between the betrayer Jason and

²⁶ HEINÄMAA & OKSALA, 13.

²⁷ KUISMA KORHONEN, "Poetiikan ja etiikan suhteesta," in *Aisthesis ja Poiesis*, ed. ARTO HAAPALA and JYRKI NUMMI, 283-285, 288-289 (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopisto, 2000).

²⁸ ILONA REINERS, *Taiteen muisti* (Helsinki: Tutkijaliitto, 2001): 191. Reiners writes about suffering and how making it visible is an ethical task; it has a right to become visible and acquire a voice. She refers to Elaine Scarry's work *The Body of Pain*.

herself. “*She will hurt him where it hurts most.*”²⁹ Many productions have slightly changed the play’s ending in order to make understanding easier, the play modern. Minna Canth also left in her play this action behind the discursive time and concentrated on its consequences. In this way she was a modern writer with a harmonious world-view – but with a potential for tragedy like Ibsen.

Mikko Roiha found this potential and returned to the problematic past, but he staged it as an object. This does not deny values, it aims at taking responsibility for settling them.³⁰ Medea and Roiha’s Anna Liisa share their fate in their individual freedom. Medea kills and remains alone; her deed cannot be understood in human frameworks. Anna Liisa gains understanding and even respect, but in the end she is as alone and in fact is also ‘carried’ away while fading in the middle of other characters’ blessing hands (see photo 4). She has weighed “the burden of the real world”, and instead of choosing one or another way, leaves both.

I want to end with an intertextual link which has little to do with Canth or Roiha’s interpretation as such. I can see a parallel case, a turn from Ibsenian structure to thematic Strindberg, two opponents in the drama at the turn of the 20th century, in *The Dreamplay* and Indra’s daughter, her “synd om människan” theme. *Anna Liisa* is a genuine representative of the 1890s Finnish drama, but as a theatre performance in 2002, it testifies to the rich potential in classical plays. Each time creates interpretations according to its actual context. Finding tragedy in *Anna Liisa* may not be a random choice in our time.

Photographs by: Jyrki Tervo

²⁹ JAN VAN LUXENBURG, “Medeia’s murders” in *Strindberg, Ibsen & Bergman*, ed. HARRY PERRIDON, 141 (Maastricht: Shaker Publishing, 1998).

³⁰ See HEINÄMAA & OKSALA, 18.



Photo 1

Photo 2





Photo 3



Photo 4

KALINA STEFANOVA

THEORY VS THEATRE

I have a grudge against theory, I admit! But it's not only personal. I have a deeply patriotic motivation. Bulgaria is the only civilised country not at war that doesn't have a normal situation theatre-criticism-wise: papers and magazines do not have theatre critics on their staff and theatre is not reviewed on a regular basis. I definitely blame this on theory!

Students studying theatre studies and criticism (and this is a five-year major, finishing with an M.A., which provides seven hours a week of criticism throughout all these five years! And then one can go for another three years for a Ph.D.) are generally taught that writing in a readable, accessible language is not part of the profession of the critic; accessibility is an attribute of the looked-down-upon 'plebeian' profession of journalism. They are taught all possible kinds of theory about analysis of the performance rather than how to communicate the theatre-experience to the audience, as a result of which most of them end up talking and writing about theatre in a kind of 'foreign' language, full of terminology and appropriate only for the few specialised publications. So no wonder the daily papers have literally expelled criticism from their pages. Which, of course, has its dire consequences on theatre itself: without criticism, theatre is like a person living in a flat without a mirror; about his appearance he can judge only by what his loved ones tell him; and we all know how the eyes of love could be sometimes blind!

Well, isn't all that a good reason for me to a) have a grudge against the ubiquity of theory in theatre criticism education, and b) to wage war against it by calling (sometimes secretly) my theatre-criticism course 'anti-theoretical' and telling my students that communication with their readers is the most important thing in criticism – only by mastering this talent can they convey not only their enthusiasm for the theatre but also their knowledge and expertise!

You may say, "At least in Bulgaria you have a solid education for critics, whereas in so many other countries, where critics make or break theatre, the problem is exactly the opposite: criticism lacks depth and critics do not possess profound knowledge of the theatre." And this is true. Yet, even in the US, where that kind of complaint is the loudest, oddly enough, it is again theory and its ubiquity that's partly at the bottom of the problem.

Here's what Michael Fiengold, the first-string critic of *Village Voice*, had to say in that respect in my book *Who Calls the Shots on the New York Stages*, "[...] saddest of all are the youngsters who've been poisoned by the universities into thinking art is a theoretical exercise

for the intelligentsia. Jonathan Kalb, who's very bright, is to me a classic example of a good theater mind ruined by academia. I just can't see what he writes as having anything to do with the reality of the art; to me it's dead from the outset and so irrelevant. The pedantry in our colleges has spoiled so many young artists and critics in the last few years that I've come to regard theory – any theory – as essentially totalitarian and inimical to art."

And this certainly doesn't refer only to the US universities. Several months ago, while teaching a course in criticism at the University of Malta, I interviewed Chris Gatt, theatre director and head of the 'St James Cavalier' Center for Creativity (where the course took place), and this is how he summarised the reason for a centre with such a unique name: "*The university creates robots, while we need people who think creatively*".

Of course, neither I, nor, I'm sure, anybody else from the 'anti-theoretical camp' would ever deny that there's a positive role for theory too. It wouldn't occur to me to rule out the place of theory in theatre and criticism education on the whole. There are great theoreticians of theatre and their contribution to the development of theatre studies has been and is immense. However, there's a huge difference between them and those who just transmit other people's theories and stop right there in their teaching. That is the difference between real great theory and its substitute – so to speak, the 'chewed up' theory that has nothing to do with originality and creativity but just with memorising. And I want to make it clear: my grudge is exactly against the ubiquity of the latter because of its stifling effect on theatre studies.

The best encapsulation of that approach to culture on the whole belongs to Antoine de Saint-Exupéry. "*There's a pitiable notion of what culture is*", says he in one of his early books, "*and this notion is based on memorising formulas. Every bad student in maths knows all the formulas – more than Descartes and Pascal. Is he able to reach the same spiritual heights?... Life always makes formulas fall apart.*"

There's no doubt that theory is very helpful when used as a starting-point. It's a great base for the forthcoming journey of the students in the world of theatre; also: it, no doubt, provides great equipment for that journey. The problem is when it overwhelms the journey, when it becomes the journey's goal, its ending point, hence substituting for the journey itself. Then theory turns into a stifling factor in the development of students' creative thinking and in the mastering of their creative writing abilities. And this tendency is becoming an obstacle, especially in a discipline like theatre criticism. Because theatre criticism in its essence is a means of translating the language of theatre into the language of life, and one needs to allow for a hands-on approach or at least a balance between theory and a hands-on approach in teaching future theatre critics.

Acquiring knowledge of the arts (or I'd rather put it 'getting to know' the arts) is not only an intellectual endeavour, it's an endeavour of the soul and the spirit as well, inasmuch as the very encounter with the arts is an experience of both soul and brain. Trying to put

some order into knowledge is good, but theory frequently tends to impose this order; it tends to take the spirit out of knowledge, transforming it into a set of rules and labels. In a bizarre way, today's theory reminds me of the approach of neo-classicism, only this time harmony and disharmony have other connotations.

By saying 'No trespassing' to emotions, theory dries up knowledge of the arts, detaches it from life. It also has the propensity for dissecting art. No wonder contemporary theory is more interested in that kind of art where harmony doesn't reign supreme: disharmony propitiates dissection and deconstruction. It's much easier to analyse disharmony. For the same reasons that it's easier to elaborate on why we don't love somebody than why we do love him.

When applied to theatre criticism, all this translates into not so positive an impact on theatre too. Arthur Miller used to have a very interesting point of view as of what academic criticism meant for the development of the theatre in the '60s of the 20th century: it took away the breathless quality of criticism, it also brought pretension to criticism, and all that backfired on theatre itself. The disdain of academic criticism towards popular theatre and at the same time the unconditional backing-up of theatre with a limited-range appeal (which has been happening ever since) have also resulted in some negative consequences for the theatre itself. And worst of all: dwindling of its audience as a result of putting it exactly that so much praised limited-range appeal theatre. Academic criticism associates itself with the elite, while theatre is the most democratic art form.

When we look at paintings of some of the very good artists of any previous century, we get a notion of life at that time – what it looked like; we see the material: objects, human flesh; and we even get the taste of our transience as human beings – all these people are long dead! When we look at a painting of a genius of the same period, none of the objects and people there seems mortal and it's because in an inexplicable way they dwell in the territory of the spiritual, transcending everyday life.

In a similar way, criticism based only on theoretical analysis is an excellent archive for the future: it gives a notion of what theatre has looked like, what the objects and people on its stage have been as material and human flesh. But it can never capture the life of the human spirit and that's what great theatre is all about. Theory teaches us to analyse conflict, characters, etc. Great criticism doesn't necessarily need to do all that; it's enough for it to manage to capture the essence of one very important scene and to make it look three-dimensional on a two-dimensional piece of paper, and the show will be alive for future generations. It's exactly that creative skill that should be nurtured, developed and mastered in students.

And the best way to do this is captured perfectly well not in a theoretical or pedagogical piece but in a poem (by Khalil Gibran, 'On Teaching'):

*“No man can reveal to you aught
But that which already lies half
Asleep in the dawning of our knowledge.*

*The teacher who walks in the shadow of the temple, among his
Followers, gives not of his wisdom but
Rather of his faith and his lovingness.*

*If he is indeed wise he does
Not bid you enter the house of wisdom
But rather leads you to the threshold
Of your own mind”.*

ERIKA FISCHER-LICHTE

CULTURE AS PERFORMANCE.
DEVELOPING A CONCEPT OF PERFORMANCE

During recent years, our understanding of cultural processes has changed considerably; and so has our concept of culture. We no longer proceed only from the assumption that culture has to be understood as text, made up of signs that have to be read as the concept of culture that has dominated since the linguistic turn in the seventies prescribes it: 'Culture as text'. We have come to understand that culture is also, if not in the first place, performance. It can hardly be overlooked to what an extent culture is created as and in performances – not only in performances of the different arts but, first and foremost in performances of rituals, festivals, political rallies, sports competitions, games, fashion shows and the like – performances which, in a mediatised form, reach out to millions of people. Hence it follows that the concept of performance, that performance theory, is in the centre and at the heart of all debates in cultural, social and art studies.

In what follows, I shall propose a concept of performance which is derived from the experimental theatre and performance art of the last thirty years. Nonetheless, I argue that it can be effectively applied to all kinds of live performances. I shall present and explain the concept by pursuing four arguments:

1. A performance comes into being through the bodily co-presence of actors and spectators, through their encounter and interaction.
2. A performance is transitory and ephemeral. Nonetheless, whatever occurs in the course of it comes into being *hic et nunc* and is experienced as present in a particularly intense way.
3. A performance does not transmit given meanings. Rather, it is the performance itself which brings forth the meanings that come into being during its course.
4. Performances are characterised by their 'eventness'. The specific mode of experience they allow for is a particular form of liminal experience.

First argument: A performance takes place in and through the bodily co-presence of actors and spectators. For every performance requires two groups of people, the 'doers' and the 'onlookers', who have to assemble at a certain time and place in order to share this situation, a span of lifetime. A performance arises out of their encounter – out of their interaction.

That is to say that in a performance the media conditions are completely different from

those underlying the production and reception of texts or artefacts. While the actors do something – move through the space, perform gestures, manipulate objects, speak and sing – the spectators perceive them and react. It may well be the case that such reactions, at least partly, are internal – imaginative and cognitive – i.e., purely mental processes. However, most of the reactions and responses can be perceived by the actors and the other spectators, e.g., giggling, laughing, shouting, yawning, snoring, sobbing, crying, eating, drinking, commenting on what is happening, getting up, running out, slamming the doors, and so on and so forth. The perception of such responses, in its turn, results in further perceptible reactions. Whatever the actors do, it has an effect on the spectators; and whatever the spectators do, it has an effect on the actors and the other spectators. It can be concluded from this situation that a performance comes into being only during its course. It begets itself through the interactions between actors and spectators. Hence it follows that its course cannot be entirely planned or predicted. It is an autopoietic process, which is characterised by a high degree of contingency. Whatever occurs in the course of a performance cannot be completely foreseen at its beginning. Many elements emerge in the course of a performance as a consequence of certain interactions.

Of course, the actors set the decisive preconditions for the progression of the performance – preconditions that are fixed by the process of *mise-en-scène*. Nonetheless, they are not in a position to fully control the course of the performance. In the end, all participants together generate the performance. This not only minimises the possibility but actually makes it impossible for one individual or a group of people to entirely plan its course, to steer and to control it. The performance is removed from the control of any one individual.

In other words, the performance opens up the possibility for all participants to experience themselves in its course as a subject that is able to co-determine the actions and the behaviour of others and whose own actions and behaviour, in the same way, are determined by others. The individual participants – be they actor or spectator – experience themselves as subjects that are neither fully autonomous nor fully determined by others, as subjects that accept responsibility for a situation which they have not created but take part in.

This demonstrates that any performance – even an artistic one – is also to be regarded as a social process in which different groups encounter, negotiate and regulate their relationship in different ways. Such a social process turns into a political one at the moment when a power struggle between actors and spectators begins during the performance because one group attempts to force certain definitions of the situation or the relationship between them, certain ideas, values, convictions and modes of behaviour on the other. Since all individual participants – even if to varying degrees – co-determine the course of the performance as well as let themselves be determined by it, there are no ‘passive’

participants in the performance. In this sense, all participants bear a joint responsibility for what happens during the performance. Furthermore, some kind of union may occur among the spectators. It is even possible that for the whole duration of the performance or at least for certain stretches of time a community among the spectators or even between actors and spectators may come into being. This is what might turn a performance into an eminently political process – without any kind of political topic being dealt with.

Second argument: The materiality of a performance, its spatiality, corporeality and sound quality is brought forth by and in the course of the performance, from which follows the paradox of performance: it is ephemeral and transitory. However, what appears and takes shape in its course, comes into being *hic at nunc* and is experienced as being present in a particularly intense way.

Even if, in this sense, performances exhaust themselves in their presentness, i.e., in their permanent emerging and passing, this does not mean that in their course material objects cannot be used – objects which remain as traces of the performance and can be preserved as such. When exhibited later in a museum space – a theatre, ethnological or other museum – the focus is on the object itself, while in the performance, attention is also directed towards its usage: what actions are performed by manipulating the object and what effect do they have?

Whatever appears in a performance, on the one hand, proceeds from the intentions, ideas and plans of several subjects. It is the production, the *mise-en-scène*, that defines what elements are to appear when and where on the stage, how they are to move through the space and when and where they are to disappear from it. On the other hand, the performance as a whole springs from the interactions as described above. No matter whether such phenomena as the spectators' perceivable responses are declared to be constitutive of the performance, as was the case in John Cage's 'Silent Pieces', which included all the sounds made by the spectators as well as those penetrating the performance space from outside; or whether such elements are understood as disruptive, defining the performance's materiality only as what is produced intentionally by the artists involved – in either case, whatever appears in the course of a performance co-constitutes the particular materiality of this very performance. This is why we have to clearly distinguish between the concept of *mise-en-scène* and that of performance. While '*mise-en-scène*' describes the materiality of the performance determined by the plans and intentions of the artists, 'performance' includes any kind of materiality brought forth in its course. This is why the *mise-en-scène* is reproducible, whereas every performance is unique.

Even if particular genres of performance take place in spaces that are specifically constructed for them, the spatiality of performance is always ephemeral and transitory. For this has to be distinguished from the architectural-geometrical space in which it takes

place. The performance as such comes into being only in and through the performative space. It is the performative space which opens up particular possibilities for the relationship between actors and spectators, for movement and perception, which it, moreover, organises and structures. In what ways such possibilities are used, realised, evaded or counter-acted will have an effect on the performative space. Each movement of people, animals, objects, light, each sound ringing out in the space will change it and, thus, bring forth spatiality anew. The performative space is not stable, but permanently fluctuating and changing. That is why in a performance spatiality does not exist but it happens.

This is all the more true if we consider the particular atmosphere, which co-constitutes the performative space. As the philosopher Gernot Böhme has shown, atmospheres, although not bound to a particular place, pour into the space. They are not tied to the objects – or the people – from which they seem to emanate nor to those who enter the space and sense them physically. Usually, they are the first to take hold of the spectator/visitor, tingeing him and thus allowing for a very specific experience of the space. Such an experience cannot be explained by taking recourse in the individual elements in the space – its extent, particular objects, smells, sounds, or anything else. For it is not these individual elements that create the atmosphere but the interplay between all of them which, in theatre productions, is usually carefully calculated. Böhme defines atmospheres as “spaces insofar as they are tinged by the presence of objects, of human beings or environmental constellations. They are themselves spheres of the presence of something, its reality in space”.¹ The phrase “spheres of presence” describes a particular mode in which objects are present. Böhme explains the mode in which a thing appears in a particular way as present as an “ecstasy of the object”. Not only are its colours, smells or sounds conceptualised as ecstasies – i.e., the so-called secondary qualities of a thing – but also its primary qualities like extent and form. The ecstasy of things influences their environment, they attract attention, even demand it, and they appear to those who perceive them as present in a particularly intense way. They force themselves into their field of attention.

The atmosphere contributes considerably to the creation of spatiality. Because of and through the atmosphere which the space and the things seem to exude – including the smells which they give off and the sounds they make – the things and the space appear to the subject who enters it as present in even an emphatic sense. Not only do they present themselves in their so-called primary and secondary qualities; moreover, in the atmosphere, they even invade the body of the perceiving subject – this, most of all, is to be experienced with light, smells and sounds. For the spectator is not confronted with the atmosphere, is not distanced from it; rather s/he is surrounded by it, s/he is immersed by it.

Because of the bodily co-presence of actors and spectators, corporeality plays an es-

¹ GERNOT BÖHME, *Atmosphäre. Essays zur neuen Ästhetik*. (Frankfurt a.M., 1995): 33.

sential role in performances. In a performance we deal with the phenomenal as well as with the semiotic body. The actors appear in their bodily being-in-the-world, no matter whether it is a theatre actor, a politician, an athlete, a shaman, a priest, a singer, a dancer, or the partner in a normal everyday interaction. From their phenomenal body there may proceed a particular radiation which the other participants/spectators sense bodily. In many cases, it seems as if a stream of energy emanates from them which is transferred on to the spectators and energises them in their turn. In a particular way and with a particular intensity, the actor is experienced as PRESENT. At the same time, the spectator who is hit by such a stream of energy experiences himself in a particular way and with a particular intensity as present.

The phenomenal body of actor and spectator forms the existential basis of every kind of performance – be it in everyday life, in the arts or in cultural performances. That is to say that the performative character of culture cannot be investigated properly without recourse to the corporeality of all those who participate in a performance. It is not ideas, concepts, meanings which are to be examined in the first place, in order to bring into view culture's performative character, but the particular phenomenal bodies by whom and between whom the performance is brought forth – the body of the actor who by applying certain techniques and practices succeeds in filling the space and in drawing the undivided attention of the spectators to this, his bodily presence, as well as the body of the spectators who respond to such an experience of presence in a particular way.

In performances, it is the phenomenal body of the participants, the body in its different physiological, affective, energy and motor states, which influences the phenomenal body of others and is able to evoke in them particular physiological, affective, energy and motor states. In all these cases, the phenomenal body quite often appears at the same time as a semiotic body. Be it in an everyday interaction, in a ritual or a theatre performance, the spectator will not only sense the other in his phenomenal corporeality, but at the same time ask himself what it means that the other lowers his eyelid, raises his arm or moves through the space – regardless of whether such movements are intended to mean anything at all.

While up to now the semiotic body in performances has attracted and received much attention, the phenomenal body of actors and spectators has only seldom come into view. This is all the more surprising since the phenomenal and the semiotic body are inextricably bound to each other – it is possible to think of the phenomenal body without referring to the semiotic body, but not the other way round. It seems productive to relate both of them to one another via the concept of embodiment.² By embodiment I do not mean the process of lending one's body temporarily to something mental – an idea, a concept,

² Regarding this concept s. ERIKA FISCHER-LICHTB, "Embodiment – From Page to Stage: The Dramatic Figure", *Assaph*, Studies in Theatre No. 16, (2000): 65-75.

a meaning or even a bodiless spirit – which needs a body in order to articulate itself and acquire appearance. Rather, the term embodiment aims at such bodily processes by which the phenomenal body generates itself as a particular body and at the same time brings forth specific meanings. Thus, by processes of embodiment, the actor brings forth and represents his phenomenal body in a very specific way, which sometimes is experienced as PRESENCE, and at the same time, he produces a dramatic figure, for example, Hamlet. In the performance, PRESENCE as well as the dramatic figure do not exist beyond the particular processes of embodiment by which the actor brings them into existence; rather, they are brought forth by them.

These characteristics of the actor's play can be applied to all kinds of performers and their actions in other genres of performance. Even there, those who act bring forth their phenomenal body in a particular way and thus, at the same time, generate specific meanings – be it a dramatic figure or any kind of identity, a social 'role' or a symbolic order. All these kinds of meanings are grounded in the phenomenal body and do not exist beside or beyond it. What we call PRESENCE in an actor, in a political leader, a shaman or a priest might also be called charisma. But this opens up quite another debate.

Third argument: A performance does not transmit given meanings. Rather, it is the performance which brings forth the meanings that come into being during its course.

For a long time, scholars proceeded from the assumption that performances serve the purpose of conveying specific given meanings. This was based on the premise that the performance of a dramatic text transmits the meanings fixed in it or a particular interpretation contained in it; that in a court festival of the 17th century a particular given allegorical programme was realised, or that political festivals and other mass performances are to be regarded as representation of an individual's power like that of Alexander the Great, Augustus, Louis XIV, Napoléon, Mussolini, Stalin, or Hitler.

Such an opinion can no longer be held if the first two arguments are taken into consideration. For, on the one hand, there are the unforeseen and unplanned elements that emerge in the interaction between actors and spectators during the performance which disturb the given programme. On the other hand, focusing the attention on the particular presence of phenomenal bodies, ecstasies of things and atmospheres, distract it from the semiotic bodies, objects and spaces etc., and, thus, run counter to the procedure of such an interpretation. Rather, it is the performance which brings forth meanings. In this sense, meanings that come into being in and during the performance are to be regarded as emergent.

To perceive the body, the objects and the space in their specific presence does not mean to perceive them as meaningless. Instead, all of these phenomena are to be perceived as something. We are not dealing with an non-specific stimulus here, mere sense data, but

with a perception of something as something. In my perception the objects appear in their particular phenomenality. They signify that as what they appear. Their self-referentiality, accordingly, is not to be described as the mediation of a given meaning nor as a desemantisation but as a process of a very particular kind of production of meaning. This process is performed as the perception of a phenomenon in its particular materiality, in its phenomenal being. Perceiving and generating meaning, here, are performed in and by the very same act. Meaning is brought forth by and in the act of perceiving. In other words, we don't perceive something first and then – in an act of interpretation – attribute the meaning of something else to it. Rather, perceiving something as something is performed at the same time as the process of producing its meaning as this particular phenomenal being.

A very different mode of perception goes hand in hand with this one. First, the feature appearing is perceived in and as its phenomenal being. The moment the attention diverges from the perceived element as such and starts to go astray, this element appears as a kind of signifier to which the most diverse associations might refer as its signifieds – images, ideas, memories, emotions, thoughts, etc. It is very questionable whether such associations are made following particular rules and can therefore be predicted. Rather, it is to be assumed that they descend on the perceiving subject, more or less by chance, even if explicable afterwards. They are not at the percipient's free disposal, they simply emerge.

This oscillation of the perception between focusing on the phenomenon as self-referential and on the associations it evokes, I will call the order of presence. From it I distinguish quite another kind of perception and production of meaning, namely the order of representation. To perceive the actor's physicality in its bodily being-in-the-world lays the foundation for the order of presence. To perceive it as a sign for a dramatic figure or another symbolic order establishes the order of representation. The latter demands to relate any perceived element to the dramatic figure or the symbolic order, respectively. While the first order produces meaning regarding the phenomenal being of the perceived – which does not mean that it can't evoke other meanings that are not directly linked to the perceived phenomena, as in a string of associations – the second order brings forth meanings which, in their sum total, constitute the dramatic figure or another symbolic order.

During a performance, our perception oscillates between both orders of perception. The moment it shifts from one to the other, a rupture occurs, a discontinuity manifests itself. A state of instability comes into being, which places the perceiving subject between the two orders, transfers him into a state of betwixt and between, of liminality:³ each shift, each instability, causes the dynamics of the process of perception to take another

³ Regarding the concept of betwixt and between and liminality cf. ARNOLD VAN GENNEP, *The Rites of Passage*. (Chicago: Chicago Univ. Press, 1960) (originally 1909), and VICTOR TURNER, *The Ritual Process – Structure and Anti-Structure*. (Chicago: Aldine, 1969).

turn. The more often a shift happens, the more often the perceiving subjects begin to wander between two worlds, between two orders of perception. More and more, they become aware of their inability to cause, steer and control the shifts. They may try to intentionally adjust their perception anew – to the order of presence or to the order of representation. Very soon, however, they will become aware that the shift takes place even if they do not intend it, that it simply happens, befalls them, that they are moved between the two orders without wanting or being able to prevent it. At that moment, the spectators experience their own perception as emergent, as withdrawn from their will and control and yet as an action performed consciously.

That is to say that the shift draws the attention of the perceiving subject to the process of perception itself as well as to its particular dynamics. At the moment of shift, the process of perception itself becomes conspicuous, thereby self-conscious, and in itself the object of perception. The perceiving subjects start to perceive themselves as perceiving subjects, which produces new meanings, which, in turn, generate other meanings and so forth. In this way, the process of perception continuously takes another turn. What is perceived and what meanings are produced becomes less and less predictable. The perceiving subjects become aware that the meanings are not conveyed to them, but that it is they themselves who produce these and that they could have generated quite a different set of meanings if the shift from one order to the other had happened earlier or later or more or less often.

Fourth argument: Performances are characterised by their ‘eventness’. The specific mode of experience they allow for is a particular form of liminal experience.

In order to adequately understand performances, they are not to be considered works of art but art events. Since a performance comes into being by way of the interaction between actors and spectators, since it brings forth itself in and through an autopoietic process, it is impossible to label it a work. For when the autopoietic process comes to an end, the performance does not remain as its result; rather, the performance, too, has come to an end. It is over and therefore irretrievably lost. It exists only as and in the process of performing; it exists only as event.

The performance as event – unlike the *mise-en-scène* – is unique and cannot be repeated. It is impossible for exactly the same constellation between actors and spectators to occur another time. The responses of the spectators and their effect on the actors and other spectators will be different with each and every performance. A performance is to be understood as event also in the sense that no participant can completely control it, that it simply happens to them – particularly to the spectators. This holds true not only with respect to the consequences of the bodily co-presence of actors and spectators, but also regarding the particular presentness of the phenomena as well as the emergence of meaning. As explained concerning the shift of perception, it also befalls the perceiving subjects and

transfers them into a state of betwixt and between, into a state of instability.

Moreover, the particular eventness of performances is characterised by a strange collapsing of oppositions. The participants in a performance experience themselves as subjects who co-determine its course and, at the same time, are determined by it. They live through the performance as an aesthetic as well as social, even political, process, in the course of which relationships are negotiated, power struggles fought, communities established and dissolved. Their perception follows the order of presence as well as that of representation. This is to say that what traditionally in Western cultures is held to be an opposition which is grasped by pairs of dichotomous concepts – such as autonomous subject v. subject determined by others; art v. social reality/politics; presence v. representation – is experienced not in the mode of either-or but in that of an as-well in performances. The oppositions collapse, the dichotomies dissolve.

The moment this happens, the moment when one category can also be the other, our attention is attracted by the passage from one state to the other, by the instability, which, in its turn, is experienced as an event. In the space between these opposites, an interval opens up. The 'betwixt and between' thus becomes a privileged category. It points to the threshold between the spaces, to the state of liminality, into which the performance transfers all those who participate in it.

Since such pairs of dichotomous concepts not only serve as tools for the description and cognition of the world but also as regulatives for our actions and behaviour; their destabilisation not only destabilizes our perception of the world, ourselves and others, but also shatters the rules and norms that guide our behaviour. From the pairs of concepts different frames can be deduced, for instance 'This is theatre/art' or 'This is a social or political situation'. Such frames prescribe an adequate behaviour in the situation they encompass. By letting opposite or only different frames collide, by thus allowing different, partly even completely opposite, values and claims to stand side by side, so that they are all valid while at the same time they annul each other, performances create liminal situations. They transport the spectators between all these rules, norms, orders, they transfer them into a crisis.

That is to say that the performance transfers the spectators into a state which alienates them from their everyday life, from the norms and rules valid in it, without, however, showing them ways of achieving a re-orientation. Such a state may be experienced as a pleasure as well as a torment. The transformations that the subjects undergo can be most diverse. Mainly, they are temporary transformations, which last only for a limited timespan in the performance. These include changes in the body's physiological, affective, energy and motor states, but also changes in status like those from the status of a spectator to that of an actor or the building up of a community between actors and spectators or only among the spectators. Such changes take place during the performance and are

perceptible; after the performance has come to an end, however, they usually do not continue. It can only be discussed and decided with regard to individual cases whether the experience of destabilisation of the perception of reality, self and others, the loss of valid norms and rules, actually leads to a re-orientation of the particular individual and in this sense, to an on-going and longer lasting transformation. It might as well be the case that after leaving the performance space the spectator dismisses her/his temporary destabilisation as nonsensical and unfounded and tries to return to her/his previous perception of reality, self and others – or that even after the performance has come to an end s/he remains in the state of disorientation for quite a while and much later, by way of reflection, arrives at a re-orientation or returns to her/his old values and patterns of behaviour. Whichever may be the case, s/he has undergone a liminal experience while participating in the performance.

In the case of artistic performances we call such a liminal experience 'aesthetic', in the case of rituals, the experience is 'ritualistic'. Generally, the experiences produced by the most diverse kinds of performance are liminal in nature. However, we are able to distinguish between the liminal experience as an aesthetic experience and as a ritualistic experience. Ritualistic experience is characterised by two criteria not valid for aesthetic experience: irreversibility and social acceptance. However, although aesthetic experience does not result in a socially accepted change of status or identity, it may well cause a change in the perception of reality, self and others in individual participants. This applies not only to the artists involved but also to the spectators. In this sense, the event of the performance may result in a transformation of the participants which can outlast even the end of the performance.

Conclusions

The concept of performance as outlined above entails a highly innovative potential with regard to art studies, social and cultural studies, which I shall briefly outline.

In art studies, the concept of the art work is in the centre. The work has to be analysed with respect to the different artistic devices applied, and interpreted in order to understand it. If the arts no longer produce works but performances, i.e., events, instead, as has been happening not only in theatre, music, performance art, but since the 1960s increasingly also in the other arts, then neither can an aesthetic of the work be applied nor the production and reception aesthetics that refer to it. What is at stake now is the challenge to develop new aesthetics,⁴ above all theories of aesthetic experience as well as

⁴ Cf. ERIKA FISCHER-LICHTE, *The Transformative Power of Performance: A new Aesthetics*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2008) [German: *Ästhetik des Performativen*, Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 2004].

new methods of performance analysis in the place of work analysis.

In dealing with performances, the historical-hermeneutic disciplines will no longer be able to proceed from the premise that the performances fulfil a particular allegorical programme or represent the power of an individual or that the performance of a dramatic text can be regarded as its interpretation. Rather, historical-hermeneutic approaches have to take into consideration that meanings emerge not before the process of performance but in its course and therefore cannot be identical with the meanings which groups of persons or individuals intended to express through the performance.

The concept of performance is just as momentous for the social sciences. For, given the premise that in a performance all participants, i.e., actors and spectators alike, are involved insofar as they co-determine its course and let themselves be determined by it, the widespread and popular thesis of manipulation fails. It assumes that political festivals and other mass performances are quite suited to the purpose of manipulating the participating population according to the intentions and plans of the ruler or the ruling class. That would presuppose that the organisers are capable of applying staging strategies which have the power to overwhelm the *per se* passive audiences in the exactly precalculated way and to elicit from them the desired behaviour. If we keep in mind the interaction between actors and spectators as well as the co-responsibility which each participant bears for the course of the performance, it hardly seems likely that such a manipulation could actually occur.⁵

A special problem is posed by mediatised performances. Film, television and video-recordings of performances, in their turn, cannot be defined and understood as performances. For the bodily co-presence of actors and spectators which constitutes a performance is not given. Therefore, they cannot be included in the concept of performance, although it can, nonetheless, in the concept of performativity. Moreover, there is a considerable difference between mediatised performances in the above sense and performances which make ample use of the different media and all kinds of reproduction technologies. Such performances are a challenge for the audience by requiring new modes of perception without questioning the concept of performance itself.

By developing a satisfactory concept of performance, theatre studies provide a suitable and much needed heuristic tool for other disciplines that deal with performance. The innovative potential that the concept of performance implies has still to be discovered and explored by them.

⁵ Cf. ERIKA FISCHER-LICHTE, *Theatre, Sacrifice, Ritual. Exploring Forms of Political Theatre*. (London/ New York: Routledge, 2005).

HENRI SCHOENMAKERS

I AM THE OTHER (SOMETIMES).
THE DYNAMICS OF INVOLVEMENT PROCESSES DURING
THE RECEPTION OF THEATRICAL EVENTS

Introduction

This contribution is a continuation of theoretical and empirical research dealing with the emotional impact and effect of films and theatrical events and the involvement processes taking place within theatrical situations. In this contribution, involvement processes of spectators as they may take place during the reception of theatrical events are discussed. In particular, the concepts of identification and empathy will be analysed in connection with questions about changes in involvement processes during the reception processes and about differences between spectators in the object of involvement they choose.

Approaches to identification

The traditional idea of identification as a process on the part of the spectators is that the spectator identifies him -or her- self with the hero of the play. As Bertolt Brecht (1967, 298) has put it, the spectator takes over the experiences and feelings of the hero. Patrice Pavis, in his latest edition of his *Dictionnaire du Théâtre* (2004), also describes identification still as an illusion process in which the spectator has the feeling that he has become the character.

In film theory the approach was quite different, particularly in the work of Balazs in his book *The Film* (1949). He saw identification as the key to the film's "absolute artistic novelty":

"We look up to Juliet's balcony with Romeo's eyes and look down on Romeo with Juliet's. Our eye and with it our consciousness is identified with the characters in the film, we look at the world out of their eyes and have no angle of vision of our own" (Translation from Balazs, 1972, p. 48).

Stam (2000, 62) considers Balazs' approach an anticipation of the 'gaze' and apparatus theory, as well as later (film) theories of identification and engagement. This holds particu-

larly true for Metz' concept of primary identification, the identification with the camera (Metz 1977, Baudry 1978, Aumont, Bergala e.a. 1983).

On the one hand, we find in drama and performance theory the rather static idea of identification with the hero as a stable phenomenon during the reception process. On the other, we find in film theories the assumption of a more dynamic identification process based on the changing points of view of the camera. It is this latter concept which Metz (1977, 1985) called 'primary identification'.

Even when these two approaches look fundamentally different, they have in common the assumption that those identification processes are the same for all spectators. These different ideas about identification have been repeated up to the present time in different variations in drama, performance, and media theories. Theory about differences in identification between spectators is still an exception.

Empirical research into theatre and film, analysing identification processes, has made clear that differences in identification between spectators take place. Roodink (1984, Table 12) found in an empirical analysis of different films and filmed plays, *inter alia*, that female and male spectators show a tendency to identify themselves with a character of the same gender. He concluded that more male spectators have such a tendency than female spectators.

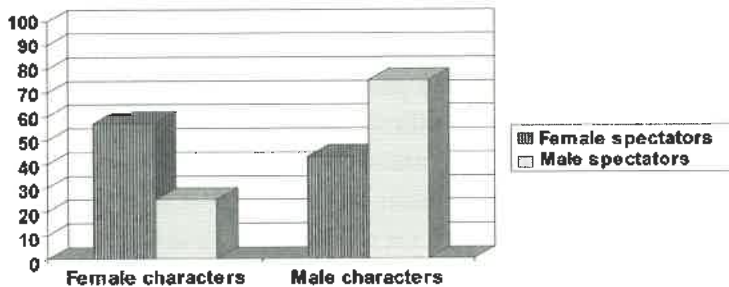


Figure 1: The intensity of identification of male and female spectators with female and male characters. [Based on Roodink 1984, Table 12 ; n = 513]

Figure 1 shows the relationship between the gender of the spectators and the gender of the characters in the fictional world. More male spectators than female spectators identify themselves with a character of the same sex. Also in other research such results were found (Tan 1980, 47; Van der Voort 1982, 219), and these even led to the hypothesis about a sex barrier for men in identification processes.

We made a more precise analysis of the film material Roodink used in this research, and paid attention to the dramaturgical structures of the films involved. We selected two films with comparable structural and dramaturgical characteristics, but with leading

characters of a different gender: *In Treatment* [*Opname* - 1979] by Erik van Zuylen, with two leading male characters, and *Hostsonate* [1978] by Ingmar Bergman, with two leading female characters.

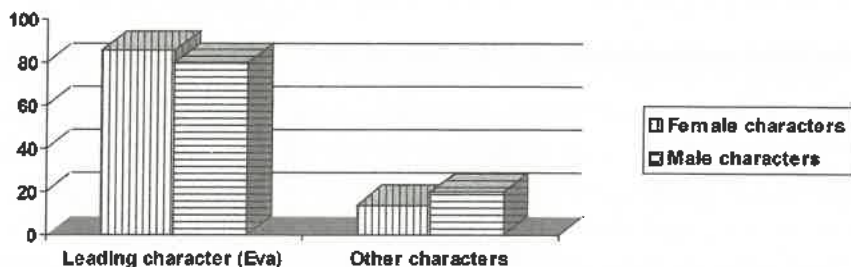


Figure 2A: Involvement and *Hostsonate* (Ingmar Bergman). The relation between gender of spectators and gender of characters ($n=66$; no significant differences between male and female spectators).

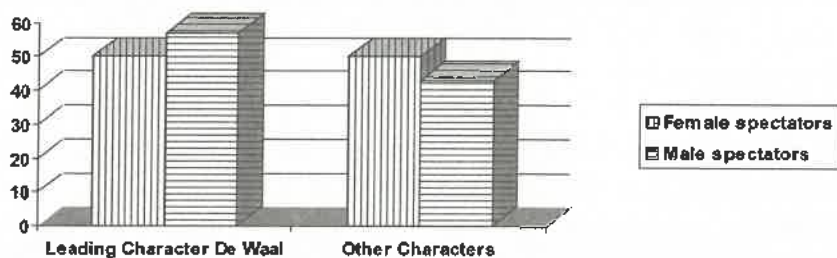


Figure 2B: Involvement and *Opname* (*In Treatment* - Erik van Zuylen). The relation between gender of spectators and gender of characters ($n=106$; no significant differences between female and male spectators).

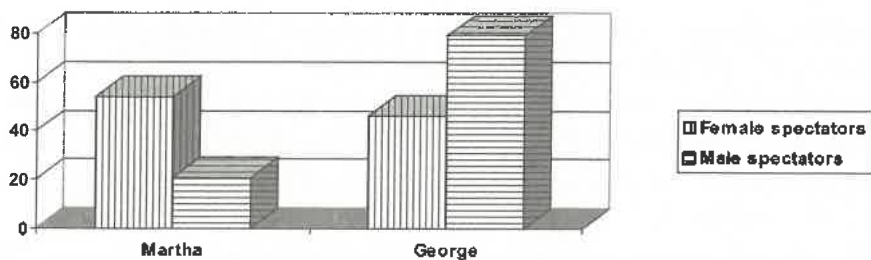


Figure 2C: Involvement and *Who is Afraid of Virginia Woolf* (Mike Nichols). The relation between gender of spectators and gender of the leading characters ($n = 32$; significant differences between female and male spectators).

We found now that even more male spectators identified themselves with the two leading female characters in *Hostsonate* than female spectators with the two male characters in *In Treatment* (See Figure 2 A and B). This analysis falsified the hypothesis about the gender barrier in identification processes and made clear that the relationship between gender of the spectator and of the character is only one of the possible variables promoting identification.

The question whether spectators transgress a gender barrier in identification processes is, in our opinion, dependent on the thematical and dramaturgical characteristics of the film or theatrical event. If the theme of the film and its dramaturgical characteristics do not refer to the gender aspect, than the gender variable on the part of the spectator does not play an important role (see Schoenmakers, Kolkema & Streunding 1989). This we see in the examples of *Hostsonate* (a family and generation problem is the main theme) and *Opname (In Treatment)* (confrontation with an incurable disease).

In *Who is Afraid of Virginia Woolf* the battle of the sexes is the main theme. Here we see a significant difference between male and female spectators in the choice of their character of involvement (Figure 2C). The observation that more female spectators choose George as an object of involvement than male spectators do Martha can be interpreted as a slight confirmation for a gender barrier for men in some cases. However, we think this difference can also be the result of dramaturgical differences in the presentation of these two leading characters. George is in this film, quantitatively (measured in minutes he is to be seen on screen), much more prominent than Martha. He also got more point of view shots and also more close-ups than Martha. These instrumental devices in the structural and dramaturgical organisation of the film could also be an explanation for the differences in identification.

Problems in involvement theories

We can summarise the main problems in theories dealing with identification as follows (for a more detailed discussion see Schoenmakers 1988):

(1) In drama and performance theory usually only the hero in the fictional world is considered as an object of identification, and in film the character in the fictional world whose point of view the camera is showing. Characteristics of the spectator are not fundamentally considered.

(2) The cognitive and emotional characteristics of the processes remain unclear. Often the concept of identification is not defined at all. From the context it is sometimes possible to detect what concept of identification is used. These interpretations may vary from the Brechtian idea of feeling you are in the shoes of a character, to the recognition of cognitions and emotions, or even to a general emotional involvement in the fictional world

(Laplanche & Pontalis 1978).

(3) The possible causes and effects of identification remain unclear, particularly in drama and performance theories.

(4) The relationship is not clear between different concepts of involvement such as identification, empathy, 'feeling into', 'feeling with', sympathy, etc.

Kinds of involvement processes

In this short article it is not possible to discuss all these problems, but at least we will try to clarify some. As a conclusion of a survey of different kinds of involvement concepts in drama, performance, literary and psychological theory we have proposed (Schoenmakers 1988) distinguishing at least between two processes (a) identification, and (b) empathy. Recently a third concept has been added (c) kinaesthetic involvement (Wildschut 2003).

In order to define those concepts, we used the possibilities of the cognitive emotion theory of Nico Frijda (1986), which served as the theoretical framework for research into emotion and involvement processes. Identification was defined (Schoenmakers 1988, 142) as a process in which spectators experience similarity between their own interests, perspectives, sensitivities, and other cognitions and the interests, perspectives, sensitivities, and other cognitions of their object of involvement. The result is that they experience the same emotions as they think the object of involvement is experiencing. Another result is, *inter alia*, that spectators experience a mono-perspective view or experience, namely in line with the view and experience the specific object of involvement seems to experience.

Empathy has been defined as a process in which the spectators understand the interests, perspectives, sensitivities, and other cognitions of their object of involvement. They experience differences in those areas, however. Their view and experience is different from the view and the emotions the characters seem to experience. Characteristic of empathy is the possibility of a multi-perspective experience and view where we understand different characters at the same moment. Spectators experiencing empathy may understand the point of view and experiences of different characters at the same time. It is an interesting question if such an experience leads to more tragic experiences than the mono-perspective view and experience of identification.

The difference between identification and empathy can also be summarised in terms of a self/other distinction (Van Vliet 1991), in which 'the other' is the character. In the case of identification, the self/other distinction seems to disappear, whereas in the case of empathy the self/other distinction is emphasised.

A debate has been going on, particularly in psychological and media studies, as to whether or not the concept of identification makes any sense. The psychologist and media researcher Dolf Zillmann stated in his article "Mechanisms of emotional involvement with

process in which the spectator experiences the observed movements on stage not only visually and auditorily but also by means of activated proprioceptors, which make connections with movement experiences stored in the long-term memory. In other words, the observation of movement patterns activates movement patterns stored in the memory of the observer and will lead to motoric reactions and emotional experiences.

In fact, a connection between involvement and kinaesthetics is not new. As early as the beginning of the 20th century, the psychologist Lipps (1906, 27-28) spoke about 'kinaesthetic imitation' when he was discussing his theories about empathy. However, the concept did not find its way into theory about spectator experiences.

In analyses of the reception of children watching dance performances, Wildschut was able to show that kinaesthetic experiences particularly take place when spectators have been actively involved in dance and in this way have developed specific internal motoric programmes. Regarding the relationship between kinaesthetic involvement and identification and empathy, it is to be expected that there will be a correlation between identification and kinaesthetic involvement, since both are based on similarity experiences: in the case of identification, cognitive and emotional similarities, and in the case of kinaesthetic experiences, motoric similarities, which may lead to emotions as well. An attempt by Wildschut to analyse this correlation between identification and kinaesthetic involvement was not successful because of the technical problems she was confronted with (Wildschut, 2003, 176).

The possible causes of involvement in theatrical situations

Regarding the causes of identification or involvement, in particular, sociographic variables such as gender, profession, education, and age were used in the first wave of audience and reception research in order to find possible causes to explain differences in identification or involvement processes between spectators. Sometimes those differences were found (e.g., Morgan 1951, Gourd 1977, Goldberg 1977), sometimes not (e.g., Hayes 1950, Pickett 1969). We think it is not these sociographic characteristics which are responsible for differences, but the underlying psychological cognitions. It is not because a spectator is a woman or a man that differences in involvement processes take place, but because those gender differences are an indication of differences in values, norms, sensitivities, and so on. More sophisticated involvement research should focus on those aspects. That is why we, in our definitions for the involvement concepts, used the term 'interest', derived from emotion theory and indicating those norms, values, and sensitivities. In this way we are forced to look for the underlying psychological mechanisms instead of the more superficial sociographic variables.

After an analysis of theoretical and empirical research dealing with the concept of identification, Schoenmakers (1988) reduced the possible causes for identification into only four basic categories. The existence of one of those four, theatrical projection, was not confirmed in empirical analyses (Vermeulen 1989, Van Vliet 1991). For the time being, we assume that only the following three causes for identification are important:

a. similarity between spectator and object of identification, and not, or not only, at the level of sociographic variables, but at the level of the underlying interests, norms, values, and sensitivities (similarity identification).

b. the attractivity of a possible object of involvement, the object of involvement as ideal model, so to say, which is also connected with interests, values, and norms of the spectators (wish-identification)

c. instrumental means: The instrumental means are the dramaturgical tools and devices at the disposal of the theatre or filmmakers to stimulate or prevent identification or involvement. We have to think of dramaturgical tools, such as narration structure, information state of the spectator in relation to the characters, qualitative and quantitative prominence of characters, and so on.

These three causes (similarity, attraction, and instrumental means) can reinforce each other and in this way increase the intensity of identification. They can also point in different directions and obstruct and diminish identification and stimulate empathy. Let us illustrate this with the example of changing identification by means of the changing camera perspective Balazs used. We assume that when such an instrumental means as a camera perspective is not connected with at least one of the two other causes (similarity or attraction), it will not work in the way Balazs supposes. If a spectator shares with Romeo not only the point of view, but also the norms and values regarding the beauty characteristics of Juliet, then this similarity in instrumental means (the point of view shot) and in norms and values may induce identification. And because Romeo – for these spectators – is in an attractive situation, namely in the neighbourhood of Juliet, the causes for identification (the camera perspective focused on Juliet), and the similarity in beauty norms, reinforce each other. However, when in this scene, Juliet is shown not in accordance with the beauty norms of our Western society, but not extremely slim, giggling, funny, and behaving in a clumsy way, then the same camera perspective would not support identification, but emphasise a more emphatic reaction, namely that love is blind. We understand Romeo when such a Juliet flabbergasts him, but we do not share his views. In other words, it is not the camera perspective itself but the camera perspective in relation to the possible other causes of identification which is responsible for identification. That is the reason we do not expect that the hypothesis of Balazs about changing identification with every change of the camera perspective will be confirmed.

The camera perspective has been used as an example, not only because it is such a

strong tool, but also because it was such a hot issue in the debate about identification and film. The example does not imply that theatre directors would not have strong instrumental tools at their disposal to reach comparable effects. With the help of lighting design, with a *mise en scène* focusing on Juliet, with a retardation of the tempo of the actions, a theatre director can emphasise the probable similarities or dissimilarities between spectator and character. Another strong instrumental tool at the disposal of the theatre and filmmakers is the state of information of the spectators compared with the characters. We suppose that a lead in or deficit of information in the spectator compared with a character prevents or diminishes identification, while similarity in the state of information reinforces identification. With similarity in the state of information, we see the surprise or the threat at the same moment as the character. When we know more than a character, for instance that he or she is threatened, we may feel fear or pity, while the character, not aware of the threat, may still be happily walking around.

An important conclusion for research into identification is the importance of the characteristics of the performance or film. An analysis of the conflicts and of the themes is necessary to find out which interests, norms, and values play a role and will activate the attitudes towards these interests as a possible cause for experiences of similarity or attractiveness. A dramaturgical or structural analysis is necessary to find out which narrative or theatrical devices are steering involvement processes. Because the causes of identification are to be found in the themes and dramaturgy of the performance or film (in the case of the instrumental means) or in the interplay between elements of the performance or film, on the one hand, and the characteristics of the spectator, on the other (in the cases of attractiveness and similarity), an analysis of the performance or film will help to clarify which variables on the part of the spectators are activated and could play a role in the involvement processes. On the basis of such an analysis, predictions about the interests which will be activated on the part of the spectators and could cause differences in involvement processes between spectators are possible.

One of the consequences of these theoretical considerations about processes of involvement is that a much more dynamic process of involvement in general and of identification and empathy specifically will take place than traditional drama theory assumes. It is not only changes in the choice of the object of identification and empathy during the reception process that are to be expected, but also different spectators may choose different objects of identification at the same moment.

The dynamics of involvement processes

Is it possible to make the dynamics in involvement processes visible, as the theoretical considerations imply? In order to answer this question we used the same film which we had

already used for research projects into emotion and identification processes, with other research questions (Schoenmakers 1986, Tan 1986). It is the film *In Treatment (Opname)*, made by theatre makers of the Werkteater in Amsterdam. For ten of the 24 scenes into which we had divided the film for other research aims, we analysed the intensity of the cognitive aspects of involvement, namely the (dis)similarity in cognition between spectator and characters (Schoenmakers 1991).

The origin for the analyses was the connection of involvement theory with the notion of interests in the emotion theory of Nico Frijda, which means with the cognitive aspects of emotions. We assumed that similarity in interests between spectators and characters will lead to the same thoughts on the part of the spectators as they attribute to the characters. We analysed the thoughts of the spectators in the different segments in relation to their ideas about the thoughts of the characters. Similarity in thoughts with a character we saw as support for the cognitive aspect of identification. Differences in thoughts and similarity in thoughts with two different characters in the same situation we saw as an indication for empathy. The fact that we only analysed the cognitive aspect is the reason why we speak about cognitive similarity and not of identification. It is just the first step in the identification process.

The following conclusions could be reached:

(1) The leading character, De Waal, got the highest intensity of cognitive similarity. It varies in the different scenes between 13% and 40%. The intensity of cognitive similarity related to the second leading character, Frank, varies from 6% – 17%. The cognitive similarity with two minor characters, the doctor and the wife of the first leading character, Mrs De Waal, vary respectively between 1% – 9% and 10%-21%. When we want, we can even see this result as a very slight confirmation for traditional drama and performance theory, namely identification with the hero. However, we tend to see it as the result of one of the instrumental devices the theatre or film makers have at their disposal: the prominence of the character and the similarity in information state between spectator and the leading characters. In most scenes spectators do not have a lead in or deficit of information compared to this character.

(2) Feelings of empathy, however, reached higher intensities than the cognitive similarity with the leading characters.

(3) Most striking, however, are the huge changes in the intensities of cognitive similarity.

(4) Also striking is that quite a number of spectators show cognitive similarities with minor characters as well.

(5) Particularly interesting is Scene V. In spite of the presence of the leading character,

most cognitive similarity goes to a minor character, his wife, who is visiting him in hospital. But also in this scene empathy is higher than cognitive similarity with the leading character (Figure 4).

Let us have a closer look at this scene (Figure 4). Before this scene, the leading character has been informed that he has cancer and that he has to stay in hospital. In Scene V, the wife of the leading character is visiting her husband, she wants to help him, and has brought some food he likes. The leading character, however, does not want help, he does not want food, and becomes unreasonable with her. He does not want her presence and sends her away.

Here we see that the audience splits up into major groups. One group shares the thoughts of the leading character, the other group, even larger than the first, shares the thoughts of the wife. A third group of spectators understands the perspectives of them both, and feels empathy.

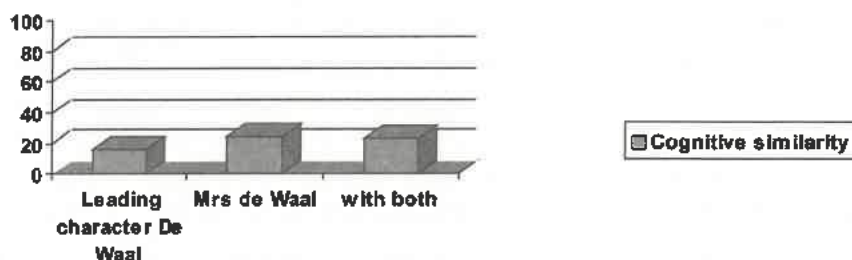


Figure 4: Involvement (cognitive similarity) in *Opname (In Treatment)* in segment 5.

The emotions we can expect as a result of these different perspectives are: in the case of similarity with the leading character, distress and anger about his terrible situation, and in the case of similarity in thoughts with his wife, distress about the situation of her husband and sadness that the man she loves is aggressive to her. The spectators who feel empathy will understand both perspectives and will feel sadness about the behaviour of the husband, who is attacking the wrong person in his miserable situation. They will feel pity for both partners, particularly about the fact that a situation, for which nobody can be held responsible, is causing such a depressing state of affairs in the relationship of this couple. These emotions can be accompanied with fear about the future and the problems of coping with the situation. .

Regarding the relationship between empathy and identification, it is interesting to see that throughout the whole film, the amount of empathy (a multi-perspective view) increases and the amount of identification (the mono-perspective view) decreases (Figure 5). In other words, the understanding of the different views of the characters increases during

the reception process.

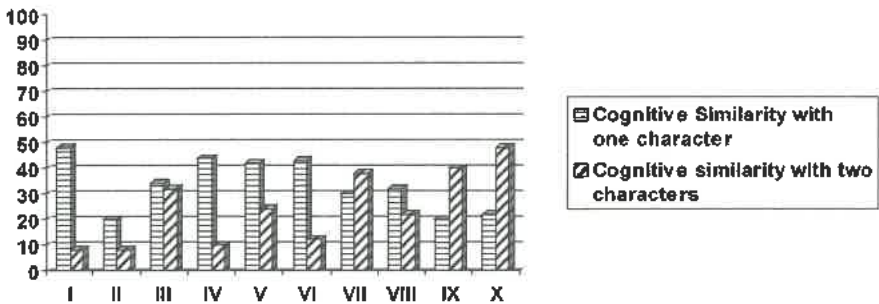


Figure 5: Cognitive similarity with one character (identification) and cognitive similarity with two characters (empathy).

When we come back to the possible causes of identification in *Opname*, we conclude that similarity plays an important role, whereas attraction does not play a role at all in such a tragic film. At the level of the instrumental means, we concluded that for this adaptation of a theatre performance into a film, camera perspective and close-ups were used in a very conventional way. More important is the use of the instrumental tool of the narration structure. This narration structure can be characterised as a surprise structure. In most scenes, there is similarity in the information state between spectators and the two leading characters. Only at very few moments do spectators have a lead in or a deficit of information compared to the main characters. It is the kind of narration structure which, because of the similarity in the state of information between spectator and character, can be seen as stimulating for possible identification.

Let us speculate, on the basis of these findings and considerations, about Greek tragedies. When we make a comparison with the narration structure of Greek tragedies, for example, then we see how the Greek dramatists took care to give the spectators a lead of information compared to the main character(s). In the case of *Oedipus the King*, we can expect that the spectators in the theatre of Dionysus Eleuthereus knew the story. In other cases we see how the dramatists take care to give the spectator that lead of information by providing the necessary information in the plot structure, for instance in the prologue. Such narration structures, using forms of tragic and dramatic irony, will in our view prevent identification and stimulate empathy. This makes it in our opinion probable that spectators watching Greek tragedies, particularly also the tragedies used as example for identification with the hero, such as *Oedipus the King*, will elicit more empathy and much less identification than supposed.

We may conclude that involvement processes are much more complex than simply identification with the hero. In the same scene some spectators experience identification

whereas other spectators experience empathy; different spectators may feel identification with different characters (which for example in our opinion could be the case with Antigone and Creon), depending on different similarity feelings with these characters.

We could make clear that the same spectators may choose different objects of involvement in different scenes, and that they may change from identification to empathy and from empathy to identification. Theory and research imply that we are less faithful to our objects of involvement than drama and performance theories assumed. We will have the feeling that we are somebody else only for some time.

The big differences between spectators in their involvement processes should consequently get more attention in our theories. This involvement research illustrates how useful it is to question basic assumptions in drama, performance and media theories and to look for theories and methods which help to test those assumptions, in order to improve the theories about what is going on in the reality of theatrical events in the heads, hearts, and bodies of real spectators.

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JOHN SOMERS

CREATING A BRIDGE: INTERACTIVE THEATRE
AND AUDIENCE INVOLVEMENT

Introduction

Many people associate going to the theatre with 'entertainment'. It is a 'night out', perhaps accompanied by a visit to a restaurant and some drinks in the interval. Certainly, one of the functions of theatre performances, films and TV plays is to entertain, to provide light relief from the daily struggle in which most of us engage. It can be exhilarating to leave a theatre feeling uplifted by, say, a joyous musical, clutching the show CD and whistling the tunes. Such induced happiness can, I believe, be therapeutic, and we all need a dose of such experiences, where storylines are straightforward and characters are readily recognised for what they are.

But theatre also has a duty to stimulate deeper thinking about the meaning of human existence. It must raise moral issues about what it is to be human and in particular our responsibilities to self and others. It is a debating chamber in which we hammer out essential matters to do with existence. It can also be seen as a social laboratory where models of humanity are subjected to close examination.

Many important moral and ethical issues do not become interesting if dealt with as generalities. It is difficult, particularly for young people, to become charged by 'hunger' as a concept unless the issue of hunger is situated in a particular context – invested with the detail of human circumstance. We need to know *how* hungry the people are – are they simply short of food in the house and a quick visit to the shops will solve the problem, or are they near death due to crop failure and creeping desertification? In a case of theft, is the money stolen 10 Euros or 10,000 Euros? Is it stolen because of greed or desperate need? Judgements about the levels of legal and social transgression depend on the circumstances, and Drama allows us to create such detail and to embed the issues in the lives of believable human beings. The issues therefore become context specific. Applied drama attempts to posit how life might be different for the characters which it portrays.

Applied drama

Applied Drama involves the shaping of dramatic experience for specific societal contexts. It may contain performance, or be composed of mainly experiential drama activity. In all

cases, the drama forms a customised intervention in understood contexts with the expectation of participant change.

Applied Drama is based on four main principles:

- That drama involves the modelling of reality through the use of the dramatic medium. Just as the engineer builds a model of a bridge to test its capabilities when built, so in drama we model life and examine its complexities. Like the engineer who can change aspects of the model and its context – stronger side winds, heavier lorries, thicker steel – so variables of the drama model can be changed – ‘this time, the parent is more angry, the amount of money stolen is greater’, for example;
- That our identity can be seen as a personal narrative constantly extended and modified by many other narratives – global and local – to which we are exposed;
- That by entering the fictional world of drama, we may gain greater understanding of our own, personal narrative. This is a major source of the claims of attitude and behaviour change;¹
- By knowing that the dramatic experience is not real we can release ourselves safely into it.

There are five stages in the use of Applied Drama:

1. Proper understanding of the initial commission;
2. Research of the context in which the drama will be applied;
3. Drama creation;
4. Its application;
5. Evaluation of its effect.

What evidence is there to support claims of change ?

Research² shows dramatic experience to be one of the most effective interventions in attitude change; more than critical incident discussion and the use of video.³ This research

¹ If we see, as David Novitz posits, our personal narrative as like a film which we edit from the many life experiences we undergo (with most of them discarded like the film-maker's excess footage left on the cutting-room floor), we are allowing participants in drama to contemplate ‘the other’, that which may be different from us, to consider ‘what might be’ and to compare it to ‘what is’. This creates a productive tension between ‘how we are’ and ‘how we might be’ – see D. NOVITZ, “Art, Narrative and Human Nature.” In *Memory, Identity, Community*, 143-160 (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1997).

² This research was carried out for the Portman Group and can be found in K. Fox, *Taskforce on Underage Alcohol Misuse*. (London: Portman Group, 1997).

³ For more on this see the works of Lawrence Kohlberg.

discovered that teachers who use didactic approaches are the least effective agent for changing students' attitudes. My research shows that dramatic experience significantly altered the attitudes to disability of thirteen and fourteen year-olds.⁴

So how does drama achieve this? Fundamentally, the underpinning theory concerns narrative. Effective theatre, novels, films and TV drama work by involving us in stories which matter to us, which contain characters whose concerns and problems we become intrigued by. We can come to share the moral responsibility for the actions of the characters – we care. They become our surrogates in the situations in which they operate.

Crucial is the relationship between the real and the fictional. We live in a world in which narrative structures form a major – perhaps *the* major framework by which we make meaning of experience and by which we are informed of things that we cannot experience first hand.⁵ The developed world's storytellers are CNN, the BBC, Hollywood, the popular music and sport industries and, most powerfully and skilfully, the advertising industry.⁶

There has always been great interest in the power of drama storymaking to affect participants who are able to devise or act out stories that have particular relevance for them. This is the principle at the heart of Dramatherapy and Psychodrama. Through the process of intertextuality, participants' personal stories are influenced and modified by the drama story. The more effective this story encounter is, through its ability to intersect with our personal story, the more likely it is to change our perceptions of how the world is and our vision of our part in it.⁷

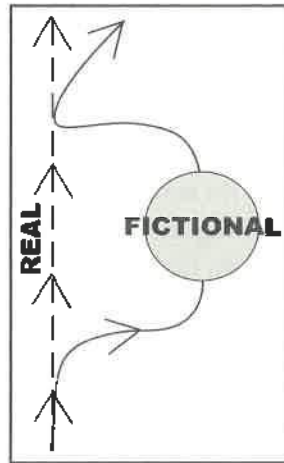
⁴ For more on this see J. SOMERS, "The Nature of Learning in Drama in Education." in *Drama and Theatre in Education: Contemporary Research* ed. J. SOMERS, 107-120. (North York (Canada): Captus Press, 1996).

⁵ See M. MEEK, et al., *The Cool Web: the Pattern of Children's Reading*. (Oxford: The Bodley Head, 1977), and H. ROSEN, *Stories and Meanings*. (London: National Association for the Teaching of English, 1985).

⁶ For more on this see J. SOMERS, "Stories in Cyberspace." *Children's Literature in Education*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (New York: Human Sciences Press, Dec. 1995).

⁷ See D. NOVITZ, "Art, Narrative and Human Nature" in HINCHMAN L. & HINCHMAN, S. (Eds.) (1997) *Memory, Identity, Community*. New York: State University of New York, 1997.

The diagram attempts to show a stylised version of this process:



The subject's 'real' world can be affected by a period within a fiction context – in theatre, through physical, aesthetic and psychological experiences. This fiction, if effective, can lead to a change in the 'real' life trajectory, as represented at the top of the diagram.

How can theatre achieve the greatest penetration in involving an audience in its stories, maximise its chances of achieving participant change? My work involves attempts to break down the gulf that exists between the performance and the audience. If this can be achieved, audience members are given permission to take a more active and concerned part in understanding what is happening in the lives of the people in the story and in finding possible routes for the characters to ameliorate the problems they face.

This brand of theatre is generally called 'Interactive Theatre'. When performed in education contexts, in the UK it is often termed 'Theatre in Education' or TIE for short. In Interactive Theatre, the programme is aimed at a particular population. It is usually performed in the school with a minimum of technical aids, this to make the characters more realistic and smudging the distinction between them and audience. The actors, out of role, often greet the audience as it enters the performance space and remain visible at the sides of the stage during the performance. When performing, they inhabit a space adjacent to that of the audience with little demarcation between them. The acting style is usually naturalistic and 'non-declamatory'. Unnatural projection of voice and gesture is not required in such an intimate arrangement, again making the characters seem more authentic.

I will explain a seminal model which I have used for several years. It involves a three-phase programme. I call it a programme not a 'play' or 'performance' because the performance is only one of several programme elements. Although some theatre companies (few these days) present 'invisible theatre' – that is theatre which the 'audience' takes to be reality, in most cases audience members are aware that what they are experiencing is

a fiction. The power and authenticity of that fiction should draw them in and, if the story is relevant and feels authentic, they feel able to engage freely knowing that they are not in danger of creating real harm.

This model usually has three stages. Ideally, they are delivered over a three-week period – thus phase one is in week one, phase two in week two, etc.

Phase One involves orientating the audience members to the story and its characters. I often use a 'compound stimulus' to 'hook' the participants into the story. This is usually a container of some kind with objects and documents in it. The contents relate in some way (although the audience have to work hard to discover those relationships – the initials on the back of a photograph match the name on a diary entry, for example), and the audience members – who get to handle and inspect the artefacts – end up with a story, albeit incomplete, which helps explain the two key questions asked of them:

- 'who are these people?' and
- 'what's happening to them?'

This phase draws the audience (which usually does not exceed 60 in number) into the story. Through phase one they arrive at a number of shared hypotheses about the characters they are able to identify, the life events which they have experienced, and the relationships between them.

Phase Two involves the performance of the story. This usually takes between 35-50 minutes and during this time the audience meets the characters about which they have hypothesised and discover if their surmise was correct. Unlike the 'well-made play' where we meet the characters, discover the problem, see the characters grappling with it and, after the climax, witness the denouement, the performance element in interactive theatre ends at the climax – the zenith of the problem. At this point the audience is invited to involve themselves in:

- reaching a better understanding of the problems faced by the characters, and
- intervening in some way to help the characters improve matters.

There are a variety of ways to make these things happen. Common are: hotseating, small-group discussions, Forum Theatre, image theatre, and audiences improvising scenes from the story to improve issues.

Phase Three usually involves a planned and well-resourced follow-up in which the audience members reflect on the story in which they have become involved. Often there are attempts to widen the understanding of the particular issues presented in the story to take in other instances in different contexts, or to present news stories or statistical information.

The aim is to root the emotional experience of the first two phases of the programme in more considered, societal perspectives. Research of these programmes show that they are extremely effective in achieving their aims. The impact of the story and the interactive nature of the work seem to achieve a level of involvement often unobtainable through other means.

I will illustrate this theory in two examples of this kind of work.

On the Edge

The first programme was created for students of 16 years and over – including university students – and mental health professionals, mental health service users, and carers. Called ‘On the Edge’, it showed the story of a seventeen-year-old boy who, starting from a situation of apparent normality, moves towards a first episode of psychosis. This play was very successful and completed a national tour of England in 2004/5. It has won major national awards⁸ and is being reinvented as an interactive DVD for use with students.

In this case the aims were to:

- raise awareness of mental illness, specifically to increase knowledge and understanding of psychosis;
- contribute towards reducing the stigma and discrimination surrounding mental illness;
- raise awareness of available help and improve help-seeking behaviour.

The compound stimulus consisted of a shoebox which, the audience is told, was found under a boy’s bed. The performance ends in a crisis with the boy’s girlfriend being shouted out of his bedroom by the boy, Terry, who has heard voices and is increasingly troubled by delusional and obsessive behaviour. The audience then attempt to understand the problem better. They are aided in this by an actual mental health nurse who acts as facilitator for the programme (i.e., the interface between the story and the audience). A variety of interactive forms are used, ending with the audience offering advice to each of the characters on how to create better conditions for Terry’s recovery. A sophisticated educational pack was provided to assist teachers in following up the programme in Phase 3. Where possible, Early Intervention mental health workers were present at each performance, together with teachers responsible for personal and social health programmes in the school. School counsellors and nurses were also encouraged to attend.

⁸ For more on this see http://www.healthandsocialcareawards.org/Page_Show.aspx ?Id=384



The compound stimulus for 'On the edge'

Independent research has shown this to be a very effective programme in achieving its aims.⁹

The Living at Hurford

The Living at Hurford was commissioned from me by the *Arts Initiative Group Devon*, a group established following the 'Mind Odyssey' project instituted by the Royal College of Psychiatrists during 2001 to explore the relationship between psychiatry and the arts. The group wished to explore the use of a dramatic intervention in a rural area affected by a Foot and Mouth Disease outbreak in 2001.¹⁰ Evidence of the trauma caused by the disease came from the health professionals' daily dealings with people deeply affected by the killing and burning and burying of thousands of sheep, pigs and cattle, some of whom were perfectly healthy but housed within 'clearance' areas contiguous to the diseased farms.

Rationale of the project

The Play

The Living at Hurford is a story about a small, family farm in Devon. The script used local dialect terms and the compound stimulus and script contained many local references. Hurford is owned by Janet Chaplain, who was left it by her recently deceased father, Henry Daniel. She is married to a clinically depressed husband, Mike, who is deeply affected by the difficulties of making a living from the farm. To supplement the family income, he drives a milk collection lorry. They have two children – Alan, eighteen-years-old with a successful

⁹ A full research report on the effectiveness of this programme will be available in July 2006.

¹⁰ For more on Foot and Mouth, see: <http://www.chstm.man.ac.uk/news/pressrel-fmd.htm>

Army career, and Sally, 20, studying Business and Economics at university.

When buying a ticket, audience members receive a compound stimulus – an envelope containing material that hooks them into the story (Phase 1). This includes a map of Hurford Farm, a set of farm accounts, photographs of farm buildings, an obituary from a local paper for Henry Chaplin, a solicitor's letter offering additional land, a school report on Sally, a birthday card from Alan to his mother and a family-tree diagram – presumably drawn by Janet. They are asked to explore the compound stimulus – again using the two key questions – 'Who are these people?' and 'What's happening to them?'

The story which emerges shows that Janet's brother, Greg, left home at 16 for an engineering apprenticeship and, although he was expected to take over the farm, never returned. Janet had her own career planned, but agreed to a delay until Greg returned. She is now resentful of Greg's actions and feels stressed by the farm's financial difficulties and her husband's impaired mental state. After attending his father's funeral (which took place a few weeks before the time period of the play), Greg announces to his sister that he wants to come 'home' and help the farm out of its difficulties by investing his redundancy money in it.

The 'now' story takes place in the kitchen of Hurford Farm.

The kitchen scenes are interspersed with flashbacks which show:

- Henry first coming to look at the farm with his fiancée, Betty, in the 1940s;
- a harvest scene from the 1950s;
- a protest scene in which farmers march against the low prices they receive from the supermarkets, and
- a Christmas scene in which Janet warns off her son and daughter from coming back to farm Hurford.

There are two monologues from which we learn something of the internal tensions in the lives of Mike and Janet. Projected images were used – images of the farmhouse that precede the first kitchen scene, a Henry and Betty wedding photograph, media shots of a real farmers' protest, shots of 1950s harvest scenes, and a landscape of 'Hurford', for example.¹¹

¹¹ A copy of the script and pre-pack can be obtained cost price from the author by e-mailing J.W.Somers@ex.ac.uk. A video is also available.



Protest meeting¹²

The fifty-minute performance ends at a point where Janet tells Greg that she needs time to think about his offer and warns that he must say nothing to her husband Mike. Janet exits and Greg looks at the laptop computer in which Janet stores the farm accounts. At this point a facilitator invites the audience members to consider the options open to Janet.

Among these are:

- Accept Greg's offer and bring him in as a partner;
- Sell part of the business to Greg and allow him to develop his own business – converting some redundant buildings into holiday lets, for example;
- Refuse Greg's offer and expand the farm (she has been offered land by a neighbouring farmer);
- Sell part of the land to clear the overdraft and farm the remainder to fit a 'niche market';
- Sell the land, retain the house and a few acres, then get a job;
- Sell up and move.

After discussion with those sitting near them, the audience members are able to question characters of their choice in a process called 'hotseating'. After a refreshment break, and led by the facilitator, the whole audience discusses the course of action Janet should take. When the audience has decided this, the actors play an improvised scene based on the audience's wishes. Although the audience has decided what Janet should *do*, it cannot dictate the *outcome* of that decision.

¹² Photo credits: Brain Salter.

Performance venues

The play was first performed on 29, 30, 31 September 2002 in a barn on a farm near North Tawton, West Devon. This farm had lost all of its stock to the disease control measures in place during the Foot and Mouth Disease outbreak in 2001.¹³ Two hundred and ten people saw it. The play was reshaped (with new local references and parts re-written in response to feedback) for performance at a farm in East Devon on 29, 30, 31 May 2003. It was then toured with the East Devon cast to the Phoenix Arts Centre, Exeter (12 and 13 June 2003) and The Tacchi Morris Arts Centre, Taunton (20 and 21 June 2003). Approximately 550 people saw it in 2003.

The cast

Thirty-five community actors were recruited through extensive local publicity and a series of casting workshops which explored the play and people's interest in particular roles. At all venues, the parts of Janet and Greg were played by the same two professional actors.¹⁴

Evaluation of the project

Data

Five main sources of data will inform the full evaluation of the project. These are:

- Audience responses by e-mail and letter;
- Labels tied to the wicker cow;
- Responses from those involved in the production;
- Reviews and media comment;
- Interviews with audience members and production members;
- My observations.

In this paper, I will concentrate only on the first data source.

¹³ The Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) followed a policy of destroying all ungulates on infected farms. This was achieved through shooting the animals and incinerating the bodies. Contiguous farms were also culled of their stock.

¹⁴ Hilary Francis and Steve Crump.

Audience responses

Audience members were invited to take a response sheet at performance end. An e-mail address was also given in the programme. One hundred and thirty-five responses were received, representing approximately a 25%, self-selecting sample. The majority contains solid comment on the play and, often, its effect on the respondent and the relationship of the story to that person's life experience.

Analysis of responses

The coding categories emerged from a close reading of the audience responses. Eleven categories emerged. These are:

Quality of play; nature of play; authenticity; interactive nature of play; insight into farming; audience involvement; triggering of other contexts; thought provocation; involvement with Chaplain family; extending the project; enjoyment/satisfaction with experience.

1. Quality of Play

All responses support the notion that the audience was very impressed with the standard of performance. Words such as 'brilliant', 'excellent', 'wonderful performance', 'incredibly impressed', 'music superb' are typical. The totality of the work was praised by this respondent:

I think the production, scripting and performance were excellent and in particular, that the relationships portrayed were spot on (e.g. the prevailing hold of the deceased father.)

(Respondent 1, P¹⁵)

One man said:

The Living at Hurford was one of the most interesting things I have seen in a long time. It was cleverly constructed, well written and movingly acted, and I was especially engaged by the contributions from people in the audience who obviously had a great deal of knowledge and experience of farming.

(R 19, T)

¹⁵ Payhembury henceforth 'P', North Tawton 'NT', Taunton 'T', and Exeter 'E'.



Janet and brother Greg

2. Nature of the play

There is predictable evidence that these, generally rural, audience members were much more used to a traditional audience role. Some commented that they found the interactivity exciting, ‘A very interesting theatrical concept’ (R 17, P). There was evidence of a widespread acceptance of the usefulness of the pre-pack which led them into the story:

I thought the preparation material an excellent idea. The expenditure and income sheets – very good: really highlighted the situation – reinforced by the irony of being given first refusal on extra land. The obituary set the generational context of the farm [...] Loved the map: fictional but localised.

(R 14, P)

(R 5, NT)



The performance space at North Tawton

3. Authenticity

Farmers recognised their reality in the action: ‘The regular, grinding need to “see the stock” and “take silage up to the top field” etc was realistic’ (R 6, NT) and ‘The story line

is so real and close to home for countless farming families' (R 2 NT):

I think you hit the nail on the head - you got it absolutely right [...] The play showed an exceptional understanding of the difficult situation farming families are finding themselves in. I am a farmer's daughter and a farmer's wife (and) we can trace our family back to 1550 (and) the family's occupation has been recorded as farmers and yeomen.

(R 10, NT)

4. Interactivity

The notion of interactive theatre was enjoyed as the majority of the respondents mentioned it as a positive attribute:

I loved getting to grips with the Chaplain's problems and then having a chance to discuss it with the rest of the audience and the cast, then going on to see the decisions being taken. A great sense of audience involvement and one of the best things I have seen in years.

(R 19, P)

5. Insight

The two main insights reported were those into the world of farming and those into human nature and relationships. The former is specific to a particular industry and way of life. The latter is a generic issue. It was noticeable that people who had little knowledge of farming were still caught up in the story. Some seemed to learn something about agriculture. A Polish woman commented:

Thanks to the unique structure of the performance, I could hear various points of view of both the characters and the audience which helped me become aware of features that are usually omitted in public discussion on the role of farmers [...] I never thought about farming as a way of living where loyalty to your land and your ancestors who looked after it before you is a chief principle. I happened to sit next to a farmer during the performance and what struck me in his comments and reactions was (the) honesty and dedication to his land and duties connected with it.

(R 12, E)

6. Audience involvement

There was ample evidence from the written responses that audience members became involved in the story and its resolution:

It was impossible not to become involved in the dilemma of the characters - it was hard to remember it was fiction. In fact the friend I came with twice said: 'Are you sure this isn't for real?'

(R 16, T)

People wrote of being moved by the predicament of the characters and some stated that they had gone on thinking about and discussing the issues well after performance day: '... left us pondering the problems for days afterwards.' (R 20, P). Several people reported this continuing involvement. One said: 'A wow of an experience. I couldn't sleep afterwards, so involved with Janet's problems' (R 4, E).

A farmer said:

The whole experience of looking in at the traumas of the Chaplain family and Hurford Farm was very moving. Many farming families are going through similar horrors right now; most that I know are too proud to admit the abyss they are in !

(R 27, P)

7. Triggering memory and contextual responses

The two main areas that people reported in this category were the triggering of personal memories and the relationship of the story to current events. For some the Hurford story formed a particular focus from which triggered related thoughts. One respondent provided detailed contextual information that affects public perception of farmers' roles:

[...] throughout the 1980s in the area of central southern England where I lived, many farmers were prominent members of local Conservative Associations and spoke in favour of Thatcherism and the free market. Few of them had any sympathy for the demise of mining, steel production and many of the other traditional industries in urban areas. What, in hindsight, is extraordinary about this, is that they seemed unaware that farming was more heavily subsidised than the industries they saw as a burden on the economy. Now that farming is the last bastion of subsidised production the parallels are drawn.

(R 3, E)

8. Provoking thought

'Thought-provoking' was the most commonly used phrase: 'I found this production enormously thought provoking and have a lot of reactions to it' (R 1, E). An urban dweller wrote:

I'm not qualified to comment much on the issues, but found myself unexpectedly discussing farming with two colleagues the next day, which is not something I think would have happened without your play.

(R 1, E)

9. *Involvement with the Chaplain family*

There were three types of involvement: detailed advice on how they should proceed; criticism, and lack of sympathy, and; retrospective insight into their plight. Many people offered advice. It seemed as though they cared about the family and, given time to reflect, had arrived at more sophisticated advice than was possible on the performance night. Several people had reflected on the Chaplain's predicament and analysed what needed to happen to bring about improvements. A doctor was moved to diagnose the three main characters:

JANET: I think she is just physically and mentally exhausted but not clinically depressed. As agreed on the last night, she needs space to stand back and think and I don't think she has the time and energy to grieve fully for her father and what the death meant.

MIKE: whilst also totally exhausted, he certainly is depressed but this is a reactive depression caused by his present circumstances and a build-up of being the underdog to his father-in-law for years. He is at real risk of self-harm. He will only really be helped by a change in circumstances. Antidepressant medication may help him feel better, but I would worry about the side effects with his driving and would be reluctant to prescribe.

GREG: looking for a purpose in life. Rather a lonely, sad person trying to buy off his guilt. The audience had his number each night !

(R 30, P)

10. *Extending the project*

There was a general feeling that the project ought to be taken to other areas and be made available in other media-television, for example. The reasoning behind these comments was that many more people, especially urban dwellers, should experience the story. One wanted a friend who works in DEFRA¹⁶ to see it and to fix a performance for colleagues. Many people mentioned that politicians ought to see it. Another target group suggested was the 'supermarket directors' who are seen to have such an influence on farm-product prices.

11. *Enjoyment*

Over half the respondents mentioned their enjoyment of the performance. One said 'it gave me great pleasure and stimulated my mind at the same time' (R 5, NT). Phrases such as 'a thoroughly enjoyable evening' and 'very original and worthwhile evening' peppered many responses.

¹⁶ Department of the Environment, Food and Rural Affairs.

Reflection on the data

Several strong threads emerge from the data. The play was judged to be a high-quality theatrical event. The experience was thought provoking for the audience in ways, it seems, to which they were not used. Its interactive nature was appreciated with the hotseating deepening and enriching the audience's involvement with the story and the Chaplain family about which the audience seemed to care. The play allowed non-farmers to gain insight into aspects of the industry. There was a huge expression of pleasure and satisfaction at being present.

The major thread to emerge, however, is the willingness of farmers to speak about the play and their own contexts. I have lived among farmers in East Devon for 33 years, and it is extremely rare that they talk about 'feelings'. It was fascinating, therefore, to witness in the hotseating and discussion the ways in which farmers 'opened up' to the Chaplain family's dilemma and talked freely about it and its relationship to their own lives. In Exeter, in response to a hotseating question to Greg about whether, if he did come back to Hurford, he could work with Mike, Greg said: 'Yes, probably. But he always seems so down in the dumps. If he pulled himself together a bit, I'm sure we could make a go of it', a farmer said:

Excuse me, but it isn't a case of 'pulling yourself together'. Depression is like being in a dark tunnel and you can't see a way out. I've been there and it's horrible, and that's what Mike is experiencing.

Conclusion

I said that Interactive Theatre is created to 'do a job' and that it therefore has explicit aims. These aims can only be achieved if they are embedded in an effective dramatic event. The artistic quality of what is presented therefore must be high and the attendant pedagogical devices deployed must be well-chosen and delivered. The target audience must feel that they are experiencing a story which they judge to be authentic in relation to their experience of the topic. The research phase is extremely important in ensuring that those making the programme understand the issues and the specific contexts in which they will be displayed. Successfully engaging the audience in the lives of the characters and their dilemmas is crucial to the success of the programme. Orientating them to the story through the use of the compound stimulus facilitates this process. It is important that the facilitator maintains sincerity and flexibility in providing the link between the audience and the story. Having brought the audience to the state of being involved, the theatre company has a duty to support any individual who has been affected by the event (in the tour of 'On the Edge', ten people self-referred to the mental health nurse to ask for help with their own situations).

II

Revival and reception of Ancient Greek Drama



Renouveau et réception du théâtre grec ancien



HERMAN ALTENA – PLATON MAVROMOUSTAKOS

HARD DATA, TRICKY NUMBERS:
THE STATUS OF DATABASES ON PERFORMANCES
OF ANCIENT DRAMA AS TOOLS FOR STATISTIC
AND COMPARATIVE RESEARCH

Introduction

Performances of ancient drama recently have been more and more in the centre of interest of theatre research and the classics. Especially since the 1990s an important number of scholars have published on the matter on both sides.¹ It seems that the interest in this subject has been nourished by the vast proliferation of performances of ancient drama worldwide. It has also been expressed by two academic initiatives, based in Athens and Oxford respectively: the European Network of Research and Documentation of Performances of Ancient Greek Drama (Arcnet),² founded by Platon Mavromoustakos and Oli-

¹ H. FLASHAR, *Inszenierung der Antike. Das griechische Drama auf der Bühne der Neuzeit 1585-1990* (Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1991); E. ERTEL, 'La tragédie grecque et sa représentation moderne.' *Théâtre aujourd'hui* 1, (Paris: CNDP, 1992); K. V. HARTIGAN, *Greek Tragedy on the American Stage. Ancient Drama in the Commercial Theater, 1882-1994* (Westport & London: Greenwood Press, 1995); A. BIERL, *Die Orestie des Aischylos auf der modernen Bühne: Theoretische Konzeptionen und ihre szenische Realisierung*. Drama: Beiheft 5 (Stuttgart: M & P, Verlag für Wissenschaft und Forschung, 1997); M. DE FÁTIMA SOUSA E SILVA (ed.), *Representações de Teatro Clássico no Portugal Contemporâneo* (Lisbon: Ed. Colibri, 1998); P. MAVROMOUSTAKOS (ed.), *Productions of Ancient Greek Drama in Europe during Modern Times* (Athens: Kastaniotis, 1999); E. FISCHER-LICHTE, 'Between Text and Cultural Performance: Staging Greek Tragedies in Germany.' *Theatre Survey* 40.1 (1999): 1-30; H. P. FOLEY, 'Modern Performance and Adaptation of Greek Tragedy.' *TAPhA* 129 (1999): 1-12; S. PATSALIDIS and E. SAKELLARIDOU (eds), *(Dis)placing Classical Greek Theatre* (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 1999); E. HALL, F. MACINTOSH, O. TAPLIN (eds.), *Medea in Performance* (Oxford: Legenda, 2000); E. STEHLÍKOVÁ, 'Productions of Greek and Roman Drama on the Czech Stage.' *Eirene* 37, 2001: 71-160; F. DECREUS, 'Le bruit court que nous n'en avons pas fini avec les Grecs. Le visage troublant de Dionysos dans le théâtre actuel.' *Études Théâtrales* 21: 13-28, 2001; P. KOSKI, 'Greek Tragedies in 20th Century Finland'. In L. PIETILÄ-CASTRÉN and M. VESTERINEN, *Graptta Poikila I*. Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute in Athens, Vol. VIII (Helsinki); E. HALL, F. MACINTOSH and A. WRIGLEY (eds.), 2004. *Dionysus since '69: Greek Tragedy at the Dawn of the Millennium* (Oxford: OUP); E. HALL and F. MACINTOSH, 2005. *Greek Tragedy and the British Theatre, 1660-1914* (Oxford: OUP); H. ALTENA, 2005. 'The Theatre of Innumerable Faces.' In *The Blackwell Companion to Greek Tragedy*, ed. JUSTINA GREGORY 472-489 (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005); F. MACINTOSH e.a. (eds.), *Agamemnon in Performance: 458 BC to AD 2004* (Oxford: OUP, 2005); J. DILLON and S. WILMER (eds.), *Staging Ancient Greek Drama Today* (London: Methuen, 2005); E. FISCHER-LICHTE, *Theatre, Sacrifice, Ritual. Exploring Forms of Political Theatre* (London & New York: Routledge, 2005). For more bibliographical information, see also *Parodos* Newsletter of the European Network of Research and Documentation of Ancient Drama, Vol. 5, January 2004.

² <http://www.ancientdrama.net>

ver Taplin, and the Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama (APGRD),³ founded by Edith Hall and Oliver Taplin. Because of the work accomplished in these two research units over the last decade, the reception of ancient Greek drama has won a firm position on the academic agenda. The two databases that result from the new research are already an invaluable tool for scholars from various disciplines.

Figures from both databases show a remarkable proliferation of performances of ancient drama down to the present day. Does this mean that ancient drama has been gaining a more significant position in our theatrical landscapes? It is tempting to draw that conclusion, but before doing so we should have a clear notion of what the numbers in the databases represent. The aim of this paper is to assess the present status of these two databases as statistical and comparative research tools.⁴ A first paper on this subject was delivered by Herman Altena at the network's annual meeting in Milton Keynes in 2004. He used the Dutch theatre as an example to point out possible flaws in the interpretation of sheer numbers, and he ended his paper with an invitation to add figures from other countries in order to test the relevance of his provisional conclusions.

The present paper includes the Dutch pilot study in full, although with some substantial modifications, in the light of new data about the Dutch theatre that became accessible only in 2007, when the Dutch Theatre Institute launched its updated online database.⁵ That publication actually underpins the purport of the Milton Keynes paper. Some conclusions about the position of ancient Greek drama in the Dutch theatre, drawn on the basis of data available in 2004, can no longer be maintained given the almost complete data we have now about the Dutch theatre after the Second World War. These new data will be presented here, and will be complemented with recent data from Greece.

It should be noted in advance that a full comparison of the Greek and Dutch situation can not be provided in this paper. This is owing to the fact that comparable data about the Greek theatre are not as directly available and accessible as the Dutch data. It is only for the period 1991-2003 that we can present comparable data (Section 6).

1. On absolute numbers in the Arcnet and APGRD databases

In September 2007, the Arcnet database contained 1,989 records of ancient Greek drama performances in various European countries. The number represents performances based on texts in translation and adaptations. New theatre texts that are loosely based on material

³ <http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk>

⁴ Other on-line databases are being maintained as well, e.g. in the United Kingdom by the Open University, and in the Czech Republic by the Institute of Classical Studies in Prague. These databases are invaluable for further statistical and comparative research.

⁵ Theater Instituut Nederland, Amsterdam (www.tin.nl).

taken from ancient Greek drama have not been taken into account. The database contains the results of research directed towards individual plays. Members from the participating countries assembled data about the production history of individual Greek plays in their countries, and contributed them to the central database. At the time of writing, the database covered almost all of the transmitted Greek plays, but not all member countries had already contributed full data about every play, and some had only just started to collect material. Table 1 shows the chronological distribution of the recorded performances from the sixteenth century onwards. Although the increase towards our era is immediately clear, the numbers can hardly be taken as representative for a European trend, since almost 1/3 of all listed performances were staged in Greece and The Netherlands. At the time of writing, this situation is changing rapidly, and future research based on the database should give a more representative image of the spread of ancient Greek drama productions in Europe than we can offer now. The present image, however, is confirmed by the APGRD database, which covers performances of ancient drama, both Greek and Roman, world-wide. The twentieth century in particular shows a comparable development in both databases.

	Arcnet	APGRD
1500-1600	6	45
1601-1700	0	46
1701-1800	5	147
1801-1900	63	474
1901-1910	62	240
1911-1920	42	228
1921-1930	71	354
1931-1940	57	326
1941-1950	76	252
1951-1960	153	503
1961-1970	286	752
1971-1980	255	721
1981-1990	386	840
1991-2000	527	1261
Total	1,989	6,189

Table 1. Chronological distribution of performances of ancient Greek drama in Europe (source: Network database, accessed September 2007) and world-wide (source: APGRD database, accessed October 2007).

There is a sudden increase in performances in the early decades of the twentieth century in both databases, as well as an acceleration during the decades after the 1950s (well-illustrated in Chart 1).

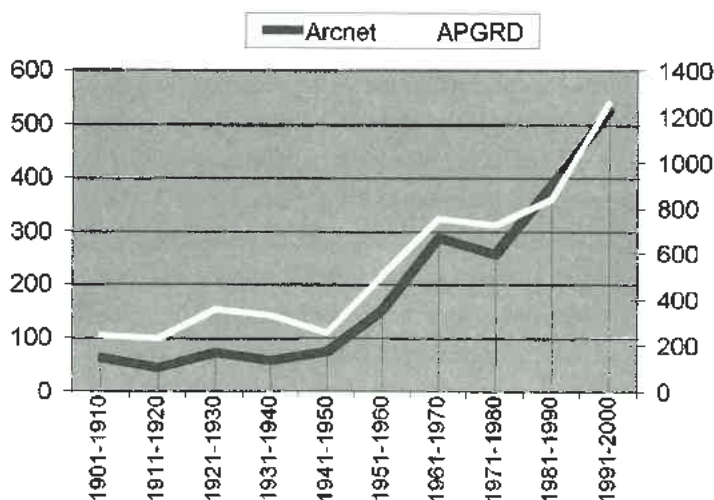


Chart 1. Linear presentation of the figures from Table 1 per decade, 1901-2000.

However, it is not evident what factors are responsible for this increase. One obvious explanation is that researchers can more easily find data about recent performances than about those long ago, but this can hardly be the only explanation for the considerable growth over the last fifty years. To find further answers, we need a thorough evaluation of the productions in their original contexts. We need a description of the history of ancient Greek drama productions in individual countries, and in various periods, within the framework of national and international theatre histories. In other words, besides collecting the 'who, what, where and when', we have to answer the questions 'why?', 'in what context?', 'how?', and 'to what effect?'. This will not only reveal the national import of performances of ancient Greek drama; transnational influences will also become more transparent. Many impressive performances of ancient Greek drama have made international tours, sometimes even around the world, from Mounet-Sully's *Oedipus* in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and Max Reinhardt's *Oresteia* and *Oedipus* at the beginning of the twentieth, to touring productions by Rondiris and Koun in the 1960s and 1970s, from Peter Stein's or Peter Hall's *Oresteia* in the 1980s, to Peter Sellars's recent Greek tragedies. We can trace these productions and record them in our databases, but if we want to understand their impact, we need the framework of national theatre histories to provide answers.

2. Performances of Ancient Greek Drama between 1951 and 2000

This leads us back to the fundamental question: what the numbers in our databases represent. To what extent do they reflect the production of ancient Greek drama in individual countries? And to what extent do they allow for comparative research? We will approach these questions first by looking at the status of the data themselves. We will focus on the period 1951-2000, because the increase in records from this period is overwhelming in both databases (Table 2). Next we will relate these data to a full description of ancient Greek drama productions in The Netherlands (Section 4), and complement the conclusions reached in Section 4 with a description of the proliferation of ancient Greek drama performances in Greece in the period 1951-1991. Finally, we will present a more detailed comparison for the period 1991-2003.

	Arcnet	%	APGRD	%
1951-1960	153	9.5	503	12.2
1961-1970	286	17.8	752	18.3
1971-1980	255	15.9	721	17.6
1981-1990	386	24.0	840	20.5
1991-2000	527	32.8	1,261	30.7
Total	1,607	100	4,107	100

Table 2. Productions of Ancient Greek Drama 1951-2000 on the Arcnet and APGRD database.

Table 2 suggests that ancient Greek drama is conquering the world's theatre. But is it? What exactly do these numbers express, and can they be compared without further explanation? Caution is required. For example, the APGRD numbers also include new versions, based on ancient Greek drama, whereas the Arcnet numbers do not. Approximately 620 productions in the APGRD database are student productions (schools, universities), which are excluded from the Arcnet database which focuses only professional productions. In the case of a substantial number of productions in the APGRD database it is not clear yet whether they refer to performances based on translation, adaptation, or a new version. This is an important issue in the research into the reception of ancient drama, since new versions, adaptations or translations represent a different relationship to the original text and the choice of either of them may be indicative of the national theatre climates in which these productions were conceived. What is more, neither of the databases

gives a full image of productions in individual countries, the Arcnet database because not every Network member has contributed complete data yet, the APGRD database because it depends to a large extent on programmes sent from various countries worldwide, and thus on the courtesy of local contributors – although at the time of writing references from books, articles and internet sites are being incorporated as sources.

In terms of the number of productions registered, the Arcnet and APGRD databases are fully representative of the Greek situation. The number of Greek productions in both databases is mainly the product of a large research project, published in Greek, up to 1994⁶ to which more information covering the years from 1994 to 2003 has been added either by the researchers of Arcnet or researchers of the APGRD. But how representative are both databases of the Dutch theatre? Of the 420 productions related to ancient Greek drama that were performed in The Netherlands between 1951 and 2000 (including opera and foreign productions), the APGRD database lists 66, and the Arcnet database 162. This means that, as far as The Netherlands are concerned, at present possibly neither of the databases can be considered representative of the reception of ancient Greek drama in this period. On the other hand the APGRD database contains references to several (international touring) productions in The Netherlands before 1940 that the well-documented Dutch Theatre Institute does not list. In that respect, the specialised research conducted by both institutions is invaluable for writing the national performance histories of ancient Greek drama.

3. Productions of Ancient Greek Drama in The Netherlands and Greece between 1951 and 2000

Although the quantitative data from our databases do not cover the total number of productions of ancient Greek drama in individual countries yet, this does not rule out the possibility that the general trends do match local states of affairs as well. We will test this possibility by comparing data from Greece and The Netherlands for the period 1951-2000 (Table 3) with those in the central databases (Chart 2).

⁶ This was the first publication of Modern Greek performance of ancient drama history appendix in a 47 volume edition of the ancient texts. The group was formed initially by Platon Mavromoustakos with the participation of Agnes Mouzenidou, Mary Iliadi, Mirka Theodoropoulou, Evangelia Andritsanou, Christina Symboulidou, Iossif Vivilakis and Nikos Karanastassis (Athens: Epikairota, 1991-1994).

	GR	NL	GR%	NL%
1951-1960	62	16	9.2%	7.2%
1961-1970	96	17	14.2%	7.7%
1971-1980	128	22	18.9%	10.0%
1981-1990	154	65	22.8%	29.4%
1991-2000	236	101	34.9%	45.7%
Total	676	221	100%	100%

Table 3. Performances of Ancient Greek Drama by Greek companies in Greece and by Dutch companies in The Netherlands, 1951-2000.

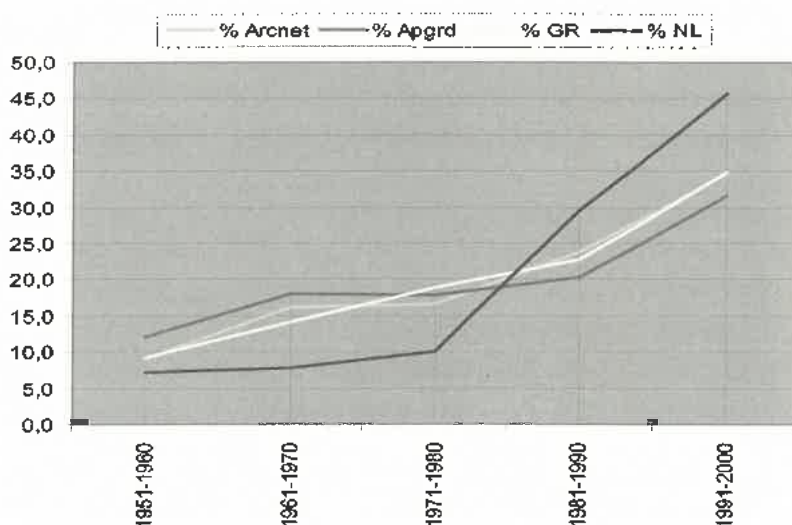


Chart 2. Proliferation of ancient Greek drama performances in Greece and The Netherlands, compared with the Arcnet and APGRD databases.

Chart 2 shows that the proliferation in Greece is practically in line with the general trends in the Arcnet and APGRD databases. The proliferation in The Netherlands, however, deviates from the general image. In particular, the major increase in the last two decades is remarkable. This suggests that the general databases are not as representative of the Dutch situation as they apparently are for the Greek. This raises the question of why in The Netherlands the interest in ancient Greek drama seems to have increased above average. To answer that question, we have to focus more closely on the Dutch numbers

and study them within the Dutch theatrical context. Productions of ancient drama, after all, are part of a broad theatrical landscape. We cannot judge their significance on the sole basis of sheer numbers, but we have to take this wider context into account.

4. Pilot study: professional productions of ancient Greek drama within the Dutch theatrical context (1951-2000)

The Dutch case provides us with opportunity of studying the contribution of ancient Greek drama in much more detail. We can supply an almost complete image of productions mounted by the (semi-)professional Dutch theatre over the period 1951-2003, and a complete image of all (semi-)professional productions (subsidised and non-subsidised/commercial) over the period 1988-2003. For Greece we have full data for the period 1991-2003, to which we will return later.⁷

	Total productions	% absolute	Ancient Drama	% absolute	% of total productions
1951-1960	848	7.3%	16	7.2%	1.89%
1961-1970	1,212	10.4%	17	7.7%	1.40%
1971-1980	1,733	14.9%	22	10.0%	1.27%
1981-1990	3,611	31.0%	65	29.4%	1.80%
1991-2000	4,237	36.4%	101	45.7%	2.38%
Total	11,641	100%	221	100%	1.90%

Table 4. Productions of Ancient Greek Drama by Dutch companies in The Netherlands, related to the total number of theatre productions, 1951-2000.

As Table 4 shows, the total number of (semi-)professional theatre productions in The Netherlands in the period 1951-2000 amounts to over 11,600. There is a remarkable increase in the last two decades. This can to an important extent be explained by the progress in automation. The Dutch Theatre Institute in Amsterdam, which collects all data about performances in The Netherlands, started to register productions on a digital database from July

⁷ Dutch data were assembled from the *Theatre Annuals* published since 1951/2 by the Dutch Theatre Institute, and from the Institute's database at www.tin.nl (accessed in October 2007).

1988 onwards. This resulted in almost a doubling of the number of listed productions per year. Productions by small semi-professional groups, in particular which were considerably less well documented in the past, showed more than a doubling. However, a factual increase of productions in the 1980s occurred as well, partly due to the wholesome cultural climate the Dutch government created for starting off young professional and semi-professional theatre artists, partly to the increase of productions by commercial theatres.

The last column in Table 4 shows the productions of ancient Greek drama as a percentage of the total number of theatre productions in each decade. These figures correct our earlier supposition of a gradual increase. In the light of the overall theatrical context, the increase in the last two decades follows a considerable decrease up to the 1980s. Although a decrease appears in our general databases as well in the 1970s, in the Dutch case it is much more marked, as the last column shows. The increase in absolute numbers is clearly modified by this approach (Chart 3).

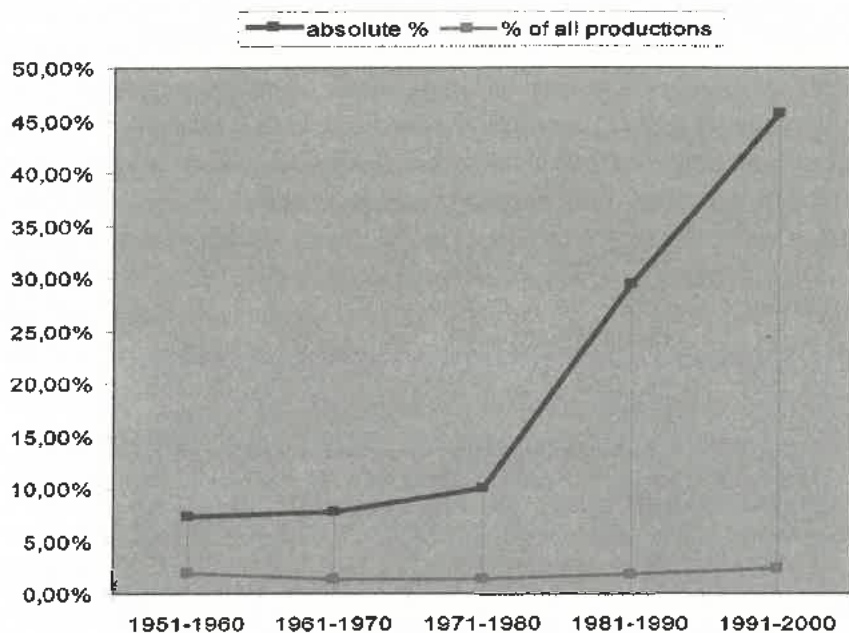


Chart 3. The Netherlands: significance of ancient Greek drama productions as an absolute percentage and as a percentage of the total number of theatre productions.

This sheds a new light on the position ancient Greek drama in the Dutch theatre. As a percentage of the total number of professional theatre productions, ancient Greek drama seems to play only a marginal role.⁸

But does it? To answer this question, we will ultimately have to turn to the productions themselves. Which companies performed Greek drama? Which directors were involved? What is their status in the Dutch theatre history? How significant are the productions of Greek drama in their total oeuvre? By whom were they influenced (both nationally and internationally), and what was their own influence on later productions (both nationally and internationally)? How many performances were staged of individual productions, and how large an audience attended? What kind of venues were used, and where? What was the critical response to these productions? How significant were these productions according to the critics? Research in such detail requires a considerable amount of time.⁹ However, in the Dutch case some preliminary remarks can be made, particularly about the type of companies that performed ancient Greek drama, and about the kind of productions these companies staged.

Table 5 shows the distribution of (semi-)professional ancient Greek drama productions, according to the type of company. The system of art subsidies in The Netherlands in this period consisted partly of structural subsidies from the central government for a period of four years (productions listed under €€€ and €€). In the 1970s the central government also started to give structural support to institutions that offered professional young talents the opportunity to stage a production under their supervision and with full professional support (€). In the last column, all productions were assembled that were staged without a structural subsidy from the central government. Some of the companies recorded here received a small structural subsidy from local governments, but most of them worked either with project subsidies or without any subsidy. Also commercial productions have been recorded here.¹⁰

⁸ This is corroborated by the Dutch and Flemish theatre history published in 1996 as *Een theatergeschiedenis der Nederlanden. Tien eeuwen drama en theater in Nederland en Vlaanderen* R. L. ERENSTEIN (ed.) (Amsterdam: AUP, 1996). For the period 1951-1993 Aeschylus is mentioned three times in connection with two directors and one company, and once in connection with the early Holland Festival (*Les Perses* by the Etudiants du Groupe de Théâtre Antique de la Sorbonne in 1950); Sophocles twice, in connection with two directors, and once in connection with a new version of *Oedipus*; Euripides once in connection with one of the directors mentioned under Sophocles, and once in connection with youth theatre. Aristophanes is not mentioned in connection with the Dutch theatre. In short, according to this theatre history, Greek drama is significant in the work of three directors, one small theatre company, and in the repertory of one youth theatre.

⁹ The only monograph on the reception of ancient Greek drama in The Netherlands dates from the middle of the 1970s and deals particularly with the critical reviews: A. C. HAAK, *Melpomene en het Nederlands toneel* (diss. Utrecht, 1977).

¹⁰ Information about the status of theatre companies was borrowed from H. VAN MAANEN, *Het Nederlandse Toneelbestel van 1945 tot 1995*. (Amsterdam: AUP, 1997). For the period after 1994, reports of the Dutch Council for Culture were consulted. This Council advises the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Sciences every four years about applications for structural subsidies.

	Total productions			€€€			€€			€			no subsidy		
	Total	GD	%	Total	GD	%	Total	GD	%	Total	GD	%	Total	GD	%
1951-1960	848	16	1,89%	504	16	3,17%	28	0	0,00%	0	0	0,00%	311	0	0,00%
1961-1970	1,212	17	1,40%	810	17	2,10%	0	0	0,00%	31	0	0,00%	376	0	0,00%
1971-1980	1,733	22	1,27%	676	12	1,78%	116	2	1,72%	38	4	10,53%	903	4	0,44%
1981-1990	3,611	65	1,80%	694	26	3,75%	305	6	1,97%	106	4	3,77%	2,506	29	1,16%
1991-2000	4,237	101	2,38%	628	37	5,89%	439	11	2,51%	584	11	1,88%	2,605	42	1,61%
Total	11,641	221	1,90%	3,312	108	3,26%	888	19	2,14%	759	19	2,50%	6,701	75	1,12%

Table 5. Professional and semi-professional productions of ancient Greek drama, according to type of company and related to the total number of productions per company type. €€€ = large subsidized companies (more than € 1,000,000 annually, by the standards in 2005), €€ = small subsidised companies (less than € 1,000,000 annually), € = institutions for professional young talent.

The general image of Table 4 can now be specified. By separating the non-subsidised companies from the subsidised, we are able to isolate the enormous increase in non-subsidised productions after 1988 in our general numbers. This gives us a much better idea of the position of ancient Greek drama in the Dutch theatre. It appears that large subsidised companies are responsible for almost half of the productions of ancient Greek drama over the whole period. In the first two decades, they were even the only companies to perform ancient drama. This is in line with their primary task of staging plays from the world repertory. Also the high costs of a fully equipped production of Greek tragedy account for the relatively high number of productions staged by the large subsidised companies. A professional production with live music and a full chorus in The Netherlands nowadays requires a budget of at least € 500,000, and this may easily rise to more than € 1,000,000. Such a budget is out of reach for a small company with an annual subsidy of € 250,000.

It is also remarkable that the huge drop in the 1970s is most apparent in the case of the largest companies, and that in the same period smaller and non-subsidised companies start staging ancient drama. We will come back to this after one further step.

The Dutch data also allow us to investigate what kind of productions the various types of company staged. We distinguish productions based on translation (with or without cuts, but preserving the original story line), adaptations (translated text with alterations, additions, changes in the story line), and new versions (newly written plays with a new story line loosely based on Greek originals or on Greek myth in general). This leads to the data in Table 6, expressed in percentages in Table 7.

	€€€				€€				€				no€			
		T	A	N		T	A	N		T	A	N		T	A	N
1951-1960	16	8	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1961-1970	17	9	6	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1971-1980	12	1	9	2	2	1	1	0	4	0	3	1	4	0	2	2
1981-1990	26	6	13	7	6	1	2	3	4	0	2	2	29	7	13	9
1991-2000	37	16	14	7	11	4	6	1	11	0	7	4	42	3	20	19
Total	108	40	45	23	19	6	9	4	19	0	12	7	75	10	35	30

Table 6. The Netherlands: distribution of ancient Greek drama productions over company types, distinguishing translations (T), adaptations (A), and new versions (N).

	All	Translations				Adaptations				New Versions						
		€€€	€€	€	o	€€€	€€	€	o	€€€	€€	€	o			
1951-1960	16	8	100%	0%	0%	0%	3	100%	0%	0%	0%	5	100%	0%	0%	0%
1961-1970	17	9	100%	0%	0%	0%	6	100%	0%	0%	0%	2	100%	0%	0%	0%
1971-1980	22	2	50%	50%	0%	0%	15	60%	7%	20%	13%	5	40%	0%	20%	40%
1981-1990	65	14	43%	7%	0%	50%	30	43%	7%	7%	43%	21	33%	14%	10%	43%
1991-2000	101	23	70%	17%	0%	13%	47	30%	13%	15%	42%	31	23%	3%	13%	61%
Total	221	56	71%	11%	0%	18%	101	44%	9%	12%	35%	64	36%	6%	11%	47%

Table 7. The Netherlands: distribution of productions based on translation, adaptation or new version, according to type of theatre company.

The figures assembled here allow us to draw some preliminary conclusions about the significance of ancient Greek drama productions in The Netherlands. Although in absolute numbers their increase is remarkable, and even above average when compared with the general databases of Arcnet and APGRD (Chart 2), a closer look shows that productions of ancient Greek drama make up only a very small part of the total number of theatre productions (Table 4 and Chart 3). This part, however, is considerably larger for the subsidised companies (€€€ and €€) than for the non-subsidised and commercial companies.

Until the 1970s, the subsidised companies staged both serious and lighter theatre repertory. In that context, the relatively frequent choice for Greek tragedy in the 1950s was more remarkable than in the 1980s and after, when the light repertory became the almost exclusive domain of the commercial theatre, and the serious repertory that of the subsidised theatre. Another important factor, which is not directly expressed in the numbers,

are the directors who staged ancient drama. It should be noted that in the 1950s only three directors were responsible for mounting more than half of the productions. Thus we cannot conclude so easily that the relatively strong presence of Greek drama in the Dutch repertory in this decade reflects a general interest. More research is needed here.

It also requires more research to explain in terms of percentage the decrease of ancient Greek drama productions in the 1960s, as well as the remarkable circumstance that despite this decrease the ancient Greek repertory expanded considerably. This had started already by the end of the 1950s when Sophocles' *Philoctetes* and Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis* were performed for the first time by a Dutch professional company. Aeschylus' *Persians* and *Prometheus*, and Euripides' *Heracles*, *Electra*, *Trojan Women*, and *Hippolytus* followed in the 1960s. Whether this reflects a broader interest in widening the traditional repertory, notably with modern plays from the international avant-garde, or a fascination of individual directors, needs to be investigated further.

By the end of the 1960s, the subsidised theatre faced a severe crisis, when performances were being disturbed by tomato-throwing young actors. They wished to democratise the subsidised theatre and change it into a social rather than a purely aesthetic art form. As a result, the classical canon temporarily lost its main position to the benefit of theatre performances serving as an instrument of social criticism. The effect on ancient Greek drama productions is immediately clear, since the number of translations performed in the 1970s is by far the lowest of the whole period. In fact, between 1969 and 1975 no Greek play was performed in translation.

By the end of the 1970s, when the social movement was on the wane, the classical repertory made a strong come-back. However, by that time the Dutch theatre had undergone a split with far-reaching consequences. The commercial theatre experienced a quick growth by appropriating – and by being allowed to appropriate – the lighter theatre repertory, leaving the serious plays for the large subsidised companies. As a result, the theatre audience was also split. The cultural elite stayed with the subsidised companies, while the greater part of the theatre public preferred entertainment by the commercial groups and avoided the elitist productions. In terms of audience numbers, the commercial theatre far outnumbered the subsidized theatre by far over the last two decades.

This development is important for the interpretation of the role of Greek drama in the Dutch theatrical landscape. After the 1980s, the number of productions of ancient Greek drama increased in all sections, except for the institutions for young talent¹¹ (column € in Table 5). The large companies in particular performed Greek drama in translation (Ta-

¹¹ It should be taken into account that the four productions in the 1970s listed under € were part of one project in which four young directors were invited to stage a Greek play.

ble 7). Given the fact that these companies performed mainly for the cultural elite,¹² this means that the increase in performances of Greek drama in translation affected only a small section of the Dutch theatre public. The fact that most academics belong to this section may explain the common feeling among Dutch academics, as elsewhere, that Greek drama occupies such an important place in the modern theatre.

The role of the non-subsidised companies in the proliferation of ancient Greek drama productions should not however be underestimated. These companies, after all, are responsible for a high percentage of productions based on adaptations or new versions. This can partly be explained by the budgetary limitations they face. Many productions listed in this section were staged by young (semi-)professional theatre artists starting off their careers and searching for their theatrical identity. They are interested in the canonical texts, but they wish to explore the grand repertory by experiment and with a great amount of artistic freedom. Many interesting productions of Greek tragedy or based on Greek tragedy have been mounted especially by these small groups without any structural subsidy. Young directors who once belonged to this section of the theatrical landscape became leading directors later, even of large subsidised companies. Some of them continued to stage adaptations and new versions mainly, others also turned to translations.

The commercial theatre in The Netherlands only once mounted an adaptation of a Greek tragedy, which indicates that the popular theatre does not consider ancient Greek drama productions, or indeed most of the serious repertory, commercially viable.

The Dutch pilot shows that it is not simple to describe the impact of ancient Greek drama productions on Dutch theatre history in general terms. Some trends can be detected by careful analysis of our quantitative data. But the main research will need to focus on individual productions and the individual directors who staged them. Some directors during their whole career mounted only one Greek tragedy and this changed the theatrical landscape, others a whole number without any notable impact. Others again turn to Greek drama in every phase of their career, and their productions may serve as index of their artistic development.

Two remarks that do not directly follow from the discussion of quantitative data will conclude this section, because they are important for a correct understanding of the position of ancient drama in the Dutch theatre. The first is that theatre artists do not stand on an isolated island, but are influenced by artistic developments close by and faraway. In Dutch theatre history of the second half of the twentieth century, the influence of international tours, e.g. Rondiris' *Electra* in 1961, *Medea* in 1962, Serban's *Medea* in 1972,

¹² In the last decade, this image has been slowly changing because students in secondary education are encouraged to visit theatre performances as part of their cultural education. All theatre companies have an active policy of attracting a younger audience, e.g. by organising workshops around their productions.

Koun's *Peace* in 1979, Sellars' *Ajax* in 1986, Mnouchkine's *Les Atrides* in 1991, Stein's second *Oresteia* in 1994, on Dutch productions of ancient drama seems reasonable. But is it? Would these productions have had more influence on Dutch directors than non-Greek plays staged by international directors as varied as Peter Brook, Peter Zadek, Claus Peymann, Pina Bausch, Liz Lecompte, Robert Wilson, Luca Ronconi or Romeo Castellucci? How can we assess such influences?

The second remark, already noted above, is that the distinction between productions based on translation, adaptation or a new version is likely to provide informative answers about the reflection of national theatre climates in the production of ancient Greek drama. An important sub-question is to what extent the proliferation of productions of ancient Greek drama depends on the availability of translations, because in many countries the whole corpus of ancient Greek drama was, or still is, not available in translations suited to the stage. The demand for new translations could be an index of the significance attached to ancient drama as an up-to-date director's mouthpiece. In The Netherlands, it was only by the middle of the 1990s that almost all Greek tragedies (and almost half of the Greek comedies) were available in at least one translation suitable for the stage. Thus, since the 1980s Aeschylus' *Suppliants* and Euripides' *Hecuba*, *Ion*, *Helen*, *Phoenician Women*, and *Orestes* were performed for the first time in a Dutch translation by the Dutch theatre.

5. Ancient Greek drama in the Greek theatre, 1951-1991

In Greece, not only is the system of art subsidies completely different, but the importance assigned to ancient Greek drama as a carefully preserved national heritage creates an entirely different climate for the production of these plays. Ancient drama is taught in secondary education as an obligatory course and is also source of common pride because of its special position in the international theatre. In Greece by the end of the twentieth century many festivals had been devoted to Greek drama throughout the country, following the example of the Epidaurus Festival. These have given a great boost to producing ancient drama on the modern Greek stage. Some of them, less famous than the Epidaurus Festival, attract mainly Greek audiences which by far outnumber the average audiences in the large and small indoor theatres in most other countries. That is the reason why not only national theatres, but also a great number of smaller units subsidised by the Ministry of Culture produce performances for these festivals. To these, private non-subsidised groups have been added in the course of time as they started producing ancient drama for municipal or regional festivals all over Greece during the summer period. All these companies, subsidised or non-subsidised, receive financial aid from the regions and the municipalities (and in several cases a guaranteed income which is clearly an indirect method

of subsidisation). Therefore, almost all productions of Greek drama are subsidised. In these circumstances, performances of translations are much more the norm, and radical experiments not so easily accepted.

This development is due to a continuous process that started after the opening of the Epidaurus Festival in 1954. Initially, the festival was open only to the National Theatre, which kept this “privilege for over 20 years”. Faced this restriction, several important groups such as the Art Theatre of Karolos Koun tried different approaches towards ancient drama. These were performed in other open-air theatres, the most important of these being the Odeon of Herodus Atticus. Since 1956, this has hosted the Athens Festival and thus broadened the interest in towards the ancient plays.

After the fall of the colonels’ dictatorship in 1974 and the opening of the festival at Epidaurus to practically all groups, the impulse to stage ancient Greek plays increased dramatically and widened the interest of younger generations of the Greek public. This impulse was further stimulated by developments in the Greek theatre after 1980. The establishing of a more or less organised system of subsidies helped a lot of new groups to develop their interest for ancient drama, as they hoped to enter the ‘holy place’ of Epidaurus. Also the National Theatre invited more directors to work within its framework and thereby widened the interest of younger generations of artists.

The effect of the founding of sixteen Municipal and Regional Theatres between 1982 and 1990 all over Greece has been similar. These considered the performance of ancient drama a cultural event that would add to their prestige and affect positively affect their impact on local communities. The fact that theatre groups which were so different were including ancient drama in their repertory further widened the audience for these productions. The public addressed no longer consisted only of Athenians or the conservative public of the National Theatre, but also the young intellectuals young people and students who supported the Karolos Koun Art Theatre and later on also people from non-central districts of Athens and residents of several larger cities all around Greece.

All these changes in the Greek theatre gave more impetus to producing ancient drama until the late 1980s. It is since then that local authorities have tried to imitate the example of Epidaurus by creating similar festivals mainly based on performances of ancient drama. As a consequence, many of the important subsidised or municipal groups began to feel obliged to produce an ancient drama every summer, whereas in winter they had a mixed repertory with modern Greek or foreign plays and rarely performed the ancients. Within this framework, groups no longer felt a clear preference for a specific tragedy or comedy to be performed every summer. Their choice became more and more coincidental, depending on what the other groups had announced for the same period, who the star actor would be and what the group, the director or the main actor had played (or had not played) in previous years.

Still the importance assigned to the production of ancient drama remained strong: in Greece it has been one of the main events helping the younger stage directors to establish their artistic presence and gain a more important position in the theatre. Some of them have changed their status of independent artist to that of a more or less permanent collaborator of one of the national theatres or to an assignment as the head of a bigger theatrical unit such as a municipal theatre. To participate in a production of ancient drama became an obligation for almost every individual theatre artist, and not only for actors who by interpreting one of the major roles wished to add to their prestige, or to change their image which had sometimes been damaged because of their participation in television shows or insignificant serials and anodyne theatre performances.

6. Ancient Greek drama in the Greek and Dutch theatre, 1991-2003

For the period 1991-2003 we can compare Dutch and Greek data more precisely. The Dutch pilot showed that apparently significant data (as presented in Chart 2) are less significant when seen in their immediate context. The principle is confirmed by the Greek data, but in the reverse: what seemed insignificant in the wider context of Chart 2 appears to be quite significant within the Greek context. Table 6 shows the Greek and Dutch data for the period 1991-2003.

	GR All	GR Ancient	%	NL All	NL Ancient	%
1991-1992	244	8	3.28	497	15	3.02
1992-1993	251	9	3.59	390	8	2.05
1993-1994	277	25	9.03	385	9	2.34
1994-1995	281	27	9.61	411	9	2.19
1995-1996	307	26	8.47	402	11	2.74
1996-1997	326	25	7.67	389	10	2.57
1997-1998	391	25	6.39	399	8	2.01
1998-1999	433	23	5.31	484	9	1.86
1999-2000	434	42	9.68	440	7	1.59
2000-2001	443	26	5.87	412	12	2.91
2002-2002	540	28	5.19	447	10	2.24
2002-2003	560	23	4.11	516	7	1.36
Total	4.487	287	6.40%	5.172	115	2.22%

Table 6. Productions of Ancient Greek Drama in Greece and The Netherlands, related to the total number of theatre productions, 1991-2003.

As a part of the total number of theatre productions, the Greek theatre staged considerably more ancient Greek drama than the Dutch, on average almost three times as much. This reflects the important national role of ancient drama in Greece.

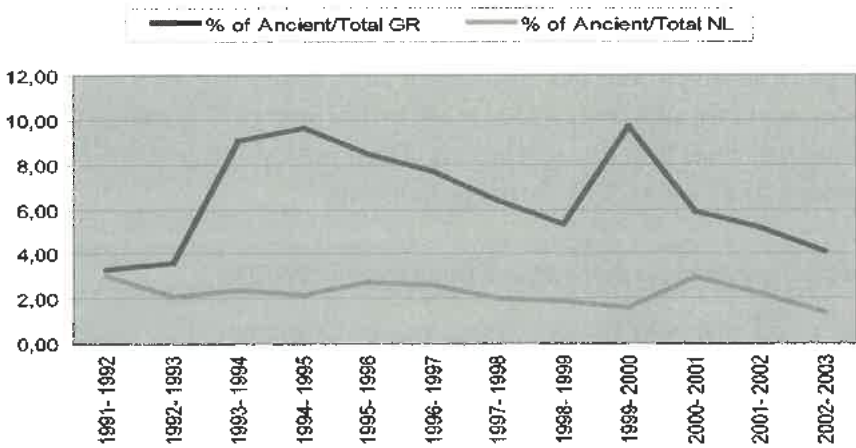


Chart 4. Productions of ancient Greek drama in Greece and The Netherlands expressed as percentage of the total number of productions, 1991-2003.

Whereas the diagram in Chart 2 suggested that the Dutch productions were significant and the Greek regular, Chart 4 draws our immediate attention to the Greek situation. The percentage of ancient Greek drama productions in The Netherlands remains fairly stable, but the irregularity of the percentages in Greece is remarkable. The Greek figures show a significant increase in 1993-1996, followed by a gradual decrease, and a new peak in 1999-2000, followed by a new decrease. The first peak can be explained by the wider circuit of festivals all around Greece and the choice of almost all the Municipal Theatres to produce ancient drama after the important success of Euripides *Electra* performed by one of the municipal theatres. However, in Greece also the question of how to preserve this theatrical heritage has also become the subject of much debate. Over the years, the quality of the traditional productions at Epidaurus has gradually diminished. This has made more groups hope that once they might enter the famous theatre of the Asclepieion. And the dead end in the traditional performances incited experimental theatre groups to show more interest for in indoor performances of ancient Greek drama than before. The second peak and subsequent following decrease might be due to this interest in performing ancient drama in enclosed spaces and not only for the summer period. On the other hand, the strong reaction to several performances – considered as too innovative by powerful critics and a part of the conservative audiences – might explain the subsequent decrease

in summer productions and, in some cases, the refusal of younger directors to enter into what would be considered a very 'violent' debate.

7. Conclusion and further steps

The short survey of ancient Greek drama productions in Greece and The Netherlands shows that the national contexts in which these productions function lead to very different assessments of their role and import, although there are correspondences as well. Thus, in both countries the performance of ancient Greek drama has been a means for younger directors to establish their artistic position. It is to be expected that in other countries the situation will again be different. It is only when the history of ancient Greek drama productions in individual countries has been written as part of national theatre histories comparative research may provide a more solid image of the role of ancient Greek drama in the European and world theatre.

This research will need to start from individual theatre companies, theatre artists, and individual productions. It has to address the reasons for performing ancient drama, the role of directors, (star) actors and other artists involved in the choice of the repertory. It will have to deal with the national and international theatre climate at the time of the productions and address questions such as the role of ancient Greek drama in national and international festival cultures, its attractiveness in terms of drawing wide audiences and/or being a suitable vehicle for important artistic innovations. It may also address issues such as the idea of a Grand Repertoire, the return to the arguably more traditional values of a textual theatre, or rather the connection of ancient drama with new (multimedial) theatre forms, or with multicultural preoccupations due to the liminal character of the ancient texts. Also the broader cultural and political circumstances at the time of production have to be taken into account.

The many publications on the subject that have appeared over the last decade by leading scholars in the field of Classics and Theatre Studies show that research into performance history is a fast-growing branch on the academic tree internationally. The publication of a systematic transnational history of ancient Greek drama performances would be an important addition.

JOSÉ LUIS NAVARRO

ANCIENT GREEK DRAMA IN SPANISH SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Theatre education is almost completely absent from the Spanish curriculum in secondary schools. Two hours a week at the age of sixteen, as an optional subject, is the only opportunity the students have to be in touch with the theatre.

Theatre practice, anyway, must be achieved outside the scheduled time-table. Nevertheless, nobody will doubt that theatre is an excellent educational tool. But not simply now.

Educational values of theatre

Let me quote one of the several Spanish scholars of the XVIth century, Ioannis Laurentius Palmirenus. He taught Rhetoric at Valencia University and wrote seven theatrical pieces based on ancient rhetorical speeches and ancient Greek drama to be used in the classroom as a very important part of the learning process. Palmirenus called on theatre for help when explaining to the students Cicero's speeches; he used to give dramatic form to situations and characters; in this way the speech by Cicero became a kind of dramatic 'agón' and the lesson itself a kind of theatrical performance.

Palmirenus wrote as follows in his classroom curriculum: "*As the days become more and more long and it gets very warm both on the streets and inside the classroom, I prefer to write comedies and deliver them to the students so that they can relax, enjoy, and improve their intonation, pronunciation, and memory...*".

And further on we find such fascinating words as these:

"Tertia et ultima pars rhetoricae in qua de memoria et actione disputatur."

"Ex hac exercitatione commoda non pauca, ut video, emanant; pueri namque memoriam exercent, a lusu revocantur, actionem emmendant et apud uso rusticorum pudorem amittunt et phrases quas in orationibus M. Tulli, me praelegente, observarunt, nostra imitatione in mentem tamquam aliud agentes revocant" (1556, p. 76, ex typographia Ioannis Mey).

In simple words, theatre practice is absolutely advantageous "– commoda non pauca –" for students. They exercise their memory. Second, they will not spend their spare time in silly activities "– a lusu revocantur –". Third, they correct their intonation and pronunciation "– actionem emmendant –"; fourth, they will get rid of their diffidence, not being shy any more – rusticorum pudorem amittunt – and – last but not least – by performing Cicero's speeches they will be reminded of all the previous explanations their teacher told them about in the classroom.

I think the scholar Palmirenus was absolutely right 500 years ago. Nowadays, in 2005, those very same words continue to sound and be absolutely up to date. Theatre compels boys and girls in secondary school to exercise and practise their memory. Nothing is learnt by heart at school, even though memory has a very strong capacity in teenagers. Theatre forces them to learn their role by heart. At the same time, when going back to school in the evening after the scheduled timetable for rehearsal and practice they are also compelled to give up the play-station or the TV screen to participate in a much more vivid, alive, and human experience. When speaking aloud, they will improve their pronunciation and their intonation and when performing, movement and gestures should go hand in hand with their voice. Last but not least, in meeting other students they will have to work together with a common target: to achieve a performance and to present it to a certain audience.

Educational values of Greek Drama

But when teaching how to perform Ancient Greek Drama and when performing it, all the educational values of a theatre education are automatically increased. The reason why is very clear: an ancient tragedy or an ancient Greek comedy needs a very special effort because both are a kind of total, complete, whole theatre. What do I mean by total theatre? Tragedies and comedies are complete educational pieces; you'll find all kinds of everything in them. At the same time, a quite large team will be necessary if you want to perform them properly. Let's check it in detail.

If we deal with tragedies, we'll immediately meet mythos, myth. Apart from Aeschylus' *Perses*, all tragedies are based on mythical stories. Myths are, no doubt, lessons for everyday life able to last for ever. But myth, even if it is enveloped by a cloud of imagination, is a very, very serious subject, and probably the best educational pedagogical instrument both for teachers and pupils. Mythical stories and mythical characters are still able to fascinate our teenagers. If we insist on myths, we can be sure that students will learn. They will feel mythical characters very, very close to them. I speak from my own experience after 25 years of non-stop performing of Ancient Greek Drama at a high school in Madrid. My students are able to fall in love with men and women who never existed, whom they never met, but who are felt as very close, alive, good friends. The students can understand perfectly the points of view of Antigone, Medea, Clytemnestra, Agamemnon, Oedipus and so many others. They can understand their arguments and they are easily ready to discuss them. The students immediately realise that there is a message, a hidden message inside any beautiful myth; it is absolutely meaningful. We must not forget that tragedies do not consist of a simple sum of adventures; some moral behaviour, ethos, Greek 'ethos' is present. Each tragedy can be considered as a moral lesson; very high ethical values-faith, piety, responsibility, consistency, shame, suffering are present in a different degree in most of the pieces.

This beautiful mythos, full of high-value characters, requires a poetic logos, a poetic far removed from terribly poor everyday language. Poetry is something non-existent in Spanish schools even if Spain is a country that has produced a large number of excellent poets. Poetic language, literary games, exquisite vocabulary, large metrical variety make the text absolutely different, provided you have a good translation, able to retain all those features. The students will find this poetic language a kind of embarrassing obstacle; they will have to learn how to pronounce, how to deliver that text. Their personal sensibility will be educated. This is another value lacking very much in our groups of teenagers, used to big crowds shouting in rock or pop concerts or at sport events. It's not possible to deliver a poetic text properly with a lack of sensibility. Mythos, ethos, logos but still it's not enough. Ancient Greek Drama implies also music, that means song and dance. All the abilities an actor can show must or should be present when performing an ancient tragedy or an ancient comedy. Young people nowadays spend lots of money on music, disco-dancing, listening to pop singers. But as a matter of fact, when you try to get your students to sing any popular folk song or follow the rhythm of an unknown old-fashioned melody, you will realise that they are absolutely lost, unable to do it properly. Greek Drama, therefore, will teach them dance, movement, music and eventually song.

At the same time, a complete team is required to perform properly a tragedy or a comedy properly. You will need a chorus, together with eight to ten characters and eventually four musicians, even if recorded music can replace them. If you are working in a classroom with a group of about 20, you will need all 20 on the stage or at least by the stage. To present a tragedy means to involve a group working as a team. That's the reason why we can also say that Ancient Greek Theatre is a complete, total one.

It provides the actor-student with all the theatrical abilities and at the same time it involves a group working together as a team. Different from modern pieces giving a role to four or five characters, ancient tragedies or comedies require a pack of about 20, that means the full list included in a classroom.

Festival of Segóbriga

Perhaps not being aware of these educational features of classical drama, Aurelio Bermejo, an ordinary teacher of Latin in a high school in Cuenca, a small pretty town 150 km. from Madrid had a fantastic idea. Let's go back in time to a sunny spring day in May 1982, in the ruins of Segóbriga, an ancient Roman town 100 km. from Madrid. Prof. Bermejo organised an educational visit to the ancient Roman town with a group of about 30 students. The old forum and a couple of Roman baths together with a fantastic amphitheatre and a very well preserved theatre were –are– still visible. The theatre drew their attention. The proscenium was covered with a wooden platform, making a very nice stage. Nothing left

from the 'frons scaenae' except a couple of columns giving the theatre its very peculiar look. It was possible to perform a tragedy or a comedy; that's what Prof. Bermejo thought. But on that sunny day of May 1982, the students simply read a short passage from *Oedipus the King* (Sophocles) and *Miles Gloriosus* (Plautus). Anyway, something was born in Prof. Bermejo's mind. Why not perform instead of reading next year? They did it. Next year, 1983, a group of about 30 students was there again. Bermejo invited some schools to go to Segóbriga in order to visit the ruins and to attend the performance of *Oedipus the King*. It was very successful. Next year more schools went to Segóbriga and students from a school in Toledo performed *Medea*. That was the beginning, but as a matter of fact a big event was born. Notice that groups of students at secondary school gathered to watch a performance given by students at secondary school too; an entirely educational activity involving pupils and teachers. Little by little Bermejo was writing letters to all the schools around the area of Cuenca. The duration of the so-called 'Jornadas de Teatro Greco-Latino' was increasing. In the beginning it was three days; then four, then five, later on 'A Week of Classical Drama' and definitely a festival reaching up to two weeks in 2000. The event was completely successful; more than 2,500 students gathered every day to watch comedies and tragedies.

Development

In 1995, the INSTITUTO del TEATRO GRECO-LATINO de SEGOBRIGA was created in order to organise such a big event properly. One single teacher could not cope with such an activity. At the same time, some other ancient Roman theatres decided to share Segóbriga's experience, and then a co-ordinated larger Festival was born, not simply at the Segóbriga theatre, but all over the ancient Roman theatres of Spain; Sagunto, Mérida, Cartagena, Italica, Clunia, Tarragona... And still more; some regions not having preserved ancient Roman theatres, decided to use the most important traditional theatres of the main cities to join in the event. In this way, all 17 regions of Spain have at least one place as a permanent seat of the Festival.

Anyway, the original idea was to produce a revival of the atmosphere described by Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge in his famous book *Dramatic Festivals of Athens*. Festivities, joy, open air, people gathering to take part in such activity in the footsteps of ancient Greek dramatic festivals. There is, however, a difference; no competition, no prizes, and only teenagers with their teachers; don't forget that in our festival there are only students performing and there are only students watching; they all at secondary school; very, very rarely at university. More than 2,500 students attend the performances in Segóbriga every day; that makes a total of 25,000 after each festival. If we add the students taking part in this activity in any of the 17 different theatres – the Festival there doesn't last more

than four days – we'll have a total of about 75,000 students attending performances every school year during spring time.

Organisation

Let's go back to Segóbriga, the main focus of this big event. Two pieces are performed every day for two weeks from Monday to Friday; a tragedy in the morning and a comedy in the evening. We combine, if possible, Greek and Roman authors.

As you can see, we try to follow in the footsteps of the ancient Greeks. But there is something else. The students attending the performances pay a sum of 5 €. They are not given as a ticket a piece of printed paper, but a couple of pocket books containing the text of the tragedy or the comedy that is being performed every day. The text will have been translated into Spanish mostly by the teacher responsible for the stage direction of the play. They include an introduction, but normally don't have footnotes. They are supposed to be both an educational document for the students and a kind of 'libretto' for the actors. Those pocket books are very useful. As a matter of fact, up to 1995, if you wanted to read, for example, *Oedipus at Colonus*, you had to buy the full pack containing the full production by Sophocles; that meant quite a lot of money. Nowadays, because of the Festival, these small books have been produced. This positive experience has developed and spread as far as Portugal.

The practice of giving the students a book so they can work on the text before and after the performance is very important. It underlines the idea of a didactic, pedagogic, educational activity. Our aim is that the students should not simply watch a performance, but learn from it. First of all, we are teachers and our pupils are students; we shouldn't forget that. The Ministry of Education has been supporting the activity since 1996 with a sum of 12-15,000 euros.

To begin with, most of the performances were of a quite low quality; very elementary costumes, quite a lot of mistakes, and without paying attention to a number of details. But after 20 years, the situation has evolved quite a lot. First of all, let me underline that our first aim is not to produce a fantastic show, but a very useful instrument for teachers and students to understand what an ancient comedy or an ancient tragedy is. We do not pretend to do a rebuilding, a remaking of an ancient Greek piece. We feel it an anachronism in a certain way; no ancient Greek language, not simply three actors, no masks normally. We pretend to do nothing but to evoke the atmosphere of the 5th century B.C. We want the students to take part and to be involved in a festive atmosphere and, above all, to realise what are the main features of ancient Greek drama: myth, message, poetical language, music, dance, chorus, open-air performance...; quite different from contemporary theatre. We try to be as respectful as possible to the text and with the context surrounding

it. We don't like to declaim an ancient text on an ancient Roman stage dressed in shirt and jeans. The text together with the general context must be preserved. All the groups performing are directed by a teacher teaching Latin or Greek in secondary school. We underline first the educational, pedagogical dimension of the activity, the artistic one comes immediately after.

Results

The result of such a big event is that today 320 productions of Ancient Drama have been performed on the stage of the Ancient Roman Theatre of Segóbriga. But if we consider – and we must – the full number from the different theatres included in the official programme of the Festival, the figure will rise to 879 (you can find detailed figures in an appendix).

At the same time, more than 50 pocket-books, which means 50 different pieces, have been published and 900,000 students have attended performances of Ancient Classical Drama over the last 23 years. Eighty different groups composed of students in secondary school have performed at least once an ancient classical piece. Plautus, Euripides, Aristophanes are the favourites, following the trends of performances given by professional companies. Notice that the Latin language and the Latin tradition are still quite strong in Spain; that's the reason why Plautus is present every day everywhere at the Festival.

The INSTITUTO del TEATRO GRECO-LATINO de SEGOBRIGA has been created and several activities adressed to teachers and students have been developed too. Groups from Portugal, Greece, Italy and Croatia have attended the Festival. I think it is quite a lot of work, quite a big event, showing that it's possible to involve young people in a very fascinating educational task. As a matter of fact, Ancient Greek Drama is really worth it.

AESCHYLUS

	Se	Gi	Sa	Bi	Pa	Lo	Co	Ca	St	It	Me	Cl	Za	Lu	Ta	Ml	And	Cat	Mad	TOTAL	
Prom.	1																				1
Supplic.																					0
Septem.																					0
Agam.	4							1	1	2	1					2					11
Choeph.	8		1			1		3	2	2	1		1		1	1	5				26
Eumen.	2																				2
Persai	2							1													3
TOTAL	17	0	1	0	0	1	0	5	3	4	2	0	1	0	1	3	5	0	0	43	

SOPHOCLES

	Se	Gi	Sa	Bi	Pa	Lo	Co	Ca	St	It	Me	Cl	Za	Lu	Ta	Ml	And	Cat	Mad	TOTAL	
Ajax								1		2											3
Trach.	3						1	1	1		1						2				9
Antig.	7	1	1			1	1		5	1	2			2	1	3	4	1	1		31
Philoct.																					0
Electra	6	2		1	1		2	2	1	3	3	2	1		2	1					27
Oe.Rex	14	1				1		1	2	1			1	1	1	1				2	26
Oe.Col.	8			1	1		1	1	1	1	1		1	1						1	17
TOTAL	38	4	1	2	2	2	5	5	10	8	7	2	3	4	4	5	6	1	4	113	

EURIPIDES

	Se	Gi	Sa	Bi	Pa	Lo	Co	Ca	St	It	Me	Cl	Za	Lu	Ta	Ml	And	Cat	Mad	TOTAL	
Alcestis	4																				4
Medea	9	2		1				1	1		2					1		3			20
Hipp.	6						1			3	1						2				13
Andr.	7	1		1			1	1	2	2	1		1		1		2			1	21
Hecuba	2																				2
Herc.																					0
Heraclid	1																				1
Ion	4			1	1			1	1				1	1					2	2	14
Troiad.	18			1	1			3	3	2	1	1			2	2	3	1	1		39
If.Aulid.							1			2	1						2				6
If.Taurid	1																2				3
Electra	5	1						1		1	1			2							11
Helena	1			1				1	1											1	5
Orestes																					0
Suppl.																					0
Phoen.	1			2							1										4
Bacch.	5	2		2				2	3	3	3		1		8			1			30
Rhes.																					0
Cyclop.																					0
TOTAL	64	6	0	9	2	0	3	10	11	13	11	1	3	3	11	3	11	7	5	173	

ARISTOPHANES

	Se	Gi	Sa	Bi	Pa	Lo	Co	Ca	St	It	Me	Cl	Za	Lu	Ta	Ml	And	Cat	Mad	TOTAL
Acharn.									1	1		1	1							4
Equites	3	1		2				1	1	2	2		1	1	1	2				17
Nubes	6	2						1	1	1	3		1							15
Pax	5			1				1							1					8
Vespae																				0
Lysistr.	16	6		3				1	2	8	2				1					39
Thesm.	4	2					1	1	1	2	3				1				1	16
Aves	2																			2
Ranae																				0
Eccles.	10							2	4	1	1		1		2	2	1			24
Plutus	5	1		2					2		4		1	1	1				2	19
TOTAL	51	12	0	8	0	0	1	7	12	15	15	1	5	2	7	4	1	0	3	144

MENANDRUS

	Se	Gi	Sa	Bi	Pa	Lo	Co	Ca	St	It	Me	Cl	Za	Lu	Ta	Ml	And	Cat	Mad	TOTAL
Dyscolos																			1	1
Samia	7	1		1	1			1	1	1	1	2	1		1				2	20
Perikeir.																1				1
Epitrep.																				0
TOTAL	7	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	3	22

SENECA

	Se	Gi	Sa	Bi	Pa	Lo	Co	Ca	St	It	Me	Cl	Za	Lu	Ta	Ml	And	Cat	Mad	TOTAL
Agam.																				0
Herc.Fr.																				0
Herc.Oet																				0
Phaedra																				0
Medea																				0
Oedipus	1						1	1	1	2	1				1					8
Phoen.																				0
Thyest.	1																			1
Troiad.																				0
Octavia	1																			1
TOTAL	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	10

TERENTIUS

	Se	Gi	Sa	Bi	Pa	Lo	Co	Ca	St	It	Me	Cl	Za	Lu	Ta	Ml	And	Cat	Mad	TOTAL
Adelphi																				0
Andria	1								1											2
Eunucus	5	2		2		1	1	2	1	1	1		2		1	1			1	21
Phormio																				0
Heauton	1																			1
Hecyra																				0
TOTAL	7	2	0	2	0	1	1	2	1	2	1	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	24

PLAUTUS

	Se	Gi	Sa	Bi	Pa	Lo	Co	Ca	St	It	Me	Cl	Za	Lu	Ta	Ml	And	Cat	Mad	TOTAL
Amphitr.	10	1					1	1	2	2	3	1			5	1	1	2	1	31
Asinaria	4	1		2					1	1				1						10
Aulul.	5		1	1	1			3	3	1	2	1	1		3	2	3	2	1	30
Bacchid.	1																			1
Captivi									1						2			2		5
Casina	13	3						1	2	1	2			1		3			1	27
Cistelar.	2	1		2	1		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2			20
Curcul.	4	2		2				1	2	3	4				1					19
Epidicus	2																			2
Menaec.	19	2		2			1	2	2	1	3	1		1	2		2			38
Mercator																				0
Miles	17	5		4	1		1		3	3	2	1	1	1	5	1	2		1	48
Mostel.	4		1			1	1	2	1	2	1		1		2	1	5	3		25
Persa	9					1		2	1	2	2					1	2	1	1	22
Poenul.	1						1		1	1							3			7
Pseudol.	2			1						1	1		1		2					8
Rudens																				0
Stichus																				0
Trinum.																				0
Trucul.	2																			2
Vidular.																				0
TOTAL	95	15	2	14	3	2	6	13	18	20	22	5	5	5	24	11	20	10	5	295

VARIA

	Se	Gi	Sa	Bi	Pa	Lo	Co	Ca	St	It	Me	Cl	Za	Lu	Ta	Ml	And	Cat	Mad	TOTAL
Theatre	21	1						6	2	1	1	1			2				2	37
Poetry	3																			3
Music	5																			5
Choral	4																			4
Dance	5																			5
TOTAL	38	1	0	0	0	0	0	6	2	1	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	54

		Aesch.	Sophoc.	Euripid.	Aristoph.	Menan.	GR. TOTAL	Seneca	Plautus	Ter- ent.	LAT. TOTAL	ALIA	TOTAL
A	Segóbriga	17	38	64	51	7	177	3	95	7	105	38	320
	TOTAL A	17	38	64	51	7	177	3	95	7	105	38	320
	Gijón	0	4	6	12	1	23	0	15	2	17	1	41
	Santander	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	2	0	4
	Bilbao	0	2	9	8	1	20	0	14	2	16	0	36
	Pamplona	0	2	2	0	1	5	0	3	0	3	0	8
	Logroño	1	2	0	0	0	3	0	2	1	3	0	6
	Córdoba	0	5	3	1	0	9	1	6	1	8	0	17
B	Cartagena	5	5	10	7	1	28	1	13	2	16	6	50
	Sagunto	3	10	11	12	1	37	1	18	1	20	2	59
	Itálica	4	8	13	16	1	42	2	20	2	24	1	67
	Mérida	2	7	11	14	1	35	1	22	1	24	1	60
	Clunia	0	2	1	1	2	6	0	5	0	5	1	12
	Zaragoza	1	3	3	5	1	13	0	5	2	7	0	20
	Lugo	0	4	3	2	0	9	0	5	0	5	0	14
	Tarragona	1	4	11	7	1	24	1	24	1	26	2	52
	Mallorca	3	5	3	4	1	16	0	11	1	12	0	28
	TOTAL B	21	64	86	89	12	272	7	165	16	188	14	474
	Andalucía	5	6	11	1	0	23	0	20	0	20	0	43
C	Cataluña	0	1	7	0	0	8	0	10	0	10	0	18
	Madrid	0	5	5	3	3	16	0	5	1	6	2	24
	TOTAL C	5	12	23	4	3	47	0	35	1	36	2	85
	TOTAL A+B+C	43	114	173	144	22	496	10	295	24	329	54	879

MARIA DE FÁTIMA SILVA

THE NURSE – A CLASSICAL THEME IN
HÉLIA CORREIA'S RANCOUR

Hélia Correia, the prize-winning and much lauded Portuguese novelist, has written three texts for the theatre, inspired in the Greek classical tradition: *Perdition. A play on Antigone*,¹ *Rancour. A play on Helen*,² and *Excess. A play with Medea*.³ In these dramatic works – which focus on female heroines – the author emphasises the role of a maid-servant, in circumstances not customary in classical tradition. In fact, neither Antigone nor Helen, in the traditional versions of the myth, had a nurse who witnessed or shared their fate. However, Greek tragedy gives us unavoidable examples of this character. After the Aeschylean creation of Orestes' Nurse in *The Libation Bearers*, Euripides perfected the outlining of this character in order to show its most significant paradigms in *Medea* and *Phaedra's Maidservants*.⁴ In addition to the poets' investment in the refining of her features, with the subtlety of their sensitivity, the designing of a Nurse of tragedy is also based on a structure of solid master guidelines. The Maidservant is always an older woman who has gained a lot of experience over a long period of time in the service of one family. She knows every detail and every crisis that occurs in the lives of her masters and these happen one after another, from generation to generation, and from past to present. Her proximity to the household, sealed by time, gives her an intimate role in the family and a power that are the rewards for her loyalty. She talks openly and confidently about matters that should be beyond what is expected of a simple servant. This woman generally possesses a spontaneity and a primitive popular wisdom, both of which are the enemies of falseness and sophistication. If there is someone in the household who has a close relationship with the Maidservant, that person is the Lady, whom the old slave always served well. However, the interaction between the two women is controversial; there is an understanding and emotiveness that result from being in each others' company and sharing everyday life that brings them together as partners within the female condition; the Nurse also devotes herself generously to her lady in times of suffering and pain. But this being together breeds hidden rancour and competition which are always latent in people who are in close contact

¹ *Perdição. Exercício sobre Antigona*. (Lisbon: Publicações D. Quixote, 1991).

² *Rancor. Exercício sobre Helena*. (Lisbon: Relógio d'Água, 2000).

³ *Desmesura. Exercício com Medeia* (Lisbon: Relógio d'Água, 2006).

⁴ Aristophanes is the clearest testimony to the popularity of these characters in Euripides' plays; they have a fundamental role and show the worst female tendencies; see *Thesmophoriazusae* 340-342, *Frogs* 1079.

with each other, but whom life has treated with differing generosity. While one woman has an excess of social and family status, whether in terms of wealth or affection, the other has an excess of poverty and slavery. In its symmetries and asymmetries, this is a dramatic couple with endless potential that Greek tragedy has acknowledged and perfected; the same tradition leaves a permanent and deep mark on Helia's writing.

We will focus on *Rancour*, in which Helen's Nurse is called Aethra, the old Lady of Athens, the wife of Aegeus and mother of Theseus and herself a Queen as well; nevertheless, *tyche* did not spare the famous Aethra from the fate of becoming Helen's slave, who kept her company and who witnessed her many adventures and misfortunes. Despite the one being dressed up in prosperity and royalty, and the other in the darkness of misery, the truth is that both women easily converge and are guided by the hand of an uncertain existence that every day disturbs the fragile frontier that separates the masters from the slaves, or the happy from the unhappy. The central theme in *Rancour* revolves around remorse, in each individual's search for an answer to the challenge that he or she independently, or integrated into a family or social group, must face because this challenge is inseparable from life: how can we deal with the guilt from the past, with the legacy which makes us what we are, our identity, and which we cannot jettison, but which burdens us with all its ghosts and lays claims to us? How should we behave? Should we settle debts through suffering and expiation? Or should we simply try to put ghosts aside and reduce to mere human weaknesses the crimes hidden under the aureola of a paradigm? This is basically the adventure that brings together Helen, the cause of all sufferings, and Aethra, a living witness and constant accuser. The latter is the voice of the past, which is always present and nearby, like a type of menacing Erinyes.

The scene draws its inspiration from Book 4 of the *Odyssey*.⁵ It is the day of reception at the Court of Menelaus, in Sparta. Telemachus, the son of Odysseus, who is still looking for his absent father, is going to be welcomed by the Laconian lords. The representative of a second generation will be given the chance to dive into the universe of the heroes of ancient times and to socialise, in the flesh, with the legends that structured his childhood imagination: the glories of Atreus, Helen's blond hair, the aggressiveness of Phyrus, the son of supreme Achilles who now is married to Princess Hermione. It is in this conjuncture, which is favourable to the meeting of the present and the past, that Telemachus will be presented to Aethra in a totally unexpected way. Menelaus gives some attention to Aethra as if she were someone who, to a certain extent, was a part of the family (p. 17): "I didn't introduce you to the venerable Aethra, who has been with Helen everywhere. They're like mother and daughter." If the host values the proximity and the affection that unites both the Lady and the slave, Aethra reinforces the social status that also puts them on the same level by

⁵ See vv. 1-619.

complementing her identification – “Aegeus’ wife, mother of Theseus, saviour of Athens”. All these features help to make the two women an indistinguishable couple where one of them is a human creature being relentlessly haunted by her shadow or *daimon*. This proximity has been strengthened by time, during which Aethra accompanied Helen in her traditional journey from Sparta to Troy and back to the marital home. The play finds a strong and permanent symbol to express this: namely Helen’s delays, her applying her last finishing touches at the dressing table.⁶ The Nurse is the only person to know why (p. 11).

By being permanently in Helen’s presence, Aethra takes on a true main role in the play. Her role is not that of a secondary character next to the heroine; in a way the Maidservant overlaps with the Lady, as with everyone else in that household, for whom she is the spokesperson of a fate that from its high position controls the plot. Just like the destructiveness of *tyche* that always haunted Mycenae’s household, Aethra also takes on the role of a dark and menacing presence. In order to perform this role, which seems to breathe transcendence, there are still personal reasons that make her a potentially annihilating force because of a never-ending resentment: “AETHRA – Yes. A loyal slave is very rare. They wish their lady’s death, the slaves. HELEN (meaningfully) – Even more if they were born noble and the outcomes of war condemn them to wait on the enemy’s wife” (p. 18).

Throughout Act 1 and under the weight of the protocol of a reception day at the palace of Menelaus, Aethra’s role is that of a commentator who reminds, accuses and denounces, and who spreads the dark colours of the truth on to the surface of appearances. Because of the fact that she is not connected by blood ties to the family (p. 33), the old slave possesses the necessary impartiality and she constantly witnesses everyday life in the household around her. Her words are always brief, but sharp and incontestable. They are powerful in the careful way that they focus the truth on the accusations and do not leave any room for debate or denial. They simply unleash rage and repudiation, because her blows are so accurate and painful, even when they are fair. For that reason, she is an objective, but particularly biting commentator who must be taken seriously.⁷ When Helen exempts the slave from the task of combing and frizzing her hair (p. 13), we symbolically perceive her first sign of rejection for the times when Aethra hurt her. The Queen of Sparta’s hair is the expression of the beauty, the fascination and the seductive power that she possesses throughout the play. The Maidservant directly attacks it; but because she has been removed from that task, she limits herself to using words which are just as frightening as the hairbrush.

⁶ The epic tradition of this theme is present in *Odyssey* 4. 121-122.

⁷ The Maidservant’s role which consists of understanding and accurately interpreting the most intimate and hidden feelings of the lady is repeatedly expressed in Euripides (see *Hippolytus* 208-211, 224-227, 232-238).

Helen is the main focus of the Nurse's attention. At every opportunity in her saga, Aethra shows the strongest traits of her personality or behaviour. The choice of Menelaus out of many pretenders who wanted the hand of Tyndareus' daughter was a bad strategy for uniting brothers and sisters through marriage (p. 17): "AETHRA – *People always said that brothers married to women who are sisters will never be happy. And if they are twins, like you and Clytemnestra...*".

Later, Sparta's permissiveness in the public exposure of its women⁸ made things easy for the Trojan seducer, who found an ideal interlocutor in the natural and permitted shamelessness of the sovereign (p. 29): "AETHRA – *Not a veil. She didn't even cover her face with a thin veil. HELEN – Veils! No-one wears veils in Sparta! AETHRA – Had she worn a veil and things could have been...*".

As a voice of *sophrosyne*, Aethra advised and warned Helen; but she was unsuccessful because, after all, Aphrodite, like a true *fatum* for Helen, had already offered Paris the most beautiful of women. When the war that was triggered by the kidnapping also killed the person who caused it, Priam's son, Helen became the possession of Deiphobus, another son of the King of Troy, because she was incapable of remaining unmarried (pp. 22-23). This frivolousness that characterises the woman who belonged to many men (see p. 30) was, in the end, the cause of a general hatred around her, which resulted from a lot of tears and suffering, of which Aethra was a constant reminder (p. 41): "AETHRA – *She may leave the room, but she can't leave the dreams which have put Greek and Trojan women together. The dream of the huge hatred they feel for Helen. There are so many dreams, so many, that they darken the moonlit nights and moan and moan. You may think they are something physical, dark and howling, but they aren't. They are women's nightmares.*"

As well as the queen who warrants violent censorship at every moment from the Nurse, Menelaus is also attacked as the present representative of a cursed family and as a living symbol of the heroes of bygone days. This dialogue with the past shows the emptiness on which fame is built and the power of combat as a fertile ground for glory. This is a deeply Euripidean thought⁹ which frequently arises in Act 1 of *Rancour*. In the face of the efforts made by the Lord of Sparta who, in an attempt to restore the traditional ascendancy of the household he belongs to, reiterates the greatness of his lineage in more or less empty sentences – "Son and grandson of kings, don't forget" (p. 13), Aethra recalls the bloody and criminal episode of "a banquet where the father eats his own children, stewed", which one cannot separate from the same genealogy. About Atreus' sons, the generation that fol-

⁸ The same permissiveness of Sparta towards women's role in society is evident in Helia's work in the setting of Act 1. The monarch delays the start of the welcoming ceremony for his visitors so as to give Helen enough time to appear. Therefore, Aethra has another opportunity to make an accusation once again (p. 12): "It is your Spartan costume (...) to show your women. Look at its fine result...".

⁹ This is expressed with particular accuracy in *Helen*.

lowed in this unfortunate family, fame kept the rewards of the triumph that was achieved in Troy. But in this case, victory led to some doubts, and success was not as crystal-clear as it appeared. Aethra expresses what Menelaus celebrates as "the conquest of Troy" with a suggestive correction – The Troy massacre (p. 12). If its excessive cost denigrates what he wants to celebrate as an achievement, then *arete* which is used in that fight varies, and becomes susceptible to different readings that range from the highest ideals to the mere expedient (p. 22). When Telemachus was visiting the court of Menelaus, Aethra answered his question about the trumps that were the basis for the Greeks' great victory and the *time* of its most distinguished heroes with the greed which motivates the common soul: "TELEMACHUS – *How did you conquer Troy? By fighting? No. By being intelligent. AETHRA – By being treacherous.*" In the traditional shaping of the Trojan saga, there are still postponed homecomings of the victors who are on their way to the palace, where their re-integration is not always welcome. When Telemachus sighs because of present unhappiness of an Ithaca without Odysseus, Aethra immediately responds with far more painful situations (p. 30): "*You need not speak about Mycenae. What a tragedy! It rouses the envy in any city!*" The murderous betrayal of Clytemnestra accounts for the rejection of the rightful holders of power upon their return; but, in the shadows, others, such as Menelaus, who was finally free from the eternal competition of his brother and master in times of peace and glory, reaped cowardly rewards from the crime (pp. 66-67).

Therefore, Aethra's mission is to go against every member of a chaotic family whom she must punish and expose in everything that they do with an outward appearance of superiority and glamour, to try to hide the deep stains of a criminal past. Everyone looks on her with rage and tries to silence her, which is the same as wanting to silence the voice of the past. The contrast between the bitterness of the reaction to the truth that Aethra speaks and the sweet tone that is used in a sham, aristocratic and dignifying ritual is great.

If Aethra is the living antithesis in the light of a power that they want to project based on appearances, which makes her the mark that stains the glamour of a welcoming day at the court of Sparta, then there is another underlying comparison between the old slave and those who make the creation of glory their job: the poets. Both of them carry the burden of preserving memory. Only the way that they do it distinguishes the one from the others. In the line of an artificial aesthetic, the old bards have created a heroic fiction that praises the gods and men of the past. One of their aims was to highlight great causes and to establish a code of elevated virtues by turning the subjects of these paradigmatic episodes into true heroes. Words are more efficient than any other testimony despite being light and fragile, because they are touched by the magical breath of memory. Glory endures and memory continues through music and poetry, thus fulfilling the double mission of immortalising merit and educating the mind of the younger generations. While the *aidoi* praise and embellish memory, Aethra confronts it with a hard reality and reduces

it to all the horror that lay at its origin. When faced with the underlying violence of the stories of the past, Telemachus longs for the sweetness of forgetfulness (p. 25): "How awful! May the gods let men forget it for one or two generations". But the poets' job is to prevent this, because they feed on those same excesses and make their subsistence from it (p. 26): "AETHRA - These events will never be forgotten because of those chatterbox gossip singers who travel the whole of Greece and spread their verses about deaths, adultery and scenes of bravery". Referring to an already legendary time, the old episodes, for as violent and shameful as they may have been, gain a new shape through the use of imagination and the power of words. Every poet narrates them in his own way; the winners and the defeated will have their own versions of the events (p. 38): "The defeated seem to develop a strange ability to lie. It is surprising their lack of accuracy." But if each of the direct participants gives it the stigma of his experiences or feelings, what can we say about those who only received a distant echo, vague accounts or diffuse traditions about the facts upon which they raise the bastion of glory through a created talent. Aethra puts an end to the spectacle of weaknesses and aggression among the lords of Sparta through the use of irony, by giving a send-off to a Telemachus who witnesses the collapse of the greatness of a myth with which he had always lived (p. 38): "Are you not tired? Haven't you seen what you wanted to see? You've already got acquainted with two heroes from Troy; you've already sat at Helen's feet. If you have a flair for poetry, this is enough for an epic."

Helia finds a meaningful ending for this Act 1, which develops as a systematic parallel between the past, whose violence was hidden under a curtain of glory, and a present that searches for evidence of a model of reference. Helen appeared in the room with a strange and exotic Egyptian wig – perhaps looking for another identity¹⁰ – and was surrounded by voices that demanded the right to see, even if it were only once, the blond hair that immortalised the most beautiful of all women. The Queen of Sparta refused to satisfy that wish, but the demands increased. Everyone wanted to fulfil that whim for their own reasons: Telemachus wanted to see the Helen of the stories he had heard in his childhood; Menelaus

¹⁰ We know the sources that, in antiquity, kept and explored the version of the myth that put Helen in Egypt while the war in Troy caused by her kidnapping continued. See *Odyssey* 4. 227-230, 351-586; Herodotus 2.112-120; Stesichorus frs. 15/ 192, 16/ 193, Page, Euripides, *Helen*, *passim*. The bibliography that specialises in the subject is ample. We suggest, e.g.: B. B. POWELL, "Narrative pattern in the Homeric tale of Menelaus." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 101 (1970): 419-431; A. M. KOMORNICKA, "Hélène de Troie et son double dans la littérature grecque (Homère et Euripide)." *Euphrosyne* 19 (1991): 9-26; J. ASSAEL, "Les transformations du mythe dans l'Hélène d'Euripide." *Pallas* 33 (1987): 41-54; W. G. ARNOTT, "Euripides' newfangled Helen." *Antichthon* 24 (1990): 1-18; J. C. GRIFFITH, "Some thoughts on the 'Helena' of Euripides." *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 73 (1953): 36-41; I. E. HOLMBERG, "Euripides' Helen: the most noble and most chaste." *American Journal of Philology* 116 (1995): 19-42; G. S. MELTZER, "Where is the glory of Troy? Kleos in Euripides' Helen." *Classical Antiquity* 13 (25) (1994): 234-255; D. G. PAPI, "Victors and sufferers in Euripides' Helen." *American Journal of Philology* 108 (1987): 27-40.

pursued this prodigy of nature whom he could never resist; Pyrrhus was already excited at the potentially imminent marital conflict. Aethra is the one who blocks Helen's exit and traps her between the question she was asked and the truth of her answer: where is Helen's golden hair? Because of her closeness to the lady, the Nurse is the only person who knows the truth, which was unknown even to Helen's husband. After a daring gesture from the host, who wants to satisfy the curiosity of a guest and show off his trophy, the truth that is revealed is hurtful and unexpectedly violent (p. 44): "*Before Helen, far too exhausted, could avoid him, he pulled her wig by force and everybody in the room was startled. Helen's head was completely shaven*". Past and present met and caused a great deal of disillusionment: and despite the exotic atmosphere of the moment, one could see in everyone's eyes that the model of excellence that she represented was nothing more than a myth.

In Act 1, Aethra helped to undo the legend of beauty and seduction that Helen was, and in the next act she will share the intimate reality of her lady with her usual bitterness, but this time in a closer way. The stage direction at the opening of this act draws our attention to the fact that the superficial pomp of the large room, which is part of the fantastic element in the myth, is followed by an attempt to erase the memory of a past that is in the end humiliating and mean (p. 47): "*The backyard of the palace, the patio or an open ground near it. Helen with shaven head and looking desolate obsessively washes the ground*". In this other setting that shows no glory but rather remorse, Aethra seems to lose strength –perhaps because her victim claims the right to some kind of self-flagellation– and shows signs of a severe tiredness; at the same time she also worries for the Queen, but this is more out of a desire to keep her victim preserved (p. 47): "*I can't go to sleep before I tuck you up, you know it*". But, although the scene and the behaviour of the main character are inverted now, one should not think that the time has arrived to impose the truth forcibly. The Helen who penalises herself does not wear well the coat of remorse and punishment. When Helen attempts to wash off the permanent stains of her guilt, she is only pretending,¹¹ in an attempt to simulate another personality (p. 47): "*Come to bed, Helen. You've already shown off. No one is here to watch you. That'll do*". However, she cannot fool her shadow with her frenetic body movements. Aethra denies that the blood that Helen sees (or rather, pretends to see) exists (p. 48): "*You see as much blood as I do. Stop, Helen. I'm the only one here. I don't believe in that anymore*"; and the image of compunction that she is trying to give is rejected by the Nurse (p. 49):¹² "*You don't feel remorse,*

¹¹ The idea that Helen can pretend and create a convincing image of her suffering is widely used by Euripides in *Helen*. Let us remember how much the chorus values Helen's strategy in order to obtain Theonoe's support and complicity (*Helen* 944-945): "*The justifications that you use in the present situation are as moving as you are*".

¹² The very clear concept that Helen has of future glory that is connected with her name is already epic; see *Iliad* 6. 354-358. We can even see her compete with the poet, in a certain way, when she weaves the

Helen. *You miss your past. I myself yawn from time to time and I've never lived a great life, one of those that the authors write about*". Helen fakes her role as a heroine in tragedy in the same manner as Menelaus had faked an attitude of a great lord worthy of a hero from the past. However, both of them fail to achieve this.

When the plot moves from the great room to the intimacy of the household, it gives way to a greater intimacy between the two women who know each other and, in the troubled life that they have had, they seem to be destined to understand each other. Aethra stops being a commentator and becomes a true interlocutor. The length of her speeches immediately gives this away. The old slave also has a past history with an absence of love. Her relationship with Aegeus was forced, premeditated by treachery, and exempt of any feeling. Her son, Theseus, is a hero who would make any mother proud, but who was unable to spare his mother from the pain of slavery. And, after all, at the end of this unhappy story there is just Helen, also one of the women loved by the hero of Athens. To remember this episode, which was fatal like all of those that involved a passion for Helen, Aethra repeats, in a formulaic way, the accusation of a type of behaviour that is a symbol of the natural shamelessness of Tyndareus' daughter and which was the constant cause of such misfortune (p. 49):¹³ *"Had you worn a veil, then nobody would have fallen tragically in love with you!"*.

We are about to dive deep into the past and this time we will be guided by a different line of action. The label for every event of the past is "motherhood". As a mother who was the victim of the insanities of her son, Aethra aims her accusations at Helen's mother, who was like every mother, irresponsible and unable to see the risks that her child was running, every time she looked at him or her with love (p. 49): *"Your mother should have branded you for life at birth. She didn't: I bet she looked at you with such rapt love as silly mothers do"*. The understanding that Aethra shows results from her having made the same mistake, by always tolerating the frivolities of her son when he succumbed to the charms of an adolescent, namely the already beautiful and irresistible Helen. With that "supreme stupidity of a mother" and with the love of a mother-in-law, Aethra rushed to blame Helen for the kidnapping: *"It was Helen, the seducer!"* And meanwhile she hides herself behind the vehemence of the accusations so as to not see the passionate frivolity of an immature young man called Theseus and the fear of an even more naïve young woman, Helen, in a romantic adventure that she had never experienced before. In time, a guilty anguish appeared. The Lady of Athens had also faked a spectacle of guilt and diligently took on her role: that of the slave of the target of her scorn and fears. She accompanied Helen as her slave without, nevertheless, giving up the pleasure of personifying the permanent shadow

image of the conquest of Troy in her embroidery (*Iliad* 3. 125-129), or when she describes the invader's army from high up on the walls of Troy (*Iliad* 3. 182-242).

¹³ See *supra* p. 230.

of the past. Helen clearly remembers (p. 51): "Tell me, Aethra, had I not (...) demanded you as my slave, you would have been very hurt, wouldn't you?"

Aethra herself suggested this price as an indemnity for the kidnapping of the Dioscuri's sister; certainly she wanted to silence the problems she had with her conscience, but who knows whether she also wanted to leave behind a life of frustration and follow Helen in a search for adventure and perhaps also glory... It is at this point that the two women realise how deeply they were each other's accomplices: they were both hurt and disillusioned by her lovers and unable to conform to the monotony of life, because they long for an experience that would bring fame.

Orestes, the matricide, arrives at this precise moment when the two women lay down their weapons and laugh in harmony; and they laugh at that pathetic Menelaus, who is the paradigm of the deceived husband and of the humiliation that women bring to bear upon their unloved men. After his arrival, the theme of motherhood gains another dimension.

At first, the prince of Mycenae greatly mistakes the two speakers. Orestes finds them so similar in their life experience that in the first contact with them he notices Aethra's noble posture; but mistakes Helen, still wrapped up in the remorse that she wants to show, for a beggar who receives the generous charity of an unhappy queen. Aethra had turned her life in the service of Helen into a Calvary – "I was just talking about my insomnia. I can't go to sleep before tucking up my... daughter" (p. 54). – and she advises Helen to punish herself in the same way (p. 55): "You look after him! It's just right for you. Didn't you wish to expiate your sins? Give him a bath and afterwards try to put him to sleep. I assure you that'll be a valuable task because it seems too difficult to accomplish." On top of the quick unfortunate love that the status of husband brings to the promising passion of a lover, there is also the suffering of motherhood which is part of the female condition. This can also turn into a terrible relationship where love is joined by hate. In their own way, Orestes, Aethra and Helen are the living proof of this. The door of expiation is wide open to all of them in the search for a new path. According to tradition, Clytemnestra's murderer wanders aimlessly, escaping the Erinyes. Aethra tried the role of a dedicated nurse looking for some contentment in another motherly love. Helen is the one who makes this clear to her (p. 67): "Your son abandoned you and you can't forgive him, can you, Aethra? Any creature will do for you to play the role of a mother...".

Helen cannot come to terms with the recompense for a mediocre routine; for her the pleasure and the reason for living lie in extraordinary acts, in the recognition of errors and ill-will, that is to say, in the irreplaceable glory of being called Helen. "Nightmares, we have all got them. They usually come at night and lie on us as if wishing to crush us. They are the souls of all those we have hurt. They are as heavy as iron, those wretched souls. The secret is, listen to me, to burst out laughing when you wake up and splash your head with very cold water" (p. 58).

In Hélia's text this outcome makes the relationship between maidservant and lady clearer. Once they discovered that there was proximity between them, after a latent violence in every word or in every gesture, the time of redemption arrived for both of them. Aethra chose the route of expiation and drank from a bitter chalice while she was with Helen (p. 82): *"That was the crime you've been expiating, by my side, always provoking me with your sharp tongue so I wouldn't forget to treat you badly"*. All that is left for the one who is eternally guilty about causing so much suffering and so many deaths is the invaluable pleasure of fame. Without a good story, life is nothing but a terrible yawn. And how could she silence the rancour around her? Helen also uses an effective magic against that; Aethra is the one who recognises this (p. 57): *"As usual. They see her and forgive her."*

FREDDY DECREUS

CAN GREEK TRAGEDY, WHEN STAGED IN AN OPEN
DRAMATURGICAL STYLE, STILL BE TRAGIC ?

*« Nous sommes à l'époque du simultané,
nous sommes à l'époque de la juxtaposition,
à l'époque du proche et du lointain,
du côte à côte, du dispersé »*

(MICHEL FOUCAULT, *Des espaces autres*, 1984)

1. *From closed to open dramaturgy*

The 1980s have been considered a turning-point in the development of Western theatre. Generally one could say that, from that decade onwards, absolute priority has no longer been given to the text over all other theatrical and semiotic elements, and radically opposing movements have occurred. The eighties witnessed the birth of many kinds of 'new', 'pluralist' or 'open dramaturgy' that fundamentally replaced and/or enlarged traditional Aristotelian poetics based upon the priority of plot, character and action. The traditional image of theatre implies specific co-ordinates of time and space conceived in terms of a Euclidian model, organised around a central focus from where all actions can be judged and verified. Traditional staging of tragedies resulted in an act of representation which gave the spectator a hold and a grip on the process of identification and interpretation of reality. This is the mirror-like function of theatre that, till Modernism, resulted in an abstract and symbolic reproduction of reality, a notion that can be very aptly illustrated by the picture of a tree, in which the mirror-like representation of both its roots and crown makes us believe that it has a reality that can be grasped and represented on two different levels, an upward and a downward one, thus synthesising a dialectical and representational philosophy.

Contemporary philosophy (from the 1960s on) subjected the old dream of universal man and unitary subject to a fundamental doubt about their relationship with language, with the worlds and the truth thereby established, with the mimetic representation of reality. The newly conceived stories were less totalising and disciplinary and dealt with a more limited and flexible kind of consciousness. It became obvious that one of the main problems raised by postmodernism was the systematic doubt that unrelentingly haunted the Western subject ever since the Renaissance. From the eighties on, the modernist heri-

tage recast these uncertainties in more radical versions, in new dramaturgical styles, in postmodernist ones, which often float within a double inscription of seriousness and playfulness.

Why, then, privilege in this plethora of discourses the notion of 'open dramaturgy' over the 'postmodern' or 'postdramatic' one? Maybe because every term based upon this ambiguous prefix suffers from its own negation and historical wording and brings along contexts that obscure, in their polemical phrasing, contemporary feelings. On the one hand, 'postmodern' theatre, often enough, leads to a very heterogeneous and deflated collection of disorientating forms of theatre, expressing aspects of the economic and political sphere of life ('postmodernity'), resulting in what has been called 'memory-theater' (Malin, 1999), 'theatre of chaos' (Demastes, 1998), 'land/scape theatre' (Chaudhuri & Fuchs, 2002) or 'nomadic theatre' (Deleuze & Guattari, 1980; Braidotti, 1994; Mulrooney, 2002). On the other hand, 'postdramatic' theatre (Poschmann, 1997; Lehmann, 1999) overtly faces the old ghost of drama as its main opponent, although it was not conceived as attacking or abolishing Aristotelian dramatics, nor as developing it in negative terms, but as thinking beyond it in terms of an evolution and a sliding scale. What most characterises 'open dramaturgy' is the way it examines Western tradition as based upon notions like unity, identity and equality, all terms which rely upon the dominating assumption of the one and only centre. Its reaction is phrased in terms of an open-space philosophy, of an epistemology of the open system which acknowledges the importance of plurality, diversity and difference. Therefore, this kind of dramaturgy privileges more the synchronous and simultaneous dimensions of theatre (its spatial construction) and is largely characterised by parataxis, since meaning is constantly suspended and postponed, refusing the idea of a transcending unity that offers stability. However, these three labels (postmodern, postdramatic, open dramaturgy) differ only slightly from one another, highlighting different aspects belonging to different discourses and networks. Together they represent a fundamental change that illustrates the on-going larger cultural and intellectual debate in recent decades in the West that has been studied by modern philosophers like Lyotard, Foucault, Lacan, Barthes and Deleuze, mainly French poststructuralists who, since May '68, have been radically rethinking the world and proposing other ways of conceptualising reality. They have therefore developed other discourses or frameworks for producing and postulating meaning in which no 'objective' truth will function as the absolute criterion for interpreting 'reality'. Hence the (now popular) image of the Deleuzian rhizome, a botanical notion characterised by a specific subterranean system of roots with several entrances at the same time which perfectly evokes the notion of a decentred network of lines and connections. This kind of patchwork implies heterogeneity and a continuous impact of variation, which therefore induces a radically pluralistic, different type of space, the so-called Riemannian space. When theatre is conceived in rhizomatic terms, it refuses

the old idea of one governing centre, since rhizomes consist of a large number of relations that can be drawn from all possible arbitrary points. And when all of these are of equal value, there is no need to represent reality in terms of a hierarchical system of signifying levels and chains. Therefore, in open dramaturgical processes, the spectator is expected to be a 'wanderer' who travels through landscapes, not organising his view from the top of the World Trade Center-towers, and hence reducing it to an abstract and geometrical pattern, as Michel de Certeau suggests (1980), but from ground level, using a different orientation and perspective, smelling and tasting the urban text as a network of signals and experiences.

This paper offers a rough outline of how, in recent decades, Greek tragedy has been staged in an open dramaturgical style and what kind of transformations this implies for our artistic and intellectual perceptions of it.

2. Greek tragedy staged in an open dramaturgical style

2.1. The text

The reaction against the dominance of the text on the stage can be spectacular, as when it has to contend with a huge sighing and moaning acoustic machine (cf. the *drum'n bass* soundscape of dj. Eavesdropper in *Aars!*, Toneelhuis, Antwerp, 2000, a profound reworking of *Oresteia*) or with noise machines that inhibit its easy or single interpretation (Eric Joris, *Philoctetes*, Brugge, 2002). In *Oresteia (una commedia organica ?)*, 1995, directed by Romeo Castellucci, the artistic leader of the Societas Raffaello Sanzio, speech is mechanically disturbed throughout the complete staging of *Agamemnon*: primary whale sounds resound, invoking a matriarchal world, sea monsters seem to communicate with blubbering speech and a resuscitated billy goat appears from Agamemnon's grave, disrupting all kinds of textual meaning by continuously rattling its lungs right through to the end of the trilogy. The same director, in *Giulio Cesare* (1997), staged a patient who suffered from cancer and could only speak with a mechanically supported voice. Antony's speech, mother of all speeches, was delivered by him in an eerie and most disturbing way, causing speech itself to become denaturalised. It was a frightening experience that completely shattered the theatrical illusion.

Spitting out words that were not easy to understand or could not be understood at all is also part of the special technique of Valérie Dréville, Anatoli Vassiliev's star actress in Müller's *Médée-Matériau* (Moscow, 2001 – Antwerp, 2005, Europalia Russia). Sitting naked and immobile on a chair, she stuttered words to the audience, shocking them with her rough and uncultivated pronunciation, by too much or not enough articulation, annihilating any communicational effect of language.

Instead of a central and organising text, one often gets patterns of physical presence, rhythmic forms of breathing, moving and dancing which take over from the central linguistic 'message'. This is the case in almost all productions of Theodoros Terzopoulos, from his first staging of *Bakches* (1986) through to *Ajax* (2004) and *Epigonoï* (2005), two productions which bring this amazing 'technique' to its perfection and let the text float upon a special kind of musicality. Estranging rhythmical and acoustic 'materials', repetitions of fragments of words and sentences, alternation of individual voices, choruses and aria-like monologues result in the creation of an acoustic landscape that claims rights of its own. Both Castellucci and Terzopoulos make extensive use of periods of silence, which re-organise and disturb completely the hierarchical relationship between language and non-language, presence and absence of words. A most impressive use of silence was made by Sofia Michopoulou, when, in the part of Agave, she awakens from her Dionysian ecstasy and discovers that she herself has torn off the head of her son Pentheus (*Bakches*, 1986). Her act of not-speaking, followed by attempts at emitting primeval sounds which only very gradually turned into words again, completely lost its link with the representational function of language. Jan Lauwers, artistic director of Needcompany, had Mil Seghers, as Julius Caesar, remain overtly silent for minutes on end as his murder was taking place (*Julius Caesar*, 1990). In this context, one also calls to mind the calculated moments of silence in the theatre of Bob Wilson (*Deafman Glimpse*, 1970; *the CIVILwarS*, 1984; *Alcestis*, 1986) and his attempts to let the signifier conquer the signified, the *suzjet* master the *fabula*, sound and movement defy any uniform meaning. Even when the text is recognisable at the beginning of the production, there is no guarantee of continuous understanding. In *Deafman's Glimpse* (1970), Medea's murder of her children is but a single mysterious moment in a 'surreal fairytale'; it is one of the few textual references in a carefully constructed, formal, visual, and at the same time magical, world. And even when Medea does have her entrance on stage, she is presented indirectly by the nurse and the soldier who speak her lines. In *Betonliebe + Fleischkrieg Medea* (Kaaithheater, 2001), Jan Decorte staged one of his many classical texts in a 'surreal' child-like manner, reducing its epic magnitude and making its *signifiant* sing (and dance, by the naked Riina Staastamoinen).

A similar mysterious atmosphere pervaded *Aars!* by Luk Perceval (Toneelhuis, 2000), a performance which was staged in an artificial swimming-pool, obliging the actors to move and act in a denaturalised way. A strong poetic text written by Peter Verhelst, often only whispered by the actors, invited the audience to surrender to images and to practise a new way of seeing, no longer subordinated to the act of representation. What people saw was theatre that refused to fix image, movement, music and words in the well-known hierarchical order, but was rather entirely built upon waves of intensity. At times there were too many voices and sounds, and at times there were not enough of them, but this visionary, lyrical atmosphere could suddenly cool off and cause the audience to shiver in

a disorientating silence. The same indecisive atmosphere both troubled and fascinated the audience in *Origine* (2006) written by the same Peter Verhelst, a tripartite composition that functioned as an intro to his reworking of *Bacchae* (NTGent, 2006-7).

In many contemporary performances, language is destabilised and questioned as to its communicative value, and therefore subjected to feelings of doubt and criticism. Syntax is blown to pieces and linearity becomes fragmented, giving rise to a new interest in disjunction, discontinuity and decontextualisation. In Needcompany's adaptation of *Julius Caesar* (1990), Calpurnia appeared on stage as a postmodern muse, declaring that the company would skip some passages here and there, and that the play would start somewhere in the first act. As one of the cherished techniques of postmodern narratives which emphasise discontinuity, the fragment has become a very important way to explore a world beyond linearity and causality. The three large fragments from Heiner Müller's *Verkommenes Ufer. Medeamaterial. Landschaft mit Argonauten* (1982) challenge the audience to make something out of this mishmash of nightmarish messages. In Malkin's words, 'three sections, written and rewritten at different periods, in different voices, aimed at different objects, joined together in one play' all simultaneously reject the idea of textual integrity (Malkin, 1999: 174). The same dislocating procedures were at the root of the *Philoktetes Variations* by Jan Ritsema (Kaaitheater, 1994), which staged three different texts: *Philoktète ou le traité des trois morales*, by André Gide (1898), *Philoktet* by Heiner Müller (1964), and *Philoktetes. Ten Fragments* (1994), by John Jesurun of La Mama (New York). Three languages, three texts, three sources of inspiration and the idea to perform different fragments per location from Jesurun's new text turned this production into a real hermeneutical but fascinating jigsaw puzzle.

In an open dramaturgy, language and text are no longer considered to be founded in themselves. They witness a never-ending process of, in Derrida's term, *différance*. They constantly postpone the comprehension of the text at hand, and therefore reality, and never stop functioning as intertexts, networks and touchstones of history. In Romeo Castellucci's *Oresteia (una commedia organica?)* (1995), Aeschylus' *Oresteia* was still present, although constantly struggling with Herman Melville's *Moby Dick or The White Whale* (1851) and Lewis Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1865), because, according to Castellucci, Greek tragedy could not be presented from any other angle than as children's stories. At the same time, there were on-going allusions to Bachofen's *Mutterrecht* (1861), Rhode's *Psyche* (1898), Burkert's *Homo Necans* (1972), and Vidal-Naquet's *Chasse et sacrifice* (1969). The whole of the play obviously referred to the ritual theatre of Antonin Artaud and the anthropological studies of Victor Turner. It goes without saying that this mixture of references, fragments and formal experiments, as well as the use of animals on stage (monkeys, donkeys and horses), retarded any easy grasping of a central meaning. More than enough reasons to agree with Anton Bierl: 'dieses hochcomplexe Gedankengebäude

(wirkt) überambitiös und (kann) aus sich selbst heraus vom Zuschauer kaum verstanden werden.' (1998: 94). On the other hand, the message was clear: this performance can only be read as a comment on comments, as a never-ending chain of references within the same culture.

One of the reasons for undermining language so emphatically (see esp. Bob Wilson's *Hamletmachine*, 1986), and for creating disturbance on stage was political. Experience had shown that texts could easily turn into ideologies and were with the same ease assimilated into the top-dog discourse. For this reason, it was also culture as a process by which 'meta-narratives' based upon patriarchal and Western power, and formulated in clear-cut or ambivalent discourses, which was continually questioned. It was also no accident that the landscape designed by Heiner Müller in his *Verkommenes Ufer. Medeamaterial. Landschaft mit Argonauten* (1982) was extremely desolate. Müller was clearly alluding to the belief that human beings were not politically capable of avoiding grand-scale ecological and nuclear disasters. The landscape evoked in a direct way the inner destruction of the main characters, a great leap forward from the essentialist and archetypical patterns that still governed T.S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* (1922), a poem firmly rooted in modernism and a world that still cherished illusions about human nature. In his *Hamletmachine* (1977), Müller also took apart the familiar dramatic build-up, because reality could never be understood in a linear or teleological fashion, he said, and the grand meta-narratives (Marxism, Christianity, Hegel) were no longer able to function as meaningful constructions. The author therefore not only interpreted mythology, but also the complete Western history, from the point of view of definitive Loss and the Death of the Grand Narratives. The same mixture of text and styles that ended up as political complaint were detected in performances of his three *Heracles* fragments (5/2/13), for instance in the version of Theater Zuidpool 1992 in Antwerp, directed by René Jagers. The burlesque *Heracles* (1964), dealing with the cleaning of the Augean stables, was linked to *Heracles 2* (1972), relating the battle with the Hydra, and ended with *Heracles 13* (1994), a fragment from Euripides' tragedy *Herakles*, in which the hero murders his wife and children in a fit of madness. These three texts, stemming from a period of 25 years, show a self-conscious macho worker, who first kills Augeas and God, but then becomes subject to a postmodern self-consciousness, and finally turns out to be a murdering monster in his own right. Apparently, the postmodern hero, a man with many faces, has no way out, torn as he is between the socialist ideals of the past and the questions of the present.

Alienation in language and text also causes a conflict between actor and text. If language is mainly perceived as questioning itself, then actors communicate this radical doubt by means of a discordant plurality of sounds, accents, yelling, coughing, isolated words, stuttering and so on, all of which disrupt the connection between logos and logic. Experiments with voices therefore often lead to a (con)fusion of voices, in which it becomes unclear who is speaking to whom (Toneelhuis, *Andromak*, 2002). It might also

be called a logorrhea that passes at such a speed that all words are dispersed, falter and are retrieved (*Mind the Gap*, Stefan Hertmans, 2000, especially *Medea* played by Marieke Heebink). The Wooster Group is a typical company that cherishes voices flying through the air without any distinguishable referent. Often enough, you can barely keep up with the tempo and the division of parts, since invisible microphones and sound systems seem to govern your senses. In *To you, the Birdie* (2000-2001), a postdramatic adaptation of the ancient story of Phaedra and her stepson Hippolytus, diction without intonation rules; you simply find yourself in a cold space full of mechanically enhanced voices. Technology, irony and disjunction of image and sound are omnipresent.

Hollandia, the famous Dutch company directed by Johan Simons and Paul Koek, is another company which developed a reputation for using multiplied voices and characters and hence deeply questioning old dramas. In their version of *Prometheus* (1989) all parts were rendered ambiguous. Only in Prometheus himself could one recognise a central character, though other actors constantly voiced his feelings. If the actors shook their skirts and faced the audience, they were the chorus, but when they were playing a different part they turned their backs on the audience, until even this distinction vanished as Prometheus and the chorus slowly merged into one. It was difficult to keep track of who was who and what all the fuss with the skirts was about, but loss of obvious meaning was amply compensated for by an impressive feeling of generalised suffering. In *De Perzen* (1994), Johan Simons and Paul Koek had Jeroen Willems tried out very different voices and timbres while playing three different parts. This caused the singsong quality of voice, the hesitant speech pattern and the magic of language itself to become the central focus of the play, a good example of language having such a strong poetical function and influence that it directly threatens the point of reference.

Hence the conclusion that dialogues, being an essential part of the Aristotelian conception of action and drama, have often been replaced by monologues in an attempt to add new ways of speaking to the canonical gaze, to replenish limited points of view, to contend with the old focus of telling. Hundreds of new monologues have been staged to fill in the gaps in text and imagination. In one recent Flemish example – *Mind the Gap* (Kaaitheter, 2000) – Stefan Hertmans allowed Antigone, Clytaemnestra, and Medea to tell their own stories, filtered by 25 centuries of cultural history, and gave himself and the audience the opportunity to sense moments of great silence and deep reflection. It was no coincidence that the scenic background for *Mind the Gap* (directed by Gerard-Jan Rijnders) was torn apart during the performance, evoking the many disparate interpretations of this story, and therefore also the many black holes in humanist thought, that famous treasure-house of the 'Best of the West'.

2. 2. *Space*

When the text loses its position as the logocentric nucleus of the performance, then all other semiotic categories become equally displaced. Space loses its traditional service and illustrative function and looks for ways to give shape to the new kinds of imagination that have become available. Space had never been neutral or innocent, but all too often served as a model of harmony, or a desire to construct a familiar *mimesis* in which the average human being could recognise a shared view of reality. No longer obeying the dominant text, however, space gains a semiotic status, a legitimisation and rights of its own. Quite deliberately, audiences are now placed too close or too far from the protagonists. Physical proximity makes us feel like a bunch of peeping toms (*Origine*, Peter Verhelst, NTGent, 2006), whereas distance makes us feel lost in space. In *Bacchanten*, which Ivo Van Hove staged with AKT-Vertikaal (1987), space was drastically reduced to a show-box made of paper, space within space, which had low doorways and uncomfortable entrances. Anne-Teresa de Keersmaecker introduced a similar reduction of space in the staging of Heiner Müller's *Verkommenes Ufer. Medeamaterial. Landschaft mit Argonauten* (Kaaitheater, 1986-7), explicitly using harsh lighting and a narrow 'space within a space' to suggest uncomfortable feelings. Fabre locked up actors and audience in a narrow 'blue' room to depict Prometheus' cosmic loneliness (*Prometheus Landscape*, Berlin, 1988). Eric Joris received the audience in a cage containing Philoctetes' tortured body on the operating table (Brugge, Format, 2002). In all these productions, spectators could not avoid having a 'voyeuristic' gaze, since their physical closeness obliged them to share some very personal sensations with the actors (sweat, breath, nerve contractions, energy...) and to neglect referential aspects for experiential ones (radicalised in the performances of Jan Fabre).

In Klaus Michael Gruber's work we often find an opposite inclination, one towards large-scale tableaux (cf. *Bakchen. Antikenprojekt I*, 1974, staged in a vast exhibition hall). Often he creates a space that is too imposing by human standards, affirming the autonomous semiotic rights of space as a fully equivalent partner. In many of his productions he draws attention to space as an important feature in itself, probing into the relationship between it and voice and body (*Prometheus, gefesselt* during the Salzburger Festspiele, 1989). Peter Steins' production of *Julius Caesar* (1992) accepted the same challenge with space in the gigantic Felsenreitschule in Salzburg.

For Hollandia, space was of primordial importance in their 'projects on location'. As a political statement, this site-specific form of theatre avoids core-places of the dominant culture and travels around to engage the population in local projects. For many years they played in an old blueing factory, and later on, in a breaker's yard, in Westzaan, 15 km. north of Amsterdam. The 'epic' style of 'acting' developed by the directors, Johan Simons and Paul Koek, often provoked the public, both because the usual theatre habits (play-

ing styles, pronunciation, seats) were deeply challenged and because theatrical space was conceived in a highly specific way. Water seeped through the roof incessantly during the performance of *Prometheus* (1989) – for some two hours during which the audience was forced to sit on piled-up car wrecks. *De Perzen* (1994-95) was performed during a period of frost which physically threatened the whole audience, who sat on bales of hay, fighting for blankets. Nevertheless, Elsie de Brauw, in the part of Atossa, the Persian Queen Mother, jumped into a pool of ice – cold water. Xenakis' adaptation of the *Oresteia* (1995) was staged in the huge church of Veere and *Iphiginea in Aulis* by Euripides (1998) at the centre of civilisation, namely in the gigantic atrium of The Hague's city hall, in a towering construction of glass, oozing suggestive power and strength. This building was eleven stories high and only a stone's throw away from the 'Binnenhof', where a new government coalition was being constructed at the time.

Bob Wilson's 'theatre of images' questions space in a completely different way. The surroundings of the play are never given ones; they have to be defined again and again throughout every performance because they are always a construction of contrasting lighting (*Persephone, Delphi*, 1995), of complicated body movements turning into sculptures, a heterogeneous and complex relationship of light and darkness, colour and rhythm. Wilson's construction can therefore be seen as a *tableau* and an *environment*: a dynamic creation, independent of words, but acted out between horizontal, vertical and diagonal planes that may disappear at any given time. They threaten and disown each other all the time, pointing out the extreme relativity and untrustworthiness of all the materials that are used. In his *Alceste* (Stuttgart, 1986), Admetus' palace was built in a most ingeniously uncomplicated way by placing a few columns of darkness against a brightly lit background, a minimalist decor, yet monumental and dynamic.

In all these performances, space was no indifferent part of the action: it asked for rights of its own and de-automated understanding of the text.

2.3. Body

Auslander claims that Grotowski, Brecht and Stanislavski, as representatives of modernist theatre, were still looking for logocentric trails to the extent that they wanted to attach some foundational values to the actor as the main character. Grotowski attempted to do this by descending into the lowest layers of the physical actor, Brecht by having the social and political commentator influence his part and Stanislavski by relying on the actor's own emotional experience (1997, 29-38). While modernism still paid tribute to the 'holy body' (see Artaud, Grotowski and Brook) and traced its origins to some essence belonging to nature and genesis, in any case before its entrance into cultural discourses, postmodernism interprets the body as a place of inscription upon which various ideological layers

and socio-cultural projections take hold. Once theatre had rid itself of the dictatorship of text and character, bodies re-appeared on the stage that had no wish to deny their mortal physicality and did not put themselves to any trouble to present singular creatures of uniform human beauty (Fabre, Decorte, Rosas, Verhelst). Atossa's body is traditionally conceived as one that has to express the cultural inscriptions of the queen of the Persians, but *Hollandia* undermined and questioned any cultural representation in every possible way: green hair, black lips, a papier-mâché dress. This caused the body to engage in a new battle – no longer did it have to evoke credibility and empathy, but rather to play its part against what Charles Jencks has called the 'double coding' (the conflicting game of many a coding system), so that the queen could act in both a high and a low register, in both a well-made play and its ironic counterpart. This double encoded body still needs the referential aspects of the 'world as text', but also plainly enters into the 'world as performance' where the body encodes so many different cultural messages.

Half-way between modernist and postmodern approaches stands Theodoros Terzopoulos' search for an archetypal and essential body and his attempt at denaturalising the text. In all his performances, the core action is physical. It relies on an attempt to unfasten the body from the text, no matter how painful sheer physicality might or must be. Eleni Varopoulou defines its complexities as follows: "*Rhythm pervades all body actions. Breathing, cries, pauses, varied tempi of pronunciation, tightening and relaxation of body members, contradictory gestures, all of these motions, instead of directly serving the meaning of the text, compose an autonomous, rhythmic system of body and vocal reactions, supplementary to the meaning of the text*" (Attis Theatre, 2000: 12). At the same time, his bodies are inscribed into a praxis of assemblage, since they consist of many heterogeneous layers of identity. Physicality itself is explored not in order to go along with the text, but to question, denaturalise or estrange it. The excessive sweating, spitting and laughing in *Ajax* (2004) make the message hard to situate, half-way between a very minimalistic text and untamable bodies thriving upon streams of energy and libidinal forces.

The world of the Societas Raffaello Sanzio can also be seen both as an ode to the abject body and a universe that construes images of mythic decay and terror (*Oresteia*, 1995, *Genesi*, 1999). In *Giulio Cesare* (1997), Brutus and Cassius were played by four actors; two anorexic actresses played Brutus 2 and Cassius 2, while Cicero suffered from obesity, and Caesar was a diseased old man. Antony was played by a man who had been operated on for throat cancer, so his speech, the mother of all Western speeches, was delivered by someone who could no longer speak. Physical death and bodily decay were not put on stage, but in all their horror they were placed on a platform for all to see. This kind of performance provoked people, awakened their voyeuristic instincts, and let the abject and enlarged triumph. In *Oresteia (una commedia organica ?)*, 1995), both Orestes and Agamemnon were played by mongoloids, the Furies were acted out by monkeys, and Clytaemnestra and Cas-

sandra by immensely fat women with ample bosoms.

A diseased and dying body was to be viewed in Jan Ritsema's *Philoctetes Variations* (Kaaithheater, 1994), where Ron Vawter, diagnosed with Aids, did not even survive the first series of performances in Brussels. The borders between reality and fiction here were blurred to such an extent that the real body could no longer tolerate the acting body, and the bruises on the actor's naked body transcended all thoughts of fiction.

2. 4. Time

"Time. Time. Time". That is the beginning of the novel *Der Junge Mann* (1984) by Botho Strauss, in which the main characters are tossed through time – because time seems de-ranged, unsettled, out of control – unable to (re-)establish contact with their roots. Modernity, this 'unfinished project' (as Habermas labels it), this attempt at realising a better society, a goal-orientated history and a society in continuous progress, is rejected in post-modern times. It is replaced by an awareness of crisis that seems to go along with every linear increase of time and therefore is replaced by discontinuous and fragmented time. The twentieth century, which seems to have been the most cruel of all historical periods, definitely lost confidence in metanarratives reliant upon utopian and emancipatory theories. Postmodern time privileges ruptures and traces, relics of previous discourses all of which were considered to master reality in sufficient ways. Hence the idea of revisiting time and history through 'memory' (Malkin, 1999), to indulge it in terms of too much information or quotations (cf. Müller's 'Überschwimmung', 'Materialschlacht', 'Überfülle').

Analysing the internal functioning of texts, we may argue that classical tragedy needs a clear structuring of time in order to signal completely the tragic sequence. It is unsettled by rapid or languid rhythms, by excessive patterns of action or of 'durée'. This causes time to be experienced as something that can be absolute, momentary, instantaneous. Because of a defective narrative structure, and a refusal to provide arguments (Bob Wilson, *Deafman Gance*, 1970), 'living the experience' is emphasised. Acts that are performed in an extremely slow way, like Medea's murder of her children in *Deafman's Gance*, utterly disrupt the naturalistic pattern of expectation and the mimesis of the outside world that is accepted as the only kind of reality. The same slow movements are often repeated endlessly, so that the audience's physical barriers are broken down and incomprehensible moments are patched together. What is aimed at is a surrender to the image and the process, and not to the conflict-seeking and solving structure that is based on the activities of man as agent. Dialogues that lead to a climax and a revelation are replaced by a contemplative state of being, in which not only the mind, but also the complete body is addressed. The audience feels filled to the brim, or emptied out completely; forced out of stability by either an excess of discipline or a lack of it.

That is why, in a very paradoxical way, postmodern sensitivity sometimes guides the viewer back to a primary condition, an original chaos, when nothing was contaminated, and everything was yet to start. It is a return to the founding story from Gilgamesh (Bob Wilson, *The Forest*, 1988) or from *Genesi, from the museum of sleep* (Societas Raffaello Sanzio, 1999), to Hermann Nitsch's *6-Tage-Spiel in Prinzendorf* and or to the Frazer-like *Manes* by the Fura dels Baus (1996), all attempts at evoking ritual time and space but disrupting them at the same time (often with violence).

Many postdramatic performances also contain a cynical revisiting of historical time. This can be interpreted as a motion of distrust against the Western way of dealing with history and time, and also as the expression of an absolute lack of faith in better, final times. In *Giulio Cesare* by the Societas Raffaello Sanzio (1997), two anorexic girls walk around in a black, apocalyptic landscape. The world has collapsed, the bodies have been emptied out. Frightening images serve as the only language of theatre, and the death of the word functions as a necessary condition for regeneration. Similar feelings are to be found in Heiner Müller's work. He constructs many an apocalyptic moment, and contends with the Western faith in progress in all his adaptations of Prometheus, Philoctetes and Medea. *Orestea (una commedia organica ?)*, 1995, staged by Romeo Castellucci, showed no mercy either. On the one hand, he wanted to return to the experience of time that predated patriarchal thought, using sounds of sea monsters (whales), supreme illustrations of an unconscious motherly existence, seen as the first mythical phase of matriarchy. For the same reason, his *Choephoroi* were performed in a moon-like landscape, because according to Bachofen (one of his main sources of inspiration), the moon evokes one of the first phases that led from 'Gynaikokratie' to patriarchy (the empire of the sun). So it is not very surprising that both Clytaemnestra and Cassandra were played by fat, big-bosomed, naked women, the epitomes of over-indulgent mothers. On the other hand, the present, for Castellucci, has become the landscape of the obscene, where mongoloids play regal parts and their voices belong in a psychiatric world. The *Orestea* of Luca Ronconi (1972), Franco Parenti (1985), Romeo Castellucci (1995), and Luk Perceval (*Aars!*, 1999) all end badly (Bierl, 1997). Time knows no linear progress, and was not capable of founding democracy for the Western world, nor was it able to bring us closer to the truth or to capture in words what exactly truth was.

3. Can open dramaturgy express the tragic experience ?

What are the overall conditions that allow a Greek tragedy to function ? In the most general way, one can hold that every adaptation of a Greek tragedy derives from a logocentric, patriarchal and systemic Western tradition. At the end of every tragedy, the alienation which is the wellspring of its composition turns into an act of reconciliation or synthesis,

thus revealing its teleological structure. In this artistic and cultural exercise, Dionysus functions as the 'render of men'. William Storm considers him "*the representation of a sparagmos that may have a spiritual or psychological manifestation as well as a corporeal one*" and in his opinion "*it is this rending that has always been central to the experience of selfhood in tragic drama*" (1998: 1; 71). In the course of Western history, only a limited number of historical periods have known the dominant influence of this 'malign god': the Greek fifth century B.C.; the Renaissance (esp. Shakespeare), late seventeenth century France; and later on, twentieth century Europe. But, for tragedy to fully occur, it is important that "*the tearing apart of the cultural set, the bereavement and the no man's land the tragic person finds himself in, have to occur in full consciousness of their importance and their consequences: the hero must understand, at least finally, what is at stake. Otherwise paradigmaticity is impossible*", Karel Boullart says (2004: 70).

As this text shows, in recent decades, a great number of Greek tragedies have been staged on the principles of an open dramaturgy. Nearly all of these new productions, in one way or another, rely upon existing and well-known Greek texts and representations and pre-suppose their literary construction and plan of coherence. Normally, it only takes a couple of lines or one speaking image to evoke that particular (staging of a) Greek tragedy *in extenso* or to know what *mythos* is concerned. This means that the average adaptation of such a tragedy is unfailingly conceived through the nooks and crannies of the culturally authoritarian text. The examples also reveal that the idea of a received *logos* is fundamentally disrupted in some harsher forms of open dramaturgy, which no longer perform texts, but fragments or citations. Occasionally, fragments from one or more tragedies are no longer placed in their culturally accepted positions or no longer based on one unifying principle, nor on the given hierarchy of semiotic systems. Sometimes a fragment is awarded an autonomous position which invites the spectator to accept it as such, to walk around it, to feel its intensity, turning him/her from passive spectator into active wanderer, inviting him/her to leave behind the traditional contemplative mood for a creative exploration and to enter an acoustic or physical landscape. This kind of open dramaturgy no longer supposes that visual, auditory and verbal stimuli serve the same central purpose and therefore they are no longer cast as to complement one another, but speak their own languages. It must, however, be noted that, in most examples of a postdramatic staging of a Greek tragedy, there is no complete simultaneity or multifocality which would lead to radical epistemological and ontological doubt.

Because of the internal inconsistency of text, character, and space, the 'real' postmodern hero no longer has a right to an individual and consistent existence, because he is explicitly unravelled, multiplied, and thus denied unity and synthesis. These kinds of performances people the stage with creatures that are no longer characters. On the contrary, they feed on bits and pieces that are not related in any logical or coherent way. Orestes, in

Castellucci's *Oresteia*, shares a lot of characteristics with Robert Musil's *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften*, since he is incapable of action, no longer able to interpret life. But, on top of that, he is also totally unaware of the part he is supposed to play in *Oresteia*.

Every postmodern adaptation quoted here resists the well-known historical performances and denounces their old way of functioning, especially with regard to totalising views on politics, religion or morality. In doing so, they very often revise in an ironic and destabilising way past performances that have become lubricants for middle-class ideals, rather than disquieting evidence of the influence of Dionysus. Since they mainly challenge common Western versions rather than original Greek texts, they are part of that long and never-ending hermeneutical process of interpretation. A postmodern imagination that avoids conflict therefore often expresses a generalised post-tragic experience of life, in which there is room left only for the satyr play that the tragedies ended with. This means that it mainly opts for the banality of a life that is no longer lived throughout both trilogy and satyr play. The same is true for those POMOs who announce the 'Endzeit', the 'End of History' preached by the Fukuyama-boys' band. Are we living in post-tragic times, after the big conflicts, in post-ideological times, 'bereft of all synoptic visions' or is the generalised climate of fear, panic and terrorism once again the reason for a renewed attention to the tragic? Postmodernism is often merely a post-tragic facade and farce behind which people hide their incompetence and hesitancy in dealing with real life.

The tragic experience, this Western hypothesis about life and death, which favours the finiteness of things and honours Dionysus, the 'render of men', nevertheless always implies a search for the conditions of human existence. Therefore, it can never be completely reconciled with the postmodern 'Spielereien' that reduce mankind to a bunch of random characteristics, a narcissistic game for love or an unstable conglomeration of elements. The tragic can only be tragic if it concerns the interpretation of the universal human condition, our thirst for knowledge, for longing, for desire, for action. As Terry Eagleton puts it, "*Who can be a hero in a nuclear age*", in an era when "*disaster is now too casual and commonplace for us to portray it in ways which imply an alternative*". In fact, "*there is an ontological depth and high seriousness about the genre which grates on the postmodern sensibility, with its unbearable lightness of being. As an aristocrat among art forms, its tone is too solemn and portentous for a streetwise, sceptical culture*" (2003: 64; 94; IX).

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KAITI DIAMANTAKOU

LA RÉCEPTION DE LA NOUVELLE COMÉDIE ATTIQUE ET
DE LA COMÉDIE ROMAINE
PAR LA SCÈNE GRECQUE MODERNE:
SUR LES TRACES D'UNE REMARQUABLE ABSENCE

Il est certes banal de dire que les tragédies et les comédies grecques anciennes occupent sans discontinuité une grande partie du répertoire national dans la production scénique grecque moderne, qu'il s'agisse du répertoire du Théâtre National de Grèce ou du Théâtre d'État de la Grèce du Nord, du répertoire des Théâtres Municipaux Régionaux ou bien même d'autres troupes théâtrales disséminées dans tout le pays, qui s'occupent du drame ancien, dans le cadre de festivals estivaux ou non.¹ Il ne nous semble toutefois pas aussi banal de constater qu'au sein de ce répertoire abondant en pièces anciennes classiques – dont le nombre de représentations dépasse les 350 rien que pour celles qui se déroulent dans le cadre du programme du Festival d'Épidaure² – la présence de la Comédie Romaine ainsi que de la Nouvelle Comédie Attique est remarquablement modeste. Ce qui est d'autant plus paradoxal compte tenu de leur longue tradition littéraire et de leur influence importante, directe ou indirecte, sur l'évolution de l'art dramatique au niveau européen.³

C'est précisément aux traces de cette «remarquable» absence que l'on va s'attacher au cours de cette brève recherche, dont l'objectif est d'en aborder les raisons intrinsèques, qui se rapportent à l'esthétique et à la structure spécifique de chaque production dramatique, et surtout les motifs extrinsèques, qui sont liés au contexte socioculturel, lequel impose toujours la politique et les choix culturel(le)s et oriente la formation de goûts distincts et distinctifs du public potentiel. Inversement à la linéarité temporelle et à la proximité géographique, nous nous attacherons donc tout d'abord à la Comédie Romaine, qui se

¹ Cf. SAVAS PATSALIDIS, «Φεστιβαλισμός, Ιστορισμός και τουρισμός», [«Festivalisme, historisme et tourisme»] in *Θέατρο και θεωρία. Περί (Υπό) «κειμένων και (Δια) κειμένων* [Sur les <Sub>textes et les <Inter>textes], 244 (Thessalonique: University Studio Press, 2000).

² Pour être plus exacte, les représentations des drames grecs anciens enregistrées de 1954 à 2001 sont au nombre de 357, selon le «Calendrier de Représentations» in KOSTAS GEORGUSOPOULOS et al., *Επίδαυρος, Το αρχαίο θέατρο, οι Παραστάσεις. [Épidaure, Le théâtre ancien, Les représentations]*, 247-253 (Athènes: Éditions Militos, 2002).

³ Cf. à titre indicatif BERNHARDT ZIMMERMANN, «Rückblick und Ausblick (zur Rezeptionsgeschichte)» in *Die griechische Komödie*, 258-262 (Düsseldorf und Zürich: Artemis and Winkler Verlag, 1998); ROBERT S. MIOLA, *Shakespeare and Classical Comedy: The Influence of Plautus and Terence, passim* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

différence, dans une grande mesure, du corpus grec ancien du point de vue linguistique et culturel, pour nous intéresser ensuite à la Nouvelle Comédie Attique, qui fait tout à fait partie de la tradition linguistique et culturelle grecque ancienne; notre but sera de montrer que, au-delà de toutes sortes de différences ou de ressemblances linguistiques, stylistiques ou structurelles, ces deux grandes parties de l'histoire du théâtre composent un corpus plus ou moins unique et homogène, du point de vue de sa réception par la scène grecque moderne, soumis à des impératifs socioculturels semblables, qui influencent chaque fois l'attente du public et contribuent à la notoriété ou, au contraire, à l'occultation d'un auteur ou d'une production dramatique particulière.

La réception de la Comédie Romaine par la scène grecque moderne

Après plus d'un siècle d'activité théâtrale systématique – depuis l'établissement du Théâtre Royal Grec en 1901 – et plus de cinquante ans durant lesquels cette activité s'est intéressée au drame ancien en particulier – depuis l'établissement du Théâtre National Grec en 1930, du Festival d'Athènes et d'Épidaure en 1955 –, les chercheurs du théâtre grec peuvent désormais confirmer combien la présence du théâtre romain sur la scène grecque s'avère en général infime.⁴ Et si, dans le cas de Sénèque, les opinions divergent, plus ou moins, en ce qui concerne la «théâtralité» et la «potentialité scénique» de ses tragédies, sinon de ses «dramas de lecture»,⁵ dans le cas des auteurs comiques romains, le présumé alibi s'évanouit, puisque la destination théâtrale d'origine et les «vertus scéniques» de leurs pièces comiques se sont avérées, dans la pratique, incontestables.

Si l'on considère tout d'abord la carrière théâtrale des œuvres de Titus Maccus ou Maccius Plautus (Plaute) sur la scène grecque, engagée dès 1925 pour se poursuivre jusqu'à une

⁴ Cf. WALTER PUCHNER, «Βιβλιοκρισία της μετάφρασης-έκδοσης των τριών τραγωδιών του Σενέκα (Οιδίποδας, Ιππόλυτος ή Φαίδρα, Μήδεια)», Αθήνα: Εκδόσεις Καστανιώτη, 2000 [«Compte rendu de la traduction-édition de trois tragédies de L. Annaeus Seneca (*Oedipus*, *Hippolytus* ou *Phaedra*, *Medea*)», Athènes: Éditions Kastaniotis, 2000]. Παράβασις/*Parabasis* 5 (2004): 433-434, 433; ANDRÉAS DIMITRIADIS, «Το ρωμαϊκό δράμα στη νέα ελληνική σκηνή» [«Le drame romain sur la scène néo-hellénique»], *Ο Πολίτης/O Politis* 97 (2002): 19-26, 19.

⁵ Pour les différentes théories sur les tragédies de Sénèque en tant que «lectures publiques» ou «actes théâtraux», voir à titre indicatif DAVID WILES, «Theatre in Roman and Christian Europe» in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Theatre*, éd. JOHN RUSSEL BROWN, 60 (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1997). Notons, cependant, qu'un rapide coup d'œil sur la réception de l'œuvre de Sénèque par la scène grecque moderne, loin de modifier notre point de vue sur le mode de réception du théâtre romain en général, semble, au contraire, le renforcer, puisque, parmi les trois auteurs romains les plus connus et joués partout dans le monde, Sénèque est le moins joué sur la scène grecque: on n'a pu repérer que deux productions en Grèce moderne, celle de *Medea* par le Théâtre d'État de la Grèce du Nord en été 1979 (mise en scène de SPYROS EVANGELATOS) et celle des *Troyennes* par la Société de Théâtre «Méchané» en été 2004 (mise en scène de PERIS MICHAILLIDIS). Cf. DIMITRIADIS, 20, 25; GIORGOS D. K. SARIGIANNIS, «Ματωμένες Τρωάδες στα ναυπηγεία του Περάματος» [«Troades ensablées aux chantiers navals de Perama»], *Τα Νέα/quot. Τα Νέα* (22-06-2004).

époque très récente, l'été-automne 2005, on ne compte au total que 17 productions (y compris les reprises de certaines productions). Celles-ci s'intéressent seulement à 5 des 20 comédies plautiennes qui ont survécu à travers les siècles sur un ensemble de 40 à 130 pièces attribuées à Plaute par des érudits divers.⁶ Sur ces 5 pièces, la première place, avec 8 productions, appartient sans conteste à la «tragi-comédie» *Amphitryon* (*Amphitruo*), «une des pièces les plus mystérieuses, les plus ambiguës du répertoire» de Plaute.⁷ *Amphitryon* est, en outre, la première comédie de Plaute à avoir été comprise dans le répertoire du Théâtre National de Grèce en 1977, auquel on doit en plus la production la plus récente d'une pièce romaine sur la scène grecque, en été 2005, par le Théâtre Municipal Régional de Serrès. À la deuxième place des priorités dramatiques grecques, avec 4 productions, on trouve les *Ménèchmes* (*Menaechmi*), pièce le plus souvent si remaniée qu'on lui a même attribué des titres différents, et au troisième rang, avec 3 productions, on trouve l'*Aulularia*, en d'autres termes la *Comédie de la marmite*. Le *Miles gloriosus*, à savoir le *Soldat fanfaron*, comédie avec laquelle débuta la carrière théâtrale grecque de Plaute en 1925 (grâce à la Troupe de Jeunes et à la traduction-adaptation de Giorgos Sideris, professeur de Lettres à l'époque et par la suite éminent historien du théâtre), ne sera jusqu'à maintenant plus jamais reprise. Enfin, la comédie «divertissante» *Mostellaria* ou le *Fantôme* sera jouée pour la première et la dernière fois, jusqu'à maintenant, en 1990, par le Théâtre National de Grèce, sous un titre plus analytique: *La maison hantée*.⁸

Pour Térence l'Africain, à qui l'on reprocha à plusieurs reprises et à différents moments de ne point être un nouveau Plaute, tous deux puisant dans le même répertoire mais étant parvenus à des résultats absolument contraires,⁹ la pratique théâtrale grecque se révéla encore plus sévère. Tandis que la première représentation d'une comédie plautienne date de 1925, la première représentation d'une comédie terentienne ne surviendra que cinquante-cinq ans plus tard, en 1980. Sur un ensemble de 6 comédies que Publius Terentius Afer avait écrites avant sa vingt-cinquième année et qui nous sont parvenues entières, la scène grecque n'en a connu que le tiers, c'est-à-dire 2 comédies, *l'Andrienne* et *l'Eunuque*, toutes deux issues de pièces de Ménandre, ce qui n'équivaut qu'à 3 productions scéniques différentes.¹⁰

La réception de la Comédie Romaine par la scène néo-hellénique est marquée par certains traits clairement repérables, fort convenablement récapitulés par Andréas Dimitria-

⁶ Voir à titre indicatif PIERRE MARÉCHAUX, «Le théâtre à Rome» in DOMINIQUE BERTRAND *et al.*, *Le Théâtre*, 43-52, 49 (Paris: Éditions Bréal, 1996).

⁷ Voir PLAUTE, *Amphitryon*, présentation et traduction inédite par CHARLES GUITTARD, 17 (Paris: GF Flammarion, 1998).

⁸ Les informations sur les productions grecques modernes des pièces plautiennes proviennent par excellence de l'article de ANDRÉAS DIMITRIADIS, *op. cit.*, surtout 24-26, ainsi que des archives du Musée et Centre d'Étude du Théâtre Grec. Voir également le Tableau I à la fin de l'article.

⁹ MARÉCHAUX, 49.

¹⁰ Voir note 8. Voir également le Tableau II à la fin de l'article.

dis en 2002, dans l'unique article existant en grec qui s'occupe en détail de la gestion de l'héritage dramatique romain.¹¹ Cependant, si les traits distinctifs de la réception limitée de la Comédie Romaine sont plus ou moins clairs et indubitables, les raisons du questionnement sur la qualité du patrimoine romain et sur la nécessité de sa reproduction scénique restent, pour autant, plus ambiguës. S'agit-il, en fait, comme Andréas Dimitriadis l'a soutenu, d'une «réaction immédiate et instinctive [de la part de la pratique théâtrale grecque], devant un présumé danger d'usurpation ou de sapement de l'héritage culturel grec», «tandis que dans le reste du monde, le théâtre grec et romain sont considérés comme des espaces complémentaires et connexes»?¹² Ou encore: est-ce que la place de la Comédie Nouvelle Attique sur la scène grecque moderne, à savoir la fréquence et la promotion scéniques des pièces ménandriennes, amène à conclure que «la pratique théâtrale [grecque] procède à une distinction radicale entre les deux mondes, le monde grec et le monde romain» et que «les agents de l'État, les professionnels et les critiques de théâtre [en Grèce] fonctionnent tous à partir de la conviction inébranlable que la supériorité du drame grec ancien est incontestable et qu'elle doit être considérée par tous en tant que telle»?¹³ Mettre en regard la popularité incontestable de Ménandre et la méconnaissance, voire la négligence dont pâtaient les œuvres de Plaute et de Térence, autrement dit, la mise en regard de la popularité du théâtre grec ancien dans son ensemble et de la méconnaissance du patrimoine romain, nous permettra peut-être de nuancer davantage les réponses apportées.

La réception de la Nouvelle Comédie par la scène grecque moderne

Selon nous, Ménandre, à peu près de même que ses successeurs latins, reste également méconnu de la scène grecque moderne, alors qu'il s'agit d'un auteur grec ancien et qu'il est le seul représentant de la Nouvelle Comédie Attique dont certaines pièces nous sont parvenues sous une forme plus ou moins fragmentaire. Il nous semble donc douteux que Ménandre «constitue l'exemple le plus caractéristique», propre à confirmer l'attitude différente que la scène grecque moderne, imprégnée d'une «fierté nationale» quelconque, adopta à l'égard de la comédie romaine *versus* la comédie grecque ancienne dans l'ensemble. En fait, si on laisse de côté la brève et récente carrière théâtrale de Térence sur la scène grecque, qui s'étend sur 21 ans, celle de Ménandre, d'une durée de 95 ans, ne nous paraît ni remarquablement plus longue ni plus cohérente que celle de Plaute, qui se prolongera 80 ans.¹⁴ Et même si le nombre de pièces ménandriennes ayant survécu d'une façon plus

¹¹ DIMITRIADIS, 19-26.

¹² DIMITRIADIS, 23.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Les informations sur les productions grecques modernes des pièces de Ménandre, sur leurs créateurs et leurs collaborateurs sont issues du Réseau européen «European Network of Research and Documen-

ou moins fragmentaire est moindre que celui des pièces romaines (1 pièce ménandrienne entière et des fragments importants de 5 ou 6 autres pièces contre 20 pièces plautiennes et 6 pièces térentiennes entières), le nombre de 14 à 20 productions (si l'on tient compte de certaines reprises) de 3 pièces ménandriennes n'est pas de beaucoup supérieur à celui des productions de pièces plautiennes, 17, auquel viennent s'ajouter 3 productions de pièces térentiennes dans leur entier. Rappelons également que le *Dyscolos* – seule comédie ménandrienne à nous être parvenue dans son intégralité, qui avait valu le premier prix à son auteur lorsqu'elle fut représentée pour la première fois à Athènes au concours des Lénéennes de 317/316 av. J.-C. et qui, de ce fait, aurait pu attirer à maintes reprises l'intérêt de la scène grecque – n'a été produit, jusqu'à maintenant, que 7 fois au total (y compris les deux reprises de la production de 1970). Autrement dit, elle compte à peu près le même nombre de productions que l'*Amphitryon* de Plaute (les reprises de la production de 1963 incluses). Notons par ailleurs que, de façon un peu paradoxale, ce n'est pas le *Dyscolos* qui a la préférence des gens de théâtre grecs, mais l'*Arbitrage* (9 productions, y compris les reprises), dont nous sont parvenus des fragments importants de cinq actes (au total 783 vers dont 183 sont mutilés), ce qui demande l'intervention plus ou moins radicale de la part du traducteur. C'est par ailleurs au même impératif qu'ont dû être soumises les 4 productions grecques de la *Samienne*, dont les deux premiers actes nous sont parvenus dans un état fragmentaire, tandis que *La Tondue*, *Le Bouclier*, peut-être même *Le Hai* et *Les Sicyoniens* (dont nous disposons également de fragments plus ou moins longs)¹⁵ n'y ont pas encore été soumis et, par là même, n'ont pu passer la rampe néo-hellénique.

Par ailleurs, l'étude du contexte spatio-temporel des représentations des pièces ménandriennes ainsi que celle des documents annexes (notamment les critiques de théâtre et le para-texte publicitaire) révèlent que les traits distinctifs de la réception de la Nouvelle Comédie Attique par la scène grecque néo-hellénique sont à peu près identiques, *mutatis mutandis*, à ceux qui caractérisent la réception de la Comédie Romaine, selon A. Dimitriadis. À savoir:

- I. La plupart des efforts fournis pour mettre en valeur la Comédie Romaine et la Nouvelle Comédie Attique présenteraient le même caractère occasionnel ou non-systématique et seraient surtout le fruit d'une certaine conjecture favorable. La réception de ces œuvres sur la scène grecque répondrait alors aux attentes théoriques et aux objectifs idéaux d'un petit nombre d'amateurs du théâtre dotés d'un capital culturel important et non aux attentes

tation of Ancient Greek Performances» (disponible de World Wide Web: <http://www.uoa.gr/drama/network/index.html>; accession n°1249; dernier accès en mai 2005). Voir également le Tableau III à la fin de l'article.

¹⁵ Voir MÉNANDRE, *Théâtre*, texte traduit, présenté et annoté par ALAIN BLANCHARD (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2000).

empiriques et aux objectifs réels de la grande majorité des créateurs et des spectateurs, selon leur connaissance du genre théâtral et leurs intérêts artistiques du moment.

- II. Dans le cas de la Nouvelle Comédie Attique, comme dans celui de la Comédie Romaine, on constate la même absence de politique théâtrale bien définie, surtout de la part du Théâtre National de Grèce, dont l'intérêt pour leur renaissance se limita, d'une part, à la production de l'*Amphitryon* en 1977 et de la *Maison Hantée* en 1990, d'autre part à la production – unique jusqu'à maintenant – du *Dyscolos* en 1960. Par contre, le Théâtre d'État de la Grèce du Nord, bien qu'il ait pris le relais plus tard que le Théâtre National de Grèce, il a assuré jusqu'à maintenant 2 productions de pièces ménandriennes, 4 productions de comédies romaines, ainsi que la première représentation d'une tragédie de Sénèque (*Médée*, en 1979, mise en scène par Sp. Evangelatos), qui avait été tout à fait ignorée par la scène grecque jusqu'à ce jour.
- III. Pour les productions ménandriennes comme pour les comédies romaines, la carte géographique dévoile qu'elles sont, dans une grande mesure, montées en province par des organismes théâtraux régionaux, parfois aux dépens de leur qualité esthétique et de leur impact culturel: au total, on repère 12 productions de pièces ménandriennes sur 20 et 14 productions de pièces romaines sur 20 montées en Grèce continentale et insulaire, qu'il s'agisse du «Théâtre de la mer Égée 79», du Théâtre Vivant de Rhodes, du Théâtre Municipal Régional d'Agrinio (centre-est de la Grèce) ou de Kalamata (sud du Péloponnèse) ou de Komotini (Thrace) ou de Serrès (Macédoine). Certes, contrairement aux productions de comédies romaines qui n'ont jamais connu l'orchestra sacrée d'Épidaure et qui, de plus, ne sont jamais sorties des frontières grecques, Ménandre doit se sentir beaucoup plus privilégié puisque non seulement trois de ses pièces, notamment son *Arbitrage*, ont profité de la participation massive, de l'envergure médiatique et du capital symbolique dont bénéficie le Festival d'Épidaure, mais il a en outre beaucoup voyagé à l'étranger: tout d'abord dans plusieurs villes allemandes, grâce à l'activité théâtrale de la «Scène de la Nouvelle Comédie Attique», et puis sur trois continents différents avec les tournées triomphales de l'*Arbitrage*, dans la version/didascalie de Spyros Evangelatos.
- IV. De fait, de même que la Comédie Romaine a eu et continue à avoir des adeptes fidèles peu nombreux (les metteurs en scène Kyriazis Charatsaris, Panos Papaioannou, le traducteur Tassos Roussos, dernièrement le traducteur Kostas Panayotakis), de même peu nombreux sont les praticiens de théâtre et surtout les metteurs en scène grecs qui ont consacré leurs forces

créatives à la production de pièces ménandriennes: sur les 20 productions scéniques enregistrées, 6 sont dues à Klearchos Karagiorgis (2 comédies), 5 à Evis Gavriilidis (3 comédies) et 2 à Spyros Evangelatos (1 comédie), les 7 qui restent se partageant entre autant de metteurs en scène différents. En même temps, très, voire trop nombreux sont les metteurs en scène grecs qui, bien qu'ils aient fait montre en général d'une activité très systématique pour le renouveau du drame ancien, ne se sont pas du tout intéressés à la Nouvelle Comédie Attique et, encore moins, à la Comédie Romaine: Kostas Bakas, Nikos Charalampous, Diagoras Chronopoulos, Savas Charatsaris, Pelos Katselis, Sokratis Karantinos, Giorgos Michailidis, Kostas Tsianos, Andréas Voutsinas, bien sûr Karolos Koun, Giorgos Lazanis, Mimis Kouyoumtzis *et al.*, si tous ont mis leurs capacités théâtrales à l'épreuve en relevant le défi d'Épidaure, nul d'entre eux n'a jamais rien tenté pour restituer les pièces de Ménandre ou de ses collègues romains, ni à Épidaure ni ailleurs, les privant ainsi de leur regard herméneutique et de leur contact créatif.

- V. Le para-texte critique et publicitaire révèle souvent une certaine mise en doute de la valeur littéraire intrinsèque ainsi que de la viabilité scénique actuelle tant des comédies romaines que des comédies de Ménandre. Et à partir du moment où l'on critique plus ou moins – implicitement ou explicitement – les options dramaturgiques de l'auteur et que l'on met en doute la viabilité de son œuvre, le champ se libère pour accueillir, voire pour nourrir l'intervention actualisante des metteurs en scènes et de leurs collaborateurs. Dans la plupart des cas, leur but est d'offrir un spectacle amusant, pléthorique et fantasmagorique, usant de toutes sortes de trouvailles visuelles et auditives pour attirer l'intérêt du spectateur, souvent méfiant, sinon totalement ignorant, à qui, de ce fait, on ne donne pas souvent l'occasion d'approcher plus ou moins l'historicité de la fable et sa logique actantielle, non plus que l'historicité du temps de la création de la pièce et des pratiques artistiques qui étaient alors en vigueur.

Ce que l'on peut constater, après ce bref aperçu des champs impraticables de la réception, c'est que la Nouvelle Comédie Attique, issue *per se* de la culture grecque et liée de façons diverses à la Comédie Romaine du point de vue de la structure narrative et discursive, n'a pas non plus une place importante dans le répertoire du théâtre néo-hellénique. Par conséquent, l'argument selon lequel l'héritage romain, par ailleurs considéré comme inférieur par comparaison avec le patrimoine grec, aurait, de longue date et pour s'en défendre, souffert de chauvinisme et de parti pris systématique à son endroit, s'avère un peu moins que probant. Du reste, si l'on s'attache à justifier la parcimonie de la pratique

théâtrale néo-hellénique à l'égard d'un corpus dramatique si ancien qui fait en outre partie inhérente du patrimoine culturel occidental, on focalise l'attention sur deux raisons: tout d'abord, les héritiers dramatiques plus modernes, qui ont réécrit et reproduit leurs modèles en reprenant les sujets et les formes issues de la Nouvelle Comédie Attique et de la Comédie Romaine, sont parvenus à les amoindrir et même à les faire disparaître. «Peut-être est-ce cela le destin des genres pionniers: offrir les archétypes et subir en revanche une comparaison négative avec leurs héritiers»,¹⁶ lit-on en 1990 à propos de Plaute et de Térence. «Ménandre a donné naissance au théâtre romain et européen, mais aujourd'hui il semble comme l'écale d'un œuf, mais qui n'a pas de jaune, un grand-père dont les arrière-petits-enfants sont plus convaincants et plus vigoureux»,¹⁷ abonde-t-on dans le même sens en 2004. Dans ce cadre réceptif, l'*Amphitryon* de Molière sera joué par le Théâtre National de Grèce trente ans avant la première représentation de l'original plautien par la même institution; les *Menèchmes* de Plaute seront produits pour la première fois en Grèce en 1937, d'après l'adaptation d'Alekos Fotiadis à partir d'une adaptation française faite par Jean Vateau, tandis que les *Méprises* de Shakespeare, qui reprit le sujet de la comédie plautienne, avaient déjà été jouées trois fois en Grèce sous trois titres différents et d'après trois traductions différentes.¹⁸ Dans ce cadre, au lieu de la *Marmite d'Or* plautienne les gens de théâtre préféreront jouer à plusieurs reprises l'*Avare* de Molière, qui s'est plus ou moins inspiré de l'œuvre de son ancêtre romain; au lieu des pièces de Ménandre on préférera plutôt jouer des pièces de ses épigones Néo-Hellènes, Matessis, Koromilas, plus tard Psathas, Yalamas, Tsiforos, Pretenteris, Sakellarios-Giannakopoulos, ou même, plus récemment, Th. Papanthassiou et Michalis Reppas, pour ne pas mentionner la production cinématographique abondante en «mélос», dans les années cinquante et soixante.

En même temps, la méconnaissance de la Comédie Romaine et de la Nouvelle Comédie Attique semble aller de pair avec la reconnaissance culturelle progressive d'Aristophane, qui permettra au public potentiel grec, à partir du XIX^e siècle et à travers un long procès évolutif et différencié tout au long du XX^e siècle, de se trouver enfin d'entrée prévenu en faveur de son œuvre: «Valeur sûre de l'héritage, il n'est plus convenable de la questionner: elle est nécessairement profitable à qui la consomme».¹⁹ Aristophane, après de longs intervalles de contestation et de mise à l'écart, voire d'exclusion du «capital national», a enfin – d'une

¹⁶ YANNIS VARVERIS, *Η κρίση του θεάτρου Γ': Κείμενα θεατρικής κριτικής (1989-1994)* [La crise du théâtre III: textes de critique théâtrale (1989-1994)] (Athènes: Éditions Sokolis, 1995c): 62.

¹⁷ KOSTAS GEORGIOPOULOS, «Εξ όνουχος τον λέοντα» [«Reconnaître le lion à son ongle» (critique)], *Τα Νέα* / quot *Ta Nea* (2-8-2004).

¹⁸ ACHILLEAS MAMAKIS, «Η προχθεσινή "πρώτη": Ο κόσμος ανάποδα. Εντυπώσεις-κρίσεις» [«La première d' avant-hier. Le monde à l' envers. Des impressions-Des jugements» (critique)], *Τα Αθηναϊκά Νέα* / quot *Ta Athinaika Nea* (8-12-1937).

¹⁹ PATRICE PAVIS, «Quelques raisons sociologiques du succès des classiques au théâtre en France après 1945» in *Le théâtre au croisement des cultures*, 54 (Paris: José Corti, 1990).

façon plus ambiguë dans la première moitié du XX^e siècle et d'une façon plus systématique à partir des années cinquante – pris le pas sur son épigone immédiat et, plus encore, il a pris le pas sur les épigones immédiats de celui-ci.²⁰ Toute confrontation d'Aristophane avec Ménandre et plus encore avec ses successeurs romains, Plaute et Térence, est une lutte perdue *a priori*: «La confrontation immédiate du *Dyscolos* avec la brillante *Lysistraté* l'a fait sembler encore plus maigre et pâle et pauvre»,²¹ est l'un des nombreux commentaires critiques qui ne purent se dispenser de faire la comparaison entre la pièce ménandrienne et la pièce aristophanienne, lorsqu'elles furent juxtaposées à Épidaure en 1960, sous la direction du même metteur en scène, Alexis Solomos. Celui-ci contribua sans doute de manière décisive à la prédominance nationale du «paradigme» aristophanien sur le «paradigme» ménandrien et d'autant plus sur le «paradigme romain», étant le seul metteur en scène à avoir systématiquement introduit ces trois formes comiques sur la Scène Nationale du pays (1956: *L'Assemblée des Femmes*, 1957: *Lysistraté*, 1960: *Dyscolos*, 1977: *Amphitryon*), en une période très critique pour la formation et l'établissement de l'«identité nationale nouvelle», conforme à l'idéal chrétien et au modèle, réel ou imaginaire, occidental.²²

Par une sorte de cercle vicieux, l'institution scolaire, qui «parvient à imposer des pratiques culturelles qu'elle n'inculque pas et qu'elle n'exige même pas expressément, mais qui font partie des attributs statutairement attachés aux positions qu'elle assigne, aux titres qu'elle confère et aux positions sociales auxquelles ces titres donnent accès»,²³ vient reconfirmer cet «impact culturel» d'Aristophane, qui, *vice versa*, avait entraîné son intégration, voire son institutionnalisation dans le patrimoine scolaire. À la fin de leurs études secondaires, les jeunes Grecs d'aujourd'hui, «élevés aux classiques», connaissent beaucoup

²⁰ Sur la réception d'Aristophane à partir du siècle des Lumières grec, cf. GONDA VAN STEEN, *Venom in Verse. Aristophanes in Modern Greece, passim* (Princeton & New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000); THÉODOROS CHATZIPADAZIS, «Το προβληματικό υπόδειγμα του Αριστοφάνη», [«Le modèle problématique d'Aristophane»] in *Η ελληνική κωμωδία και τα πρότυπά της στον 19^ο αιώνα*, [La comédie grecque et ses modèles au XIX^e siècle], 50-70 (Iraklio de Crète: Presses Universitaires de Crète, 2004). Sur la nature, la fonction et l'évolution de la comédie grecque (originale et traduite) dans son ensemble, après la Guerre d'Indépendance et tout au long du XIX^e siècle, voir ANNA TABAKI, «Κωμωδία. Μεταφράσεις και πρωτότυπα έργα. Η φύση και ο ρόλος της κωμωδίας – πολιτική σάτιρα και κωμωδία ηθών» [«Comédie. Des traductions et des œuvres originales: La nature et le rôle de la comédie – La satire politique et la comédie de mœurs»] in *Το νεοελληνικό θέατρο (18^ο-19^ο αι.) Ερμηνευτικές προσεγγίσεις*, [Le théâtre néo-hellénique (XVIII^e - XIX^e siècles). Approches interprétatives], (Athènes: Ed. Diáivos, 2005): 335-349.

²¹ MARIOS FLORITIS, «Δύσκολος του Μενάνδρου» [«Le *Dyscolos* de Ménandre»], εφημ. *Ελευθερία* / quot. *Eleftheria* (12-7-1960).

²² Cf. MARTA MAVROGENI, «Η ένταξη της αρχαίας κωμωδίας στα φεστιβάλ Αθηνών και Επιδαύρου – Το άλυτο πρόβλημα του Αριστοφάνη» [«L'intégration de la comédie ancienne aux Festivals d'Athènes et d'Épidaure – Le problème non résolu d'Aristophane»] in *Πρακτικά Α' Πανελληνίου Θεατρολογικού Συνεδρίου: Το ελληνικό θέατρο από τον 17^ο στον 20^ο αιώνα*, [Actes du 1^{er} Colloque Théâtrologique Pan-hellénique. «Le Théâtre grec depuis le XVII^e siècle jusqu'au XX^e siècle»], éd. IOSIF VIVILAKIS, 345-355 (Athènes: Ergo, 2002).

²³ PIERRE BOURDIEU, *La Distinction. Critique sociale du jugement*, 25 (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1979).

plus de choses sur Aristophane et sur la Comédie Ancienne grecque, et très peu, voire trop peu de choses, non seulement sur les auteurs comiques romains, mais aussi sur le représentant éminent de la Nouvelle Comédie Attique, Ménandre. Même au cycle supérieur d'études de théâtre, dans les *cursum* des différentes facultés, la Nouvelle Comédie Attique et la Comédie Romaine sont souvent enseignées en commun dans le cadre d'un module unique, qui est parfois offert en option, contrairement à Aristophane qui forme le plus souvent un module à part, toujours obligatoire.

L'Antiquité grecque classique, dont la Grèce moderne peut être fière et qui a mérité d'être mise en avant dans le cadre de la culture scolaire et de la promotion touristique, paraît s'arrêter à la fin du V^e siècle avant notre ère. Pour les siècles suivants, à savoir le IV^e et le III^e siècles, qui connurent de grands changements socioculturels et artistiques, les deux dernières comédies d'Aristophane qui nous sont parvenues entières, *Plutos* et *L'Assemblée des Femmes*, semblent tout à fait suffire à pré-illustrer les tendances naissantes, sans, pour autant, avoir perdu totalement leurs liens profonds avec le contexte culturel idéal, voire idéalisé, de l'État-cité du siècle précédent, où se produisit le «miracle» tragique.²⁴ Par ailleurs, les pièces de Ménandre et, d'autant plus, celles de Plaute et de Térence, ne semblent – pas encore ou pas non plus – servir la «politique du canon» ancien, à savoir qu'elles ne semblent pas compter parmi les textes polyvalents les plus importants de la culture grecque, voire de la culture occidentale dans son ensemble. En d'autres termes, elles ne sont pas dotées de cet «effet classique qui se nourrit d'un sentiment de distinction, mêlé de ce que K. Valentin appelé l'O.G.A.T.S. («Obligation Générale d'Assistance au Théâtre comme Spectateur»), qui fait du sujet percevant la source d'un plaisir lié à sa reconnaissance culturelle et à son endurance».²⁵

²⁴ D'après les entrées du Réseau Européen d'Étude et de Documentation des Représentations de Drame Grec Ancien (voir note 14), le nombre des productions grecques modernes du *Plutos* et *L'Assemblée des Femmes* jusqu'en 1999 s'élève à 21 et 13 respectivement.

²⁵ PAVIS, 56.

Tableau I - Productions Scéniques Grecques Modernes des pièces de Plaute

Comédies de Plaute	1925	1937	1959	1963	1964	1966	1977	1978	1980	1984	1990	1991	1992	1994	1999	2005
<i>Amphitryo</i>				TLT	TLT	TLT	TNG			T-Ds			TEGN	TMR-K		TMR-S
<i>Asinaria</i>																
<i>Aulularia</i>			TET					TEGN							TEGN (NAT)	
<i>Bacchides</i>																
<i>Captivi</i>																
<i>Casina</i>																
<i>Cistellaria</i>																
<i>Curculio</i>																
<i>Epidicus</i>																
<i>Menaechmi</i>		T-MK				T-DI			AL			TMR-I				
<i>Mercator</i>																
<i>Miles gloriosus</i>	T-J															
<i>Mostellaria</i>											TNG					
<i>Persa</i>																
<i>Poenulus</i>																
<i>Pseudolus</i>																
<i>Rudens</i>																
<i>Stichus</i>																
<i>Trinummus</i>																
<i>Truculentus</i>																

T-J = Troupe des Jeunes (Athènes)

T-MK = Troupe de M. Kotopouli (Athènes)

AL = Artistes Libres (Athènes)

TLT = Théâtre Libre de Thessalonique

TNG = Théâtre National de Grèce

T-Ds = Troupe de D. Sideridis (Argos)

T-DI = Troupe de D. Iliopoulos (Athènes)

TEGN = Théâtre d'État de la Grèce du Nord

NAT = Nouvel Atelier Théâtral (TEGN)

TET = Théâtre Estudiantin de Thessalonique

TMR-I = Théâtre Municipal Régional de Ioannina

TMR-K = Théâtre Municipal Régional de Komotini

TMR-S = Théâtre Municipal Régional de Serrès

Tableau II - Les Productions Scéniques Grecques Modernes des pièces de Térence

Comédies de Térence	1980	1982	2001
<i>Andria</i>	Théâtre d'État de la Grèce du Nord - Théâtres de Thrace et de la Macédoine de l'Est		Troupe «Planches de Théâtre» (Thessalonique)
<i>Hecyra</i>			
<i>Heauton timorumenos</i>			
<i>Eumuchus</i>		Théâtre Vivant (Rhodes)	
<i>Phormio</i>			
<i>Adelphoe</i>			

Sources:

Andréas Dimitriadis, «Le drame romain sur la scène grecque moderne», *O Politis* 97 (2002): 19-26.

Archives du Musée et Centre d'Étude du Théâtre Grec.

Tableau III - Productions Scéniques Grecques Modernes des pièces de Ménandre

Comédies de Ménandre	1908	1959	1960	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1975	1980	1981	1984	1985	1993	1996	2000	2003
<i>Aspis</i> ¹																	
<i>Dyscolos</i> ²			TNG*	SCNA	SCNA		SCNA	TEGN				TMR-A	OTC*				
<i>Épîtrepones</i> ³	Aph.P	Th. '59		SCNA	SCNA		SCNA			A-SE*			A-SE*		TMR-K		OTC*
<i>Misumenes</i> ⁴																	
<i>Pericliromene</i>																	
<i>Samia</i> ⁶									TEGN		Th.É. '79			OTC*			TEGN

1. (*Le Bouclier*) Les trois premiers actes et fragments
2. (*Le Bourru*) Les cinq actes
3. (*L'Arbitrage*) Fragments importants des cinq actes
4. (*Le Hâï*) Fragments des cinq actes
5. (*La Tondue*) Fragments des cinq actes
6. (*La Samienne*) Les cinq actes (les deux premiers dans un état fragmentaire)

*Représentations dans le cadre du Festival d'Épidaure

Aph.P = Association Philologique «Parnassos»

Th.'59 = Théâtre '59

TNG = Théâtre National de la Grèce

SCNA = Scène de la Comédie Nouvelle Attique

TEGN = Théâtre d'État de la Grèce du Nord

A-SE = Amphi-Théâtre de Spyros Evangelatos

TMR-A = Théâtre Municipal Régional d'Agriinio

TMR-K = Théâtre Municipal Régional de Kalamata

OTC = Organisme Théâtral de Chypre

Th. É '79 = Théâtre de la Mer Égée '79

Sources:

«European Network of Research and Documentation of Ancient Greek Drama Performances» (www.uoa.gr/drama/network/index.html). Archives du Musée et Centre d'Étude du Théâtre Grec.

KONSTANTZA GEORGAKAKI

LA TRAGÉDIE AU FESTIVAL D'ATHÈNES (1955-1960):
PROMOTION TOURISTIQUE OU NOUVELLES
QUÊTES ESTHÉTIQUES ?

Le théâtre d'Hérode Atticus, situé au pied de l'Acropole, lieu patrimonial emblématique, a de tout temps constitué un pôle d'attraction pour les touristes et, au demeurant, se prête parfaitement, dans l'esprit des dirigeants politiques, à la promotion de l'art dramatique et musical. Instituer un festival dans l'enceinte d'un monument – une pratique artistique européenne connue – pouvait être, en fonction de la tradition de qualité qu'inaugureraient les manifestations organisées, une façon de répondre aux exigences culturelles d'un visiteur moderne qui ne s'en tient pas aux sites historiques et aux beautés naturelles du pays, tout en fortifiant parallèlement l'économie grâce à l'afflux de devises. Georgios Rallis, alors ministre de la Présidence et instigateur de cette institution, traduisant les positions gouvernementales, déclare qu'avec ce Festival on ambitionne, après des années de troubles, de «faire d'Athènes un centre spirituel international [...] et d'offrir aux visiteurs étrangers qui viennent en Grèce toutes les réjouissances possibles»; exprimant en outre les desiderata esthétiques du gouvernement, il affirme que «la tragédie antique doit être aussi diffusée parmi les couches les plus larges du peuple grec».¹

L'interprétation de la tragédie, liée par sa thématique aux mythes grecs antiques et au passé historique du pays, est considérée comme un privilège exclusivement national et les tentatives des étrangers restent au niveau des imitations. Les Grecs, revendiquant leur qualité de descendants des Anciens, déclarent que les prestations et les réussites dans le drame antique s'imposent par leur authenticité.² Cette conception grécocentriste, encore

¹ Lors de cette conférence de presse, le ministre se réfère à la vision culturelle grécocentriste du gouvernement, «Το Διεθνές Φεστιβάλ Αθηνών» [«Le Festival d'Athènes»], *Καθημερινή/Kathimérini* (8.5.1955): 2 et l'année suivante, son successeur Konstantinos Tsatsos revient sur le caractère grec du répertoire (Programme du Festival d'Athènes 1956). La mise en tourisme du patrimoine use le thème récurrent de l'identité culturelle cf. RACHID AMIROU, *Imaginaire du tourisme culturel* (Paris: P.U.F, 2000).

² Le critique Alkis Thrylos observe que «la Grèce doit contribuer à la vie théâtrale mondiale en faisant revivre le drame antique dans les lieux où il est né» («Δύο σκόπμοι οργανισμοί» [«Deux organismes opportuns»] in GIORGOS GLINOS, *Ωρες Σκηνής* [Des Heures sur scène], NESTORAS MATSAS (éd.), 85 [Athènes, 1953]), et ΑΤΜΗΛΙΟΣ ΗΟΥΡΜΟΥΖΙΟΣ, directeur du Théâtre National (1955-1963), souligne dans «Το μέλλον της τραγωδίας» [«L'avenir de la tragédie»] cf., *Το αρχαίο δράμα από το 1955* [Le drame antique à partir de 1955], 263 (Athènes: Οι εκδοσεις τον φλον, 1978) que «l'interprétation du drame antique est une affaire purement grecque du point de vue de la mise en scène... Les étrangers ne pourront nous apporter qu'une aide minime».

alimentée par certains articles de la presse étrangère, affirmant que «si, un jour, il ne devait rester au monde qu'une seule scène qui enseignerait Eschyle, Sophocle et Euripide, nous sommes certains que ce serait le Théâtre National de la Grèce»,³ infléchit largement la programmation du Festival d'Athènes, qui doit se démarquer en partie de celle d'Épidaure. Ses responsables, soucieux de traduire les choix de l'État en matière idéologique et théâtrale, mais également d'attirer les spectateurs venus d'autres pays, privilégient le répertoire antique, d'abord la tragédie puis la comédie,⁴ mais sélectionnent aussi des pièces qui soulignent le caractère éminemment grec de toute la série des représentations. C'est ainsi que, pour faire revivre le drame antique, on s'efforce de tirer parti des recherches en matière d'interprétation, telles qu'elles sont menées exclusivement au sein du Théâtre National et, par ailleurs, de faire apparaître des affinités thématiques éclectiques avec d'autres œuvres artistiques. Résultat: on voit se côtoyer, dans le programme, des tragédies, valeur diachronique et sûre, présentées en première à Épidaure, des drames lyriques, comme *Idoménée* de Mozart, *Orphée* et *Eurydice* de Gluck, *Électre* de Strauss et *Œdipe* de Stravinsky, ou encore des ballets comme le *Destin de Mycènes* de Harald Kreutzberg,⁵ et ce indépendamment de la date où ils ont été écrits, de leur qualité artistique intrinsèque ou de leur adaptation à la scène, alors qu'on marginalise les quêtes et le devenir théâtral de la Grèce contemporaine qui, du reste, demeure pour le visiteur étranger *terra incognita*.

Si, durant cette période, de nombreuses troupes du théâtre libre jouent des tragédies, les faisant revivre tantôt sur le mode muséal, à grand renfort de cothurnes et de masques, tantôt sous une forme vulgarisée, susceptible de toucher de plus larges masses de spectateurs, dans le cadre du Festival, en revanche, c'est le Théâtre National qui règne en maître, ce qui ne laisse pas de place à la moindre polyphonie dans les approches, en matière de jeu et de mise en scène. La ligne qui a la préférence s'adapte à des recherches esthétiques nouvelles et à des conceptions modernes. Elle a le souci de rendre la «crainte tragique» en mettant en relief les aspects poétiques et dramatiques de l'œuvre, de bannir la solennité

³ On rencontre dans la presse de l'époque des éloges enthousiastes, traduits d'autres langues, s'agissant d'*Hécube* e.g. *Καθημερινή/Kathimerini* (27.7.1955): 2. Des commentaires analogues figurent dans le livre d'ISMINI ANDONOULA (ed.), dédié aux deux protagonistes Katina Paxinou et Alexis Minotis, *Πολύχρονος Πηγαίος, προς μίαν Ιθάκη [Itinéraire de longue durée vers une Ithaque]*, (Athènes: Epikairotita, 1989): 130-133.

⁴ Pour les représentations des comédies aux Festivals, cf. MARIA MAVROGENI, « Η ένταξη της αρχαίας κωμωδίας στο Φεστιβάλ Αθηνών και Επιδάουρου. Το άλυτο πρόβλημα του Αριστοφάνη » [«La comédie aux Festivals d'Athènes et Épidaure. Le problème non résolu d'Aristophane»] in *Το ελληνικό Θέατρο από τον 17^ο στον 20^ο αιώνα [Le Théâtre Grec du XVII^e au XX^e siècle]*, IOSSIF VIVILAKIS (éd.), Actes du Premier Congrès Théâtrologique, 345-355 (Athènes: Ergo, 2002). Pour le Festival d'Épidaure, cf. KOSTAS GEORGOUSSOPOULOS-SAVAS GOGOS, *Επίδαυρος. Το αρχαίο Θέατρο, οι παραστάσεις [Épidaure. Le théâtre antique. Les représentations]*, (Athènes: Militos 2002): 97-452.

⁵ *Idoménée* de Mozart (1. 4 & 7.9.1955), *Orphée* et *Eurydice* de Gluck (27, 31.8 & 3.9.1955/14, 16 & 18.9.1956) et *Œdipe* de Stravinsky (6 & 8.9.1955) par l'Opéra National Grec, *Électre* de Strauss (19, 21 & 23.9.1956) par l'Opéra National de Munich ou encore des ballets comme le *Destin de Mycènes* sur une chorégraphie de Harald Kreutzberg (29, 30.8 & 2.9.1956).

dans le jeu et de réduire progressivement la déclamation collective. Les préférences accordées à certaines troupes posent question à la presse de l'opposition qui estime que la scène officielle, fonctionnant comme l'expression de la politique culturelle du gouvernement, est particulièrement favorisée par les subventions publiques; résultat, « lorsqu'une chose est faite au moule – et, en art, se couler dans le moule constitue un danger mortel –, lorsqu'elle devient le privilège d'une ou deux personnes, lorsque toute autre performance parallèle est exclue, même ce qui existe semble pauvre, indigent, quels que soient les honneurs officiels qui l'entourent». ⁶ Durant ces cinq années, quantité de jugements analogues s'expriment, car on a le sentiment que le festival « n'intéresse même pas les étrangers auxquels il est destiné mais ne touche que la gent athénienne des snobs », ⁷ un jugement certes excessif, qui ne correspond pas aux déclarations de ses inspirateurs en matière de programmation mais qui, à l'inverse, déplaçant le centre de gravité sur la composition du public et sur ses exigences, méconnaît certaines incohérences dans la conception du programme ainsi que chez les responsables de sa mise en œuvre.

L'un des problèmes majeurs du Festival tient au fait qu'à l'issue des deux premières années, il reprend les mêmes tragédies, puis les mêmes comédies, ces pièces constituant le cœur de son programme. On ne monte pas de représentations originales, aucune attente de quelque chose de différent, de nouveau ne se fait jour, le facteur surprise est totalement absent. Bien souvent, spectateurs et critiques ont déjà vu ces pièces à Épidaure; la première, donc, ne fait pas figure d'événement théâtral. D'où le nombre extrêmement limité de critiques, soit qu'on ait l'impression que la mise en scène n'exploite pas différemment les deux théâtres et devient éminemment pratique, de façon à pouvoir être adaptée telle quelle au théâtre d'Hérode Atticus, soit qu'on n'ait guère envie de revoir les mêmes pièces deux fois en l'espace d'un mois, à seule fin de constater d'éventuels changements, suite à l'effort de les adapter aux dimensions limitées du théâtre, et de formuler de nouveaux jugements dûment étayés.

Pour que les représentations se démarquent de celles d'Épidaure, on propose alors d'« exploiter toutes les ressources offertes par le théâtre romain. Il faut, pour des raisons purement utilitaires, conserver un petit quelque chose – fût-il très superficiel – de l'atmosphère des représentations antiques ». ⁸ La coexistence de deux optiques différentes pour faire revivre le drame antique, d'une part la reconstitution historique des caractéristiques formelles et du chant monophonique de la tragédie et, d'autre part, l'assimilation de ces éléments

⁶ La presse de gauche s'oppose souvent aux choix gouvernementaux et fait preuve d'agressivité, GÉRASSIMOS ΣΤΑΥΡΟΥ, « Το φεστιβάλ της Επιδαύρου » [« Le Festival d'Épidaure »], *Αυγή / Αυγή* (26.6.1956): 2.

⁷ La polémique au sujet du Festival ne cesse de se manifester durant les années suivantes, *Ta Néa / Ta Néa* (2.8.1957): 2.

⁸ M. KARAGATSIS, *Κριτική Θεάτρου 1946-1960* [Critique du théâtre], IOSSIF VIVILAKIS (éd.), (Athènes: Hestia, 1999): 544.

aux exigences artistiques contemporaines, eût pu constituer un défi à relever pour la programmation du festival; or, les organisateurs rejettent les idées qui ne s'accordent pas à leur vision culturelle. C'est le Théâtre National et lui seul qui exprime la ligne officielle en matière d'interprétation de la tragédie. On a le sentiment que la concurrence d'autres troupes du monde occidental présentes aux Festivals d'Europe (Edimbourg, Avignon, Fourvière) qui sont en quête de nouvelles solutions scéniques et qui proposent des interprétations plus radicalement nouvelles, ne constitue pas une incitation à les inviter.

Dans le cas où les critiques n'ont pas déjà assisté à la représentation à Épidaure, ils ont le sentiment qu'ils seront injustes, s'ils la jugent d'après ce qu'ils voient à Athènes. Attribuant souvent des vertus métaphysiques ou surnaturelles au lieu lui-même, ils soulignent que «là-bas, grâce à l'état de transport dans lequel l'environnement met aussi bien les comédiens que le public et surtout grâce aux dimensions considérables du théâtre qui ne laissent pas voir distinctement tous les détails mais privilégient bien davantage une impression d'ensemble, il est bien possible que la représentation ait prodigué cette exaltation que nous n'avons pas retirée de la même pièce jouée dans le théâtre d'Hérode Atticus. Quoi qu'il en soit, le cadre naturel, avec les arbres qui se profilent derrière la scène et l'horizon dégagé saurait bien mieux nous transporter dans le bois sacré de Colone... Ah! Ce théâtre avec son mur si sec au fond, comme il se prête mal à certaines pièces!»⁹ Même lorsque nous avons affaire à des jugements plus mesurés – comme celui-ci, par exemple: «Je n'ai pas vu Iphigénie en Tauride dans le théâtre antique d'Épidaure, pour les dimensions et l'atmosphère duquel avait été initialement conçue la représentation, et il n'est pas exclu que le fait de la déplacer dans l'Odéon d'Hérode Atticus, qui est si différent, lui ait causé un préjudice considérable. Quoi qu'il en soit, telle que nous l'avons vue à Athènes, elle nous a laissé l'impression d'un spectacle présentable et soigné, mais dépourvu de souffle et de personnalité»¹⁰ –, le critique sous-entend toujours, en se fiant à son intuition, que le résultat final eût été bien plus satisfaisant dans le théâtre de Polyclète car le théâtre d'Athènes est mal adapté et pose des problèmes esthétiques et pratiques à tous les niveaux.

Il y a pourtant des cas où l'espace circonscrit de l'Odéon romain sert la mise en scène, comme dans *Médée* – si, en effet, à Épidaure, le char sur lequel l'héroïne devait s'enfuir dans les airs «évoquait vaguement une réclame de Vespa», à Athènes, en revanche, «peut-être grâce à l'architecture du théâtre, celui-ci est demeuré davantage dans l'ombre, ce qui a permis de surmonter une faiblesse de la mise en scène»¹¹ – ou encore le texte, dont il permet

⁹ ALKIS THRYLOS, *To Ellēnikó Θέατρο 1956-1958 [Le Théâtre grec]*, vol. 7, (Athènes: Akadimia Athinon, Idryma Ourani, 1979): 396. Le critique se réfère à la représentation d'*Edipe à Colone* de Sophocle, mise en scène: Alexis Minotis.

¹⁰ VASSOS VARIKAS, «*Ιφιγένεια εν Ταύροις*» [*Iphigénie en Tauride*], *Ta Néa / Ta Néa* (29.8.1958): 2, mise en scène: K. Michailidis.

¹¹ THRYLOS, *idem*, vol. 6, 120 (Athènes, 1979). *Médée*, mise en scène: Alexis Minotis.

de mieux décrypter certains messages – comme dans *Hercule furieux* où «inévitablement, dans la mesure où les dimensions de l'espace ne permettaient pas la même ouverture imposante et grandiose de la [représentation]... j'ai eu l'impression que ce que je considérais comme un défaut [le fait que les maux du héros ne trouvent pas leur justification] constitue le summum de la pièce et de la perspicacité d'Euripide». ¹² Ces jugements ne concernent pas, semble-t-il, la musique de la tragédie sur laquelle l'acoustique différente des deux théâtres n'a, de toute évidence, pas d'impact et, comme dans le cas des *Phéniciennes*, «la partition, avec peut-être un minimum d'élaboration, peut – et doit – trouver sa voie depuis les coulisses d'Épidaure et d'Hérode Atticus, jusque sur la scène d'un autre théâtre fermé». ¹³ Le discours critique compare, dénigre l'espace scénique ou lui accorde ses faveurs, influençant ainsi les critères artistiques d'une frange de spectateurs qui en sont les lecteurs assidus, et influe, négativement ou positivement, sur leur fréquentation du théâtre.

La voix de Katina Paxinou dans *Hécube* inaugure les représentations de tragédies antiques au Festival d'Athènes, le 11 septembre 1955; ¹⁴ mais la première tentative pour aborder différemment la tragédie antique, hors des dates du Festival, intervient dans le cadre de la célébration du trentenaire des Fêtes Delphiques, deux années plus tard. Il s'agit d'une mise en espace de *Prométhée enchaîné* par une troupe américaine en août 1957, sur l'initiative de l'un des protagonistes de la représentation de Delphes, ¹⁵ Georgios Bourlos avec le concours de l'ANTA (American National Theatre and Academy). La presse tout entière aborde avec une grande circonspection, voire désavoue totalement la coexistence sur scène d'acteurs en smoking blanc qui déclament à l'avant-scène et d'autres en costumes à l'antique qui jouent en pantomime, dans les niches du théâtre. Ce spectacle singulier ne résiste, note-t-on, à aucune critique esthétique, exception faite de la traduction de la vénérable Edith Hamilton; aussi quantité de points de vue malveillants s'expriment-ils quant à l'absence de tradition dans la représentation du drame antique chez les Américains, si bien

¹² THRYLOS, idem, vol. 8, 328 (Athènes, 1980). *Hercule Furieux*, mise en scène: Takis Mouzenidis (Athènes, 1980).

¹³ SAGITTARIUS, «Συναυλίες, Θέατρο, Εκπομπές» [«Concerts, Théâtre, Emissions»], *Εκλογή/Εκλογί* 16 (1960): 60, mise en scène: Alexis Minotis, musique: Mikis Théodorakis.

¹⁴ Des informations sur le Festival d'Athènes, sont disponibles sur le site: <http://www.greekfestival.gr>. Le chercheur trouvera également des renseignements sur les représentations des tragédies antiques à l'Odéon d'Hérode Atticus dans l'ouvrage de YANGOS ANDREADIS (éd.), *Στα ίχνη του Διονύσου. Παραστάσεις αρχαίας τραγωδίας στην Ελλάδα 1867-2000* [In the tracks of Dionysus. Ancient tragedy Performances in Greece 1867-2000] (Athènes: Sidéris, 2005), ou sur le site de l'European Network of Research and Documentation of Ancient Greek Drama, fondé en 1995 par le professeur Platon Mavromoustakos (département des Études théâtrales, Université d'Athènes) et le professeur Oliver Taplin (Magdalen College, Oxford University (www.ancientdrama.net/home)).

¹⁵ *Prométhée enchaîné* d'Eschyle (7.8.1957), mise en scène: James Elliot. Pour les Fêtes Delphiques, cf. YANNIS SIDÉRIS, *Το Αρχαίο Θέατρο στη Νέα Ελληνική Σκηνή 1817-1932* [Le Théâtre antique sur la scène grecque moderne, 1817-1932], (Athènes: Ikaros, 1976): 320-366 & 403-426.

que «les acteurs font converser les héros mythiques dans le style d'un film de cow-boys»,¹⁶ alors que les «tableaux vivants» du fond évoquent une revue... [et] que les impressionnants effets d'éclairage auraient davantage leur place dans un numéro du Casino de Paris». ¹⁷ On s'interroge également sur le rôle du metteur en scène, toute la question étant précisément de savoir ce qu'il a mis en scène. «Quel sens ont les cinq personnes en rang d'oignon qui, assises sur leurs chaises, attendaient le moment de se lever à la queue leu leu et de se mettre à déclamer en lisant leur texte ?» Et, étant donné que le spectacle «dénature» l'esprit de l'idée delphique, on va, position extrême, jusqu'à se demander s'il ne faut pas voir là «une tendance consciente à aseptiser l'esprit des Fêtes delphiques et à le transformer en... un ersatz hollywoodien». ¹⁸ Des réactions analogues s'étaient exprimées également l'année précédente, à l'occasion de la chorégraphie moderne du *Destin de Mycènes*, encore que quelques voix pondérées se fussent demandé «comment nous pourrions ressentir une émotion devant les «Bourgeois de Calais» et le «Penseur» de Rodin, si notre conception esthétique s'arrête aux chefs-d'œuvre de Phidias et de Praxitèle ?». ¹⁹ Dans le cas de la tragédie, toutefois, du fait que des spectacles de ce style n'avaient jamais encore fait leur apparition dans la capitale grecque, la combinaison d'un si grand nombre d'éléments hétéroclites, venant d'un pays qui cultive le grand spectacle, constitue un défi pour le goût de l'époque et les données esthétiques du genre.

La présence pour la première fois dans les manifestations du Festival d'Athènes de 1959 de la compagnie française de Marcelle Tassencourt, avec deux pièces, une du répertoire classique, l'*Andromaque* de Racine, et une contemporaine inspirée d'un mythe grec, l'*Alexandre* de Jean Le Marois, ²⁰ en première mondiale, est prétexte à de nouvelles objections concernant les faveurs dont bénéficient certaines troupes et l'exclusion de compagnies grecques, tandis qu'on voit se multiplier les réactions les plus variées concernant la qualité des représentations. D'aucuns estiment que les «incorrigibles organisateurs du Festival ont prouvé que leur prétention et leur irresponsabilité ont pris des proportions dangereuses et les obligent à lever leur chapeau devant n'importe quoi pourvu que ce soit étranger, ce festival n'apportant rien à la vie artistique grecque...». ²¹ Le piège, qui existait dès le début des festivités, en relation avec la grécité des mythes, conduit désormais à choisir inconsidérément des textes qui se signalent par «un verbalisme irrépressible, martelé de quelques belles idées, sporadiques, décou-

¹⁶ Anonyme, «Παθών του Προμηθέα συνέχεια» [«Passions de Prométhée, suite»], *Επιθεώρηση Τέχνης / Epithéorissi Technis* 32 (1957): 137.

¹⁷ Anonyme, «Προμηθεύς δεσμώτης» [«Prométhée enchaîné»], *Εθνικός Κήρυξ / Ethnikos Kiryx* (10.8.1957): 2.

¹⁸ H. A. ANGUÉLOMATIS, «Prométhée enchaîné», *Αθηναϊκή / Athinaïki* (9.8.1957): 2.

¹⁹ AVRA THÉODOROPOULOU, «Η χορευτική τραγωδία Η Μοίρα των Μυκηνών» [«La tragédie dansante. Le Destin de Mycènes»], *Νέα Εστία / Néa Hestia* 60 (1956): 1306.

²⁰ *Alexandre* de Jean Le Marois (19 & 20.8.1959) et *Andromaque* de Racine (21.8.1959), mise en scène: Marcelle Tassencourt.

²¹ GÉRASSIMOS STAVROU, «Αλέξανδρος» [«Alexandre»], *Αυγή / Avgi* (21.8.1959): 2.

sues... mais où dominent l'académisme, le pompeux et une grande confusion»,²² ce qui fait que la première mondiale de la tragédie moderne qu'on avait tenté d'inclure dans le programme ne constitue même pas un événement artistique.

Toutefois, il semble que les critiques grecs aient du mal à se libérer du modèle de la tragédie. Après avoir dénigré, à juste titre du reste, ce qu'ils appellent l'amateurisme de la pièce écrite par Le Marois, ils cherchent des formules polies pour rabaisser l'écriture de Racine, en le comparant avec les Tragiques antiques. «*Racine est une figure de première grandeur, mais ce n'est pas un Titan comme le sont les Tragiques anciens... Lorsque les circonstances le placent tout près des tragiques, précisément parce qu'il présente des éléments de parenté et de similitude avec eux, nous ne pouvons pas ne pas souligner, pour autant que nous voulions nous garder des comparaisons, que celui qui a vu seulement la lutte de l'Homme avec lui-même, avec les diversions, conséquences de ses passions qui le font sortir de la norme, du rang, demeure à la traîne de ceux qui ont vu et représenté la lutte de l'homme avec le Destin et les Dieux*». ²³ Dans l'œuvre de Racine, on trouve «une psychologie et un style fleuri propres aux salons parisiens du XVII^e siècle. Or, le théâtre d'Hérode Atticus s'est imprégné, ces dernières années, de l'immortel verbe tragique d'un autre grand siècle, le V^e siècle attique avant J.-C.»,²⁴ et lorsque l'on établit la comparaison avec les modèles anciens, le dramaturge français se trouve en position d'infériorité, du fait que «*le public athénien conserve des impressions anciennes ou toutes fraîches des représentations de tragédies grecques antiques*». ²⁵

La présence, pour la seconde fois, d'une compagnie française, celle de la grande actrice Marie Bell en 1960, avec *Phèdre*, *Bérénice* et *Britannicus* de Racine,²⁶ ne semble guère avoir impressionné les spectateurs grecs et suscite à nouveau des réserves quant à la programmation du Festival. «*Une autre histoire encore est de savoir si Racine était ce qui manquait à ce Festival tocard, misérable et monolithique d'Athènes. Il y a là matière à un vaste débat pour élucider une bonne fois ce qu'est et ce que cherche à faire ce malheureux festival! Son objectif est-il de présenter ce que "la terre entière" compte de pièces dans le style antique pour divertir les touristes de passage? Autrement dit, est-ce que nous vendons un cadre antique aux étrangers?*». ²⁷ Il y a confusion quant aux intentions du programme et à l'accueil réservé aux représentations par le public et la critique. Dès le début des manifestations, on avait exprimé la volonté d'insister sur le contexte grec antique, mais en se gardant de

²² THRYLOS, *idem*, vol. 8, 117.

²³ *Ibidem*, 115.

²⁴ STATHIS SPILIOPOULOS, «*Ανδρομάχη*» [*Andromaque*], *Ακρόπολις/Acropolis* (23.8.1959): 2.

²⁵ KOSTAS STAMATIOU, «*Οι παραστάσεις του θιάσου Μαρί Μπέλ*» [*Les représentations de la troupe de Marie Bell*], *Αυγή/Avyi* (14.8.1960): 2.

²⁶ *Phèdre* (10.8.1960), mise en scène: Raymond Gérôme, *Bérénice* (11.8.1960), mise en scène: André Barsacq & *Britannicus* (12.8.1960), mise en scène: Marguerite Jamois.

²⁷ KOSTAS STAMATIOU, «*Ανδρομάχη του Ρακίνα*» [*Andromaque de Racine*], *Αυγή/Avyi* (25.8.1959): 2.

toute représentation folklorisante, pour tenter d'éveiller l'intérêt des touristes. C'est dans cet esprit que s'inscrivent les ouvertures sur des formes théâtrales européennes ainsi que la présence de pièces, comme celles de Racine, dont la thématique puise dans le passé, et propres à satisfaire, de toute évidence, une catégorie de spectateurs qui s'accordent à penser que les représentations «ont pu convenir au cadre imposant de l'Odéon d'Hérode Atticus, lequel est, pour nous les Grecs, heureusement hanté non seulement par les fantômes des études classiques, mais par la présence des nouvelles interprétations de la tragédie».²⁸

Toutefois, les comparaisons qu'ils établissent avec les tragiques attestent que les critiques demeurent farouchement convaincus de la supériorité de l'esprit grec et de l'influence qu'il a exercée sur l'esprit européen. «Chez Euripide, la passion, qui règne en maître, écarte tout obstacle social ou autre et déferle en toute liberté. Chez Racine, elle est obligée de se plier à des conventions sociales... Le poète s'intéresse davantage à l'homme social qu'à l'homme naturel. Mais, dès lors, nous ne sommes plus dans la tragédie. Nous entrons, toutes voiles dehors, dans la sphère du drame social».²⁹ La mise en regard du style fleuri et cadencé de la *Phèdre* française avec la «passion bouillonnante» de l'*Hippolyte* d'Euripide fait pencher la balance en faveur du tragique grec; au reste, l'«antique Odéon, bien que romain, a écrasé de son volume les alexandrins ciselés et le sentimentalisme des "Grecs" de la cour du Roi-Soleil».³⁰ Cependant, les faiblesses ne tiennent pas seulement au dramaturge mais à la représentation elle-même, dans la mesure où les acteurs, à l'inverse de leurs homologues grecs, ne sont pas familiarisés avec le jeu en plein air et ont des difficultés à s'y adapter. Au reste, pour reprendre les mots d'un critique, «la dette envers l'hospitalité ne saurait abolir la dette envers la vérité».³¹

On revient, une fois de plus, sur les critères qui président au choix des manifestations, la référence suprême étant toujours le drame antique et l'incalculable apport des participants grecs par rapport aux troupes invitées. «Pourquoi donc le Festival d'Athènes, dont la programmation repose essentiellement sur les représentations du drame antique – ce sont elles qui lui donnent sa couleur spécifique et qui composent le caractère particulier du cycle de ses manifestations –, pourquoi la direction du Festival d'Athènes a-t-elle jugé qu'il fallait, aux côtés d'Euripide, de Sophocle et d'Aristophane, jouer aussi Racine?»³² Un point de vue qui est applaudi dans d'autres articles de presse qui s'interrogent: «Dès l'instant où le Festival d'Athènes offre essentiellement du drame antique, quelle place peut bien avoir auprès

²⁸ STAVROS ALEXANDROU, «Ρακίνα: Φαίδρα, Βερενίκη, Βρεταννικός» [«Racine: *Phèdre*, *Bérénice*, *Britannicus*»], *Εκλογή/Εκλογί* XVI (1960): 59.

²⁹ VASSOS VARIKAS, «Φαίδρα, Βερενίκη, Βρεταννικός από τον θίασο της Μαρί Μπέλ» [«*Phèdre*, *Bérénice*, *Britannicus* par la troupe de Marie Bell»], *Τα Νέα/Τα Νέα* (18.8.1960): 2.

³⁰ MARIOS FLORITIS, «Φαίδρα του Ρακίνα» [«*Phèdre* de Racine»], *Ελευθερία/Ελευθερία* (12.8.1960): 2.

³¹ MARIOS FLORITIS, «Αλέξανδρος» [«*Alexandre*»], *Ελευθερία/Ελευθερία* (21.8.1959): 2.

³² ACHILLEAS MAMAKIS, «Η Μαρί Μπέλ στην Αθήνα» [«Marie Bell à Athènes»], *Εικόνες/Icons* 252 (1960): 56-57.

de lui son substitut ?». ³³ Il convient de souligner que les voix calmes qui estiment que «le lieu de l'Odéon s'adaptait idéalement au climat historique de *Bérénice*» ³⁴ et reconnaissent que les Athéniens ne sont pas chauvins mais qu'au contraire, ils se sentent citoyens du monde et ont l'envie de suivre les efforts des troupes étrangères, ³⁵ ne correspondent pas à la majorité. La presse est souvent prête, indépendamment de sa couleur politique, à affirmer qu'il faudrait bannir du programme ce type de desseins théâtraux. En dépit de l'accès au répertoire international, vers la fin des cinq premières années d'existence du Festival, la société grecque, fait preuve d'un conservatisme certain dans l'accueil qu'elle réserve aux intentions artistiques quelque peu différentes et semble peu préparée à se familiariser avec de nouvelles quêtes esthétiques. Le début des années soixante, malgré l'entrée en scène de nouveaux talents dans la sphère de la tragédie, ne semble guère prometteur de projets inventifs, dans la mesure où le profil culturel du public ne permet pas d'ouvertures audacieuses ni de véritables innovations en matière de mise en scène et de jeu.

Le Festival d'Athènes, fidèle à son rendez-vous avec le public grec et étranger, célèbre cette année son cinquantième anniversaire. Limité à trois formes d'expression artistique la première année, il a ouvert sa scène à toute la gamme des prestations scéniques. Conséquence de cette polyphonie, les représentations de tragédies antiques sont moins nombreuses – le programme de cette année n'en compte qu'une – ³⁶ et le Théâtre National qui avait joué un rôle décisif durant la première période, brille par son absence. Cette institution a désormais acquis un rayonnement certain mais on continue à débattre de son identité et à critiquer ses responsables, qui permettent à certains metteurs en scène de déployer leur interprétation arbitraire au nom d'un avant-gardisme très contesté, oubliant que les textes des tragiques gardent leur autonomie et ridiculisent les erreurs. Si le Festival veut survivre au XXI^e siècle, il appelle un certain nombre de réformes. Il doit viser à améliorer ses choix artistiques, s'inscrire dans une dynamique européenne et imposer sa présence stratégique dans l'activité festivalière internationale. Les souvenirs d'Anghelos Terzakis, qui entendait dans le théâtre d'Hérode Atticus *«les lamentations mais également les sentences de la tragédie attique, tandis que la lune d'août brillait impassible, telle une monnaie d'argent fraîchement frappée, dans un ciel profond»*, ³⁷ appartiennent désormais à un passé définitivement révolu.

³³ K.O. [KOSTAS (ECONOMIDIS), «Φαίδρα» [«Phèdre»], *Έθνος/Ethnos* (11.8.1960): 2.

³⁴ AIM. X. [AIMILIOS HOURMOUZIOS], «Βερένικη» [«Bérénice»], *Καθημερινή/Kathimerini* (13.8.1960): 1.

³⁵ ALEXIS DIAMANTOPOULOS, «Η αρχαία τραγωδία» [«La tragédie antique»], *Το Βήμα/To Vima* (18.9.1960): 1.

³⁶ Théâtre Municipal Régional d'Agriño, *Agamemnon* d'Eschyle (14.9.2005), mise en scène: Thodoris Gonis.

³⁷ ANGHÉLOS TERZAKIS, «Ελληνική απαισιοδοξία» [«Pessimisme grec»], *Το Βήμα/To Vima* (22.8.1956): 1.

HELEN FESSAS-EMMANOUIL

EVA PALMER-SIKELIANOU (1874-1952).
HER CONTRIBUTION TO THE CHOREOGRAPHY
OF ANCIENT DRAMA

Background and influences

Eva (Evelina) Palmer was a leading figure in twentieth-century stage production of ancient tragedy [Fessas-Emmanouil, H. (1999): 36-38 and Wiles, D. (2000): 183-189]. She was born in Gramercy Park, New York in 1874 and died in Athens on 4 June 1952. Her father, the law-abiding, cosmopolitan and peace-loving Courtland Palmer, was one of the most enlightened figures in the urban intelligentsia of New York. He was the founder and president of the city's '19th Century Club' and established the avant-garde Gramercy Park School and Tool House in 1885. Eva and her siblings attended this school, where she became aware for the first time that initiative, the free development of one's personality, and manual labour refine the human being. Her mother, her father's enthusiastic companion, played the piano and put together a chamber music orchestra that gave recitals at her home. Eva played the violin, her sister May painted, and her brother Courtland was a competent pianist [Anton (1988): 255; Chatzidaki (1998): 1-2]. It was to these origins that Eva owed her unfailing intuition, her artistic sense and her organisational abilities.

From June 1886 to February 1900, Eva studied Ancient Greek, Latin, and English Literature at the famous American Bryn Mawr Collage, without graduating [Papadaki (1995): 14, 327]. Her friendship with Isadora Duncan, and especially with her brother Raymond and his wife, Penelope, was of decisive importance in her task of mounting a stage production of ancient drama [Chatzidaki (1998): 2; Papadaki (1995): 17-22]. Penelope was the sister of the Greek poet Angelos Sikelianos, who would become Eva's adored husband and spiritual mentor.

Raymond Duncan, a multi-talented intellectual (1874-1966) was well known in Paris and Athens during the first three decades of the twentieth century. His worship of antiquity was not just a theoretical opposition to the conventions, fashions, and materialism of the Belle Époque. It became a way of life and, later, educational practice. Duncan and his wife, Penelope, wore hand-made sandals and tunics that they had woven on the loom; they made their own furniture, useful objects, and musical instruments, but also engaged in the arts – dance, music, theatre, sculpture, and painting – and envisioned an alternative lifestyle based on intellectual and ecological values. In inter-War Athens, he was often considered as a quaint character [“Ντάνκαν, Παύμόνδος” Duncan, Raymond]: 852; Fessas-Emmanouil (2004): 36-39].

The revolutionary feminist Isadora Duncan (1877-1927) was a legend in her own time. For artists and intellectuals she was a source of inspiration, the object of worship. On the other hand, her ostentatious disdain for social conventions, her anti-academicism and amateurism became objects of sharp criticism. Isadora did not, of course, have a school in the established sense of the word, nor did she have some art or craft to pass on. She simply had a new way of approaching dance which was used solely by the European avant-garde at that time [Au (1995): 86-93; Person – Selma (1998), Vol. I: 167,170, vol. 2: 456-457, vol. 6: 299; Raftis (no date): 118]. What characterised her dancing was her promotion of freedom for the entire body. This freedom, according to Ninette de Valois, originated in ancient Greece, between East and West; she pointed out that Western European classical art had a tendency to stress the body from the waist down, whereas the farther east one goes, the more people dance from the waist up [Raftis (no date): 196].

Isadora Duncan came to Greece for the first time with her mother and siblings in 1903. The visit to the Acropolis excited her. She stood in ecstasy in front of the Parthenon and associated it idealistically with her vision of a school that would be a temple of modern dance. She came to Greece twice again, in 1915 and 1920, full of plans that she could not realise [Duncan, Isadora (1990): 106-109; Raftis (no date): 24].

The influence of Isadora Duncan in Greece between 1903 and 1927 was indirect, as very few people understood the meaning of her revolution. On the other hand, Raymond Duncan's form-dominated approach to dance in ancient Greece was an easier path for his contemporary Greek students or adherents to follow [Fessas-Emmanouil (2004b): 39, 76].

Important people have spoken about Eva's genius – the “American woman with the Greek soul” – especially after her death. On 13.11.1965, Octave Merlier wrote: “*I feel that it is only now that have I understood Eva fully. She too had the great genius of Angelos. Her passion for Greece and for the Poet, whom she regarded as a god, not only saved her from going wrong, but also kept her on the straight road, the difficult road that led with certainty to her goal, Hellenism. [...] Her inner flame nourished her with an inexhaustible and creative patience, so that her immediate goal, the great works that her soul envisioned, were never far away. The Poet often demanded that tribute be paid to Eva's theatrical genius*” [Εύα Πάλμερ-Σικελιανού (Eva Palmer-Sikelianou) (1998): 109-110]. Many pioneering people in the arts, such as musicologist Simon Karas, regarded her as their intellectual mother. He said: “*For us, Eva Sikelianou was a enlightened guide. All those of us who were involved in Greece's national tradition, especially the musical arts – such as ancient theatre, ecclesiastical music, our national songs, dances and even costumes – derived our initial background from Eva, because Eva truly worshipped the Greek tradition, the ‘soul of Greece’, as she used to say... and believed in the universality of Greece and Orthodoxy.*” [Εύα Πάλμερ-Σικελιανού (Eva Palmer-Sikelianou) (1998): 276, 278].

But even those who pursued a different path could not resist Eva's charm. Among these was the anti-romantic painter Yannis Tsarouchis, who remembered her as a "spirit protesting" against the superfluous and against fashion. "I loved women's fashions then," wrote the witty artist and man of the theatre, "but the fascination and awe that Eva Sikelianou and her world triggered in me made me reject many things. She had the power to make you fanatic even about things you didn't like." [Εύα Πάλμερ-Σικελιανού (Eva Palmer-Sikelianou) (1998): 234, 236].

1927. The First Delphic Festival

In 1924, Angelos Sikelianos announced his magnificent plans for the Delphic Festival to his wife, and Eva became their sponsor and moving force. Together they planned the performances of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* in the ancient theatre of Delphi, one for visitors - city-dwellers and intellectuals - and another for the inhabitants of the villages in the region. Eva also financed the construction of their neo-romantic home in Sykia, near the archaeological site of Delphi. In the winter of 1924-25, Eva devoted herself to studying *Prometheus* in the translation by Ioannis Gryparis, and other books about ancient Greek tragedy. She asked for opinions from top Greek and foreign archaeologists regarding the controversial theme of the 'look' of the tragedy. Eva assumed responsibility herself for directing, choreography, and silk woven costumes and collaborated with well-known artists on the other aspects of the production. She assigned the sets to the German painter Wentzer, the masks to sculptor Hélène Sardou [Εύα Πάλμερ-Σικελιανού (Eva Palmer-Sikelianou) (1998): 81-87], and persuaded her ethnomusicology teacher Constantinos Psachos to write the music for *Prometheus* in Byzantine musical notation [Kalogeropoulos (1988): 647-650; Glytzouris (2001): 151]. From Yiannis Sideris we learn that the set designs and masks were by Constantinos Foskolos. From Yiannis Sideris we also learn that the actors and members of the chorus alike were amateurs, with two exceptions: Orestis Kontoyiannis, who played Strength, and Elias Destounis, who played Hermes. The other actors were: Georgios Bourlos (Prometheus), G. Mavrogenis (Oceanus), Katerina Marouli-Kakouri (Io), and Marika Veloudiou (Force). The Chorus of Ocean Nymphs or Oceanids consisted of Koula Pratsika (Coryphaea), Elli Kavvadia, Elli Margariti, Anetoula Kolyva, Elena Kantoni, Nina Delivoria, Nella (Cook) Proestopoulou, the Vetta sisters, Viki Raftopoulou, Maria Mamona, Anna Psylianou, Kaiti Psylianou, Natalia Tsarilamba, Elli Seferli, and Roussa Mavromati. The Chorus consisted of other persons as well, who were "largely decorative": Eirinoula Leoni, Dionysia Drini, Evangelia Mamona, Tassoula Lantadiou, Nitsa Kokkini, Katina Andronikou, H. Tsaousi, Maria Kantoni, Margarita Xanthaki, Falina Skorou, Maria Chrysi, Violette Papaioannou, and Titi Devainata (Hungarian) [Sideris (1976): 349-350].

With her intellectual background and artistic sense, Eva identified some basic problems in the stage production of ancient tragedy. But she herself was not qualified to provide the solutions [Flashar (1991): 161-162; Glytzouris (2001): 149-162; Fessas-Emmanouil (2004): 226, 29]. Attaching great importance to the “singing and dancing Chorus” of Oceanids (daughters of Oceanus), she selected for it girls from the Lyceum Club of Greek Women and two Coryphaea, one of whom sang and the other recited the verses of the drama. Eva gave them systematic lessons in kinesiology, modelled on paintings on sixth and fifth century BC pottery, and in Byzantine music. The training and practice of the Oceanids lasted for two summers and one winter, and rehearsals were held in the ancient theatre at Delphi over a period of five months [Sideris (1976): 353].

Generally, the entire line of the choreography was stylised and its execution by the dancers was difficult. Eva insisted that the girls create shapes with their bodies, i.e., that they be presented “with their chests stuck out”, their feet “seen from the side” and their head “in profile”. These shapes, borrowed from paintings on ancient pottery, lent the movement of the Chorus of Oceanids an archaic style, obviously inferior to the original, with the result that the dancers were limited to a decorative role [Εύα Πάλμερ-Σικελιανού (*Eva Palmer-Sikelianou*) (1998): 3, 126-130; Sideris (1976): 353-355].

The radical assignment of Constantinos Psachos to compose the music for the choral passages of *Prometheus* was a conscious decision. Eva knew that, in contrast with modern music, where the words of the poetic text are usually subordinated to the melody, traditional Greek music did not have an autonomous existence. Its role was to supplement and elevate discourse in order to move the spectators and help them understand the meaning of the words [Εύα Πάλμερ-Σικελιανού (*Eva Palmer-Sikelianou*) (1998): 113]. Eva's conviction that Byzantine music constituted a means of returning to the spirit of the ancient tragedy was based on this belief. But this innovation failed in practice owing to poor communication with Psachos, who decided to use an orchestra, essentially invalidating Eva's theory. The use of a choir also made the operation of the Chorus difficult. These flaws were openly admitted by Eva herself in an article in *Eleftheron Vima* (24.10.1931). The addition of an orchestra behind the ‘rock’ on stage to play Psachos's music proved to be a mistake, since conductor F. Economidis could not see the Chorus, nor could the Chorus see him. “...*The situation was desperate and Psachos saved it by standing behind the rock near Economidis, watching the mouths of the Oceanids, and giving the signal to Economidis who watched him and then just conducted the orchestra...*” [Εύα Πάλμερ-Σικελιανού (*Eva Palmer-Sikelianou*) (1998): 281].

Eva also admitted that she neglected the question of the actors. She realised that, to the three years required to prepare the Chorus, she should have added that much again to bind the Chorus and the actors in a harmonious whole. “...*So for the first time since antiquity, I suppose, a tragic chorus conducted itself with absolute independence.*” [Εύα

Πάλμερ-Σικελιανού (Eva Palmer-Sikelianou) (1998): 281].

On the other hand, the costumes Eva designed for the ancient tragedy were groundbreaking and decisive for the look of the production. She designed them alone, and with Elli Margariti beside her, wove silk garments for the actors and the Chorus on the loom, embroidering them with motifs inspired by the Greek countryside and ancient Greek pottery painting. The simple and elegant neo-classicism of Eva's woven robes at the First Delphic Festival [*Εύα Πάλμερ-Σικελιανού (Eva Palmer-Sikelianou) (1998): 12]* laid the foundation for a significant tradition in twentieth-century Greece: the tradition of costumes for tragedy, which was vindicated by the work of Antonis Phocas (1899-1986) [Fessas-Emmanouil (1999): 37-38; (2004b): 28-30]. Eva attached great importance to the costumes and to the need for the Chorus to feel comfortable in them. Koula Pratsika, Coryphaea of the Chorus of Oceanids in the 1927 production of *Prometheus Bound*, wrote in this regard: "At all the rehearsals, for a long time, we wore the robes of the production continuously. At the end, these clothes had become part of us [...] Every fold would fall organically around our bodies. They were difficult costumes, heavy, which with any movement of the body, would slip away from their proper position, and I could even say in an anti-theatrical way. Costumes with personality. These were costumes which, apart from their beauty, Eva succeeded in giving life and movement on us." [*Εύα Πάλμερ-Σικελιανού (Eva Palmer-Sikelianou) (1998): 126]*

In addition to *Prometheus*, the pioneering first Delphic Festival (9 and 10 May 1927) had a very rich programme: dance music in modes of the Greek musical tradition, dances taken from images on pottery and reliefs, games in the ancient stadium at Delphi, an exhibition of folk art at Arachova organised by Angeliki Hatzimichali, Greek ecclesiastical music, folk songs and dances by shepherds from Parnassus, and tours of the ancient ruins conducted by archaeologists. A daring and fertile innovation at the Delphic Festival was a presentation of a live Pyrrhic dance or an authentic *zeibekiko* by Psachos at the ancient stadium at Delphi with real soldiers and a group of Athenian scouts. [*Εύα Πάλμερ-Σικελιανού (Eva Palmer-Sikelianou) (1998): 78-79]*.

Despite their weaknesses, the 1927 *Prometheus* and the national-romantic invitation from Angelos and Eva were, as has been correctly pointed out by Koula Pratsika, "seeds scattered generously that fell on fertile ground". [*Εύα Πάλμερ-Σικελιανού (Eva Palmer-Sikelianou) (1998):126]*. Some theatre people, such as Vassilis Rotas and Fotos Politis, confined themselves to noting the shortcomings of the *Prometheus* production, and criticising it strongly [Sideris (1976): 356-361; Glytzouris (2001): 158-159]. But most intellectuals, having a sense of the importance of the neo-Romantic venture of the Delphic Festivals, were more lenient critics. Among the latter was the poet Kostas Karyotakis, who wrote the following comment: "Let us not complain about fate. Let us not bring our prejudices to the innermost sanctuary of the temples. Detailed analysis does not always lead to the truth. Certainly, the peerless magnificence of the landscape and the emotional dynamics of cer-

tain spectators contributed. The execution was not, nor could it have been, flawless in every detail ... Nevertheless the performance of *Prometheus Bound* in the ancient theatre of Delphi was, I believe, a great artistic event for Greece, the only one perhaps in the diminishing intellectual life of recent years. At two or three points one felt an absolute ecstasy, something like a breath of immortality, that divine thrill that redeems the ugliness of every day and justifies existence." [Εύα Πάλμερ-Σικελιανού (*Eva Palmer-Sikelianou*) (1998): 145].

1930. *The Second Delphic Festival*

Although heavily in debt after the extravagant expenditure on the First Delphic Festival, Eva did not give up. In the next two years (1927-29) she travelled to the U.S. (San Francisco, New York, etc.) and Paris, disseminating the Delphic Idea and promulgating with passion her view that the traditional music of Greece – Byzantine and demotic folk music – must be the basis of music for the tragic chorus [Palmer-Sikelianou (1992): 124-126].

In 1929, she met Antonis Benakis in Paris, and he became one of the most enthusiastic supporters and sponsors of the Second Delphic Festival, the cost of which amounted to some 2,000,000 drachmas. The sponsors included many famous Greeks: Elena Venizelou, Alexandra Choremi, Penelope Delta, and others, as well as banks, while the Greek government granted a subsidy of 300,000 drachmas. This support lent particular prestige and publicity to the Second Delphic Festivals [Chatzidaki (1998): 4-5].

The programme for the 1930 Festival was even richer than the First and lasted for more days. Apart from the repetition of *Prometheus Bound* and the production of Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, translated by I. Gryparis, the three-day Delphic Festival included: a visit to the ancient sites guided by Greek and foreign archaeologists, a panhellenic exhibition of handicrafts organised by the Art-Lovers Society under the direction of Angeliki Hatzimichali, 'Pythian Games' at the stadium in Delphi organised by the Military Gymnastic Academy and dedicated to the heroes of the Greek War of Independence, a parade of athletes, the oath, pentathlon, torch relays, tug-of-war, athletic games, the war dance of the Macedonians, an equestrian demonstration, a demonstration of archers, an athletic demonstration by Macedonians, and the Pyrrhic war dance. *Prometheus Bound* and the *Suppliants* were each presented four times. One performance of the tragedies was given exclusively for the inhabitants of the region's villages [Εύα Πάλμερ-Σικελιανού (*Eva Palmer-Sikelianou*) (1998): 219-225; Sideris (1976): 419].

The Second Delphic Festival was even more important than the First in terms of its 'look' and the Chorus. In addition to the refinement of the costumes, the reduced number of instruments in the orchestra, and the improvements in Psachos's music, the aesthetic aspect was also improved. Contributing to this was the abstract set design by architect Georges Kontoleon, which was better suited to the Delphic landscape, the Egyptian masks

by sculptor Phokion Rock, and the statue of Zeus in the *Suppliants* created by Michalis Tombros. And finally, the preparation of the Chorus of Oceanids was much better, as was, especially, the Chorus of Suppliants. In the *Suppliants*, there were 80 people in the Chorus, 50 dancers, 24 attendants and the Coryphaea. The attendants sat in two semi-circles at the edge of the orchestra and remained there throughout the performance [Sideris (1976): 411-412; Fessas-Emmanouil (1999): 37-38, 187-188 & (ed., 2004): 361-362]. Despite some objections that were expressed regarding the "anti-archaeological" rushing about by the Suppliants at one point in the performance, the critics were generally enthusiastic. Achilles Mamakis, for example, was impressed by the Egyptian dress and the fine bearing of the 50 girls, who walked, sang, lamented, and "externalised in a group [...] the same feeling with rhythmic movements, with artistic positions, with configurations that were artistically superb, with images that aroused unreserved admiration" [Sideris (1976): 411-412].

The success of the two Festivals caused Sikelianos to propose that a university be established at Delphi. Prompted by the upper-class interest in folk art, Eva suggested that handicrafts be developed as a means of combating unemployment and mitigating industrialisation. She continued until 1933 to write articles on the subject of music in ancient drama, to fight for the Delphic Idea, and to make her dynamic presence felt in the cultural life of Athens. Eva and Angelos Sikelianos prevented *Prometheus Bound* from being performed in the Stadium with the involvement of tourism, and fought to protect the archaeological sites of Athens [Fessas-Emmanouil, ed. (2004): 362]. Eva's last significant activity before leaving Greece to return to the U.S. was her effort to create an ancient Greek type of theatre in the natural amphitheatre west of the Hill of the Muses [Fessas-Emmanouil (1991): 69-73].

Afterword

Eva Palmer-Sikelianou's most important achievement was being the first to make the Chorus once again the 'heart' of ancient tragedy on stage, i.e., to make it a group that dances, acts and sings. Nor did her contribution end with the imperfect fruits of her neo-Romantic efforts in the ancient theatre at Delphi. Eva's vast psychic radiance left its mark on all those who were fortunate enough to be close to her or close to the initiates in the Delphic revolution. Among them was the great educator Koula Pratsika, Coryphaea of the Chorus in the First Delphic Festival [*Εύα Πάλμερ-Σικελιανού* (Eva Palmer-Sikelianou) (1998): 126-127] and her charismatic pupils – Loukia Kokkinoti-Sakellariou, Rallou Manou, Agape Evangelidou, Maria Diamantidou, Maria Hors, and Maria Kynigou – who were to establish the two schools in Greece that taught the choreography of ancient drama: the neo-Classical school of the National Theatre and the anti-academic school of Karlos Koun's *Theatro Technis* [Fessas-Emmanouil (2004a): 52-55].

The positive view of the stage treatment of the Chorus in the Delphic Festivals was

aply commented on by Yiannis Miliadis at the end of the 1960s. “Eva’s *Chorus* was a wise chorus. She herself lived in the classicist climate of Isadora Duncan [...] But beyond that, she was full of gentility and replete with fine taste and exceptional quality. She was an archaic frieze that moved before our astonished eyes like the slow unfolding of a film. She was an interpolated superb aesthetic vision and desire for high culture. But she certainly was not the expressive dance of Aeschylean tragedy. Precisely what this dance was in the tragedy, we can only faintly suspect.” He pointed out aptly that Eva’s decisive influence was due to her pioneering effort to harmonise in her productions the three component elements of ancient tragedy: discourse, music, and dance [Εύα Πάλμερ-Σικελιανού (*Eva Palmer-Sikelianou*) (1998): 97, 99].

Regarding the choreographic weaknesses of the Delphic performances, we have the words of Koula Pratsika and Yannis Tsarouchis. “*Sikelianou* believed in the vases; she wanted to make the dancer a living picture of the red-figure vases. She copied many positions that were the same and put them together either with a simple walk or to the rhythm of the *ballos* or the *syrtos*. In the *Suppliants* she abandoned her stubborn principle of having the head always turned in profile.” [Εύα Πάλμερ-Σικελιανού (*Eva Palmer-Sikelianou*) (1998): 235]. These observations by Tsarouchis are supplemented by Pratsika, referring to Eva’s choreography: “Her example opened uncharted paths for me and enlightened me for the rest of my life. But I should say that this method of putting together a continuum of dance movements would not have been appropriate today.” [Εύα Πάλμερ-Σικελιανού (*Eva Palmer-Sikelianou*) (1998): 127]

Beyond their shortcomings, *Prometheus* and the *Suppliants* of the Delphic Festivals constituted a great school both for those who continued her efforts and for her critics. The meaning of this lesson can be seen in the following words by Tsarouchis: “At Delphi I came to understand a lot of things about the ancient theatre, without always seeing them realised there. Alongside the strong folk music, with the flutes that sliced through the air and the drums of the chaste mother Cybele, the music of Psachos and the choral parts of Aeschylus looked feeble and somehow abstemious. That was when I began to understand that what is ‘Greek’ must be found somewhere between the two, at risk always of falling into the chaos that separates them.” [Εύα Πάλμερ-Σικελιανού (*Eva Palmer-Sikelianou*) (1998): 236]

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The poet Angelos Sikelianos (1884-1951)
(Source: Hellenic Centre of Theatrical Research
– Theatre Museum).



Eva Palmer-Sikelianou (1874-1952) in later life
(Source: *Εβα Πάλμερ-Σικελιανού* [*Eva Palmer-Sikelianou*], D. Papadimas Editions,
Athens, 1998, p. 282).



First Delphic Festival, 1927: the Occanids chorus at the performance
of *Prometheus Bound*, directed by Eva Palmer Sikelianou.
(Source: European Cultural Centre of Delphi Collection).



Second Delphic Festival, 1930: the chorus of the *Suppliants* and of *Prometheus*
(Source: Nelly's photo, Benaki Museum Photographic Archives).



The chorus of the Euripides tragedy *Phoenician Women*
(1960, directed by Alexis Minotis; choreographer Maria Hors, pupil of Koula Pratsika; Costumes by A. Phokas, "pupil" of Eva; Set by Cl. Klonis).
A top example of the National Theatre of Greece neoclassical tradition.
(Source: Exhibition organised by the Department of Theatre Studies, Athens University, 1999, curator H. Fessas-Emmanouil).

CAROL GILLESPIE – LORNA HARDWICK

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN RESEARCHING GREEK DRAMA
IN MODERN CULTURAL CONTEXTS:
THE PROBLEM OF THE PHOTOGRAPHIC IMAGE

In this paper we aim to open up discussion about the importance of primary sources in the research and documentation of modern performances of Greek drama. The context is our work in the Open University research project on the *Reception of Classical Texts in English* from the mid-1970s to the present. The most important aspect in the first phase of this research has been the study of the processes of performance creation in productions of Greek drama on the modern stage and this has underpinned our annotated database of recent examples published on the project website (www2.open.ac.uk/ClassicalStudies/GreekPlays). This focus on process is derived from our view that *why, how and for whom* the performance is created shapes its relationship with the ancient text and its performance tradition. Researching modern productions means that we have to try to seize information that would otherwise be ephemeral. Our overriding aim in the database is to provide the cultural historians of the future with detailed evidence about the extraordinary impact of Greek drama in the last part of the twentieth century.

Our research is carried out in a department of classical studies, not one of theatre studies. We therefore have a particular interest in the relationship between the ancient text and its modern interpretations. The hermeneutics has to take account of the nature and dynamics of the modern staging. Whether the language of performance is the original Greek or a translation or stage version, classicists have to accept that the relationship between ancient and modern can never be purely linguistic. Even if the modern writer works via close translation (and increasingly this is a mediating stage between the ante-text and the creation of the new play text), there is a further process of translation to the stage. This is shaped by a variety of factors, verbal, non-verbal, cultural and environmental as well as by the subjectivities of the practitioners. Just as the translation, rewriting or play text is part of a modern theatrical environment, so was the ancient text a part of its environment. Through our research, we try to identify and analyse correspondences, or lack of them, in the political, cultural and religious settings, the theatrical conventions, theatrical space, the provenance of the audiences, and their response. Visual records are a particular concern. Important research has been done on the relationship between Greek vase-painting and theatrical performance in the ancient world. Modern images, whether still or moving, may apparently be more intimately connected with a particular performance than are

ancient images on painted pottery or mosaics, but are just as problematic in themselves as are the ancient. They present the added difficulty that they involve modern technology as well as an aesthetic and material context that inevitably shapes what they show, how they show it and to whom. The rest of our paper will focus on one kind of visual primary source – the still photograph.

Our project is addressing this issue in two ways. First, we are compiling a photo-gallery of stills, which we shall make available on-line to researchers. We hope that it will be particularly useful in enabling researchers and students to access material from the lesser-known productions that are not extensively featured in the national and international press and are not usually from companies that keep archives. Such productions are nevertheless very important as sources of data which is significant for researching trends in theatre, aesthetics and cultural politics. Secondly, we intend to include on the web site, as part of our series of critical essays on the use of primary sources, a critical evaluation of the potential and drawbacks of using photographs. We regard it as very important for researchers to make clear what kinds of evidence they are using when they comment on performance. We also want to develop a critical commentary on this evidence to go alongside our database of examples – *no database is neutral*. We have already published several items in this series of critical essays – including Lorna Hardwick's study of problems in the use of theatre reviews in documenting modern performances and Alison Burke's detailed study of the value and problems of using interviews with theatre practitioners – directors, translators, designers, actors. She has analysed both journalistic interviews and academic interviews.

In assembling a photo gallery of examples and developing a critical evaluation of the use of photographs as primary sources, we are also addressing the paradox that we write about 'performances' without actually having the performance in front of us as a text we can 'hold' other than in the memory or the imagination (concepts which need further examination in the context of theatre research, but that must wait for another day). We are constantly thinking about what the photograph can do and what it cannot do in the retrospective construction of performance and,

Photographs can:

- Bring evidence from less well-known productions BUT this may not be from actual performances (i.e., photographs may be 'posed' or intended as 'publicity') NOR can single photographs indicate change as the run progresses, although a dated series of actual production photos would be helpful in that respect.
- Indicate 'style', physicality and gesture but cannot represent wider movement;
- Suggest the emotional and sometimes spatial relationship of one actor to another, but only at a particular moment, and within a particular perspective.

- Focus on details, for instance of costume or make-up or mask, but the viewer cannot know what is on the periphery or the relationship of the parts to the whole.
- With other evidence, suggest what the company wanted to create as its image and how it wanted the performance to be represented (for example art photos? Sexy? Grainy? Key scenes selected? Key actors? Individual? Group?).

It is clear, then, that using photographs as evidence of performance is likely to be problematic. A contributing factor to the problem is that in modern industrialised societies we are all involved in the medium of photography at some stage – if not as a producer then as a subject or viewer, or a combination of all three – and many institutions are dependent upon it (the fashion and sex industries, the tabloid press, certain parts of the legal and penal institutions, etc.) However, comparatively few academic researchers in the UK, outside the area of Art History, receive any formal training in visual analysis. Such an omission means that researchers sometimes treat the performance photograph as the product of a technical and scientific process, capable of depicting objective truth. However, the multi-function characteristic of photography (which enables it to, for example, sell cars, give an insight into the imagination of an artist, enable an individual to travel via a passport, identify a ‘criminal’ or capture a personal memory) should alert researchers to the possibility that there are specific discourses at work within photography which allow individual photographs to be ‘read’, and to mean something to someone, within concrete and delimited conditions of use (i.e., meaning can be related to both the original context, or to a new context within which it is viewed). Therefore, as with any other form of documentary evidence, context of the original is crucial. Yet we often find performance photographs (indeed, most photographs!) being used or displayed in textbooks, academic journals and archives, with very little attempt to contextualise.

The performance photograph then, like any image, is the product of a set of conventions and those conventions are based on a set of ideas about what the photographer thinks he or she is doing, and a set of practices and procedures that give expression to those ideas. The researcher must therefore remain aware that the performance photograph is not the factual recording of a moment during a production but a personal artistic representation or interpretation by the photographer and/or other agents involved. The performance researcher therefore has to be able to handle BOTH evaluation of the photograph as documentary evidence and also the critique of the image as an art form.

Therefore, further basic research questions are generated:

- For any photo: Who took it ? When ? Where ? Under what conditions ? For what purpose ?
- What is the place of the image in the photographic context, technique and artistic and/or commercial tradition ? (This is important to compare with the context and tradition of the performance.)
- For comparative purposes: can photos help with study of different productions/adaptations of the same play ? (Different character roles/same actor; different productions of Greek plays by the same director/designer/costumer, etc.)

These appear to be very basic research questions. However, as will now be demonstrated, when applied to the analysis of performance-related photographs from three separate productions of modern performances of ancient Greek tragedy, such questions are crucial.

Photographs – Reliable documentary evidence ?

The performance photograph is seen, correctly, as a reference to a record of some prior existence of the performance but this takes us to one of the complexities of using the photographic image as a documentary evidence – the photograph has power precisely because it appears to provide an ‘experience’ of the performance, it gives a sense of bringing the performance back to life. But in retrieving one or more fragmentary glimpses of a past performance the researcher can still only *imagine* such aspects as gestures, how the performance space was used or features of design/costuming. The problem is compounded because the photograph’s position is often as a secondary line of enquiry – brought out to support or ‘prove’ what has already been decided through other types of research. This leads to photographs being picked out of the archive on some aspect of subject-matter contained within the image – an item of clothing, a gesture, the positioning of the chorus – since photographs appear to offer ‘evidence’ that can illustrate the point being made. This leads to the real danger that the viewer of the photographic image comes to identify with the camera and the institution of photography, to such an extent that ‘all other forms of telling and remembering’ begin to fade. (Sekula 1999: 187).

For example, a researcher might, having already concluded through other areas of research that Theatre Cryptic produces *avant-garde*, modern productions of the ancient plays, be tempted to ‘prove’ their conclusion by using an image from a newspaper preview of Theatre Cryptic’s performance of *Electra* at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival in August 1999. The production used a new version of the *Electra* story written by Clare Venables and subtitled ‘Queen of Revenge’. The newspaper photograph (*The Scotsman*, 19 August 1999)

is a head and (bare) shoulders shot of Electra (Kate Dickie). Her head is a shaven and the word 'revenge' is clearly seen tattooed across her skull.

Contact with Theatre Cryptic produced another photograph; this time it is a full length photograph, apparently shot on stage, showing Electra (still Kate Dickie) in a long flowing dress and – short cropped hair. Interestingly, Theatre Cryptic were unable to confirm whether or not the full-length image was taken during a live performance, a rehearsal or for another purpose, though they could confirm, from memory, that Electra had short hair for the performance run. Indeed, our original interest in the problem was triggered by the recollection of the researcher who had attended the performance that we documented for our database (DB No. 1115). But which photograph will we rely on some years hence when there is no one left who can remember the performance?

This illustrates two problems:

First, that performance photographs when uncritically used can be misleading in terms of the performance itself. Second, that visual images seldom remain together with detailed contextual information and archivists need also to be aware of this responsibility when compiling collections of images. These two problems demonstrate how crucial our research questions are: what are the photographs' original conditions of production and what is the place of these particular images in the photographic context, technique, and artistic and/or commercial tradition?

In the case of Theatre Cryptic's *Electra* photographs, one possibility is that they were posed – possibly for promotional purposes. The head and shoulder shots (which also appeared, though from a different angle, on the front and back of the theatre programme) are dramatic and eye-catching and probably tell us more about the company's desire to draw in an audience than about the actual performance. This is evidence that performance photographs arise not just from the documentary genre but also from the advertising genre. This brings into question the photographer's role – is s/he a free and creative individual or simply technical labour following orders from two clients (i) the advertising agency who employs the photographer, and in turn relies on the photographer to be successful in each session and therefore bring more work to the agency, and (ii) the agency's client (the theatre company) who have the power to withdraw their patronage of the agency if they are unhappy with the photographer's work.

The researcher must therefore also take into account institutional determinants which might have contributed to the style and content of the photograph. However, the full-length photograph, whilst giving the appearance of being taken from the actual performance might also have been self-promotional – perhaps specifically taken for inclusion in Kate Dickie's portfolio. Some years into the future such a photograph might become part of another genre – that of photograph as art – a photograph 'by' rather than a photograph 'of'. This phenomenon of photograph 'by' was noted by Douglas Crimp in the early 1980s

when he argued that if “*photography was invented in 1839 it was only discovered in the 1960s and 1970s*” (Crimp, 1993:66-83). He cites the example of Julia Van Haaften’s re-organisation of the New York Public Library in which she searched through books on disparate subjects (transport, fashion, portraiture, etc) for now ‘famous’ art photographers and placed the books under the single category of photography. By separating the photograph from its subject a fashion book containing photographs of Dior’s New Look in 1947 become photographs by Irving Penn, portraits of Delacroix and Manet become photographs by Nadar and Carjat. The separation of the photograph from its original context clearly alters or represses the photograph’s information function and points the viewer towards notions of authorship and *oeuvre*.

The role of the archivist

With the advent of on-line searchable databases, such as our own, it could be that separation of the photograph from its subject might become, in some ways, less of an issue because it is the user who decides whether or not to search by photographer, performance or actress, and thereby creates the grouping whether it be that of authorship, *oeuvre*, content, etc. But this leaves the onus very much on the archivist to provide details of the original context to ensure the researcher is able to read the image correctly. Investigation of a performing arts library that has recently placed its database of images on-line (www.arenapal.com/) demonstrates that context is still not considered an important issue when cataloguing and storing photographs. Photographs in the Arena Pal database are accompanied by only minimal information.

[photo image]			
HECUBA - New version by Tony Harrison Albery Theatre - London 04 / 05 Dir: Laurence Boswell VANESSA REDGRAVE - Hecuba RSC Season Credit: Marilyn Kingwill / ArenaPAL			
Filename	arp1055592.jpg	Uncompressed size	2960 Kb
File Size	299.09 Kb	Dimensions (pixels)	1134 x 891
File Type	Image	Dimensions	9.60 x 7.54 cm / 3.78 x 2.97 inch
Last Modified	4/22/2005 11:35:59 AM	Resolution	118.11 ppc / 300.00 ppi
Image Notes:		Color space	RGB
Keywords		Credit:	ArenaPAL
Information		Source:	
Object Name:		Copyright String:	
Category:		Byline Title:	
Supplemental Category:		Caption Writer:	
Byline:		Headline:	
		Special Instructions	

As can be seen from the above screenshot of the entry for a photograph from the 2005 RSC *Hecuba* production in London (showing Hecuba being held by members of the Chorus) available information includes: production title, date of production run, venue, photographer's name, name of the main character role and name of actors depicted in the photograph, but chorus or other members of the cast 'around' the main actors are unnamed. Important categories such as 'Keywords', which aids the search facility on databases, and 'Information', which could contain crucial contextual information are left blank. (This is also a noticeable contrast to the care taken to give full technical details.)

Arena Pal is a commercial database from which it is possible to purchase theatre photographs. The lack of contextual information is therefore particularly dangerous as, when parted from its original context, the meaning in photographs may be altered by individuals or institutions that purchase them and then have the power to define and organise the rhetoric of photographs through the way in which they are displayed, viewed, catalogued. This means that not only are the photographs literally up for sale but also "their meanings are up for grabs. New owners are invited, new interpretations promised". (Sekula 1999: 189).

The history of an image and its influence

To explore just what can happen when images are 'sold-on' we need first to briefly examine the critical reaction to two different productions – the 2005 Royal Shakespeare Company's *Hecuba* (translator Tony Harrison) and the 1994/5 Royal National Theatre's production of *The Women of Troy* (translator Kenneth McLeish) – before examining a different set of images used by the *Hecuba* theatre programme.

Analysis of the RCS's *Hecuba* performance text (published by Faber, 2005) shows that Harrison closely followed Euripides' text.¹ Yet, as Lorna Hardwick noted in a recent paper to the British Classics Conference, many critics persisted in saying that images in the production "looked like photos of Iraq" (Hardwick 2007 forthcoming).

Certainly there were correspondences in the production to the war in Iraq – for example, one of the Greek commanders adopted an American accent, and the phrase 'coalition forces' appears in the text a number of times. But such correspondences are hardly unusual.

One example is the 1994/5 production of Euripides' *The Women of Troy*, which used a new translation by Kenneth McLeish and was performed at the Royal National Theatre, London. You will recall that during the 1980s and much of the 1990s wars and social upheaval were occurring in Northern Iraq, Chechnya, and the Balkan States. Reviews of the produc-

¹ The *Hecuba* production (and related photographs) cited in this paper refers only to the London production, in which the set design was neutral. A new set was designed for the US tour which included rows of US army tents and which more clearly corresponded to the Iraq situation.

tion referred to the “*Jet fighters and helicopters roaring above*” (John Peter, *Sunday Times*, 26 March 1995), a “*set with steps of jagged concrete, wire mesh and corrugated iron suggestive of a prison block*” and “*a Greek army all with American accents*” (Benedict Nightingale, *The Times*, 18 March 1995), “*a multi-cultural European-Asian-African chorus*” (Michael Billington, *The Guardian*, 18 March 1995) “*which included Iranians and a Yugoslavian*” (Michael Coveney, *The Observer*, 19 March 1995), “*whose choral odes sound Balkan, with the implication that this is Sarajevo*” (Alistair Macauley, *Financial Times*, 18 March 1995).

Photographs relating to this production of *Women of Troy* (1994/5) show that the costume of the chorus with their purple/blue/gold pattern shawls and head-coverings do indeed resemble a Balkan dress code. The design is also remarkably similar to the costume design of the chorus of the *Hecuba* of 2005, including the covering of the head.

Yet, despite all the pointers to current wars and social upheaval referred to in reviews of *Women of Troy*, the critics, whilst they did not particularly enjoy the production, did not complain about having a critique of the war in the Balkans being forced on to them, as they did with the RSC/Harrison production. Indeed, John Peter notes mildly, if ironically, in his review that such correspondences in the production of *Women of Troy* are there to “*tickle agreeably the consciences of the politically up-to-date*” (*Sunday Times*, 26 March 1995).

An investigation of a close-up photograph of the *Hecuba* reveals that the costume of the chorus, with purples, pinks, blues and patterns of gold running through the head-dress and shawls, resembles more a Slav/Balkan dress code rather than something that is exclusively Muslim.

So what was it that caused the critics of the *Hecuba* (2005) production to, in Lorna Hardwick’s phrase, “*islamicise the chorus*” (Hardwick, 2007).

Perhaps in part the answer lies with one aspect of the often-ignored ephemera of theatre research, the theatre programme.

The programme that accompanied the London run of the RSC’s *Hecuba* did not contain any written references to the current situation in Iraq. There were two articles contained in the programme. The first article, by Edith Hall (Professor of Greek Cultural History, Durham University), set out a brief introduction to the cultural and social conditions of 5th century Athens which informed Euripides’ text; the second article, by Ann Shearer (a Jungian analyst), is also set in the ancient context and discusses the way in which victims can become tyrants in their turn.

Nor did the programme contain any photographs relating to the production. It did contain three half page photographs by Shirin Neshat, an Iranian-born photographer, now living in the US.

One of the photographs shows a group of women in a circular huddle apparently digging in the centre of the group as there is dust flying around. The second photograph is also a group photo in a similar, possibly the same, location but with mountains more

clearly visible in the background. In both photographs all the women are dressed in the traditional black Muslim chador.

Only Neshat's name as photographer, and the title of the series of photographs 'Passage', was supplied. Further research found that the photos reproduced in the programme are stills from a moving film, which was shot, not in Iraq or Iran, but in Morocco – a more liberal Muslim country in terms of dress perhaps – and shot long before the Western invasion of Iraq. Neshat herself has argued that the artist's responsibility is neither to validate nor to critique social and political ideas and she sees her own art as a way of constructing a *positive* relationship to her own country of birth from the outside. (Ebrahimian, 2002).

Understanding the interfaces of meaning within a photograph is also crucial. The West tends to view such representations, of women in their chador, as 'the other', the oppressed, the victims of a patriarchal society. Yet, Neshat's desire is to get the West to see the *positive* beyond the chador, the freedom and power for Muslim women that she believes lie beneath. She argues that she is an artist not an activist and therefore "has no agenda [and is] merely working to entice a dialogue [...]. There's the stereotype about the women – they're all victims and submissive – and they're not. Slowly I subvert that image by showing in the most subtle and candid way how strong these women are" (Horsburgh 2004). However, such images when taken from their original context of a moving film which tells a story, accompanied by atmospheric music, are rendered stereotypical, particularly to a Western audience. And so the original meaning of Neshat's film has indeed been left 'up for grabs' and changed when the RSC decided to attach the photographs to a theatre performance dealing with issues of "tyrant and victim, freedom and slavery, justice and expedience" (Programme p. 4).

The question remains: why were these stills from a film reproduced and used in the *Hecuba* theatre programme and how did they affect critical reception of the production? Did the journalists subconsciously transpose the clothes worn by the women in the programme on to those of the chorus? Is it possible their memories were more influenced by a set of photographs they could take home and study than what they actually saw represented on the stage? Such questions are also important for discussion of the wider issue of the reception of contentious productions (see Hardwick, 2007).

This brief look at images has highlighted three problematic areas that researchers need to be aware of when using photographic images as evidence:

- Images cannot stand alone when used as a primary source of evidence. They require detailed contextual information which should include the original conditions of the production of the photograph.
- Meaning in photographs is also shaped by the specific context in which they are displayed or viewed.
- Different methods of analysis, including semiotics, are required when evaluating images to enable understanding of the different layers of meaning generated.

The authors of this paper have also taken particular note of the role of the archivist when setting up a collection, and we intend to try and ensure that all images in our own database will be as fully contextualised as possible – or at the very least will give a history of the research undertaken in the case of each individual image!

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SOPHOCLES ON THE GEORGIAN STAGE: 20th CENTURY

The dominant interest in ancient drama in Georgia is closely connected with Sophocles (throughout the 20th century, the *Medea* of Euripides forms the exception). Strictly speaking, there were two tragedies by Sophocles – *Antigone* and *Oedipus Rex* – which awoke the interest of directors.¹ No other drama by Sophocles was performed in Georgia until recently. Strangely, other tragedies failed to attract the directors for the whole 20th century and only in September 2005 was the *Elektra* of Sophocles staged in Batumi for the first time.

It is remarkable that Georgians, who have usually understood themselves as a part of European culture and were deeply influenced first by the Greeks and then by Byzantium, were not familiar with ancient drama on stage until the 20th century.² Perhaps it was a permanent struggle to maintain Christianity in a largely non-Christian environment that caused this concentration on Christian literature and Christian art in general. The political situation in the 19th -20th centuries provided more freedom to acquire European pre-Christian culture. In the case of ancient theatre, this neglect lasted until the beginning of the 20th century.

In 1912, Georgian directors became interested in Sophocles for the first time. In this period concerns related to the crisis in theatre were of current importance. Some young directors thought that Georgian theatre had adopted mainly the functions of entertainment, in which no place was left for serious themes.³ The interest in Sophocles' tragedies marked a new wave. But even these plays were subjected to heavy criticism because of lack of originality and novelty: the first performances were very much influenced by Max Reinhardt's production of *Oedipus Rex*. It was truly an international sensation, which came to Georgia too and served as a great stimulus for the performance of the Greek drama. Geor-

¹ *Oedipus Rex* was much more popular than any other ancient tragic character. More than 12 different versions of *Oedipus Rex* were staged in 20th century Georgia; as for *Antigone*, it was produced seven times, but mostly in provincial towns and therefore it was valued less than the numbers can show.

² There is no clear evidence for the staging of Greek dramas in ancient times, although the remains of an ancient theatre are traceable. After Christianisation in the 4th century, theatre was largely ignored. There are some exceptions concerning knowledge of ancient drama in Georgia in the Middle Ages. Students had to study ancient dramatists in the Academy of Gelathi in the 11th - 12th centuries, but it was only a theoretical acquaintance. Another exception is a drama called 'Iphigenia' in the 18th century, played at a king's palace. It was a considerably modified version of Euripides' play.

³ VASIL KIKNADZE, *History of Georgian Dramatic Theatre I*, (Tbilisi: Saari, 2003): 403.

gian director Kote Mardjanishwili, who saw *Oedipus Rex* when Reinhardt's production went to Russia, staged the same play in Moscow in 1912. This was the first semi-Georgian performance of ancient tragedy (but outside of Georgia). At the same period, the very first ancient drama was performed in Tbilisi: it was the *Antigone* of Sophocles.

The increasing interest in ancient drama was suddenly stopped by political events. When the Soviet army invaded Georgia and the country became a part of the Soviet state and largely lost the opportunity of free choice in every sphere, ancient dramas disappeared from the stage. Later, when Greek tragedies became again a part of the repertoire, directors found for them interpretations that were suitable for the regime.

Two major themes will be handled in what follows: these are performances of *Antigone* and performances of *Oedipus Rex* in the light of their cultural and political importance.⁴ For Georgia of the Soviet period the key question to investigate is whether the Soviet ideology and censorship influenced the performances of ancient drama, and if so, in what ways.

1. *Antigone* in Georgia: 20th century

Antigone by Sophocles was first staged in 1912.⁵ This production was not so impressive because of its poor directing, but nevertheless opened a new path for discussions about the problem Antigone versus Creon, and was a stimulus for other interpretations. After this first production in Tbilisi, another version of *Antigone* was performed and very soon the third production followed. In 1912-1913, three different versions of *Antigone* attracted the spectators' lively interest. In 1919, the fourth version was produced, and was performed until 1921.

The first performances were not merely theatrical events. They had a larger cultural importance. The plays were accompanied by lectures about Sophocles and his *Antigone*, about Ancient Greek Drama in general. Lectures were delivered by the translator of the play. The resonance of the first ancient Greek tragedies in Tbilisi and Kutaisi was enormous. The Georgian papers were largely appreciative of the performances and they carried on discussions over the main problem in *Antigone*, referring not only to the performance but to the lectures before the plays as well. The focal questions of such discussions were: Antigone as a personality versus Creon as a symbol of the state, or Antigone as a protector of old rules versus Creon as a personification of the new order.

The last 'non-Soviet' *Antigone* was performed in January 1921. Soon after that, Georgia was invaded by the Soviets and a long pause until the late 1960s was imposed upon performances of *Antigone*.

⁴ Only the most important productions will be traced in this paper.

⁵ NIKO URUSCHADZE, *Sophocles on the Georgian Stage* (Tbilisi: Sakarthwelo, 1961): 17-24.

In the late 1960s, the first *Antigone* returned. This time it was the *Antigone* by Jean Anouilh. It was a great success and the Georgian stage was dominated by this version.

Only once did the traditional version of the Sophoclean *Antigone* return to the stage in Tbilisi. It was in 1972. Director Aleksidze, who had earlier put on unforgettable productions of *Oedipus Rex*, staged *Antigone*. It was a slightly altered version of his production which was made for Aspasia Papatthanassiou in Kiev.⁶ The performance did not impress the audience in the way Anouilh's *Antigone* did. To explain the popularity of Anouilh, Georgian actress Chiaureli, who had earlier played the same character by Anouilh, said she could only understand *Antigone* after reading Anouilh. I think the problem lay not in Sophocles but in the way Sophocles' plays were performed: that is, in a very pompous and outdated style. Since Anouilh's *Antigone* was performed much more naturally, the play was nearer to the audience and was much better loved.

The last Georgian *Antigone* (2002) was a mixture of three versions: Sophocles, Anouilh, and a Georgian playwright, Janelidze. In this play, *Antigone* travels through time and space and looks much more optimistic than her Greek and French prototypes. This play was full of social and political allusions and the problems could be identified easily. The same cannot be said about earlier interpretations.

Georgian versions of *Antigone* (just like the first performance of *Antigone* in Athens or any other performance) reflect the reality of the time at which they were performed, and other way round. In order to understand the resonance and impression made by these plays on the audience, we have to familiarise ourselves with the political situation. One of the interesting questions when discussing performances of *Antigone* in Georgia is: what was the resonance of the *Antigone* plays in Georgia? Was the situation in Thebes identified with the political situation in Georgia, and if so, was the character of Creon somehow connected with the contemporary political leaders: Stalin, Beria, or others?

It was 1968 when Michael Tumanishwili in the Rustaweli Theatre for the first time staged *Antigone* by Anouilh. It was the first *Antigone* in Soviet Georgia. Stalin was dead, the first signs of so called 'Ottepel' (Chrushow-time) were past. The USSR was in a state of deep stagnation. The old leaders were still adored, especially Stalin in Georgia. People considered him a victorious hero of World War II. He was a native Georgian and some kind of pride was connected with his name. This adoration among the masses was backed by a deficiency of information about the reality in the so-called work camps (gulags) and about the millions of victims of the regime. People were not aware (or maybe they did not want to be aware?) of the fact that Stalin was the leading person in the scenario. Until then he had been the great leader, the source of peace and order.

⁶ It is interesting to mention that Aspasia Papatthanassiou came to Tbilisi for a couple of days and performed *Antigone* instead of Chiaureli.

By this time, communism had entered its new phase of development: for something to be forbidden officially did not exclude the possibility of achieving certain goals by indirect means. It appears that this was more apparent on the periphery and even more so in cultural life. The production of the contemporary Georgian theatre was rich in criticism, but mostly it was social criticism. Among those productions full of criticism of the regime, *Antigone* did not resonate as much as one would imagine. Dissidents of the communist state never attributed to it any special symbolic meaning. When, after years of successful staging, the *Antigone* of 1968 was unexpectedly banned, directors and actors managed to convince party leaders that the play was never a danger to the Soviet regime as it never intended to undermine it.⁷ It did not require an extra effort to pursue the issue as contemporary society was not ready to view *Antigone* through the political lens.

Another detail of the problem is brought out by the year of the production – 1968. In this year, the Soviet army entered Prague. Michael Vickers suggests that the Tumanishwili production was a protest against those events.⁸ Though the evidence is scarce, still there is a mention in the book by the Georgian actress Zinaida Kverenchkhiladze that Mikhail Tumanishwili used to repeat often: “*we should tell young people the truth by this play*”. These words do not necessarily refer to the events in Prague, but to communist reality and maybe history. The actress playing *Antigone* used to remark that she saw in it her own childhood, a time when she was oppressed by the communist party officials. Probably there were many who saw a tyrant in the play, some – Stalin, some – Beria, some – Hitler, and some a tyrannical uncle of their own.⁹

Except for individual cases, the play never became an inspiration for protests among the public. Apart from other reasons, there is another cause in the fact that Creon was never openly identified with Stalin. The original character by Anouilh was not a tyrant to the degree that we see in Sophocles. His nature cannot be explained by the Hegelian interpretation. Creon by Anouilh is indifferent to everything. He admits that he does not even identify the person whom he buried: Polynices or Eteocles. This particular Creon is an absurd figure who just says ‘yes’ and goes with the flow of life. Creon’s redesigned character, influenced by existentialism, is more a re-incarnation of compromise than a picture of the typical tyrant. Such was Anouilh’s Creon, produced on the Georgian stage, and it was hardly a cliché that would fit Stalin in itself. For the enemies of the regime, the latter was an evil dictator; for its supporters, he was a protector of the state, sacrificing his private interests in the name of it.

⁷ Cultural politics often depended on the personal attitude of authorities in this branch. That is why politics differed from year to year, from person to person.

⁸ MICHAEL VICKERS, “*Antigone* in ancient Greece and modern Georgia,” *Phasis* (in print).

⁹ ZINAIDA KVERENCHKHLADZE, *Mine Antigone* (Tbilisi, 2003): 70.

The audience loved the story of Stalin sacrificing his captured son to the Nazis as he refused to exchange him for the famous German general. As it was usually told, this story was meant to underline the positive side of Stalin. So Creon, in sacrificing Antigone for the sake of state, could be seen as not very unusual.

Nevertheless, we have almost no evidence that Georgian productions of *Antigone*, whether by Anouilh or by Sophocles, in the '60s and '70s stressed the connection with Stalin or any political leader, unlike many contemporary productions (e.g., the production by Heaney, where there is a traceable allusion to George W. Bush).¹⁰

This situation changed in Georgia too. Years later, when first *Antigone* by Anouilh (1999), then a mixture of Sophocles and Anouilh (2002) were presented in Tbilisi, the audience very easily recognised in Creon President Shevardnadze, because the audience viewed Shevardnadze as a conformist, very much like Creon. In the changed political setting, the perception of the audience was not the same as in late '60s. The *Antigone* of 1999 (Chkheidze) presented the conflict between Antigone and Creon in the Hegelian light and tried to understand Creon's motives. This production was largely understood as a justification of the policies of Shevardnadze.

We are able to witness once again that circumstances dictate the ability of the audience to understand the play. At the time of the tyranny or at the time of the deep stagnation of the communist regime, *Antigone* (or any literary piece, drama, etc.) was rarely understood as a protest. Similar developments are traceable in France. When Anouilh wrote *Antigone* in 1942, the German censor never had a problem in approving the play. In 1944, however, when the play was actually staged, the resistance movement identified itself with Antigone, and Creon was viewed as Marshal Pétain.¹¹ In Nazi Germany, *Antigone* was staged several times a year in different variations and this never became a source of political protests, as Creon was never identified *en masse* with Hitler.¹² As the situation has changed, everyone saw Hitler in the play *Antigone* by Brecht, written in 1948.¹³ Fifty years later, in 1989, when the play was staged on the orders of Honecker for the festivities, it rebounded upon him like a boomerang in the light of the public protests. Unexpectedly for the regime, people identified the communist regime with Creon.

¹⁰ MICHAEL VICKERS, "A legend of wild beauty: Sophocles' *Antigone* in ancient Greece and modern Ireland." *Past and Present* (in preparation). Vickers writes: "Heaney makes no secret of the fact that his view of the conflict between Creon and Antigone is heavily influenced by contemporary American politics. He quite specifically 'compares Creon's political argument to the Bush administration's selling of the war in Iraq.'"

¹¹ HELMUT FLASHAR, *Inszenierung der Antike: das griechische Drama auf der Bühne der Neuzeit* (Munich: CH Beck, 1991): 175-177.

¹² Archive of Performance of Greek and Roman Drama, University of Oxford (2006).

¹³ FLASHAR, 190.

There is another interesting detail about interpretations of Anouilh's *Antigone* in Georgia: Georgian directors altered a lot in the text by Anouilh. First of all, this applies to ideas by Anouilh influenced by French Existentialism. In all productions, the words of Antigone were modified or neglected when she did everything only for herself and her self-expression; when sentenced to death, she does not know any more for what purpose she is dying. These words, explaining the character of Antigone by Anouilh as a truly existentialist character, were omitted in Tumanishwili production in 1968, and this can be explained by the fact that Soviet censorship would not allow a theatre to put on stage such a nihilist or absurd hero; but, interestingly, you will not find these expressions in the production of 2002 (based on Sophocles and Anouilh) by Janelidze either: such an Antigone would not be a heroine for Georgians. For French existentialism, the suicide of Antigone is the climax of her revolt. The Antigone of Georgian productions was a more Sophoclean character. Strangely, directors chose Anouilh and modified his Antigone in the spirit of Sophocles. They let existentialism disappear from this play. The last Georgian Antigone is, in contrast with her prototypes, very optimistic and buoyant and completely corresponds to the title verses of this play, taken from a poem by a modern Georgian poet, Rati Amaghlobel:

"I want to come out of time", which goes on with:

"I want a sky larger than life..."

The last Georgian Antigone does not choose death and the world for her is not absurd any more. This Antigone says 'yes' to life.

2. Performances of *Oedipus Rex*

In the first performances (1913-1914), *Antigone* and *Oedipus Rex* were presented on the same evening and generally the impression made by *Oedipus Rex* was so great that it overshadowed *Antigone*. This tendency lasted from the beginning until the end of the century. From the very first performance in 1913, *Oedipus Rex* became very much popular. In March and April 1913, two different theatres in two different towns hosted new productions of *Oedipus Rex*.

The first versions were based on Reinhardt's experiments using large spaces for performing to achieve a new idea of theatre intimacy. In 1914-1915, *Oedipus Rex* was for a couple of times performed in the Circus in Tbilisi. In an advertisement of *Oedipus Rex* dated 1913 one could read: "*The tragedy will be staged after the plan of the famous director Reinhardt; the first three rows have been taken away and the stage looks like the ancient Greek skene, because the action develops mainly in the stalls; actors, the chorus and a crowd of 100 people come from the sides and entrance hall.*" The drama enjoyed tremendous success on the Tbilisi and Kutaisi stages. The audience was impressed and the interest in

antiquity grew. The papers published reviews of this play and information about Reinhardt and the translation of Sophocles by Hoffmannstahl, as well essays about Sophocles and his *Oedipus Rex*, written by hellenists. The innovative approach of Reinhardt was not always appreciated. Uznadze, then a columnist, and later a famous psychologist, wrote in a review that physical proximity does not mean spiritual proximity.¹⁴ This kind of proximity, experienced in the theatre of Reinhardt, was for him only mechanical. He was thoroughly well aware of the European performances and could compare Georgian actors with Mounet-Sully and Moissi. The influence of Reinhardt's theatre was perceptible even later. If one compares several scenes of later performances with surviving photos of Reinhardt's production, it will be noticed that the similarity is striking. Even the choice of spaces remained for a long time under the influence of Rheinhardt. In the Soviet era, the most famous *Oedipus Rex* performance by Aleksidze was often performed in stadiums in the open air.

Oedipus Rex was a success until Georgia became communist. Then the Soviet ideology did not see the necessity for ancient drama. The long pause was broken only after the demand for heroic themes grew. In Russia and elsewhere theatres started to stage Greek tragedies. Maybe it was the imminent World War II that made heroism necessary. And the Oedipus of the first Soviet performances, who revolts against his destiny, who is proud of his power, was undoubtedly heroic and positive.

In the 1940s, the first performance of *Oedipus* in Soviet Georgia went so far as to have a happy ending. The *Oedipus Rex* and *Oedipus at Colonus* were put together and the play ended with an apotheosis. Oedipus himself was a very kind king, not at all distanced from his people, a king whose thoughts were directed to the welfare of the Thebans. The only negative 'hero' was destiny. Oedipus had to fight against it and win. The play was so popular that a special delegation of prominent Russian writers was sent to Batumi to study this play and the impact of its influence.

Oedipus' concern for the fate of his people, was regarded as the central motif in the most important Georgian production of *Oedipus Rex* in 1956. This interpretation outran all other ancient Greek performances played in Georgia. The director wrote: "*Oedipus Rex is a tragedy of a ruler and his people*"¹⁵ and for the people, Oedipus became a very beloved hero. The play went on tour all over the country. It was shown in the open air for workers at the so-called Kolkhoz. At the end of the performance, when the moon appeared on the sky and it was already dark, the passions of a hero who struggles against his destiny were impressed the audience enormously. Oedipus in that version was a very posi-

¹⁴ URUSHADZE, 29-30.

¹⁵ DIMITRI ALKSIDZE, Private Archive, in: Tamar Kamushadze, Interpretations of Greek Tragedies in Georgian Theatre. Dissertation (Tbilisi, 1990): 68.

tive hero. Aleksidze emphasised themes that fitted very well into the Soviet ideology and its understanding of a good character. The play started with the prologue that preceded the Sophoclean prologue. The crowd came to front stage excitedly looking forward to the appearance of the king. The director of this play, Alexidze, writes in his essay: *"I needed this exposition to emphasise from the very beginning the main idea of this tragedy – the idea of the duty of a ruler towards his people"*.¹⁶ As a result of such interpretation, the problem of incest in *Oedipus Rex* was actually ignored. It is remarkable that almost all Iocasta-actresses in Soviet Georgian performances were too young to act as Oedipus' mother. It was also because of the Soviet reading and ideology that all religious texts of the chorus were eliminated from the text.

It is quite easy to understand that only this kind of interpretation would allow the directors to stage *Oedipus Rex*, one of the most scandalous of tragedies, in a system where there was no room left for Freud or his complexes and where the following sentence, or, rather, joke, was quite popular: There is no sex in the USSR (nothing to say about incest). Oedipus was an unambiguously positive character and this interpretation remained until the mid 1970s, when another interpretation was offered to the audience. In this play of 1976, Oedipus' fault lies only with his character. He was so negative that the audience did not feel sorry for him any more. The director Chkheidze emphasised the inner movements and transformation of Oedipus and not his destiny. He was eager to know the truth. A merciless and strict ruler was not so wise and did not care for his people either. The director of this version understood the play by Sophocles as a tragedy of an unfulfilled life, the tragedy of a gap between ideals and reality.

The reading of 1976 differed in many respects from usual performances of ancient tragedies: the decoration of this version were plain; the clothes were simple, the colours were dark. This performance lacked any 'monumentality', which was the main characteristic of ancient drama interpretations in the Georgian theatre.¹⁷

This version of Oedipus was soon replaced by another, more popular, kind of Oedipus, which was not so ideal any more, but good enough to be admired. In the production of the Mardjanishwili theatre of 1978, he again became heroic. This performance was marked by its interesting experiments with the chorus.¹⁸ The dissolution of the chorus is a remarkable tendency in performing ancient dramas not only in the Georgian theatre. Replacing the chorus with silent extras was quite common, as well as the reduction of the number of its members. In the reading of Lordkipanidze referred to, there were two choruses. One had speeches, the other served as a marker of emotions. The silent chorus in long gowns

¹⁶ KAMUSHADZE, 70.

¹⁷ KAMUSHADZE, 62, writes: *"Ancient tragedy cannot be placed in a small theatre. Only a monumental performance can suit ..."*.

¹⁸ KAMUSHADZE, 73.

was situated on a movable stage and reacted to the other characters' acting with mime and movement. It impressed the audience a lot. Like a large number of contemporaneous productions, this performance too was an offspring of form-theatre. This tendency was already apparent in the first *Antigone* plays. In a review of 1913, the author of an critical essay wrote: "*In this tragedy the spectacular is more important than the emotion, the play impresses the eye more than the heart*". This feature, the importance of the visual side, marked the performances of ancient drama in Georgia throughout the century.

There is something to be said about the actors as well. The actors playing the role of Oedipus, and there were quite a few of them, tried to find their own ways of expression. In the same version of *Oedipus Rex* there were four different actors playing Oedipus on different days or if the performance was put on several times a day (as in the case when the theatre was on tour in Moscow and *Oedipus Rex* was performed three times a day). So the actors had to outdo one another and everybody did his best. One of them, trying to find his own way of expression, went so far that he unexpectedly fell from staircase in the scene when the truth is revealed. The audience was shocked. It did not fit their picture of Oedipus. This event resembles the situation in the early 20th century. The reviews of the first Oedipus in 1913 complained that the actor in the King's role was constantly walking about the stage and failed to make an impression of a royal and self-confident person.¹⁹ The Oedipus-actors in the Soviet era tried to portray a ruler close to his people and performed accordingly. But even so Oedipus remained a tragic hero and a royal hero as well.

The history of Sophoclean performances in Georgia reflects the history of Georgia in the 20th century. In the last decade, interest in ancient drama has diminished. There are certain reasons for this and they are connected with the form in which it is usually staged in Georgia. It is connected with the understanding of the main problems of ancient plays as well. First of all, Georgian directors find it difficult to free themselves from the influence of earlier successful performances, which were very monumental. As they do not see any space for monumental and classicist dramas in contemporary Georgia, they leave this form aside but do not experiment with new forms, new ways of staging.

Another problem, but one closely connected with this view of monumentality, is the idea that Greek tragedies are heroic, and the common explanation goes like this: "*There is no time for heroism now and social problems do not leave any space for antiquity*". The influence of the already established reading of ancient plays is so great that it still hinders new ways of interpretation. The return of the ancient repertoire in new forms would perhaps mark a new wave for the Georgian theatre.

¹⁹ URUSHADZE, 25.

DINA MANTCHÉVA

LES TRAGÉDIES GRECQUES DANS L'INTERPRÉTATION DE LA DRAMATURGIE SYMBOLISTE

Les symbolistes, qui voient le renouvellement du théâtre du côté de ses origines rituelles et religieuses, manifestent un intérêt particulier pour la tragédie grecque, issue des fêtes dionysiaques, qu'ils considèrent comme le « rite suprême de la civilisation ». ¹ Les auteurs modernes sont hantés par « la signification permanente et le sens idéal » ² des œuvres d'Eschyle, de Sophocle et d'Euripide, dont l'univers abstrait et mystérieux « élève le spectateur au-dessus de la vie » ³ quotidienne. Ils apprécient le caractère de leurs intrigues « dégagées de toute contingence », ⁴ qui rendent possible la suggestion de « tout l'homme » ⁵ « dans un cadre sans époque ». ⁶ L'attention des idéalistes au fonds mythique n'est pas sans rappeler l'influence de Wagner, féru d'Antiquité grecque, considéré comme l'un des précurseurs du symbolisme.

Bien que les adeptes du mouvement en Europe manifestent le même engouement pour les textes helléniques, les interprétations qu'ils en font portent l'empreinte de leur propre contexte. Ce sont justement ces aspects intertextuels similaires et différents dans les théâtres francophone et slave, issus des deux climats culturels fondamentaux du courant à l'Ouest et à l'Est, qui font l'objet de notre analyse, dans le but de montrer la cohérence et la richesse intérieure de l'écriture symboliste.

Comme les auteurs francophones imposèrent l'esthétique en Europe et contribuèrent au renouvellement du genre dramatique, nous nous arrêterons, en premier lieu, sur le fonctionnement de la matière hellénique dans leur théâtre, pour montrer ensuite les aspects intertextuels nouveaux apportés par les Russes et les Polonais, représentants les plus originaux de la production scénique slave.

¹ JOSÉPHIN PÉLADAN, « Théâtre d'Orange », *Figaro* (23.09.1903), cité dans GUY MICHAUD, *Message poétique du symbolisme*, 444 (Paris: Nizet, 1947).

² HENRI DE RÉGNIER, « Figures et Caractères », in *Poètes d'aujourd'hui*, 336 (Paris: Mercure de France, 1900).

³ PÉLADAN, 444.

⁴ RICHARD WAGNER, « Une communication à mes amis », cité dans DOROTHY KNOWLES, *La Réaction idéaliste au théâtre depuis 1890*, 52 (Paris: Droz, 1934).

⁵ CHARLES MORICE, *La littérature de tout à l'heure* (Paris: Perrin, 1889): 269.

⁶ PAUL-NAPOLÉON ROINARD, « Introduction au drame *Les Miroirs* » (1908), in KNOWLES, 97.

Les tragédies antiques et le drame francophone

La hantise des francophones de remonter aux origines du théâtre explique leur intérêt particulier pour les œuvres d'Eschyle, « créateur »⁷ de la tragédie antique, dont ils admirent la simplicité des sujets et l'image de l'existence humaine subordonnée aux puissances transcendantes. Sur les six textes « mythiques » francophones, trois⁸ reprennent explicitement les fables d'Eschyle. Un drame⁹ pourrait être rattaché tant à Eschyle¹⁰ qu'à Sophocle, dont le « héros aux prises avec une énigme morale ou sociale »¹¹ convient parfaitement aux idéalistes occidentaux, imprégnés de mysticisme et de penchants occultes. Enfin, deux textes¹² francophones adoptent la manière hellénique d'écriture en dramatisant des mythes notoires qui se retrouvent à la fois chez les trois auteurs attiques, dans des œuvres perdues qu'ils auraient écrites. La similitude thématique de ces tragédies disparues, dont les traces se réduisent parfois à quelques vers épars ou même à certains mots isolés, ne nous permet pas d'indiquer concrètement les sources intertextuelles des pièces modernes. Cependant, l'image de l'existence humaine, qui y est subordonnée à la volonté divine, rappelle plutôt l'atmosphère d'Eschyle et de Sophocle que celle d'Euripide, davantage orientée vers les problèmes terrestres.

Les sujets antiques choisis par les francophones évoquent leur vision mystique du monde, nourrie de doctrines ésotériques et de pratiques secrètes. Les figures mythiques de Prométhée, qui déroba le feu céleste pour le donner aux humains en transgressant l'ordre de Zeus, et celle de Déméter, la déesse de la Terre cultivée, qui apprit aux mortels l'art de semer les champs et leur promit la renaissance, mettent le progrès matériel et spirituel de l'humanité en rapport étroit avec le transcendantal. D'autant plus que les symbolistes considèrent ces deux sujets comme « l'image synthétique »¹³ de la civilisation « déroulée en un clin d'œil »,¹⁴ « en un mot la vie totale ».¹⁵ D'autre part, la mort et la résurrection cycli-

⁷ ROINARD, 97.

⁸ JOSÉPHIN PÉLADAN, *La Prométhéïde, trilogie d'Eschyle en quatre tableaux* (Paris: I. CHAMUEL, 1895), ANDRÉ-FERDINAND HÉROLD (en collaboration avec J. LORRAIN), *Prométhée* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1900), ANDRÉ-FERDINAND HÉROLD, *Les Perses* (Paris: Charpentier et Fasquelle, 1896).

⁹ JOSÉPHIN PÉLADAN, *Cédipe et le sphinx* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1903).

¹⁰ Trilogie perdue sur la famille thébaine, dont seule la partie finale, *Les Sept contre Thèbes*, est sauvée, tandis que les deux autres, *Laïs* et *Cédipe*, sont perdues.

¹¹ Cité dans FRANÇOISE GRAUBY, *La création mythique à l'époque du symbolisme*, (Paris: Nizet, 1994): 70.

¹² ÉDOUARD SCHURÉ, *Le drame sacré d'Éleusis*, in *Théâtre choisi I*, textes choisis et présentés par CHRISTIAN LAZARIDÈS (Paris: éditions Novalis, 1993), FRANCIS VIÉLÉ-GRIFFIN, *Ancaeus*, in *Phocas le jardinier, précédé de Swanhilde, Les Fiançailles d'Euphrosyne* (Paris: Société du Mercure de France, 1898, 2^e éd.).

¹³ ÉDOUARD SCHURÉ, « La vie et l'œuvre d'Eschyle – Prométhée et l'idée prométhéenne – Exil et mort d'Eschyle en Sicile », *La Genèse de la tragédie in Le Théâtre initiateur, La Genèse de la tragédie, Le Drame d'Éleusis*, 211 (Paris: Librairie académique Perrin et Cie, 1925, 3^e éd.).

¹⁴ SCHURÉ, 211.

¹⁵ SCHURÉ, *Le drame sacré d'Éleusis*, 71.

ques de Perséphone, fille de Déméter, qui revient sur terre au printemps et s'en va dans l'au-delà en automne, lient l'univers mystérieux des morts à celui des vivants. Enfin, l'idée des limites de l'individu et de son incapacité à rivaliser avec les puissances inconnues est suggérée, à des degrés différents, par l'histoire d'Œdipe, qui ne sut pas éviter les prédictions de l'oracle, par celle de l'Argonaute Ancaeus, qui n'arriva pas à combattre le sanglier dévastateur, signe du surnaturel, et par l'image du roi Xerxès dont la défaite à Salamine résulta de la colère divine.

La réécriture symboliste du fonds antique

La tentation des symbolistes de retrouver le sens idéal des spectacles helléniques se manifeste soit par leur souci de restituer les textes attiques perdus de manière archéologique ou thématique, soit par leur ambition de compléter les tragédies connues par une nouvelle lecture.

La tendance symboliste à la réécriture archéologique des œuvres disparues est illustrée par *La Prométhéïde* de Joséphin Péladan. L'auteur moderne se propose de reconstituer la trilogie perdue qu'Eschyle aurait écrite, dont seule la tragédie *Prométhée enchaîné* est sauvagée, tandis que les deux autres, *Prométhée porteur du feu* et *Prométhée délivré*, sont disparues. Péladan traduit l'œuvre connue du tragique grec et en fait le centre de sa pièce. Il restitue, à partir de leurs fragments épars, complétés de motifs contenus dans le texte connu, les deux autres parties perdues de la même trilogie et en fait le début et la fin de son texte symboliste. Cette attention fidèle aux traces de l'écriture antique pourrait expliquer la prétention du symboliste français à l'authenticité de la restauration antique. Voilà pourquoi, en annexe de sa trilogie, il cite une lettre de l'helléniste Emile Burnouf qui reconnaît l'aspect véridique de la reconstitution moderne «conforme à la tradition et aux usages du théâtre grec».¹⁶ En revanche, la pièce *Prométhée* écrite par André-Ferdinand Hérold en collaboration avec Jean Lorrain compte parmi les exemples de réécriture thématique libre, beaucoup plus courante. Les deux dramaturges sauvegardent le déroulement chronologique de la trilogie perdue d'Eschyle et en font une variante concise, mais ne s'efforcent pas d'atteindre la précision du modèle de base.

Si la réécriture des pièces disparues cherche à retrouver la vérité ensevelie, l'interprétation des tragédies helléniques connues tend à mieux mettre en relief leur contenu philosophique, conçu par le regard moderne. Le drame *Les Perses* d'A.-F. Hérold, inspiré de l'œuvre éponyme d'Eschyle, renforce l'idée de la responsabilité individuelle de la personne humaine et l'élargit à l'échelle de la collectivité. Si, chez Eschyle, les malheurs de l'armée perse vaincue par les Grecs à Salamine relèvent uniquement du dédain royal de l'ordre

¹⁶ PÉLADAN, *La Prométhéïde*, 150-151.

divin, dans le texte moderne, les désastres des soldats résultent, en grande partie, de leurs propres profanations des sanctuaires de la Grèce.

Principes de lectures intertextuelles

Au-delà des réécritures différentes de la matière attique, des principes similaires définissent sa lecture dans les drames modernes. Les symbolistes considèrent les sujets mythiques comme des symboles riches en associations et les enrichissent souvent de motifs tirés d'autres histoires helléniques, pour mieux en dégager l'essence ontologique ensevelie et pour en mettre en relief la dimension philosophique.

La pièce *Œdipe et le Sphinx* de Péladan reprend l'image hypotextuelle de l'ignorance humaine des mystères de l'existence et la transpose au niveau de l'humanité. Œdipe, assimilé à toute une lignée de héros brillants par leur esprit, Orphée, Bellérophon, Prométhée, Thésée, pourrait être conçu comme l'image synthétique de l'homme fort et intelligent. Le Sphinx, quant à lui, inclus dans la lignée des monstres notoires, Minotaure, Gorgone, Python, semble évoquer les puissances surnaturelles qui menacent l'être. Cette étendue sémantique des deux protagonistes hypotextuels dans le texte moderne leur confère un statut symbolique universel et situe leur confrontation dans le contexte de la lutte éternelle de l'homme contre les monstres maléfiques, associés aux forces chtoniennes.¹⁷ L'Œdipe moderne qui remporte la victoire sur le Sphinx mais n'arrive pas à éclaircir sa propre identité donne à voir l'incapacité de l'intelligence humaine à déchiffrer les énigmes de la condition terrestre, détenues par le transcendantal.

Alors que Péladan accentue les idées hypotextuelles par des personnages synthétiques, Francis Viélé-Griffin cherche à dégager la signification première de la trame antique à l'aide de protagonistes nouveaux, puisés de même à des sources antiques multiples. Le personnage de Marsyas, satyre tributaire du roi Maeander, dont l'auteur francophone enrichit le récit connu d'Ancaeus dans son drame éponyme, renforce le paradigme de l'échec humain face à la puissance du surnaturel. Pareil au satyre joueur de flûte dans le mythe, qui n'arriva pas à remporter la victoire dans sa compétition avec les Dieux, le roi de Samos se croit capable de braver le sanglier féroce, mais est mortellement blessé par lui. D'autre part, l'Orphique, l'autre protagoniste ajouté dans la pièce symboliste, accentue l'image de l'ignorance humaine du mystère invisible. Son rapport à la religion mystique d'Orphée confère un caractère surnaturel à sa musique, qui pourrait être conçue comme une médiatrice particulière du réel et de l'idéal. De cette façon, l'Ancaeus moderne qui n'arrive pas à déchiffrer le chant avertisseur de l'Orphique évoque l'incapacité de l'être à lire les signes

¹⁷ Françoise Grauby, qui insiste sur le caractère synthétique des deux personnages, considère leur confrontation comme « la lutte éternelle de l'homme contre la bête », 140.

invisibles de l'inconnu.

Les dramaturges francophones qui partagent la conception de l'origine commune et de l'unité des religions complètent souvent les tragédies antiques de visions issues de croyances différentes. Ce mélange d'éléments mythiques et mystiques hétérogènes laisse deviner leur objectif d'y chercher les lois inconnues qui dirigent la civilisation terrestre. La nouvelle texture complexe, conciliant des aspects puisés à diverses sources culturelles, révèle également l'ambition des symbolistes de créer des pièces synthétiques qui embrassent bien l'histoire de l'humanité. Dans son *Drame sacré d'Éleusis*, Édouard Schuré complète l'histoire de la renaissance cyclique de Perséphone dans le mythe par l'image celtique du perfectionnement continu de l'âme humaine. Ainsi l'idée grecque de la résurrection perpétuelle, mais statique de l'être, fait-elle place à « une représentation symbolique » dynamique « de sa destinée ultérieure » et montre « son rapport avec l'évolution cosmique tout entière ».¹⁸

Mais le plus souvent, les symbolistes complètent les tragédies helléniques par la vision chrétienne du monde, conçue comme le couronnement ultime de la spiritualité.¹⁹ Les fables modernes introduisent souvent l'image implicite d'une puissance suprême qui règne au-dessus de la volonté des Dieux grecs, y compris celle de Zeus. Le Titan, dans *La Prométhéide* de Péladan, délivré des lourdes chaînes qui l'attachaient au rocher, découvre avec stupéfaction que son corps n'a « aucune trace de supplice [...], pas une cicatrice malgré les longues années de souffrances douloureuses », car son « Dieu unique »²⁰ l'avait protégé.

Les drames modernes enrichissent également les sujets antiques de la conception évangélique du sacrifice comme source de salut. Ancaeus, dans la pièce éponyme de Viélé-Griffin, transgresse l'image notoire de l'Argonaute grec. À la différence de celui-ci, qui se lança à la chasse du sanglier dévastateur pour protéger ses propres vignes, le héros moderne risque sa vie pour délivrer « un pays » inconnu « d'un ragot très difficile à vivre ».²¹ Son exploit est d'autant plus grand qu'il a lieu au moment de ses noces. Cette nouvelle interprétation éclipse l'idée hypotextuelle de l'inattendu dans l'existence terrestre et lui substitue la vision plus optimiste du héros noble et courageux qui, tout en subissant son propre destin, peut contribuer, par son sacrifice, au salut des autres.

Dans sa pièce *Cédipe et le Sphinx*, Joséphin Péladan renforce l'image chrétienne du sacrifice par celle du rachat expiatoire. Alors que, chez Sophocle, la bête terrifiante relève des coups d'une malédiction portés uniquement sur le roi Laius, dans le texte symboliste, l'origine mystérieuse du Sphinx résulte de la cruauté de tous les Thébains. Ce crime col-

¹⁸ SCHURÉ, *La Genèse de la Tragédie*, 16.

¹⁹ ÉDOUARD SCHURÉ, *Les Grands initiés, esquisse d'une histoire secrète des religions*, (Paris: Perrin, réédition, 1960): 25.

²⁰ PÉLADAN, *La Prométhéide*, 135.

²¹ VIÉLÉ-GRIFFIN, *Ancaeus*, 70.

lectif des habitants de la ville confère de nouvelles connotations à l'acte libérateur de l'Œdipe moderne. Le héros symboliste qui sauve les citoyens du monstre les délivre également de leur faute pour laquelle ils furent punis par les Dieux et s'avère bien leur rédempteur. Son comportement n'est pas sans rappeler celui du Sauveur qui expia les péchés du genre humain sur la Croix.

Les analogies entre le Prométhée moderne et la figure de Jésus sont les plus évidentes. Les lectures hypertextuelles du récit sur le Titan, faites aussi bien par Péladan que par A.-F. Hérold et J. Lorrain, insistent particulièrement sur la pitié du héros hellénique envers les mortels. Dans les deux pièces symbolistes, Prométhée ennoblit la Pandore du mythe par laquelle Zeus voulut punir les humains. La femme stupide, semeuse de maladies et de fléaux terribles, y fait place à un être sensible, épris d'amour pour les gens, grâce à l'âme que le Titan lui insuffle et au don d'intelligence qu'il lui fait. D'autre part, le comportement de Prométhée dans la trilogie de Péladan, qui raccourcit, par ses souffrances, la période des maux de l'humanité prédite par les Dieux et accorde le pardon final à ses ennemis, y compris Zeus, le rapproche davantage encore de Jésus au Calvaire.

L'image visuelle des rédempteurs helléniques dans les pièces symbolistes finit par renforcer leurs similitudes avec le Fils de Dieu. La tunique blanche d'Ancaeus, « maculée de sang »,²² signe de la mort immédiate du héros blessé par le sanglier, fait allusion au manteau écarlate²³ dont les soldats de Pilate couvrirent Jésus pour se moquer de lui avant de le crucifier. De même, Prométhée enchaîné, les bras en croix, dans les deux drames sur le Titan, celui de Péladan et celui de Hérold et Lorrain, rappelle la figure du Sauveur lors de la Passion.

Les tragédies attiques et le drame slave

Le théâtre grec préoccupe également les dramaturges slaves, attirés eux aussi par les mystères de l'existence. Tout comme leurs confrères occidentaux, les auteurs de l'Est conçoivent les histoires mythiques comme des modèles polysémiques. Mais ils y cherchent surtout les vérités qui pourraient expliquer les problèmes de leurs propres pays, ravagés de crises graves au moment de l'apparition du symbolisme à l'Est. Le climat politique y fut marqué, à des degrés différents, par l'aspiration à un changement national ou social convoité et par le désespoir tragique provoqué par l'effondrement de cet espoir. La Pologne, partagée entre trois puissances étrangères, la Russie, la Prusse et l'Empire austro-hongrois, vivait avec le souvenir douloureux de son indépendance passée, que les nombreuses insurrections et conspirations tout au long du XIX^e siècle n'avaient pas pu resta-

²² VIÉLÉ-GRIFFIN, *Ancaeus*, 70.

²³ MATHIEU: 27: 28, in *La Sainte Bible* (Paris: Alliance biblique universelle, 1993).

rer. Le climat en Russie, à la veille de la Révolution de 1905 et immédiatement après, se signalait par l'attente fiévreuse d'un renouveau social, suivie d'une déception douloureuse après la répression violente de la révolte.

À la différence des Occidentaux, attirés par la vision eschyléenne du monde dominé par la puissance du transcendantal, les Russes privilégient les œuvres d'Euripide, le seul des trois auteurs grecs à avoir éprouvé, selon eux, de la « *compassion pour l'homme* ». ²⁴ Ils apprécient l'effort de ses personnages à rétablir l'harmonie perdue du spirituel et du matériel sur terre et leurs aspirations à forger eux-mêmes leur propre destin, sans chercher l'appui des Dieux. Sur les huit pièces russes à sujet « antique », cinq ²⁵ réécrivent des œuvres perdues d'Euripide. Deux ²⁶ se réfèrent à Eschyle, dont la proximité avec les rites dionysiaques hante les théurges russes. Ils considèrent que le climat mystérieux de communion collective dans l'acte théâtral et « *la fusion des acteurs et des spectateurs dans un corps orgiaque* » ²⁷ pourraient purifier les individus, contribuer à leur relèvement spirituel et les rapprocher de Dieu. Enfin, un seul drame ²⁸ russe se rapporte à une œuvre disparue de Sophocle. En revanche, celui-ci attire l'attention de Wyspiński, le dramaturge polonais le plus illustre et le seul de ses confrères des années 1900 à exploiter la matière antique de façon suivie. Bien que ses quatre pièces ²⁹ soient inspirées de l'*Iliade* et de l'*Odyssée* d'Homère, l'image de l'individu, qui y subit les conséquences funestes de ses propres péchés, évoque celle de Sophocle.

Principes de lectures intertextuelles

Tous les Slaves poursuivent l'approche syncrétique des sujets connus, caractéristique du symbolisme. À l'instar des Occidentaux, ils rejettent l'hellénisme pur, complètent les trames antiques de situations et de personnages nouveaux, issus de sources intertextuelles

²⁴ Иннокентий Анненский, *Книги отражений*, (Москва: Наука 1979): 433.

²⁵ Иннокентий Анненский, *Меланттиа-философ* [INNOKENTII ANNENSKII, *Mélanippé la philosophe*] (СПб: 1901), Иннокентий Анненский, *Царь Иксион* [INNOKENTII ANNENSKII, *Le roi Ixion*] (СПб: 1902), Иннокентий Анненский, *Лаодамия* [Innokentii Annenskii, *Laodamie*] (СПб: 1907), Валери Брюсов, *Протесилай умерший* [VALÉRI BRIOUSSOV, *Protésilas mort*], in *Полн. собр. соч.*, т. 15 (Санкт Петербург: Сирин, 1914), Федор Сологуб, *Дар мудрых пчел, Золотое руно* [Fiodor Sologoub, *Le don des sages abeilles*], № 11-12 (1907).

²⁶ Вячеслав Иванов, *Прометей* [VIATCHESLAV IVANOV, *Prométhée*] (С.-П.: Алконост, 1919), Вячеслав Иванов, *Тантал* [VIATCHESLAV IVANOV, *Tantale*], in *Сереные цветы ассирийские*, т.4 (Москва: Скорпион, 1905).

²⁷ Вячеслав Иванов, «Предчувствия и предвестия», in *По звездам*, 219 (С.-П.: Олы, 1909).

²⁸ Иннокентий Анненский, *Фамира-Кифаред* [INNOKENTII ANNENSKII, *Thamyre le Citharède*], in *Северная реч* (1913).

²⁹ STANISLAS WYSPIAŃSKI, *Meleager Tragoedia* (Kraków: wyd. uniw., 1898), STANISLAS WYSPIAŃSKI, *Protesilas i Laodamia. Tragoedia* (Krakow: wyd. uniw., 1901), STANISLAS WYSPIAŃSKI, *Achilleis. Sceny dramatyczne* (1903), STANISLAS WYSPIAŃSKI, *Powrót Odysa, dramat w trzech aktach / Le retour d'Ulysse* (Kraków: Анцыз, 1907).

multiples, et modifient la signification des sujets connus. Mais, alors que les dramaturges francophones cherchent les lois fondamentales de l'évolution humaine dans les tragédies de base et tendent à élargir leur signification philosophique première, les auteurs de l'Est les interprètent en rapport avec leur contexte historique. Voilà pourquoi les symbolistes slaves abordent la matière antique encore plus librement que les écrivains de l'Ouest et ne se proposent jamais de restituer les œuvres perdues de manière authentique. Ils enrichissent les récits helléniques de connotations nationales qui réduisent bien la signification universelle de l'intertextualité.

La persistance d'un même sujet mythique à l'Est, celui de *Protésilas et Laodamie*, est particulièrement révélatrice. L'histoire du héros grec tué par les Troyens, que sa jeune femme interpella au royaume des morts et qu'elle suivit dans l'au-delà puisqu'elle n'avait pu le garder sur terre, est interprétée par Wyspianski comme l'image politique de la Pologne. À la différence de la trame antique, le Protésilas moderne choisit consciemment la mort pour éterniser son exploit, tout en sachant que le cours de la guerre contre les Troyens était déjà arrangé par les divinités. Ce comportement hypertextuel nouveau n'est pas sans rappeler celui des nombreux combattants pour l'indépendance de la Pologne, animés par les idées de l'héroïsme national mais convaincus de l'inutilité de leurs actes. D'autre part, l'existence tragique de Laodamie, qui vit avec le souvenir douloureux de son bonheur passé, pourrait être considérée comme la représentation métaphorique de la Pologne. En revanche, les trois auteurs russes lient la même histoire à leur propre contexte d'impasse tragique après l'échec de la Révolution de 1905. Voilà pourquoi ils accentuent la hantise de la mort chez Laodamie et insistent sur sa décision ferme de mettre fin à sa vie. L'héroïne qui se perce le cœur du glaive de son mari³⁰ ou qui se jette vivante dans le bûcher, attirée par la figure de cire³¹ de son époux ou par son ombre,³² suggère l'idée que l'au-delà est le lieu unique où le bonheur serait possible et où l'amour pourrait s'accomplir.

Les connotations éthiques et sociales des lectures intertextuelles slaves, presque méconnues à l'Ouest, relèvent du même intérêt envers le contexte national. Dans le climat de déception nationale, les auteurs de l'Est ressentent les injustices sociales de manière plus aiguë et les hissent au niveau de l'humanité. Dans *Le retour d'Ulysse* de Wyspiański, la déchéance de la cour d'Ithaque ne relève pas de l'absence trop longue de son maître mais du climat criminel qui y règne. Télémaque y est présenté comme un personnage mesquin et misérable. Il maltraite ses sujets, abat sans cause les paysans pauvres à coups de bâtons, uniquement pour se faire valoir et pour montrer son pouvoir illimité de seigneur incontestable.

³⁰ BRIOUSOV, *Protésilas mort*.

³¹ SOLOGOUB, *Le don des sages abeilles*.

³² ANNENSKI, *Laodamie*.

En revanche, les Russes, inspirés des idées de Dostoïevski sur la souffrance qui ennoblit l'homme, mettent en relief la grandeur spirituelle des personnages qui supportent les malheurs, et ne s'intéressent presque pas aux péchés commis. Dans sa pièce *Le Roi Ixion*, Annenski sous-estime la justesse divine de la peine infligée au héros éponyme pour ses crimes et montre la dignité morale dont il fait preuve en acceptant stoïquement le supplice et en résistant aux épreuves.

Contrairement aux auteurs francophones qui insistent sur la responsabilité individuelle de la personne humaine, les théurges russes tendent à privilégier ses attaches à la collectivité. Ainsi, Ivanov montre-t-il l'inutilité de la révolte individuelle de Prométhée, trahi par les humains manipulés par Pandore. L'échec du Titan découle, en partie, de son propre orgueil. Bien qu'il donne le feu aux mortels, Prométhée les laisse dans l'ignorance, car il ne leur révèle pas leur sort ultérieur, la Bonne Nouvelle, allusion au Royaume des cieux dans l'Évangile,³³ comme l'affirme Claudine Amiard-Chevrel.³⁴ Le vol de l'ambrosie immortelle, qui oppose Tantale aux Dieux et suscite leur colère, s'avère également vain. À l'exception de lui-même et de ses deux amis, le roi Ixion et Sisyphe, êtres orgueilleux et égoïstes, nul autre n'ose boire du précieux breuvage.

Enfin, les dramaturges slaves tendent à moderniser les tragédies antiques pour mieux les rapprocher du spectateur contemporain et pour insister sur leurs valeurs éternelles. Si les personnages dans les tragédies antiques vouent une foi mystique en tous les signes avertisseurs des puissances divines, les protagonistes symbolistes dans le drame polonais *Mé-léagre*, tels des rationalistes modernes, considèrent le pouvoir surnaturel du rêve prémonitoire, de la prédiction ou même de la malédiction comme des préjugés futiles qui n'ont pas de prise sur leur vie réelle. D'autre part, alors que dans le mythe, Achille, énergique et sûr dans ses actes, est abattu grâce à l'intervention divine, celui de Wyspiański, dans *Achilleis*, faible et malheureux, se suicide dégoûté de lui-même, après avoir tué Hector, la seule personne qu'il respectait. En revanche, l'auteur russe Annenski complète les fables grecques d'anachronismes philosophiques, culturels et lexicaux et enrichit ses pièces de didascalies lyriques et de jugements subjectifs, conformément à la conscience moderne. À la différence des dramaturges francophones, qui sauvegardent le caractère noble des sujets mythiques, les auteurs russes introduisent parfois le regard ironique du contemporain. Les deux niveaux discursifs de la pièce *Thamyre le Citharède* d'Annenski, composés des répliques longues et poétiques de Thamyre et du langage grossier, bref et accéléré des Bacchantes, confèrent un caractère quelque peu grotesque à l'histoire hellénique. Sologoub renforce la parodie dans son drame *Le Don des sages abeilles*. Les penchants homosexuels de Protésilas y dévalorisent l'image exemplaire du personnage dans le mythe, époux fidèle

³³ MATTHIEU 4: 17, MARC 1: 14.

³⁴ CLAUDINE AMIARD-CHEVREL, *Les symbolistes russes et le théâtre*, (Lausanne: L'Âge d'homme, 1994): 67.

et guerrier courageux. Ces éléments railleurs introduits dans le sujet antique préfigurent l'approche parodique des hypotextes connus, caractéristique des avant-gardes après la Première Guerre mondiale.

Structures scéniques et dramatiques à l'Ouest et à l'Est

L'intérêt des symbolistes pour les tragédies attiques détermine les particularités structurales de leurs pièces. Les auteurs francophones considèrent que la reproduction des formes antiques contribue à la «divinisation de la chose écrite». ³⁵ Ils réintroduisent le chœur grec dans leurs œuvres modernes et en réhabilitent le rôle, important, de commentateur particulier et de médiateur entre le monde des humains et l'univers des Dieux. D'autre part, le rapport ³⁶ que les dramaturges de l'Ouest établissent entre les chœurs antique et liturgique, tous deux liés à la cérémonie religieuse, accentue leur tendance à la christianisation des récits. Celle-ci est suggérée par la musique introduite dans leurs spectacles. Comme dans le mystère médiéval, où le parvis de l'église symbolise le terrestre, tandis que le lieu du sacré n'est presque pas montré au public, la musique scénique du drame symboliste, signe du spirituel, vient de l'espace extra-scénique, place de l'occulte. La pièce *Ancaeus* de Viélé-Griffin se déroule sur la toile de fond du chant des femmes qui célèbrent les noces sur scène et d'une mélodie lointaine, évoquant le transcendantal, dont les paroles mystérieuses rappellent la puissance de l'inconnu. Les Occidentaux ont également recours à des éléments visuels et sonores multiples, dans le but de renforcer la suggestivité mystique de la scène, pour la transformer en espace magique, proche du lieu culturel de l'Antiquité. L'entrevue d'Œdipe et du Sphinx dans la pièce éponyme de Péladan est ponctuée d'éclairs qui parsèment le ciel, de tonnerres qui déchirent le silence. Tous ces signes scéniques complémentaires et convergents créent l'atmosphère d'angoisse intense suscitée par l'inconnu et semblent évoquer la présence des forces surnaturelles sur le plateau.

Les particularités dans le traitement de la matière antique chez les Slaves concernent également la structuration scénique de leurs pièces. Les Russes, qui aspirent à impliquer le public dans le spectacle, tendent à abolir la distance entre la scène et la salle. Comme les francophones, ils réintroduisent le chœur dans leurs spectacles, mais en transforment complètement la fonction antique. Annenski en fait le confident émotionnel des personnages, tout en le rapprochant du public moderne par les coiffures à la mode de quelques-unes des femmes qui en font partie. Ivanov accentue cette double fonction du chœur, et prévoit deux groupes distincts – un petit, lié à l'intrigue, et un grand, symbole de la communauté, dont le nombre s'accroît tout au long de l'action, comme s'il tendait à introduire les spec-

³⁵ PAUL VALÉRY, in Grauby, 190.

³⁶ MICHEL LIOURE, *L'esthétique dramatique de Paul Claudel*, (Paris: A. Colin, 1971): 100.

tateurs à l'intrigue.

Les Russes exploitent la synthèse de tous les arts de manière beaucoup plus systématique que les francophones, depuis les danses et la performance pantomimique du chœur jusqu'à la structuration du décor et au pouvoir suggestif des différents types de musique – vocale, instrumentale, symphonique. À la différence du drame occidental, où la mélodie sauvegarde son statut quelque peu subordonné au discours, dans le théâtre russe elle est mise sur un pied d'égalité avec la parole et fait corps avec le texte symboliste. Ivanov l'associe à la force dionysiaque et introduit l'orchestre symphonique dans ses pièces pour en accentuer le caractère sacré. Annenski peuple les entractes de ses drames d'intermèdes vocaux, interprétés par le chœur, dans le but de sauvegarder l'atmosphère poétique de la représentation. En revanche, les noms plastiques inhabituels qui servent à désigner les différentes scènes de son drame *Thamyre le Citharède* (saphir foncé, coucher du soleil rose, lune bleue) lui confèrent un caractère pictural, proche de celui des toiles impressionnistes. La pantomime et la danse font également partie intégrante de la structure globale du texte théâtral et assument une partie de sa signification. Dans les pièces d'Annenski et de Sologoub, l'expression corporelle des filles ou des femmes du chœur prolongent ou même remplacent la parole. Leurs gestes émotionnels et leurs mouvements suggestifs rappellent les rites premiers et renforcent l'atmosphère magique du spectacle.

Le rapprochement souhaité de la scène et de la salle aboutit, chez les Russes, à une nouvelle structuration du lieu scénique, composé de niveaux verticaux et horizontaux, bancs, podiums, estrades, échelles, dont l'organisation et la dynamique font penser à la scène futuriste. Le décor ainsi conçu tend souvent à impliquer le public dans la représentation, conformément à l'idée théurgique du spectacle-communion. Ivanov prévoit pour *Prométhée* une aire de jeu qui communique avec la salle par le proscenium et l'orchestra.

Les occupations professionnelles de Wyspiański, peintre reconnu, qui illustra l'une des éditions polonaises de l'*Illiade*, expliquent son attention particulière à l'expression plastique. Suivant les notes didascaliques de ses pièces, les personnages sur scène s'immobilisent souvent en pauses pétrifiées qui évoquent la grandeur des statues antiques. L'aspect imposant du spectacle est mis en relief par l'immensité du plateau, conciliant éléments antiques et symbolistes. Le décor y représente, le plus souvent, des colonnades et des terrasses, à travers lesquelles se dessinent des cyprès et des bois noirs à l'horizon, signes du malheur qui s'annonce. En revanche, l'éclairage particulier et la projection de silhouettes vagues sur le rideau, procédé proche des techniques cinématographiques à venir, dématérialisent l'aire de jeu et lui confèrent un caractère mystique. L'auteur polonais, animé par l'idée du théâtre monumental, aspire finalement à une scène tournante qui sera en vogue chez les expressionnistes.

Conclusion

En conclusion, on peut avancer que la tendance à la réécriture du théâtre antique, l'approche syncrétique de ses sujets et l'intérêt à la suggestivité scénique, définissent les similitudes typologiques des symbolistes francophones et slaves et illustrent leurs affinités esthétiques. Mais, si les francophones épris de mysticisme et de sciences occultes y cherchent plutôt un sens ésotérique universel, les Slaves s'efforcent d'y lire les lois mystiques de leur propre histoire. Alors que les dramaturges de l'Ouest de la fin du XIX^e siècle christianisent la texture antique, ceux de l'Est du début du XX^e l'enrichissent de connotations éthiques et sociales, y introduisent parfois des traits parodiques, accentuent la tendance esthétique à la synthèse des arts et créent une image moderne de l'Antiquité grecque. Ces deux écritures font ainsi voir la variété et la complexité du symbolisme européen, sa mouvance intérieure depuis les années quatre-vingt-dix du XIX^e siècle jusqu'à la première décennie du XX^e, et situent son drame dans le contexte ultérieur des avant-gardes entre les deux guerres.

DEUX PHÈDRES «BOURGEOISES» DU XX^e SIÈCLE

Chaque fois qu'il est question du mythe tragique de Phèdre, trois auteurs nous viennent à l'esprit: Euripide, Sénèque et Racine. À part ces trois grands noms de la littérature dramatique, on ne saurait prétendre que ce personnage passionné et passionnant de l'antiquité grecque ait suivi une carrière dramatique considérable à travers le monde. Le XX^e siècle également a vu peu de transcriptions de ce mythe voué apparemment à l'oubli. Cependant, en 1996, la pièce cruelle et postmoderne de Sarah Kane, *Phaedra's love* – pièce désormais célèbre pour plusieurs raisons – nous a offert une variante provocatrice du sujet en question: une pièce profanatrice et sublime, à la fois c'est-à-dire hautement poétique mais sacrilège, dont le terrain dramatique, du point de vue temporel et spatial, est contemporain.

Aujourd'hui, nous allons aborder deux Phèdres du XX^e siècle presque inconnues, qui sont également déracinées de leur ambiance originelle, sans pour autant dévier audacieusement de la tradition dramatique. Il s'agit de *Fedra* de Miguel de Unamuno (1910),¹ et de *Phèdre à Colombes* de Gilbert Cesbron (1961).² La première, donc, est Espagnole, la seconde Française. Entre elles, il y a le décalage d'un demi-siècle, et la première est une «tragédie en trois actes», tandis que la seconde est une «comédie en un acte» – d'après leurs auteurs respectifs –, mais ni leurs ressemblances ni leurs différences ne tiennent vraiment à ces éléments temporels et structurels.

Dès le premier abord, il faut dire que l'action se déroule dans un environnement bourgeois et petit-bourgeois respectivement. Le roi Thésée d'Euripide est devenu l'aristocrate Pedro chez Unamuno, le professeur de lycée Monsieur Baigneul chez Cesbron. La Nourrice ancienne survit dans le personnage d'Eustaquia, nourrice de l'héroïne espagnole, et dans celui d'Irma, la bonne et confidente de l'héroïne française. Phèdre demeure aussi jeu-

¹ Miguel de Unamuno, philosophe, professeur d'université, prosateur et poète, s'est aussi occupé du théâtre. Il est l'auteur de grandes et de petites pièces, de drames et de comédies, dont nous citons les titres: *La esfinge, La venda, La difunta, La princesa Doña Lambra, El pasado que vuelve, Soledad, Raquel encadenada, Sombras de sueño, El otro, El hermano Juan o El mundo es teatro, Fedra*, ainsi que d'une traduction de la *Médée* de Sénèque.

² L'auteur parisien Gilbert Cesbron (1913-1979), qui a occupé pendant longtemps des postes à la radio française, bien qu'il doive sa réputation littéraire à ses romans surtout, a écrit aussi plusieurs essais à propos de problèmes sociaux et sept pièces de théâtre, dont nous citons les titres: *Il est minuit, Docteur Schweitzer, Briser la statue, L'homme seul, Phèdre à Colombes, Dernier acte, Mort le premier et Pauvre Philippe*.

ne que son modèle antique. Hippolyte garde son prénom dans les deux pièces, et l'amour de la marâtre pour lui devient également une passion dévorante. La mort guette les deux familles. Qui enlèvera-t-elle finalement ? Il nous faudra avouer que les deux pièces, bien qu'appartenant à un théâtre bourgeois, voire traditionnel du point de vue de leur structure, ne se ressemblent pas beaucoup, ce que nous allons voir tout de suite, en commençant par résumer les deux intrigues.

Unamuno nous présente une famille bourgeoise où règnent la confiance et le respect mutuels. Le seul problème qui paraît assombrir ce bien-être collectif, c'est la santé fragile de Fedra, épouse de Pedro, une femme beaucoup plus jeune que lui. En réalité, le mal qui ronge cette créature est sa passion fatale pour Hippolyte, fils de Pedro, qui a presque le même âge qu'elle. La fidèle Eustaquia, faisant appel à la force de la prière et à la grâce divine, tente en vain de sauver sa maîtresse du malheur qui l'a frappée. De son côté, l'adolescent aime sa marâtre comme une vraie mère, tendrement, et ne s'apercevra de l'amour illicite de Phèdre qu'au moment où elle-même se déclarera directement. Profondément choqué par l'aveu sacrilège, auquel il oppose fermement le respect dû à son père, il décide de ne plus se trouver seul avec la femme amoureuse. Phèdre, dont la passion l'emporte sur tout argument moral, prévient Hippolyte qu'elle se vengera de son refus en le calomniant auprès de son père.³ Pedro croit aux paroles de Phèdre, et décide à contrecœur de renvoyer son fils. Hippolyte se défend trop faiblement pour convaincre son père de son innocence. Pourtant Phèdre, torturée par des remords, décide de se suicider en avalant des somnifères. Un peu avant sa mort, et afin de réconcilier Pedro avec son fils, elle écrit une lettre adressée à son mari, révélant toute la vérité. Les deux hommes ont tout juste le temps de pardonner la malheureuse, peu avant sa mort.

Chez Cesbron, la marâtre d'Hippolyte, qui s'appelle Edmée et dont l'âge se situe exactement entre celui de son mari et celui de son fils (18-31-44), tombe amoureuse du jeune homme, qui est à son tour amoureux de sa voisine Alice, fille d'un ennemi idéologique de son père. Ce dernier, professeur de lycée, ne se doute de rien, jusqu'à ce que sa femme déclare ouvertement sa passion à Hippolyte, qui la repousse avec indignation. Irma, la servante d'Edmée, par sympathie pour sa maîtresse, prend alors l'initiative fatale de calomnier l'adolescent auprès de son père afin d'empêcher la découverte de l'affreuse vérité, qui compromettrait Edmée. Monsieur Baigneul croit, au début, à la dénonciation d'Irma, dont la fausseté sera pourtant vite prouvée par Hippolyte lui-même. Son père, sensible et indulgent de par sa culture humaniste, ne l'interrompt pas. Déçu et, en même temps, trop ému par la force d'une vérité insupportable, il se suicide en ouvrant le robinet du gaz, en compagnie

³ Néanmoins, le texte ne nous permet pas d'accepter la thèse de Luis Gonzalez del Valle, *La tragedia en el teatro de Unamuno, Valle-Inclán y García Lorca* (Madrid: Torres Library of Literary Studies, 1975, 40), selon laquelle « la passion de Phèdre est une manifestation de son égoïsme personnel ».

de la *Phèdre* de Racine.

Les divergences principales des deux pièces tiennent à leur source d'inspiration, à leur atmosphère dramatique et – osons le dire – à la longueur même des textes.

Tout d'abord, nos auteurs révèlent franchement leurs points de repère dramaturgiques, de sorte que le lecteur/spectateur puisse localiser facilement les éléments intertextuels introduits dans chacune des pièces. Unamuno puise directement dans l'*Hippolyte* d'Euripide, comme il l'avoue dans son prologue, en disant que sa *Phèdre* à lui «est une modernisation de celle d'Euripide».⁴ En effet, il subsiste chez lui un élément principal du tragique originel, à savoir une tare familiale qui accable Phèdre, tout comme elle a jadis marqué les femmes de sa lignée. La nourrice connaît le malheur qui a consumé la mère de Phèdre, mais elle ne le révèle pas.⁵ Le médecin, à son tour, fera allusion à la grand-mère, à la mère et à la sœur de Phèdre, dont l'histoire – toujours cachée du public – semble avoir touché à l'abîme de l'existence.⁶ Il s'agit, donc, d'une hérédité obscure qui a pesé sur trois générations. Néanmoins, l'auteur espagnol n'exploite pas ce paramètre transcendantal emprunté à Euripide. Il aurait été sans doute déplacé de répéter ou paraphraser l'amour monstrueux de Pasiphaé ou d'Ariane, mais il aurait pu inventer une transgression compatible avec son temps. Il ne l'a pas fait, et l'on peut se demander si c'est sa pudeur catholique ou bien une faiblesse dramaturgique qui l'en ont empêché.

Unamuno garde également la trouvaille épistolaire que le poète grec emploie comme moyen de communication, voire de révélation. Pourtant, dans la pièce moderne, le rôle de la lettre est inversé: si la Phèdre antique en fait usage pour calomnier et éliminer Hippolyte, la Phèdre moderne l'emploie pour réhabiliter le jeune homme, après l'avoir calomnié oralement.

Enfin, l'auteur espagnol attribue à son Hippolyte un amour passionné pour la chasse, mais comme la pièce moderne n'a plus de place pour la déesse Artémis, il conjugue ce loisir avec une prescription médicale: le fils de Pedro avait jadis une mauvaise santé que pouvait améliorer la fréquentation des bois et des monts, ce qui a fini par inculquer à Hippolyte le plaisir de la chasse.

De son côté, Cesbron nous rappelle son point de départ dramaturgique tout au long de la pièce: son héros principal, qui n'est plus le pendant de Phèdre mais celui de Thésée, étant un philologue éclairé qui approfondit les sujets qu'il enseigne au lycée, se penche constamment sur la *Phèdre* de Racine. Bien que la pièce renverse l'action cruciale du mythe, puisque la passion illicite de la femme est finalement payée par son mari, on y retrouve la jeune Aricie de Racine, bien-aimée d'Hippolyte et qui, en l'occurrence, prend le nom

⁴ MIGUEL DE UNAMUNO, *Obras Completas*, t. V, 302.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 306.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 357.

d'Alice. Celle-ci, tout comme son modèle racinien, appartient à une famille ennemie de Baigneul. Enfin, il faut signaler que Cesbron attribue le projet et l'acte de la calomnie à la servante, comme le fait Euripide et, à son tour, Racine.⁷

Pour ce qui est de l'atmosphère dramatique des deux pièces, s'il est vrai que Unamuno nous donne une tragédie moderne, Cesbron a beau prétendre que sa pièce à lui est une comédie. Ce que l'on remarque chez lui, c'est, à la rigueur, un humour discret mêlé d'une franchise et d'une clairvoyance qui évoquent certains personnages d'Oscar Wilde, qui disent la vérité sur un ton ironique, apparemment inoffensif. De toute façon, le langage astucieux et ludique de ce sage professeur ne vise, en principe, que lui-même et sa propre vie. Par ailleurs, lorsque tout sera révélé, Baigneul cesse d'effleurer la plaisanterie ou le comique. Le fait d'avoir choisi une femme si jeune, pour éviter la solitude de son veuvage, le culpabilise. Finalement, son suicide semble avoir un motif existentiel, voire philosophique, ce qui conduit la pièce aux confins de la tragédie ou, au moins, sur le terrain du drame.

Pour en finir avec les divergences des deux pièces, il convient de signaler que, parfois, la quantité s'allie étroitement à la qualité. En effet, Unamuno, au cours des trois actes, a pu élaborer son sujet et développer ses caractères mieux que Cesbron, qui, en un acte, a esquissé son sujet d'une façon rudimentaire. Malgré le fait qu'il a écrit plusieurs pièces en trois actes, cette fois-ci on dirait que son intention était de suggérer seulement une version différente du mythe de Phèdre ou bien, ce qui est très probable, de s'opposer à Racine, dont la poésie est superbe mais la vérité fautive, d'après le héros: les choses se passent autrement dans la vie, et les situations-limites ne touchent point exclusivement les familles nobles.

Malgré les différences que nous venons de signaler, les deux pièces présentent plusieurs traits communs. Tout d'abord, elles sont réalistes: dialogues simples teintés d'une nuance poétique sobre,⁸ ambiance familière dénuée de tout signe métaphysique. Ensuite, on y discerne certains vestiges communs dans le choix et l'attitude des personnages. Tout d'abord, l'état psychique de Fedra et celui d'Edmée sont presque identiques. Elles avouent qu'en embrassant leurs maris respectifs, elles vivent l'illusion enivrante qu'elles se trouvent entre les bras d'Hippolyte. De plus, Fedra va calomnier personnellement et de vive voix l'être aimé, et Edmée va permettre à sa bonne d'accuser Hippolyte auprès de son père. Les deux femmes sont plongées dans le même désespoir, qui les fait oublier momentanément leurs

⁷ Cesbron ne tente pas de justifier d'avance son héroïne en suivant son modèle racinien, selon lequel Phèdre se déclare après avoir appris que son mari était probablement mort (dans la «Préface» de sa *Phèdre*, Racine déclare son intention de rendre la femme amoureuse «un peu moins odieuse qu'elle n'est dans les tragédies des anciens»).

⁸ À propos du style «frémissant» mais sobre de Cesbron, voir RAYMOND SANSEN, «Gilbert Cesbron, une littérature qui frémit», *Colloque Gilbert Cesbron* (Angers: Presses de l'Université d'Angers, 1994): 75. Quant au style d'Unamuno, sobre et fébrile en même temps, c'est lui-même qui le délimite rigoureusement, en prétendant qu'il ne faut pas s'occuper de l'«orfèvrerie littéraire», qui est toujours fautive et, en plus, ennuyeuse (MIGUEL DE UNAMUNO, «Orfebrería literaria», *A propósito del estilo, Obras Completas*, t. VII: 849).

principes moraux.

Par ailleurs, la différence d'âge entre les conjoints est fortement soulignée dans les deux pièces, comme si les auteurs désiraient, consciemment ou pas, attribuer une bonne part de la faute au mari, qui a osé capturer la jeunesse, procédant contre les lois de la nature. Nous apprenons même que la Phèdre d'Unamuno pourrait être non seulement la sœur d'Hippolyte, mais aussi sa femme.⁹

Quant aux personnages secondaires, on rencontre dans les deux pièces la figure de l'ami du mari. L'ami de Pedro est le docteur Marcelo, l'ami de Baigneul est son collègue Gointreau. Pourtant, malgré la tradition théâtrale qui fait de l'ami un allié actif du protagoniste, les deux personnages en question, extrêmement discrets, n'assument aucun rôle dynamique, se tenant plutôt à l'écart du drame familial.

Ajoutons à tout cela que la ressemblance caractérielle des deux maris modernes est plus qu'impressionnante. Ils ne ressemblent point à leur modèle de l'antiquité grecque ni à celui de l'âge classique français.¹⁰ Ils appartiennent à une race peu nombreuse, dont les traits dominants sont ceux de l'humanisme traditionnel: bonne foi, pitié, indulgence et noblesse de l'âme. Pedro et Baigneul sont capables de s'entretenir avec Hippolyte accusé,¹¹ et même quand ils se révoltent contre lui, leur courroux est une réaction contrôlée par le bon sens. Lorsque la terrible vérité sera révélée, ils essaient de comprendre la racine du mal¹² et de trouver des circonstances atténuantes au fils présumé coupable d'abord et, par la suite, à la femme égarée par la passion aveugle. Ils vont même un peu plus loin: ils cherchent douloureusement le degré de culpabilité qui leur incombe à eux-mêmes. Grâce à une autocritique subtile, ils sont en mesure de pardonner le crime de la femme, dont ils ne sont point tout à fait innocents.

Ainsi Pedro, avant d'apprendre la vérité, et croyant que son fils a péché, dira à Phèdre que tout cela est une punition infligée à lui-même: «*Un châtement, oui, pour t'avoir amenée à ma maison, pour avoir voulu avoir d'autres enfants de toi, pour ne pas avoir mieux gardé la mémoire de sa mère, de sa mère sainte*». Phèdre tâche de le consoler en prétendant que c'est sa faute à elle, car elle a accepté de prendre la place de la défunte, mais Pedro commence à délirer sur le sens de la faute, sans vouloir vraiment accuser qui que ce soit: «*À qui*

⁹ *Ibid.*, 313 et 335.

¹⁰ On n'a qu'à évoquer l'emportement aveugle du Thésée euripidéen et la fureur terrible du Thésée racinien, lorsqu'ils affrontent Hippolyte calomnié (EURIPIDE, *Hippolyte*, 916-30 et RACINE, *Phèdre*, acte IV, scène II).

¹¹ V. MIGUEL DE UNAMUNO, *Obras Completas*, t. V, 338-339, en comparaison avec le dialogue entre Baigneul et son fils (GILBERT CESBRON, *Théâtre* [Paris: Robert Laffont, 1961]: t. II, 185-186).

¹² «*Tout se passe comme si Gilbert Cesbron s'efforçait, sinon d'excuser ou pardonner le mal, du moins d'en rechercher les plus profondes racines, de fouiller le terrain sur lequel il prospère, afin de le mieux comprendre et de trouver aussi, mêlées aux mauvaises graines, celles qui permettraient de développer sur cette terre ce qu'il y a de meilleur en l'homme*», écrira SERGE BRINDEAU («*La philosophie de Gilbert Cesbron*», *Colloque Gilbert Cesbron*, 51).

la faute, Phèdre, à qui ? À lui ? À toi ? À moi ? Qui est-ce qui sait ce que sont les fautes ? La faute, qu'est-ce que cela veut dire ? Qu'est-ce que c'est que la faute, dis-moi ?¹³

Baigneul, à son tour, fait le bilan de cette expérience douloureuse: «*Le mari qui trompe sa femme est un personnage de vaudeville, Irma; mais la femme qui trompe son mari est un personnage de drame. Et quand c'est avec le fils de celui-ci, ça s'appelle même une tragédie. Nous avons treize ans de différence, Mme Baigneul et moi: cela ne porte pas bonheur!...*»¹⁴ Prêtant foi, au début, aux paroles d'Irma qui accusaient son fils, il se demande qui est, au fond, le coupable: «*Ah! Non, non! Le laisser partir sans lui donner une chance de comprendre, de regretter!... D'ailleurs, qui est le plus coupable?... La première pierre, hein!... Depuis trois ans, est-ce que je me suis occupé de lui?... Et trois années difficiles... Les plus difficiles!... Moralement abandonné – c'est le mot!... Et puis quoi! Il a levé les yeux sur elle ? Mais elle est si belle!... Edmée... si belle! Mon pauvre petit garçon, tout seul au bord du mal!...*»¹⁵

Résumant les données dramatiques des deux pièces, nous constatons qu'Unamuno et Cesbron, témoins sincères de leur monde, demeurent toujours sensibles à la souffrance et au mal terrestre, auxquels ils opposent la compassion pour autrui. «*La compassion est, donc, l'essence de l'amour spirituel humain, de l'amour qui a conscience de soi, de l'amour qui n'est pas purement animal, bref de l'amour d'une personne raisonnable. L'amour compatit, et plus on aime plus on compatit*», nous dit Unamuno dans *Le sentiment tragique de la vie*, en soutenant en même temps que tout homme désire être aimé et, par conséquent, gagner la compassion de ses semblables.¹⁶ De son côté, Cesbron souligne constamment la valeur morale de la compassion et de la fraternité qui rendraient notre monde «*respirable*»: «*Comparaison grossière: nous réservons notre compassion à l'homme dont on vient de couper la jambe; mais tant qu'il souffrait d'artérite (et c'était continûment et dans l'angoisse), nous ne pensions guère à lui. Faute d'imagination, faute de sympathie surtout. Celle-ci est la sœur cadette de la compassion, humble, fidèle, taciturne. D'ailleurs, 'sympathie' a même origine et même signification, mais le mot a tant servi à ne désigner rien qu'il est comme une coquille vide*».¹⁷ Il est hors de doute que les deux penseurs ont une origine idéologique commune, qui est un humanisme bourgeois enrichi par la foi catholique, vivante et authentique, détachée de tout dogmatisme.

¹³ MIGUEL DE UNAMUNO, *Obras Completas*, t. V, 341.

¹⁴ GILBERT CESBRON, *Théâtre*, t. II, 181.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 185.

¹⁶ MIGUEL DE UNAMUNO, *Obras Completas*, t. VII, 190sq. La compassion pour autrui, dont parle Unamuno, a ses racines dans la compassion pour soi-même, quand on s'aperçoit de sa propre inanité et de l'échec de ses efforts spirituels (cf. FRANÇOIS MEYER, *L'ontologie de Miguel de Unamuno* [Paris: P.U.F., 1955]: 18-19).

¹⁷ GILBERT CESBRON, *Ce que je crois* (Paris: Grasset, 1970): 78.

Par ailleurs, tous deux ont essayé de montrer que la partie affective de l'être humain n'est pas moins importante pour la vie que l'intellect, la raison et la science.¹⁸ Ainsi, les deux suicides, dans leurs pièces respectives, sont motivés par des sentiments familiers à notre ère chrétienne, et qui étaient totalement étrangers à la tragédie antique. La Phèdre d'Unamuno meurt afin d'assurer la paix et la réconciliation entre son mari et son fils et afin d'éviter la colère de Dieu. Baigneul meurt d'une «*mort philosophique*», comme il le dit lui-même,¹⁹ parce qu'il aime sa femme et son fils, et qu'il a tout perdu. Dans les deux cas, ce n'est plus l'héroïsme, l'honneur ou la réputation qui est en jeu, comme dans la tragédie grecque ou racinienne:²⁰ c'est l'amour qui tue, mais c'est un amour plein d'abnégation, qui s'offre en sacrifice à la vie merveilleuse, mais ratée.²¹

¹⁸ Cf. MICHEL BARLOW, *Gilbert Cesbron, témoin de la tendresse de Dieu* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1965): 28-30.

¹⁹ Il ne s'agit pas ici d'une attitude nihiliste, mais d'une évaluation de la vie dans un contexte toujours humaniste et chrétien (cf. MAUREEN RANSON, «Le thème de la mort chez Gilbert Cesbron romancier», *Cahiers Gilbert Cesbron* [janvier 1992, t. 3]: 28).

²⁰ Dans la *Phèdre* de Racine, l'héroïne n'a que le souci de l'honneur, qui l'emporte sur la vertu elle-même (RACINE, *Phèdre*, acte III, scène III).

²¹ Michel Barlow semble embarrassé vis-à-vis de *Phèdre à Colombes*, où il discerne un «*témoignage négatif*», puisque tout se passe «*comme si la faillite de cette vie médiocre ne faisait que mesurer ce qu'elle aurait pu être, transfigurée au souffle de l'esprit*» (*Gilbert Cesbron, témoin de la tendresse de Dieu*, 116).

KETEVAN NADAREISHVILI

MEDEA ON THE GEORGIAN STAGE

The history of staging Euripides' *Medea* on the Georgian stage is closely connected with the general attitude of Georgian society to the so-called 'Medea theme'. Thus, first we would like to discuss the essence of this approach briefly.

Georgian literature was very familiar with the ancient cultural heritage from the very outset from Byzantine sources. From these sources it got to know the ancient mythology, including the famous Argonaut Cycle.¹ This famous cycle of myths was repeatedly narrated in the literary monuments, especially those of the XIXth century.² It is this very background that makes remarkable the fact that there were no artistic interpretations of the Argonaut cycle until the '60s of the XIXth century.³ This neglect, naturally, had its own explanation. The legend was known, but it was avoided, and was avoided first of all because of Medea's tragic image – the mother, killer of her own children, was inconsistent with the national character. But, on the other hand, the mythical Medea was so closely connected with ancient Georgian history, with the origins of the Colchian ethnos – she was, after all, one of the first well-known Georgians. Therefore, throughout the period, when recalling Georgia's glorious past with the purpose of raising patriotic spirit became urgent for Georgian culture, the desire to depict "Colchis abounding in gold", reflected in Argonaut myths, prevailed over the neglect of and terror in the face of Medea.

Then, in the second half of the XIXth century, the Medea phenomenon – mother, killer of her children wasn't accepted – and not only that of a mother-killer... The outstanding Georgian poet and public figure Akaki Tseretheli, author of *Media*, originally planned to write a trilogy, a poem, which would cover the whole myth about the Argonauts. The aim of the poet was to present the true picture of Georgia's glorious history. "It is the historical truth that urges me to speak, the truth and not patriotic passion. We Georgians are a chosen people and our past is surprising. Hardly could there have been a nation which didn't come to capture us: Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Arabia, Mongolia, Greece and others – all tried

¹ The episode concerning Jason sowing the teeth of the dragon in the earth is presented in the eleventh-century Georgian translation of the Pseudo-Nonnos Mythological Commentary on Gregory of Nazianzus' *Oratio funebris in laudem Basilii Magni*. THAMAR OTKHMEZURI, *Pseudo-Nonniani in IV Orationis Gregorii Nazianzeni Commentarii*. Versio iberica (Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca 50, Corpus Nazianzenum 16) (Turnhout-Leuven, 2002): 270-273.

² IOANNE BATONISHVILI, *Kalmasoba (Teaching in Games)*. TEIMURAZ BATONISHVILI, *The History of Iveria*.

³ ARAKI URUSHADZE, "Akaki and the Heritage." *Soviet Art* 1(1962): 42.

to seize this little country. Georgia stood as a steep rock by the sea, enormous waves were clashing against it, but turned into foam and, powerless, fell back".⁴ The work on the poem included research into the historical material. Alongside interesting observations, the poet tried to explain the etymology of the eponym 'Medea'. In his understanding, 'Medea' was a Georgian word: 'Me-dia' meaning 'I am a woman'.⁵ Tseretheli managed to write only the first part of the trilogy. The poem tells the story of how Jason and the Argonauts came to Colchis and how they obtained the Golden Fleece. Medea, the central figure of this part of the cycle, is not an active character in the poem at all. The aim of the poet was a complete rehabilitation of Medea. Here she is a woman who falls in love and loses control over herself. Medea's only crime is that she loves the foreigner who came to Colchis to abuse her country. In this poem Medea doesn't help Jason to get the Golden Fleece. Orpheus and the white cow assist him. Orpheus with his songs managed to enchant nature round about, while the cow cast her spell on the bulls. As for the dragon, the ball full of hypnotising drug brought him three days' sleep. Medea's only betrayal is that she left her country with the foreigner, the enemy of her motherland. Tseretheli's Medea doesn't kill her brother either. The Argonauts themselves sacrificed Iasir (Aphsirtos) to get rid of the pursuers. The Colchians from afar saw Medea sitting in the boat and mourning her beloved brother. So, what is left of Medea? The answer seems to be clear – what's left is a Colchian woman as evidence of Georgia's greatness and glorious past recorded in the ancient sources. And yet, the poet failed to make Medea's image popular in Georgia.

In the Georgian cultural milieu of the beginning of the XXth century the professional theatre began to play an important role. Of the repertoire of the ancient Greek drama, Sophocles' two tragedies were favoured: *Oedipus the King* and *Antigone*.⁶ At the beginning of the Soviet era, ancient tragedies were somehow avoided. The reason, of course, was the ideology – ancient tragedy considered as a tragedy of destiny was inconsistent with the Soviet ideology, according to which a man forged his life himself. From the beginning of the 1950s the Georgian theatre started to overcome this ideological barrier and produced a number of remarkable performances of Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*.⁷

But *Medea* was still neglected. In 1962 a famous Georgian director, A. Chkhartishvili, decided to break the ice and stage Euripides' *Medea*. The news was not welcomed with enthusiasm. Some people criticised the theatre from the patriotic viewpoint; others con-

⁴ AKAKI TSERETHELI, *Monthly* 3 (1897): 5.

⁵ AKAKI TSERETHELI, *Collection of the Works in 15 volumes*, Vol.6 (Tbilisi, 1956): 390.

⁶ NIKOLOZ URUSHADZE, *Sophocles on the Georgian Stage* (Tbilisi, 1961): 19 - 38.

⁷ THAMAR KAMUSHADZE, *The Interpretation of Ancient Greek Tragedies in the Georgian Theatre* (Dissertation) (Tbilisi, 1990). THAMAR KAMUSHADZE, "Oedipus the King' at the Sh. Rustaveli Theatre," *New Literature about Culture and Art in Soviet Georgia VII* (1990); VASIL KIKNADZE, *Theatre and Time* (Tbilisi, 1984): 259 - 285.

sidered the creation of Euripides as alien to the contemporary audience.⁸ The director himself fully acknowledged the delicacy and the complexity of the problem facing him. He wrote: "What is the reason that we have taken a dislike to the famous tragic image of a Georgian woman, pushed her aside and left her to 'others'?" In his opinion, Medea's image couldn't have been abused and insulted in Euripidean tragedy, as the aim of tragedy was catharsis – tragedy had to raise a hero to ethical heights through torments, no matter how burdensome his crime was. The price Medea paid for her vengeance was terrible self-torture, the director believed.⁹ Chkhartishvili invited Veriko Anjaparidze, an outstanding actress, to play Medea. In 1992 the actress was proclaimed by the British Academy of Arts one of the ten best tragic actors in the world.¹⁰ At first, the actress refused to play the role. Her explanation of the refusal is very significant: "Although I admire ancient tragedy... Medea, murderer of her own children, always frightened me to horror".¹¹ The director began to prepare the Georgian audience. 'Writers speaking...', a special cycle of articles, appeared in the periodicals aiming to clear the way for a comprehension of Euripides' tragic genius. Chkhartishvili started to stage the play without Veriko Anjaparidze. During the rehearsals, he played Medea's role himself. After some hesitation, the actress agreed to play Medea.

We pay special attention to the performance in our paper for the following reasons: first, the performance was considered to be an extremely significant production of high artistic value. Second, the play was an attempt to get rid of the complex about Euripides' *Medea*. Chkhartishvili didn't change the text of the great tragedist seriously, although, together with the actress, he provided the audience with quite an original interpretation of Medea's image.

The spectator could see the distinguished pride of the Colchian princess from the very start. Her self-esteem was terribly abused by the Greeks and her whole personality arose to defend her dignity. Blood relationship with her heroine and her exceptional pride appeared to be key features for the actress in the interpretation of Medea.¹² Medea was interpreted as the symbolic image of legendary Colchis. Medea is as beautiful and as majestic as the land of Colchis itself and in this very beauty lies her tragedy. The Greeks deprived her of her treasures, abducted her beauty and then left her insulted and outraged as they did with Colchis, her homeland.¹³

⁸ KIKNADZE, 1984, 269.

⁹ ARCHIL CHKHARTISHVILI, "Interview," *Theatrical Tbilisi* 5-6 (1962): 5-7.

¹⁰ "Sophiko Chiaureli" - the article in *Who is Who in the Modern World. Biographical Edition in Many Volumes* (Moscow: International Biographical Centre, 1999): 373.

¹¹ KOTE NINIKASHVILI, *Veriko Anjaparidze, Album* (Tbilisi, 1968): 97.

¹² NATELA URUSHADZE, *Veriko Anjaparidze* (Tbilisi, 2001): 209.

¹³ VASIL KIKNADZE, "The Tragic Medea," *Theatrical Tbilisi*, 5-6 (1962): 32-33.

Treating Medea as a Colchian woman was intensified by the director's innovative interpretation of the main issue of the play – betrayal of the motherland, and not of love, became central. Medea's tragedy started when she betrayed her country.¹⁴ The director wanted to say that there is one, most valuable thing in a human being – love for the native land. Betrayal of the motherland will be never forgiven.

But the explanation of the dreadful deed of killing the children still remained the main difficulty in the interpretation of Medea's image. For a long time the actress tried to find the explanation. At last she found it in Euripides' text itself.¹⁵ In her great monologue (Med. 1021–1080), when Euripides' *Medea* finally makes her fatal decision, she tries to present the murder of the children as an enforced act which she was compelled to carry out. After Creon's and Creusa's death, the Corinthians will take revenge on Medea, they'll kill her children, and so it will be better if she who bore them did it herself.

*“No! – by the nether fiends that dwell with Hades,
Never shall this betide, that I will leave
My children for my foes to trample on!
They needs must die. And, since it needs must be,
Even I will slay them, I, who gave them life.
All this is utter doom: – she shall not 'scape!
Yea, on her head the wreath is; in my robes
The princess-bride is perishing – I know it!
But – for I fare on journey most unhappy,
And shall speed these on yet unhappier –”*
(*Medea*, 1059-1068)

Such an explanation was acceptable for the actress. So only at this point, already quite late, did Chkhartishvili's Medea decide to kill her children. All previous allusions to the murder were taken out of her text, as were the passages at the very beginning of the play, where the Colchian princess cursed her children.¹⁶

Nevertheless, whether under compulsion or not, murdering her own flesh and blood still remained an unheard-of crime. And Medea has to endure a dreadful torment. “*Medea doesn't take revenge, she punishes herself for the mistake she had made long before for the*

¹⁴ KAMUSHADZE, 53. “Anjaparidze's Medea makes us feel not only the tragedy of an abandoned woman, but also a horrified cry uttered by the woman who had betrayed her country.” GEORGE TSITSISHVILI, “New Life of Medea,” *Communist* (1962. 25. IV).

¹⁵ See URUSHADZE, 2001, 212... Also KOTE NINIKASHVILI, *Archil Chkhartishvili* (Tbilisi, 1975): 83.

¹⁶ URUSHADZE, 212.

sake of Jason's love."¹⁷ She must live to suffer. Naturally, such an understanding caused a change in the ending. In the final scene, Medea didn't appear on the dragon-chariot flying to Athens as in the Euripidean play. Instead, the spectators watch a woman hardened into stone, a woman, who veiled her face and started her journey walking down the narrow road. But where? Nowhere...into an infinite world of torment.

The success of the play, apart from the brilliant directing, was largely due to the highly sophisticated professionalism of the actress. The spectators could feel a wide range of emotions. Anjaparidze's *Medea* was overwhelmed with stormy feelings. Cool and inaccessible at one moment, shedding torrents of tears at another, yet at another triumphant and victorious. Medea reminded them of the raging sea amidst a storm.¹⁸ But the main success of the role still lay in something else. The actress managed to merge the pathos of the monumental form with the ordinary, with the psychological truth. According to the theatre critic E. Gugushvili, despite her wild pathetic power and passion, Medea still remained a soft, tender and unprotected woman. Anjaparidze wasn't even afraid to portray Medea's weakness.¹⁹ This very synthesis of the passionate and the ordinary resulted in close contact with the contemporary audience. The actress plays the ancient tragedy like a modern play, wrote the press.²⁰

However, alongside admiration, certain criticisms were also expressed regarding the interpretation of Medea. Here is one such approach: "*There are controversial points. The tragic essence of Medea's character is not fully acknowledged. The interpretation doesn't expose the very fact of Medea bearing in her the force that causes her ruin. The essence of the character isn't disclosed from this point of view.*"²¹

Now a few words about the theatrical side of the play. The stage decoration was laconic, simple. Severity and expressiveness of form were its main features (painter: I. Sumbatashvili). The performance started without a curtain. Instead of it, the painter used a huge stone plate with the Greek inscription on it – "*Euripides' Medea*". Dark, grey lighting added severity to the location of the heroes. At the end, the stone plate was erected on the scene separating Medea from men for ever.

Music played a significant role in the director's interpretation of Euripidean tragedy, stressing Medea's ethnic origin. The composer (A. Chimakadze) used exclusively ancient Georgian folk melodies. Against this background, Medea laments her misfortune with a chorus as a real Georgian woman.²²

¹⁷ The words of the actress. URUSHADZE, 212.

¹⁸ URUSHADZE, 215.

¹⁹ ETER GUGUSHVILI, *Theatrical Portraits* (Tbilisi, 1965): 46.

²⁰ NIKOLAI VOLKOV, *Theatrical Evenings* (Moscow, 1966): 137.

²¹ DALI MUMLADZE, *Modern Georgian Directors* (Tbilisi, 1973): 34.

²² KAMUSHADZE, 55.

Also worth mentioning is how the director apprehended the chorus's function. Although the chorus isn't actively involved in the action in Euripides' tragedies, in this performance the chorus is one of the characters, playing quite a significant role. It is Medea's friend and ally, her adviser; it sympathises with Medea in her grief. In Kiknadze's opinion, such an active position of the chorus was completely in line with Chkhrtishvili's conception (the critic implied Medea's Georgian origin, hence the compassion of the chorus towards her).²³ At the same time, the chorus is the double of Medea's soul. The chorus's visual appearance undergoes changes according to the dynamics of Medea's tragic story. Its clothing changes colour three times. At the beginning, the chorus is dressed in white. It condoles with Medea, fondles her. After Medea's meeting with Creon, the chorus appears on the stage in red chitons – the situation is getting tense and the chorus expresses this very tension; and lastly, at the moment when Medea declares her terrible decision, the chorus wraps itself in black.²⁴

Chkhrtishvili's play was a great success. Two years later, in 1964, the Piraeus Greek Theatre of Tragedy visited Tbilisi. The theatre staged Euripides' *Medea* and Sophocles' *Electra*. For the Georgian theatre audience this tour was seen as a significant event. Legendary Greek actress Aspasia Papatnasiou played Medea's role. The public was delighted with Aspasia's Medea. In the performances of the Greek Theatre, the poetic monumental form was combined with simplicity and economy of expression. Aspasia was the first actress in this theatre, best expressing the synthesis of the lyrical and the monumental.²⁵ Perhaps the idea of the extraordinary experiment – of the playing of Euripides' *Medea* simultaneously by the Greek and Georgian theatres arose at that period. In 1967 this experiment was brought to life at Marjanishvili State Theatre. In the performance of the Georgian director, Aspasia Papatnasiou acted Medea. A significant fact was that the role of the Colchian princess was played by the Greek actress in Greek, while Greek heroes were performed by Georgian actors. "One doesn't need to know Greek to understand and feel Aspasia's art", wrote the Georgian press, "she speaks the language of the senses [...] understandable for every nation"²⁶. As critics pointed out, Aspasia's Medea depicted the development of one feeling – that of vengeance. But this feeling was overwhelming and encompassed everything – self-esteem of the woman, love for her children, weakness and strength of a human being, strong will and destructive duality.

But to accept Medea's tragic image still remains painful for a part of society. Besides, in the ancient sources there was another version of the killing of Medea's children... Georgian classical philology investigated the Argonauts mythos narrated in the ancient sources

²³ KIKNADZE, 270-271.

²⁴ MUMLADZE, 35.

²⁵ KIKNADZE, 291.

²⁶ NODAR GURABANIDZE, "The Tragic Muse of Aspasia," *Tbilisi* (1967.7.IV).

in detail. They paid special attention to the versions of the myth told by Parmeniscus and Didymus. In their writings, the children were murdered by Corinthians, who afterwards declared that it was Medea who did it. A well-known specialist in ancient history and writer, L. Sanikidze, decided to use this version to give a different story of the Georgian princess. He presents in two of his writings his own interpretation of the Argonaut cycle: 'The Story of the Colchian Maiden', a long narrative and a drama, *Medea*. In the introduction to his narrative, Sanikidze remarked that there is a great deal of fantasy in his book alongside the well-known stories about the Argonauts. "But this isn't prompted only by the principle of fiction. The issue is that almost every Greek author seemed to be biased. They tended to belittle the achievements of 'alien-barbarian' peoples and extolled excessively the deeds of their compatriots..." The author tried to reconstruct, at least approximately, the proper picture of the relationship of ancient Colchis and Greece.²⁷ Sanikidze aimed to exonerate Medea from the crime he believed she never committed and was only imputed to her. His Medea too is a very proud woman. In the dialogue with Jason she shows even greater self-esteem than her prototype. Medea doesn't merely speak to Jason, but gives orders to him. When Medea brings out her gifts for Creusa, she addresses her spouse: "Did you know what they were destined for? - I do. - Tell! - Medea's order resounded again. - In case you had been a queen next to me'... - said Jason and felt how his body grew small"²⁸ She desires to take revenge, but she plans only to kill Creusa and Creon. It is Jason who suggests that it would be better if the children themselves gave the gifts to Creusa; this would touch her deeply. Medea hesitates and agrees only after her husband promises not to leave the children for even a single moment. But the king and his daughter perish in terrible torments and the outraged Corinthians kill Medea's children before the mother's eyes. This drama was staged in the central regional theatres of Georgia during the period 1962-1982 (it was performed in seven theatres). But in the leading theatres of Georgia, shaping the image of the Georgian theatre, L. Sanikidze's version of *Medea* was never staged. 'The Colchian Maiden', the opera (composer B. Kvernadze), whose libretto was based on this play, was the only exception.²⁹

While speaking about the *Medea* on the Georgian stage, the ballet *Medea*, staged on the motifs of Euripides' tragedy, is also to be mentioned (choreographer: G. Aleksidze). The ballet is significant first of all as a musical-choreographic embodiment of the Euripidean tragedy. The libretto's author, G. Aleksidze, not only retained the main feature of Medea's artistic image - killing of the children by mother herself - but based on it the whole performance. In addition, some significant changes were made. The action takes

²⁷ LEVAN SANIKIDZE, *The Story of the Colchian Maiden*, Introduction (Tbilisi, 1963).

²⁸ SANIKIDZE, 232.

²⁹ GOCHA KAPANADZE, "Birth of the New Opera," *The Georgian Theatre's Day* (1998.14.1). IURA BIBLISHVILI, "The Tragedy of the Colchian Maiden," *People Newspaper* (1997.7-13. X).

place in two temporal dimensions – in the past and in the present, so almost the whole legend is presented before the audience. As the ballet aims at portraying the psychological images of the heroes, their feelings and their emotional experience, Jason's and Creusa's love and Medea's jealousy become its leading themes. Critics considered the performance the first successful monodrama in the history of Georgian ballet.³⁰

One of the recent productions of *Medea* was staged in the newly opened 'Free Theatre' in 2002 by the director Gocha Kapanadze. The performance was a kind of compilation of Euripides', Anouilh's and Kapanadze's versions. The director endeavoured to show Medea's innocence and, in his own way, tried to develop the version of the myth described above, in which Medea didn't kill her children. The programme of the play quotes the sources of this version (Parmeniscus, Didymus). However, it is worth mentioning that the actors themselves don't refer to these authors during the play. Therefore, if a spectator hasn't read the programme, he can't guess that Medea too has her 'defenders'. Thus, when at the end of the play Medea treads Euripides' charges under foot, the audience is confused, it watches the woman obsessed with hysterics without bringing any argument against Euripides. This was exactly the reason why the critic L. Chkhartishvili regarded the performance as weak from the point of view of dramaturgy.³¹

There are other novelties in the plot as well. New characters are introduced, those of Destiny and Circe, Medea's aunt. Destiny stays on the stage throughout the whole play and conveys her attitude towards the characters without uttering a single word, merely through mime and movements. Medea constantly struggles with her; in the end she is nevertheless defeated. Grieved, she begins to justify herself: "*All what is written here is a total lie. Thousands of lies have been invented about me. O, Euripides, why don't you tell all around my true story! Yes, I loved my father, my brother, my motherland, but this is something you can't understand, because you belong to the race of the unfortunate.*"³²

It seems to me that the critics were right in noticing the main flaw in Kapanadze's version – an attempt to explain events by the proud, self-respecting nature of the Georgians. Hence, this brings us again to relating the attitude existing in society towards the so-called 'Medea theme' with certain traits of character of the nation. According to Chkhartishvili, in Kapanadze's play one could still discern a negative feature hidden in the Georgian mentality – the principle of casting the blame for one's own faults on others instead of admitting it.³³

³⁰ ELISABETH BALANCHIVADZE, "R. Gabichvadze's Ballet "Medea," *Soviet Art* 3 (1979): 34-38. LEILA NADAREISHVILI, "The Revived Myth," *Zaria Vostoka (Dawn of the East)* (1979.18.VI).

³¹ LASHA CHKHARTISHVILI, "New, but Improper Life of Medea," *Theatre and Life* 6 (2004): 15.

³² CHKHARTISHVILI, 15.

³³ CHKHARTISHVILI, 15.

A Greek director, M. Marmarinos, staged *Medea* in the M. Tumanishvili Georgian State Theatre in 2001. The performance was based on H. Müller's play *MEDEA MATERIAL*, translated into Georgian by I. Darchia. Engaged in it was a Georgian theatre troupe. Only a few performances were held, as it was soon taken out of the repertoire on the grounds that its aesthetics ran counter to that of the theatre...

Thus, drawing on our analysis of the interpretation of Medea's tragic image, we can conclude that there is no single clear-cut tendency towards the comprehension of the Medea myth in Georgian culture as a whole – as to whether Medea's myth should be regarded as a basis for artistic creations with new, original conceptions, or should still be considered in the context of historical and ethnic problems. Research into the interpretations of Medea's image as well as of other significant dramatic images, in its turn, testifies to the importance of theatre studies for the investigation of the features defining the national character.³⁴

³⁴ For a comprehension of the so-called 'Medea Theme' in Georgian culture see LEVAN KHETAGURI, "Medea in the National Cosmos," *International Conference dedicated to the 125th anniversary of the birth of Grigol Tsereteli*, Abstract of Papers (Tbilisi, 1996): 56-7 (in English). LEVAN KHETAGURI, "Medea in the National Cosmos," *Art* 1-2 (2000) (in Georgian).

SAVAS PATSALIDIS

RE-MEMBERED PAIN IN JOHN JESURUN'S *PHILOKTETES*

*"What I cannot see, I can touch.
What I cannot touch, I can see.
What I cannot see, I can imagine.
What I can imagine is mine to keep. What I cannot imagine is not mine."*
JOHN JESURUN, *Philoctetes*

"Even in the midst of other people, everybody's locked inside his own world."
JOHN JESURUN

We know that in standard theatre, language is used to advance plot, create character, provide exposition and resolve tensions. In short, language "embodies an attitude towards explanation and truth that is not untypical of attitudes we frequently bring to bear on our own lives" (Quigley 1985: 223). This is not the case, however, with the work of many contemporary American playwrights, whose narrative structures not only abstain from guaranteeing a basic explanation for dramatic situations and conflicts, but constantly refine techniques to avoid it, "ingeniously complicating the process of writing, and thus extending the Stein tradition one generation further" (Robinson 1994: 180). According to Robinson, "Stein was the first American dramatist to infuse the basic materials of dramatic art with independent life, making them noteworthy themselves. She reanimated language, letting it be heard for its own sensual qualities, no longer just serving stories but now aspiring to the same radiance as, say, a wash of paint on an abstract-expressionist canvas. She rethought the use of gesture in the theatre, devising a poetics of movement, wherein simple actions have beauty and significance apart from their functions. The rhythms of dialogue, the syntax of sentences, and the physical relationships among characters became as important as what they said" (1994: 2-3). Commenting on the term "landscape" that Bowers introduced to describe Stein's work (1991: 26), Carlson claims that Stein's plays "rarely if ever are involved as landscape would seem to be, with the verbal depiction or evocation of a scene, but that they nevertheless are involved with spatial configurations of language itself that, like landscapes, frame and freeze visual moments and alter perception" (Carlson 2002: 147). Also

Fuchs 1996: 94-5).¹

If one shifts attention from Stein's langscape to more contemporary langscapes created by playwrights like Mac Wellman, Richard Foreman, Caridad Svich, Sam Shepard, Maria Irene Fornes, David Greenspan, Adrienne Kennedy, Suzan-Lori Parks, Eric Overmyer, Len Jenkin, Jeffrey Jones, Wallace Shawn and John Jesurun, among others, one will see that the connotations of Bowers' interesting neologism are even more varied. As Carlson once again observes, moving "outward from Stein's spatial arrangements of language in general to verbal explorations of the language of space itself, of geography, of mapmaking, of travel, even of astrology", recent American dramatists create plays "for the ear and the imagination" rather than the eye (2002: 147). Released from its traditional requirement to tell a story and create psychologically developed characters, their language acquires the dynamics of performance, offering shelter to emotionally complex structures and fleeting thoughts that to be appreciated require "the multiple, moment-to-moment shifting focus of postmodern spectatorship" (Fuchs 1996: 102).

Jesurun's playfield(s)

John Jesurun began his artistic career at Yale where he experimented with sculptures that moved. Under the influence of Buñuel, he turned to writing and shooting short filmscripts and from there he went to La Mama and started making plays – "pieces in spaces", he calls them in his bio note that prefaces his play *White Water* (1987: 76) – where he proposes a postmodern *poiesis* that loosens its historically representational moorings and opts for a stage world where everything is blurred, fragmented and juxtaposed, a mixture of live and pre-recorded voices, a collage of quotations, analogies and images, that needs to be contextualised with – read with and against – other cultural forms like films, television and comics in order to be fully understood and appreciated. Jesurun's theatre is not "the theatre of good intentions" that Mac Wellman talks about in his provocative essay on the present state of American theatre. Nor is it a theatre of "Euclidean characters", where "each trait must be perfectly consonant with every other play". It is a theatre where fantasy spins out in a stream of images and dreams that create an edgy, intuitive path that explores "the full damage done by the onslaught of political lies, right-wing hucksterism, and general consumer-society madness on the inner person" (Wellman 2002: 236).

In Jesurun's hallucinogenic universe, time, place and identity are in a constant flow. Each scene emphasises the discontinuity of the mind's performance rather than its conti-

¹ Stein is very precise when, talking about her play *Four Saints in Three Acts*, she says that she "made the Saints the landscape [...] A landscape does not move nothing really moves in a landscape but things are there, and I put into the play the things that were there" (1988: 128-29).

nuity, but most importantly, it emphasises the importance of language, whose tones, cadences, pitches, volume, pacing, in short its continuous variability, provide the vehicle to enter the private zones of memory and create a playfield of gaps, absences, abjections, and unexpected combinations of intense dramatic moments that body forth "the coexistence in [a single] sentence of an infinite series of viewpoints" (Deleuze and Guattari 1983: 19, 167), each containing its own intricate layering of meanings that not only erases clear-cut divisions between real and imaginary, living and dead, male and female, but also keeps the reader/viewer always uncertain as to the meaning of things. Every time a sentence (or a scene) ends, earlier conclusions no longer hold. The reader/viewer must start over. In other words, their whole is not experienced as a unit but as "moments" or "turns" (Watt 1998: 8), an accumulation of multiple engagements with the spoken and sung words whose complexity follows the disobedient instincts of the imagination rather than the orderliness of the intellect, thus adding to the readers' (or viewers') frustration, since they are always trying to figure out what the writer is trying to do and how s/he fits in with the things they know about drama in general as well as about life.

Philoktetes, a play Jesurun wrote specifically for Jan Ritsema's 1994 production at the *Kaaitheater* in Brussels with the umbrella title *Philoktetes-Variations* – based on three modern renderings of Sophocles' tragedy (the other two being André Gide's and Heiner Müller's, each in its original language) – is a good example of his postmodern aesthetic and ideological concern with the problematics of identity, an idea we also encounter in his earlier work (*Deep Sleep* and *White Water*, among others). *Philoktetes* is unique among Greek tragedies. For one thing, this is the only tragedy without a single female character. There are also fewer characters than in any other play of Sophocles. Its ambiguity is also remarkable. The constant interplay between truth-telling and fabrication, health and disease, human and bestial, its dichotomy between signifier and signified, its complex interchange between texts and subtexts, sanity and insanity, make the spectators continually unsure of its premisses, forcing them to delve below the surface of the spoken and acted word to understand what the character really feels or intends to do (Ringer 1998: 106).

This multiple layering seems to fit perfectly the writing style of artists like Gide, Müller and others who take advantage of the text's hidden performative potential, its contradictions and ambiguities, to explore new ways of presenting the subject and the subject's object. In Gide's reading of seems to perfectly fit the story, for example, the focus is on the existentialist progression "from love of one's country, to love of another, and finally to the most valid love: love of self" (McDonald 2003: 9). In Müller's text the attention is on *Philoktetes* as the anti-Greek betrayer of nation and national virtues, an anti-social element which in former Eastern Bloc countries implied punishment (*Philoktetes* is killed by Neoptolemus: the subversive element must die) (Laermans 1994: 69-70). In Jesurun's adaptation death has actually won. *Philoktetes* speaks from the underworld. What we

watch now is a *memento mori*, the linguistic performance of a ghostly mind haunted by memories. Jesurun draws on Sophocles' imagery of disease to highlight the isolation of his central hero by turning language into the primary site in which the effects of this isolation are detailed.

Re-membering pain, re-enacting death

The play opens with an actor carried to his grave, while a funeral is being performed on stage. It is the funeral of Philoktetes, who is now cast in the role of a "talking corpse narrating", a desiring 'I' without organs, a "nomadic subjectivity"² whose main concern is man's quest for a healed, unified self in the age of postmodernity. Ron Vawter, the American actor who embodied Philoktetes three times in Jan Ritsema's triptych, naked and covered with purple Kaposi rash, made the connection between the performance's "here and now" and the story's "there and then" as well as between life and death, subject and object in his first audience address when he said that he was suffering from AIDS: "*I am dying, I am on my way to the grave but am just doing this performance on the way*" (Laermans 1994: 68). His confession brought together the two circumstances in which the body's material presence is undeniable, according to Forte. One is that of pain and another is that of live performance (1992: 51). As an actor Vawter made his body so manifestly and painfully there that it shaped the process of reception of the character. That is, by inserting his own narrative enclaves of loss and pain, he brought into play and into the play two aspects of himself: a) the performer who fabricates these impressions and b) the character who is the impression fabricated by an ongoing performance which entails them both. It is in cases like this that the theatrical metaphor about which Goffman talks takes hold: talk about the self is not so far removed from enactment (Goffman 1959: 252).³ And to a certain degree, my reflections in this essay are influenced by the theatrical representation and the recovery of the body's presence in a memory play, where this presence is foregrounded and validated through a combination of Brechtian representational techniques with an Artaudian interest in bodily affliction (and abjection).

Like Mac Wellman's dead narrator Scheherazade in *The Land of Fog and Whistles*, who "every god damn night for 24.161 years [...] must tell a story and everyday the story must be

² Nomadic subjects, Deleuze and Guattari suggest, "pass from one field to another by crossing thresholds: we never stop migrating, we become other individuals [...] and departing becomes as easy as being born or dying" (1983: 85).

³ As Lutterbie notes, it is also here that performativity comes into being, that is, a series of acts that can happen only once because the state, having been brought into being, can only be re-inscribed through repetitions that cannot alter the situation. In other words, if performativity is bringing into existence a state of being through an act, whether linguistic or a subversion of gender, performance is precisely the act: the doing that enacts signification (1997: 15).

different, only the story I tell is always the same" (1993: 53, 54), Philoktetes' ghostly body can be reconstituted only in the space between its disappearance and the memory of it. Every day he has to enter acting space to re-enact events already enacted, to re-visit places and re-experience emotions, re-store, re-configure all the things that conspire to erase the traces of his personal history, that is time, lethe, absence. What he is called to do is an act of re-remembering, and re-remembering, as Carlson argues in his book on the haunted stage, is theatre; since the pre-existing discursive field can never be recovered, it can only recycle past perceptions and experience in imaginary configurations that, although different, are powerfully haunted by a sense of repetition (Carlson 2004: 3). Along similar lines States notes that "If something is to be remembered at all, it must be remembered not as what happened but as what has happened again in a different way and will surely happen again in the future in still another way" (States 1993: 119).⁴ This process of repetition (of loss, pain, decay, etc) is most useful for uprooted or variously colonised or marginalised people in the sense that it can provide a crucial discursive terrain for reconsolidating selfhood and identity. The very act itself keeps certain moments of thought alive, giving people the time to reflect on things with greater self-consciousness and if necessary take action. As Walter Benjamin points out, memory "creates a chain of tradition which passes a happening on from one generation to another" (1969: 98). Absence of memory produces feelings of anxiety and fear and fills the "idea of death [...] with profound terror" (Benjamin 1977: 139). Yet not everything is memorable, says Nietzsche; only that which never ceases to hurt stays in memory (1967: 61). And that is the case of Philoktetes who, being inside the system of pain, facilitates the memory to repeat it without fear – and that is a form of resistance.

"Listen to me. I'm telling you something. So that you'll learn the value of suffering, the [...] language of the dead. I'm telling you something. You tell someone else and they'll tell someone else" (1994: 71). Philoktetes's "Listen to me" alludes to Hercules' closing lines in the original text – "Listen to my words" (l. 1420) – which tell the audience what will happen next, as well as to Gertrude Stein's work *Listen to Me*, where we are invited to watch the writer-protagonist confront a fragmented world of experience and accommodate it in her life. In the place of Neoptolemus' question *ti draso* ("What shall I do?") that foregrounds the strong ethical dimension of the original tragic *agon* as well as the issues of choice, decision and action, in Jesurun it is Philoktetes' painscript and the act of its (theatrical) repetition that take centre stage and provide the play with its special rhythm. Since the original suffering and the intensity of it can never be recovered – only "a shadow of its aversiveness

⁴ This is particularly striking in postmodern theatre. Carlson argues, which has tended to favour "material haunted by memory, but in an ironic and self-conscious manner quite different from classical usage [...] the postmodern theatre is almost obsessed with citation, with gestural, physical, and textual material consciously recycled, almost like pieces of a collage, into new combinations with little attempt to hide the fragmentary and 'quoted' nature of these pieces" (2004: 14).

can be grasped" (Scarry 1985: 215)– Philoktetes can only enter into the thoughts himself and turn his adventures into "sites of memory", that is, an imitation (repetition) of the former pain of a former self, of a former life, of a former living body,⁵ forcing things out of joint, out of bounds and out of time, in the sense that the memory, let alone the very "experience of pain itself, creates its own time out of interrupted time, its own coherence out of incoherence" (Frank 1997: 65).

For the performance site of this cinematographically structured twelve-scene re-telling of betrayal, pain and death, Jesurun maintains Sophocles' barren landscape of Lemnos, but not the central image of Philoktetes' primitive dwelling "with the two entrances" (l. 16-17).⁶ Jesurun's Philoktetes, being kicked out "of the cripple wing because [he] was making too much trouble" (1994: 77), now lives alone in a horrible hotel, drinks marguerita and sometimes soaks his wounded leg in it. The performance field Jesurun reconceives for his dead hero is mostly a linguistic rather than a mimetic one that yields itself to an array of interpretations, ranging from the 'black hole' of discrimination (Philoktetes was thrown off board because of his bad smell and present uselessness),⁷ to a prison cell, a red neon light district, a post apocalyptic no-place where meaning stubbornly refuses to arrive or arise, to a metaphor of a horrible, disintegrating world – possibly the underside of postmodern (American) culture – and, most importantly, to a magical space, an extension of the human mind that reveals the creative powers of the individual soul as boundaries between subjective and objective, self and universe, life and death, theatre and reality were annihilated. Within this unspecified field, anything goes, Philoktetes tells us.

"What I cannot see, I can touch.
 What I cannot touch, I can see.
 What I cannot see, I can imagine.
 What I can imagine is mine to keep.
 What I cannot imagine is not mine." (75)

Like Beckett's *Endgame*, where the *mise en scène* operates as the visual image of Ham's *mise en abyme*, *Philoktetes* is structured as a succession of present instants that "externalize an internal conflict occasioned by an event to which the mind must respond" (Andreach

⁵ Rimmon-Kenan talks about the "performance of the absence", in her essay on the paradoxes of repetition (1980: 156). See also Bronfen's essay on repetition and representation (1993: 103-29).

⁶ A doubleness metaphorically most fitting for the doubleness of the ensuing action and also an appropriate topos of encounter between mortals and the divine, reality and magic, life and death (Ringer 1998: 72).

⁷ Odysseus' comments in the original story are revealing enough: "Even at Festivals, / We hardly dared touch the wine or meat; / He gave us no peace; day and night, he filled / The Whole camp with groans and curses, cries / Of ill omen that spoiled the sacrifice" (l. 9-12).

1998: 154). In his isolation, cut off from the healthy human society for ten years, living with and like the beasts, Philoktetes has learned to put up with his "impure, evil-smelling, unclean thing god has inflicted curse and malediction, contempt and abuse, infamy, ire and degradation as upon no other people" (78). In other words, he has learned what it means to live in a body as a body, a suffering body, a rejected body and gradually a degenerated (a dead) body.⁸ As Garner observes, in extreme situations such as exhaustion, and in the case of gravely ill patients consumed by suffering, there is a tendency to withdraw from the world and the live human body into a physical body that begins to feel like a burden, no longer 'belonging' to the patient. This strong sense of the loss of self along with an awareness of the physical body as 'thing' within the lived body allow "the materiality of the body and its vulnerable articulations not only to exemplify but constitute the semantics of performance" (Garner 1994: 109, 44).

Philoktetes' presence is first felt through his groan which establishes pain as the overwhelming image: the signifying body *in extremis*.⁹ And since the language of pain has no referential content to express, one must both "objectify its felt characteristics and hold steadily visible the referent for those characteristics" (Scarry 1985: 4, 9, 17). Within this context it is with special significance that the part of the body that is bleeding in both texts of *Philoktetes* is the "harsh-devouring", "blood-drinking" (l. 694-5), "beast-infested" (l. 698) foot.

As Stallybrass argues in his article 'Footnotes', traditionally the foot has been a sign of power. For example, kissing the feet of the Pope was (and in many ways still is) a custom indicating submission. By putting his feet upon his enemies, Marlowe's Tamburlaine makes them his footstool. The poor are "what the social body walks with and what the social body bruises [...] The foot is what is stepped on. But the head of society is never foot-

⁸ This Brechtian detachment from and subsequent observation of the body also echoes Heiner Müller's Hamlet in *Hamletmachine* whose opening lines – "I was Hamlet. I stood at the shore and talked with the surf, BLABLA, the ruins of Europe in back of me" – point, among other things, to the actor/character relationship as well as to the body's deterritorialisation and dematerialisation. As Peggy Phelan argues, Müller is using the performer's body "to pose a question about the inability to secure the relation between subjectivity and the body *per se*" (PHELAN 1993: 151). He deliberately reinforces the impossibility of reconciling "who I am" with "what I am" in order to increase tension and make the spectator aware of potentials, however unrealised or unrealisable, that signal the difference between the experience of self and the limitations on representation imposed by cultural discourses (also in LUTTERBIE 1997: 20).

⁹ Here is how Sophocles introduces his hero:

First Sailor: Listen!
Neoptolemus: What is it?
First Sailor: I heard a groan,
The cry of a man in pain
[...]
Dragging himself along,
Moaning with pain
(l. 203-207).

less; the head's feet are the active instruments of subordination" (1997: 314-15). There has always been a connection between the limping of the body and the limping of the body politic. Those who are fortunate have firm and solid feet. The less fortunate, drag them like Philoktetes or limp like Falstaff or lean on a crutch like Northumberland in *Henry IV* or have feet of clay or "putst the wrong foote before" (Dent, in Stallybrass 1997: 315). Caliban is a "footlicker" ready to kiss Stephano's feet (2.2.149, 152) (also Stallybrass 1997: 315). Sophocles' Philoktetes calls his foot "my jailer, my executioner" (l. 785-6). His objectified foot takes on an existence independent of himself. "Pain... pain... Demon pain.../ Twisting, torturing.../ My foot.../ How can I bear it?/ Why can't I die?" (l. 1185-89), Sophocles writes. "My leg, the smell, the pain, the howl. My toe, my foot, my leg, my legacy", Jesurun re-writes (1994: 86). "I recognize you by your foot", Neoptolemus tells Philoktetes, who answers back: "My foot is dead, kid. I was looking at it outside. It had one fly on it. Fuck my foot kid, I'm nobody. Who am I? No one" (1944: 91). The disease that pursues him also marks him as its own. "Tragic characters", Worman writes, "who come into contact with this monstrous element [of pain and frenzy] often become marked by physical excretion: froth at the mouth, excrescent diseases, or dripping gore" (1995: 6). Like Alcestis's veil in Euripides' play, appropriate to mourning, Philoktetes' bite inscribes on his body his internal disturbance, signalling his subject position as one caught between life and *thanatos* ("dead foot walking", 71), the unspeakable and the unrepresentable. Part a daemonic mass and part human, half way between one state and another, the diseased body of Philoktetes eludes fixed categorisation and defeats Odysseus' logic. Philoktetes is very accurate when he says: "[...] leave your bags of logic and order packed. They don't mean a thing here in the vicinity of my putrid leg" (86).

In similar terms, his bow, the most powerful stage object in Greek drama, as Michael Walton says (1987: 89), a divine weapon given to him by Heracles out of gratitude for the lighting of the funeral pyre on Mount Oeta – and now used to kill animals and ensure the possessor's survival – hints at Philoktetes' hybrid status, his imaginary 'other' face, the power of a powerless body whose grip on cities and nations can still be a distabilising element. The meeting of the bleeding body and the bloody bow result in a hybrid body, present and absent at the same time, strong and weak, heroic and degraded, "less than a god, less than a man" (74), "a rotting aubergine covered in red garlic sauce", a human being and a "stinking thing" (74).¹⁰ Philoktetes is never fully defined. As Bronfen notes, a corpse cannot be gendered; it is an "anonymous, inanimate body, pure materiality without soul or personality [...] the corpse is a figure without any distinguishing facial traits of its own [...]"

¹⁰ This is in accord with the bow image in the original, where just as language and meaning, words and actions are torn asunder by Odysseus' plotting, so too the bow suffers an analogous fate, as a prop whose proper use is subverted by the wounding of Philoktetes and his abandonment by his comrades (RINGER 1998: 118).

semiotically it serves as an arbitrary, empty, interchangeable sign, an interminable surface of projections" (1992: 64). The thingness of the dead body allows the ghostly narrator to look at it from a certain Brechtian and Artaudian perspective – "inside out" (89). At one point Philoktetes is presented as a "goddess" (72), somewhere else as "self-born" (72), at another point as a "woman" (73), an "animal" (75), "a ghost" (88), a fabricated absence, and elsewhere as an imagined presence.

PHILOKTETES: *This is my place. My body.*

ODYSSEUS: *And we want it, dead or alive.*

PHILOKTETES: *Seeing that it's neither. You can't have it (88).*

The body is projected as an arena of political contest, ontological debate and theatrical display, the interface between subject and world, the site of the object, a thing body given its full weight and physical presence at the same time that is erased. Like Prospero, Philoktetes' ghost is conducting his own magic by rearranging the performing spaces of (dis)appearances. Look, see, here it is – now you can see it, now you cannot. He does not see Neoptolemus and Odysseus as saviors but as intruders who 'interrupt' his experience and performance of pain.

PHILOKTETES: *You came back because you want me to wipe the disgrace off your face. [...]*

My foot may be rotting but you are the rot.

We're a triangle and indivisible, one nation under an absent god, and you broke the triangle

and now you've come to put it back together.

I'm the stinking missing link you've been searching for these ten years (78).

Odysseus is so unfeeling, unscrupulous and cunning that he is ready to do anything not to fail. He is honest enough when he says: "Me in this body who would eat my own children, sleep with my mother, rape my sister, kill my father, give birth to my own brother, destroy my own family to preserve what's left of it. If that's what I have to do" (78-79). Odysseus has no personal stake, except that stake in success (Winnington-Ingram 1980: 282). He also wants to find out what Philoktetes has learned being there all alone, performing amid the sole company of animals. Can he ever go back to civilised society? To what state of mind is he brought? As mentioned earlier, Philoktetes can only share the performance of the pain but not pain itself: "I'd love to share the pain with you but it's not possible. You see, I've become very greedy with it. What have you learned since you left me here? (79)".

As long as Philoktetes was destroying on the battlefield (an)other's body, he was unaware of pain and death, of colonizers and colonized. He was society's useful tool for

manipulating power relationships and relocating subject positions. It is only upon turning to his own body position and materiality that he finally finds out things about himself, his subjecthood. Watching his body decay in total isolation, he comes to grips with his own (and others') reality, with the fact that there is nothing god-like about the observed body, particularly the body in crisis.¹¹ Like Hamlet, Philoktetes discovers mortality stinks, smells, suffers, bleeds, vomits, "shits in the ocean, then on the altar to the crucified, then in the temple, then on the words that tell nothing" (83). Neoptolemus and Philoktetes stichomythic exchange is revealing enough for it comes to reinforce the early connection between human and animal, inside and outside, subject and object.

NEOPTOLEMUS: *Tell me, what god's asshole have you climbed out of to have ended up in this toilet? Who excreted you, who vomited you up? What jeckyl-headed god's spleen hurled you up? What faghag goddess gave birth to you, and why?*

PHILOKTETES: *What neurotic soul dreamed you into my galaxy of pain?*

NEOPTOLEMUS: *[...] What steaming pustle erupted you? [...]*

PHILOKTETES: *And what god's fart blew you here to disturb my peace and quiet? To interrupt my pain? [...]*

NEOPTOLEMUS: *What satyr ejaculated you into my sphere?*

What impotent ant spit you in a fit of disgust? [...]

What dying man exhaled you? What reeking hyena rejected you? [...]

What cell mutated you into existence? (84).

In this fragmented litany of abuse, this eruptive speech bubble with the synesthetic quality, the act of speaking takes precedence over every other aspect of the story; it renews its energies as it restlessly moves from one unpredictable utterance to another, it acquires life at the moment it expends itself. And, as it does, the spectator moves along, never tired of following its non-sequential manner, for there is a sense of discovery for him/her as well. No shared grand narrative holds its ground here. Along with the body's self-transcendence, the oracle is also demythologised. We are told that it "was written by some horny, monkey-fucking monk and you know it" (Jesurun 1994: 82). The language of the classic heroes is debased and so are the origins and the act of birthing. Identity as a coherent stable whole is once again challenged and gender switched. Jesurun foregrounds the key images of physical and social decay through the various parts of the fragmented body and their function (heart, health, excretory organs, bones, joints) and watches the

¹¹ As Nietzsche points out: "What offends aesthetic meaning in inner man—beneath the skin; bloody masses, full intestines, viscera, all those sucking, pumping monsters—formless or ugly, or grotesque, and unpleasant to smell on top of that" (qtd in BLONDEL 1991: 220).

deepening entrapment of the subject in the sphere of materiality, how pain objectifies the human body in its material being. The body that is mortal, "*isolated within itself, subject to the annihilating force of pain, the suffering body, emblem of this condition is no longer*", as Garner argues, "*the seat of an externalizing productivity, the center of an individual and social Lebenswelt; instead, it becomes something thinglike and objectal [...] a self-enclosed point of sensation in a derealized world empty of human content*" (Garner 1994: 168).

Border aesthetics and hybridities

The creation of boundaries through the articulation of space protects the destabilisation of subjectivity, Lutterbie writes, "*while allowing the subject relative freedom of movement. The negative effect of these boundaries is that they place limits on others and on their ability to experience the same freedom of self-expression*" (1997: 87). By transversing cultures (ancient/modern, Greek/American), ontologies (dead/alive, male/female, theatre/life) and landscapes (real/imaginary, centre/margins), Jesurun makes all sorts of boundaries negotiable. It is clear from the way he recreates Sophocles' narrative that he is not interested simply in reentering the well-guarded mythscape of the old text to reproduce the familiar but also to transgress it, to give his own voice to it, to accommodate his postmodern aesthetic. In many ways he does what Derrida does with words: he discovers within the meaning of things their opposite member. It is as if he is telling us that we both need the classic model in order to understand the points being made, and simultaneously should reconsider its significance. To this end he creates a polysemous no-man's land that allows Philoktetes to operate as a hybrid subjectivity that passes from one field to another, a post-modern 'border creature' excluded from membership in the Greek polis (or its modern equivalents) and at the same time a crucial figure in the fight against Troy; almost dead yet in possession of a deadly weapon which can lead to more deaths; human but living on Lemnos like an animal ("*you are the lowest of all animals*" 75), a character in a drama and also a performer of it, extremely vulnerable and yet invincible (thanks to Heracles' bow), a man but also with the woman within. "*Would you like to bleed without pain? Drink milk instead of stagnant water*", the creatures of the island ask him as soon as he arrives there.

A woman holds the moon in her body [...] A woman can hold life in her body [...] A woman can bleed painlessly. A woman can produce milk [...] I believe you are soon to become a woman." [...] Several weeks later I began menstruating. (74-5)

What is foregrounded here is the idea that the biological subject is not a stable site of self-transcending subjectivity – the object-world it inhabits no longer supports its self-transcendence – but a vulnerable and ever changing "*heap of assembled parts*" (Braidotti

1994: 12) that is permanently degendered by the intrusion of death. This is a typical case where the body becomes the site of the abject which, as Kristeva says, generally resides at the borders of the subjective identity's existence and makes itself known by that which disrupts people's sense of propriety, aesthetics and order (Kristeva 1982: 13 and Tompkins 1997: 505). In Sophocles, the last-minute intervention of Heracles, the *deus ex machina*, disempowers the abject and forces Philoktetes into compliance with the preordained pattern. The god's verbal contact drives the exiled hero away from the 'uncivilised', pre-linguistic marginal space and back to the civilized and healthy society that has betrayed him. As Ian Kott points out, "*healing is always payment for submission*"; and Philoktetes is the "*only one of Sophocles' tragic heroes who is broken*" (1973: 169, 181). He quickly forgets his commitment to a heroic code of values that prohibits his return to an army that had rejected him, and bids farewell to the painful yet creative and 'unruly' Lemnos/Theatre of Dionysus – like Prospero's farewell to his island/theatron in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (Ringer 1998: 125). In more political terms, "*all social systems are vulnerable at their margins, and [...] all margins are accordingly considered dangerous*" (Butler 1990: 132), so Philoktetes' relocation minimizes his disruptive potential. The boundaries of the body are kept together, but not in Jesurun's version, where Philoktetes stays on this "*rock like a cold piece of meat*" (90) and calmly accepts his isolation, mental and geographical. After all, the people he "*could remember were dead. Or if they were alive, they probably were so old that they couldn't remember me. But there was no way I could ever get back, because you see, in time the geography between here and there had gotten farther and farther apart*" (91). His experience has opened his mind to a deeper knowledge of the human condition and deeper insights into the essence of things. At first "*I had wanted to tell you about my deep and unrelenting and unequivocal disbelief and unbelief in everything. But now I have changed my mind*" (71). By the end of the play living with his deformed body and unbearable pain acquires nobility. All the things that have posed a threat to identity throughout the play by making the body alien have also conferred identity, a sense of selfhood on the individual.

His final attitude embodies a very personal, almost Dionysian response to pain and death: resistance and hope and in the end a realistic acceptance. In Sophocles, Philoktetes wants those who caused him pain to suffer: "*My life is torture – but if I see them dead, / If you punish them, I'll think my pain is cured*" (l. 1043-45). Lemnos may not have turned him from a hero into a beast, but it has intensified his hatred and resentment. We have to wait for the coming of Heracles to bring cure, glory, and a new language (of unity). Jesurun's Philoktetes, on the other hand, finds beauty "*in the center of all ugliness*" (75).

I used to love my beautiful little body, my skin, my smell, my blood, my body. If no one else will love it then I will love it because it's mine and only mine. My skin, my smell, my blood, my body.

Mine and only mine because it's mine and beautiful because it can endure even its own ugliness. Mine and only mine. Mine by right of conquest (82-3)

Jesurun has created a character who refuses the fate assigned to him by myth and decides not to abandon his performance space and serve the group's needs.

*"So I realized I just had to stay here and live with it.
And so I'm staying here and I'm happy to stay here.
One day that door opened and it filled up with light.
And I went outside where everyone else was.
And everything else just became memory.
And so that's it.
Good night." (91)*

The journey that has begun as a performative adventure in an unfriendly landscape has gradually extended into an esoteric landscape of the soul (a *mise en abyme*). By the end of the play we feel literally enveloped by a thick layer of dark, postapocalyptic images and words that help us enter an entire field, the "*total environment of the performance, as performance, and as an imaginative construct. We are no more transported to another world than we banish all other worlds*" (Fuchs 1996: 106). In this sense there is involvement, but it is a disorientating one. Philoktetes' statement early in the play prepares us for this lack of closure: "*I'd like to read a nice book now and then with a story in the middle that goes nowhere*" (71). Robinson makes the point when he writes that "*one never leaves these plays believing an idea has been definitely dissected or a passion fully spent*" (1994: 182). There is always something left behind, suspended in midair. As Philoktetes promises, he will first give us "*the clue, then the story, then the real story. First, what they saw, then what was seen, then what was*" (71). The only way to engage in this event is not through realistic viewing but meditatively, through the eyes of the imagination, being prepared to go where an unpredictable word or image or character might wander and be able to enjoy the new places that language, the soul's and body's adventures open up, without the guarantee of a finale, the stillness of an exit that would resolve all tensions and lead to some kind of catharsis.

According to Andreach, Jesurun refuses to resolve the questions his play raises, because, according to Andreach, "*to resolve them is to choose one set of answers over another - to choose naturalistic humankind's determination over metaphysical humankind's hope.*" Furthermore, "*in terms of the theatrical self, ending the quest means settling on a permanently fixed, unitary standard, which is death. In theatre as in life, Apollonian form opposes Dionysian fluidity, which is life, the flux which generates creativity.*" What he finally claims is that one's wholeness contains multiplicity, which in turn contains contradictions and

ambiguities. The resolution therefore lies within *"the self which, containing multiplicity, can channel impulses into choices"* (Andreach 1998: 157, 158). Tompkins' general comments on abjected bodies apply here: *"These multiply located bodies make no attempt to incorporate a whole: they express, physically as well as psychically, the multifarious manifestations of the self/identity/subject position. There are no illusions of unity: the selves remain fragmented ..."* (1997: 510).

In conclusion

Jesurun's lang-scaped play is far from affectless or ahistorical. It confronts and reconceives the unity of the past in the hope of being able to go forward. By recapturing Sophocles' traumatic story as a re-membered moment and binding it up with the postmodern Now, Jesurun comments on the meaning of suffering and how suffering affects the (dis)unity of the (performing) body and by extension the (dis)unity of the social body of present America which, cluttered with memories of war, of *"futile fightings in the Indochimney"* (74), of pain, of betrayal and violence, threatens *"to overwhelm its anguished inhabitants"* (Carlson 2002: 152). Philoktetes' words to Odysseus sum up things for us:

[...] take the bow back to Troy and win the battle for the empire. Pile the bodies high, and when you're done with that, prepare the next pile. Because the thought that brought you here demands ten times ten skyscrapers full [...] of beautiful bodies in screaming red sacks [...] all to glorify our own stupid selves; and then goes on and offers him another blood and honey sandwich (76).

The prophetic words of Georg Büchner's Danton fit quite nicely here: *"These days everything is worked in human flesh. That's the curse of our times"* (1977: 67). The list of lost heroes before the Trojan gates easily stands in for fallen soldiers and social outcasts in the 'real' world surrounding the theatre performance (Ringer 1998: 110). There are no winners in this 'battle', Jesurun concludes. *"All are defeated [...] Convinced that the enemy is the dead body. Instead of screaming at each other, they scream at the body. Instead of insulting each other, they insult the body"* (87).

PHILOKTETES: *What a horrible world you must live in.*

ODYSSEUS: *You live in it, too.*

PHILOKTETES: *I don't live in it. I live under it (79).*

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CLEO PROTOKHRISTOVA

THE BULGARIAN OEDIPUS

The observations that will be presented here originate from an on-going major project.¹ Its main objective is the Bulgarian reception of Attic tragedy. The presence of the texts created by Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides as well as themes from their works in Bulgarian culture from the National Revival period in the 19th c. till the present have been explored. The reception of the classical dramatic tradition has been traced in translations, teaching materials and publications, academic research, stage productions, and critical references, as well as interpretations of paradigmatic plots and themes of Attic tragedy in fine arts, music, literature, and cinema. The study has revealed interesting manifestations of difference in the reception, the presence of identifiable tendencies in the rendering of tradition, as well as its appropriation by non-coinciding and often even radically different ideological and aesthetic platforms.

This particular presentation is concerned with the reception of Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* in Bulgaria within the scope of approximately 120 years. The first introduction of the tragedy to the Bulgarian reading public at the end of the 19th century was educational in character and had nothing to do with theatre and performance (there was initially an article on Sophocles' tragedy and particularly on *Oedipus* in the Greek journal *Ermis o Logios* of 1811-12 written by the Bulgarian scholar Athanasios Bogoridi, who lived in Istanbul.² Therefore it is not likely that the commentary was read by many Bulgarians at the time; in 1894, a partial translation was addressed to a much wider audience since it was included in the *Bulgarian Chrestomathy*;³ three years earlier, the prominent Ukrainian scholar Mikhail Dragomanov, who taught at Sofia University, had already published an extensive study on the Slavic versions of the *Oedipus* story.⁴

Throughout the twentieth century, Sophocles' typical tragedy was to undergo numerous translations and interpretations, but its stage productions cannot be described as

¹ The project is entitled *The Reception of Attic Tragedy in Bulgaria* and has been carried out since 1997 at Plovdiv University 'Paisii Hilendarski'. Since 2000, it has been financially supported by the University's Science and Development Department.

² Described and interpreted in Алексиева, "Афродита." Атанас Богориди и списание "Ермис о логиос". *Литературна мисъл* 6 (1974): 114-118.

³ *Българска хрестоматия. Съставители Иван Вазов и Константин Величков*. Пловдив, Свищов, (Солун: Книжарница на Драган Манчов, 1884, с. 314-328) (translation К. Величков).

⁴ М. Драгоманов, "Славянските преправки на Едиповата история." *Сборник народни умотворения* 5 (1891):267-310; 6(1891): 239-299.

numerous even by the most unassuming standards. Actually, *Oedipus Tyrannus* has been staged in Bulgaria only eight times. The first experimental production of 1916 was carried out by one of the most prominent figures in 20th Bulgarian culture – the pioneering poet Gheo Milev (at the time he was still at the University);⁵ for the second time the tragedy was performed in 1920 at the *Free Theatre* of Matyu Makedonski in Sofia (staged by the Russian director Boris Espe); then the same performance was organised by Espe at the theatre of Rousse in 1922-23; almost at the same time Stoyan Buchvarov, who was to become one of the greatest Bulgarian actors, restaged Espe's version in Varna. It was not before the 1960s (almost four decades later) that new stage versions of *Oedipus* were put on. The first one was in Burgas in 1962, directed by Atanas Mikhailov, the second in 1967 – again in Rousse – staged by Zharko Pavlovich. Then, already in the context of a radically different approach, the experimental version of Stavri Karamfilov (Blagoevgrad, 1984) appeared; and the most recent performance, of 2002, was at the National Theatre, directed by the visiting Andreas Pantis.

Although reluctantly staged, Sophocles' tragedy has been permanently and persistently subjected to critical and literary interpretations, most of them to the credit of outstanding Bulgarian intellectuals and artists. This more general mode of reception is marked by instructive fluctuations – such as the unprecedented avalanche of publications issued in the years between 1937 and 1947 (10 different translations in 24 separate editions). Specifically interesting among these upheavals is the impressive outburst of passion for *Oedipus* during the last two decades, encompassing many different spheres of Bulgarian culture – drama and poetry, the arts, education and research, criticism and aesthetics, political and philosophical discourse. The different concretisations of *Oedipus* demonstrate the current Bulgarian notion of the ancient, identified mainly with Greek tragedy and specifically with the figure of *Oedipus*.

The outline thus presented reveals certain peculiarities that demand explanation. Such is the obvious discrepancy between the impressive quantity of translations, publications and various types of interpretations of the text and the modest number of realisations on the stage (it is almost embarrassing to recall that for 100 years of professional theatre in Bulgaria their number is only six); especially striking in this respect is the period already mentioned of intensive translations and publishing (1937–1947), because there was not even a single staging of the tragedy in those years. Another peculiarity that needs to be considered is the strictly inverse proportion in the reception of *Oedipus* and *Antigone*, seen in a diachronic perspective (the periods of most strongly expressed interest in *Oedipus* are marked by a decreasing interest in *Antigone*, and, *vice versa*, at periods when

⁵ Geo Milev's experimental production is described and commented in, Йосиф Конфорти, Гео Милев. Театър и време. (София: Наука и изкуство, 1975): 55-61.

Oedipus was actually absent from Bulgarian cultural life, a strong concern with *Antigone* was manifested; then come the last two decades with their overabundance of cultural data related to *Oedipus*.

Starting from the last issue, an attempt has been made to rationalise the impressive fascination with *Oedipus* in the most recent period. The observations were made in the perspective of the possible and pertinent comparison between the most recent facts of reception and the mode of interpretation of the Attic dramatic tradition founded by Bulgarian modernism. Actually, the reception of Attic tragedy in general and that of Sophocles' *Oedipus* in particular proved to be isomorphic to a great extent and effected mainly by means of Greek tragedy's appropriation into the modernist project. Initially, such appropriation might seem self-evident. The engagement that modernist literature and arts have had with the classical tradition, subjecting it to interpretations that combined destructive and transformative strategies, is a well-known phenomenon in Western culture of the early 20th century. In this respect, the permanent, even if not so intensive, relatedness to the heritage of Attic tragedy manifested in 20th century Bulgarian culture should not be found surprising. What seems problematic are, rather, certain peculiarities, revealed in the separate concretisations of the classical model and especially in their unique combination. The first peculiarity to be considered is that in Bulgaria, the beginning of the actual reception of classical tradition historically coincides with the advent of modernism. The earlier facts of its initial reception are not to be regarded as significant. If juxtaposed with the Western European pattern of reception, the Bulgarian counterpart manifests a suppressed version of the classicistic reflex. The reverence for the classical tragic plays and their identification as an aesthetic ideal are an element of the general orientation of Bulgarian culture towards the European heritage, and the Attic tragedy was thought of mainly in terms of the literary canon. The same bias marked the labours of Bulgarian modernism. We can notice similar centrifugal motifs in the cultural policy of the most prominent Bulgarian artists of the period (such as the outstanding poet and critic Pencho Slaveykov). Later, the same strategy defined the early stage productions of.

A symptomatic case is the persistent fascination for *Oedipus* that Gheo Milev showed. Milev interpreted Sophocles' masterpiece simultaneously in his capacity of translator and poet, as critic and art theoretician, as spectator and director. There is evidence that his experimental production starring Nikola Ikonov, who was to become later a major figure in Bulgarian drama, was performed in an expressionistic manner strongly influenced by Max Reinhardt's production of 1912, which Gheo Milev happened to see in Leipzig.⁶ Later, in the early '20s, he himself translated the text of the tragedy from the original.

⁶ Evidence for that influence is presented in: Камелия Николова, *Експресионистичният театър и езикът на тялото*. (София: УИ "Св. Климент Охридски", 2000): 146-149.

Enthusiastically advertised by himself, that translation was intended to be an alternative to the already published and widely read translation made by the renowned professor of Classics Alexander Balabanov, whose authority and popularity was reinforced by Balabanov's own publications on classical literature.⁷ There is a significant number of references to *Oedipus* in Milev's critical writings – to the play itself as well as to its performances, and also a staging project for the tragedy⁸ intended to illustrate Gheo Milev's reading as a producer. It was a production designed to challenge the mainstream ideological tendency of the time. Dominant in his interpretation was again the bodily aspect. Even in articulating the essence of the tragedy in terms of Oedipus' search for the truth that was to ultimately ruin him, Milev was to rationalise the play by means of corporeality expressed through physical presence and spatial rhythm.⁹ Therefore Milev's initiative in promoting Sophocles' tragedy¹⁰ is described by historians of the Bulgarian theatre as an expressionistic gesture.

If we try to sum up the uneven, heterogeneous, and often even incompatible modes in which Bulgarian culture has accepted and modified Sophocles' tragedy *Oedipus Tyrannus*, we get an extremely specific picture that could be described diachronically by distinguishing five separate stages of reception. The first, representative of the late 19th and the early 20th century, is limited to partial translations and commentaries furnished with a completely vague idea of antiquity and classical tragic art. That idea actually took shape in the 1910s and it was in conformity with the standard evaluation of Oedipus as a pan-European cultural property; simultaneously, in the years of the First World War, a new approach emerged that challenged the mainstream aesthetic orientation. It made possible an appropriation of the paradigmatic tragedy for the sake of the aesthetic vanguard – a tendency which was to be stabilised in the 1920s. That significant shift in the reception of *Oedipus* predetermined the symptomatic over-emphasis on corporeality that we have observed. It is obvious that Reinhardt's spell over his Bulgarian disciples was rather too powerful.

⁷ *Evolution of Motifs in Greek Poetry of the Classical Period* (1911) and *A History of Classical Literature* (1914).

⁸ Гео Милев, *Театрално изкуство. Студии, статии и критики*. (София: Нов свят, 1942). In: Милев, Гео. *Съчинения*, Vol.2. София: Български писател, 1976: 94-96.

⁹ Gheo Milev's ideas about a staging of Oedipus adequate to contemporaneity are presented in his *Театрално изкуство*, с. 95-96.

¹⁰ Actually later he worked on an unrealised production of Hofmanstal's *Electra* at the National Theatre in which that same obsession for the corporeal seems to have been the kernel. Gheo Milev's project is extensively presented by Яна Мутафчиева in her paper *Нереализираният режисьорски план на Гео Милев за поставянето на "Електра" от Хофманстал в Народния театър*. In: Гео Милев. *Нови изследвания*. (София: Български писател, 1989):284-326. It is also commented on by Камелия Николава, 168-183.

Later, in the 1930s and 1940s, when the bulk of translations already mentioned was made there were no stage productions of Sophocles' tragedy and the theatrical idea of Oedipus was neglected in favour of a rather intellectual approach favouring the metaphysical aspect of the plot and appropriating it to distinct ideological schemes. That 'ideological turn' was the groundwork for what followed – *Oedipus* was literally banished from Bulgarian culture for almost three decades. Those decades saw the political reconsideration of the classical heritage. The absence of any theatrical initiative concerned with *Oedipus* was in a way counterbalanced by international projects hosted by Bulgarian theatres such as the staging of *Antigone* at the National Theatre by Takis Mouzenidis in 1958.¹¹

Actually, at that time there was a well-expressed preference for Sophocles, but it was almost exclusively limited to *Antigone*. This specific fact is to be interpreted in the context of the ideological grounds for the selection of the theatrical repertoire for the larger part of the period of reception studied (from the mid 1940s to the 1980s). Specifically illuminating for the tendency might be the comparison between the reception of *Oedipus* and *Antigone*. For all the years between 1948 and 1984 the paradigmatic *Oedipus* would be permanently disregarded. The fact is more striking if seen in comparison with the huge quantity of translations and editions from the preceding period and the strong interest in *Antigone*. An easy explanation for this asymmetry is that in its Bulgarian concretisation *Antigone* proved to be open to emphatically political interpretations and therefore most welcome. A sort of culmination in the process of ideological adaptation of the play to the clichés of communist ideology was Lyubomir Pipkov's opera *Antigone 43*, which transposed the tragic conflict into an episode of the Bulgarian anti-fascist movement.¹² In a similar way, another tragic text, *Prometheus Bound*, was subjected to political misappropriation. *Antigone* and *Prometheus* were stabilised as mandatory texts in the teaching programmes for high schools and were consequently subjected to one-track Marxist interpretations, over-emphasising the issues of struggle and revolt.

Paradoxically enough, it was during that same period – in the late '50s and the '60s – that the classical heritage was identified as an opportunity for dissent – in one case in terms of focusing academic research on classic literature and culture as a form of intellectual escapism, in others, in terms of unconventional musical compositions. A telling example is *Prometheus* being an arena for conflicting modes of reception – namely, two musical versions of the paradigmatic plot: Alexander Raichev's Second Symphony, entitled *The New Prometheus* (written in 1954) and Lazar Nikolov's opera *Prometheus Bound*

¹¹ Another performance directed by Takis Mouzenidis in Bulgaria in the late 1950s was *Electra* at the National Theatre of Youth.

¹² For the ambition involved in that production the fact that the libretto was written by the renowned poet Vladimir Bashev and the scenery was made by one of the most outstanding artists at the time Ioan Leviev is telling.

(1969). For Lazar Nikolov, *Prometheus* provided an opportunity for an anti-establishment gesture. Therefore his work was neglected by the official critics, but nevertheless gained significant popularity among professionals. It was performed occasionally in 1974 in Sofia, Rousse and Plovdiv, and became the event of the season. Although the other work was written in a more conformist manner and Raichev used to be much better accepted by the authorities, his *New Prometheus* was relatively undervalued because it wouldn't fit into the mainstream apologetic tone.¹³ Thus the classical theme that was most strongly manipulated by means of official ideological procedures evolved into a formula of dissent. *Oedipus* appears as a part of that same development. André Boucourechliev, a Bulgarian composer who emigrated to France, wrote the music for Hélène Cixous's verses for the hymn-opera *The Name of Oedipus*, which was performed at the Avignon Festival in 1978 – at a time when in Bulgaria it seemed that *Oedipus* was doomed to oblivion. It is rewarding to discover that this moment in the Bulgarian reception of Attic tragedy reconfirms the generally expressed tendency of turning Greek tragic themes into music representative of the 1960s.

A distinctly new phase in the reception of Attic tragedy emerged sometime around the mid-80s. Representative of it is the pursuit of artistic expression by means of ingenious and even eccentric productions of classical Greek plays. The main objectives of this new approach were to modernise the plots by projecting the dramatic conflict on to a different social and historical context. The experiments ranged from accentuations in the clothing of the actors or in the theatre scenery to meddling with the texts. Most commonly, experiments addressed the performance of the chorus. Sophocles' tragedy was re-actualised as an opportunity for artistic experiment. There was a reconsideration of the possibility of reading Attic tragedy through corporeality but it was already in a different mode.

Telling evidence of that strategy was Stavri Karamfilov's production of 1984, displaying a dramatic departure from the traditional reading of the text and discarding the representation of universal human types. The opposition between natural rights and dogma was emphasised as the fundamental moral polemic of our own political realities and interpreted as a conflict between human dignity and political oppression. The independence of the interpretation was intensified by risky structural and compositional changes in the plot. The rather too liberal interpretation was designated and justified by the accompanying sub-title "after Sophocles".¹⁴

The next revival of *Oedipus* in Bulgarian culture of the 1990s occurred in the context

¹³ And not coincidentally both pieces were conducted by Dobrin Petkov, a musician of strong ethical discipline and artistic independence.

¹⁴ References for this production see in: Проф. Любомир Тенев, "Вечните въпроси пред човешкото съществуване. "Едил", постановка на Благоевградския драматичен театър". *Отечествен фронт*, (29 June 1986):4-5; Елена Илиева, "Равносметка на времето". *Пиринско дело* 1981 (21.10.1988): 4.

of a general reconsideration of classical antiquity which expressed itself as a dominant characteristic of current cultural developments. It would be most pertinent to rationalise that fact in the context of the acute socio-political, and consequently cultural, shifts in the former communist countries which marked the last 15 years of the twentieth century. Interest specifically in the *Oedipus* theme was re-awakened. It underwent intensive re-interpretations from different and predominantly radical political perspectives. The paradigmatic plots seemed to emerge everywhere. There was a mass of poems written by different authors (Miglena Nikolchina, Rumen Denev, Dorotea Tabakova, Boris Rokanov); the *Oedipus* theme became a *koinos topos* in social and philosophical writing. Zlatomir Zlatanov's essay *The Bulgarian Oedipus* rationalised the Bulgarian national character in terms of the "janissary", identified with the figure of *Oedipus*. In the format of an extensive study, the generally shared orientation towards ancient tragic plots and especially towards the *Oedipus* figure was identified by another author as a "national exoticism" reflex.¹⁵ The themes and motifs originating from ancient Greek drama penetrated even the political discourse appearing there with amazing frequency.

Of great interest was a series of original dramatic writings reworking the 'home of *Oedipus*' plots – namely *Tiresias the Blind* by Georgi Tenev, *Oedipus, the Happy One* by Kiril Merdzhansky, *Me, Ismene* by Anna Topaldzhikova.¹⁶

A specific moment in the intensive interest in the ancient throughout the '90s that frames the recent Bulgarian *Oedipus* concretisations is that it is deliberately self-reflexive. The last decade has tended to host numerous discussions, seminars, major critics' writings engaged with the issue. An expressive climax in this intellectual and artistic activity is the project 'Myths', carried out by theatre workshop *Sfumato*. Unlike the experiments of the preceding decades, *Sfumato*'s project was carried out in close collaboration with researchers in the field of classical studies. The *Sfumato* productions staged by Margarita Mladenova, Ivan Dobchev, Javor Gurdev in the late 1990s were in search of a different reading of the classic plots that would reach beyond the narrative (interrogated as arbitrary in a postmodernist manner) to the matrix of the authentic myth and ritual. The performances aimed at the mode of *ekstasis*.¹⁷

¹⁵ See Боян Манчев, "Модерност и антимодерност. Българският националехзотизъм". In *Култура и критика*, Vol. III. *Краят на модерността*. Editors Албена Вачева и Георги Чобанов, *Liter net*, 2003.

¹⁶ The tendency implicit in the plays written by Merdzhanski, Tenev and Topaldzhikova is analysed in: Аглика Стефанова, "Пренатисване на античното трагично в българската драматургия на 90-те ("Тирезий Слепият" от К. Мерджански, "Едип щастливият" от Г. Тенев, "Аз, Исмена" от А. Топалджикова)". *Изкуство и контекст*. (София: БАН, 2004):64-72. It would be most pertinent to relate the performance of *Antigone, the Mortal* directed by Margarita Mladenova (a new translation by Nikolai Gochev and Kiril Merjanski) to the same group of experiments.

¹⁷ See Сфумато. Издание за театър и театрална теория. Год.1, бр.1. Програма Митове, 1998: Явор Гърдев, "Екстатичният театър". *Демократически преглед*, зима (1997/1998):664-686.

If considered in a synchronic perspective, the Bulgarian passion for Oedipus reveals a set of typological characteristics.

The first element of this typology is the prevailing intellectual and metaphysical reception of Greek tragedy in general and of *Oedipus* in particular. Sophocles' masterpiece in its Bulgarian concretisations seems to be much more literature and philosophy or classical studies than drama and theatre *per se*.

For all the achievements of the intellectual acquisition, though, the stage interpretations of Oedipus in Bulgaria are usually not related to academic research. Thus the effect has been a certain discrepancy between artistic endeavours and a theoretical approach which has sometimes resulted in rather too arbitrary decisions in staging and, equally, intolerant criticism of a given production on the part of academic professionals.

A much more significant consequence of the obvious lack of communication between artistic and academic approaches is the absence of concern with the radical difference between Classical Greek culture and modern experience. For the larger part of the period under scrutiny there have been no attempts to interrogate the stereotyped idea of Classical Antiquity. The stage productions remain oblivious to the problems raised by recent classical philology. Although Bulgarian theatre has had an acute sensitivity to the issues of modern humanities, in its approach to Oedipus it has remained anchored to the Winkelmannian-Hegelian idealised image of Classical antiquity, emphasising the dominant, ideal values manifested on the surface of the cultural system and ignoring the tensions within its structures. Thus from a Bulgarian perspective, Sophocles' tragedy has been seen mainly as the crystallisation of an eternal marble harmony. The mainstream of interpretations has neglected the dramatic equilibrium between conflicting values and irresolvable polarities emphasised in post-structuralist readings of tragic texts.

From a strictly theatrical perspective, the Bulgarian reception of Oedipus shows oscillations between four main tendencies: the first is limited to the conservative performances aimed at conservation; the second combines reverence for the classical heritage and thirst for experiment (Gheo Milev); the third comes as the tendency towards modernisation and bringing up to date the issues posed in the classical play (formally this has been achieved by means of a flight from pathos and by sustaining the discipline of a prosaic rendering of the dramatic text, as well as by subversion of the rhythm and of the musical aspect of the theatrical Attic speech). The fourth approach aims at the authenticity of the myth and emphasises distance and historical difference. The shared goals of these productions are researched, though, in a radically different manner.

The most recent of production of *Oedipus* was in 2002. It is to be seen in certain contrast with the tendency present in the last two decades. Although staged by a visiting Greek director and overwhelmingly eclectic, the performance fulfilled a very important task. It juxtaposed and simultaneously made an attempt to reconcile the two incompatible inter-

pretative strategies competing in the different Bulgarian concretisations of *Oedipus* – the restoration reflex and the modernising energies. Beautiful and impressive, that production reproduced in a most dramatic form the discrepancies in the Bulgarian reception of Attic tragedy. These discrepancies are specifically interesting since they seem to be isomorphic to more general, international and historically persistent cultural tendencies¹⁸ that are to be further rationalised and explained in the future.

¹⁸ See for example the general statements made on Dionysus since 69. *Greek Tragedy at the Dawn of the Third Millennium*. Ed. by EDITH HALL, FIONA MACINTOSH, and AMANDA WRIGLY. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004).

SATYROI REDIVIVI: THE RECEPTION OF THE SATYR-PLAY
ON THE MODERN STAGE¹

When Roberto Ciulli in 1978 presented the *Cyclops* of Euripides in Cologne, he announced his productions as "Deutsche Uraufführung" (first German performance). The correctness of this statement depends on the sense of the adjective 'German'. Ciulli's claim to be presenting the "first performance" of the only complete satyr-play that has survived is only correct if "German" was to mean 'in Germany' and not 'in German'. For two of the few recorded productions² of the play took place in Vienna (directed by Adolf von Wilbrandt in 1882) and in Basel (by Gottlieb Kachler in 1943/44). But even this qualification of Ciulli's announcement does not alter the fact that the satyr-play up to his Cologne production were virtually forgotten – at least among theatre people.³

The genre shares the fate of being forgotten with most minor dramatic genres of classical antiquity, with the *Phlyakes*⁴ for example, with the *Atellana*,⁵ or with the *mime*.⁶ Menander, Plautus, and Terence are at best staged by school or student theatre groups, and even Aristophanes, next to Shakespeare the greatest genius of comedy, is rarely produced outside his mother country.⁷

Only tragedy – since its rediscovery for the stage in the middle of the 19th century – enjoys the growing interest of modern theatre. But even its popularity has not led to a revival of the satyr-play, since the original close connection of tragedy and satyr-play the within

¹ The form of the lecture has been preserved. The number of footnotes is kept to a minimum; background literature is added at the end.

² Cf. the databank of the Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama, University of Oxford: www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/news.htm.

³ Only Greece has enjoyed a continuous series of productions from 1868 to today (cf. n. 2), among which are productions by some of the most famous Greek directors (Koun, Politis, Solomos).

⁴ E. WÜST, "Phlyaken". In *RE* 20.1, Sp. 292-303. (Leipzig, 1941); B. HÖTTEMANN, "Phlyakenposse und Atellane." In *Beiträge zur mündlichen Kultur der Römer*, edited by G. VOGT-SPIRA, 89-112: 1993; O. TAPLIN, *Comic Angels and other Approaches to Greek Drama through Vase-painting*. (Oxford, 1993).

⁵ R. RIEKS, "Mimos und Atellana." In *Das römische Drama*, edited by E. LEFEVRE, 349-77. (Darmstadt, 1978) Höttemann, n. 4.

⁶ E. WÜST, "Mimos." In *RE* 15.2, Sp. 1727-64. (Leipzig, 1932); H. WIEMKEN, *Der griechische Mimos. Dokumente zur Geschichte des griechischen Volkstheaters*. (Bremen, 1972); R. RIEKS, n. 5; W.D. FURLEY and L. BENZ, "Mimos." In *Der Neue Pauly* 8, Sp. 201-207.

⁷ Cf. G.A.H. VAN STEEN, *Venom in Verse. Aristophanes in Modern Greece*. (Princeton, 2000); H. FLASHAR, *Inszenierung der Antike. Das griechische Drama auf der Bühne der Neuzeit*. (Munich, 1991) (cf. index).

the programme of the City Dionysia has not been resumed.⁸

On the other hand, one should not forget that already the creative phase of the Athenian history of the genre was fairly short. We are told that when the dramatic productions of the festival of Dionysus more and more lost their close connection with Dionysus and his cult, the audience started to shout: “*This has nothing to do with Dionysus!*”⁹ Whether this is a historical fact or not: it was indeed the satyr-play which, after the three mostly ‘undionysiac’ tragedies, filled the theatre of Dionysus with the spirit of the god of the festival. But even Dionysus could not save his satyrs forever: the heyday of the satyr-play was the fifth century (or rather, the first half of the fifth century); its decline is visible already at the end of the fifth century and seems to have accelerated in the fourth. A short – and rather scholarly – revival in Alexandria did not keep alive the genre, which came to an end when the Romans, who in the third century imported Greek tragedy and comedy, did not take over the satyr-play also.¹⁰ The Romans adopted the Greek practice of adding a comic afterpiece to the performance of tragedy, but, instead of the satyr-play, they used their own popular farce, the so-called *Atellana*. The few attempts since the Renaissance to revive the genre – from Giambattista Guarini’s *Egle* to Paul Claudel’s *Protée* and Thornton Wilder’s *The Drunken Sisters* – made no real impact.

The reasons for the development sketched above are obvious:

- 1) The satyr-play is a fairly simple and unsophisticated form without the dramatic and thematic complexity of Greek tragedy.
- 2) The genre (and its ritual and cultural basis and function) is much more alien to us than tragedy.
- 3) Without its original function in the Athenian festival of Dionysus and its combination with tragedy, the satyr-play lost the roots of its success.
- 4) In contrast with the more than 30 Greek tragedies that have come down to us, we

⁸ In the 5th century each of the three tragedians who were participating in the tragic contest at the *Great Dionysia*, the most important festival of Dionysus, was required to produce not only three tragedies, but also a cheerful epilogue, which – after the satyrs, who always made up the chorus – was called *hoi satyroi* (the Satyrs) or *satyrikón drama* (satyr-play). Thus, to give just one example – Aeschylus’ trilogy about the fate of the Labdacid family (Laius, Oedipus and his sons) ended – after the tragic duel between Eteocles and Polynices (*Seven against Thebes*) – with the satyr-play *Sphinx*, in which first the satyrs and only then Oedipus tried to solve the riddle of the Sphinx. The combination of tragedy and its comic little sister has a number of interesting parallels in other cultures and periods. I mention only the Elizabethan *Jig* and the Japanese *Kyogen*.

⁹ Chaimaileon F. 38 Wehrli.

¹⁰ For the origin and development of the satyr-play cf. R.A.S. SEAFORD, *Euripides’ Cyclops*. (Oxford, 1984): 10-26; B. SEIDENSTICKER, “Philologisch-Literarische Einleitung.” In *Das griechische Satyrspiel*, edited by R. KRUMEICH, N. PECHSTEIN and B. SEIDENSTICKER, 6-12 (Darmstadt, 1999).

have only one complete satyr-play, Euripides' *Cyclops*, and – since the beginning of the 20th century, approximately half of a second one: Sophocles' *Ichneutai*.¹¹

5) The only complete specimen does not belong to the masterpieces of the genre.

On the basis of this sketch of the rather sparse history of reception of the satyr-play, it is indeed remarkable that after Ciulli's German "Uraufführung" of the *Cyclops* a number of further productions of the play were staged: Ciulli himself reproduced his Cologne production in Düsseldorf (1980) and Mühlheim (in 1982) and the *Cyclops* was also staged in Stendal (1981), Frankfurt (1983) and – last but not least – in Berlin (1994). If one adds the exciting productions of Tony Harrison's *Trackers of Oxyrrhynchos* in Delphi (1990) and London (1992), a play that is based on the extensive papyrus fragments of Sophocles' *Ichneutai*, we may perhaps say that the satyr-play finally has returned to the modern stage.¹²

In what follows I would like to try to give you an impression of two totally different, but equally fascinating, attempts to reclaim and recapture the spirit of the satyr-play for the modern stage: Tony Harrison's *Trackers of Oxyrrhynchus* and, in greater detail, Friedo Solter's production of the *Cyclops* in the Deutsches Theater, Berlin.

II

Tony Harrison,¹³ an important English playwright, who studied classics at Oxford, has worked for quite some time now with classical material and ancient Greek plays.¹⁴ It was he, who – in 1981 – produced the translation of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* for the highly-praised production of the trilogy by Peter Hall at the *Royal National Theatre* in London.

In 1988 Harrison turned the 400 lines of Sophocles' *Ichneutai*, which were recovered in Egypt from an ancient rubbish-heap near the village of Oxyrrhynchus, into an exciting

¹¹ We have titles and fragments of approximately 75 satyr-plays; in 25 cases the satyr-play's identity is likely or possible, but uncertain; the complete material has been collected in R. KRUMEICH, N. PECHSTEIN and B. SEIDENSTICKER, *Das griechische Satyrspiel* (eds.), (Darmstadt, 1999).

¹² In 1994, *Cyclops* was staged in Prague and 2000 in Cottbus (Germany); *Ichneutai* (in a reconstruction by Russell Shone) in 1998 in London (cf. n. 2).

¹³ T. HARRISON, *The Trackers of Oxyrrhynchos* (with both the Delphi and the London version), (London, 1990).

¹⁴ *Aikin Mata* (1965 – adaptation (together with James Simmons) of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* in a Nigerian setting; *Phaedia Britannica* (1975) – adaptation of Racine's *Phèdre* for the Royal National Theatre in London; the *Oresteia* (1981) – translation for the Royal National Theatre in London; *Medea: a sex-war opera* (1985) – libretto commissioned by the New York Metropolitan Opera (the music was never produced); *The Common Chorus* (1992) – a free adaptation of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (+ Euripides' *Trojan Women*); *Prometheus* (1998) – a film; *The Kaisers of Carnuntum* (1995); *The Labours of Herakles* (1995); *Hecuba* (translation of Euripides' *Hecuba*) 2005; in addition, many of Harrison's poems are inspired by or work with classical material, and Harrison has published the epigrams of Palladas (4th c. A.D.).

play,¹⁵ which accomplishes an astonishing feat: on the one hand, it comes quite close to the spirit of the ancient model and, on the other, it is a thoroughly contemporary play that addresses crucial cultural and social problems.

The Sophoclean play is based on two episodes from the well-known myth of the childhood of Hermes, the god of thieves (among other things): the theft of Apollo's cattle and the invention of the lyre.¹⁶ The action takes place in the Arcadian forests on the Cyllene mountain, where the local nymph Cyllene is taking care of the new-born son of Zeus. The play opens with the appearance of Apollo, who is searching for his stolen cattle. His cries for help prompt Silenus and the satyrs to rush to the scene; after Apollo has promised them a reward, they set to work. The ensuing search of the satyrs, in the course of which they behave like hunting-dogs, gave the play its name: *Ichneutai* – *Trackers*. Suddenly mysterious sounds begin to ring out, throwing the satyrs into a state of panic. Eventually, when, despite their fear, they are just about to determine the cause of the matter, the nymph Cyllene appears and reveals the invention of the lyre by the baby Hermes, who has miraculously turned into a man within a matter of days. When the nymph mentions that Hermes for the construction of the instrument has used some cow-hide and guts, the satyrs realise that the cattle-thief and the inventor of the lyre must be one and the same.

Unfortunately it is here, right in the middle of the play, that the papyrus breaks off. Nevertheless, it is possible to reconstruct the missing parts of Sophocles' play: the satyrs must have sent for Apollo to inform him and demand the promised reward, and the play, naturally, must have ended with a confrontation of the divine brothers and their eventual reconciliation, in the course of which Apollo will have received the lyre.

Harrison built his play out of and around the 400 surviving lines of Sophocles' play:

In the first part he wittily dramatises the rediscovery and philological reconstruction of the lost play in 1907 in Egypt by the Oxford classicists Grenfell and Hunt. With the first papyrus-scrap that turn up the play begins to live again. Harrison presents this revival in a simple and striking way: the classicists who hunt for the papyri of the play – while deciphering the fragments – are transformed into Apollo (Grenfell) and Silenus (Hunt), who search for the stolen cattle, and when suddenly the crates in which the papyri are stored “fall open, revealing in each a satyr and so forming a chorus of twelve satyrs”,¹⁷ the Sophoclean play can begin.

¹⁵ TONY, HARRISON, *The Trackers of Oxyrrhynchus* (The Delphi text and the London text). (London: Faber and Faber, 1990); the National Theatre presented the production also in Salts Mill, Saltaire (England), in Odense and Copenhagen (Denmark), and at the ancient site of Carnuntum (Austria); in 1992, the play was produced by Harrison in Sydney (Australia); the Delphi version was produced in 1998 in Leeds.

¹⁶ Homeric Hymn 4, On Hermes.

¹⁷ HARRISON, n. 14, p.30.

In the middle part, Harrison closely follows the Sophoclean plot; but, while Sophocles' play ends with Apollo getting the lyre and rewarding the satyrs for their help, Harrison suddenly transforms the Sophoclean happy ending into a dark and bitter finale which moves the play back again to our own time and world and raises disturbing questions. When Silenus and the satyrs ask permission to test the lyre also, Apollo not only refuses, but hands them ghetto-blasters, instead, and announces the rigid separation of high and low, Apolline and Dionysiac art. Harrison at this point integrates an ancient myth which expresses the separation quite clearly: Silenus gives a horrifying account of the brutal punishment of the satyr Marsyas, who had dared to challenge the god of music and art to a contest, and whom Apollo had flayed alive. The exclusion of the satyrs from the realm of high Apolline art and culture – this is Harrison's thesis – is the original sin of European civilisation. It has led to two completely separated and totally incompatible forms of art, symbolically represented by Apollo and the satyrs, lyre and ghetto-blasters, opera and beat-music, different forms of art that, at the same time, are representative of the social distinctions high and low, rich and poor.¹⁸

Harrison has written two different endings, one for the production in the stadium at Delphi and another one for the production in London: at Delphi the singing and dancing satyrs turned into rampaging and drinking hooligans who played football with a rolled up bundle of papyrus of the *Ichneutai*; in the London version the criticism of the deep cleavage between the two worlds is more poignant: the excluded satyrs become homeless people, who live in the papyrus-boxes from Oxyrrhynchus, like the homeless living in the streets and under the bridges near the Royal National Theatre, where the play was staged.

The play ends with a last attempt of Silenus to recreate the "wholeness of the Greek imagination",¹⁹ to which he once belonged, a world in which tragedy and satyr-play still belonged together. But this attempt fails. Neither the satyrs nor the audience understand what he wants. The ideal unity of high and low art and culture appears to be lost for ever – yet, at least for a moment, in Harrison's play and its remarkable production(s) by the author, Silenus' dream becomes reality.

Harrison's satyrs, with their huge phalluses, which caused some irritation in the English public, and with their lively and loud clog-dances, are the true offspring of their Athenian ancestors; the author perfectly recaptures the tone and spirit of the satyr-play with its combination of high and low *dramatis personae* and with its mixture of hilarious and serious elements – and he does so even in those parts of his play which are totally different from Sophocles' *Ichneutae* and distinctly contemporary.

¹⁸ The dark ending is prepared for in the first scene of the play, when Grenfell is only interested in high poetry and does not care about the many papyri with petitions, receipts, orders and leases throwing light on the everyday life of the poor.

¹⁹ HARRISON, *cf.* n. 14, XI.

III

Solter's *Cyclops* at the Deutsches Theater Berlin (1994) is a totally different matter: Solter presented not a highly imaginative re-writing of a fragmentary play, but a fairly accurate translation of the only complete satyr-play we have.

Euripides in the *Cyclops* has introduced the satyrs into one of Odysseus' best-known adventures: his encounter with the Cyclops Polyphemus, which Odysseus himself narrates in the *Odyssey*.²⁰ The satyrs have fallen into the hands of the Cyclops and now have to work for him as slaves. Silenus, their old father, who opens the play with an expository monologue, must clean the cave while his sons tend Polyphemus' flocks. Soon after the entrance-song of the satyrs, who return with the sheep from the pasture, Odysseus and his fellows appear, in need of fresh water and food. With the help of wine, which Silenus and the satyrs miss most in their captivity, Odysseus manages to get what he wants. But just when the bargain is settled and Odysseus is about to leave, Polyphemus appears and accuses Odysseus of theft. The ensuing dialogue between the civilised Greek hero and the barbaric ogre is the thematic centre of the play. Odysseus appeals to the Cyclops' hospitality and fear of god. But, of course, in vain. After the Cyclops has eaten two of his companions, Odysseus manages to get out of the cave, develops his plan to blind the Cyclops, and successfully hinders him from leaving and sharing the wine with his brothers. He persuades him to stay at home and drink it alone, and the ensuing symposium, in which the Cyclops is initiated into the art of drinking wine is the most hilarious part of the play. At the end of the scene, Polyphemus carries the old and ugly Silenus into his cave, mistaking him for the young and beautiful Ganymede, the cupbearer and darling of Zeus. Odysseus then proceeds to execute his plan. The satyrs who had enthusiastically promised their help, now, of course, wriggle out of their promise and support the blinding merely with a song (and dance). The ending of the play is short, almost abrupt: the blinding and mocking of the Cyclops, Odysseus' proud disclosure of his identity, and Polyphemus' threat to destroy his ship: all this is hardly more than sketched. The last word is given to the satyrs, who will now – on board Odysseus' ship – return to their former master, Dionysus.

The special quality of Solter's production of Euripides' play lies in the fact that he, unlike many other modern stage-directors, did not move the play towards his audience, but instead, moved his audience towards the old play. Solter used a fairly accurate translation, only slightly modified to improve the speakability and theatricality of the verses and to clarify the text for a modern audience, and he had carefully researched and taken into account what we know about the satyr-play.

²⁰ HOMER, *Odyssey* 9, 1-542.

The few major changes are mostly born of the true spirit of the satyr-play. This even applies to the most surprising addition to the Euripidean text. Solter opens and ends the play with a famous poem by Theocritus, the Hellenistic inventor of pastoral poetry, a lyric monologue of the love-sick Polyphemus, who has fallen hopelessly in love with the nymph Galatea,²¹ spoken by the actor of the Cyclops. The stage-director thus created – before the actual play began – the pastoral atmosphere that is characteristic of Greek satyr-play and, at the same time, from the outset indicated his sympathetic interpretation of the cannibalistic Cyclops, which is, by the way, by no means totally incompatible with Euripides' portrait of the Homeric ogre.

The other small additions served to enlarge the role of the satyrs and thus to strengthen the Dionysiac quality of the play. This may be un-Euripidean, since Euripides somewhat diminished the traditional role of the satyrs, but it is in accordance with the nature and function of the genre as a whole, which Solter recaptured quite successfully.

His presentation of the satyrs and their world came very close to what we can reconstruct from our ancient sources. We know that the classical satyr-play was not set in front of some palace (as is the case in most tragedies) or in the city (which is, as a rule, the scene of action in comedy); instead, they were set in those places where satyrs are at home: in mountain forests and deserts, in the open space in front of caves, or on the sea-shore. On the one hand, this certainly stems from the nature of the stories satyr-plays dramatised and is the visual expression and reinforcement of its romantic fairy-tale atmosphere; on the other, it preserves the genre's original bucolic character. Since the stage-setting was not changed between the last of the three tragedies and the satyr-play, a few significant props must have sufficed to create the new locale.

Solter – unlike Ciulli – did not present Polyphemus' cave in a realistic way, but used a white, flat-roofed one-storey building that looked like a small Greek farmhouse and resembled the simple wooden structure the Athenians used as background for tragedy and satyr-plays, and created the rural ambience and atmosphere of the satyr-play just by some trees and bushes.

More important, however, than the rural setting are the creatures who inhabit it. Ciulli got rid of the satyrs completely and give their shortened role to four scruffy shepherds in jeans and T-shirts. By contrast, Solter's satyrs – like Tony Harrison's – were the genuine offspring of their Athenian ancestors whom we know so well from many vases: bearded and snub-nosed, slightly balding, and with slim pointed ears (like mules or donkeys), they usually were naked but for a small loin-cloth; that is to say: they wore a tight-fitting flesh-coloured jersey and no footwear. The loin-cloth served as support for a copious horse-tail and for the erect phallus. Solter left them their horse-tails and their phalluses, but dis-

²¹ THEOCRITUS II.

pensed with the erection, and he used various half-masks which were not copies of the ancient satyr-masks we know, but wonderfully suggestive modern variations with a clear family likeness.

Solter's satyrs not only closely resembled their ancient cousins; they also shared their nature. The role and character of satyrs in Greek satyr-plays evidently was as stereotypical as their outer appearance: they are childish and funny, thoughtless and irresponsible, curious, impudent and boastful, but at the same time submissive and cowardly. If they could have their way, they would prefer to take it easy all the time, to drink a lot of booze, to sing and dance, and to chase nymphs. But most of the time they find themselves in unfamiliar and wholly detestable circumstances and situations. Over and over again they are compelled to do something they do not want or are unable to do. One may enslave them, deprive them of their beloved wine, or snatch away the woman they woo, but it is quite impossible to diminish their perpetual enjoyment of music, song and dance. Their thoroughly unheroic character is always going to assert itself.

Ciulli's satyrs were joyless bums who fought over the best sleeping-places and only when Silenus told them to sing or Odysseus had made them drunk, put on coloured carnival caps and started to bellow. By contrast, Solter made full use of the comic possibilities offered by the stereotypical qualities of the satyrs. In fact, he considerably enlarged their role by expanding the Euripidean choral songs and by adding new songs: a longing lamentation about their separation from Dionysus and from his most important gift, wine, and a spirited and expressive song and dance about their physical desires: food, wine, and sex, a pot-pourri which Solter put together from various Greek lyric texts. And since Solter even had the Cyclops sing some of the lines he speaks in Euripides (and since he used a 12-man band²² instead of the one flute-player that used to accompany the ancient chorus), the musical element of the play was strengthened considerably.

The charm and effect of the satyr-play not least derived from the contrast and tension between the world of the satyrs and the world of heroic myth into which they were integrated by the ancient tragedians. Vase paintings give us an idea of the visual contrast between the satyrs and the heroic dramatis personae who wore the long richly-embroidered dress of tragedy, a contrast that signals the clash of the two totally different worlds and ethics. The clash is particularly striking in Euripides' *Cyclops*, and whereas Ciulli's Odysseus was hardly different from the scruffy shepherds, who replaced the satyrs, Solter did whatever he could to stress the contrast: his Odysseus, like the Euripidean, seemed to walk right out of tragedy into the satyr-play and he acted and spoke as if he were still in tragedy.

In the world of singing and dancing satyrs, the hero gives the impression of being out of place not only on account of his costume and posture but also because of what he

²² The music was produced by Frank Raschke and his band 'Vielharmonie'.

does and says.

Thus Odysseus' elevated language and heroic philosophy of life are a continuous source of comic effects not only in his conversations with Silenus and the satyrs, but also in his discussion with the Cyclops, where Odysseus forgets that he is not talking to one of his peers as he would in tragedy, but to the ogre of the satyr-play. Solter very effectively stressed the comic contrast by an enormous fart with which Polyphemus commented on Odysseus' request for help.

The confrontation of Odysseus and the Cyclops is typical of the satyr-play. The genre shows a striking preference for stories in which heroes face violent brutes or monsters. The figure of the ogre appears in numerous variations as a giant or wicked king, as a dangerous witch or even as Death himself. The hero finally triumphs either by physical strength (Heracles is the most important satyr-play hero) or by superior intelligence, like Odysseus in the *Cyclops*. The adventure of the Homeric Odysseus was thus the perfect dramatic material for a satyr-play, and it was even more attractive by its irritating combination of high and low, light and dark, tragic and burlesque elements, and by the bucolic setting of the story in a fairy-tale world far from civilisation. When Euripides took over the famous Homeric story he not only expanded its comic aspects by the integration of the satyrs; he slightly, but unmistakably, changed the balance of sympathy in favour of Polyphemus by the apparent irony with which he presents Odysseus and by the even more apparent sympathy with which he looks at the ogre Polyphemus.

As in several of his tragedies, the clash of Greeks and barbarians, culture and nature is presented in a way that must have irritated his audience and forced them to ponder the disturbing question of who the real barbarian is: the civilised brute Odysseus (who blinds Polyphemus without real necessity) or the uncivilised, but rather amiable, Polyphemus.²³ Roberto Ciulli in his remarkable production of the play in Cologne (1978) gave the part of Polyphemus to a woman and thus transferred the audience's sympathy completely from Odysseus, who wore the coat of a soldier and had a machine-gun, to his female victim. The end of the play - with the cruel derision of the blinded Polyphemus and his (or rather her) painfully slow crawling into the corner of the cave - was better suited to a tragedy than to a satyr-play.

Solter did not go that far, but he left no doubt with whom his sympathies lay. His Cyclops is a cheerful and naïve giant, with high cothurni and a huge Aztec-like hat, whereas Odysseus appears as a conceited, but brutal, hero, with a golden mask and d'Artagnan-boots, whom Solter at the end had exit with a quotation from Nietzsche's *Also Sprach Zarathustra*. He thus casts the hero in the mould of the Nietzschean 'Herrenmensch' who

²³ W. ARROWSMITH, "Introduction to Cyclops." In *The Complete Greek Tragedies* III, 224-39. (Chicago, 1959).

from his position of superiority looks down with contempt on the suffering of others, whereas the Cyclops takes comfort in the Theocritean love-song for Galatea with which he had opened the play.

Here, at the latest, everyone in the audience realised that Solter's imaginative revival of a lost genre was no end in itself. Like Harrison and Ciulli, Solter, of course, used the Greek satyr-play to address an important contemporary issue: the clash between the civilised Greek and the cannibalistic barbarian is presented as metaphor for the clash between different worlds and philosophies of life: between the first and the third world, between civilised and undeveloped countries, between West and East in general and – in 1994 – between West and East-Germany in particular. And Solter's irony cuts both ways. The ironic deconstruction of the civilised brute Odysseus who breaks into the pastoral world of the Cyclops was balanced by the equally ironic portrayal of the satyrs, who immediately betray their old master and go over to the imperialistic capitalist.

What made Solter's production a complete theatrical success was the subtlety with which the political statement was presented without destroying or even diminishing the atmosphere, tone, and comic effect of a genuine satyr-play.

It is to be hoped that Harrison's and Solter's successful revivals of the satyr-play will set a lasting precedent.

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 Texte zur Forschung 72, Darmstadt, 1999.
- SEIDENSTICKER, BERND (ed.). *Das griechische Satyrspiel, Wege der Forschung 579*. Darmstadt, 1989.
- SUTTON, DANA F. *The Greek Satyr-play*. *Beiträge zur Klassischen Philologie*. Meisenheim am Glan, 1980.

b) *Tony Harrison*:

- BYRNE, SANDIE (ed). *Tony Harrison*. Oxford 1997.
- BYRNE, SANDIE. *The Poetry of Tony Harrison*. Manchester and New York, 1998.
- FORSYTH, ALISON. "The Professional Archaeologist and The Aesthetics of Cultural Imperialism in Tony Harrison's *The Trackers of Oxyrynchus*." In *The Professions in Contemporary Drama*, ed. by D. MEYER-DINKGRÄFE, 101-14 Bristol/Portland, 2003.
- HALL, EDITH. "Greek Tragedy and the British Stage, 1566-1997." *Cahiers du Gita*, 12 (1999): 113-134.
- HERBERT, JOCELYN. *A Theatre Workbook*. London, 1993.
- MCDONALD, MARIANNE. *Ancient Light Sun and Modern Light. Greek Drama on the Modern Stage*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992: 97-113; 127-46.
- PADLEY, STEVE. "Hijacking Culture'. Tony Harrison and the Greeks." *Cycnos* 18.1 (2001): 93-108.
- TAPLIN, OLIVER. "Satyrs Re-erected at Delphi." *3rd and 4th International Meeting of Ancient Greek Drama (Delphi, 1987 and 1988)*. European Cultural Centre of Delphi, 1989: 165-69.
- TAPLIN, OLIVER. "Satyrs on the borderline: *Trackers* in the development of Tony Harrison's theatre work." *Tony Harrison*, ed. by N. ASTLEY, 458-64, Newcastle, 1991.

GRAŻYNA GOLIK-SZARAWARSKA

CHRISTIANISATION OF ANTIQUITY IN THE TRAGEDIES
OF SOPHOCLES AS TRANSLATED
BY PROFESSOR TADEUSZ ZIELIŃSKI

In memory of J. B.

Tadeusz Zieliński perceived the goal of Greek tragedy translation as a reconstruction of polychromy in ancient architecture.¹ Because of his brilliant translations of Sophocles' tragedies, the reader finds himself on the Acropolis and is able to experience and admire all the miracles of antiquity in the glamour that used to adorn the place. Yet, the meticulous reader will notice that the white marble of Greek tragedy in Zieliński's translations glitters in colours borrowed from the palette of antiquity and early Christianity.

His translations are marked by the belief that ancient authors *felt the presence of the Christian God in their poetical minds*.² All this was possible because of *inner revelation*.³ The artist, stricken by the *prophetic spirit*,⁴ became an inspired advocate of the epiphany. The very nature of the process Zieliński treated as inexplicable, since the prophetic spirit:

*"Envelops the human being not always and not everywhere, it happens occasionally and lasts only for a while, to fade away eventually. Looking back at the works produced in this state of inspiration, the author being thus inspired becomes perplexed whether he has got the right to ascribe this act of creation solely to himself."*⁵

He attributed its importance to the historical and cultural role of the prophetic spirit, responsible for revitalisation and development of ancient religion, which finally resulted in its transformation into Christianity. He claimed simultaneously that his confession was *not only the voice of his heart*,⁶ but also *a strong scientific belief that Catholicism is the only genuine Christianity*,⁷ while *spiritualisation* was connected with transformation from the religion of nature into the religion of ethics. In his six-volume cycle, entitled *Religions of*

¹ TADEUSZ ZIELIŃSKI, "Antyгона" [Antigone]. *Gazeta Polska* [Polish Gazette] 304 (1938).

² ZIELIŃSKI, *Chrześcijaństwo antyczne* [Ancient Christianity], *Religie świata antycznego* 6 [Religions of the Ancient World 6]. (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 1999): 539.

³ ZIELIŃSKI, 539.

⁴ ZIELIŃSKI, 540.

⁵ ZIELIŃSKI, 539.

⁶ ZIELIŃSKI, 562.

⁷ ZIELIŃSKI, 531.

the Ancient World,⁸ which was the result – as he himself revealed – of over 30 years of pondering and considerations, he deals with the development of the *religious idea* across the centuries, assuming Christianity to be the *climax of religious pursuit of humanity*. With the support of impressive evidence, he tried to prove his controversial thesis, maintaining that the religion of ancient Greece constituted the Christian *Old Testament* itself. In his opinion, the basis for this assumption was formed by *psychological communication* so evident in religious attitudes enlivening the faith of the ancients and the Christians. In order to understand how it worked, it is essential to refer to the proper perception of religion. Zieliński distinguishes two types of religion: the aesthetic, which he finds interesting, but not thrilling and the religion of *the living truth*, which he finds appealing. The first he calls *the religion of the ceremonial lounge*, whereas the latter is referred to as *the religion of the apartment building*, adding that it is *the religion of common Catholicism*.⁹ It is essential to realise what exactly he has in mind. And it is undoubtedly obvious that, being immersed in the stream of Catholic affection with its Marian cult so characteristic of Polish religiosity, Zieliński approaches interesting and glamorous buildings of aesthetic religion with deep understanding; however what he misses in them is this cordial faith in God's grace originating from eternal love supported by the intercession of the beloved one, which consequently makes the ethical religion *serve as an apartment for the homeless human soul*.¹⁰ I cannot refrain myself from quoting at that point a teenage recollection of a renowned biblical scholar, Prof. Świderkówna, who remembers that in his only letter sent to her, Zieliński referred to St Augustine, claiming categorically that *a man is worth as much as he can love*.¹¹

Zieliński described his cycle *Religions of the Ancient World* as a work of cultural and religious character with artistic ambitions. Being the student of Wilhelm Wundt, he pointed emphatically to the psychological assumptions of the whole entity, stipulating, however,

⁸ ZIELIŃSKI, *Religia starożytnej Grecji. Zarys ogólny* [Religion of Ancient Greece. General Outline] Translated by STEFAN SREBRNY *Religie świata antycznego*. [Religions of the Ancient World 1]. (Warsaw, 1925); ZIELIŃSKI, *Religia hellenizmu* [Hellenistic Religion] Translated by GABRIELA PIANKÓWNA, *Religie świata antycznego 2* [Religions of the Ancient World 2]. (Warsaw, 1925); ZIELIŃSKI, *Hellenizm a judaizm* [Hellenism and Judaism] *Religie świata antycznego 3* [Religions of the Ancient World 3]. (Warsaw, 1927); ZIELIŃSKI, *Religia Rzeczypospolitej rzymskiej* [Religion in the Republic of Rome] *Religie świata antycznego 4* [Religions of the Ancient World 4] Part. 1. (Warsaw, 1933); ZIELIŃSKI, *Religia Rzeczypospolitej rzymskiej* [Religion in the Republic of Rome] *Religie świata antycznego 4* [Religions of the Ancient World 4] Part. 2. (Warsaw, 1934); ZIELIŃSKI, *Religia Cesarstwa Rzymskiego* [Religion of the Roman Empire] *Religie świata antycznego 6* [Religions of the Ancient World 5]. (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 1999); ZIELIŃSKI, *Chrześcijaństwo antyczne* [Ancient Christianity] *Religie świata antycznego 6* [Religions of the Ancient World 6]. (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 1999).

⁹ ZIELIŃSKI, *Chrześcijaństwo antyczne*, (Ancient Christianity) 465.

¹⁰ ZIELIŃSKI, 463.

¹¹ *Chodzić po wodzie* [Walking on the Water]. An interview with ANNA ŚWIDERKÓWNA by ELŻBIETA PRZYBYŁ. (Kraków: Społeczny Instytut Wydawniczy Znak, 2003): 49.

that it is not a work of a theological nature. Consequently, he set the goals for *Religions* as aimed at shaping the mentality and sensitivity of his contemporaries and – I hope you will not find it too far fetched – his future readers as well. In this aspect, the last volume, entitled *Ancient Christianity*, described by the author as the last will and confession, occupies a predominant role in the whole cycle. It is worth remembering that his history of religion, as he originally intended, constitutes the basis for re-creation of the history of ancient morality. It represents his pursuit of ancient rules and values, with their significant contribution to *the granite layer of modern morality*. He did not manage to produce another piece of work comparable in its magnificence to *Religions*. However, in his texts which form the outline of the subject-matter, particularly in *The Brief Outline of Morality in the Ancient World from Homer to the Times of Christ*,¹² it is possible to find an interpretative line inherent in his works devoted to spiritual culture *en globe*.

In his debate on culture involving the perspective focusing on the history of the idea, directly associated with the psychologism initiated by Wundt's school, Zieliński presented a view according to which *culture perceived as a set of life forms surrounding us*¹³ is above all a spiritual phenomenon. Zieliński was particularly interested in *the development of the spirit of antiquity in various aspects of its revelation*.¹⁴ On the basis of what has been already said, it is possible to draw the following conclusion: what Zieliński meant was the spiritual creativity aimed at the *realisation of ideals of Good, Truth, and Beauty*, and those *three words of faith constitute a holy trinity embracing the divine iris of the Ideal*.¹⁵ Consequently, in his academic and artistic work, he strove to display ideological relationships of European culture with the spiritual heritage of antiquity, and the way *Hellenism evolved into modern Europeanism*.¹⁶

He tended to consider the bulk of the ancient authors as *the prophets of Christianity*. Homer was a prophet for him, as well as Aeschylus, Socrates, Plato, Horace, and the beloved Cicero, who created the Christian religion without Christ. Yet, it was Sophocles whom he regarded as the most distinguished of this group.

He translated all Sophocles' tragedies, together with the works available only in frag-

¹² ZIELIŃSKI, *Rozwój moralności w świecie starożytnym od Homera do czasów Chrystusa*. Odczyt wygłoszony na publicznym posiedzeniu Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności dnia 11 czerwca 1927 [*The Development of Morality In the Ancient World from Homer to Christ*. A paper presented during a public session of the Polish Academy of Arts on 11 June 1927]. (Kraków, 1927).

¹³ ZIELIŃSKI, "Wstęp" ["Preface"] in Zieliński. *Historia kultury antycznej. W zwięzłym wykładzie* [*History of Ancient Culture. In a Concise Lecture*] Vol. 1, 1. (Warsaw-Kraków, 1922).

¹⁴ ZIELIŃSKI, "Przedmowa" ["Foreword"] in Zieliński. *Historia kultury antycznej. W zwięzłym wykładzie* [*History of Ancient Culture. In a Concise Lecture*], I.

¹⁵ ZIELIŃSKI, "Rozwój kultury duchowej" ["The Development of Spiritual Culture"] *Wiedza i Życie* [*The Life and Knowledge*] V (1930): 44.

¹⁶ ZIELIŃSKI, "Rozwój kultury duchowej" ["The Development of Spiritual Culture"].

ments and published them in three volumes in Moscow in the years 1913–1915.¹⁷ His translations were accompanied by *Prefaces*, collected and published later in Poland under the title *Sophocles and His Tragedies*.¹⁸ Zieliński created an ideographic classification of Sophocles' dramas, thus allowing daring comparisons within the world of values of the ancient Greeks and Christianity. Consequently, he called *King Oedipus* "a tragedy of fate", *Oedipus at Colonus* "a tragedy of mercy", *Ajax* – "a tragedy of honour", *Philoctetes* "a tragedy of truth", *Electra* "a tragedy of retribution", *Trachiniae* "a tragedy of fidelity", and *Antigone* "a tragedy of power". The classification introduced by the translator, who identified the love epiphany as evangelical virtue, enables simultaneous interpretation of Sophocles' legacy and a new Christian morality resulting from it, as provided by the solutions to the moral dilemmas appearing in tragedies.

The translator dedicated his publication to Russian culture and to Slavic culture *en globe*, as a tribute to the "Slavic renaissance of antiquity", responsible for enriching his creative activities. This dedication was welcomed with great respect and esteem by the bulk of the Russian elitist audience. The whole idea is clearly expressed by the motto quoting *Antigone's* words: *Tis not my nature to join in hating, but in loving*.¹⁹

There are many clues that *Antigone* was the key link in Zieliński's concept of ideographic classification of Sophocles' works. Additionally, it was his favourite of all the tragedies he translated into Russian.

He rated *Antigone* as the most brilliant of the works created by the Greek playwright, mainly because of the *grand love*, i.e., divine love predominating in the work. Being a tragedy of moral ideas, *Antigone* can be treated as a *holy rite, a tragedy and a prayer all at once*.²⁰ For the above reasons, Zieliński regarded this tragedy of Sophocles together with its heroine as a spiritual predecessor of Christianity or a *contender* with Christianity, as he used to call it in his other texts. He treated his translation as an attempt to create a syncretic myth, which places him among contemporary authors moved by the hope of *symbolic generalisation of human experience*, and the possibility of creating an *organic synthesis of the world and life*.²¹ He referred to the myth and style embedded in Richard

¹⁷ СОФОКЛ, *Драмы. Перевод со введениями и вступительным очерком* Т. Зелинского. [Sophocles, *Tragedies*. Translated by T. ZIELIŃSKI, and accompanied with foreword and general outline.] *Pamiętniki mirowej literatury. Antycznyje pisateli* [Monuments of world literature. Ancient authors] Vol. 1. (Moscow: Izdatelstwo Sabasznikowy, 1913); Vol. 2 (Moscow: Izdatelstwo Sabasznikowy, 1915); Vol. 3 (Moscow: Izdatelstwo Sabasznikowy, 1914).

¹⁸ ZIELIŃSKI, *Sofokles i jego twórczość tragiczna* [Sophocles and His Tragedies]. Translated by the Classics Society of Warsaw University. (Kraków, 1928).

¹⁹ *The Tragedies of Sophocles*. Translated by SIR RICHARD C. JEBB. (Oxford University Press, 1904), line No. 523.

²⁰ ZIELIŃSKI, *Antygona. Tragedia władzy* [Antigone. Tragedy of Power] in Zieliński. *Sofokles i jego twórczość tragiczna* [Sophocles and His Tragedies]: 111.

²¹ Trains of thought related to the meaning of Wagnerian myth, the character of Nietzschean inspiration,

Wagner's music. *Antigone* by Zieliński resembles Wagner's opera. This is however, a separate issue, which I am forced to mention just briefly, in order to preserve the precision of my discourse – a discourse already fraught with numerous motifs, which is quite explicable in the case of such a marvellously erudite man as Tadeusz Zieliński. Nevertheless, it does not mean that as a theatrologist I accept unquestioningly the complementarity of the performative and verbal dimension of Greek tragedy, and methodological consequences arising, together with some binding analytical strategies. I accept as a scientific axiom a statement according to which:

*"[...] we must do our best to see and hear Greek tragedy, and not in an arbitrary and uninformed way that the dramatist himself meant it to be seen and heard."*²²

In the case being discussed, it is essential to remember the translator's vision e.g. pre-performance, which makes the performative dimension of *Antigone* a conglomerate of two orders, designed by both artists.

In the latter part of my presentation, I will attempt to prove, that the following confession – being a guidepost for me – would have been accepted by Tadeusz Zieliński without any hesitation as his own:

*"Behind the words of Greek tragedy there is action, behind the action emotion: the abstract and concrete are made one, the emotion and the meaning are indivisible. The actual and felt play is my subject. Greek tragedy is often thought of as static, verbal, didactic, and irretrievably alien: I hope to show, rather, how it is theatrical, emotional, absorbing – and so can still speak directly to us."*²³

Going back to the question of modern myth, we have to take into consideration what kind of human experiences could constitute the core of the story. The gift of true love demanding the sacrifice of life, or the miracle of evangelical love, to put it differently. Zieliński noticed the presence of this experience in the epiphany of the ancient author, reinforcing its expressiveness through stylistic compliance with Christian symbolism.

With great joy and glee, he managed to reveal certain fragments proving the unity of the religious sense of the ancient Greeks and Christians. The words of Greek poetry appeared to him as a revelation of the truths inherent in the Christian faith. Zieliński was convinced that ancient tragedy, originating from religious grounds and comprising this organic relationship, should be regarded as an artistic declaration of the Revelation. He was convinced that the revelation of the divine truths in beauty influences the affection

and Ibsen's impact on the works of symbolists are elaborated on under the influence of: TYMON TERLECKI, "Stanisław Wyspiański i poetyka dramatu symbolistycznego. [Stanisław Wyspiański and the Poetics of Symbolist Drama]" in Terlecki. *Rzeczy teatralne. [Theatrical Issues]*: 102-127. (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1984).

²² OLIVER TABLIN, *Greek Tragedy in Action*. (Routledge, 2003): 3.

²³ TABLIN, *Greek Tragedy in Action*, 1.

of the modern man, making him more susceptible to accepting Christ's teachings. As a consequence, the spiritual culture of the Greeks turned into a firm foundation for modern morality, giving birth to universal values of European culture.

The very concept of the main protagonist seems extremely interesting. The translator deprived Antigone of her pathos, seeing her as a gentle princess filled with pride and dignity who rebels against brutal and unjust laws. He calls Antigone a little flower, introducing her in a state of deep grief, even though according to the Chorus's words, he would like to see her with a golden garland on her head. In the light of *didascalia*, sad and trembling, Antigone frequently becomes a dreamer able to act in a sudden fit of emotional agitation, raise her head proudly, and undertake an attempt to escape from the hands of her persecutors. In Zieliński's translation, "*The ice melts under the flames of the soul.*"²⁴ That is why she frequently tries to fight her emotions in order to regain self-control and continue her proud silence. She lowers her head in the state of deep bereavement. She loses her temper only once. The dominance of her character is magnified through her lyricism, which additionally emphasises the part consisting of lamentation in the overall structure of the tragedy. Antigone by Zieliński acquires traits not found in the original. She becomes a protagonist acting within the framework of "*a plot with a martyr.*"²⁵ The translation depicts her sinlessness and innocence, emphasising strongly her piety as well. The heroine makes her sacrifice, being *the only one amongst the women obeying her laws*, for which she gains *the wreath of eternal honour*, while standing by *the throne of eternal Truth*.²⁶ In the scene where Antigone yields herself, the Chorus Leader and her supporters, later on joined by the whole Chorus, surround Antigone and her torturers closely, suppressing Creon's objection. The accompanying music alters its character, assuming the form of a solemn Orthodox hymn. A mournful hymn for the soul's peace. The Chorus is blessing the departing self-sacrificer.²⁷

Antigone's martyrdom gains a new, surprising dimension in Zieliński's translation. Sophocles' protagonist becomes the first martyr in the Christian sense. Zieliński generally preserves a traditional interpretation, according to which the basic dramatic conflict appears when the state and divine laws collide. That is why he calls *Antigone* "a tragedy of power", pointing to the clash between power and conscience, law and love as the focal theme. *The abuse of conscience by the law*²⁸ is displayed as an everlasting issue. He strives

²⁴ SOFOKL, *Antygona* [Sophocles, *Antigone*] In Sofokl, *Dramy* [Sophocles, *Tragedies*], Vol. 2, 359, Prolog.

²⁵ Parallel to: TAPLIN, *Greek Tragedy in Action* ("plot with a penitent").

²⁶ SOFOKL, *Antygona* [Sophocles, *Antigone*] In Sofokl *Dramy* [Sophocles, *Tragedies*], Vol. 2, 295, a. IV, Sc. 1. It is essential to notice that the latter metaphor complies with the concept of the orthodox sacrificial altar.

²⁷ SOFOKL, *Antygona* [Sophocles, *Antigone*] In Sofokl, *Dramy* [Sophocles, *Tragedies*], Vol. 2, 399, a. IV, Sc. 2.

²⁸ ZIELIŃSKI, "Antygona" ["Antigone"], *Tydzień Polski* [Polish Week] 50 (1921): 5.

to present the dramatic conflict of two grand truths, truths that are propagated in this work by characters of high morals. His interpretation aims at depicting the triumph of the *feminine principle of love defying the masculine principle of law and power together with its legal bases*.²⁹

The translation faces a much deeper problem in focusing on love's sacrifice, in the form present in Sophocles' epiphany. In the Third Stasimon, Zieliński includes issues far from the Greek original. He creates a hypostasis of Love, consisting of ideas close to both antiquity and Christianity. Every life form is controlled by desire, the ultimate power of Eros. Sublimation of this force belongs to Aphrodite, being the divine embodiment of love. Additionally, Zieliński's translation mentions love and God's grace in the line No. 798, saying that *Love participates in power amongst refined moral principles*.³⁰

From this point of view, Antigone's deed gains a moral sanction. The heroine, burying her brother who joined the enemy against his homeland, fulfils her moral duty. The price she has to pay for this act of mercy places her among the great bearers of *gratia co-operans* in secular literature. Antigone saves Polynices' soul, just as Margaret contributes to Faustus' salvation, or Elizabeth delivers Tannhäuser from eternal damnation.

The above interpretation is in line with Zieliński's dispute with St Augustine's views on grace. Both the scholar and St Augustine – called the prophet of grace: *doctor gratiae* – were convinced that God is the Good. The Christian perception of Augustine's Platonism accords with Zieliński's approach, but what he cannot accept is the axiom about the grace for the chosen ones (*gratia irresistibilis*). He believes strongly that *God's Grace is the basis of our deliverance*.³¹ This attitude made him similar to Pelagius, finding the replacement of religion by ethics extremely convincing. Consequently, he underlined the importance of *supporting grace*, contributing to salvation through the actions of the beloved one.

Antigone sacrifices her life, and thus we find this tragedy of Sophocles so appealing. This work *presents and confronts us with the very core of human suffering*.³²

As Zieliński describes it:

*"Antigone is not simply an example of a Greek female, or a true symbol representing her nation like other literary heroines, e.g., Zosia, Tatiana, or Gretchen; her significance is universal and international: she is the embodiment of the feminine principle of love struggling with the masculine principle of power."*³³

²⁹ ZIELIŃSKI.

³⁰ SOFOKL, *Antygona* [Sophocles, *Antigone*] In Sofokl, *Dramy* [Sophocles, *Tragedies*], Vol. 2, 393, Stasimon III.

³¹ ZIELIŃSKI, *Chrześcijaństwo antyczne* [Ancient Christianity], 467.

³² TAPLIN, *Tragedia grecka w działaniu* [Greek Tragedy In Action]. Translated by A. WOJTASIK (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Domini S.C., 2004): 284.

³³ ZIELIŃSKI, "Antygona", 3.

He chose Greek dramatic poetry as the target of his translations, believing deeply that its mission was still to be continued. He found the time in which he lived quite depressing, depriving him of any optimism. He used to cry during his lectures on *Antigone*. One of his texts ends in the following words:

*"Not only has Antigone been repeatedly executed on scaffolds in city squares or in state dungeons, but also – what is even worse – in peaceful, intellectual study rooms of thinkers and writers. Can we assume that her martyrdom has terminated?"*³⁴

Antigone is the embodiment of Zieliński's concept of active love. The protagonist possesses features of a romantic heroine, a tragic figure from Ibsen, together with the individuality endowed by the Nietzschean 'energy of greatness'.

Inspired by Friedrich Nietzsche, Zieliński constructs her figure on determination and consistency, characteristic of an unflinching longing to fulfil divine commands in compliance with family ties. He simultaneously reinforces the emotional dimension of the character, enriching the diapason of the feelings conveyed and the scope of expression. He strives at amplification of the protagonist's *character*, the amplification typical of the works of Victor Hugo, thus creating a *giant of devotion*.³⁵ He refers – as he personally admits – to the French *dévouement*, equipping his heroine with the following virtues: dedication, commitment, self-sacrifice, and acceptance of an offering. This places his Antigone among other heroes whose conduct:

*"Takes us to an obsolete land, where everything seems to be so lofty in comparison with mundane life."*³⁶

The use of pathos and rhetoric is responsible for the effect. Zieliński reminds us however, that

*"The rhetoric sang the lullaby over the cradle of a newly born French language, setting the path for its development through the ages. With Victor Hugo as the best representative of its evolution. Hugo a romantic? Perhaps. The necessary result of this imminent development was Hugo's incorporation of rhetorical elements into his works, a phenomenon found neither in Byron nor Uhland. Was it, then, rhetoric which diminished Hugo? – Definitely not: it was Hugo who elevated rhetoric."*³⁷

The translator equipped his heroine with a tender sentiment. The feeling evoked by gorgeous protagonists of Victor Hugo's dramas, read in his childhood. From that position, he defended his concept of Antigone and warned the sceptical:

"Dear reader, please do not attempt to overwhelm me with your wisdom: the price is too

³⁴ ZIELIŃSKI, "Antygona", 7.

³⁵ ZIELIŃSKI, "W hołdzie Wiktorowi Hugo" ["A Tribute to Victor Hugo"], *Gazeta Polska* [Polish Gazette] 183 (1935).

³⁶ ZIELIŃSKI.

³⁷ ZIELIŃSKI.

high to pay. 'Childish', indeed, but this nine-year-old boy, already mentioned, still lives in me, and I have no intention whatsoever of expelling him."³⁸

Additionally, Henry Ibsen's dramaturgy had its contribution to the overall outline of characters depicted in ancient drama. Zieliński aims at introducing a codified structure of a literary character. He tries to provide a picture of emotional development. He puts strong emphasis on Antigone's emotional reactions. The dialogues are strongly characterised by emotional rejoinders.

Another instance of Ibsen's influence on Zieliński's works is:

"His infatuation with great moral issues. [...] together with his demand for the Idea to exceed the mundane reality and the consequences of such an attitude – the glorification of the moral and social functions of a drama."³⁹

Zieliński, in his translations of Sophocles' tragedies, refers to symbolism with obvious Christian connotations, thus introducing a number of alternations, completions and amplifications especially in fragments resulting from illumination or which are the expression of the epiphany. In his attempt to bring the tragedy closer to the religious and aesthetic sense of the modern spectator, Zieliński extended the original by 10-11% without any hesitation.⁴⁰ Some of the soliloquies increased even by one and a half.

Zieliński uses the words 'love', 'sin' and 'fate' in a meaning entirely different from the moral awareness of an ancient Greek. Their understanding is reduced to a single meaning, so far from the variety typical for the perceptive system of the ancients.

The characters address 'god', and in some instances when the original does not allow this, they summon their gods. The world of drama's idea is a space filled with god's will and grace with strict laws of prohibition lurking above it. The truth is the sanction. Every offence deserves god's punishment. Hell as a penalty suggests a medieval provenance of its visualisation. The characters are referred to as 'brothers'. The good news is being cited together with the new word and the testimony of truth, including some etymological connections of a religious perception, through the reference to the Ark of Covenant, the Old and New Testament.

Zieliński emphasises the meaning of the terms used through capitalisation and spacing. He relies on archaic phraseology with its conspicuous poetic and literary provenance.

There are two examples which I find especially meaningful in this context. And these

³⁸ ZIELIŃSKI.

³⁹ TERLECKI, 109.

⁴⁰ W. N. JARCHO, "F. F. ZIELIŃSKI – pieriewodczik Sophokla" ["T. Zieliński – The Translator of Sophocles"] in *Sophokl, Dramy. W pieriewodie F. F. Zielinskogo* [Sophocles, *Tragedies*. Translated by T. ZIELIŃSKI]. Edition prepared by M. L. KASPAROV and W. N. JARCHO, *Litieraturnyje pamiatniki* [The Monuments of Literature] (Moscow: "Nauka", 1990). I am extremely grateful to Prof. Dr. Michael Von Albrecht for recommendation of a new edition of Tadeusz Zieliński's translation.

are: the use of the word 'treasure' and the application of a 'goblet' metaphor.

The word 'treasure' appears in fragments regarded by Zieliński as ones marked by the prophetic spirit of the ancient author, foreseeing the truths revealed by the Christian God. He adds some emotional emphasis to the term by supplying it with adjectives, e.g., "hidden treasure", "covered treasure". Consequently, Zieliński's translation of the farewell scene between Antigone and Ismene allows the reader to comprehend the mystery of Antigone's death and the love message included in her sacrifice:

*"Oh no, don't leave me with my dream! Let this peril erupt; 'tis is not in my power, believe me/to thwart the hidden treasure of my death."*⁴¹

We should commence the interpretation of the 'goblet' metaphor with the image of Antigone entering the stage. The heroine, all in mourning, appears on stage carrying a small urn in her hands. The urn becomes a symbol of the metaphysical sphere of the drama. The appearance of phrases such as the "goblet of harm", "goblet of bitterness", "goblet of humility", "goblet of repentance", "goblet of honor" or "goblet of word" point to connections with the world of Christian values. The metaphors of a 'cup', a 'goblet', or 'bowl' become more or less obvious reminiscence of the Holy Grail. I cannot resist a suggestion that the metaphor appears because of Zieliński's fascination with *Parsifal* by Wagner. The translator regarded this piece of work as the top achievement of the German composer, and described it as the source of his metaphysical admiration. Zieliński is an aesthete and a humanist whose fascinations arise from contact with artistic beauty.

The metaphor discussed gains a complex interpretation in Zieliński's translation of *Antigone*. Creon's words *Love thy land – and the cup of honour shall be filled here and there*⁴² refer to a righteous man rewarded for his love of homeland. The above quotation has its connotation in the world of the ancient symbolism, where a cup was generally associated with a prize. The word 'there' denotes the mystical character of this prize. The cup can be identified with justice, a prize or punishment. The protagonist's honour no longer depends on the judgment of his countrymen, who are mortal. It is only God's will which enables him to rejoice in his glory. The metaphor used in Zieliński's translation allows us to approach the ultimate mystery relating to eternal life evoked by the symbol of the Holy Cup with its complex Hebrew, Greek and Christian provenance.

Another example of this metaphor is Antigone and her inability to comprehend the reasons behind her punishment. She perceives her deed as a religious act. She is willing to accept her mistake and redeem it with her suffering, provided the king's ban on honouring Polynices with a funeral finds recognition in the gods' eyes. Her words in Zieliński's

⁴¹ SOFOKL, *Antygona* [Sophocles, *Antigone*] in Sofokl, *Dramy* [Sophocles, *Tragedies*], Vol. 2, 360. Prologue.

⁴² SOFOKL, *Antygona* [Sophocles, *Antigone*] In Sofokl, *Dramy* [Sophocles, *Tragedies*], Vol. 2, 364, a. 1, Sc. 2.

translation acquire new meanings through the use of the metaphor:

"But if the sin is with my judges forbidding the decent funeral, I could wish them no fuller measure of evil than they, on their part, wrongfully inflict on me. / If the blame is on you – accept this cup of sorrow as my legacy."⁴³

The translator brings in the imagery of the cup of sorrow, which represents traditionally a Christian martyr's death. This complex metaphor depicts the goblet of God's judgment over the nation punished for all its wrongdoings.⁴⁴ The application of this metaphor contributes to the majestic character of the scene, paralleling it with Christian perception. The translator's aim was to envelop the reader in the mystic atmosphere prevailing in the entire scene.

Zieliński strives to achieve a poetic reinforcement of the epiphany. Consequently, he attains a motif including

"[...] the meaning of a romantic, mystic and existential enlightenment, determining the type of individual revelation of the universal order, direct vision of the supernatural and super-sensational essence, the invariable substance, or heart of the matter; the approach was possible because of trespassing on the borders of experience – whether as a result of an ecstatic elevation of the 'delighted' subject, or as a transcendence entering the existential domain."⁴⁵

This technique triumphs in soliloquies, lyrical dialogues, but above all in lyrically orchestral parts performed by the Chorus. Probably the Chorus's song in the Parodos provides the most intelligible example of this technique. Zieliński extends it significantly, resigning from the part of Chorus Leader. The song is filled with a lyrical element. The translator adorns it with complex musical and rhythmical ornaments, and introduces new symbolic form. The Eagle, the Dragon, Victory, and the Prize of Merriment, which accompany the Sun and constitute the leading motif. The apostrophe is meant for Dionysus, whereas the only god entrusts the state to Creon's hands.

This configuration is elucidated in a philosophical poem *Vince Sol!*,⁴⁶ written by Zieliński under the influence of Friedrich Nietzsche's *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*.

In his work, Zieliński presents rules for self-improvement as the *Reborn* – similar to the *Übermensch* – and the *preparer* performing his service for the idea defined as 'Slavic

⁴³ SOFOKL, *Antygona* [Sophocles, *Antigone*] In Sofokl, *Dramy* [Sophocles, *Tragedies*], Vol. 2, 399, a. 4, Sc. 2.

⁴⁴ DOROTHEA FORSTER OSB, *Świat symboliki chrześcijańskiej* [The World of Christian Symbolics], translated and prepared by W. ZAKRZEWSKA, P. PACHCIAREK, R. TURZYŃSKI. The choice of plates and commentary by T. Łozińska, 419–420 (Warsaw: Pax, 1990).

⁴⁵ RYSZARD NYCZ, "Poetyka epifanii a modernizm (od Norwida do Leśmiana) [The Poetics of Epiphany and Modernism (from Norwid to Leśmian)]." *Teksty Drugie* [Second Texts] 4 (1996): 21.

⁴⁶ ZIELIŃSKI, "Vince Sol! Ekskurs sied'moj [Vince Sol! Excursion 7]" in *Iz żyzni idiej. Nauczno-popularnyje stati* [From the Life of Ideas. Scholarly and Popular Studies] Vol. 2, *Driewnij mir i my* [We and The Ancient World] 303–336 (St Petersburg, 1905).

renaissance of antiquity'. According to Zieliński, Slavic spirituality is being initiated into the world of ancient truths and values. Participating in the wisdom makes it possible to influence moral sensitivity and religiosity, allowing spirituality to acquire the revealed truths of Christianity. The treasures of the ancient spiritual culture defeat phantoms suppressing Slavic sensitivity and intellect. The invincible Sun triumphs. This solar symbol has vast connotations with antiquity and early Christianity. The Sun as the embodiment of Zeus rather than Apollo disperses the darkness of ignorance. The final suggestion, referring to the Christian idea of the invincible Sun, is elaborated through references to the role of Helios in the religion of nature. The masculine element embodied in the Helios figure purifying the world of all the scum becomes an epitome of triumphant love. A number of hints suggest that Helios is represented as Christ in the poem. The whole work – as the title implies – seems to be the forerunner of Christian victory. Christ's Mother occupies a significant role in it. The interpretation of the Dionysus figure does not conflict with the meaning of the whole entity. Darkness is the domain of the god, ruled by intuition. He and Demeter reveal the secrets of life after death, anticipating the good news. Dionysus unites heaven and earth.

Zieliński's poetics of epiphany are best expressed in the two mournful parts of *Antigone* and *Creon*. The cry of the heroine and deuteragonist prevail over the whole work. *Antigone* and *Creon* represent two opposing arguments within the context of this dramatic conflict. Zieliński treats them as figures of Nietzschean origin. She possesses this 'energy of greatness' whereas he is a tragic hero of the will. Both parts are composed by the translator so as to reflect the genuine form of *amoibaion*, with emphasis on dramaturgical function integrating the Chorus with the internal action. *Antigone's* lines reflect a tragic complaint. *Creon's* lines extend *the commos*. Both parts include numerous artistic devices borrowed from the neo-Romantic rhetoric of ecstasy, each of them using a different scale and tone. The immense lament of *Antigone* is juxtaposed with the masculine whining of *Creon's* soul. The whole weight of *Antigone's* lines relies on an aria developed with virtuosity in the farewell scene.

The deuteragonist's part is also impressive. The skilfulness of the translator is demonstrated in the overwhelming metrical and rhythmical structure, reflected in an unusual form of versification and graphic design. Zieliński implements two symbolic orders derived from a spiritual repository of Christianity and antiquity. *Creon* affectionately sings

"Come to me my fate!	Supreme grace
The marvellous gift	bring to me –
The Judgment Day of mine	Oh please, do arrive,
Let me not see	tomorrow's dawn." ⁴⁷

⁴⁷ SOFOKL, *Antygona*, [Sophocles, *Antigone*] In SOFOKL, *Dramy* [Sophocles, *Tragedies*], Vol. 2. 417, Exo-

The theatrical matter, in this fragment, is irreversibly connected with the words and music. The accompanying music gradually evolves from a march into a passionate cry to become a funeral march eventually. The stage is illuminated with torchlight. The broken body of Queen Eurydice crowning the altar emerges out of the stage enveloped in a crimson glow. Haemon's body on the bier complements the composition, bearing obvious signs of Wagnerian stylistics.

The elaboration of Zieliński's artistic strategy should be linked with the 'love message' addressed to the modern world, which constantly re-appears in his works. He tried to determine subsequent incarnations of Sophocles' epiphanies, through his personalised vision of civilisation's mission inherent in ancient drama. His thoughts and affection were drawn to Anglo-German neo-humanism, pointing to the *prophetic nature* of Johann Wolfgang Goethe's works. There, Zieliński found the revelation of a religious *line of eternal femininity*,⁴⁸ represented in the figures of Mother Earth, Demeter, Isis, the Grand Idaean Mother, and Diana of Ephesus. The above assumptions served him as the basis for comparisons between Mary and Helen, Marine Isis, Alcmene, Thetis and Niobe. In the end, it was Mary, Jesus' Mother, whom he regarded as the best representation of the *line of eternal femininity*. He perceived Faustus as the epitome of an erratic humanity, humanity whose only hope is set in the *eternal love* coaxed by Margaret – the greatest *Una Penitentium* – humbling herself at the feet of the Virgin Mary pleading for mercy in the name of a sinner.⁴⁹ Such interpretation enables him to call the drama *a cosmic poem*.⁵⁰ The conclusion, ending the second part of *Faustus*, was the main source of Zieliński's inspiration. He was strongly affected by the beauty of the scene presenting the *miracle of the roses*.⁵¹ Under its influence, he formulated an appeal to a future Slavic poet, following Goethe's imagery in order to create a Slavic *Super-Faustus*.

Zieliński's *Ancient Christianity* is presented thorough interpretation of his 'message of love'. It is, however, an issue too broad to deal with right now.

In conclusion, I would like to add that Tadeusz Zieliński undertook his missionary activity in the name of the ideals propagated in his works. Having gained a scholarly and artistic certainty about the permanent and universal character of the *educational ideal* of ancient times, Zieliński wanted to represent it in his artistic activities within European culture, especially in Russia and Poland. He became involved in the movement of spiritual renewal taking place in Europe in the 1920s and '30s. He participated in the Cultural

dos, Sc. 4.

⁴⁸ ZIELIŃSKI, *Chrześcijaństwo antyczne* [Ancient Christianity], 578.

⁴⁹ ZIELIŃSKI, *Chrześcijaństwo antyczne* [Ancient Christianity], 579-580.

⁵⁰ ZIELIŃSKI, *Chrześcijaństwo antyczne* [Ancient Christianity], 579.

⁵¹ *Faust Goethego tragedyi część druga*, przekład E. ZEGADŁOWICZ... [Goethe's *Faustus. The Second Part of Tragedie*. Translated by E. ZEGADŁOWICZ], v. 7504-7528 (Wadowice: Nakład Fr. Foltina, 1927).

Union-Kulturbund and published in "Tatwelt. Zeitschrift zur Erneuerung des Geisteslebens" under the auspices of the Euckenbund. His views on education and activity were connected with the German pedagogics of the Reformpädagogik reform (1890-1933). What I find especially significant is his deep involvement in the reforms of the theatre and opera in Russia and Poland, thus laying the foundations of theatre study in Russia.

Zieliński described himself as the practitioner of the *ideological theory of culture*.⁵² He was preoccupied with the shape of European culture and the preservation of values contributing to the European identity. His opinions included in *The Development of Spiritual Culture* seem to be fairly symptomatic:

"Stick to antiquity [...] Stick to Christianity [...] Stick to your national identity [...] This is the guidepost of our culture; under its auspices it shall be victorious."⁵³

He referred to philologists possessing artistic souls as the guardians of those values.

It seemed possible to realise modern education, i.e., modern *paideia*, mainly because of those new translations of Sophocles' tragedies striving to appeal to our sensitivity. And that is the view expressed by a polymath, philosopher, classical philologist, and specialist in religious studies, awarded an honorary doctorate by the University in Athens, an honorary citizen of Delphi, honoured with the Phoenix Medal.

Translated by Marzena Kopiecke

⁵² ZIELIŃSKI, "Wstęp" ["Preface"] in Zieliński, *Historia kultury antycznej. W zwięzłym wykładzie* [*History of Ancient Culture. In a Concise Lecture*], *passim*.

⁵³ ZIELIŃSKI, "Rozwój kultury duchowej [The Development of Spiritual Culture]", 71/72.

DMITRY TRUBOTCHKIN

ANCIENT DRAMA IN POST-REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA (1918-1928)
AND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE XXIst CENTURY

The two periods given in the title of this paper mark the only years (15 in all) when ancient dramas were regularly staged in Moscow and St Petersburg (Russia). In my paper I would like not only to register what practitioners did and what scholars or critics wrote about them. I would like to see more: what they could not do and what they could not help doing 80 years ago and now. This immediately draws our attention to the question of stereotypes.

In both periods in Russia we find two major stereotypes in the approach to ancient classics: (1) the proper ancient style of acting is monumental or statuesque (Hegel's definition in his 'Lectures on aesthetics' fits very well here: he defined the ancient actor simply as a speaking statue); (2) ancient drama is a ritual action. In the period after 1917, the former predominated; in the present-day period, it is the latter.

These two ideas are widespread, and many of us will refuse to consider them as pure stereotypes in any negative sense, but it is not my intention to start a discussion of the terms. I think it is just important to note: at the starting-points of my periods it was generally agreed that the true feeling of 'monumental style' and 'ritual drama' was lost; and a director who decided to produce an ancient drama was faced with the question, 'how to regain monumentality and ritual in order to keep the rules of the genre'. In Russian theatre this has always been a question closer to ancient drama, than the question 'what is the idea of the text?'

It was important that the period of regular productions of ancient classics started in opera theatre in 1895. It was the *Oresteia* by Taneev, and the connection of this opera with theatre studies was very clear: Taneev's father was the author of the first Russian monograph on Greek classical tragedy in 1871. That performance gave the very first context to the ancient classics: the context of imperial theatre. *Oresteia* was produced in the Mariinsky Theatre in St Petersburg with its gorgeous chandeliers, rich theatre painting, archetypal opera costumes, and beautiful voices; the audience saw an apogee of imperial neo-classicist monumentality with a slight touch of modernism.

In the opposite part of the spectrum we find the avant-garde production of Richard Strauss' *Electra* by Meyerhold in 1912 – again in the Mariinsky Theatre. Meyerhold wanted to break down a sleepy harmony of a pseudo-classical universe, and for this experience he was hated by critics, officials, and some people in the art world. In one newspaper there

was a satirical picture of *Electra* immediately after the premiere: Hofmannsthal, Strauss, and Meyerhold torture Electra, Sophocles stands near her lamenting her fate. A famous Russian poet-symbolist Alexander Blok wrote on his note-pad: “*Why do I hate Meyerhold: because in his Electra the slaves run in zig-zags*”.

Electra was the only ancient production by Meyerhold. He had dreamed of productions of ancient classics since 1904. But we know only of his exercises on *Antigone* in his studio in 1913-1916. The pictures of those exercises show a different interpretation of a statuesque style which avoided museum monumentality: in fact, Meyerhold used exercises in *plastique animée* which were very well known in Europe, for instance, from the work by Adolph Appia in his theatre. Those exercises and other kinds of special training ended in nothing, but in Meyerhold's approach his contemporaries felt a clear understanding of a distance between us and the Greek classics, and the idea that we needed a school of ancient drama to bridge this distance. In his life Meyerhold never felt that he had already crossed it.

These two points of the spectrum are important for understanding the situation of 1917-1918, when most theatre practitioners felt that stereotypes must be overcome, which was in absolute accordance with the official ideology. Artistic practice was very much supported by the idea that the victorious proletarians must inherit all the previous history of the arts, including its very classics. This kind of ideology lived well with the view that ‘we are ourselves Sophocleses and Aristophaneses’.

In 1917-1918 there arose a sharp controversy between so-called ‘academics’ and avant-garde theatre people – it was all about ancient drama. The word ‘academic’ had a few different meanings in Russian, but in all cases it was odious to the avant-garde. In terms of the interpretation of the classics, it meant any historical-reconstructive approach to classical texts. All academics were called, contemptuously, just ‘acs’ in Russian. There was always a risk of being called an ‘ac’ – that is, a ‘museum rat’ or ‘dusty antiquary’ – if you tried any kind of historical approach in your performance.

At the opening of the theatre named ‘The Workshop of the Eccentric Actor’ in 1922 there was a fight between ‘acs’ and their new opponents. (I work at the Theatre Academy myself, so I was very proud to find out after an investigation that my colleagues, academics, were not at all brought to shame during that fight, in spite of the fact that among ‘new’ actors there were a lot of circus performers). In this kind of situation it was very difficult to work with the classics and not to become an ‘ac’. Adrian Piotrovsky started out as a critic of ‘academicism’ from the Bolshevik positions, but one day he himself was called an ‘ac’ for his philological interest in classical texts.

But why were the polemics that sharp? Just because the two sides had something in common. It was the idea of a Russian or Slavic renaissance through the ancient classics: the polemics were about interpretations and methods. Most of the activities in the field of

ancient drama were influenced by this idea. Two persons should be named as its originators: Thaddeus Zelinsky – a historian and philologist, very well known in Europe – and Viacheslav Ivanov – a famous poet and theorist of symbolism. The idea of a Slavic renaissance through the classics was adopted by most of their pupils, whether ‘red’ or ‘white’ in their political colour.

Zelinsky thought and proclaimed that the hidden spirit of Russian culture – which would be disclosed soon – was the spirit of the reborn ancient classics. They wanted to disclose this hidden spirit by means of mass performances. Why mass performances? – Because Zelinsky and Ivanov thought this task belonged to the whole Russian nation, not to individual academics or directors. In his dreams of the ‘Russian artistic soul’, Ivanov saw the country covered by orchestras and thymeles and dancing choruses here and there.

In his introduction to the *Acharnians*, Adrian Piotrovsky wrote: “*Sophocles and Aristophanes cannot have any historical value: they are either dead or alive, like our contemporaries, criticised or appraised... After the Italian Renaissance, after Winckelmann, under the sentimental humanitarian rubbish of the philology of the XIXth century, our generation was allowed to see a simple and elevated socio-religious basis of the art of classical Athens – our antiquity.*”

St Petersburg theatre scholars in 1918-1930 widely used a method of performance reconstruction, and Piotrovsky thought this method would help proletarians understand their mission in developing new theatre. Greek classical theatre – as a state institution, as a socially progressive phenomenon, as choral experience, and as highly professional theatre in what concerns the actors’ skill – this was the ideal of the new theatre and a dream of those who were at the origin of Russian mass performances.

As usually happens with such grandiose projects based on wishful thinking, the aim was not attained, but important steps were made. Mass performances developed a taste for open spaces, the valuable understanding that to interpret the existing space theatrically is sometimes more suggestive and effective than to build a new space from scratch.

In July 1920, there was a festival at the opening of the Island of Rest. For this, a wooden cavea was built, based on the model of the ancient *theatron*. It was a semi-circular *cavea*, which stood in front of a tiny island surrounded by water, and there were two bridges to link the spectators with the island and its stage. On the stairway under the highest terrace of the Letny Garden, not far from the wooden theatre, in 1923 they performed *Hippolytus* by Euripides, with the chorus made up of the officers from the “political department of the military commissioner’s office of the Red Army”: quite an amazing choice.

It is impossible here to mention all mass performances or theatre performances of that period. But what I think is important to mention is that at the end of this period, 1926-1927, we were about to have two ancient trilogies in Moscow within one theatre season, by two Moscow Art Theatres, both directed by the same director – Valentin Smyshliaev.

The Moscow Art Theatre for nearly three years rehearsed the *Prometheus* trilogy in masks designed by Alexey Rybnikov. There were many totally new things about this production for the Moscow Art Theatre, including a director from a different theatre – for the first and the last time. During that long period of rehearsals, the performance was just tortured, as theatre people would say, and Stanislavsky decided they must stop it. On the other hand, Moscow Art Theatre the Second (this theatre developed from the First Studio of the Moscow Art Theatre) produced *Oresteia*, and this production became the ‘last bird’ of that astonishingly productive period.

Thus, at the end of the first period, we find that ancient Greek drama was thought to be difficult, but very well-fitted to repertoire theatres, on condition they went through the school of ancient theatre. Stanislavsky and Nemirovitch wanted such a school for their theatre, that is why they invited an avant-garde director from outside.

In the last five years since the beginning of the third millennium, a taste for working with the ancient classics has been quite strong in Russian theatre, because ancient drama has now found its solid place only in the niche of experiment. There is no big commercial theatre in Russia which is ready to perform an ancient drama as a repertoire play. There are a few theatre centres with the reputation of theatre labs: they work on the Greek and Roman classics regularly. There are also a few young directors that have gained public success with their performances based on ancient drama. Two of them might be known internationally: Sergey Prikotenko from St Petersburg with his *Oedipus* (2001), and Nikolai Roshchin from Moscow with his *Philoctetes* (2004).

Again, the search for a school of ancient theatre is common in this period. But the difference is that the international factor has become very important, that is, the performances and training by directors who come to Russia for international theatre festivals and theatre projects. Last year we saw Theodoros Terzopoulos and Wlodimierz Staniewski working in the Meyerhold Centre (Moscow). This centre, led by Valery Fokin, in 2003 launched a two-year ‘Ancient programme’ – an ‘artistic research project’, as Fokin puts it, with the idea of combining theatre school, experimental laboratory, and professional theatre company. At the end of the programme in the autumn of 2004, we saw *Oedipus* directed by Alexei Levinsky, *Persae* by Theodoros Terzopoulos, and *Philoctetes* by Nikolai Roshchin.

I put together some thoughts on the results of this programme in the last issue of *Parados* (Vol. 6, 2005). That is why I would like to concentrate on another ‘ancient programme’. In 2005 we had an experimental term in the Russian Academy of Theatre Arts GITIS (this is the leading theatre institution in Russia) to move towards ancient drama. We had not had any specialised practical programmes on ancient classics in our institution before.

During our experiment, young actors, directors, and set designers worked together on the episodes from ancient dramas. They had special lectures on ancient performance,

while their regular classes in scenography and acting went on. At the end of the term they were supposed to produce episodes from ancient dramas – Greek or Roman. Interestingly, this was done in a workshop headed by the director of a theatre called ‘School of Modern Drama’.

The works by young set designers particularly showed well some common points in the contemporary understanding of how this should be done, working with ancient drama in theatre. They worked separately, but two ideas were common among them: (1) the space of a regular proscenium theatre is not good for ancient drama; (2) today there must be few spectators for ancient drama – and this does not necessarily mean a chamber theatre: this means transformation of a regular theatre.

The students suggested a few different solutions.

(1) Small room for action, but vast surrounding space: (a) for *Oedipus*, a student put a labyrinth on the stage to show that a human being is less significant than the space; (b) another student, designing *Oedipus* too, moved spectators on to the stage, so the hall for spectators now served as the stage, and the regular seats for spectators were interpreted as an element of set design: the seats were all covered by cloth, as if the performance have not yet begun – this was meant to give the impression of pestilence around;

(2) Another designer, for Aristophanes’ *Clouds*, felt it necessary to move all the spectators on to the stage and put them in the place of archaeological excavations, where there must not be places for spectators at all: she wanted to convey a feeling that the spectators are not meant to be there, but they were there – this was the purpose.

(3) A special case was *Prometheus*. The process of rehearsals was most difficult with *Prometheus*: students tried different ideas, but nothing worked, the text did not sound right, and the actors could not feel any human dimension of the heroes. Then in my the lecture I suggested that they should think of a difference – or a distance – between the old Titan Prometheus and a new Olympian god Hermes, and the distance – not similarity – between us and Prometheus. In the end it all worked, and this was one of the most impressive episodes of the whole programme. They just expressed visually the difference in the scale between these two figures through the cinema projection of a vast head of Prometheus, who talked to a real Hermes who was ten times smaller than Prometheus: spectators started to listen to the words with great attention after we had done this simple thing.

During this programme I noticed many interesting points which I thought were significant for the Russian interpretations of Greek tragedy. For instance, in Russian theatre you often find that tragedy has a comic beginning, and a director thinks it is important to show a transformation of a comic universe into a tragic universe. This was in the trilogy of *Prometheus* at the Moscow Art Theatre in 1926 – the trilogy started with a comic pantomime named *Prometheus the Stealer of Fire*; *Oedipus* by Prikotenko in 2001 started with a pantomime when actors played with a phallic symbol, anticipating the fates of Oedipus.

At the beginning of the 'Ancient programme' at my Theatre Academy, students wanted to make pantomimic parodies on Greek myths first: to get rid of the weight of the classics before they started the tragedy – this is how they explained their wish for pantomime. This is quite the opposite of the idea of the satyr play which comes after tragedy.

But there is a more essential similarity between the two periods under consideration. Now, as around 1917, theatre feels that the distance between us and classical theatre becomes a positive factor. This is the feeling that you cannot 'domesticate' or 'tame' classics by any neo-classicist or post-classicist vision. This is a difficult but a very creative feeling, I think: ancient classics cannot be 'domesticated'; it is contemporary theatre that has to find a way to correspond to its measures; it is not the classics that have to be measured or tailored to meet the needs of contemporary theatre. This feeling, as was the case back in the 1920s, is now becoming an important factor in making good productions in Russia.

NURITH YAARI

GREEK TRAGEDY ON THE ISRAELI STAGE

Throughout the history of Jewish culture, theatre, as art and institution, has functioned in the tension between interdiction and fascination. A quick historical survey reveals the lack of Jewish theatrical tradition. Jewish Theatre is in fact an oxymoron according to the second commandment's interdiction against any kind of representation: Deuteronomy 5: 7 and 27: 16 condemns anyone who creates an idol or a mask, and Psalms 1: 1 condemns anyone who attends a "feast of fools". Moreover, the repeated discussions and admonitions in the Talmud and the Midrashic literature resulted in a lack of Jewish definable theatrical tradition up to the middle of the 19th century.

There are a few exceptions: the *Exagoge* written in Greek by an Alexandrian Jew in the second century BCE, and the few plays written in Hebrew through the ages: such as *The Comedy of Marriage* written by Yehuda Leone de Sommi Porta Leone in Mantua in 1565, *The Foundation of the World* written by Moshe Zakutto in the 1660 in Italy, *Prisoners of Hope* written in Amsterdam in 1667 by Yosef Felix Penso della Vega, and three allegorical plays written by Moshe Haim Lutzatto between 1727 and 1743, but these do not constitute a theatrical tradition. According to the customary habits of those times, it is probable that these plays were written for reading only; we have no documentation suggesting that the plays were ever performed. If there was any practical-theatrical tradition it was attached to the 'PurimSpiel', the short satirical sketches, performed by young rabbinical students as part of the Jewish 'fools' day' - Purim. So, we have to wait until the middle of the 19th century to witness the establishment of a Yiddish theatre in Eastern Europe and to the end of the 19th century to witness the birth of Modern Hebrew literature and drama. And since then we have been seeing the establishment of parallel forms of drama differentiated by time, space, and language: Jewish drama (in many languages, and in many places), Hebrew drama (one language, many places), and finally with the establishment of the State - Israeli drama (one language, one place). But this counts only for the drama. As for a theatrical tradition - it is true that by the end of the 19th century and in the first decades of the 20th century there were important Jewish theatre practitioners - actors, directors and stage-designers - who flourished in their art and contributed to the theatre traditions in their own countries, but it was too short: either they went to America and contributed to the development of Broadway and Hollywood, or they did not survive the Second World War.

Two formal dates mark the beginning of the Hebrew-Israeli theatrical tradition:

1. The Birth of the Hebrew theatre: The performance of *The Dybbuk* in Hebrew, in Moscow, in 1921, by 'Habima', one of the many studio groups organised under the direction of Stanislavski; *The Dybbuk* directed by the Armenian director Vakhtangov (who did not understand the language used by his actors...) became the trademark of Habima for many years to come. In 1931 part of the Habima group settled in Israel and later became Israel's National Theatre.¹

2. The Birth of the Israeli Theatre: The performance of *He who went into the Fields* written by Moshe Shamir and directed by Yossef Milo at the 'Cameri' Theatre premiered on 31 May 1948, a few days after the declaration of the creation of the State of Israel and the beginning of the war of independence.²

Between these two dates, 15 months before the Cameri production, on 9 February 1947, the first performance of an ancient Greek drama in Hebrew premiered on the stage of the Habima Theatre in Tel Aviv, and the play chosen was none other than *Oedipus Tyrannus*. This first Hebrew *Oedipus Tyrannus* was directed by the British director Tyron Guthrie against a very tumultuous background: the British army had just left Palestine, and Arab and Jewish troops carried out attacks on each other to gain control of the area.

The actors who played Oedipus, Jocasta, Creon, and Tiresias were the actors of Habima, the disciples of the Stanislavski-Vakhtangov who immigrated to Israel in 1936 and founded the Habima Theatre.³ The actors who played the chorus's role were of mixed origins. The older actors were from the original Russian group and the young ones were Israeli-born actors or new immigrants, but they all had one thing in common: they were trained in the acting school founded by the Habima actors with the aim of passing on their artistic heritage. A mixture of immigrants, old and new in the country, were sitting in the theatre. There were the Israeli-born spectators, descendants of families who had lived there for centuries or sons of those who came from Eastern Europe with the first immigrations at the end of the 19th century, there were those who came from Central Europe before the Second World War, and the survivors and refugees who came to Israel after the Second World War. We would not be wrong to assume that 'foreign' was a key word, a key feeling.

¹ For the history of Habima see: EMANUEL, LEVY, *The Habima - Israel's National Theatre 1917-1977*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

² MENDEL, CP. KOHANSKY, *The Hebrew Theatre: Its First fifty Years*. (Jerusalem: Israel Universities Press, 1969).

³ For an overview of Guthrie's production see: DWORA, GUILULA, "The First Greek Drama on the Hebrew Stage: Tyron Guthrie's *Oedipus Rex*." *Theatre Research International*, (1988): 13: 2.

It seems that 'foreign-ness' was inscribed on every component of the production: *Oedipus Tyrannus* premiered in Habima 30 years after the foundation of the theatre group and 25 years after the performance of *The Dybbuk*. Taking into consideration this lapse of time, we can assume that no one in Habima saw *Oedipus Tyrannus* as a necessary component of their theatrical repertory, their theatrical identity. So why did they choose the play? Guthrie gives an answer in his autobiography *A Life in the Theatre*: "It seemed sensible to suggest a classic, but not an English Classic; something which should be as foreign to me as to Habima, but which should be of efficiently universal significance to transcend the geographical and racial differences between us and the temporal difference between all of us and the play. We agreed upon *Oedipus Rex*."⁴

Let us now look at the performance and find out if and how this double 'foreign-ness' – between director and actors and between Modern Jews and Ancient Greeks – was manifested in the choices of the director, actors, and stage-design – and define the role it played in the reception of the performance by critics and spectators.

The Translation

Guthrie, just like Vakhtangov, did not speak Hebrew, so the Habima actors who functioning as an artistic committee chose the Hebrew translation of the play – the first and only translation into Hebrew that existed at that time was the translation that the poet Shaul Tchernichovsky (Krim 1875 – Tel Aviv 1943) had made in 1929. Tchernichovsky one of the great Hebrew poets and translators who worked in the first half of the 20th century in Israel. He was fascinated by the Hellenic legacy and especially by the Hellenic ideal of beauty, as we can see from his most famous poem 'In Front of the Statue of Apollo'. Tchernichovsky translated Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and many literary and dramatic writings from the Ancient Greek legacy. His translations had a Zionist aim: to create a 'Hebrew library of national epic poems', to create a Hebrew corpus of 'the treasures of world literature'. Furthermore, Tchernichovsky was the first translator who felt obligated to the original texts he translated, and did not convert them into Judaism as did many of his contemporaries. However, many problems resulting from the historical-cultural framework of the Hebrew/Israeli theatre were reflected in this translation of *Oedipus Tyrannus*:

The Choice of the Hebrew: The fact that for centuries the Hebrew language was used for religious purposes only resulted in a lack of different layers of Hebrew, e.g., a Renaissance Hebrew, or a neo-Classical form. It is no wonder then that Tchernichovsky chose for his translation of *Oedipus Tyrannus* the highly poetic Biblical Hebrew which he fashion-

⁴ TYRON, GUTHRIE, *A Life in the Theatre*. (New York, Toronto, London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959): 259.

ned into the Greek metre. For him the only language adequate for the translation of the Ancient Greek was the biblical language serving as a bridge between the 'here and now' and the 'there and then'. As a consequence, the first Oedipus, Creon, and Jocasta, the first Chorus and the first Tiresias spoke on stage the words of the prophets. For the audience it seemed familiar yet strange and even inappropriate because of the cultural differences between the spectators and also the historical dichotomy between Jerusalem and Athens.⁵

The choice of pronunciation: Tchernichovsky's translation was intended for reading only, so when the Habima actors decided to use it for the stage they were faced with yet another serious problem. The Hebrew Tchernichovsky chose in 1929 followed the Ashkenazi pronunciation, the kind used in Eastern Europe for Jewish prayers. This accent was very different from the Sephardic pronunciation chosen by Eliezer Ben Yehuda, the inventor of the Modern Hebrew Language in 1896. It was clear that Habima could not use the translation as it was, so a young modernist poet-translator, Avraham Shlonski, was chosen to re-work the translation. Shlonski did not know Greek, but he could change the pronunciation and adjust the metre and the rhythm of the verses. By one of the miracles that sometimes happen in the theatre, *Oedipus Tyrannus* became, according to the critics, "a celebration for the Modern Hebrew language", "A great achievement for the Hebrew language as it offers the rich colours of the Greek original in a fantastic Hebrew musicality".

The Greek Image on stage: stage design, costumes and mise-en-scène

The few photos of *Oedipus Tyrannus* show that the visual image of the performance followed the 'Greco-Roman' model of Greece that reigned over the stages of Europe at the time. The stage was simple yet monumental. Large stairs lead to long curtains hung towards the back of the stage. The curtains suggested an entrance to the palace.⁶

The costumes were also designed according to a Greco-Roman model: a coloured gown (red for Oedipus, blue for Creon) worn over a basic white tunic (a sort of *chiton*). In all the costumes there was a huge quantity of cloth to create the effect of the classical folds which were attached to a shoulder by a pin: for the men on the left shoulder, for Jocasta on the right. The wigs were stylised, with classical curls. Black curls for the young, white for the

⁵ A funny story recounted by Orna Porat, an actress of German origin who acted in *Electra* in 1964, could describe the cultural differences among the spectators. In 1964 Oran Porat was a new immigrant and the Hebrew text of the Sophoclean tragedy, although translated from the English, was foreign to her. So she recorded her text of *Electra* and memorised it by heart while driving to the theatre. One day she gave a lift to a Yemenite woman who worked at her house. The woman listened quietly to the recording, her face shining, finally before getting out of the car she said: "You read the Bible beautifully".

⁶ In passing, I would like to say that for years, whenever a Greek tragedy was performed in Israel, we had on stage the following components: some circular form... several broken columns... stairs leading to a curtained entrance... peplum-wearing actors etc.

old. Black beards for Oedipus and Creon, white beards for the Chorus, Tiresias, the priest, and the old shepherd.

The *mise-en-scène* was characterised by two important choices: the first concerned the Chorus. Guthrie broke the choral unity of the Greek tragedy and turned its members into a group of individuals. He gave each of the members of the Chorus a specific personal characteristic, and divided the lines between them. The second was the use of tableaux. Critics and spectators were impressed by the supplication tableau in the opening scene, where the priest and suppliants were lying over the stairs, while Oedipus appeared on the stairs above them.

The Acting Style in the production was characterised by a *mélange* of Stanislavski's realistic acting methods and the expressionism of Vakhtangov. The actors spoke in mixed accents – the old actors spoke with a heavy Russian accent which gave the text a specific sound and rhythm recognised by all the spectators as the Habima acting accent, while the young actors spoke with an Israeli accent.⁷

Another important component in the production was the use of Music and vocal expressions. According to the critics, Guthrie orchestrated an impressive symphony of voices, changing from direct talking to recitatives, from recounting to praying, from dialogue to lyrics. They also praised the harmony of the voices and its contribution to the beautiful and meaningful text.

The Reception

The first performance of *Oedipus Tyrannus* turned out to be a very important event. But can we define the event as Theatrical? Artistic? Performative? No. By any standards this was a historic event. The theatre had become a meeting-place between Jerusalem and Athens, a meeting-place between opposites. In their reviews, the critics described at length the differences between the two cultures and highlighted the play and its meaning as to the performative-theatrical aspects of the performance. In reading the critics, it becomes evident that the event was taking place in the auditorium and not between the stage and auditorium. One of the critics defined the performance as "*reconciliation between the Hebrew culture and the Greek culture after many generations of conflict*". Another critic underlined the reconciliation between the British director, a representative of the British Mandate, and the Israeli actors: "*A work of Art combining Hebrew actors, stage designer and music composer with a foreign director whose government's policy is also antagonistic*".

⁷ It is important to note that it is exactly these Russian characteristics of Habima acting that let a young director and several young actors found in 1942 a new theatre – the 'Cameri' Theatre, where Hebrew was spoken with an Israeli accent and the acting was young and modern.

to us". Another critic, after a long eulogy of the performance, the director, the actors, the stage design, wrote: "In all the glorious Classical literature, where we find the exact definition of man's suffering, there is no giant like the prophet Ezekiel, who stood against the fact that sons have to pay for the sins of their fathers."

Analysing the reception of the performance by the audience, I realised that the majority of the audience suffered from lack of knowledge of and familiarity with Greek mythology, Greek literature, Greek poetry and drama. In consequence, mythical and poetic images, allusions, dramatic and performative patterns essential to the Greek tragedy became obstacles for most of the spectators: they could not identify with the characters, they could not relate to the plot, and could not recognise themselves in it. The transmission of Greek Culture that passed on through Rome to the modern European cultures by way of the Renaissance and neo-Classicism did not travel through the Jewish culture. Greece was never the foundation myth of the Jewish culture – it was its opposite, the mirror in which Jewish cultural identity reconstructed itself as 'other'. It is no surprise, then, that *Oedipus Tyrannus* was not considered a success by most of the spectators. It was not part of their immediate culture, nor part of their historical one. They felt left out and went home feeling rejected.

While defining the traditional dichotomy between 'Jerusalem' and 'Athens' as the basic tension immanent in Western culture, Leo Strauss wrote: "All the hopes that we entertain in the midst of the confusions and dangers of the present are founded positively or negatively, directly or indirectly on the experiences of the past. Of these experiences the broadest and deepest, as far as we Western men are concerned, are indicated by the names of the two cities Jerusalem and Athens. Western man became what he is and is what he is through the coming together of biblical faith and Greek thought."⁸

I apply Strauss's definition but I take the liberty of introducing the theatre as a new important component in that definition. Strauss was a philosopher; for him, the tension between Athens and Jerusalem was exemplified through the conflict between the Greek philosophy of Socrates and the Biblical faith of the prophets. Strauss made no mention either of the Greek theatre or of Greek tragedy, nor did the others who wrote about Athens and Jerusalem. But for me, a theatre researcher and practitioner in Tel Aviv in 2005, it is evident that research into the revival and reception of ancient Greek drama in Israel can lie in the foundation of the Israeli theatrical tradition: it can lead us to a better understanding of Israeli theatre's special position between Jerusalem and Athens and even provide the emerging Israeli theatre with the origins it needs for its future growth.

⁸ STRAUSS LEO, "Jerusalem and Athens: Some preliminary Reflections." *Studies in Platonic Political Philosophy*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983): 147.

CHRYSOTHÉMIS STAMATOPOULOU-VASILAKOY

LA RÉCEPTION DU THÉÂTRE GREC ANTIQUE DANS LE BASSIN
ORIENTAL DE LA MÉDITERRANÉE AU COURS DU XIX^e SIÈCLE ET
AU DÉBUT DU XX^e

LE CAS DE SMYRNE ET D'ALEXANDRIE

L'histoire du théâtre néohellénique au cours du XIX^e siècle est solidement liée aux communautés grecques tant de Constantinople, au cœur de l'Empire ottoman, que de la zone grecophone située tout au long de la côte d'Asie Mineure, où des villes comme Kydoniais et Smyrne se distinguent par le rassemblement nombreux de populations grecques orthodoxes. Durant la période précédant la Guerre d'Indépendance grecque, le théâtre grec moderne renaît dans les Principautés Danubiennes (Bucarest, Jassy) et à Odessa, la ville de la Philiki Etaireia (société secrète grecque), faisant preuve d'une énergie particulière due au soutien théorique et pratique de la classe instruite des Phanariotes et des intellectuels qui les fréquentent.

Dès le XVIII^e siècle, le théâtre commence à se répandre dans ce milieu intellectuel comme genre littéraire conforme aux Lumières, qui avaient beaucoup investi dans sa mission pédagogique et moralisante envers l'homme de l'époque. Les Phanariotes, formés en Europe, s'occupent de théâtre sous l'influence des Lumières, en lisant au début des pièces de théâtre de dramaturges européens dans le texte original, en français, la langue dominante à l'époque, au cours des réunions de soirée, et par la suite, en traduisant en grec des œuvres de la dramaturgie occidentale (Molière, Goldoni, Métastase, Alfieri, Voltaire). Puis ils écrivent des pièces de théâtre originales, directement en grec (G. Soutsos, Iak. Rizos Neroulos, Iak. Rizos Rangavis), et ils mettent à l'épreuve leurs compétences dans des représentations amateurs, au cours des fêtes qu'ils organisent dans leurs hôtels particuliers.¹

Outre cette contribution des Phanariotes, une activité théâtrale se développe également dans les écoles grecques des régions mentionnées ci-dessus. En écho à la Révolution française, la tragédie politique et patriotique de Voltaire et d'Alfieri (ayant pour objet le tyrannicide) affirme sa présence dominante dans le répertoire des représentations scolai-

¹ DIMITRIS SPATHIS, *Ο Διαφωτισμός και το νεοελληνικό θέατρο* [Les Lumières et le théâtre grec moderne] (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 1986). Voir aussi ANNA TABAKI, *Η νεοελληνική δραματουργία και οι δυτικές της επιδράσεις (18ος-19ος αι). Μια συγκριτική προσέγγιση* [La dramaturgie néohellénique et ses influences occidentales (XVIII^e-XIX^e siècles). Une approche comparée] (2^e éd., Athènes: Ergo, 2002).

res, mais on y relève aussi des représentations basées sur des sujets inspirés de l'Antiquité grecque, d'un contenu clairement politique, qui préparent l'insurrection de 1821. Le retour au drame antique se réalise sous deux formes: par l'étude et l'enseignement des pièces des dramaturges grecs anciens et par la traduction des œuvres de la dramaturgie européenne classique proches de l'Antiquité, qui sont choisies pour être traduites précisément à cause de leur sujet.²

La première représentation théâtrale grecque de drame antique a lieu probablement avant 1805, lorsque Lambros Photiadis, alors professeur à l'Académie grecque de Bucarest, traduit l'*Hécube* d'Euripide et l'interprète sur scène avec ses étudiants. L'Académie grecque de Bucarest devient un centre important de tentatives de renouveau du théâtre grec ancien. Pendant les années 1816-1817, on y interprète des extraits de tragédies et de comédies antiques sous la direction de Stephanos Kommitas, qui avait publié à Vienne, en 1814, *Prométhée enchaîné*, *Ajax*, *Hécube*, *Le Cyclope* et *Plutus*. En 1817, de jeunes amateurs interprètent aussi des fragments de l'*Hécube* d'Euripide, d'*Oreste* d'Alfieri traduit par Iak. Rizos Rangavis, et un monologue de l'*Ajax* de Sophocle. En 1819, il est fait état de représentations sur le même sujet à Bucarest, où l'on interprète *Phèdre* de Racine (à l'Académie grecque de Bucarest), *Oreste* d'Alfieri (au palais de Ghicas) et *Hécube* au Gymnase d'Agios Savvas (à l'Académie grecque de Bucarest) et au Gymnase de Gheorghe Lazar, traduite en roumain.

À Jassy également, une représentation des *Perses* d'après l'adaptation de A. Mourouzis a probablement lieu vers 1805. Si l'on se transporte sur la côte d'Asie Mineure, à Kydoniais, ville importante, réputée pour son école grecque, on apprend que des représentations de tragédies grecques anciennes se déroulaient à huis clos, afin que les Turcs ne s'en rendent pas compte. En 1817, un savant professeur de l'école, Konstantinos Oekonomos, nous informe qu'on interprète *Hécube* d'Euripide et *Philoctète* de Sophocle, mais que la représentation des *Perses* est interdite à cause des associations d'idées que pourrait provoquer le sujet de cette pièce.

Il semble que Konstantinos Oekonomos ait eu à cœur de faire jouer *Les Perses*: à la veille de la Guerre d'Indépendance grecque, au cours d'une réunion dans le manoir du Phanariote Dimitrios Manos à Thérapia, il entraîne un de ses élèves de l'école de Kydoniais à réciter *Les Perses* dans une atmosphère d'excitation révolutionnaire.³

On constate que pendant cette période précédant la Guerre d'Indépendance, le renouveau du théâtre grec ancien est solidement lié au domaine de l'éducation. Les œuvres de la dramaturgie grecque antique sont enseignées dans les écoles et les académies grecques. Ce sont les professeurs qui traduisent les auteurs tragiques grecs anciens et ce sont eux

² CHRYSOTHÉMIS STAMATOPOULOU-VASILAKOY, *Το θέατρο στην καθ' ημάς Ανατολή: Κωνσταντινούπολη - Σμύρνη* [Le théâtre dans les communautés grecques du Proche-Orient: Constantinople et Smyrne], 36-94 (Athènes: Polytypon, 2006).

³ STAMATOPOULOU-VASILAKOY, 39-42.

également qui organisent des représentations, dirigeant leurs élèves. En ce qui concerne les sujets traités, le choix des pièces antiques n'est pas un hasard. *Hécube* et *Les Perses* se rapportent aux batailles victorieuses des Grecs contre des peuples ennemis (les Troyens, les Perses), réchauffant ainsi les espoirs d'une victoire future contre les Turcs. Oreste apparaît comme la personnification de la vengeance et du rétablissement de l'ordre moral, tandis que Philoctète représente le cri de colère des condamnés. Ainsi, pendant toute cette période, le théâtre grec ancien se trouve-t-il mis au service de la question nationale, constituant un mode d'enseignement de la vertu et de la liberté, un moyen d'encourager la renaissance nationale.⁴

Après les événements de la Guerre d'Indépendance grecque, il faudra plusieurs années aux communautés grecques de l'Empire ottoman pour se reconstituer. À partir de 1830, on commence à percevoir un nouveau mouvement d'émigration de la Grèce et des îles de la mer Égée vers Constantinople et Smyrne, ayant pour conséquence la hausse démographique des communautés grecques de ces régions. Peu à peu les Grecs dominent le commerce et la vie économique. À partir de 1856, grâce au «*Chatı Choumagioun*», décret octroyant des droits religieux et politiques aux minorités étrangères de l'Empire ottoman, la prospérité de l'Hellénisme s'amorce à Constantinople et à Smyrne, dans tous les domaines: économique, social, éducatif, culturel. Dans la vie intellectuelle de ces communautés grecques, le théâtre – professionnel, amateur et scolaire – tient une place importante et connaît un grand épanouissement jusqu'en 1922. Les recherches des dernières années ont révélé un grand nombre de troupes grecques, locales et en tournée, professionnelles et amateurs, impliquant un grand nombre d'acteurs grecs qui entretiennent des années durant les scènes théâtrales. Dans leur répertoire plutôt varié, le retour à l'Antiquité se dessine principalement avec les œuvres de la dramaturgie européenne classique traitant des sujets de l'Antiquité grecque, tandis qu'on trouve des représentations de pièces grecques antiques après les dernières décennies du XIX^e siècle. En même temps, l'Association Littéraire Grecque de Constantinople (1861-1922), l'Académie des Lettres et des Arts pour l'Hellénisme non libéré, est une institution qui contribue fortement à répandre le théâtre antique, grâce aux publications philologiques des œuvres d'auteurs grecs classiques, éditions qui s'adressent à la communauté instruite, et aussi grâce à l'organisation d'une série de conférences où les tragédies et les comédies antiques sont présentées et analysées pour le grand public.⁵

Le théâtre antique à Constantinople⁶ ayant déjà été étudié, nous prolongerons notre

⁴ STAMATOPOULOU-VASILAKOU, 43.

⁵ STAMATOPOULOU-VASILAKOU, 95-136.

⁶ CHRYSOTHÉMIS STAMATOPOULOU-VASILAKOU, *Το ελληνικό θέατρο στην Κωνσταντινούπολη το 19^ο αιώνα* [Le théâtre grec à Constantinople au XIX^e siècle] (Athènes: Nouveau Cycle des Constantinopolitains, 1994-1996. 2 vol.).

enquête dans deux autres villes du bassin oriental de la Méditerranée, Smyrne et Alexandrie, deux ports et centres commerciaux importants, caractérisés par la forte présence de populations grecques, pendant le XIX^e et au début du XX^e siècle.

À Smyrne, deuxième ville d'Asie Mineure pour la population grecque après Constantinople, en 1825, quelques années à peine après le début de la Guerre d'Indépendance, une compagnie d'amateurs joue *Oreste* d'Alfieri avec succès. Comme nous l'avons déjà rappelé, le public grec découvrira la tragédie antique à travers les œuvres de la dramaturgie européenne, écrites dans la lignée des pièces des auteurs grecs. Ainsi voit-on publier à Smyrne des traductions en grec d'*Iphigénie en Aulide* de Racine (Smyrne 1835 et 1844), d'*Oreste* d'Alfieri (Smyrne 1836), d'*Andromaque* de Racine (Smyrne 1845), d'une *Médée* anonyme en 1856, traduite de l'italien, et d'*Œdipe à Thèbes* de Voltaire (Smyrne 1867).⁷

L'élément qui soutient le renouveau du théâtre antique, comme avant la Guerre d'Indépendance, c'est l'enseignement grecophone. L'activité autour du théâtre antique est liée à la leçon de grec ancien, qui fait partie du programme scolaire. L'enseignement des textes antiques est considéré comme très important pour l'éducation des jeunes Grecs et contribue à l'appréhension de la civilisation de l'Antiquité, indispensable à la compréhension de la vie nationale contemporaine. En particulier, l'étude des auteurs tragiques, outre l'apprentissage de la langue des ancêtres, a une utilité intellectuelle multiple pour le développement de caractères vertueux, grâce à l'enseignement de valeurs universelles et à l'exaltation de sentiments nobles.

Voilà pourquoi on organise à l'École Évangélique, le plus important établissement grec pour garçons de Smyrne, des représentations de théâtre antique ayant pour acteurs les élèves de la dernière classe: en mars 1870, on interprète dans le théâtre de Smyrne *Œdipe Roi*⁸ de Sophocle d'après la traduction en vers de Nik. Kontopoulos, professeur à l'École (la traduction est publiée à Athènes en 1861); en 1898, on interprète *Médée* d'Euripide dans le théâtre «Prokyméa», sous la direction du professeur de l'École Antonios Voréadis⁹ et en 1908, *Iphigénie en Tauride* d'Euripide. Il en va de même pour les écoles de filles, qui font acte de présence avec des représentations similaires. À l'École Centrale de Filles de Smyrne, on interprète *Antigone*¹⁰ de Sophocle le 27 juin 1882, on joue une adaptation d'*Iphigénie en Tauride*¹¹ d'Euripide à l'École de Jeunes Filles de Péréa à Kordelio le 27 mars 1894, *An-*

⁷ STAMATOPOULOU-VASILAKOU, *Le théâtre dans les communautés grecques du Proche Orient*, 225.

⁸ *Journal Eusebeia [Eusebia]* (Smyrne) (13-3-1870). Voir aussi CHRISTOS SOLOMONIDES, *To θέατρο στην Σμύρνη, 1657-1922 [Le théâtre à Smyrne: 1657-1922]*, (Athènes, 1954): 83, et YANNIS SIDÉRIS, *To αρχαίο θέατρο στη νέα ελληνική οκλήνη: 1817-1972 [Le théâtre grec ancien sur la scène néohellénique: 1817-1972]*, 62 (Athènes: Ikaros, 1976).

⁹ *Journal Néa Σμύρνη [Nea Smyrni]* (Smyrne), 5979 (18-4-1898). Voir aussi SOLOMONIDES, 137.

¹⁰ *Néa Σμύρνη [Nea Smyrni]* (25-6-1882).

¹¹ *Néa Σμύρνη [Nea Smyrni]*, 5003 (30-3-1894).

*rigone*¹² à Koula en Asie Mineure en mars 1896, et *Électre*¹³ de Sophocle est interprétée par les petits écoliers de l'école maternelle de Tsairli Baxés le 5 juin 1898.

Ces représentations, mettant sur scène des élèves du même sexe (soit tous des garçons, soit tous des filles) ont une particularité naturelle pour cette époque, et il semble, d'après nos renseignements, que le public n'en soit pas étonné puisqu'il témoigne, selon les critiques, sa sympathie et son assentiment à leur entreprise. Ces représentations atteignent deux objectifs: initier les jeunes élèves à la tragédie grecque antique et soutenir financièrement le fonctionnement des écoles par les recettes fournies par la vente des billets.

À côté du travail amateur des écoliers, des troupes grecques en tournée interprètent également des pièces antiques. À Smyrne, on interprète trois *Médée* différentes: tout d'abord, la troupe de Démosthène Alexiadis interprète le 28 octobre 1872, dans le théâtre «Kamerano», la *Médée*¹⁴ de Della Valle (1824) adaptée par Ioannis Zambélios, avec Pipina Bonassera dans le rôle titre et Dem. Alexiadis interprétant le rôle de Jason. La troupe «Ménandre» de Dionysios Tavoularis prend la suite, interprétant en 1884 une pièce¹⁵ en cinq actes issue d'une combinaison de deux œuvres homonymes, la *Médée* de Della Valle (1824) et la *Médée* de Legouvé (1854), qui devient célèbre en Grèce grâce à Adelaïda Ristori, fameuse actrice de l'époque, qui l'a interprétée à Constantinople en 1865 (G. Montanelli réalise la traduction de l'italien); en 1895, Evangéla Paraskevopoulou interprète dans le théâtre «Prokyméa» la *Médée* de Giovanni Battista Niccolini.¹⁶

Le retour à l'Antiquité, à la recherche de l'héritage antique qui doit être relié à la vie actuelle des Grecs modernes dans la perspective de l'établissement d'une nouvelle identité culturelle, ne sera pas seulement développé par l'étude, la traduction et la représentation de pièces antiques, mais aussi grâce à la création d'œuvres nouvelles dont les sujets sont inspirés des temps anciens. Parmi les nombreuses pièces du XIX^e siècle traitant des sujets tirés de l'Antiquité, cinq œuvres théâtrales ont été composées en Asie Mineure. Le premier, Argyrios Karavas, littérateur de Chios, publie à Smyrne en 1849 sa tragédie *La vengeance d'Achille*, inspirée de l'*Iliade* et évoquant Achille vengeant la mort de son ami Patrocle. Il s'agit d'une tragédie en vers selon la recette classique de l'époque (cinq actes, sans chœur ni parodos – chant d'entrée du chœur), qui est interprétée à Smyrne et dans d'autres villes d'Asie Mineure à la fin des années 1840.¹⁷

En 1871, Sapfo Léontias, institutrice érudite de Chypre, alors directrice de l'École de Filles d'Agia Fotini à Smyrne, écrit une pièce en un acte intitulée *Conversation du chœur*

¹² *Νέα Σμύρνη* [*Nea Smyrni*], 5512 (11-5-1896).

¹³ *Νέα Σμύρνη* [*Nea Smyrni*], 6026 (29-6-1898).

¹⁴ *Journal Αμάλθεια* [*Amalthia*] (Smyrne) (28-10-1872 et 1-11-1872). Voir aussi SOLOMONIDES, 85.

¹⁵ SOLOMONIDES, 110.

¹⁶ SOLOMONIDES, 136.

¹⁷ STAMATOPOULOU-VASILAKOU, *Le théâtre dans les communautés grecques*, 226-229.

des Muses sur l'Hélicon, dans laquelle les neuf muses, en compagnie de la déesse Athéna, discutent sur le mont Hélicon pour savoir quel est l'art qui rend l'homme absolument sage. Ayant un objectif éducatif et moral, la pièce aboutit à la conclusion que tous les arts sont utiles et enseignent l'homme, mais que la sagesse parfaite est atteinte grâce à la combinaison de la science et de la vertu. Cette œuvre, dont l'élément le plus fort est la morale qui convient aux Hellènes, est interprétée par les élèves de l'École de Filles d'Agia Fotini le 27 juin 1871 et en janvier 1874 et reçoit les compliments de la presse.¹⁸

En 1875, on publie à Smyrne la tragédie *L'expulsion de la famille de Pisistrate* de Loukas Nikolaïdis, journaliste cultivé de Smyrne, dont le sujet est l'assassinat de Pisistrate par Harmodios et Aristogiton (en 514 avant Jésus-Christ). Il s'agit de la troisième tragédie, dans l'ordre chronologique, qui porte sur le tyrannicide (la pièce de Georgios Lassanis *Harmodios et Aristogiton* à Moscou en 1820, et celle de Konstantinos Kyriakos Aristias *Harmodios et Aristogiton ou les Panathénées* à Athènes en 1840 sont antérieures). Vu son contenu, qui fait allusion à la tyrannie du sultan, cette pièce n'est, bien entendu, pas représentée.¹⁹

En 1878 (le 2 décembre) la troupe «Ménandre» interprète à Smyrne la tragédie en trois actes *Alceste* d'Aimilia Ktena Leontias, femme instruite de Chypre, sœur de l'écrivain susmentionné; cette pièce est inspirée de la tragédie homonyme d'Euripide et des pièces des auteurs européens, mais n'a jamais été publiée jusqu'à aujourd'hui.²⁰

Pour conclure, en 1898, Aimilios Lawrence, habitant de Smyrne d'origine hongroise, s'inspirant de l'histoire de la Grèce ancienne, écrit en grec *Androkliia*, tragédie en trois actes, dont le sujet est tiré de Pausanias et qui est interprétée cette même année à Smyrne par la troupe «Proodos» de Dim. Kotopoulos. La pièce est publiée l'année suivante à Athènes, obtenant les commentaires positifs des critiques de Smyrne.²¹

La contribution des gens de lettres de la région est aussi très importante en ce qui concerne l'édition et le traitement philologique des œuvres de la dramaturgie grecque antique. Nous mentionnons à titre indicatif les publications des traductions de *Prométhée enchaîné* de Konstantinos Xanthopoulos (1875), d'*Œdipe Roi* (1907) de Stélios Sfériadis, d'*Iphigénie en Aulide* d'Alekos Fotiadis (1907) et de *Médée* d'Euripide de Géorgios Simiriotis (1909). On doit signaler ici une évolution dans le domaine de la langue des traductions. Les premières traductions utilisent la langue savante (katharevousa) et se fondent du point de vue de la grammaire et de la syntaxe sur la langue grecque ancienne, tandis que dans les traductions publiées au commencement du XX^e siècle, la langue courante (démotique) fait son apparition.

¹⁸ STAMATOPOULOU-VASILAKOU, 293-294.

¹⁹ STAMATOPOULOU-VASILAKOU, 235-236.

²⁰ STAMATOPOULOU-VASILAKOU, 236-237.

²¹ STAMATOPOULOU-VASILAKOU, 237-238.

Des extraits de ces œuvres paraissent dans des revues littéraires, où l'on en trouve également des analyses et des commentaires (*Œdipe Roi*, *Alceste*, *Electre*). Il existe aussi des publications d'études générales sur les poètes tragiques grecs, sur Aristophane²² et Antiphane²³ – poète de la comédie moyenne, né à Smyrne – ainsi que des essais d'intérêt archéologique sur les théâtres anciens d'Ionie et sur les amphithéâtres romains.²⁴ De plus, on se rend compte de la présence marquée du théâtre grec antique dans de nombreuses publications d'intérêt général, où les allusions à l'Antiquité font preuve des connaissances approfondies de leurs auteurs sur la civilisation grecque.

Après la fin du XIX^e siècle, tous les éléments que nous avons étudiés nous amènent à certaines conclusions générales. La réception du théâtre antique dans toutes ses manifestations, dans l'enseignement, la représentation sur scène, dans le domaine éditorial et littéraire, fait valoir la bonne volonté de la classe moyenne grecque orthodoxe de ces régions, qui s'efforce de constituer son identité nationale. Cette nouvelle classe de bourgeois grecs (commerçants et hommes de lettres) qui évolue dans ces régions, au cours d'une période de mutations successives sur le plan économique, social et idéologique, développe de diverses manières le théâtre antique, essayant de relier le patrimoine ancestral à la réalité actuelle afin de stimuler le sentiment national concernant la continuité de la nation des Grecs.

Au début du XX^e siècle, les données changent. Athènes, capitale de l'État grec indépendant, est devenue dès la dernière décennie du XIX^e siècle le centre des évolutions de l'activité théâtrale, prenant ainsi le relais des communautés grecques de l'Empire ottoman qui tenaient jusqu'alors la première place dans les événements théâtraux. Les deux villes que nous étudions aujourd'hui, Smyrne et Alexandrie, poursuivront la tradition théâtrale de ce siècle, pour subir cependant les conséquences des aventures politiques qui mèneront au désastre les communautés grecques à Smyrne en 1922 et en Alexandrie dans les années 1960, y compris pour l'activité théâtrale locale.

En ce qui concerne le théâtre antique, la fondation à Athènes du Théâtre Royal (1901-1908) et de la Nouvelle Scène (1901-1905) donnent une impulsion à son interprétation scénique. Les jeunes metteurs en scène Thomas Oekonomou (1864-1927) au Théâtre Royal et Konstantinos Christomanos (1887-1911) à la Nouvelle Scène, tout en abandonnant la représentation surannée de la tragédie qui liait jusqu'à cette époque l'hellénisme régénéré à la Grèce ancienne, expriment leurs points de vue artistiques sur la plus haute création dramaturgique qu'est le théâtre antique, par leurs innovations scéniques dans l'adaptation moderne de ces pièces (telles que la traduction proche de la langue courante, la scénogra-

²² V. VASILIADES, «Αριστοφάνης» [«Aristophane»], *Αιολικός Αστήρ* [Aiolikos Astir] 1 (1-10-1911): 4-5, et 3 (1-11-1911): 35-37.

²³ *Νέα Αποθήκη* [Nea Apothiki] (Smyrne), vol. 1, 16 (1-5-1860): 308-309.

²⁴ *Η Φιλολογία* [La Philologie] (Smyrne), vol. 1, 5 (janvier 1842): 133-134; 6 (février 1842): 164-165, et *Νέα Αποθήκη* [Nea Apothiki] (Smyrne), vol. 2, 2 (1-10-1860): 25-26.

phie, la danse du chœur et l'art du comédien).²⁵

C'est ainsi que les représentations de théâtre antique à Smyrne et en Alexandrie prolongent au XX^e siècle et propagent les aspects athéniens du renouveau du théâtre antique, puisque ce sont des troupes athéniennes en tournée qui les interprètent. En 1901 on interprète en Alexandrie les *Nuées* d'Aristophane, d'après la traduction de Georges Souris, poète satirique et dramaturge de l'époque, qui a conservé dans sa traduction le charme du texte original.²⁶ Il se rend même à Alexandrie et au Caire pour assister à la représentation, visite qui s'attire une grande publicité dans la presse grecque de la région. La représentation a un grand succès (Dimitrios Kotopoulos jouait le rôle de Strepsiade), mais les femmes sont exclues.²⁷ La comédie est reprise à Smyrne en 1909 par la troupe de A. Aperghis.²⁸

En 1903, la Nouvelle Scène de Konstantinos Christomanos interprète au théâtre «Zizinia» d'Alexandrie l'*Alceste* d'Euripide.²⁹ La troupe de Kyveli interprète *Antigone* en 1910 à Smyrne (en mars et en avril), à Alexandrie et au Caire (le 14 et le 17 octobre, le 28 novembre et le 30 décembre).³⁰ Cette même troupe interprète à Smyrne, la même année, *Œdipe Roi* (au théâtre du Sporting Club), d'après la traduction de St. Séfériadis.³¹ Cette tragédie est à nouveau interprétée à Smyrne en 1911, dans la traduction d'Anghelos Vlachos, par la troupe Nika-Fyrst,³² qui interprète aussi en 1914 *Électre*.³³ En 1928, *Antigone* est interprétée à Alexandrie par Kotopouli et en 1930 par Kyveli avec la Société des artistes grecs.³⁴ La même Société interprète en 1930 *Prométhée Enchaîné*, avec la participation de Georges Bourlos qui avait joué le rôle de Prométhée durant les Fêtes à Delphes.³⁵ En 1951, Marika Kotopouli joue aussi l'*Orestide* mise en scène par Takis Mouzenidis.³⁶ La dernière représentation de théâtre antique à Alexandrie a lieu dans le théâtre de «Mochamet Ali», en mars 1955, avec Spyros Moussouris et Krinio Pappa interprétant des extraits d'*Ajax*, des *Suppliantes* et des *Troyennes*.³⁷

²⁵ SIDÉRIS, 173-228.

²⁶ SIDÉRIS, 164-169.

²⁷ PANAGIOTIS KARMATZOS, *Αλεξανδρινά: θεατρικά και φιλολογικά* [*Alexandrina: Théâtre et philologie*], (Athènes: Kritika Fylla, 1974): 13-22.

²⁸ SOLOMONIDES, 194.

²⁹ KARMATZOS, 27-29.

³⁰ Voir les archives des programmes théâtraux au musée du Théâtre d'Athènes.

³¹ *Op. cit.*

³² SOLOMONIDES, 205.

³³ SOLOMONIDES, 212.

³⁴ HÉLÈNE GOULI, «Εκατό χρόνια θεατρικής ζωής στην Αλεξάνδρεια» [«Cent ans de vie théâtrale en Alexandrie»], *K* (5 juillet 2004): 58-59.

³⁵ *Αλεξανδρινή Τέχνη* [*Alexandrina Techni (L'art d'Alexandrie)*], 6-7 (juin-juillet 1930): 13, 8 (août 1930): 255.

³⁶ KARMATZOS, 31-32.

³⁷ Voir les archives des programmes théâtraux au musée du Théâtre d'Athènes.

DAVID WILES

TEACHING GREEK THEATRE:
THE METHODS OF COPEAU IN THE CONTEXT OF TODAY

It is through teaching that an understanding of the Greek past is transmitted. The most exciting aspect of the Athens conference was its drawing together of these two concerns: understanding the past and understanding how the past is to be taught in the here and now. I want to trace four current traditions of teaching Greek theatre, and then take you back to a fifth, which the twenty-first century seems to have passed over. All models oversimplify, but models are nevertheless essential for mutual understanding. I hope any element of caricature in these descriptions will be forgiven.

1. *Just perform it*: an ancient tradition whereby you study the text and do the play. The tradition of schoolboys learning Latin by putting on productions of Terence goes back to the Middle Ages. I developed my passion for Greek drama through learning to recite passages of Greek competitively in Greek orations. This is a very effective pedagogic method which has gone out of fashion in England, though maintained at Cambridge, Oxford, and London to some degree. José Luis Navarro in the conference gave us an eloquent account of how valuable this method can be at school level. Amongst the difficulties I would mention that recitation from memory is no longer part of our culture, which prefers to retrieve information from the computer. More importantly, on a philosophical level we have become relativists who perceive that meaning is necessarily a function of contexts, and as cultural pluralists we realise there is no given and natural way of performing a text. In our theatrical institutions, the hegemony of the director institutionalises the assumption that any classic text is susceptible of multiple meanings.

2. The European tradition of *Theaterwissenschaft* or *theatrolgia*. On the continent, the dominant tradition in theatre studies has been the scientific one: theatre is held up as an object, out there, to be studied by a relatively small number of high-calibre scholars. There may be a strong emphasis on fact and chronology, as the object of scientific enquiry is defined and given weight in the academy. There may be philosophical rigour applied to new methods of performance analysis. The emphasis is predominantly on product rather than process, and there can be no question in this model of the scholar compromising his or her scientific credentials by participating in theatre-making. The *théâtrologues* who practise *Theaterwissenschaft* are unashamed Cartesian intellectuals, and as such tend to

gain the trust and co-operation of professional artists, who do not feel their own territory is being compromised. Marco de Marinis in the Athens conference gave a lucid account of the parameters within the which the intellectual should work. European theatre like academia is state subsidised, and the practitioner of scientific theatre studies has the function of supporting a collectively valued 'culture'. There is a residual understanding that the Greek world is somewhere at the roots of European culture.

3. In the capitalist USA, the consumerist laws of supply and demand have meant that enormous numbers of students want to study drama – often with the romantic utopian dream of being an actor, despite the faint possibilities of realising that ambition, and the dismal nature of the career if attained. Consequently the USA holds enormous numbers of theatre departments, and many postgraduates chasing vocational MFA degrees. The position of the serious, theoretically informed scholar is a vulnerable one, and many flee to disciplines outside theatre, while some have developed the ambitious new discipline of Performance Studies. Those who remain are likely to be confined to teaching theatre history survey courses, where the Greeks are offered as the primitive beginnings, before theatre becomes sophisticated and psychological, and worth performing. Oscar Brockett is the founding father of this approach. Though new editions of his book celebrate cultural diversity, Greece remains the *fons et origo*.

4. Finally we come to the British model, largely replicated in the white commonwealth. Again the capitalist law of supply and demand means that we have lots of theatre departments. Fortunately, we are not also saddled with a large network of campus theatres that need to be filled, but we have to make do with creating theatre using large numbers of mostly female students in very poor facilities. In this pedagogic context it is very difficult to stage the mainstream European repertoire, and the emphasis shifts to experimental devised work which leaves much of the mainstream repertoire to one side. It is, however, an environment conducive to theorisation and encourages (or often forces) academics to develop a double role as both practitioners and theoreticians. In this context the historical survey course is redundant, because Brockett's teleological history does not point to where we find ourselves now. The English Theatre Studies academic is on the whole despised by theatre practitioners. Older generation theatre directors with an Oxbridge English degree saw no need for a drama department qualification, whilst actors from 'drama schools' with a training in voice and movement see no value in the theorised and eclectic practical education received by our students. We inhabit a strange cultural limbo where Greek theatre is curiously valuable. It can accommodate large female casts; it can satisfy aspirations to rooting theatre in the body; and there is no tyrannical iambic pentameter to negotiate. Because Greek plays are based on myths and studied in problematic translations, we feel free to remould the material as much as we want.

The situation in Greece is currently an exciting one, with theatre studies expanding and different models being tried. The country is torn between continental aspirations and an inescapable Anglophone influence. So this may be a good opportunity to step back to the early 1920s and throw into the pot a very different model for teaching Greek theatre, which may have something to offer all of us. I am going to discuss today the theatre school set up by Jacques Copeau at the Théâtre du Vieux-Colombier in Paris in order to create a generation of actors uncontaminated by the superficiality and falsehood of mainstream theatre. There was an ethical drive behind this project, a battle against egotism; also a religious drive, in order to make the artist a priest with access to some kind of transcendent values inherent in the aesthetic. There was also a philosophic commitment to the whole human being, whose mind and body would be integrated. The study of ancient theatre was a guiding thread that ran through the three years of the course, for in order to understand the first principles of true theatre one must go back to the beginning. To get back to the origins of theatre was for Copeau like getting back to the naturalness of childhood before the posturing of adolescence. Behind Copeau's conception of Greek theatre, of course, lies Nietzsche, who inspired all self-respecting modernist artists, but was wiped off the intellectual map following the rise and fall of German fascism.

In November 1921, Copeau launched his three-year training programme taking Greek theatre as a model for the present because it was a 'religious and popular theatre summoned to link men together and make them communicate'. Copeau was an artistic minimalist who admired Attic art on account of its hatred of false ornament, its dislike of exaggeration, its natural purity. In January 1922 he began his course of lectures with one on the Dionysia and a second on the Eleusinian Mysteries, establishing the religious basis of Greek drama, and moving on to a technical analysis of choral lyric, which he interpreted as a popular celebration of gods and heroes. At this point he began to theorise the process of inhabiting other bodies and other souls, and identified a mystical 'transport' or emotional transformation in the actor who sought to become a god or a hero, whilst the common crowd reached out towards this actor who was their representative. By late February he had reached the mask, which he related to the actor's 'feeling of unworthiness vis-à-vis the hero or god who was represented'. The actor wore a neutral white mask, religious in concept but not hieratic in form. Copeau's emphasis is always upon simplicity, wanting to see theatre as a unified art-form. After two weeks on the mimetic basis of Greek dance, Copeau returned again to the theme that Greek theatre was instantly comprehensible to the masses, with the author's text simply an extra, a finishing off.

In the following year Copeau passed on to broader principles, and we have only some notes taken by his daughter Marie-Hélène, who comments on the importance of theory. To understand the living tradition we are part of, she comments, one must possess the common source, and the timeless laws of theatre. Culture and thought are necessarily rooted

in the ancients. The training of contemporary French actors is, and has been for centuries, centred on language, whereas drama should be a 'spectacle of the soul'. This is why, with the ancient actor, so much emphasis was placed upon song and dance. In Copeau's course of training it was assumed that 'music' should be the basis of actor training – and Nietzsche's thesis that tragedy was born from the spirit of music is an obvious influence here. The term music, Marie-Hélène notes, should, as in Greece, embrace both '*la culture musicale et la culture physique*'.

Although this sounds like a manifesto for 'physical theatre', Copeau did not ignore text, but within his school employed a teacher who would read the Greek to his students and translate before them so they could sense the poetic force of the text. Delphic hymns were committed to heart. For vacation reading the students were prescribed Homer and not Sophocles, because it was the spirit of the Greek world that mattered, not textual analysis. Copeau also gave a public reading of *Antigone* in the 1922/3 season, which he followed next year with a repertory of seven Greek plays. One of these was the *Persians*, which he would perform again in Brussels in January 1940, linking the suffering of the Belgian people to the chorus, and the excesses of the doomed protagonists to Hitler. Copeau was famed for the power of these readings, where he sat at table or in an armchair with his back to the light, using only his voice and face. One listener compared the interplay of voices to a string quartet. In respect of Greek tragedy, Copeau's musical sensitivity to text and his commitment to corporeality was, alas, something he never managed to reconcile in full-scale performance. The Vieux-Colombier did not offer an appropriate performance environment.

While Copeau's historical and theoretical course of lectures on Greek drama was unfolding, practical experimentation was taking place. Through the first half of 1922, Jouvet oversaw a mask and improvisation workshop with six teenage students, and it was here that a new method of actor training evolved, based on mask and improvisation. The same quality of sincerity uncontaminated by theatrical tradition, which Stanislavski sought through 'emotion memory' or 'physical actions', Copeau sought through the mask. He shielded his teenage students from the main theatre, and regarded them as a neutral *tabula rasa* for the creation of a better future. It was a logical principle to start by making a *tabula rasa* of the face. The students had to make their own masks, as part of a rounded education, and in order to bond them with the objects they had created. The presentations in July 1922 were dominated by demonic masks of different kinds, including '*keres*', Greek spirits of the dead hovering about a corpse like Erinyes, obviously inspired by Copeau's lecture on the Anthesteria. An idealist conception of the mask also surfaced in an improvised playlet about Psyche, the product of charades in which the spectator had to play the game of 'guess the Greek myth'. During the third year of the academic course, Greek tragedy gave way to Aristophanes and Plautus, but practical work on Greek music and chorality continued. The

climax came in February 1924, when the students performed a masked chorus of maenads in accompaniment to Copeau's public reading of the *Bacchae*.

For Copeau the basis of Greek theatre lies in music and dance, and text is something to be experienced for its rhythm and poetic force, not analysed for its intellectual content. The ideal of chorality underlay Copeau's whole programme; the combination of chorus and mask made Greek drama a prime weapon in his battle against theatrical egotism. Nietzsche's anti-individualist philosophy lies behind this approach, which stands in stark contrast to method acting that constantly demands the insertion of self. A witness of the examined presentation in 1922 commented on the close relationship between literary and practical study in the School, even though direct work on a text was taboo, and I think there is an important lesson here for us in how theory can inform creative practice. The place of 'theory' was clearly one of the most sensitive issues in the Athens conference. I find Copeau's pedagogy interestingly subversive in a modern context, undermining the assumption that theatrical experience can somehow be reduced to an intellectual meaning, to a socio-historical message, to the mere *mise-en-scène*. The distinction between cult and culture which we hold sacrosanct is one that he dissolves. His pedagogic system is, I think, one that the fifth-century Greeks would have found just a little easier to grasp than any of the strange practices we engage in today in our different corners of the globe. When we look at Greek theatre as form and as process, the convergence of theory and practice becomes a little easier to achieve.

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STEVE WILMER

WOMEN IN GREEK TRAGEDY: A QUESTION OF ETHICS?

Feminist theatre and classical scholars have heavily critiqued the representation of women in ancient Greek drama. Sue Ellen Case, Froma Zeitlin, and Helene Foley have discussed the misogynistic characterisation of such figures as Medea, Clytemnestra (in the *Oresteia*), Antigone, etc. Nevertheless, women directors and writers have continued to tackle these plays and to adapt them for modern audiences. Why have they done this if the material is so misogynistic? In this paper I want to explore whether certain feminist scholars have been too quick to condemn ancient Greek dramatists and culture, and to question whether, for example, Euripides might be viewed more as a feminist than a misogynist.¹ More importantly, I want to look at how these plays are being exploited today and ask what makes them attractive or intriguing to female directors and modern audiences.

Sue Ellen Case's dismissal of ancient Greek drama is based mainly on two texts: Aeschylus's *Oresteia* and Aristotle's *Poetics*. In addition to documenting the androcentric nature of ancient Greek society, she uses the example of the *Oresteia* to assert that Greek drama was written by men, performed by male actors for a male audience to promote an anti-female agenda. She argues that the judgment at the end of the trilogy is indicative of the patriarchal values controlling the play (and Greek tragedy in general), determining that the male is the true parent of the child and that the female is only the incubator. Orestes can be exonerated for killing his mother since his father, whom he was avenging, was his only real parent. Because of the alleged misogynistic values inherent in this trilogy (and other ancient Greek plays), Case suggests that the feminist reader might decide that "the female roles have nothing to do with women, that these roles should be played by men as fantasies of 'Woman' as 'Other' than men, disruptions of a patriarchal society which illustrates its fear and loathing of the female parts" and that the "roles of Medea, Clytemnestra, Cassandra or Phaedra are properly played as drag roles."² Case also demonstrates that Aristotle, who regarded women as "inferior", felt it was inappropriate for them to be depicted as brave or intellectually clever in plays. She concludes her article with

¹ The philosopher Bernard Williams suggests that he can be seen as both. BERNARD WILLIAMS, *Shame and Necessity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993): 119.

² SUE ELLEN CASE, "Classic Drag: The Greek Creation of Female Parts," *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (October 1985): 324.

the suggestion that the revered position of ancient Greek drama should be reconsidered. "Overall, the feminist practitioners and scholars may decide that such plays do not belong in the canon – that they are not central to the study and practice of theatre."³

While Case's argument has considerable validity and has been canonised as a seminal text in W. B. Worthen's *Anthology of Drama*, there are several problems with her approach. First of all, she uses the most egregious examples of male chauvinism to generalise about the whole corpus of Greek drama. Instead of solely using Aristotle as representative of Greek philosophical attitudes, for example, she might have acknowledged that Plato, while he did not approve of drama, maintained a high respect for women and promoted their education. Furthermore, in concentrating her attack on Clytemnestra (and briefly discussing Athena and Cassandra), Case failed to mention Electra, who is a more complex character. (Eugene O'Neill, for example, called her the "most interesting of all women in drama",⁴ and Slavoj Žižek coupled Electra with Antigone as two exceptional characters in Greek tragedy who transgress the normal patterns of female behaviour in the manner in which they enter the social sphere.⁵) She also did not fairly represent the broad range of female characters in Greek tragedy, from the obedient Alcestis and Iphigenia and the eccentric Agave and Deianeira to the rebellious Medea and Antigone. But, most importantly, despite choosing careful examples to bolster her argument, Case did not succeed in persuading feminists to eschew ancient Greek drama. On the contrary, one might even suggest that more rather than fewer productions of ancient Greek drama have been staged by female (and feminist) directors since the publication of her 1985 article. Helene Foley, in discussing a variety of new approaches to ancient Greek drama, argued in 1998 that "contemporary actresses and female playwrights favor Greek tragedy because of the extraordinary repertoire of powerful and subtle female roles".⁶

Although the female characters in Greek drama may be challenging for actors, the question remains: are the plays as misogynistic as Case claims or are there redeeming features in these plays that she does not consider? One aspect that seems relevant is that the Greek heroines are often positioned as occupying a different moral position from their

³ CASE, 327.

⁴ EUGENE O'NEILL, *Selected Letters* edited by TRAVIS BOGARD *et al.* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988): 368.

⁵ Žižek argues that there are two types of women in ancient Greek drama who break out of the domestic space. One is the self-sacrificing woman (such as Iphigenia and Polyxena), the other type are "the excessively destructive women" such as Medea, Hecuba, and Phaedra. (It is not clear why he does not include Clytemnestra in the latter group.) In any case, he argues that Antigone and Electra do not fit into either series – Antigone because she is self-sacrificing but not within the patriarchal law, and Electra because she is a murderer but does it in the name of patriarchy. See SLAVOJ ŽIŽEK and MLADEN DOLAR, *Opera's Second Death* (London: Routledge, 2002): 185.

⁶ See, for example, HELENE FOLEY, "Modern Performance and Adaptation of Greek Tragedy" Presidential Address 1998, Washington, D.C., <http://216.158.36.56/Publications/PresTalks/FOLEY98.html>.

male counterparts and appealing to values that, regardless of how they were viewed in ancient times, we might consider today as preferable to those of the male characters. For example, *Lysistrata* argues that the men are destroying Athenian society through warfare; her organised protest for a peaceful solution emphasises the values of harmony and mutual respect as opposed to combat and male aggression. It is significant that in 2003, *Lysistrata* served as emblematic in the international protest against the invasion of Iraq, with over a thousand productions and readings of the play staged simultaneously around the world on 3 March.

Antigone asserts that the traditional rituals of honouring a dead member of the family are more important to observe than an arbitrary edict from a male dictator, and, as George Steiner has shown, her actions have a timeless quality that can be applied as usefully to oppressed communities today as to earlier times.⁷ Hecuba in *The Trojan Women* pleads that the women in her court be treated with respect and dignity rather than being distributed like chattel amongst the victorious warriors. The women in Aeschylus' *Suppliants* flee to preserve their chastity from a gang of marauding men. Iphigenia and her mother supplicate for her right to life against an overwhelming demand that she be sacrificed. Medea claims the sanctity of her marriage against the wishes of Jason to abandon her. And, in a lost play of Euripides, Melanippe the Wise questions the theocratic underpinning of the patriarchal state.⁸ These women all express values that oppose the patriarchal order and resonate in today's more egalitarian society.

In suggesting that Greek heroines often maintain different and arguably higher values by comparison with their male antagonists, I want to question whether one can identify a separate ethical position that they take and if this reflects a timeless dichotomy between male and female values that works for modern audiences. The designated place for women in ancient Greek society (illustrated, for example, by G. W. F. Hegel with reference to *Antigone*) was in the *oikos* rather than in the *polis*.⁹ The one area of the *polis* where Greek women seem to have been allocated a prime role was in the religious temples in the observance of religious ritual. In Greek drama the older (matriarchal) domestic/religious values of women are contrasted with the newer (patriarchal) civic values of the male figures. The female protagonists frequently take actions specific to domestic requirements, while their male counterparts uphold the values of the state or pursue their own selfish ambitions. In the construction of these plots, it is apparent that Greek dramatists maintained considerable sympathy for the women's actions by showing the tragic consequences for the male characters. Antigone defends family values and family honour and the need to observe

⁷ GEORGE STEINER, *Antigones* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

⁸ JOHN DILLON, "An Archetypal Bluestocking," in DILLON and WILMER, eds., *Rebel Women: Staging Ancient Greek Drama Today*, 224 (London: Methuen, 2005).

⁹ See SOPHOCLES, *Antigone*, edited by MARK GRIFFITH (Cambridge University Press, 1999): 49.

religious ritual, while her uncle, Creon, defends (his own) civic law. Rather than appreciating the respect she pays to their family, Creon condemns Antigone for her words and deeds because they threaten his authority.¹⁰ The ethical dilemma he faces is given more emphasis when Haimon, Teiresias and the chorus all challenge his decision, and he finally recants, but too late to prevent the triple suicide of his wife and son as well as of Antigone. Thus, arguably Creon is proved wrong by the events that transpire, for supporting civic values over domestic/religious ones, and Antigone, though perhaps rash and pig-headed, takes a public stance and dies as a martyr opposing patriarchal values and asserting a new ethical position.

In *Iphigenia in Aulis*, Clytemnestra challenges her husband's decision to sacrifice her daughter for reasons similar to Antigone's, i.e., the prioritisation of domestic values. Agamemnon is placed in a similar position to Creon in *Antigone* in terms of his desire to maintain his authority in the public sphere. If he refuses to sacrifice his daughter, he risks losing his power amongst the warriors who surround him. Like Creon, Agamemnon in *Iphigenia in Aulis* sacrifices domestic values in favour of civic exigency. He has been portrayed by the philosopher Bernard Williams as confronting a classic ethical dilemma, because he will lose no matter which decision he makes.¹¹ But unlike Creon he seems, at least initially, to benefit from sacrificing his daughter. Moreover, as Williams points out, the philosopher Søren Kierkegaard has cited him as making the right choice: "*The tragic hero gives up what is certain for what is still more certain*"¹² and that "*there will never be a noble soul in the world without [...] admiration for [his] deed*".¹³ To sacrifice his daughter was the right choice? Presumably Kierkegaard was influenced by Hegel's view that "*the community [...] can only maintain itself by suppressing this spirit of individualism*".¹⁴ Hegel argued that Antigone was likewise wrong for promoting her own agenda over that of the state and he called women the "*eternal irony of humankind*" because of their tendency to consider the importance of the individual's needs rather than those of the state.¹⁵ Is part of the problem that the philosophy of ethics has been written by men and that Kierkegaard was working within a patriarchal discipline that has recently been challenged by the introduction of the concept of a feminist ethics in the late twentieth century? I'll come back to this point later. But in the meantime it is worth mentioning that at the end

¹⁰ Judith Butler observes that Antigone's relationship with the family is not as clear as many commentators have suggested. Her kinship relationships are unusual because of incest in the family. See JUDITH BUTLER, *Antigone's Claim* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000): 10.

¹¹ See WILLIAMS, 134.

¹² Quoted in WILLIAMS, 134.

¹³ SØREN KIERKEGAARD, *Fear and Trembling*, ed. and trans by H. V. HONG and E. H. HONG (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1983): 58. See also Bernard Williams' discussion of this issue. WILLIAMS, 133-135.

¹⁴ Quoted in Butler, 36.

¹⁵ See BUTLER, 35.

of *Iphigenia*, although Iphigenia has agreed to her own sacrifice, her mother Clytemnestra is irreconcilable, so much so that she murders Agamemnon when he returns from the war ten years later. Thus it can be argued that Agamemnon, like Creon, has made the wrong moral choice and that he has likewise been proved wrong by a woman who maintains a different ethical position.

As in *Antigone* and *Iphigenia in Aulis*, the characters in *Medea* and *The Bacchae* are also juxtaposed in a classic opposition of domestic versus civic values. In *The Bacchae*, the maenads celebrate the religious rites of Dionysus while Pentheus tries to impose civic law. Medea defends family values while Jason seeks to marry another for advancement in the community of Corinth. In both these plays, as in *Antigone* and *Iphigenia in Aulis*, the male figures can be regarded as oppressive forces denying the right of women to fulfil their family obligations and their spiritual needs. Pentheus and Jason are shown to operate under misconceived notions of male authority, and both are thwarted by women in devastating circumstances. It is as if Euripides (as well as Sophocles in *Antigone*) is critiquing the foolishness of men in their blind need to uphold their authority and in their misguided prioritisation of their own agenda over domestic/religious values. The German classicist Bernd Seidensticker suggests that Euripides "who from Aristophanes to our own days has often been totally misunderstood as 'misogynist', is in fact the most eloquent and insistent advocate of the women's cause". Seidensticker evidences Euripides' "creation of numerous female characters, whose intellectual and moral strength proves itself triumphantly in personal and public crises and catastrophes, for which men have to accept all or most of the blame".¹⁶

Interestingly, the moral stances taken by Clytemnestra in *Iphigenia in Aulis* and by Antigone in *Antigone* to defend their family values are easy for them to adopt and they uphold them consistently throughout the plays. Their courses of action seem natural and logical, unlike the agonising of Agamemnon (in *Iphigenia*) and Creon (in *Antigone*) over their decisions. What may attract modern audiences to these female characters is partly the different moral positions they take compared with their male antagonists. The stances of the women initially seem more humane and ethically preferable to those of the men, not necessarily in an absolute sense but in a contextual sense. Thus the notion of a feminist ethics or what the cognitive psychologist Carol Gilligan has called an "ethics of care" seems apposite here.¹⁷

Gilligan has ascribed the tendency in women "to affiliate with others and to interpret their moral responsibilities in terms of their relationships with others". By contrast,

¹⁶ See BERND SEIDENSTICKER, "Women on the Tragic Stage," in BARBARA GOFF (ed.), *History, Tragedy, Theory: Dialogues on Athenian Drama*, 172-3 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995). Seidensticker goes on to suggest that not only Euripides but the other two tragedians also "champion the women's cause".

¹⁷ SEE VIRGINIA HELD, *Feminist Morality* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993): 65-66.

she regarded the tendency “to value autonomy and individual independence over care and concern for relationships”¹⁸ as a male attribute. Although Gilligan’s ideas have been criticised as sexist, essentialist, conservative, and minimising the notion of gender being socially constructed,¹⁹ they have not been dismissed. On the contrary, a considerable number of adherents have been attracted to the concept of a feminist ethics from a variety of standpoints. According to Rosemarie Tong, “Feminist ethics is an attempt to revise, reformulate, or rethink those aspects of traditional western ethics that depreciate or devalue women’s moral experience”.²⁰ She also illustrates that this is not just a late twentieth-century notion but one that influenced “a variety of eighteenth and nineteenth-century thinkers like Mary Wollstonecraft, John Stuart Mill, Catherine Beecher, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton”. Without going into all the permutations and debates about this subject, the increasing interest in the notion of a different ethics for men and women or, indeed, in the notion of a universal ethics based on a feminist ethics may help relate the patterns in Greek drama to their modern day interpretation and reception. Clytemnestra in *Iphigenia*, Medea, and Antigone are more concerned with personal and family relationships than with abstract questions of law and civic conduct. Such strong Greek females therefore can become vehicles in modern productions to highlight the power relationships between men and women and their different value systems and ethical positions (even if they are socially constructed), as well as indicating the right and logic of women to rebel against and subvert patriarchal oppression. Medea, Clytemnestra, Hecuba, and Antigone are not prepared to allow the decisions by men to stand unquestioned. Flouting the patriarchal stereotype that “silence is the adornment of women”,²¹ they rebel against oppression, marginalisation, and injury to their pride. They confront the values of the androcentric society and are prepared to risk reprisals against their actions for the sake of their own dignity and self-esteem, and/or to protect the interests of others.

In addition to addressing male and female values and relationships, marriage as an unequal partnership is called into question in Greek tragedy. The marriages of Clytemnestra, Medea, and Deianeira end in homicide. Marriage is linked with slavery in *The Trojan Women* and self-sacrifice in *Iphigenia in Aulis*. Aeschylus’s *The Suppliants* depicts marriage as hunt and conquest with the men chasing and subduing their prey. Thus some of the plays suggest that marriage equals enforced slavery, that the sexual act implies rape, and that the institution of marriage implies a patriarchal control of women. Rather than festive occasions, marriage ceremonies often transform into funeral rituals in Greek trage-

¹⁸ HELD, 60.

¹⁹ See HELENE FOLEY, *Female Acts in Greek Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001): 191.

²⁰ ROSEMARIE TONG, “Feminist Ethics,” *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2003 Edition), EDWARD N. ZALTA (ed.), <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2003/entries/feminism-ethics/>.

²¹ NICOLE LORAU, *Tragic Ways of Killing a Woman* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987): 21.

dy, as Rush Rehm has illustrated in his book *Marriage to Death*, and modern productions have often accentuated this feature. Thus in the 2004 Abbey Theatre production of Seamus Heaney's *The Burial at Thebes*, Antigone wore a wedding-dress as she went to her death,²² and Hester Swain, the Medea figure in *By the Bog of Cats*, was similarly clothed when she also committed suicide. Wedding ceremonies, such as that between Glauce and Jason in Pasolini's film of *Medea*, and between Iphigenia and Achilles in Cacoyannis's film *Iphigenia*, become fatal events with conflicting rituals, rather than the happy endings of Renaissance comedy.²³

Accordingly, a feminist construction has often been placed on the adaptation of these plays today. The characters of Clytemnestra, Medea, Electra, and Hecuba can be represented as women who have been victimised but who fight back, who empower themselves and are empowered by the support of other women, to take action to overturn their oppression. Although the transgressive nature of their deeds causes some difficulty, which I will discuss later, the women are often provoked by male abuse, and their actions can be seen to be justified on those grounds. These are proud women who have been mistreated and the audience's sympathies are engaged because they can identify with that abuse and feeling of outrage. Medea's rage is fully understandable to a modern audience because she has sacrificed so much to help her husband. As the actress Tina Shepard says, "I don't know if I have ever known a woman that is completely Medean in what she does, but I certainly have known a lot who feel what she has felt."²⁴ Similarly, in the production of *Les Danaïdes* in the 1990s, the Romanian director Silviu Purcarete emphasised the image of the 50 fleeing women as innocent creatures who are unfairly victimised and unable to protect themselves but who gain revenge after a mass rape. The Romanian production presented the scene of revenge in a sympathetic and poetic mood, with the dresses of the women forming tents under which their new husbands slept on their wedding night, lit by candlelight, while the women quietly and unobtrusively dispatched them with domestic cutlery.

Another dimension that implies a feminist ethics in Greek tragedy is the relationship amongst the female characters. The expression of solidarity amongst women to overcome oppression is a common motif of Greek tragedy. In her hour of need, Medea calls on the complicity of the women around her to help in her campaign of revenge against her husband who has betrayed her. Although Medea does not gain explicit sympathy for her

²² Creon's cruel prevention of Antigone's marriage to his son Haimon is continually ironised in the original text through continual reference to her marriage to Hades. See SOPHOCLES, 52.

²³ Froma Zeitlin has shown the mythic origins of the overlap between marriage and death in the relationship between Demeter, Hades, and Persephone. FROMA I. ZEITLIN, *Playing the Other: Gender and Society in Classical Greek Literature* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996): 10.

²⁴ QUOTED IN HELENE FOLEY, "Bad Women," in *Dionysus Since '69*, edited by HALL et al. (Oxford University Press, 2004): 78.

actions, there is a sense of female solidarity amongst the women against male oppression. The nurse and the chorus of women do not agree with the nature of Medea's actions but by their decision to keep silent and not interfere with her, they tacitly support her and become accessories to the crime. Just as in Susan Glaspell's play *Trifles*, where two female characters cover up the evidence of a third woman's murder of her husband, the nurse and the female entourage in *Medea* assist in the murders by remaining silent and taking no action that would alert others to Medea's intentions. Likewise, in the various versions of the Electra story by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, the chorus acts in collusion with Electra. And in *The Trojan Women* a strong feeling of women's solidarity pervades it as the imprisoned victims of male Greek authority discover their destinies together, and rant and rave and cry out in rage against their collective mistreatment. They also try to stand up for each other and protect each other even though they are virtually powerless.

Thus Greek drama can contribute to the on-going debate as to whether a separate approach to justice from a female point of view can be sustained. One might argue that in discussing the ethics in Greek plays in the past (e.g., the ethical choices of Agamemnon discussed by Kierkegaard and Bernard Williams), the concentration on male dilemmas may reflect a male bias in the whole historical development of the subject of ethics. As Virginia Held suggests, "Since women have been virtually ignored in the construction of traditional moral theory, it is not altogether surprising that moralities focusing on justice or abstract rules have often been imagined to be the only true moralities."²⁵ The feminist philosopher Allison Jaggar has further developed the case against Western notions of ethics in an essay called "feminist ethics". Rosemarie Tong summarises her argument as follows: "First, [Western ethics] shows little concern for women's as opposed to men's interests and rights. Second, it dismisses as morally uninteresting the problems that arise in the so-called private world, the realm in which women cook, clean, and care for the young, the old, and the sick. Third, it suggests that, on the average, women are not as morally developed as men. Fourth, it overvalues culturally masculine traits like independence, autonomy, separation, mind, reason, culture, transcendence, war, and death, and undervalues culturally feminine traits like interdependence, community, connection, body, emotion, nature, immanence, peace, and life. Fifth, and finally, it favors culturally masculine ways of moral reasoning that emphasize rules, universality, and impartiality over culturally feminine ways of moral reasoning that emphasize relationships, particularity, and partiality."²⁶

Given the nature of some of the females in Greek drama, a major question that arises is whether a feminist ethics implies morally appropriate actions and whether the feelings

²⁵ HELD, 66. Held further explains, "On the views of rationality that emerged in Greek thought and were developed in the Western philosophical tradition, Reason was associated with the public domain, from which women were largely excluded". HELD, 68.

²⁶ TONG, 2003.

or the ethical stance can be right but the deeds wrong. The problem of adopting female characters of Greek tragedy as feminist icons is not only their frequently tragic fates, but also the exaggerated nature of some of their actions. There are a surprising number of females murdering males in Greek tragedy, some accidentally (like Agave dismembering Pentheus and Deianeira poisoning Heracles) and others deliberately (like Medea, Clytemnestra, Hecuba and her assistants in *Hecuba*, and the women in the lost Danaean trilogy of Aeschylus). As previously mentioned, theatre and classics scholars have called attention to the misogynist values underlying some of the ancient texts.²⁷ For example, Sue Ellen Case writes, "Perhaps the feminist reader will decide that the female roles have nothing to do with women, that these roles should be played by men, as fantasies of 'Woman' as 'Other' than men." Žižek, in an article on "The Feminine Excess", labels some of these women (i.e., Hecuba, Medea, and Phaedra) "repulsive monsters" who take "pathologically excessive" actions.²⁸ On the other hand, Sarah Pomeroy has attributed the misogynist sentiments in Euripides' plays to his characters rather than to himself, suggesting that Euripides presented such opinions in order to raise important issues and represented "women victimized by patriarchy in almost every possible way".²⁹ Nevertheless, regardless of whether Case (and Žižek) or Pomeroy is right, the question that haunts the figure of Medea is how can a mother justify killing her own children. If she can be seen to reflect a feminist ethics at the beginning of the play (and it is perhaps worth remembering that her early speech in the play about the plight of women – "Thrice would I under shield stand, rather than bear childbirth-peril once" – was recited at suffragette meetings from the early twentieth century),³⁰ what about by the end of the play? Can an audience, even a feminist audience, maintain sympathy for a woman who acts so contrary to the values of modern society and to the notions of motherhood, or is one forced to accept that such plays as *Medea* and the *Oresteia* reflected the patriarchal values of Greek society and presented such characters as diabolical figures to men? It is clear that Medea's actions (and those of certain other female protagonists such as Clytemnestra and Electra in the *Oresteia*) are wholly unrepresentative of an ethics of care. Even though she is a strong and dynamic character who engages our sympathies early in the play, she ultimately acts in a way that is unpalatable to contemporary society.

Because of this problem, modern productions often scale down or make acceptable the egregious crimes of such characters. It is noteworthy that Marina Carr, having based By

²⁷ See SARAH B. POMEROY, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975): 97-110; ZEITLIN, 87-119; FOLEY, 12-13; CASE, 317-327.

²⁸ See ŽIŽEK and DOLAR, 184.

²⁹ POMEROY, 110.

³⁰ EDITH HALL, introduction, Euripides, *Bacchae and Other Plays* (Oxford University Press, 2000): XI. Lines 250-251 of *Medea*, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958 edition).

the *Bog of Cats* closely on the structure of Euripides' *Medea*, changed the ending so that the Medea character does not fly away triumphantly after killing her child but commits suicide. Similarly, Deborah Warner's production of *Medea*, which toured from Dublin to London, New York, and Paris (2000-2003), ended with Medea sitting quietly beside Jason, both aghast at the turn of events.

Likewise, Electra's conspiracy to kill her mother seems hard to justify in such a way as to retain the sympathy of the audience. And so Thaddeus O'Sullivan's film *In the Border* (which updates the *Oresteia* to the troubles in Northern Ireland) presents Clytemnestra's murder as partly accidental to make it more plausible and Electra more sympathetic.

Clytemnestra's actions in the *Agamemnon* are equally problematic. Her initial rage in the play, which might be easy to accept early on, is prolonged and grossly re-emphasised with the display of her victims on the *ekkyklema* at the end of the *Agamemnon*. Depending on the production, the horror of the audience at her actions can be accentuated by this graphic display, and if the original structure of the play is preserved, it is difficult to sympathise with her when her hands are dripping with blood and the corpses lie at her side. For example, the Peter Stein production of the *Oresteia* in 1980 at the Schaubühne in Berlin emphasised this with blood running off the front of the stage into a gulley during her final speech. As James Diggle stresses, Clytemnestra is an axe-murderer with a vengeance, exulting in Agamemnon's blood as if it were rain from heaven.³¹

However, Clytemnestra's actions can become more understandable to an audience when reminded that her husband sacrificed her daughter. Consequently, many modern productions written or directed by women solve "some of the problem of the trilogy's notorious misogyny"³² by incorporating parts of the *Iphigenia in Aulis* into the performance, e.g., *Les Atrides* directed by Ariane Mnouchkine, *Ariel* by Marina Carr, or simply by including Iphigenia as a silent presence on stage, as in the 1999-2000 production by Katie Mitchell. Edith Hall argues that the "post-feminist Western liberal consensus can cope with the terrifying Clytemnestra of Aeschylus better if it is simultaneously offered the more sympathetic Clytemnestra of *Iphigenia in Aulis*."³³ Conversely, by incorporating Clytemnestra's revenge into productions of *Iphigenia in Aulis*, the play can become less about victimised females, and more about females taking justifiable revenge for wrongful actions.³⁴

In the initial scenes of *Medea*, *Electra*, and the *Oresteia*, the audience might empathise with the hurt and rage that Medea, Electra, and Clytemnestra feel, but without drastically

³¹ JAMES DIGGLE, "The Violence of Clytemnestra," in DILLON and WILMER, eds., *Rebel Women: Staging Ancient Greek Drama Today*, (London: Methuen, 2005): 215-221.

³² EDITH HALL, "Iphigenia and her Mother at Aulis," in DILLON and WILMER, eds., *Rebel Women: Staging Ancient Greek Drama Today*, (London: Methuen, 2005): 18.

³³ HALL, 18-19.

³⁴ HALL, 19.

rewriting the original or softening its impact through production techniques, it is difficult to maintain the sympathy of the audience for the characters by the end of the plays. We tend to be horrified by their actions. One could argue that the original versions of Greek drama provide an unusual respect for the power of women to rebel and to subvert the power relations to which they are subjected. As Medea says,

*“Woman quails at every peril,
Faint-hearted to face the fray and look on steel;
But when in wedlock-rights she suffers wrong,
No spirit more bloodthirsty shall be found.”* (lines 263-266).

Perhaps it is useful today that these more outrageous characters can also serve, undiluted, as much as a warning to men as a role model to women. Maybe it is because such characters as Clytemnestra, Medea, and Electra start out as advocates of an ethics of care but so deliberately flout that ethics through their exaggerated actions (in killing their husband, children, and mother) that these characters are so intriguing as well as challenging for modern audiences and for women directors and playwrights. While implicated in an ethics of care through their early pronouncements and their role as mothers and daughters, they transgress stereotypical notions of female behaviour through their outrageous crimes against the family. Moreover, despite this transgression, modern (female) audiences can still appreciate their vengeful acts as justifiable retribution for outrageous patriarchal behaviour.³⁵

In conclusion: contemporary theatre directors and dramatists, particularly women, have turned to Greek drama in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, having discovered that while Greek drama was written by men for a mainly (if not exclusively³⁶) male audience, female characters in fifth-century drama often possess a strength of purpose, an ability to overcome male oppression, a sense of female solidarity and a commitment to (and transgression of) higher moral values that are often lacking in theatrical figures from later centuries. While theatre scholars such as Sue Ellen Case have emphasised the misogynist features underlying these plays and classicists such as Froma Zeitlin have argued that in their original social context the female characters' *“actions and reactions are all used*

³⁵ As anecdotal evidence of this, the Irish columnist John Waters expressed his sense of outrage (and intimidation) at the female reaction to Deborah Warner's production of *Medea* in Dublin in 2000: "You could see women in the audience at key moments glancing meaningfully at their male partners, as if to say, 'Now, see what we have to put up with. Count yourself lucky I don't stab your children in their sleep.'" JOHN WATERS, "Problems in Excusing Medea's Murders," *Irish Times*, (19 June 2000).

³⁶ For a scholarly discussion of whether women attended the festival of Dionysus, see SOPHOCLES, 51, n. 150.

finally to serve masculine ends,”³⁷ modern productions have often exploited these dramas to serve female ends. For women who question and rebel against patriarchal structures in modern times, the Greek tragic heroines, and especially Antigone, who enters the political arena and challenges the political status quo, can provide alternative models in the power relations between men and women and can be used to question conventional notions of civic authority as well as family and marriage. Thus, these figures have been increasingly exploited in the last two decades to interrogate moral values and gender roles in today’s society. Moreover, they help to focus on the topical question of whether there is a universal ethics or, alternatively, an ethics divided by gender; and whether the concept of a feminist ethics represents an advance in social attitudes or a new ghetto for women.³⁸

³⁷ ZEITLIN, 13.

³⁸ I am indebted to the Lithuanian philosopher Audronė Žukauskaitė for this insight.

III

Perspectives of Theatre Studies

Theatre and Education



Stratégie et perspective des études théâtrales

Théâtre et Éducation

LES ÉTUDES THÉÂTRALES À LA SORBONNE NOUVELLE

L'Institut d'études théâtrales (IET) de Paris III – Sorbonne Nouvelle est la seule UFR (Unité de Formation et de Recherche), en France, qui soit à la fois totalement indépendante et entièrement consacrée au théâtre. Dans les autres universités où le théâtre est enseigné, soit il l'est au sein de départements qui dépendent d'autres UFR (notamment de Lettres), soit il fait partie d'UFR mixtes, rassemblant plusieurs disciplines (notamment, cinéma et communication). Cette autonomie, qui fait sa force et son originalité et qui, par là, attire de nombreux étudiants français, mais aussi étrangers, l'Institut d'études théâtrales a dû se battre pour l'acquérir progressivement et pour la conserver. Tout récemment encore, lorsque nous avons soumis pour approbation au ministère de l'Éducation nationale les maquettes des nouveaux cursus que nous avons élaborées en vue de la mise en place de la réforme européenne des études universitaires, dite chez nous LMD (Licence en 3 ans, Master en 2 ans, Doctorat en 3 ans), le ministère a d'abord voulu nous contraindre à substituer à nos Licences spécifiques une Licence «Arts du spectacle» combinant théâtre et cinéma, dont ni l'UFR de cinéma, ni nous-mêmes ne voulions. Finalement, en renvoyant un argumentaire qui défendait la nécessité de maintenir nos Licences spécifiques, et moyennant quelques ajustements, nous avons obtenu de les conserver.

Le premier argument avancé était l'ancienneté de notre département. En effet, l'Institut d'études théâtrales a été créé officiellement, par un arrêté du ministère de l'Éducation nationale, sur l'initiative de deux professeurs de Littérature de la Sorbonne, Raymond Lebègue et Jacques Scherer, en 1959, dans le but «de coordonner et de développer à la Sorbonne les études supérieures relatives au théâtre». Il est alors rattaché à la section Langue et Littérature française. Il s'est constitué à partir du don, quelques mois auparavant, d'une bibliothèque spécifique, issue du legs du fonds Gaston Baty, dont elle porte le nom. Extrêmement riche en collections anciennes, et en ouvrages aujourd'hui introuvables, elle s'est considérablement enrichie depuis, notamment par le legs du fonds Bernard Dort. À côté de la bibliothèque, l'Institut a développé une vaste vidéothèque (en passe d'être numérisée) et d'importantes archives photographiques. Cet ensemble est naturellement ouvert à tous les étudiants en études théâtrales, mais aussi aux chercheurs français et étrangers, pour qui elle est une référence incontournable. Les toutes premières années de l'Institut, il n'y a pas eu de cours, mais seulement des conférences ponctuelles ouvertes à tout le monde. C'est en 1962 qu'est créé pour les étudiants le premier certificat d'Études théâtrales, un certificat libre qui n'entre dans la constitution d'aucune Licence reconnue. Ensuite, dans

une progression continue, dont je passerai le détail, les études théâtrales se sont développées en un cursus cohérent, aboutissant à des diplômes, d'abord simplement d'université, puis enfin nationaux (en 1985 pour la Licence et la Maîtrise, en 1994 pour le DEUG «Arts du spectacle, option théâtre»). Notons, pour terminer ce bref rappel historique, que c'est en mai 1968, que l'Institut proclame son autonomie, puis qu'il choisit, dès sa fondation en 1970, de quitter la Sorbonne ancienne (désormais Paris IV) et de rejoindre Paris III – Sorbonne Nouvelle au Centre Censier.

La mise en place de la réforme LMD, rendue obligatoire par décision ministérielle, et qui a pour objet d'harmoniser les diplômes au niveau européen, nous a amenés à reconsidérer l'ensemble de notre cursus, à en renforcer la cohérence et la progressivité, à accentuer ses lignes de force. Le théâtre est un objet extrêmement complexe: notre objectif est de l'étudier dans toutes ses dimensions et d'en tenter une approche multidisciplinaire.

Une des lignes de force essentielles de notre enseignement est d'associer études théoriques et approches pratiques. Ainsi, chaque semestre (puisque, désormais, les trois années de Licence et les deux années de Master sont organisées en semestres devant être validés individuellement), l'étudiant doit obligatoirement prendre part à un atelier pratique. Si le premier semestre, l'atelier est obligatoirement un atelier d'initiation au jeu d'acteur, à partir du second semestre, l'étudiant aura le choix entre des ateliers diversifiés: improvisations, interprétation de textes, dramaturgie, mise en scène, scénographie, écriture dramatique, marionnettes, jeu de clown, masques, commedia dell'arte, travail choral, travail plus spécifique sur le corps, le geste, la voix, etc. Pour ménager une bonne progression, ces ateliers sont de trois heures hebdomadaires en première année, de quatre en seconde année et de cinq en troisième année. Ils sont tous encadrés par des professionnels du théâtre à part entière (une bonne quarantaine de Chargés d'ateliers), ou par des enseignants de l'UFR ayant aussi une expérience professionnelle (acteurs, metteurs en scène, scénographes, chorégraphes, auteurs dramatiques). Ni ces ateliers, non plus que les enseignements théoriques ne visent à donner à l'étudiant une formation professionnelle susceptible de déboucher sur un emploi assuré dans le monde du travail. Le but est d'ouvrir l'étudiant à la connaissance aussi bien par la pratique que par la théorie de tous les aspects des arts et des métiers que recouvre la création théâtrale. Beaucoup de nos étudiants suivent par ailleurs une formation d'acteurs dans des écoles privées ou des conservatoires municipaux préparant aux concours d'entrée des grandes écoles nationales: Conservatoire national d'Art dramatique à Paris, École du Théâtre national de Strasbourg, École nationale supérieure des Arts et Techniques du théâtre à Lyon, etc. Mais nous posons le principe que ces formations personnelles ne doivent en aucun cas entraver le cursus universitaire des étudiants.

Le deuxième point à souligner est la multiplicité des champs que l'enseignement théorique s'efforce de couvrir. Il y a bien sûr l'Histoire du théâtre, obligatoire pour tous les

étudiants: par «histoire du théâtre», nous entendons aussi bien histoire des lieux de spectacle, histoire des formes scéniques, histoire des formes dramaturgiques et histoire de la mise en scène française et européenne. Autant qu'il nous est possible (il faut trouver les enseignants compétents), nous essayons d'introduire l'étude des formes non européennes: théâtres d'Asie, théâtres d'Afrique, autres théâtres francophones (Québec, Antilles, etc.).

Le deuxième champ, exploré année après année, est celui de l'esthétique: de Platon à Brecht, les grands textes des penseurs du théâtre sont soumis à la compréhension et à la réflexion des étudiants. On étudie, en particulier, toutes les théories, de Diderot à Antoine Vitez, en passant par Stanislavski, Meyerhold et Craig, concernant le jeu de l'acteur.

L'étude des œuvres dramatiques, de l'Antiquité à nos jours, tient évidemment une place importante dans le cycle de la Licence. Il y a au moins un cours qui leur est consacré chaque semestre. En retravaillant la maquette, nous avons essayé que chaque période et chaque genre dramatique soient dignement représentés: nous avons dû renforcer la part des auteurs classiques et modernes, les étudiants étant naturellement portés vers l'extrême contemporain et manquant souvent de bases culturelles solides. Ces œuvres sont abordées, selon les cours et les enseignants, par différentes méthodes: d'un point de vue historique et dramaturgique (plutôt que strictement littéraire), par une analyse rhétorique, par une approche anthropologique, voire psychanalytique, etc. Le plus souvent, l'étude porte non sur l'œuvre d'un auteur particulier (cela existe aussi), mais plutôt sur plusieurs œuvres d'auteurs différents, soit de la même époque, soit d'époques différentes, reliées par une thématique ou une problématique commune (par exemple: la poétique du rire à travers Aristophane, Labiche et Feydeau; le monstre et le monstrueux de l'Antiquité à nos jours; la catastrophe dans le théâtre contemporain; le rêve et la parabole comme art du détour dans le théâtre de Strindberg à aujourd'hui, etc.).

Aussi importante pour nous que l'étude des textes est l'analyse de la représentation, puisque c'est elle qui définit le fait théâtral. Elle est introduite dans notre cursus dès la première année, sous la forme de ce que nous appelons «Atelier du spectateur», qui est un enseignement obligatoire pour tous les étudiants. Les étudiants sont invités à aller voir plusieurs spectacles donnés dans divers théâtres (trois ou quatre par semestre), si possible de genre et de style différents, puis à en proposer des analyses portant sur un aspect ou un autre du spectacle, analyses qui sont ensuite confrontées et discutées collectivement. Dans la suite du cycle, on retrouvera chaque semestre au moins un cours consacré à l'analyse de représentations, articulée autour de thématiques plus précises et souvent reliée à l'étude des textes correspondants: mises en scène de théâtre antique, mises en scène de Shakespeare, des classiques français, de pièces de Tchekhov, etc. Évidemment, la richesse, l'abondance et la diversité de l'offre théâtrale à Paris (et dans sa banlieue) facilitent grandement l'exploration de ce champ. Pour nous, l'IET doit être avant tout une «école du spectateur»: on doit donner aux étudiants l'envie et le besoin d'aller au théâtre, de voir toutes sortes de

spectacles, on doit éduquer leur goût et leur esprit critique, en développant des méthodes d'analyse qui leur permettent de décrypter les signes du langage théâtral et ainsi de comprendre le point de vue selon lequel une mise en scène est construite, d'en juger la cohérence et la pertinence. Car, même la mise en scène apparemment la plus simple et la plus dépouillée est le fruit de choix nombreux et complexes de la part des praticiens de la scène (metteur en scène, scénographe, musicien, acteurs, etc.) C'est pourquoi, aussi, nous essayons, autant qu'il nous est possible, d'organiser soit dans nos cours, soit en dehors d'eux, des rencontres avec les artistes de tel ou tel spectacle qui a fait l'objet d'une étude dans le cours. Par exemple, l'année dernière, à propos d'une représentation des *Bacchantes* d'Euripide à la Comédie-Française, j'ai pu faire venir dans mon cours les deux traducteurs Jean et Mayotte Bollack et le metteur en scène André Wilms pour discuter avec les étudiants. Une autre année, profitant du passage à Paris du Bread and Puppet, j'ai invité une comédienne de la compagnie à donner une conférence sur la pratique de vie communautaire de cette troupe et sur ses réalisations toujours à la fois artistiques et politiques.

Le théâtre contemporain est un art qui se cherche, qui se remet en question et qui tente de se renouveler, notamment en s'ouvrant à beaucoup d'autres pratiques, considérées jusqu'à présent comme des arts différents et spécifiques: danse, cirque, marionnettes, vidéo, etc. C'est un point fort, je crois, de notre cursus de Licence d'essayer de leur faire place, d'analyser et de comprendre ces nouveaux aspects de la pratique théâtrale. Ainsi, nous avons créé un module obligatoire «Théâtre et autres arts», où sont proposés, au choix, des cours sur «les arts de la rue», les «arts du cirque», le «théâtre d'objets» (ces trois pratiques artistiques étant en France depuis quelques années en plein développement et beaucoup de nos étudiants sont attirés par elles), le «Performance Art», le «théâtre-danse», «le théâtre et les nouvelles technologies», le «théâtre et les arts plastiques», etc. Dans ces cas, l'enseignement peut combiner, selon le désir de l'enseignant, approche théorique et approche pratique.

Enfin, un autre champ que nous nous efforçons de couvrir – et que nous avons développé dans notre nouvelle maquette – est celui qui concerne les institutions théâtrales et les questions de politique culturelle. En effet, une très grande partie du théâtre en France est subventionnée par l'État et par les collectivités locales, et dépend donc des politiques culturelles menées par le ministère de la Culture, les Directions régionales de ce dernier (DRAC), et également de celles menées par les municipalités et les régions. Les questions de politique culturelle sont évidemment liées à celles de la politique tout court, et concernent le champ de la vie citoyenne. Il y a donc lieu d'envisager l'étude à la fois de manière diachronique: comment le théâtre dit «public» (mot qui n'a pas d'équivalent en anglais, tant cette notion est étrangère au monde anglo-saxon) est né, s'est développé, a évolué dans le temps, et de manière synchronique: quelle est la situation de ce théâtre aujourd'hui. Situation de fait extrêmement complexe, car il y a de nombreuses institutions de statut et de mission

différents: théâtres nationaux au nombre de cinq (dont un seul en province, le Théâtre national de Strasbourg), Centres dramatiques nationaux, Scènes nationales, etc. À côté de ces institutions, il y a aussi un très grand nombre de compagnies, dont certaines sont implantées dans des lieux théâtraux (comme le Théâtre du Soleil), et d'autres pas, qui sont aussi subventionnées, soit par convention renouvelable tous les trois ans, soit ponctuellement par une «aide au projet». Les étudiants, s'ils veulent se lancer dans la vie théâtrale, doivent connaître et comprendre tous ces fonctionnements. Aussi leur proposons-nous un certain nombre de cours portant sur ces questions, certains obligatoires, comme «Institutions et métiers du théâtre», d'autres optionnels, comme «Droit et économie du spectacle», «Projets artistiques et politiques culturelles». Ces cours sont aujourd'hui d'autant plus importants que la maquette ministérielle demande à chaque étudiant de travailler à la «Construction d'un projet personnel», tourné soit vers les métiers du théâtre, soit vers la recherche. Dans ce souci de familiariser les étudiants à la réalité pratique du monde du théâtre, nous leur proposons d'effectuer un stage professionnel dans un théâtre, quel qu'il soit, ou dans une compagnie, stage qui peut être aussi bien dans le domaine de la création artistique (mise en scène, scénographie), que du côté de la technique (régie son ou lumière), ou de l'administration (relations avec le public, avec la presse, programmation). Malheureusement, nous n'avons pas la possibilité de leur offrir un choix de stages, ils doivent faire leurs propres démarches pour en trouver un. Cependant, nous avons noué des conventions de partenariat avec une dizaine de théâtres, ce qui nous permet d'avoir avec eux des relations d'échanges privilégiées. Notamment, nous venons de créer un cours (au deuxième semestre) intitulé «Approche des métiers et des pratiques du spectacle vivant»: il s'agira d'étudier autour d'un spectacle donné dans un théâtre partenaire toutes les pratiques (artistiques et non artistiques), tous les métiers engagés dans la création d'un spectacle, qui permettent d'aller de son projet à sa représentation devant le public (cinq groupes parallèles travailleront avec cinq théâtres différents).

Ajoutons à cette description (non complète, il faut le préciser) du cursus de la Licence spécifique d'Études théâtrales que nous ouvrons, cette année, pour répondre tant à la demande du ministère qu'aux souhaits de certains étudiants, deux parcours interdisciplinaires Théâtre-Cinéma et Théâtre-Lettres modernes, organisés en collaboration avec les UFR correspondantes. Parcours réservés à un nombre limité d'étudiants (de 25, la première année, à 50 éventuellement par la suite).

À côté de la Licence générale, dont le but naturel est de permettre la continuation des études en deuxième cycle, c'est-à-dire en Master, ce dont je parlerai plus loin, nous avons aussi créé en 2001 une Licence dite «professionnelle». C'est également un diplôme national, qui requiert l'habilitation du ministère, puisque sa mise en place nécessite des crédits supplémentaires. Elle est intitulée «Encadrement d'ateliers de pratiques théâtrales/Pédagogie de la transmission théâtrale»: elle a pour but de former (sur les plans théorique

et pratique) les étudiants qui souhaitent animer, prendre en charge, encadrer des ateliers amateurs ou professionnels de jeu, de mise en espace ou même d'écriture dramatique. C'est un enseignement d'une année (ou deux semestres) qui est parallèle à la troisième année de notre Licence générale et qui aboutira également à un diplôme équivalent à Bac + 3. Elle est ouverte à un nombre limité d'étudiants (une trentaine), de préférence des adultes en reprise d'études, c'est-à-dire qui sont déjà engagés dans la vie professionnelle (la plupart comme comédiens ou comme enseignants, notamment dans les options «théâtre» des lycées). Ces étudiants sont choisis sur dossiers et entretiens et à l'issue d'un stage initial de bilan-évaluation, à la fin duquel certains pourront être réorientés soit vers la Licence générale, soit vers le Master. Ils vont bénéficier, au total, de beaucoup plus d'heures d'enseignement que dans l'année correspondante de la Licence générale, la plupart sous forme d'ateliers spécifiques. Ils auront aussi à participer à deux stages professionnels, l'un dans le cadre d'un atelier de pratique théâtrale (au moins 120 heures), l'autre au sein d'un établissement théâtral ou d'une structure de formation (au moins 250 heures). À titre de comparaison, celui demandé dans la Licence générale n'est que de 75 heures. On doit préciser que ce diplôme n'assure pas à coup sûr un emploi correspondant, mais c'est certainement un argument de plus dans un *curriculum vitae* pour en trouver un. Le ministère est du reste très attentif au devenir professionnel de nos étudiants et, pour lui, cette Licence ne se justifie qu'en termes de débouchés sur le marché du travail (lequel, au plan du théâtre et des métiers qui en découlent, est chez nous extrêmement concurrentiel et pléthorique). Aussi, considère-t-il le fait que certains de nos étudiants en reprise d'études aient eu envie de poursuivre après cette Licence un travail de recherche en maîtrise (ou, à partir de cette année, en Master) – ce dont, pour notre part, nous nous félicitons –, comme un échec et un contre-argument à son maintien. C'est pourquoi l'existence de cette Licence est fragile et menacée, puisque, après un premier avis défavorable, le ministère nous l'a maintenue, mais seulement pour une durée de deux ans. Pourtant, elle a certainement un large écho dans les milieux de la profession théâtrale, si l'on en juge par le nombre sans cesse en augmentation d'étudiants qui demandent à bénéficier de cette formation.

Il me reste à vous parler rapidement du Master en deux ans qui se substitue chez nous à la fois à la maîtrise, mémoire de recherche qui se faisait après la licence et clôturait ainsi le second cycle, et au mémoire de DEA (diplôme d'études approfondies) qui ouvrait la porte au Doctorat. Contrairement à d'autres universités, nous avons choisi de remplacer les deux mémoires précédents par un seul, qui se soutiendra à la fin de la deuxième année, car nous avons pu constater que la plupart des étudiants avaient besoin de deux années pour mener à bien leur mémoire. Ce Master Recherche intitulé «Théâtre et Arts du spectacle» est constitué, comme nos anciens diplômes, d'un mémoire et de plusieurs séminaires, les uns thématiques (deux en première année, trois en deuxième année), les autres méthodologiques (deux au premier semestre). L'étudiant effectue sa recherche sous la direction d'un

enseignant choisi en fonction de son champ de compétences (histoire du théâtre et de la mise-en-scène, dramaturgies classiques, baroques, contemporaines, questions d'esthétique, formation de l'acteur, analyse de la représentation, iconographie théâtrale, relations du théâtre avec les autres arts, critique dramatique, etc.), avec l'accord de qui il a défini son propre sujet. La nouvelle maquette renforce l'encadrement de l'étudiant en instituant la première année une notation du «suivi de la recherche». Les séminaires thématiques proposent des sujets avec des problématiques plus pointues que ceux, plus généralistes, de la Licence: ils sont évidemment en rapport avec les champs de compétence de l'enseignant. Si le mémoire final ne se soutient qu'à la fin de la seconde année, à la fin de la première année, l'étudiant présente devant un jury un dossier permettant de juger de l'avancement de sa recherche: il doit comporter un exposé de la problématique du sujet, une bibliographie complète, et une partie rédigée (une quarantaine de pages) du futur mémoire. Ce n'est que si l'étudiant obtient la note de 14 sur 20, et à son dossier, et en moyenne générale, qu'il sera admis en seconde année. L'inscription en Doctorat se fera aux mêmes conditions à la fin du Master. Cette décision de mettre une condition de niveau pour accéder à la poursuite de la recherche n'a été prise qu'à l'issue d'une longue réflexion de notre part. Tout titulaire de la Licence pouvant s'inscrire en Master, elle nous a semblé nécessaire pour éviter aux étudiants de se fourvoyer dans des études qui n'aboutiraient pas et qui n'auraient comme résultat qu'une perte de temps pour eux comme pour les enseignants, dont certains ont à diriger un nombre considérable de mémoires et de Doctorats.

Enfin, nous avons profité de la réforme pour proposer et obtenir l'habilitation, parallèlement au Master Recherche, d'un Master professionnel, intitulé «Métiers de la production théâtrale». Celui-ci répond à un manque évident sur le marché des professions du théâtre: en effet, on trouve d'une part, dans les grandes structures, des administrateurs qui ont une très bonne formation économique et de gestion financière, mais qui manquent cruellement, le plus souvent, de connaissances théâtrales et, d'autre part, des personnes issues des Études théâtrales, mais qui manquent de connaissances juridiques et de gestion. Il nous semble donc utile et même nécessaire de mettre en place une *«formation transversale de haut niveau, qui allie l'artistique et l'administratif»*. Elle donnerait à nos étudiants de nombreuses possibilités d'insertion dans les champs professionnels qui se situent en amont et en aval des pratiques artistiques elles-mêmes: en amont, ceux de la production, de la programmation, du conseil artistique et dramaturgique; en aval, ceux des relations publiques (presse, écoles, universités, etc.) En fait, la spécialisation professionnalisante, réservée à un nombre limité d'étudiants, puisqu'elle nécessite beaucoup plus de cours et d'encadrements que la recherche, ne se fera qu'au niveau de la seconde année du Master; la première année étant commune aux deux Masters. Parmi les étudiants choisis pour y accéder, une priorité sera réservée aux étudiants issus de la Licence professionnelle et à ceux qui, en fonction d'un projet personnel affirmé, auront déjà suivi, dans la Licence générale, les cours cor-

respondant à l'option «Connaissance des institutions théâtrales», un des deux «parcours fléchés» que, pour répondre aux vœux du ministère, nous avons proposé de distinguer au sein de la Licence, le second qui conduit au Master Recherche étant «Connaissance de l'art théâtral». Mais ces distinctions sont un peu formelles, et les motivations réelles de l'étudiant entreront largement en ligne de compte pour la détermination du Master à poursuivre. Ce Master professionnel vient d'être mis en place à la rentrée 2006. Il a rencontré immédiatement un vif succès auprès des étudiants, qui paraissent très motivés.

Je serai heureuse de répondre à vos questions si vous souhaitez des informations complémentaires, ou de connaître vos objections, si vous êtes en désaccord avec ces orientations concernant les Études théâtrales à l'université.

MARCO DE MARINIS

IL DIALOGO FRA TEORIA, PRATICA E STORIA.
PROBLEMI METODOLOGICI DEGLI STUDI TEATRALI

1. *Premessa*

Ritengo che ormai esista un consenso molto vasto circa quello che si è affermato, negli ultimi trent'anni, come l'oggetto degli studi teatrali: non più il testo drammatico ma neppure soltanto lo spettacolo, bensì il teatro, il *fatto teatrale*, inteso non come semplice prodotto-risultato ma come il complesso dei processi produttivi e ricettivi che circondano e fondano lo spettacolo.¹

Ciò che invece resta ancora aperto, e oggetto di discussione, è la questione metodologica, cioè le implicazioni metodologiche della rivoluzione teorica degli studi teatrali, il cui oggetto è cambiato dal testo drammatico al fatto teatrale.

Credo che sulla metodologia degli studi teatrali circolino ancora molti malintesi ed equivoci. In proposito, un nodo cruciale è sicuramente quello costituito dai rapporti fra teoria e pratica; un altro è quello dei rapporti fra teoria e storia (o storiografia). Ma in realtà si tratta di un dialogo a tre. Da qui il titolo del mio intervento.

Può essere utile affrontare queste due questioni delicate partendo dalle opinioni della gente di teatro, degli artisti, dei *praticiens*. È innegabile che, nel corso del secolo appena passato, il XX, tutti gli avanzamenti decisivi degli studi teatrali (dalla *Theaterwissenschaft* d'inizio Novecento a quella che chiamo la "nuova teatrologia", affermatasi gradualmente negli anni Sessanta-Settanta) siano avvenuti anche grazie al dialogo e all'apporto degli uomini di teatro. Basti pensare, ad esempio, al cambiamento profondo che essi hanno consentito nel modo di guardare ad un fenomeno complesso e decisivo, per il teatro europeo moderno, come la Commedia dell'Arte; per non parlare della problematica del luogo teatrale, che dal Novecento è stata utilmente proiettata all'indietro, servendo a mettere a punto un approccio storico-critico molto innovativo allo spazio scenico.

Quando parlo di opinioni degli uomini di teatro, non mi riferisco ovviamente ai luoghi comuni e ai pregiudizi che ancora oggi circolano in abbondanza nel mondo dello spettacolo, nei confronti degli studiosi e dei critici. Penso, invece, alle posizioni di quegli artisti, di solito registi e attori, pochi a dire il vero, che hanno sempre mostrato di comprendere

¹ Cfr., di chi scrive, *Capire il teatro. Lineamenti di una nuova teatrologia*, (Roma: Bulzoni, 1999) (Prima edizione, 1988).

realmente l'importanza – anche ai fini del lavoro pratico – del contributo storiografico-critico-teorico. Le opinioni, anche duramente polemiche a volte, di questo raro tipo di uomini di teatro sono preziose – a mio avviso – per una autoriflessione metodologica (ovvero, per un esame di coscienza) della nostra disciplina.

2. Teoria e pratica: il veder-fare e l'esperienza pratica indiretta

Uno di questi rari uomini di teatro, in realtà un vero e proprio artista-teorico (nella migliore tradizione del Novecento teatrale), è certamente Eugenio Barba. E vorrei partire proprio da una sua pagina molto polemica rivolta a noi teorici, a noi studiosi di teatro, per vedere se essa ci permetta delle chiarificazioni utili rispetto alle due questioni metodologiche enunciate (rapporto teoria-pratica, rapporto teoria-storia).

La pagina in questione appartiene al volume *La canoa di carta-Trattato di Antropologia Teatrale*.² È la conclusione del capitolo 2, intitolato *Definizione*. Qui Barba sostiene che uno dei vantaggi fondamentali dell'Antropologia Teatrale consiste nel fatto di superare quella particolare forma di «*etnocentrismo teatrale [...] che osserva il teatro ponendo il punto di vista solo dalla parte dello spettatore, cioè del risultato*», e trascurando in tal modo il punto di vista complementare del processo creativo degli attori e degli altri *praticiens*.³ E così aggiunge, nella pagina successiva:

«*La comprensione storica del teatro è spesso bloccata o resa superficiale dal trascurare la logica del processo creativo, dall'incomprensione del processo empirico degli attori, cioè dall'incapacità di superare i confini stabiliti per lo spettatore. [...] Non di rado [...] chi scrive la storia del teatro si confronta con le testimonianze sopravvissute senza avere un'esperienza sufficiente dei processi artigianali dello spettacolo. Rischia, così, di non fare storia, ma di accumulare deformazioni della memoria.*»⁴

Si tratta indubbiamente di critiche severe, ma altrettanto indubbiamente il problema sollevato è reale e importante. Vorrei provare ad affrontarlo in maniera più sistematica prendendo come punto di partenza quello fissato, stanislavskianamente,⁵ da Barba e che riassumerei così: *non si può essere buoni studiosi di teatro senza possedere anche una (qualche, certa, adeguata) esperienza tecnica (artigianale) di questa arte.*

La prima domanda da porsi al riguardo non può che essere la seguente: che cosa significa «esperienza tecnica» (o «artigianale»), ovvero, a che tipo di esperienza tecnica

² Bologna, Il Mulino, 1993

³ Ivi, p. 25.

⁴ Ivi, p. 26. Su questo problema si torna spesso nel libro: per esempio, alle pp. 70-71 del capitolo *Appunti per i perplessi*.

⁵ Cfr. ivi, p. 208, dove si cita Stanislavskij, secondo il quale, per non equivocare sulla terminologia da lui usata nei suoi libri, bisognava «*avere esperienza dell'arte*». Sul l'episodio, vedi anche MARCO DE MARINIS, *Visioni della scena. Teatro e scrittura*, (Roma-Bari, Laterza, 2004): V-VI.

(artigianale) ci si riferisce? Questa prima domanda ne suscita subito, a sua volta, altre due: una specifica e una generale. È possibile comprendere una tecnica teatrale, e in particolare la tecnica di un attore, senza esercitarla o averla esercitata *direttamente*, e cioè senza averne fatto in qualche modo un'esperienza *attiva*? Più in generale, è possibile capire un'arte, scrivere su di essa, studiarla dal punto di vista storico e teorico, senza esserne anche un *produttore*, o almeno un *praticante* (magari soltanto modestamente amatoriale e occasionale)?

Ritengo che, posta così, quest'ultima domanda non possa che ricevere, almeno in prima istanza, una risposta recisamente affermativa, la cui principale ragione teorica si fonda sulla distinzione fra *conoscenza-comprensione*, da un lato, e *uso*, dall'altro; detto altrimenti, fra *sapere* e *saper-fare*, fra competenza *passiva* (conoscenza *senza* uso) e competenza *attiva* (conoscenza *più* uso). Del resto, l'esperienza ci mostra continuamente esempi della dissociazione fra conoscenza-comprensione e uso, fra sapere e saper-fare, soprattutto nel caso di regole specialistiche, molto tecniche, difficili, come sono – di solito – quelle relative all'arte dell'attore.⁶

Questa precisazione mi consente di cominciare a rispondere anche alle prime due domande, affermando che non esiste *un solo tipo* di esperienza e di comprensione del teatro ma ne esistono almeno *tre*:

- a) l'esperienza-comprensione dell' *artista di teatro*, e in particolare dell'attore, fondata su di una competenza attiva, più o meno esplicita;
- b) l'esperienza-comprensione dello *spettatore comune*, fondata su di una competenza passiva e perlopiù implicita, intuitiva (cioè non-teorica, in termini tecnici);
- c) l'esperienza-comprensione del *teatrologo*, fondata su di una competenza passiva ma fortemente esplicita (teorica).

Prima di tentare di definire meglio i caratteri specifici dell'esperienza-comprensione del teatrologo, mi preme proporre un'altra considerazione. Tutte e tre queste esperienze-comprensioni rappresentano modi diversi di *fare teatro*. Ciò significa che si può fare teatro non soltanto *producendo* degli spettacoli ma anche *guardandoli*, ossia: studiandoli, scrivendo su di essi, tramandandone la memoria, facendone la storia, indagandone i processi. Questo lo dico anche in risposta a una certa sottovalutazione dello spettatore (in specie, di quello comune) che mi sembra di cogliere talvolta nei contributi sull'Antropologia Teatrale, e per esempio in certe pagine de *La canoa di carta*.⁷

Lo spettatore non è un attore fallito, o mancato: è, in quanto tale, l'altro, indispensabile protagonista della relazione teatrale (così come il lettore non è ovviamente, in quanto tale,

⁶ Rinvio, in proposito, al mio *Semiotica del teatro. L'analisi testuale dello spettacolo*, (Milano, 2003): 160 (1a ed., 1982).

⁷ Si veda, anche a tale proposito, la dettagliata discussione critica di quest'opera proposta dallo scrivente in AA. VV., *Drammaturgia dell'attore*, (Bologna, I Quaderni del Battello Ebbro, 1997): 225-293 (*Dal pre-espriativo alla drammaturgia dell'attore. Saggio sulla «Canoa di carta»*).

uno scrittore fallito o mancato). Ma se *vedere* teatro è uno dei vari modi di *farlo*, allora «avere esperienza dell'arte» significherà non soltanto praticarla direttamente, in maniera attiva, ma anche, appunto, guardarla, tramandarne la memoria, studiarla e così via.

Con ciò, posso venire all'esperienza-comprensione del teatrologo e al suo *proprium*, che consiste fondamentalmente nel fatto di dover rendere conto degli altri due tipi di esperienza-comprensione teatrale: quella dell'artista di teatro, e in particolare dell'attore, e quella dello spettatore comune. In che modo? Per dirla in breve, *facendone la storia*, vale a dire inserendole in uno sfondo enciclopedico e intertestuale più ampio, sia orizzontale (sincronico) che verticale (diacronico).

Tornando alla domanda «*che cosa significa, per lo storico-teorico del teatro, "avere esperienza dell'arte"?*», adesso mi è possibile rispondere in maniera più analitica. Per lo storico-teorico del teatro (ovvero per il teatrologo), «avere esperienza dell'arte» significa *nello stesso tempo*:

- 1) avere esperienza dei *processi* teatrali, il che implica a sua volta: *a)* conoscere e seguire il lavoro dell'attore (e degli altri *praticiens*); *b)* fare anche esperienze pratiche del lavoro dell'attore (e degli altri *praticiens*);
- 2) avere esperienza dei *risultati* teatrali, il che implica a sua volta: *a)* fare esperienza di spettacoli in quanto spettatore; *b)* fare esperienza della ricezione degli spettacoli, studiando gli spettatori.

Una primo risultato della discussione della pagina di Barba può quindi essere così riassunto: piuttosto che continuare a distinguere in maniera dicotomica (e a volte manichea) teoria/pratica, vedere/fare, sembra più utile e adeguato accedere all'idea che nel campo del teatro siano in gioco, siano possibili, *vari tipi di esperienza teatrale*, che mescolano insieme teoria e pratica, vedere e fare, sapere e saper-fare, naturalmente in modi e misure diverse e sulla base di differenti competenze (attiva, passiva, esplicita, implicita etc.).

Ma adesso il punto che mi interessa approfondire ulteriormente è quello dell'esperienza pratica utile, anzi indispensabile, al teatrologo nel suo lavoro storico-teorico, distinguendo fra esperienza pratica *diretta* ed esperienza pratica *indiretta*. A tale proposito, è vantaggioso riformulare le distinzioni fatte in precedenza, mediante l'individuazione di un *livello intermedio* fra i due tradizionali del vedere e del fare. Fra il vedere teatro e il fare teatro c'è il veder-fare teatro:

- 1) *Vedere teatro* (che è anche –come si è appena detto– un'altra maniera di farlo)
- 2) *Fare teatro*: è l'esperienza pratica *diretta* (più precisamente definibile come un *far-vedere*), che di solito si nutre anche di un *vedere*, cioè di una teoria, esplicita o implicita (ricordiamoci dell'affinità etimologica fra *theatron* e *theoria* in greco);
- 3) *Veder-fare teatro*, ovvero l'esperienza pratica *indiretta*: chiamo così quella che si acquisisce seguendo il lavoro dell'attore nel processo (prove, allenamento, dimostrazioni, eccetera). Questo livello, di solito trascurato, è viceversa fondamentale per superare ciò

che Barba chiama "*l'etnocentrismo dello spettatore*".

Si potrebbe dire che, mentre il vedere teatro consiste nel fare esperienza dei *prodotti*, e dunque della *spettacolarità*, dimensione *visibile* del fatto teatrale, il veder-fare teatro consiste nel fare esperienza dei *processi*, e cioè della *performatività*, dimensione *invisibile* del fatto teatrale, riguardante essenzialmente chi agisce e non chi assiste.⁸

L'esperienza pratica indiretta è stata, per me, la maggiore e più preziosa lezione dell'ISTA, l'International School of Theatre Anthropology, diretta da Eugenio Barba. È quella che vi si fa seguendo per giornate intere, e spesso per molti giorni ininterrottamente, le dimostrazioni degli attori o le prove di spettacoli. Giornate lunghissime e spesso molto noiose, passate a guardare per ore ed ore, combattendo con la voglia di andarsene altrove o con il bisogno di dormire. Eppure, durante queste sedute interminabili, dove sembra che non succeda mai niente e che tutto si ripeta implacabilmente, qualcosa *passa* del lavoro dell'attore e dei suoi dettagli tecnici: *passa attraverso* gli occhi, e senza che lo spettatore ne sia sempre cosciente, qualcosa di decisivo, che muta in maniera irreversibile la tua visione e dunque il tuo modo di essere spettatore, di guardare il teatro e di stare nel teatro; qualcosa che, in ogni caso, non può essere acquisito in nessun'altra maniera.

3. Due teorie geneticamente diverse, ovvero l'importanza della storia per gli studi teatrali

Fin qui abbiamo visto quanto sia importante, per lo studioso che voglia davvero liberarsi di quello che Barba ha chiamato "*l'etnocentrismo dello spettatore*", un più stretto, intrecciato rapporto con la pratica teatrale.⁹

Ma questa è soltanto *una* delle due condizioni indispensabili per una buona teatrologia. L'altra riguarda la storia, e quindi la storiografia. E va detto subito che si tratta di una questione sottovalutata se non proprio misconosciuta, almeno quanto quella dell'importanza dell'esperienza pratica indiretta, ovvero del veder-fare.

⁸ Di solito legate inscindibilmente, queste due dimensioni, la spettacolarità e la performatività, sono state disgiunte in alcune sperimentazioni al limite nel Novecento teatrale, che potremmo chiamare "*teatro senza spettacolo*". La più rigorosa e sistematica fra di esse è stata senz'altro l'Arte come veicolo, ultimo approdo e culmine dell'itinerario di Jerzy Grotowski.

⁹ Tanto per sgombrare il campo da un possibile equivoco, questo non vuol dire affatto che io concepisca la ricerca storico-teorica solo *in funzione* della pratica, cioè solamente *in funzione* dei risultati pratici che può produrre, privandola di ogni valore autonomo. Dal momento che è una confusione che mi capita di cogliere a volte in giro per il mondo nei dipartimenti di teatro, vale la pena precisare. Il valore scientifico di una ricerca su Artaud (o su Stanislavskij, su Brecht, su Grotowski) non si misura fondamentalmente sulla sua capacità di produrre risultati pratici immediati, diretti. Che poi, quali sarebbero? Un teatro artaudiano, brechtiano, stanislavskijano, grotowskiano? Reciprocamente, la efficacia e il valore di un lavoro pratico non si misurano sulla validità della teoria cui esso si appoggia, implicitamente o esplicitamente. Lo sappiamo tutti: mediocri teorie possono produrre ottime pratiche e, purtroppo, viceversa: quanti danni hanno fatto, senza loro colpa beninteso, i sunnominati Artaud, Brecht, Grotowski, Barba, o meglio i loro scritti, mal letti e ancor peggio applicati?

In un articolo pubblicato nel 1990, Ferdinando Taviani, uno dei più stretti collaboratori di Barba e dell'ISTA, sosteneva che le possibilità di «una scienza dei teatri» sono legate alla capacità di «riuscire a combinare l'indagine sulle tecniche con l'indagine storica, senza accontentarsi della scappatoia offerta da una "storia delle tecniche"». ¹⁰ Due anni dopo, un altro membro influente dell'équipe scientifica dell'ISTA, Nicola Savarese, riprese la proposta di Taviani aggiungendovi la seguente considerazione: «Non basta raccontare i fatti se i fatti non rispondono alle domande e ai dubbi professionali che si sono posti, e si pongono, coloro che il teatro lo praticano». ¹¹

«Combinare l'indagine sulle tecniche con l'indagine storica»: questo programma potrebbe essere adottato come una delle divise (e delle sfide) per la nuova teatrologia. Non vorrei sembrare troppo polemico ma, viaggiando da molti anni in vari paesi in tutto il mondo, ne ho ricavato la convinzione che negli studi teatrali, così come li si pratica e li si insegna generalmente, esista spesso una forte sottovalutazione della importanza della conoscenza storica come base indispensabile di ogni buona teatrologia. (Ciò accade sia nella ricerca che nella didattica, ovviamente: basti pensare alla mancanza, in molti paesi, di manuali di storia del teatro universale). Per quanto possa apparire pedante, è allora il caso di ribadire che con la parola "teoria" si indicano spesso due cose (due metadiscorsi) completamente (geneticamente) diverse fra loro e da non confondere. Per chiarezza le chiamerò *Teoria 1* e *Teoria 2*. La *Teoria 1* è quella prodotta dagli artisti di teatro: potremmo quindi denominarla la *Teoria del teatro* (elabora il sapere teatrale che serve essenzialmente a fare). La *Teoria 2* è invece quella prodotta dagli studiosi e dai critici: potremmo chiamarla la *Teoria sul teatro* (è il sapere teatrale che serve primariamente a conoscere e a capire). Non è una questione di differenze di valore o di qualità: sia per la *Teoria 1* che per la *Teoria 2* si possono dare esempi eccellenti, medi, mediocri o anche pessimi. E so anche che potremmo agevolmente reperire tutta una serie di casi intermedi, difficili da rinchiudere solo nell'una o solo nell'altra (i primi che mi vengono in mente sono quelli, settecenteschi, di Lessing e di Luigi Riccoboni). Ciò che mi interessa sottolineare è un punto di differenza essenziale, di statuto epistemologico direi: nella *Teoria 2*, a differenza che nella *Teoria 1*, la storiografia è fondamentale. Senza una rigorosa base di conoscenze storiche, di più: senza l'apporto della filologia storiografica, con la precisione e la concretezza che gli deve essere propria, la *Teoria 2* tende inevitabilmente a diventare astratta, generica, autoreferenziale: inutile se non addirittura dannosa.

Farò adesso alcuni rapidi esempi relativi al Novecento, partendo da una domanda (retorica, ovviamente): possiamo pensare di fare seriamente teoria (e storia) sui grandi maestri del XX secolo limitandoci alla lettura e all'interpretazione dei loro scritti ?

¹⁰ "Lettera su una scienza dei teatri". *Teatro e Storia* 9 (1990): 173.

¹¹ *Teatro e spettacolo fra Oriente e Occidente*, (Roma-Bari, Laterza, 1992): 451.

Ad esempio, *Il Teatro e il suo doppio* di Artaud è un libro affascinante ma la sua lettura decontestualizzata può farci cadere in molte trappole, come quella di un artaudismo di maniera; e in ogni caso è impossibile cogliere davvero il valore (anche d'uso) della sua teoria, di nozioni come crudeltà, metafisica, alchimia, peste, atleta del cuore, senza conoscere la fitta rete di esperienze pratiche e intellettuali, di viaggi immaginari e di viaggi reali, che caratterizza gli anni Trenta di Artaud¹² (per non parlare degli anni Quaranta e di quello che ho chiamato il Secondo Teatro della Crudeltà).¹³

Oppure si prenda Brecht. Non capiamo molto del lavoro drammaturgico e teatrale dell'ultimo Brecht (per intenderci, quello svolto con il Berliner Ensemble dal '48 al '56) se non teniamo conto che egli lo svolse nella Berlino est degli anni Cinquanta, dovendo venire a patti con il regime comunista, di cui fu costretto spesso (per salvare la propria compagnia) a tessere pubblici elogi. Forse, anche la rivalutazione che compie in quegli anni di Stanislavskij si spiega almeno in parte così. Conoscere dettagliatamente queste circostanze è indispensabile per capire certe scelte dell'ultimo Brecht; che si rifugia nella poesia e smette di scrivere drammi per riversare tutta la sua creatività nel lavoro registico con la fantastica compagnia del Berliner, da vero "regista-poeta" (come lo ha chiamato Claudio Meldolesi, che si sofferma in particolare sul lunghissimo lavoro per l'allestimento del *Cerchio di gesso del Caucaso*, nel '52-53).¹⁴

In altre parole la teatrologia, contrariamente a quel che a volte si pensa, non è una disciplina a due termini o livelli, teoria-pratica, ma a tre: *storia-pratica-teoria* (per maggiore chiarezza, potremmo scrivere *storia-pratica* → *teoria*). Insomma, per dirla con un nostro glorioso compatriota: teatrologhi di tutti il mondo, studiosi e studenti delle arti dello spettacolo vivente: "io vi esorto alle istorie".

4. Conclusioni

Molto spesso si ha l'impressione, frequentando convegni di teatrologhi, leggendo contributi di teoria teatrale, che la storia venga considerata soltanto alla stregua di un piccolo settore della teoria. Al contrario, la mia distinzione fra Teoria 1 e Teoria 2 mira, fra l'altro, a insinuare il sospetto che ogni esempio di Teoria 2, o almeno ogni *buon* esempio di Teoria 2, non possa essere nient'altro, in ultima istanza, che storiografia - e cioè, sia chiaro, del tutto indipendentemente dal fatto che essa si occupi di oggetti antichi o contemporanei, che faccia dell'analisi o della critica o della ricostruzione contestuale, eccetera eccetera.

¹² Cfr. FRANCO RUFFINI, *I teatri di Artaud. Crudeltà, corpo-mente*, (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1995).

¹³ Cfr. il mio *La danza alla rovescia di Artaud. Il Secondo Teatro della Crudeltà (1945-1948)*, (Roma: Bulzoni, 2006) (1a ed. 1999).

¹⁴ CLAUDIO MELDOLESI-LAURA OLIVI, *Brecht regista. Memorie dal Berliner Ensemble*, (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1989).

Vorrei chiudere con una osservazione riguardante l'insegnamento universitario delle discipline teatrali nel biennio specialistico, che sta per inserirsi nella rete europea dei Master in Arti dello Spettacolo Vivente. Lo scopo istituzionale di questi bienni (o Master) dovrebbe essere quello di insegnare la Teoria 2, evidentemente a partire anche da una conoscenza molto approfondita della Teoria 1, che costituisce dunque *uno* dei suoi oggetti di studio ma non il solo.

Ma evidentemente, per riprendere quanto ho detto in precedenza, una buona formazione alla Teoria 2 presuppone anche la possibilità, per lo studente, di instaurare una relazione molto stretta, intima, con il lavoro teatrale, secondo la triplice modalità definita in precedenza del vedere, del fare e soprattutto del veder-fare, cioè dell'esperienza pratica indiretta. Tutto questo non ha nulla a che vedere con quella confusione fra insegnamento teorico e insegnamento pratico che è così frequente oggi in molti paesi. A causa di questa confusione, tutti fanno tutto e di tutto, il teorico fa anche la pratica, il *praticien* fa anche la teoria – inevitabilmente con grossi rischi sia per la qualità della pratica che per quella della teoria.

IRÈNE PERELLI-CONTOS – CHANTAL HÉBERT

POUR COMPRENDRE LE THÉÂTRE ACTUEL
APPROCHES DE RECHERCHE ET D'ENSEIGNEMENT
À L'UNIVERSITÉ

Après un siècle d'études théâtrales en tant que discipline académique, il est normal que sonne l'heure des bilans. C'était donc, à juste titre, l'un des objectifs du congrès qui nous a réunis à Athènes autour d'interrogations, toutes aussi pertinentes qu'embarassantes, relatives à la problématique de l'étude et de l'enseignement du théâtre au seuil du XXI^e siècle, et qui sont d'un intérêt particulier pour tout pédagogue ou chercheur qui évolue dans le domaine du théâtre, et ce, quel que soit son département de rattachement (études théâtrales, pédagogie, littérature, etc.) ou son champ de spécialisation (pratique ou théorique). Notre contribution au présent collectif consiste à revenir sur la question que nous avons posée lors du congrès et qui sous-tend, depuis bien longtemps, nos propres activités d'enseignement et de recherche: comment peut-on enseigner et aborder l'art théâtral qui, aujourd'hui, s'est à ce point modifié qu'il est désormais difficile de l'examiner en tant qu'objet d'étude ou d'enseignement avec des outils qui ne relèvent que des modes d'approches du passé? Dans l'espace qui nous est imparti, nous tenterons d'apporter quelques réponses qui résultent de la recherche sur le terrain que nous menons depuis déjà vingt ans. Reposant donc sur notre propre expérience, ces réponses sont susceptibles d'être «possibles», si elles ne peuvent être ni «correctes», ni «exclues *a priori*» (pour reprendre les termes mêmes qui figuraient dans le dernier paragraphe de la lettre d'invitation au congrès).

Une nouvelle poétique théâtrale

Commençons par un constat: à l'heure de la mondialisation des médias, de l'expansion rapide de nouvelles technologies, de l'éclatement des frontières entre les cultures et les disciplines artistiques, une nouvelle poétique théâtrale a fait son apparition qui, adossée à l'imaginaire contemporain et à l'environnement technologique dans lequel nous vivons, est en rupture avec l'étanchéité des frontières de tous ordres: génériques, artistiques, formelles, linguistiques, géographiques, temporelles, logiques, etc. Une poétique qui, contrant l'effet réaliste des pratiques théâtrales conventionnelles, se joue des frontières, s'autorise toutes les dérives pour s'ouvrir sur des imaginaires nouveaux dont les logiques et les topologies nous sont encore peu ou pas familières. À telle enseigne que si on l'envisage

d'un point de vue générique ou poétique traditionnel, on peut facilement penser que le théâtre serait en train de traverser une véritable crise. Une crise de plus qui s'ajouterait à celles qui ont été annoncées ou détectées par les théâtrologues tout au long du XX^e siècle. Mais est-ce vraiment le cas ?

La question est d'importance car elle concerne tout un pan du théâtre actuel (regroupant plusieurs tendances comme, entre autres, le théâtre de l'image, le théâtre de recherche, la danse-théâtre) qui, depuis au moins une trentaine d'années, s'est imposé dans le paysage théâtral tant au Québec qu'ailleurs dans le monde. Qui plus est, elle nous incite à réfléchir aux outils théoriques dont nous disposons pour saisir et comprendre les nouveaux textes dramatiques et scéniques qui, en raison des procédés particuliers de création qui s'articulent en des agencements singuliers, posent un défi à la compréhension.¹ Comment, en effet, aborder certains textes scéniques où, comme dans certains textes dramatiques, aucun dialogue n'est échangé, aucune histoire ne semble se glisser, aucune action se dessiner, ni se réaliser ? Comment comprendre l'éclatement de l'action – traditionnellement fondatrice du théâtre – et l'autonomisation de micro-actions proposées comme un enchâssement de séquences ou de tableaux échappant apparemment à toute continuité logico-temporelle et n'ayant, semble-t-il, rien à voir avec une quelconque organicité scénique ou dramatique ? Quelle «réalité» peut bien recouvrir ou découvrir ce théâtre aux formes renouvelées et complexes qui, au lieu de représenter ou de montrer une action ou de raconter une histoire, donne plutôt à voir ou à lire le parcours sinueux, discontinu et imprévisible de multiples micro-récits enchâssés ou de fragments d'histoires riches de bifurcations dont le déroulement, n'étant plus linéaire, téléologique ou causal, peut paraître pour le moins déconcertant sinon chaotique ou tout simplement vide de sens ?

Le théâtre actuel comme objet de recherche

Ce ne sont là que quelques-unes des questions que nous nous sommes posées en cherchant à éclairer un certain nombre d'œuvres dramatiques et scéniques de la production québécoise des vingt dernières années, s'inscrivant dans cette mouvance théâtrale qui était en train de contribuer à l'éclatement ou au renouvellement – c'est selon – du système dramatique et scénique traditionnel. Celui-ci, ne cessant de déplacer ses limites, s'offre aujourd'hui comme un système ouvert et transformable par le fait qu'il ne repose plus sur une trajectoire téléologique (par exemple la structure narrative articulée autour de la réalisation d'un programme narratif ou encore la structure dramatique articulée autour

¹ Cette réflexion est développée davantage dans la plupart de nos travaux et notamment dans CHANTAL HÉBERT et IRÈNE PERELLI-CONTOS (sous la direction de). *Le théâtre et ses nouvelles dynamiques narratives* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2004).

de la réalisation / monstration d'une action), mais sur un ensemble de trajectoires qui semblent aller dans tous les sens. Pour une meilleure compréhension, on pourrait à la limite le comparer à un jeu de puzzle transformable dont plusieurs pièces sont manquantes et dont même les règles d'assemblage restent à découvrir, car il ne s'agit pas de placer les différentes pièces selon un modèle préétabli. Or, cela n'est possible que dans la mesure où le destinataire (lecteur, spectateur, analyste) consent à s'introduire dans ce jeu de transformations en tant que «joueur», car c'est à lui qu'incombe, en dernière instance, de tenir ensemble les pièces disponibles du puzzle et de combler par son imagination les vides laissés par les pièces manquantes.

Nous trouvant devant de tels systèmes transformables, au caractère instable et non déterministe, nous nous sommes rapidement rendu compte que, pour saisir leur principe organisateur ou leur logique propre, il nous fallait chercher d'autres sites d'observation ainsi que des outils théoriques plus appropriés qui, tout en satisfaisant à des critères rigoureux, n'élimineraient ni la créativité ni l'imagination. Contre toute attente, c'est la pensée scientifique contemporaine qui nous en a fourni le modèle. En l'utilisant dans nos recherches et enseignement, nous avons fait entrer en résonance les pensées artistique et scientifique pour constater que leurs échos respectifs se répercutent depuis fort longtemps. Car, bien qu'habituellement tenues étrangères l'une à l'autre, ces pensées qui s'entre-appellent actuellement, sont «toutes deux des constructions d'ordre et de signification élaborées par l'imagination».²

Théâtre et science: convergences et perspectives analytiques

Rappelons d'abord que la science, après avoir été secouée par ce que nous appellerons, pour emprunter un raccourci, la crise de ses fondements, a été amenée à reconsidérer les schémas linéaires et simplificateurs de l'histoire de l'évolution de l'univers et de l'homme qu'elle avait élaborés des siècles durant. De même, elle a vu sa «méthode» causalo-rationalo-déterministe (fondée sur les principes de l'ordre, de la causalité, de la linéarité, de l'unité, de l'objectivité et de la vérité) remise en question. Comme suite à cette crise du paradigme déterministe, il n'allait plus de soi de rechercher la cause ou les causes explicatives d'un événement ou d'un phénomène. Le monde scientifique – celui du discours de «vérité» – devait désormais compter avec la notion d'incertitude,³ avec la conception d'un univers en construction continue et, de ce fait, infini. Selon cette conception, l'univers est représenté comme un mégasystème composé d'innombrables systèmes et sous-systèmes

² ILYA PRIGOGINE (dir.), *L'homme devant l'incertain*, (Paris: Éditions Odile Jacob, 2001): 356.

³ La notion d'incertitude est omniprésente dans tous les ouvrages d'Ilya Prigogine, dont celui qui figure dans la Bibliographie.

d'unités multidimensionnelles qui, étant en interactions continues, raccordent le microcosme et le macrocosme. Dans ce mégasystème sans distinctions ni frontières, tout est relié, solidaire, interdépendant: des galaxies les plus étendues jusqu'aux plus infimes particules de la matière, incluant les humains, contrairement à ce que l'on pensait auparavant. L'organisation d'un tel univers, étant fonction à la fois de la multitude de systèmes d'unités qui le constituent et de leurs interactions illimitées et dépendantes d'un grand nombre de facteurs pour la plupart aléatoires, s'avère complexe, voire hypercomplexe. C'est ici qu'intervient la rupture fondatrice décisive. Car pour saisir et comprendre cette image systémique et complexe du monde, qui embrasse aussi bien les domaines du physique et du biologique que ceux de l'anthropologique, du sociologique, du culturel, etc., il a fallu un changement radical des habitudes perceptives, une autre logique, et de nouveaux schémas conceptuels dont celui de *la complexité*,⁴ ainsi que de nouvelles approches dont celle de la *systémique*.⁵ Sous la poussée, donc, des avancées scientifiques, l'ancien modèle idéal de «cause» et d'«effet» présidant aux explications du monde devenait caduc. Avec lui était liquidée la conception étroite, voire illusoire, d'une seule «réalité» objective considérée en tant que reflet d'une seule et éternelle «vérité», sonnait ainsi l'heure de la fin des certitudes relatives à l'acte de connaissance fondé, des siècles durant, sur l'indépendance de celui qui observe (sujet) de ce qui est observé (objet). Désormais, l'acte de connaissance est fonction de la nature des relations qui s'établissent entre le sujet observant et l'objet observé, de leur rapport dynamique, de leur interdépendance et c'est en cela que consiste surtout l'apport de la pensée contemporaine (philosophique et scientifique).

Le théâtre, de son côté, allait vivre des secousses similaires et devenir, après avoir traversé un chapelet de crises, un univers ouvert à l'imprévisibilité, à l'image même du monde telle que dessinée par la science contemporaine. Jouant avec la non-linéarité, l'aléatoire, l'incertain, il fonctionne, à son tour et à sa façon, comme un système complexe en raison de la multitude d'unités hétérogènes qui le composent et de leurs interactions illimitées et dynamiques, dépendantes d'un grand nombre de facteurs pour la plupart aléatoires, parmi lesquels figure le récepteur. Celui-ci (qu'il soit lecteur, spectateur ou analyste) se découvre désormais faisant partie intégrante du système même dont il est en train de lire, de voir, d'analyser, bref, d'observer l'organisation. On comprendra que l'étude d'un tel système ne peut plus se faire à l'aide de différentes approches analytiques qui isolent les éléments qui le composent afin de les examiner séparément et d'en comprendre les relations. Ces approches peuvent être utiles et efficaces tant que le système comporte des éléments homogènes et que leurs interactions sont linéaires et relativement faibles. Elles sont, en revanche,

⁴ La théorie de la complexité est au cœur de toute l'œuvre d'Edgar Morin, comportant plusieurs volumes. Pour une première approche, nous conseillons celui qui figure dans la Bibliographie.

⁵ Sur ce sujet, on aura avantage à lire *Le microscope* de JOËL DE ROSNAY (voir Bibliographie).

inopérantes face à un système dynamique et complexe constitué par une grande diversité d'unités liées par des interactions fortes, comme c'est le cas dans bon nombre d'écritures dramatiques et scéniques actuelles qui font éclater la vision statique des organisations et des structures. Dès lors, une approche globale et interdisciplinaire comme la systémique semble la plus appropriée pour arriver à saisir le système dans sa totalité, sa complexité et sa dynamique propres, sans qu'il y ait besoin ni de le fractionner, ni non plus de l'englober dans un *tout* indistinct. En somme, cette approche permet de considérer l'ensemble des unités hétérogènes en interaction qui composent le système étudié, y compris son observateur ainsi que le contexte plus large dont il fait partie en tant qu'unité.

Voilà pourquoi nous pensons qu'en prêtant une oreille favorable aux développements scientifiques de ces dernières décennies, nous serons plus à même de faire un gain d'intelligibilité non négligeable pour jeter un éclairage additionnel sur la complexité des écritures dramatiques et scéniques contemporaines, qui peuvent facilement paraître chaotiques pour quiconque les aborde d'un point de vue propre aux approches analytiques «classiques» (ou causal-rationalo-déterministes). Envisagées, en effet, de ce point de vue, elles ne relèveraient que d'une dynamique intergénérique et seraient cause de la crise du dispositif théâtral traditionnel considéré comme forme sédimentée ou système fermé. En revanche, dès lors que l'on les envisage dans la perspective systémique, ces mêmes écritures, perçues comme éléments perturbateurs dans un système fermé, deviennent instigatrices d'un processus non pas linéaire mais circulaire de mise en œuvre dont elles s'avèrent être à la fois cause et effet. Dans un tel processus, la création ou, encore, le sens d'une «œuvre» ne résultent plus de façon définitive de l'enchaînement ou de l'addition progressive des parties qui la constituent, mais *émergent* au gré de leurs interactions et n'évoluent ou ne s'organisent qu'au gré des rétroactions avec l'instance réceptrice. En ce sens, les nouvelles dynamiques créatives à l'œuvre dans le théâtre actuel débordent le dispositif énonciatif (scénique ou dramatique) pour se fonder sur l'interdépendance du sujet observant (lecteur ou spectateur) et de l'objet observé (texte dramatique ou spectacle). Dès lors, l'un de leurs enjeux serait d'inciter chaque lecteur ou spectateur à faire preuve d'imagination et d'ouverture et à mettre son potentiel créatif au service de la (re)construction de ce que l'on peut appeler, faute de mieux, une «œuvre», qui ne se présente ni comme un produit uniquement artistique, ni non plus comme un produit fini, mais plutôt comme une «œuvre ouverte» ou un «univers complexe» en construction continue.

L'on voit que dans la foulée des mutations subies tant par la science que par le théâtre contemporains, il semble y avoir des convergences significatives. Ayant désormais partie liée avec l'instance réceptrice, la mouvance théâtrale actuelle semble reprendre à son compte la modification du cadre de la «réalité» opérée par les avancées scientifiques pour s'ouvrir, sur le nouveau paradigme de la pensée et de la connaissance, celui de la *complexité*. En conviant de nouvelles avenues et dynamiques créatives, pour la plupart

interdisciplinaires, elle fait de la dramaturgie et de la scène actuelles de véritables laboratoires d'exploration de nouveaux modes de voir et de penser le monde phénoménal dont l'image, se complexifiant de plus en plus, demeure méconnaissable pour tout observateur qui persiste à porter sur elle un regard «classique». C'est bien celui-ci qui est à l'origine des problèmes de «vision» que tous et chacun éprouvons actuellement, à un moment où s'installe une nouvelle culture à caractère «technologique», dans laquelle nous sommes déjà entrés de plain-pied en tant que société, alors qu'en tant qu'individus, nous continuons à être encore attachés (du moins mentalement et psychologiquement) à notre vieille culture à caractère «humaniste». Partagés ainsi entre «humanisme» et «technologie», nous ne faisons qu'osciller entre deux visions différentes du monde dont la rencontre, l'affrontement ou le choc – c'est selon – marque ce tournant du troisième millénaire. Pour nous en sortir et comprendre ce monde dont nous faisons partie, nous devons donc abandonner nos vieilles habitudes perceptives et transformer, changer le regard que nous portons sur lui. Considérant que le théâtre est par définition «l'art du regard», il n'est donc pas étonnant qu'il participe activement, à sa façon, à cette difficile opération de transformation de notre regard, nous permettant ainsi de surmonter l'inadaptation qui nous guette... par la médiation de l'art.

Le théâtre actuel comme objet d'enseignement

Compte tenu de ce qui précède, il est légitime de penser que l'enseignement du théâtre acquiert une importance capitale à partir du moment où on le place dans un contexte cognitif, d'abord sociétal, et artistique ensuite. C'est à quoi tient l'essentiel du programme d'études théâtrales à l'université Laval, où le théâtre est enseigné non seulement comme une activité artistique ou socioculturelle, mais aussi et surtout comme une activité de connaissance à même de stimuler le nouveau regard indispensable à la compréhension de la complexité du monde actuel. Il s'agit en somme d'opérer une déprogrammation du regard «classique» ou de la pensée linéaire, causale, dualiste, etc., permettant de s'ouvrir à la voie qui mène à la pensée complexe. Débordant ainsi le cadre du théâtre, notre enseignement aux trois cycles incite les étudiants à mettre en rapport l'art et le monde dans lequel ils évoluent, en leur offrant non pas des recettes mais des outils nécessaires afin qu'ils puissent s'informer en tant qu'individus avant que de se former en tant qu'artistes.

Dans cette perspective, nous privilégions une approche systémique et une vision globale de l'enseignement, et ce, en favorisant le travail en équipes, l'échange, la réflexion, le sens des responsabilités et, surtout, l'auto-apprentissage tant dans les cours pratiques que dans les cours théoriques. Dans ces derniers en particulier et notamment ceux du premier cycle (baccalauréat), le théâtre est à la fois la matière à enseigner et l'outil d'enseignement, au moyen de ce que nous appelons des *exposés théâtralisés*. Ceux-ci ont comme but de

permettre aux étudiants, regroupés en équipes, d'approfondir un sujet de leur choix parmi ceux qui ont été traités tout au long de la première partie du cours (8 semaines) par le professeur et, durant la deuxième partie (6 semaines), d'en transmettre leur compréhension aux autres par des procédés théâtraux.

Pour ce faire, ils doivent créer des situations propices à la mise en évidence de leur sujet. Au lieu de jouer, ils assument des fonctions situationnelles leur permettant de concrétiser des idées ou des concepts abstraits, de faire voir des données historiques ou autres, bref de rendre compte par l'action d'une recherche livresque. Sans être des «spectacles», les *exposés théâtraux* transforment l'enseignement en une expérience vivante et plaisante qui, tout en stimulant l'imagination et l'intérêt, fait appel à la créativité, suscite des débats et rend les étudiants responsables de leur propre apprentissage. Chaque exposé est accompagné d'un travail écrit où l'équipe rend compte, de façon synthétique, des grandes lignes de sa recherche, de ses sources d'information, de sa compréhension du sujet, de la forme choisie pour le présenter en classe, etc. Ce texte de synthèse, qui est distribué à tous mais évalué par le professeur, sert à la fois de notes de cours et d'aide-mémoire lors de l'évaluation de l'exposé par les autres équipes. Car, à l'image même de l'acte théâtral qui n'a lieu que sous le regard du spectateur qui, dans tout un pan du théâtre actuel, est appelé à participer, les étudiants sont amenés à être partie prenante du système d'enseignement en participant même à leur évaluation. Les membres de chaque équipe ont, en effet, à évaluer le travail des autres selon des critères précis, établis d'un commun accord au début du cours. Les notes doivent être justifiées en détail par écrit et remises à la fin du trimestre au professeur qui aura à établir la moyenne, d'une part et, d'autre part, à évaluer le sérieux et la pertinence de cette évaluation.

Par ces procédés, parmi d'autres, nous essayons d'initier nos étudiants du premier cycle aux principes de l'approche systémique de façon pratique afin qu'ils soient suffisamment préparés pour les approfondir par la suite de façon théorique. Cet approfondissement n'a lieu toutefois que lorsqu'ils arrivent aux cycles supérieurs et constitue l'une des voies d'accès à la théorie de la complexité. Née, comme l'on a vu, du développement des sciences contemporaines et touchant tous les domaines de la connaissance, cette théorie, tout en s'opposant à la simplification et à la disjonction propres à la pensée analytique, intègre les principes de la science classique dans une vision plus large et plus riche, permettant de saisir les phénomènes étudiés dans leur multidimensionnalité, leur interdépendance, leur organisation, bref, dans leur complexité. De ce fait, elle rend compte du grand bouleversement que la conception traditionnelle du monde a subi depuis au moins un siècle, de même que des bouleversements qu'a connus le théâtre tout au long du XX^e siècle et, plus particulièrement, au cours des vingt ou trente dernières années.

En initiant nos étudiants de maîtrise et de doctorat à la théorie de la complexité, on les prépare, dans la mesure du possible, à s'ouvrir à ce nouveau paradigme de la connaissance.

Pour ce faire, ils doivent d'abord apprendre à se méfier de ce que l'on tient pour acquis, comme, par exemple, la vision déterministe qui prétend produire des analyses objectives, ou la logique d'exclusion (et avec elle la logique causale, dualiste, à laquelle ils étaient habitués) qui occulte le caractère multidimensionnel des phénomènes et fait entrave à la pensée complexe, à la vision synthétique. Ils doivent ensuite apprendre à adopter progressivement une vision plus large (macroscopique, systémique), leur permettant de ramasser en un seul regard les traits constitutifs de toute organisation complexe dans leur contradiction, leur opposition, leur complémentarité, leur interdépendance. Or, ce ne sont que ceux qui arrivent à franchir ces étapes, tout aussi difficiles qu'indispensables, qui sont finalement à même d'approcher et de rendre intelligible la complexité des écritures dramatiques et scéniques actuelles, réputées déroutantes sinon chaotiques, auxquelles ils sont confrontés, tout en réalisant la responsabilité scientifique qui est la leur. Car pour rendre intelligible et comprendre la complexité d'un phénomène, ici celui du théâtre, la participation du sujet (ici de l'analyste) est désormais incontournable.

Rappelons que la réintroduction du sujet observant dans l'acte d'observation est la pierre de touche de la théorie de la complexité et en lien direct avec la notion d'incertitude qui a traversé le XX^e siècle, bouleversant toutes les certitudes qui ont contribué, des siècles durant, à créer une image stable, ordonnée, cohérente, rationnelle, bref, rassurante du monde. L'incertitude s'installe à partir du moment où l'on ne peut plus prétendre à des analyses purement objectives qui, en isolant l'objet d'étude, le considèrent comme une entité autonome et connaissable de façon définitive parce qu'indépendante du sujet qui l'observe. Parce que la théorie de la complexité conçoit le sujet et l'objet de connaissance dans une relation dynamique d'interdépendance, toute analyse est donc nécessairement à la fois subjective et objective, amenant ainsi inévitablement un sentiment d'incertitude qui, au lieu de pousser à une démission intellectuelle, est susceptible de stimuler la créativité de l'analyste. Et c'est en cela surtout que consiste la pertinence du cadre conceptuel que nous utilisons aux cycles supérieurs pour l'étude du théâtre en tant que phénomène complexe, dans la mesure où il est un ensemble à la fois autonome et dépendant des unités qui le composent et de l'environnement dans lequel il est produit et auquel il retourne.

Dans cette perspective, force est de constater qu'après l'autonomisation nécessaire du théâtre de la littérature et la mise sur pied des programmes d'études théâtrales en tant que discipline académique autonome, il importe aujourd'hui de briser le cloisonnement disciplinaire pour s'ouvrir à l'interdisciplinarité à laquelle font appel et l'art théâtral dont la nature est hybride et la théorie de la complexité dont le but est de construire des outils de pensée pour articuler entre eux des savoirs spécialisés. C'est ce que nous faisons à l'université Laval, où l'étude du théâtre, placée dans un contexte à la fois cognitif, artistique et social, s'ouvre – pour le moment – sur quatre concentrations: théâtre et mise en scène,

théâtre et autres arts, théâtre et intervention sociale, théâtre et littérature.

On aura compris que pour nous, l'enseignement du théâtre à l'université est d'une grande importance et ce, dans la mesure où nous admettons que cet art, à travers les différentes époques et sociétés, n'a cessé d'interroger par ses contenus et formes et d'expérimenter dans le vif de l'acte théâtral non seulement nos rapports toujours mouvants au monde, mais la mouvance même de la pensée et de la connaissance face à ce monde. C'est du moins ce que notre recherche⁶ sur le terrain nous a permis de comprendre.

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⁶ Notons que même si cette recherche était axée surtout sur le *théâtre de l'image* (voir Bibliographie), les conclusions auxquelles nous sommes arrivées peuvent être étendues à plusieurs œuvres contemporaines, tant scéniques que dramatiques, représentatives du nouveau paradigme de la pensée et de la connaissance: *la complexité*.

IRÈNE ROY

UN OUTIL PÉDAGOGIQUE DE CRÉATION: LES CYCLES REPÈRE

Les écritures théâtrales contemporaines en appellent à des approches de création de plus en plus souples et ouvertes à l'intégration de la multiplicité et de la complexité au sein des langages scéniques. Au Québec, une approche de ce type a vu le jour au tournant des années quatre-vingt, au Théâtre Repère. Appelée *Cycles Repère*, cette démarche créatrice met le corps sensible de l'artiste au centre d'un parcours qui favorise ses relations exploratoires avec un objet concret, source de ses inspirations. Elle est exploitée depuis par de nombreux créateurs et le plus souvent dans le cadre de créations collectives. Depuis plusieurs années, elle est mise en pratique dans des ateliers de création du programme d'études théâtrales de l'université Laval et elle s'est avérée, à l'usage, un outil pédagogique dynamique qui stimule l'imagination et la créativité de nos étudiants. Après une brève présentation de la schématisation des quatre phases qui constituent les *Cycles Repère*, j'expliquerai plus en détail diverses procédures qui en facilitent l'utilisation dans un contexte pédagogique, pour mieux en apprécier ensuite les effets sur l'apprentissage des étudiants. J'espère ainsi démontrer que les *Cycles Repère* sont un outil pédagogique de création efficace qui rejoint le phénomène de la création artistique dans ses rapports complexes entre l'individu et son environnement.

Que sont les *Cycles Repère*? La schématisation de ce processus met en évidence quatre étapes à travers lesquelles évolue en circularité le travail créateur d'un groupe d'artistes en action: la Ressource, la Partition, l'Évalua(c)tion et la Représentation.

À l'étape de la *Ressource*, l'artiste (étudiant, dans le cas qui nous occupe) est obligé de choisir un objet concret directement perceptible par les sens pour éveiller son intuition et sa créativité. Deux types de ressource sont ainsi mis en interaction: l'objet choisi (il peut s'agir d'un son, d'une image, d'un fruit, etc.), et l'artiste lui-même, ressource sensible première de toute action créatrice. L'objet concret sollicite les cinq sens qui ont été mis à profit au cours des apprentissages antérieurs de l'individu et ont développé en lui les réseaux complexes de ses rapports avec la culture et le monde environnant. L'atelier du premier cycle accueille 24 étudiants regroupés en 6 équipes de 4 participants. Dans un premier temps, chaque membre de l'équipe apporte un objet personnel qui le touche particulièrement et il en fait la présentation à ses coéquipiers en faisant ressortir ce qui l'émeut, le dérange, l'intrigue, l'attire, etc., dans cet objet. Le plus difficile sera d'en choisir un seul

et je laisse le soin à chaque équipe de développer les stratégies qui conduiront à élire la ressource qui mettra en branle leur processus de création. Les discussions entourant le choix de l'objet doivent toujours mettre en avant les effets sensibles produits sur l'individu et évacuer toute logique qui fait appel à la raison. Deuxièmement, l'équipe définit la liste des objectifs qu'elle aimerait atteindre dans la construction de la séquence théâtrale qui sera présentée devant le public au dernier cours. Objectifs artistiques pour l'ensemble du groupe, comme par exemple intégrer à l'ensemble un travail choral, privilégier une écriture scénique centrée sur le langage du corps, opter pour une transposition poétique réalisée à l'aide de technologies sonores ou visuelles. Ils peuvent également inclure des objectifs personnels tels que écrire et chanter une chanson, interpréter un passage monologué, jouer d'un instrument de musique. La définition de ces objectifs, dont la liste sera modifiée au besoin en cours de processus, est extrêmement importante pour l'orientation du travail, puisqu'elle influencera les choix à venir qui se feront de plus en plus présents dans l'évolution de la construction du spectacle. Cette première étape est donc particulièrement cruciale pour instaurer un esprit d'équipe et inscrire au cœur du processus les bases d'une subjectivité qui sera assumée dans l'action.

À l'étape de la *Partition*, l'étudiant entreprend un dialogue exploratoire avec l'objet ressource en développant des stratégies qui, au gré du hasard et de l'intuition, vont faire surgir de l'inconscient divers matériaux qui pourront servir à créer la structure artistique du spectacle. Ces stratégies, appelées *partitions exploratoires*, sont conçues de manière à ce que l'étudiant laisse naître en premier lieu les impressions et les sentiments que l'objet éveille en lui par le biais de représentations associatives et analogiques. Véritables protocoles de recherche qui lui permettent d'improviser diverses possibilités d'utilisation de l'objet autres que celles qui lui sont dévolues dans le quotidien, ces partitions sont formulées d'après un modèle d'investigation qui précise des objectifs, des contraintes, des consignes ainsi qu'une marche à suivre pour obtenir l'apparition d'un riche matériau de création composé d'images, de situations, de personnages, bref, de tout ce qui concerne les éléments de construction d'un spectacle théâtral. En fait, les partitions exploratoires favorisent l'apparition désordonnée des matériaux en vue de les recomposer. Tel est le «bricoleur» de Lévi-Strauss qui «procède d'abord à une démarche pratique et rétrospective, [et] se tourne vers un ensemble déjà constitué afin d'en faire l'inventaire. Puis, il engage avec cet inventaire une sorte de dialogue afin de trouver des réponses aux problèmes que pose la réorganisation des éléments choisis pour ce qu'ils pourraient signifier».¹

¹ IRÈNE ROY, *Le Théâtre Repère. Du ludique au poétique dans le théâtre de recherche*. (Québec: Nuit blanche éditeur, 1993): 29.

Au cours des premières semaines d'atelier, les étudiants sont donc invités à rédiger de nombreuses partitions, d'abord exécutées sous forme d'improvisations, et dont la formulation, garante de la réussite des projets, est aussi importante que la façon de les exécuter. Plus elle est précise quant à l'objectif poursuivi et aux contraintes imposées dans la marche à suivre à laquelle s'astreignent les participants, plus elle laisse libre cours à l'imagination et permet à l'intuition de s'exercer en dehors des censures de la raison. En voici un exemple:

Partition exploratoire 1

Objectif: Découvrir ce que la ressource choisie éveille en chacun de nous comme thèmes possibles d'exploration.

Durée: 60 minutes pour les étapes 1 à 3; indéterminée pour l'étape 4.

Nombre de participants: les membres de l'équipe.

Modus: L'équipe se met au travail pour établir un premier dialogue sensible avec la ressource choisie au départ de la création. On nomme un facilitateur et un secrétaire. Avoir en sa possession le cahier de bord (journal de création) et un crayon.

1- Observation de la ressource et attribution de mots-clés (10 minutes)

Le facilitateur demande à chaque participant d'écrire dans son cahier de bord la liste de tous les mots qui lui viennent à l'esprit lorsqu'il observe la ressource. Il peut s'agir de noms, d'adjectifs et de verbes. Écrire spontanément ce qui vient à l'esprit sans aucune censure ou réflexion.

2- Énonciation et regroupement des mots-clés (20 minutes)

Chaque participant lit à voix haute aux autres membres de l'équipe sa liste de mots. Puis ensemble, on essaie de regrouper ces mots suivant leur ressemblance (un même mot revient plusieurs fois ou sous des formes différentes, par exemple rapide et rapidité) ou leur appartenance à une même catégorie (exemple: vitesse, rapidité, course, etc.). Chaque regroupement de mots est ensuite défini par un mot précis: exemple: la rapidité, le mouvement dans l'espace, le goût.

3- Définitions de thèmes d'improvisation (30 minutes)

Les participants retiennent comme thèmes d'improvisation cette seconde liste de mots et inventent de courtes situations qui s'y rattachent en commençant par la catégorie la plus importante. Exemple: catégorie «départ»: on assiste à une scène improvisée qui concerne le départ de quelqu'un. Il s'agit d'écrire un court scénario qui laisse place à l'improvisation. Celle-ci peut être verbale ou non verbale. Le nombre de participants à l'improvisation est laissé libre. Se limiter à 5 thèmes.

4- Répétition et mise en forme des situations (indéterminée)

Répétition des situations sans porter de jugements trop précis sur leur forme finale. Mais bien consigner les canevas de chacune. Improviser plus d'une fois une situation si on le juge opportun. Parmi ces improvisations, en choisir deux qui seront présentées au cours de la semaine suivante. (Durée: 15 minutes de présentation par équipe).

Mettre de côté l'autocensure est la première et la plus grande difficulté à laquelle l'étudiant se voit confronté. Accepter de laisser surgir ce qui vient sans savoir où l'on va, ouvrir sans pudeur la porte à l'inconscient, prendre le risque de laisser tomber les masques, cela demande extrêmement d'ouverture, de confiance en soi, d'audace et de générosité, mots qui reviennent régulièrement dans les commentaires que les étudiants émettent à la fin d'un atelier, encore étonnés que l'objet apprivoisé les ait conduits aussi loin sur les chemins de la créativité et d'une meilleure connaissance d'eux-mêmes.

L'accumulation de ces matériaux sensibles incite inévitablement l'étudiant utilisateur des Cycles Repère à faire un tri, à choisir parmi ces différents éléments – thèmes, personnages, situations, images, etc., – ceux qu'il va mettre en interrelation pour agencer et produire la signification du spectacle ou *Représentation*. C'est grâce à l'*Évalua(c)tion* qu'il y parviendra, en formulant cette fois des *partitions synthétiques* où il met à l'essai diverses solutions possibles en réponse aux différentes problématiques qui se posent à lui dans l'organisation de la structure artistique, ces solutions concrétisant de manière analogique les fondements de la genèse du spectacle. Mais avant d'imaginer ces solutions et de créer des liens entre les éléments convoqués à faire partie du spectacle, il faut passer par de nombreuses évaluations du matériel issu des partitions exploratoires. Diverses procédures imaginées pour extraire ces éléments font d'abord surgir des «coups de cœur», manifestations spontanées de ce qui étonne, plaît, suscite de l'intérêt, sans devoir encore trouver une voie logique à leur utilisation. Puis, au fur et à mesure qu'approche la présentation du spectacle, les évaluations responsables de la constitution des *partitions synthétiques* font se confronter entre eux les éléments choisis en vue de mettre à l'essai diverses combinaisons susceptibles d'apparaître dans la représentation finale. Faire des choix s'avère extrêmement difficile par moments, et un juste équilibre entre sentiment et raison doit faire place à la libre spontanéité des débuts. De fréquents retours aux objectifs énoncés au départ permettent souvent de mieux cibler et d'établir des priorités quant à ces choix. Les évaluations deviennent alors de plus en plus orientées par des phénomènes de logique associative d'où émerge la signification du spectacle.

Partition synthétique 4

Objectif: À partir de l'inventaire proposé ci-dessous, répondre à la question: «À quoi pourrait ressembler notre spectacle?».

Durée: Indéterminée (étapes a-b-c à exécuter individuellement chez-soi); 2h30 pour l'étape d (la rencontre équipe).

Note: Il est souhaitable que chacun exécute la partition «individuellement» avant la rencontre de l'équipe, ce qui sauvera beaucoup de temps et surtout permettra à chacun de motiver ses propositions en fonction de ses attentes et en regard des objectifs fixés au départ du processus.

Nombre de participants: tous les membres de l'équipe.

INVENTAIRE: - 5 séquences ou situations dramatiques
- 5 courtes séquences-groupe (qui intègrent tout le groupe)
- 1 séquence-groupe où chacun présente son personnage
- liste de thèmes (exemple: rêver, fuir, découvrir, etc.)
- liste d'objectifs

Modus: a) ÉVALUATION: il s'agit ici de choisir les éléments à conserver dans la liste qui précède en vue de construire la structure de l'ensemble du spectacle. On dit aux étudiants: à part les cinq séquences qui doivent obligatoirement s'y retrouver, vous êtes libres de conserver tous ces éléments ou de rejeter ceux qui, selon vous, répondent plus ou moins aux objectifs fixés.

b) Construire la structure du spectacle, du début à la fin, en intégrant des éléments choisis comme fil conducteur entre les séquences. Autrement dit, vous donnez un ordre à l'ensemble des éléments retenus. Laissez libre cours à l'imagination, mais il est essentiel que vos choix soient motivés (*i.e.* vous mettez cette séquence en premier parce que..., et cet élément pour lier deux séquences parce que..., celui-ci est répété deux fois, parce que...) et soient le reflet de ce que vous voulez dire et montrer aux spectateurs à travers le spectacle (imaginez pour vous aider que vous auriez à écrire le mot du metteur en scène dans le programme pour justifier vos choix artistiques).

N.B. Il est important de mettre tout ça clairement par écrit si vous voulez que la facilitatrice «achète» vos idées!

c) Une fois ce portrait d'ensemble terminé (ou casse-tête assemblé), s'il vous reste du temps, vous pourriez faire la liste de ce qui manque d'après vous, dans les matériaux présentement à votre disposition, pour que votre structure soit la plus réussie possible (par exemple, il manque une partition sonore, un effet d'éclairage précis à tel endroit).

d) Au cours de la rencontre de l'équipe, chacun présente sa structure. Servez-vous des récurrences entre les structures et discutez en fonction des objectifs définis au départ du processus pour créer la proposition de structure qui sera présentée au cours suivant.

Dans l'ouvrage *Créer, se créer*,² le psychologue Yvan Landry rappelle à juste titre que «Créer, c'est mettre en lumière les relations, les liens qui sont déjà là»; il souligne du même coup la nécessité d'une «analyse effectuée à posteriori» pour que le créateur découvre l'origine et le sens du résultat de son action. La représentation est donc le résultat de nombreux processus circulaires d'essais et erreurs, l'expression des valeurs profondes auxquelles sont rattachés les choix créateurs des étudiants, choix responsables de l'organicité des liens qui cimentent la structure artistique. L'évaluation apprend donc à l'étudiant à découvrir et définir la signification du langage scénique en émergence, à faire coïncider ses choix avec les objectifs de départ, à les modifier en fonction de nouvelles attentes susceptibles de mieux servir la genèse du spectacle et à confronter ses besoins à ceux de ses partenaires de création, ce qui parfois est source de conflits et d'ajustements majeurs. Mais le théâtre n'est-il pas avant tout un travail d'équipe ? Il faut tout de même un maître à bord du navire et le rôle assumé professionnellement par le metteur en scène est tenu ici par le professeur, qui agit plutôt en tant que facilitateur. Il encadre, suivant les besoins de chaque équipe, la progression du travail. S'il est responsable des premières partitions exploratoires qui, de façon générale, lancent le processus en orbite, chaque équipe est rapidement entièrement responsable de l'évolution de sa création.

Après avoir mis en évidence que la formule des ateliers Cycles Repère a comme objectif de servir de balises aux étudiants pour les empêcher de s'égarer dans les dédales de la création, je désire souligner l'efficacité de ce processus sur l'exercice de leur créativité. Des recherches sur la créativité humaine menées en psychologie cognitive nous aident à mieux comprendre pourquoi la formulation des partitions exploratoires et synthétiques est si importante dans le cheminement des Cycles Repère. L'approche cognitiviste s'intéresse entre autres aux types de mémoire qui sont sollicités dans l'action créatrice vue à travers différents phénomènes de résolution de problèmes. Ses hypothèses ont été testées sur la base de comportements observés chez les individus, ce qui suppose l'étude de la manière dont ceux-ci comprennent, formulent des problématiques et les résolvent. En plus de s'intéresser aux différentes heuristiques utilisées dans la résolution de problèmes complexes, l'analogie étant perçue comme une heuristique majeure dans les mouvements de la créativité, la psychologie cognitive propose une théorie de la classification de types de résolution où sont prises en compte les connaissances antérieures de l'individu, la récupération mnémonique des informations et l'élaboration de solutions créatrices,³ trois conditions que nous pouvons associer aux stratégies développées grâce à la modélisation du traitement de l'information proposée aux utilisateurs des Cycles Repère. Ainsi, la psychologie cognitive permet-elle d'approfondir

² YVAN LANDRY, *Créer, se créer. Vers une pratique théorique de la créativité*, (Montréal: Québec Amérique, 1983): 143 et 172.

³ JEAN-FRANÇOIS RICHARD, *Les activités mentales. Comprendre, raisonner, trouver des solutions* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1990).

les stratégies exploratoires propres aux partitions qui ont comme objectif de découvrir les nombreuses utilisations de l'objet ressource (partitions exploratoires) ainsi que les stratégies génératrices (partitions synthétiques) où sont imaginées diverses solutions ou combinaisons possibles des éléments sensibles récupérés ou recyclés (iconiques, sonores, et autres).

Le point de vue d'Yvan Landry sur les rapports entre désordre et ordre créateur ajoute à notre compréhension de l'efficacité des Cycles comme outil de création. Toujours dans *Créer, se créer*, il identifie comme condition de base à la genèse de l'action créatrice la possibilité d'interaction: «*Pour qu'elles puissent avoir lieu, les interactions supposent des éléments, des êtres, des objets pouvant être en rencontre. [...] Des conditions de rencontre, c'est-à-dire des agitations, des turbulences, des déplacements. [...] Les interactions obéissent à des déterminations/contraintes qui tiennent de la nature des éléments en rencontre [...]*».⁴ Comme nous l'avons démontré jusqu'ici, l'approche Repère offre des conditions idéales pour la création de ces interrelations et place directement les étudiants en contact avec des phénomènes d'organisation tels que l'association, la liaison, la combinaison des éléments sous forme d'abduction.

L'étude des partitions exploratoires et synthétiques imaginées par les étudiants m'a permis d'établir des liens directs avec la prédominance d'un langage analogique dans l'expression créatrice de leurs spectacles. Si je suis consciente de l'impossibilité d'expliquer entièrement pourquoi ils choisissent et préfèrent un élément à un autre, j'ai pu observer que l'élaboration de ces partitions superpose les conditions favorables à l'émergence d'une vision complexe et poétique du monde. L'approche de création Cycles Repère est d'abord organique parce qu'en éveillant l'intuition, elle fait appel aux valeurs sensibles premières issues du vécu de chaque participant. Stratégique, elle place le créateur en situation de confronter entre elles ces valeurs en vue d'effectuer des choix qui vont permettre la transformation et l'évolution de la structure artistique. Circulaire, elle permet de faire des allers retours constants entre ordre et désordre et de faire surgir de l'inconnu la représentation d'une vision originale du monde.

Je répète constamment aux étudiants que ce n'est pas le résultat qui compte dans l'expérimentation de ces ateliers mais bien le processus et ses enjeux dans l'exploration de soi à travers les chemins de la création. Loin de moi de vouloir prétendre que les Cycles Repère sont une recette qui réussit à tout coup sur le plan du résultat spectaculaire, mais sur le plan d'une meilleure connaissance de soi et de ses limites en tant qu'artiste, oui. Finalement, en activant le désordre, les Cycles Repère facilitent la construction d'une énigme sortie de soi qu'il faut à tout prix résoudre.

⁴ LANDRY, 154-155.

DON RUBIN

THE FUTURE OF THEATRE STUDIES: DIM AND DARKENING

"There's only a tiny minority of academics – people who have access to facts, who have the training to interpret them, who can make sense of them, who have the privilege of communicating these facts to others – who actually do so [...] Instead, most concentrate on advancing their careers...on speaking in arcane language that ordinary people can't understand, on erecting disciplinary fences so that anyone untrained in that discipline is simply not allowed in."

Prof. Graeme MacQueen on why linguist and cultural critic Noam Chomsky's ideas appear so clear in comparison to those of most academics. A filmed interview in NOAM CHOMSKY: *Rebel Without A Pause*.

As a working theatre critic and editor, and as a professor of theatre studies for more than 40 years now, I must admit to some genuine concern at the erosion of dramatic literature as the core of theatre studies, at the loss of the magic of the best words spoken in the best order by the best actors possible, this loss of the dramatic canon, this loss of some sense of the evolution of theatre.

Because I have personally believed deeply in what Camille Paglia recently called "*the magic of words*" – from poetry to plays, from critical debate to political provocation – my own classes have always tended to be built around canon and the essential analysis of canonical ideas and their theatrical approaches, and how those ideas reflected their times and specific societies and how those ideas fed back into and hopefully affected their societies.

But people like me are fading quickly in the academy. So before I pass the baton to the next generation, let me say here that I am deeply concerned about the future of this field I love. Theatre Studies – it seems to me – is now on the edge of leaving the study of theatre, privileging almost everything but the theatre. It is certainly no longer privileging text and, as much as I have come to appreciate performance studies and the kind of theatre anthropology that my friend Richard Schechner and Victor Turner have so brilliantly pioneered, I must say that I am saddened that students of the future seem to be the ones who will be the biggest losers in this rapid change-over from the dramatic works of real writers to the

pedestrian struggles of mostly theorists trying to force virtually all text and performance into their own lesser visions.

Today, in fact, it seems almost an act of provocation to say that I am going to teach canonical plays, an act of hubris to suggest that some plays may be better than others, an act of political suicide to suggest that Pirandello's contribution to modern world theatre was greater than Lillian Hellman's. Nevertheless, I do exactly that and wonder each day if it is worth all the battles I seem to keep having with younger colleagues.

But then cultural theorists keep telling me that we are all equally right in our positions, that there is no such thing as universal truth, only the ill-fitting clothes of personal belief. So perhaps – in theory at least – there is still room and hope for me. Certainly Derrida's many post-modern visions privilege individuated perception. On the other hand, perhaps we can also see in his ideas the rise of what British critic Francis Wheen has called "*hyper-individualism*", which means for him "*the demonization of the public sector and the valorization of private interest as the ultimate good*". In his own analysis of this as an intellectual trend, Wheen suggests that it is individuated thinking itself that is the reason that personally manufactured "*bullshit is so prevalent...objective reality has been lost [and] ideas have so little value*".

Indeed, when art itself is merely an excuse for theory, when theories of art actually overtake the art, that art may be in deep trouble. And when some artists coming out of the academy start creating work – as some clearly do – to fit those theories, I suggest to you that the artist is selling his very soul. Especially when the theories are rooted in subjects such as linguistics and anthropology rather than in the home discipline.

Is social theory then overtaking theatrical art? There was a joke recently making the rounds supposedly based on a statement made by a Professor at the renowned École Normale Supérieure in France. He said something to the effect that though this play certainly works in practice, how can we be sure that it will work in theory? Enough said.

What we are speaking of here is a theatrical future where going to the theatre and reading plays and arguing their ideas and how they work is becoming less and less central in departments of theatre, departments where works are now studied not for their central truths but to see where they line up on issues such as race, class, and gender; departments where we examine the performative in daily life rather than walk into living theatres, departments where literary, linguistic, film and queer theory have become the dominant discourses, departments where obfuscation and bad writing has replaced communication.

Indeed, we have now spawned a second and third generation of theatre theorists who believe that theatre is *primarily* about race, class, and gender, about linguistics, feminism or chaos rather than about theatrical values and performance. Perhaps it is time to question whether we in Theatre Studies are really still interested in working in an art form or in some version of Aristophanes' cloud cuckoo-land, whether we are creating a generation of

knowledgeable theatre scholars or a generation of aggressive pedants who use obscurantism to hide their real lack of knowledge about theatre, to cover their essential ignorance of the art with jargon.

I recently copied out a sentence from an essay, a sentence about a Canadian dramatist named Judith Thompson. It so agitated me that I now keep it on my desk. The sentence reads: "*Thompson's characters experience a conflict between a self that is submissive to the inherited and hegemonic discursive practices of society and a self that is not synonymous with the subject of discourse.*"

I defy you to defend that sentence in a court of good writing, a court of communication, elegance, or style. And I ask you to please shoot me on sight if I ever write a sentence that painfully packed with pretence and pomposity.

And, as I suggested earlier, art is now being created to go with such language. That may be the scariest trend of all. I read in the 22 July edition of English Canada's most important newspaper, *The Globe and Mail*, a fascinating item out of France. In a brief report on this year's Avignon Festival, it was stated that critics attending the festival said that it has "*plumbed new depths of intellectual obscurity and warned that a contempt for the mainstream public was placing the future of a prestigious national institution in jeopardy.*" Apparently, angry audiences booed and walk-out of numerous shows. The Festival as a whole this year was actually described as "*a pretentious catastrophe*" with the communist newspaper *L'Humanité* describing the offerings as having "*a triumphant sense of masturbatory autism.*"

Like many, I am always a bit suspicious of those intellectuals who most loudly call for populist approaches in the arts, but I couldn't help wondering if the line had not finally been crossed in Avignon by artists who have been taught along the way that social theory precedes artistic creation, and certainly that all theory precedes communication. Surely communication has to be privileged in the essential theatrical act of communicating.

But I digress.

As I see it, we are all complicit in distancing theatre research and theatre studies these days from both dramatic literature and the living theatre and that we are doing a major disservice to our artists, to the theatre itself, and to theatre history. In doing this, I believe we are condemning the art of theatre as we have all known it to increasing irrelevance and taking our studies into ever dimmer and more trivial realms. I believe that without some serious rethinking on this subject, that the future of theatre studies is not only dim but rapidly getting darker.

Our hosts set as one of the topics for this conference an examination of the "*revolution by theatre makers against theatre theory [...] summarised in slogans as 'no more theories'*". Our hosts suggested early on that this situation must have a "*significant impact on future*

theatre theory, on the term theatre itself and on theatre studies as well?

These are important directions for us all. But are we heeding the warnings of our colleagues on the front lines of theatre making (directors, playwrights, and actors) and on the front lines of theatre responding (reviewers and theatre critics working for newspapers and magazines and journals and on-line websites). These are the real workers in meaning and idea, the real theatrical philosophers whose life work brings them to the very doors of theatrical truth each day.

Am I suggesting here that theory should not be taught? Not at all. I am suggesting rather that theatre theory be taught as the core material in this field and that anthropological and linguistic reception theory be taught primarily at the graduate level. And ideally without the jargon. Ineffective communication is ineffective communication wherever we find it. The object of language is communication. Those who write much of the new theory have too often proved themselves ineffective communicators.

If they have a model at all, it seems to be scientific theory, which, as we all know, is all but unreadable except to other scientists. Do we in theatre studies really want to consider ourselves scientists? For me, the attempt to turn a humanist form like theatre into a scientific one is to fail the form at its roots. For me, a hundred Derridas and Foucaults do not equal a single Brecht or Boal or even an Artaud. And the truth is, more students today in our field are having Derrida and Foucault thrown at them than Brecht and Boal.

I am arguing here for a theatrical prioritising of what we do and suggesting that we return to a consideration of *dramatic literature* and *theatre theory* in theatre schools and leave linguistic theory and queer theory and the like – at least at the undergraduate level – for language or science departments.

In recent years, I have had the privilege of travelling widely to lecture at universities in North America, Europe, Africa, and Asia. I have found time and again that the only commonality in approach really is precisely this tendency to study theory at the expense of close examinations of evolutions and revolutions in real theatre practice. Do we really believe that by doing so that we are making theatre studies part of the world of theatre or are we just ensuring that it stays irrelevant to those who actually work in the living theatre?

But perhaps we in the academic theatre business have turned to theory because we simply have *too much* history to deal with. I am sure that this is true here in Athens. I used to teach in my theatre aesthetics courses Aristotle, Horace, Sydney, Dryden, Lessing, and many others. Today I barely have time to cover Craig and Artaud, Stanislavski, and Gro-towski, Meyerhold, Lepage, Mnouchkine, Brook. Who should I drop next?

And the same in dramatic literature. There's too much of it. The fact is, I have already dropped innumerable important plays from my modern drama course. I used to do Ibsen's *Brand* before moving on to *Doll's House* or *Hedda Gabler*. Long ago I dropped *Brand* and I now must choose between dropping *Doll's House* and *Hedda*, two works that all theatre

students should be familiar with. I now only touch one play of Pirandello (*Six Characters*) where I used to do two; one play of Strindberg (*Miss Julie*) where I used to do two. Even *Ubu Roi* is on the edge of disappearing despite being a play of enormous importance historically and one that is now being referenced widely from Brook's *Ubu* to Wole Soyinka's *Baba Ubu* to Jane Taylor's recent South African hit *Ubu and the Truth Commission*.

But back to the original question. Should theatre studies students be asked to know the canon? Or should they be taught how to read any play from any period using a range of theoretical frames that most often identify what plays are NOT rather than what they actually are, frames that we have been referring to regularly this week – the politico-sociological frames of race, class, and gender which speak perhaps more of contemporary attitudes than those of particular periods; linguistic frames connected most notably to semiotics; post-modernism; post-colonialism; structuralism; historicism; new criticism, modernism, Freudianism, determinism. How far backward into the future shall we go? How much literature and theatrical creation shall we abandon in our search for the theoretical?

My own preference remains to give undergraduates examples of what has traditionally been agreed to be the best dramatic works by the best creative minds. Yes, too often those works were by writers who were white, male, and privileged but they remain important for students to know and for us to teach. I don't think we can just assume that undergraduates will somehow just pick it all up on their own.

By not doing this, I think we risk losing not only our collective theatrical heritage but much of our theatre history. And I would argue that even one *version* of that history is better than implying that the analysis of lesser works is as valid as the analysis of works that significantly affected the mainstream of their own and earlier societies.

Yes, I am arguing here that Euripides' *Cyclops* is not as important for a student to know at the undergraduate level as Sophocles' *Oedipus*, that Clifford Odet's *Waiting For Lefty* is not as significant in the evolution of dramatic history as Pirandello's *Six Characters* and that Efua Sutherland is not as important for students of African theatre to know as Wole Soyinka. And for every Aphra Behn who emerges from the wings of theatre history to join the canon – and I did my own graduate work on Aphra Behn more than 40 years ago – there are probably dozens of other relatively insignificant writers whose works are being read these days in lieu of writers who much more profoundly affected the theatre.

I certainly understand and appreciate the reasons why all this has happened, the reasons why we have to rethink the dominance of dead white males and dead white ideas. Perhaps a more effective approach lies in teaching the canon not so much as ultimate truth but rather as history, a history of evolving forms and ideas, and consciously pointing out that historicity to our students. I have no problem with that.

By changing approach to the canon rather than emasculating it, by ensuring that undergraduates know what the canon was and is so that they can affect what may become

canonical in their own lives, we are not so much imbuing the canon with ultimate quality but recognising its historical importance. And perhaps we should be teaching the history of theory as a range of ideas as well, rather than as a fix on some kind of objective truth.

Truth itself may be a relative term intellectually but fighting for Truth – and that’s what we are doing here – is real. And that fight is rooted in knowledge and part of knowledge is the need to communicate it effectively. We are in the homeland of some of the Western world’s first great communicators of truth and knowledge. Can you imagine what Socrates would have made of words like ‘hegemonic’ and ‘interrogatory discourse’? I say: sorry, Socrates asked questions. He did not hold ‘interrogatory discourse’. I dare say he would have laughed at the concept. As would have Aristotle, the master describer and cataloguer of real things including Truth. And Plato’s cave would still be closed if contemporary theory were the only way in.

We are part of the real world, my friends. And the real world – full of caves – is turning its collective back on what we do. And if we keep doing what we are doing, there will be no future for us, for our students, or possibly even for theatre studies in the academy.

Permit me to end with a syllogism. The canon once upon a time was our collective thesis in Theatre Studies; today theory – once its antithesis – has come to dominate. I would like to suggest that it is time to find a theatrical synthesis where *both/and* rather than *either/or* becomes the dominant discourse.

Unless we find an effective way to reconnect to the Truth of what we do, I for one don’t see a very bright future for this field that we all claim to love.

ABSTRACTS



RÉSUMÉS

I. *Theories on theatre – Aspects of theory and historiography.*

Autour de la théorie du drame – Questions d'histoire et d'historiographie théâtrales

MARVIN CARLSON

THEATRE RESEARCH IN A DIGITAL WORLD

The rise of digital technology presents both rich possibilities and formidable challenges to theatre researchers. This paper considers several of the ways in which such technology is already enhancing theatre research, particularly in the digitalisation of archival material, as seen in such projects as the digital archives of medieval material in major libraries in France and the Netherlands, the development of hypertext archives such as the Global Performing Arts Consortium, and the creation of virtual theatre spaces as in the European Theatron project, and virtual performances, as in the Virtual Vaudeville developed at the University of Georgia. The paper includes a detailed description of this latter project, perhaps the most ambitious such undertaking so far.

STRATOS E. CONSTANTINIDIS

THE EMOTIONAL PROBLEM IN THE COURTROOM AND THE THEATRE:
SHOULD WE WORRY MORE WHEN FICTION IMITATES
THE NARRATIVES OF REALITY OR WHEN REALITY IMITATES
THE NARRATIVES OF FICTION DURING THE ERA OF BIG BROTHER ?

The main role that emotions play in the theatrical experience – or both performers and spectators – has had its critics (from Plato to Brecht) and its apologists (from Aristotle to George Lucas). In recent decades, emotions reign supreme not only in 'make-believe shows', but also in 'reality shows', including 'reality shows' such as televised courtroom work performances in series like Judge Judy, Judge Joe Brown, or Judge Mathis. The legal filters designed to suppress emotions fail repeatedly to keep courtrooms free of emotions. Judges and contestants in the 'reality shows' bring their emotions (anger, revulsion, sorrow, hatred, vengeance, pity, fear, compassion) to the courtroom and their 'performances' are overtly or covertly evocative. In this talk I will briefly set the stage for the study of the comparative role that emotions play in the theatre and the courtroom, especially in developing new understandings and experiences.

CLAUDINE ELNÉCAVÉ
 QUELQUES RÉFLEXIONS SUR LES MÉTAMORPHOSES
 DE LA THÉORIE DE LA MISE-EN-SCÈNE

Le sujet que j'ai choisi est assez complexe. Un coup d'œil jeté sur les différentes définitions de la mise-en-scène révèle une mutation de cette représentation visuelle du texte théâtral.

Ces mutations engendrent des questions épineuses: où en est la mise-en-scène aujourd'hui ? Peut-on parler d'une théorie ?

Je ne prétends pas donner de réponses à ces questions, mais plutôt essayer de mettre en lumière les problèmes que pose aujourd'hui la mise-en-scène, à savoir les procédés par lesquels les metteurs en scène ouvrent un éventail de possibilités. Éventail qui, à son tour, ouvre la voie non pas à une théorie, mais à des théories.

J. MICHAEL WALTON
 CRISIS, WHAT CRISIS ?

In this paper, based on the one that I delivered at the conference, I set out to address the questions raised by the organisers about the future of 'Theatre Studies' and the concerns of some that the discipline has become devoted to theory-based study at the expense of *praxis*. My aim is to make a case for practical work as a necessary aspect of Drama degree programmes. In rehearsing the experience of the first Drama degree courses in Britain, the reasons for the decision to include practice within the syllabus are revisited. A difference is identified between postgraduate and undergraduate study. With reference to the former, the question of 'practice as research' is raised and its significance, despite the attendant *caveats*, for an art form whose history is so elusive. Turning to undergraduate study, my conclusion is that some basic understanding of theatre through direct involvement is essential at an early stage if students are to appreciate the nature of theatre or drama, and its difference from drama as literature or as any other branch of theoretical discourse.

LILA MARAKA
 ACTIVATING IMAGINATION: MYTH, HISTORY AND LITERATURE,
 MEMORY AND REMEMBRANCE AS MATERIAL IN A THEATRE OF IMAGES.
 A TENDENCY IN CONTEMPORARY THEATRE WITH REFERENCE
 TO THE WORKS OF HEINER MÜLLER

The starting-point for this topic is the observation that in contemporary theatre there is a tendency observable which is definitive for a course of future development: the ques-

tioning of the binding priority of the word in favour of a theatre of descriptive image, which aims to activate the imagination of a public participating in the production of the final artistic work which is the theatrical performance. In order to achieve this result, it is necessary that the images which come as a proposal from the creative imagination of the artist have a correspondence with the addressee recalling new images by association. For this purpose, theatre elaborates material which is drawn up from the pool of the whole human heritage (Myth, History, Literature, etc.), while memory and remembrance, both at a personal and at a collective level, is elevated into being the main lever of the total effort. Subsequently using as an example the works of the German author Heiner Müller, an attempt is made to illustrate this procedure, which, by drawing up material from the pool of the common heritage, spark off associative images which concern the present time of every performance. In this manner, the play contains scope for going beyond the present time of its creation, since in future performances a new public will always be participating in the production with all its new, enriched experiences.

ZOÉ SAMARA

ROUTINE DÉNUÉE D'ART (OU QUI A TUÉ LA THÉORIE ?)

«Routine dénuée d'art» est la définition que Socrate donne de la rhétorique non philosophique. C'est précisément ce qu'on pourrait dire aujourd'hui de la théorie. Pour discuter avec Phèdre sa notion de la vraie rhétorique, Socrate l'invite à une promenade au bord de la rivière Ilissos. Ce n'est pas un hasard si Platon, son grand disciple, lui prête, dans le même dialogue, un discours sur l'essence de l'âme et de l'amour. Il est évident que l'art oratoire ne doit pas être éloigné des sentiments et du désir, car il est une psychagogie dans les deux sens du terme, selon Socrate: à la fois récréation et une manière de mener les âmes.

À part évoquer l'art de la lecture comme psychagogie, cette étude entreprend une enquête «policière» sur les causes multiples de la «mort» de la théorie et souligne les affinités étroites entre théorie et pratique. Au théâtre le théoricien parle, le praticien donne à voir, mais sans s'annuler l'un l'autre.

ANNA TABAKI

LA RÉCEPTION ET SES MÉTAMORPHOSES: L'EXEMPLE GREC
MODERNE À TRAVERS LE DISCOURS PRÉFACIEL

Partant de quelques réflexions préliminaires, qui mettront notamment l'accent sur la pauvreté ou même l'inexistence d'études herméneutiques concernant la dramaturgie grec-

que moderne dans sa diachronie, à l'exception de deux cas limitrophes – à savoir l'ère de la Renaissance crétoise et la production contemporaine (deuxième moitié du XX^e siècle), l'auteur focalisera l'intérêt de sa communication sur la question cruciale de la *réception* et de la polymorphie que celle-ci révèle.

En se basant sur le matériau polyvalent offert par le cas grec, pendant que l'activité théâtrale se déployait dans une aire culturelle aux frontières géographiques quasiment fluides et élargies, émergeant en tant que notion de modernité dans la société sud-est européenne d'alors aux solides attaches traditionalistes (XVIII^e siècle), et formant son noyau d'œuvres dramatiques par rapport au discours idéologique fortement motivé, cultivé par le nouvel État grec (XIX^e, début du XX^e siècle), l'auteur s'interroge sur la validité de l'application de certains concepts, comme les «analogies», les «parallélismes» ou «homologies» entre cultures, les affinités éclectiques déterminées, ou enfin ce qu'on a défini plus tard et en d'autres termes comme l'«horizon d'attente» et l'enjeu de l'esthétique. C'est en particulier le «discours préfaciel» qui sera exploité ici, servant de paradigme à la mise au point d'une réception, tantôt limitée et timide, tantôt dynamique, se révélant dans la plupart des cas éclectique, s'efforçant d'activer, à maints niveaux (esthétique, idéologique, stylistique) les éléments qui attribueront au théâtre grec moderne sa physionomie et sa spécificité.

En guise de conclusion, on pourra réfléchir, à l'ère justement de la postmodernité, sur l'utilité d'une approche comparative, ayant comme exemple un terrain d'investigation multi-culturel et polymorphe par nature, puisqu'il est situé à un carrefour de civilisations, formant des noyaux-satellites dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée et les centres de la diaspora en Occident, et traversé par une dichotomie capitale entre le bagage idéologique de son patrimoine antique et sa soif, son besoin d'incorporer la modernité.

WALTER PUCHNER

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THEATRE AFTER
EVOLUTIONISM AND FORMALISM. THE GREEK CASE.

This short communication tries to formulate some thoughts on theatre historiography after the interregnum of mainly a-historical approaches. The absence of evolutionistic concepts and the postmodern aversion to any holistic views seem to be giving way to a new emphasis on ruptures and turning-points instead of the presentation of history as a harmonious continuum. The history of modern Greek theatre from the Renaissance to the end of the 20th is a good example for this new way of looking at theatre history, because there are at least four main breaks in continuity after antiquity: Byzantium, the end of the Cretan theatre of the Renaissance and Baroque in 1669, the turning-point of 1800, and the deep rupture between the 19th and the 20th century in c. 1900. In this way, the history

of modern Greek theatre is not really in danger of reproducing evolutionistic concepts. Actually, it has to be written anew because of the many discoveries of recent research: of new facts, texts, performances, actors, theatres, and details of theatre life. That means that consequently all the older histories of modern Greek theatre are definitely out of date and, as it seems, this history is much more important than it has been considered to be before. Furthermore, it is also 'postmodern' in the sense that it takes place in a geographically decentralised way on entirely different language and style levels following various dramaturgical models, and the performances are undertaken by socially and artistically very different actors in the framework of distinctive ideologies, and are addressed to non-homogeneous audiences.

GEORGES P. PEFANIS

LE MAÎTRE OMNIPOTENT DE LA SCÈNE.
ASPECTS ET LIMITES DE LA MÉTAPHORE THÉÂTRALE
AU DÉBUT DU XXI^e SIÈCLE

La métaphore théâtrale est présente dans la configuration de l'esprit européen du moment que la première forme de l'art théâtral et de la réflexion philosophique apparaissent en Grèce. Le XX^{ème} siècle a souvent exploité les aspects de la métaphore théâtrale de plusieurs manières et dans des champs scientifiques divers: dans la sociologie de la connaissance et des rôles et dans la critique des Médias ou dans l'anthropologie herméneutique et la thérapie, de telle façon que la distinction du théâtre de la vie quotidienne soit difficile.

Dans cette perspective, on va présenter huit critères pour la différenciation de deux mondes (répétitivité, réflexivité, interaction ouverte, participation, corporéité, autonomie du discours scénique, disjonction du monde extérieur, engagement moral), qui permettent en même temps la formation des régions communes où les études théâtrales peuvent créer des cadres de recherche et des champs nouveaux de réflexion.

KYRIAKI PETRAKOU

THE APPEAL OF MODERN GREEK THEATRE ABROAD.
THE CASE OF NIKOS KAZANTZAKIS

In this paper the condensed results of two lengthy research programmes, which produced two self-contained publications, are presented combined. As far as the appeal of Modern Greek Theatre abroad is concerned, judging by translations of modern Greek plays and performances in foreign countries in translation, it can be seen that there is a great number of both, but still Modern Greek Drama cannot be pronounced to be an auto-

mous artistic product in the chart of the world theatre; its presence outside the Greek borders is still rather a cultural procedure and marginal in theatrical life. Moreover, this presence practically started after the Second World War and the first writer whose plays were staged in foreign countries was Nikos Kazantzakis, possibly because of the increasing fame of his novels and poetry abroad. They are still played today, and that is the reason why his case is presented here. He seems to have paved the way for other playwrights to venture into the same course.

SIRKKU AALTONEN

DOES THE EEL HAVE A GENDER ?
PROCESSES OF INTERPRETATION INTO ENGLISH
OF THREE PLAYS BY LAURA RUOHONEN

Playscript interpretation in theatre translation is a heuristic problem of deciding on the potential significance of a range of elements on different levels of the text. It involves a search for meanings which the stage director can use for directing characters, living people, speaking and acting in a living, for them, real everyday world. Some meanings will be turned into signs belonging to non-verbal sign systems. In my presentation I will look at the process of interpretation in the translation into English of three plays by Laura Ruohonen, one of the most prominent contemporary Finnish playwrights. The process has involved both intralingual and intersemiotic queries and the playwright herself, translators and stage directors have been involved. My purpose in this presentation is to locate the textual elements which were deemed potentially significant for how the plays mean and how they work in another language and culture.

PIRKKO KOSKI

ANNA LIISA AND CORPOREALITY OF MEMORY

"Yes, that was when I felt the little body twitch under my hand and then it was still. I took my hand away - no more sounds, life had gone out" (p. 52).

"Oh, what I would have given to have had the child there were beside me, alive again" (p. 53).

In her play *Anna Liisa*, the Finnish classical dramatist Minna Canth has given the lines above to the main character, Anna Liisa, who is missing her newborn baby, killed by her in despair after a secret birth in forest. Mikko Roiha, the director of the Vaasa City Theatre's production, has multiplied these lines, and apart from Anna Liisa, the whole village is repeatedly whispering them like a classical chorus. The lines foreground the beginning of the story-line, a tragic event in the past, and frame Roiha's interpretation in a way which

clearly differs from the performance tradition of this classical work.

It is not reiteration that foregrounds Anna Liisa's longing and penance. The child, who in the play gets little space and that only in speech, appears on stage in the performance. Four years have passed since her unhappy birth and death, and she is at about that age, repeatedly crossing the stage in her white shirt. Before the end, Anna Liisa lowers her body tenderly into a kind of grave, a hole on the sloping floor, which, however, gives an image of something better than a grave in the forest. The interpretation has one other special feature: Anna Liisa's figure has been duplicated into two, and two actors of slightly different character but in similar dresses share or utter together her lines. At a certain moment one shoots the other, and carries on the play alone until the end.

Anna Liisa, written in 1895, has a structure typical to its period, in which Henrik Ibsen's influence was apparent. The point of attack comes late in the story and everything happens in a few days. Anna Liisa lives then as a highly appreciated daughter of a prosperous farmer and plans to marry a respectable man in the neighbourhood. She has hidden her crime and tries to forget it. Her former, socially disregarded, lover, after having obtained some money, returns then and demands her for himself. His mother, who buried the child, follows him. When the crime is discovered, Anna Liisa's family promises their daughter to him in order to avoid social shame, but this would be realised only after the bans of marriage with her groom, which has already been announced to the neighbours. At this celebration, Anna Liisa confesses her guilty and is ready to go to jail, terrifying but also winning the approval of those around her. This has been traditionally seen as a religious move, contrition asking forgiveness by the others. Her groom's lines show this clearly: "*May God be with you, Anna Liisa. Just one word more -you are, after all, the person I thought you were from the very beginning*" (p. 105).

The traditional interpretation shows how the main character becomes whole, finds harmony by confessing and atoning for her sins. The child has no central role; Anna Liisa's crime and punishment have importance. The interpretation follows Lutheran moral codes very clearly, and apart from Ibsen's influence, the intertextual links to or similarities with other artworks of the original period are clear.

Roiha's interpretation in many ways breaks with the traditional model, seen on Finnish stages for a century. Instead of a character who learns to submit to God's will, becomes filled with contrition and regains her status as a socially appreciated individual, Anna Liisa's survival is based on the killing of the contradictory character – a part of herself – and leaving only another half, thus making the spectator face up to human destiny instead of social and individual reconciliation. This interpretation comes closer to tragedy, and leaves the spectator faced with an open question about choices and repentance – not punishment – in life.

Anna Liisa's story on stage is cruel and very beautiful, and especially when its religious

features have been polished away or diluted. Roiha's interpretation is very sensual and strongly embodied. Anna Liisa's tragedy does not concentrate on the conflict between her deed and the moral codes of her environment, religion included. It is based on the ultimate absence of a child, physically seen on stage. Instead of by childish innocence and an immoral man at an early age, she has been betrayed by her own feebleness and also by her love, which seems to have been real.

Since Medea, the woman who kills her child has been portrayed in different plays and on numerous stages. What makes us enjoy this terrifying theme? Is it simply the Aristotelian concept of pity and terror? Is it what Anne Ubesfeld proposes as a pleasure of the spectator, the feeling of relief that it concerns the other and not me? I will search for an answer to this peculiarity by surveying Anna Liisa on stage, concentrating on Roiha's divergent interpretation, and its corporeality especially. I will apply what E. Husserl and his successors have written about the corporeal basis of the encounter between 'I' and 'the other' – 'I' meets 'the other' primarily in perception – and how Kuisma Korhonen discusses the question of poetics and ethics, mimethics, encounter, and recognition. My claim is that the beauty of Roiha's cruel story is based on theatre's ability to touch on evil as another, as embodied and imaged, non-transparent, and my aim is to show that this leads beyond good and bad, from moral concerns to a more abstract ethical field.

Instead of the conflict between Anna Liisa and society, Anna Liisa's character as such becomes central: her desire to reach 'the other' in the past – not only her child but love as well – and through this idea of something attainable, a question about responsibility and liability. Roiha's production emphasises Anna Liisa's longing, contradictions in her female love and her social context, which ask for destruction of her another self. Her memory of the child becomes embodied emphatically and repeatedly. The production ends in a traditional reconciliation and illumination, but in an untraditional context of maternal, sexual, and patriarchal contradictions. Does the play depart from its historical origin and approach tragedy?

KALINA STEFANOVA

THEORY VS THEATRE

My contribution will dwell on the role of theory in theatre studies and in particular in studies of theatre criticism. The role of theory is certainly a positive one when theory is used as a starting-point. However, when, along with a point of departure, theory becomes an ending point as well, theory could turn into a somewhat stifling factor in the development of students' creative thinking and in the mastering of their creative writing abilities – a direction in which theatre studies are, alas, moving more and more. And this tendency is becoming an obstacle especially in a discipline like theatre criticism; because theatre

criticism in its essence is a means of translating the language of theatre into the language of life, and one needs to allow for a hands-on approach or at least a balance between theory and a hands-on approach in teaching future theatre critics.

I will touch upon the difference between real theoreticians who have contributed enormously to the development of theatre studies and those who just transmit other people's theories and stop right there in their teaching. That is: between real theory and merely 'regurgitated up' theory.

I will also talk about the situation in theatre criticism and theatre studies in Bulgaria as a springboard for such thoughts. While in the West the problem is a lack of sound education of theatre critics, could the opposite be a problem too?

I know my thesis could be perceived as a heretical one, but the dominance of theory could deprive students of the living language they need to communicate with the readers/audience...

ERIKA FISCHER-LICHTE

CULTURE AS PERFORMANCE.

DEVELOPING A CONCEPT OF PERFORMANCE

During the last years, our understanding of cultural dynamics has changed considerably, and so has our concept of culture. We no longer proceed from the assumption that culture has to be understood as text, made up of signs that have to be read as the concept of culture that dominated since the linguistic turn in the '70s prescribes it: "*Culture as text*". We have come to understand that culture is also, if not in the first place, performance. In the following a concept of performance is proposed which is derived from the experimental theatre of the last thirty years. None the less, it is argued that it can be effectively applied to all kinds of cultural performances as rituals, festivals, political rallies, sport competitions and the like. The concept is explained with regard to four aspects: to performances' (1) mediality (the bodily co-presence of actors and spectators); (2) materiality (its ephemerality and transitoriness); (3) semioticity (the emergence of meaning in the course of a performance); and (4) aestheticity (the performance as event and not as work).

HENRI SCHOENMAKERS

I AM THE OTHER (SOMETIMES).

THE DYNAMICS OF INVOLVEMENT PROCESSES DURING
THE RECEPTION OF THEATRICAL EVENTS

In this article some problems related to concepts of identification of spectators are discussed. Identification is seen as only one of the involvement process besides, among

others, empathy and kinaesthetic involvement. A proposal for a more dynamic interpretation of involvement is made on the basis of theory and research, which should lead to a theory about involvement dealing with changes between identification and empathy, with changes between different objects of involvement, and with differences between spectators in the choice of their object of involvement in the same scene.

JOHN SOMERS

CREATING A BRIDGE: INTERACTIVE THEATRE
AND AUDIENCE INVOLVEMENT

Interactive theatre consciously attempts to create a bridge between audience members and the enacted fictional story. This presentation will deal with such matters as pre-performance audience engagement; audience as active witness; audience exercising concern and responsibility; moving from the specific narrative to the general context, and 'the well-made play' in relation to interactive theatre. It will explore ways in which this process works, drawing theory from the presenter's long experience of interactive theatre. The presentation will use a brief case study of a six-month English tour of the play *On the Edge*, which deals with mental illness. A more detailed case study of the play *The Living at Hurford* will also be presented. I will claim that, unlike most forms of theatre, this interactive approach aims 'to do a specific job' and, once this is defined, the skill of the theatre team is to make sure that job is done.

II. *Revival and reception of ancient Greek drama*
Renouveau et réception du théâtre grec ancien

HERMAN ALTENA – PLATON MAVROMOUSTAKOS

HARD DATA, TRICKY NUMBERS:
THE STATUS OF DATABASES ON PERFORMANCES
OF ANCIENT DRAMA AS TOOLS FOR STATISTIC
AND COMPARATIVE RESEARCH

The paper is based on the quantitative elaboration of several archival sources of performances of ancient drama due to research work done by the European Network of Research and Documentation of Performances of Ancient Greek Drama (Arc-Net) and the Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama (APGRD). These sources show a vast increase in the number of performances of ancient drama in the last quarter of the 20th century. However, when this general increase is compared to evidence from the theatre practice in The Netherlands and Greece, a more nuanced picture emerges.

JOSÉ LUIS NAVARRO

ANCIENT GREEK DRAMA IN SPANISH SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Theatre education is virtually absent from the Spanish curriculum. Two hours a week at the age of 16 as a kind of workshop is the only opportunity students have to be in touch with theatre. Theatre practice must be achieved outside the scheduled timetable.

Some schools have been successfully working in the field of classical Spanish theatre together with ancient classical drama (Greek and Latin). Since 1981, a major event has been taking place in Segóbriga, an ancient Roman town 100 km. from Madrid. A School Festival of Ancient Drama started then and expanded to some other Roman theatres in Spain. Nearly 100,000 students attend the performances every year in springtime. Tragedies and comedies are performed by pupils and students. A small book including the text with an introduction is given to those attending the Festival. Young people thus will have the chance of being better instructed through having the real opportunity of reading, watching, and performing Ancient Drama.

MARIA DE FÁTIMA SILVA

THE NURSE – A CLASSICAL THEME
IN HELIA CORREIA'S RANCOUR

In her play about Helen, Hélia Correia puts in evidence the role of the Nurse. In its main lines, the Portuguese author follows the creator of Medea's and Phaedra's Nurses; she puts them in connection with their mistresses and shows the great influence they have in the fate of the house they belong to. By making their interference stronger, Helia gives them the nature of a true daemon, a kind of shadow of a human being, in life and death.

FREDDY DECREUS

CAN GREEK TRAGEDY, WHEN STAGED IN AN OPEN
DRAMATURGICAL STYLE, STILL BE TRAGIC ?

In recent times, Greek tragedy has been staged in a number of ways that have been labelled 'postmodern' or 'postdramatic' and that relied upon an 'open dramaturgical style'. The transition from a closed (Aristotelian) to an open (Deleuzian) poetics both affects the main semiotic categories at work in every tragedy, such as the use of text, space, body and time, and questions their philosophical and ontological background. Use of maximal entropy and radical non-hierarchy often leads to a post-tragic consciousness, but at the same time it explores the reasons why this tragic experience characterises so well the Western search of identity.

KAITI DIAMANTAKOU

LA RÉCEPTION DE LA NOUVELLE COMÉDIE ATTIQUE ET
DE LA COMÉDIE ROMAINE PAR LA SCÈNE GRECQUE MODERNE:
SUR LES TRACES D'UNE REMARQUABLE ABSENCE

Contrairement à la grande popularité de Ménandre auprès des érudits, depuis l'Antiquité grecque et romaine jusqu'au siècle des Lumières grec, la scène néohellénique s'est avérée plutôt parcimonieuse à son égard, et encore plus à l'égard de ses héritiers romains, Plaute et Térence, comme le montre l'inventaire des productions modernes des comédies ménandriennes et romaines. À partir de cet inventaire et du para-texte critique existant, on s'attache, dans un premier temps, à distinguer les différentes tendances esthétiques et les finalités idéologiques qui ont prédominé à l'occasion des productions modernes en question et, par la suite, à résumer les raisons de l'absence scénique notoire de la Nouvelle Comédie Attique

et de la Comédie Romaine, en fonction de leur structure textuelle spécifique et surtout en fonction du contexte socioculturel, qui impose toujours la politique et les choix culturels et oriente la formation de goûts distincts et distinctifs du public potentiel.

KONSTANTZA GEORGAKAKI

LA TRAGÉDIE AU FESTIVAL D'ATHÈNES (1955-1960):
PROMOTION TOURISTIQUE OU NOUVELLES QUÊTES ESTHÉTIQUES ?

Dans la Grèce de l'après-guerre, le Festival d'Athènes a pour fonction d'assurer la promotion du pays à l'étranger, de drainer les touristes et de faire affluer les devises. Pour sa mise en œuvre, parallèlement aux artistes et aux troupes de renom international qui sont invités, la participation grecque est également requise. Tirer parti de la tragédie antique, en connexion avec des souvenirs de l'Athènes de l'époque classique, apparaît, aux yeux des responsables de la culture, comme la solution idéale pour attirer les spectateurs. La conjonction d'un passé grec antique et de messages diachroniques à l'ombre de l'Acropole souligne la grécité du Festival et est à même de renforcer l'activité touristique. Parallèlement, la marginalisation d'une approche muséale dans cette résurrection du passé et la recherche d'une interprétation résolument néohellénique constituent un défi pour les artistes et témoignent des nouvelles quêtes esthétiques. Les choix du gouvernement, durant les cinq premières années, ne couvrent pas les deux objectifs à la fois et les autres formations politiques réagissent souvent contre les nouvelles tendances.

HELEN FESSAS-EMMANOUIL

EVA PALMER-SIKELIANOU (1874-1952).
HER CONTRIBUTION TO THE CHOREOGRAPHY OF ANCIENT DRAMA

The presentation deals with the contribution of Eva Palmer-Sikelianos (1874-1952) to the choreography and the stage-costume design of the ancient Greek drama, by focusing on two issues: first, the historic significance of Eva's innovations regarding the costumes, the set, and the chorus in two Aeschylean tragedies, *Prometheus Bound* and the *Suppliants*, which were presented in the ancient theatre of Delphi in the framework of the Delphic Festivals of 1927 and 1930. Second, the fertile influence of Eva on the pioneers of 20th century Greek scenography and choreography in the staging of ancient drama, such as the incomparable costume designer Antonis Fokas (1889-1986), the charismatic painter and stage designer Yannis Tsarouchis (1919-1989), and the gifted disciples of the great pedagogue Koula Pratsika (1899-1984). These pioneers laid the foundations of the two Greek schools of staging ancient drama, namely the neo-Classical school of the National Theatre and the

anti-academic school of the Karolos Koun Art Theatre.

Specific references and comments are made on the following topics: the cultural framework of the neo-romantic enterprise of the American lady, a lover of ancient Greece, and its relation to the utopian Delphic Idea of her husband, the poet Angelos Sikelianos (1884-1951); the artistic genius of Eva, her handwoven costumes and her pioneering effort to re-establish the chorus – the ‘heart’ of ancient Greek tragedy – as a dancing, playing, and singing ensemble at the performance of *Prometheus Bound* at the first Delphic Festival (1927); the scenery, costume, and choreographic refinements in the staging of *Prometheus* and *The Suppliants* in the framework of the second Delphic Festival (1930). Finally, the basic shortcomings of Eva’s approach to the role of the chorus in the ancient drama are pinpointed.

CAROL GILLESPIE –LORNA HARDWICK

THEORY AND PRACTICE IN RESEARCHING GREEK DRAMA
IN MODERN CULTURAL CONTEXTS:
THE PROBLEM OF THE PHOTOGRAPHIC IMAGE

In this paper we aim to open up discussion about the importance of primary sources in the research and documentation of modern performances of Greek drama. The context is our work in the Open University research project on the Reception of Classical Texts in English from the mid-1970s to the present. We are in the early stages of developing an on-line image database, as part of the project, and this paper reflects our initial thoughts on the process. We focus on three aspects – a consideration of the value and reliability of performance-related photographs; the role of the archivist in preserving the original ‘meaning’ of the photograph; and we look at the history of an individual image to demonstrate how a photograph can influence perceptions of a performance.

KETEVAN GURCHIANI

SOPHOCLES ON THE GEORGIAN STAGE: 20th CENTURY

The dominant interest in ancient drama in Georgia is closely connected with Sophocles, strictly speaking, with his two tragedies *Oedipus Rex* and *Antigone*. Two major themes are handled in the paper: these are performances of *Antigone* and performances of *Oedipus Rex* in the light of their cultural and political importance. For Georgia of the Soviet period, the key question to investigate is whether the Soviet ideology and censorship influenced the performances of ancient drama, and if so, in what ways.

To understand this problem, some remarks about the political situation in the '60s and early '70s are made, as this is the time when *Antigone* and *Oedipus Rex* were most performed. *Antigone*, which in many other cultures was largely understood as a protest against a tyrannical regime, failed in Georgia under the communists to have a wide influence and largely was not understood politically. There are two major reasons for this: 1. the situation was not ready to initiate such interpretation. 2. It was supported by the fact that the drama chosen was not by Sophocles but by Anouilh, in which Creon does not fit the cliché of a very strong dictator. The situation completely changed in the '90s and so changed the understanding of *Antigone*.

In the case of *Oedipus Rex*, there is rich evidence in pre-Soviet theatre, which was very much influenced by Max Reinhardt. Afterwards there were some important Soviet Georgian performances. It was staged often and successfully from the '50s until the late '70s. Soviet directors interpreted this tragedy in a way suitable for the communist censorship and the idea of the duty of a ruler towards his people formed the key problem. In contemporary Georgian theatre ancient plays are staged very rarely. The reason for this is that ancient performances usually have been understood and interpreted as heroic tragedies, and, read in this way, they are remain only an echo of a very distant past.

DINA MANTCHÉVA

LES TRAGÉDIES GRECQUES DANS L'INTERPRÉTATION
DE LA DRAMATURGIE SYMBOLISTE

L'article étudie, du point de vue typologique et comparatif, le fonctionnement et la signification de l'intertextualité hellénique d'Eschyle, de Sophocle et d'Euripide dans les dramaturgies symbolistes francophone et slave (russe et polonaise), les deux manifestations les plus originales de l'esthétique en Europe.

L'analyse des principes structurels dans les hypertextes modernes aboutit à la conclusion que la tendance à la réécriture des tragédies attiques perdues, l'approche syncrétique des sujets mythiques et l'intérêt envers la suggestivité scénique définissent les similitudes des symbolistes francophones (Péladan, Schuré, Hérold et Lorrain, Viélé-Griffin) et slaves (Brioussov, Ivanov, Annenski, Sologoub, Wyspianski) et illustrent leurs affinités esthétiques. Toutefois, la hantise des Occidentaux de retrouver les origines premières du théâtre explique leur intérêt plus prononcé pour la production disparue d'Eschyle, créateur de la tragédie grecque. En revanche, les Orientaux privilégient plus particulièrement celle d'Euripide, pour son attention aux problèmes de la personne humaine. Si les francophones, épris de mysticisme et de sciences occultes, cherchent le sens ésotérique dans la matière antique et en élargissent la signification de base par des éléments chrétiens, les Slaves, préoccupés de leur propre contexte historique, l'enrichissent de connotations

éthiques et sociales, d'anachronismes et même de traits parodiques, accentuent la tendance esthétique à la synthèse des arts et créent une scène moderne de l'Antiquité grecque. Ces deux écritures montrent la mouvance intérieure du symbolisme européen depuis les années quatre-vingt-dix du XIX^e siècle jusqu'à la première décennie du XX^e, qui préfigure les recherches ultérieures des avant-gardes de l'entre-deux-guerres.

CHARA BACONICOLA

DEUX PHÈDRES «BOURGEOISES» DU XX^e SIÈCLE

Miguel de Unamuno et Gilbert Cesbron nous ont donné respectivement deux variantes dramatiques du mythe de Phèdre qui divergent, tout en suggérant un terrain culturel et intellectuel commun aux deux auteurs. Unamuno a comme point de départ la pièce euripidéenne (*Hippolyte*), Cesbron la pièce racinienne (*Phèdre*). Le premier en fait sa *Fedra*, une tragédie, le second sa *Phèdre à Colombes*, un petit drame (que lui-même traite de comédie). Leurs différences de style, de structure dramatique, d'élaboration des caractères sont évidentes. Pourtant, les deux pièces sont non seulement des transcriptions de l'histoire dans le monde moderne (ce qui fait que le temps et l'espace dramatiques sont presque identiques), mais reflètent un point de vue commun sur les relations interpersonnelles, qui émane discrètement d'une culture bourgeoise éclairée, aussi bien que d'une foi chrétienne vivante et nullement dogmatique. Au fond des deux trames, on entrevoit l'amour pour autrui et l'indulgence envers tout ce qui est «profondément humain», que les deux auteurs éprouvent constamment, sans pour autant suggérer l'idée d'un théâtre engagé ou d'une pièce à thèse.

KETEVAN NADAREISHVILI

MEDEA ON THE GEORGIAN STAGE

Although the staging of the ancient tragedies in the Georgian professional theatre began in 1912, Euripides' *Medea* was not performed until 1962. It seems that the Georgian theatre consciously tried to avoid the 'Medea theme' as it was problematic for the Georgian mentality as a whole to see a Georgian (Colchian) woman as the murderer of her own children. In 1962, A. Chartshvili overcame this psychological barrier. Although his play followed the plot of Euripides' *Medea*, the performance wasn't simply a restoration of the ancient tragedy. Aiming to discover the tragic essence of Medea's personality, the director interpreted the terrible deed of the heroine. Alongside Euripides' version, another reception of the 'Medea theme' was very popular on the Georgian stage as well. According to this interpretation (L. Sanikidze), the murderers of the children were Corinthian folk, not

Medea. For 20-25 years the plays based on this reception were performed on the stages of Georgian theatres from the 1960s.

Drawing on our analysis of the interpretation of Medea's tragic image, we can conclude that there is no single clear-cut tendency towards the comprehension of the Medea myth in Georgian culture as a whole – as to whether Medea's myth should be regarded as a basis for artistic creations with new, original conceptions or should still be considered in the context of historical and ethnic problems.

SAVAS PATSALIDIS

RE-MEMBERED PAIN IN JOHN JESURUN'S *PHILOKTETES*

In the last ten or twenty years there has developed a significant group of writers who clearly place themselves outside the tenets of realism, traditional plots and character development and venture into other areas of interest, like structures, sounds and, most importantly, the evocative possibilities of language itself. At a time when technology and virtual realities invade everything, the word comes back in full force, to explore verbally the language of space itself, of geography. Of course, one might claim that this is no different from traditional naturalism. In fact, it is, for unlike the detailed physical landscapes of naturalism, which were created for the eye, this generation of artists creates landscapes that are often not seen, they are simply heard and imagined (Carlson 2002: 147). Richard Foreman, Suzan-Lori Parks, Mac Wellman, Len Jenkin, Addrienne Kennedy, Eric Overmyer, Eric Ehn, John Jesurun, Heiner Müller, Stefan Schütz, Sam Shepard, Maria Irene Fornes, David Greenspan seem to share an aversion to climaxes, "*refining techniques to avoid them while expanding the possibilities open to their plays if they succeed, ingeniously complicating the process of writing, and thus extending the Stein tradition one generation further*" (1994: 180).¹ Instead of climaxes, they opt for intense dramatic moments, a language that hums, bobs, and dances, a self-reflexive discourse whose complex narratives follow the 'disobedient' instincts of the imagination rather than the orderliness of the intellect, thus adding to the readers' (or viewers') frustration, since they are always trying to figure out what he is trying to do and how he fits in with the things they know about drama, which in this case provides no sequence of events, no comfort of a narrative continuum. Everything is fragmented, juxtaposed, multi-layered, contradictory, high and low at the same time, a hard to distinguish mixture of presence and absence, a collage microcosm of quotations, analogies, and images, where the actors are not expected to create coherent roles but rather serve as icons of something.

¹ ROBINSON, MARC. *The other American Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994.

What this paper claims is that this fused and confusing world is the writers' response to and expression of our culture, which is made up of contradictory ideas, events, and images that exist side by side, layer upon layer. The paper shares their claim that says no matter how timely some of the classical themes appear to be, the passage of time and social change inevitably leave their mark. As director Peter Sellars claims, prefacing the run of his Gulf War adaptation of Aeschylus' *The Persians* (1993), "a classic is a house we're still living in. And as with any old house, you're going to fix it up and add a new wing. It's not an exhibit. It's meant to be lived in, and not admired". Which means that to make this old house a home to reflect the social, political and aesthetic parameters of the contemporary, it takes redecorating, repainting, refashioning, new mirrors, new sofas, new sound and lighting systems, new words, high-tech gadgets and spectacular iconography, popular and high culture. And John Jesurun's *Philoktetes* is a case in point.

The writer turns the body into the site of a trauma, an endless replay of the ecstasies of social and political violence, an object of observation and site of suffering and also abhorrence. Starting with the idea that the play presents an interesting case of metadrama, my intention is to show how postmodern performative strategies of story-telling gradually acquire the qualities of a theatre of pain and cruelty, visible acts of constant decentrings and dis-embodiments.

Relying on postmodern notions of multiple selfings, Jesurun recontextualises his classic material to emphasise the social albeit painful (de)construction of the performative self in which what the individual presents is not himself but a (rehearsed) story containing a protagonist who may happen also to be himself. The paper claims that whereas the fate of the characters in the original play is assigned to them by the myth, the gods, and finally the playwright himself, in the fragmented universe of artists like Jesurun, they are constantly constructed and deconstructed by social discourse. Hence the frequent reference to body parts and functions (heart, organs, health, excretory organs, bones, joints, etc.) that ground the idealist subject into a politicised world of pain and a flesh of things.

CLEO PROTOKHRISTOVA

THE BULGARIAN OEDIPUS

The presentation is concerned with the life of Sophocles' tragedy *Oedipus* in Bulgaria. Since its first introduction to the Bulgarian reading public at the end of the 19th century it has undergone numerous translations, stagings, theatrical and literary interpretations, most of them to the credit of outstanding intellectuals and artists. Special emphasis is given to the persistent fascination Gheo Milev – one of the most outstanding figures in Bulgarian culture of the early 20th century – had for *Oedipus*. He interpreted Sophocles'

masterpiece simultaneously in his capacity of translator and poet, as critic and art theoretician, as spectator and director.

Of specific interest is the impressive climax of the Oedipus motif's presence in Bulgarian culture during the last decade of the 20th century, encompassing all its different spheres – literature and playwriting, the arts, the political and the philosophical discourse. An attempt is made to rationalise the actual notion of the ancient in Bulgarian culture, identified predominantly with the ancient tragic (implicit also in the concretisations of *Oedipus*) in the perspective of a possible and pertinent comparison with the role appropriated to Attic tragedy in the Bulgarian modernist project.

BERND SEIDENSTICKER

SATYROI REDIVIVI: THE RECEPTION OF THE SATYR-PLAY
ON THE MODERN STAGE

The satyr-play had a short creative history and a rather limited history of reception. This paper looks at the small signs of a growing interest in the subject since the last decades of the 20th century, and concentrates on Friedo Solter's production of the *Cyclops* for the 'Deutsches Theater Berlin' (1994).

GRAŻYNA GOLIK SZARAWARSKA

CHRISTIANISATION OF ANTIQUITY IN THE TRAGEDIES OF SOPHOCLES AS
TRANSLATED BY PROFESSOR TADEUSZ ZIELIŃSKI

Professor Tadeusz Zieliński (1859-1944) presents in his scholarly and artistic works a coherent system of views on problems of ancient and modern spiritual culture. In his six-volume cycle entitled *Religions of the Ancient World* he deals with the development of the religious idea across the centuries, assuming Christianity to be the climax of the religious pursuit of humanity. With the support of impressive evidence, he tried to prove his controversial thesis, maintaining that the religion of ancient Greece constituted the real Christian *Old Testament* itself. The basis for this assumption was formed by psychological communication so evident in religious attitudes enlivening the faith of the ancients and the Christians. He intended that his history of religion should constitute the basis for the re-creation of the history of ancient morality. It represents his pursuit of ancient rules and values turned into a steady foundation of modern morality. This was accompanied by the conviction that after the Italian Renaissance and Anglo-German Neo-humanism the time had come for the Slavic 'revival of antiquity'. He started missionary activity ori-

entated towards the embodiment of that ideal. With this purpose in mind, he translated Sophocles and Euripides into Russian. Assuming that Greek tragedies are the most excellent expression of religious feelings and moral principles in the spirituality of the Greeks, he emphasised in his translations the proximity connecting people of the ancient world with those living in contemporary times. Concrete translating effects were a direct consequence of the view according to which many ancient authors sensed in their prophetic minds a Christian God. This was possible by means of internal revelation. He considered Sophocles as the most outstanding in the group and did not hesitate to call him the prophet of Christianity. He translated all Sophocles' tragedies, together with the works available only in fragments and published them in three volumes in Moscow in the years 1913-1915. His translations were accompanied by *Prefaces*, collected and published later in Poland under the title *Sophocles and His Tragedies*. He created an ideographic classification of Sophocles' dramas, thus allowing daring comparisons within the world of values of the ancient Greeks and Christianity. There is in *Antigone* the key link in his concept. He rated *Antigone* as the most brilliant of the work created by the Greek playwright, mainly because of divine love predominating the work – the gift of true love demanding the sacrifice of life, or the miracle of evangelical love that is a human experience which constitutes the core of the story. He regarded this tragedy of Sophocles together with its heroine as a spiritual predecessor of Christianity. Antigone's martyrdom gains a new, surprising dimension in his translation. Sophocles' protagonist becomes the first martyr in the Christian sense. He generally preserves the traditional interpretation, according to which the basic dramatic conflict appears when the state and divine laws collide. But the translation faces a much deeper problem focusing on love's sacrifice in the form present in Sophocles' epiphany. Antigone is the embodiment of his concept of active love. The protagonist possesses features of a Romantic heroine, a tragic figure from Ibsen together with the individuality endowed with Nietzschean 'energy of greatness'. In his translation of Sophocles' tragedies he refers to symbolism with obvious Christian connotations, thus introducing a number of alternatives, completions and amplifications, especially in fragments resulting from illumination or being the expression of the epiphany. Striving to bring Sophocles' tragedies closer to the religious and aesthetic feelings of contemporary man, he did not hesitate to considerably increase the volume of the originals, mainly in the area of soliloquies. The elaboration of his artistic strategy should be linked with the 'love message' addressed to the modern world which constantly re-appears in his works. He tried to determine subsequent incarnations of Sophocles' epiphanies, through his personal vision of civilisation's mission inherent in ancient drama. Having gained a certainty about the permanent and universal character of the educational ideal of ancient times, he wanted to represent it in his activities within European culture, especially in Russia and Poland. He became involved in a movement of spiritual renewal taking place in Europe in the 1920s and '30s.

He participated in the Euckenbund and the Cultural Union – Kulturbund. His views on education and activity were connected with the German pedagogics of the –Reformpädagogik reform. Especially significant is his deep involvement in the reforms of the theatre and opera in Russia and Poland, thus building the foundations of theatre study in Russia.

It seemed possible to realise modern education, mainly because of those new translations of Sophocles' tragedies striving to appeal to our sensitivity. That is the view expressed by a polymath, philosopher, classical philologist, and student of religion, awarded an honorary doctorate of the University of Athens, an honorary citizen of Delphi, honoured with the Phoenix Medal.

DMITRY TRUBOTCHKIN

ANCIENT DRAMA IN POST-REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA (1918-1928)
AND AT THE BEGINNING OF THE XXIst CENTURY

The statistics very well illustrate the fact that there was a remarkable period of special attention paid to Greek and Roman theatre in Russia. It lasted 10 years after the October Revolution, 1918-1928, and it is in this period that most Russian performances based on ancient classics were produced. In my paper I shall analyse some of those performances to show that nearly all of them were a result of close interaction between theatre/art theory and practice. Theoretical background influenced the choice of plays, ideological and artistic motivation, etc.; and *vice versa*, theatre practice formed the basis of most interesting research into ancient theatre. My investigation is based mostly on the unpublished material kept in museums and archives.

In the beginning of XXIst century (2000-2005) the taste for working with the classics is still strong in Russian theatre, but ancient drama has now found its place only in the niche of pure experiment. There is no big commercial theatre in Russia which is ready to perform an ancient drama as a repertoire play. But there are a few theatre centres with the reputation for theatre laboratory which work on the Greek and Roman classics regularly, and a few young directors who have gained public success with their performances based on ancient drama. I will compare contemporary theatre activities with those after the Revolution: the important difference will lie in the manner of theory-practice interaction.

NURITH YAARI

GREEK TRAGEDY ON THE ISRAELI STAGE

Throughout the history of Jewish culture, theatre, as art and institution, has functioned in the tension between interdiction and fascination. Jews were prohibited from attending

the theatre by the second commandment's interdiction against any kind of representation. Moreover, the repeated discussions and admonitions in the Talmud and the Midrashic literature resulted in a lack of Jewish definable theatrical tradition up to the middle of the 19th century. In the light of this complex background, I analyse in this paper the first Hebrew performance of Greek tragedy on the Israeli stage: Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* directed by the British director Tyron Guthrie in 1947 against a very tumultuous background: the British army had just left Palestine and Arab and Jewish troops carried out attacks on each other to gain control of the area.

Focusing on issues such as: the choice of translation and pronunciation, the *mise-en-scène*, the stage-design, the costumes, I demonstrate the important questions that Greek Tragedy presented to the emerging theatrical tradition in Israel.

CHRYSOTHÉMIS STAMATOPOULOU-VASILAKOY

LA RÉCEPTION DU THÉÂTRE GREC ANTIQUE DANS LE BASSIN ORIENTAL
DE LA MÉDITERRANÉE AU COURS DU XIX^e SIÈCLE ET AU DÉBUT DU XX^e
LE CAS DE SMYRNE ET D'ALEXANDRIE

L'activité théâtrale dans les communautés grecques du Proche-Orient pendant le XIX^e siècle a été en grande partie répertoriée. La recherche la plus récente a dévoilé tous les éléments qui nous permettent d'étudier en détail l'action du théâtre grec dans les centres de l'Hellénisme au bassin oriental de la Méditerranée (Constantinople, Smyrne, Alexandrie). Plus particulièrement, en ce qui concerne le drame grec ancien, dont la réception à Constantinople a été déjà étudiée par l'auteur, cette communication se concentrera sur son apparence à Smyrne et en Alexandrie, telle que constituée par des informations relatives à des conférences, éditions, traductions et analyses critiques. On examinera également sa place dans l'éducation grecque de la région, pendant la période étudiée.

DAVID WILES

TEACHING GREEK THEATRE:
THE METHODS OF COPEAU IN THE CONTEXT OF TODAY

David Wiles traces four major trends in the way Greek theatre is taught within the broad discipline of Theatre Studies. He goes on to examine the theatre school set up by Jacques Copeau in 1921-4, where Greek theatre had a central position. Copeau's reconciliation of theory with practice, historical knowledge with contemporary performance, may have much of value for us today.

STEVE WILMER

WOMEN IN GREEK TRAGEDY: A QUESTION OF ETHICS ?

This article examines the representation of ancient Greek heroines both in their original contexts and in the modern world, where in some cases they have been transformed to enhance their relevance to topical and local situations and/or to strengthen and make more appealing their personalities and their actions. While theatre scholars such as Sue Ellen Case have emphasised the misogynistic features underlying these plays, and classicists such as Froma Zeitlin have argued that in their original social context the female characters' "*actions and reactions are all used finally to serve masculine ends*", modern productions have often exploited these texts to great advantage. Such productions have shown that the plays are more subtle and complex than some feminists have suggested and that they can be employed creatively to empower rather than demean women. More problematic is whether the tragic heroines reflect a feminist ethics and whether such an ethics should be seen as sexist or universal.

III. *Perspectives of Theatre Studies – Theatre and education*
Stratégie et perspective des études théâtrales – Théâtre et Éducation

EVELYNE ERTEL

LES ÉTUDES THÉÂTRALES À LA SORBONNE NOUVELLE

L'Institut d'Études Théâtrales, fondé en 1959 par le Professeur Jacques Schérer dans l'ancienne Sorbonne, fut le premier centre d'études du théâtre créé dans l'université française. Il a connu un développement très progressif et qui ne s'imposa pas sans lutte auprès du Ministère de l'Éducation Nationale. C'est à partir de ce développement que d'autres universités, autour de Paris (Nanterre, Saint-Denis) et en province (Aix-en-Provence, Lyon, Montpellier, Caen, Bordeaux, etc.), s'efforcèrent à leur tour d'introduire un cursus d'études théâtrales autonome à côté des cursus plus traditionnels tels que ceux de langues et de littératures. Ce n'est pas encore totalement accompli dans tous les cas. Mais, de toute façon, l'IET de Paris III est toujours resté, aux yeux des étudiants, des enseignants et des chercheurs, voire des professionnels du théâtre, le département-phare de l'étude du théâtre à l'université.

L'enseignement qu'il dispense est, en gros, régi par deux principes:

– l'enseignement se veut à la fois théorique et pratique (d'où la place importante réservée aux différents ateliers, animés le plus souvent par des professionnels – metteurs en scène, comédiens, scénographes, dramaturges –);

– l'Institut n'a pas vocation à être une école de théâtre, formant des comédiens, des metteurs en scène, des scénographes, etc. Il entend rester un lieu de formation intellectuelle, de transmission des savoirs, de réflexion et de recherche sur l'objet-théâtre dans tous ses aspects: de là, l'accent porté, dès la première année et tout au long du cursus, sur «*l'analyse de la représentation*».

Sera-t-il possible de maintenir cet esprit avec l'application de la réforme européenne (Licence – Master – Doctorat), imposée par le Ministère et qui débute à Paris III à la rentrée 2005? C'est ce qui sera tenté, même si la réforme oblige à des changements de maquettes et à des équilibres différents entre les matières. Mais, en même temps, on profitera de ce changement pour répondre à la demande à la fois du marché du travail et des étudiants: de même qu'il y a déjà une «Licence professionnelle» à côté de la Licence générale, on proposera un «Master professionnel», précisément ciblé, à côté du Master recherche.

MARCO DE MARINIS

LE DIALOGUE ENTRE LA THÉORIE, LA PRATIQUE ET L' HISTOIRE.
PROBLÈMES MÉTHODOLOGIQUES DES ÉTUDES THÉÂTRALES

Les études courantes sur le théâtre contemporain font émerger un problème: la difficulté à rendre compte de la véritable révolution que s'est vérifiée sur scène au XX^e siècle. On a tendance à parler du théâtre contemporain en des termes qui sont plus pertinents à la chronique qu' à l'histoire, plus quantitatifs que qualitatifs. Mais, avant tout, la limite majeure est celle de rester à la surface des phénomènes, en ratant ainsi la possibilité de saisir l'authentique rupture produite par la scène pendant le siècle passé. Il est donc nécessaire de passer d'une optique de surface, ce que j'appellerai le «*grand bazar*» du théâtre contemporain, à une optique en profondeur, ce que je nommerai «*histoire subterramine*». Seulement avec l'histoire subterramine il devient possible de s'apercevoir que la véritable révolution théâtrale du XX^e siècle n'a été ni esthétique ni technologique mais plutôt éthique, en concernant avant tout buts et fins du travail théâtral. On peut résumer tout cela, entre autres, dans la formule stanislavskienne de «*travail de l'acteur sur soi même*».

IRÈNE PERELLI-CONTOS – CHANTAL HÉBERT

POUR COMPRENDRE LE THÉÂTRE ACTUEL.

APPROCHES DE RECHERCHE ET D'ENSEIGNEMENT À L'UNIVERSITÉ

Au seuil du XXI^e siècle et sous l'influence, entre autres, de la mondialisation des médias, de l'expansion rapide de la technologie, de l'éclatement des frontières entre les cultures et les disciplines artistiques, le théâtre s'est à ce point modifié qu'il est désormais difficile de l'examiner en tant qu'objet de recherche ou d'enseignement avec des outils qui ne relèvent que des modes d'approches du passé. Dans cet article, nous présentons d'abord certains outils théoriques et pratiques que nous utilisons déjà dans nos enseignements et recherches et qui s'avèrent indispensables à la compréhension de la complexité qui caractérise les écritures dramatiques et scéniques actuelles. Nous présentons ensuite l'essentiel de la stratégie poursuivie par notre programme d'études théâtrales à l'université Laval dans la perspective d'une approche pédagogique du théâtre non seulement en tant qu'activité artistique et socioculturelle, mais aussi et surtout en tant qu'activité de connaissance à même de nous mettre en rapport, d'une certaine façon, avec la complexité du monde dans lequel nous évoluons.

IRÈNE ROY

UN OUTIL PÉDAGOGIQUE DE CRÉATION: LES CYCLES REPÈRE

Les nouvelles écritures théâtrales contemporaines en appellent désormais d'approches de création souples et ouvertes à l'intégration de la multiplicité et de la complexité au sein des langages scéniques. Au Québec, une telle approche a vu le jour au tournant des années '80, au sein du Théâtre Repère. Appelée Cycles Repère, cette démarche créatrice met le corps sensible de l'artiste au centre d'un parcours qui favorise ses relations exploratoires avec un objet concret, source de ses inspirations. Elle est utilisée par de nombreux créateurs de différentes disciplines et le plus souvent dans le cadre de créations collectives. Depuis plusieurs années, elle est mise en pratique dans le programme d'études théâtrales de l'Université Laval. Cette communication présentera le schéma des quatre phases qui constituent les Cycles Repère et démontrera en quoi leur utilisation dans nos ateliers s'avère à l'usage un outil dynamique de création, susceptible de stimuler l'imagination et la créativité de nos étudiants. De plus, nous expliquerons comment, avec le temps, nous en avons raffiné les procédures artistiques pour en faire un outil pédagogique efficace.

DON RUBIN

THE FUTURE OF THEATRE STUDIES: DIM AND DARKENING

Over the last two decades, many universities in the Euro-American sphere of influence have increasingly turned away from traditional notions of theatre studies. That is, they have opted to root much of their work in theories derived from non-theatrical disciplines such as linguistics, sociology, film, or gender theory rather than rooting them in close examinations of evolutions and revolutions in actual theatre practice, canonicity, and historical relationships between theatre and society. By making the experience of the living theatre incidental rather than essential to philosophical enquiry, theatre studies professors have created a generation or more of students whose work is often irrelevant to what Artaud might have called "*the fragile fluctuating centre*" of theatrical art and, as a discipline, irrelevant to those who work in the living theatre. Indeed, they have left their students in a position where they seem only capable of communicating with other theatre studies students and even then only in a babble of pseudo-scientific jargon. My paper will explore the ramifications of these developments and the dangers I believe they pose for the future of what has been traditionally called theatre studies.

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Some publications in English on theatre translation. Monographs: (2000) *Time - sharing on stage. Drama translation in theatre and society*. Multilingual Matters Ltd. Clevedon. Philadelphia. Adelaide; (1996) *Acculturation of the Other. Irish Milieux in Finnish Drama Translation*. University of Joensuu Publications in the Humanities No 17, Joensuu University Press. Articles: (2005) "Why an Eel in the Well? Inferring Performance from the English Translation of Laura Ruohonen's *Queen*", in *Vaasan yliopiston käännösteorian ja ammattikielen tutkijaryhmän julkaisut*. No 25. Vaasan Yliopisto, Vaasa. p. 50-60; (2004) "Targeting in Drama Translation: Laura Ruohonen's Plays in English Translation", in *Vaasan yliopiston käännösteorian ja ammattikielen tutkijaryhmän julkaisut*. No 24. Vaasan Yliopisto, Vaasa. p. 52-62; (2004) "Retranslation in the Finnish Theatre", in *Cadernos de Tradução*. No 11, 2003/ (published 2004). p. 141-159; (2004) "Olga's Eightsome Reel in Edinburgh. A Case Study of Finnish Drama in English Translation", in Coelsch-Foisner, Sabine and Holger Klein (eds) *Drama Translation and Theatre Practice*. Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main et al. p.121-135; (2002) "Mapping the other. The case of Asian theatre in Finland", in *Translation Studies*. Central Institute of English & Foreign Languages. Hyderabad, India. p. 1-30; (2000) "Time-Sharing of Theatre Texts", in *Across Languages and Cultures*. Volume 1, issue 1. Akadémia Publishers, Budapest. p. 57-69; (1999) "La perruque in a rented apartment. Rewriting Shakespeare in Finland", in O'Shea, J. (ed) *Ilha do desterro Shakespeare Dramaturgy in Translation*, Brazil. p. 141-159.

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More important books: *Teatro e comunicazione*, Firenze, Guaraldi, 1977 (in collaboration with Gianfranco Bettetini); *Mimo e mimi. Parole e immagini per un genere teatrale del Novecento*, Firenze, La Casa Usher, 1980; *Semiotica del teatro. L'analisi testuale dello spettacolo*, Milano, Bompiani, 1982 (1992, 2nd ed.; engl. transl.: *The Semiotics of Performance*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1993); *Al limite del teatro. Utopie, progetti e aporie nella ricerca teatrale degli anni Sessanta e Settanta*, Firenze, La Casa Usher, 1983; *Il nuovo teatro 1947-1970*, Milano, Bompiani, 1987 (1995, 3rd ed.; sp. transl.: *El nuevo teatro*, Barcelona-Buenos Aires, Paidós, 1988); *Capire il teatro. Lineamenti di una nuova teatrologia*, Firenze, La Casa Usher, 1988 (new ed.: Roma, Bulzoni, 2008.; sp. transl.: *Comprender el teatro*, Buenos Aires, Galerna, 1997; catalan transl.: *Entendre el Teatre*, Barcelona, Institut del Teatre, 1998); *Mimo e teatro nel Novecento*, Firenze, La Casa Usher, 1993; (ed.), *Drammaturgia dell'attore*, "Università del Teatro Eurasiano III", Bologna, I Quaderni del Battello Ebbro, 1997; *La danza alla rovescia di Artaud. Il Secondo Teatro della Crudeltà (1945-1948)*, Bologna, I Quaderni del Battello Ebbro, 1999 (new ed: Roma, Bulzoni, 2006); *In cerca dell'attore. Un bilancio del Novecento teatrale*, Roma, Bulzoni, 2000; *Visioni della scena. Teatro e scrittura*, Bari-Roma, Laterza, 2004; *En busca del actor y del espectador. Comprender el teatro II*, Buenos Aires, Galerna, 2005. He is on the editorial board of the Journal *Versus Quaderni di studi semiotici*, edited by Umberto Eco for the publishing house Bompiani. He part of the

academic advisory board of *L'Annuaire théâtral* (Montreal, Canada) and *Teatro XXI*, edited by Osvaldo Pellettieri (Universidad de Buenos Aires). He is a permanent member of the academic équipe at ISTA, the International School of Theatre Anthropology, run by Eugenio Barba, based in Holsterbro (Denmark). He edits the series of studies and researches on the theatre at various publishing houses and in particular for Bulzoni in Rome.

FREDDY DECREUS

Classical philologist, specialising in the reception of classical antiquity during the 19th and 20th centuries. His doctoral dissertation dealt with the use of structural and semiotic theories (1985). He works at the University of Gent, where he is responsible for courses in Latin Literature, Literary Theory, Comparative Literature, and Theatre History (esp. Ritual Theatre). He is also active in the Teacher Training Department.

His publications have addressed the didactics of classical languages, classical tragedy and the modern stage, mythology and modern painting, postmodernism and the rewriting of the classics, and feminism and the classics.

Recently he published (together with Mieke Kolk) two volumes on re-reading classics in 'East' and 'West': *Post-colonial Perspectives on the Tragic* (2004), and *The performance of the Comic in Arabic Theatre. Cultural Heritage, Western Models, Post-colonial Hybridity* (2005).

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Champ de recherche: Drame ancien, grec et romain.

Intérêts actuels: La généalogie et la fonction signalétique du costume dans le théâtre ancien, grec et romain. La présence et la fonction dramatiques des fêtes religieuses dans la Comédie Ancienne et dans la Nouvelle Comédie Attique.

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Elle a publié plusieurs ouvrages et de très nombreux articles dans des revues spécialisées (*Travail théâtral, Théâtre/public, Alternatives théâtrales, Cahiers-théâtre de Louvain...*), ainsi que dans des ouvrages collectifs (*Dictionnaire encyclopédique du théâtre, etc.*) Ses champs de recherche principaux sont le théâtre français du XX^e siècle et contemporain, la critique dramatique, les représentations modernes et les réécritures du théâtre grec et latin ancien.

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Helen Fessas-Emmanouil studied architecture at the National Technical University of Athens and received a Ph.D. from this University. She is actually professor at the Department of Theatre Studies of the University of Athens, where she teaches History of Stage Design and Theatre Architecture. She has published extensively in Greek and foreign journals, conference proceedings and collective scholarly monographs. She is the author of eleven books, the most important of which is the two-volume *Theatre Architecture in Modern Greece, 1720-1940* (sponsored by the J. F. Costopoulos Foundation and the European Cultural Centre of Delphi, 1994) and the five bilingual books (full text in Greek and English): *Ideological and Cultural Issues in the Architecture of Modern Greece, 1827-1940* (Athens 1987); *Public Architecture in Modern Greece, 1720-1940* (Papasotiriou, Athens 1993); *Essays on Neohellenic Architecture* (sponsored by the J. F. Costopoulos Foundation, 2001; honourable mention by the International Academy of Architecture (Interarch) in the book/journals competition of the 10th World Triennial of Architecture, Sofia, 2003.); *Twelve Greek Architects of the Interwar Period* (in collaboration with Emmanuel V. Marmaras); and *An architect's vision: P. A. Sakellarios (1905-1995)* (Potamos Editions, Athens, 2006, in collaboration with E. Sakellariou-Herzog).

In 1991 she participated in the 5th International Exhibition of Architecture of the Biennale di Venezia, as Greece's curator. In 2002 she was responsible for the research and writing of all the texts of the Greek participation in the CD-ROM *Discovering contemporary architecture in Paris, London and Athens*, which was produced in three languages – French, English and Greek – as part of the European Union's Culture 2000 program.

She was the curator of two travelling exhibitions in Greece, organised by the Department of Theatre Studies of the University of Athens: "Greek Stage and Costume Designers and Ancient Drama" (1999) and "Dance and Theatre: From Isadora Duncan to the New Dance Groups (2004)". Both exhibitions were based on original research of three and five years respectively, carried out by 80 graduate and post-graduate students. She was also the editor and principal author of the two exhibition catalogues (300 and 501 pages respectively), published by the Greek Ministry of Culture (1999) and Ephesos Editions (2004).

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Articles récents parus: "Children's Theater in Greece from 1949 to 2001", *JMGS* vol. 25, no. 2, October 2007, p. 163-180; «Un autrichien sur la scène athénienne au 20^e siècle», *Στέφανος*, Hommage à Walter Puchner, Athènes : Ergo 2007, p. 287-303.

Publication: *Guide de la Dramatologie néohellénique* (en collaboration avec le professeur Walter Puchner), Athènes: Ergo 2008.

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Her main research interest, and the focus of her current Master's thesis, is the use of visual images as a tool to aid research into modern productions of Greek plays.

Publications: 2007 (ed.) with L. Hardwick *Classics in the Post-Colonial Worlds*. Oxford University Press; 2003 (ed.) with L. Hardwick, *The Role of Greek Drama and Poetry in Crossing and Redefining Cultural Boundaries*. Milton Keynes; 1999 "Databases and democracy (ancient and modern)" (with Lorna Hardwick) in (eds.) K. Lack, E. Chambers and C. Rowland, *Information Technology in the arts and humanities: present applications and future perspective* (p. 49-67) (Milton Keynes).

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Recent publications in this area include *Translating Words, Translating Cultures* (2000), *New Surveys in the Classics: Reception Studies* (2003), "Greek Drama and anti-colonialism: De-colonising Classics" (2004) in (eds) E. Hall, F. Macintosh and A. Wrigley, *Dionysus since 69* and (ed.) with Carol Gillespie, *Classics in Post-Colonial World* (2007).

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Her research has concentrated on performance analysis, historiography, and the Finnish theatre and its history. Apart from scholarly articles, she has published several books in these fields, e.g., *Teatterinjohtaja ja aika* (1992), *Kaikessa mukana. Hella Wuolijoki ja hänen näytelmänsä* (2000), *Strindberg ja suomalainen teatteri* (2005) and *The Dynamic World of Finnish Theatre* (with S. E. Wilmer, 2006). She has also edited several anthologies concerned with the Finnish theatre, two volumes of scholarly articles (performance analysis and historiography), translated into Finnish, and *Stages of Chaos: The Drama of Post-War Finland*, and *Humour and Humanity. Contemporary Plays from Finland* (with S. E. Wilmer, 2005, 2006), including Finnish plays as translations. She has edited and written, with a research group, the history of the Lahti City Theatre and *Kansaa teatterissa. Helsingin Kaupunginteatterin historia* (with Misa Palander, 2007) about the Helsinki City Theatre's history from 1965 to 2007.

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Publications: 3 ouvrages (monographies) et 80 articles dans des revues spécialisées en Bulgarie, en France, aux Pays-Bas, en Hongrie, Allemagne, Yougoslavie, Turquie, au Luxembourg et aux USA.

Champs de recherche: avant-gardes dramatiques, théâtre de dérision, approches théoriques du texte dramatique, études comparatives des dramaturgies francophone et slave. Intérêts actuels: *Les écritures dramatiques du symbolisme européen*.

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Recent book publications: *Greek Theatrical Revue* (Athens 2000), *Theatre and Drama. Studies in the German-Language Drama* (Athens 2005), *Drama and Performance. Studies in the New Greek Theatre* (Athens 2006).

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KETEVAN NADAREISHVILI

Born in 1957. Tbilisi, Georgia. After graduating from Tbilisi I. Javakhishvili State University in 1979, I have worked at the Tbilisi State University. In 1985 I defended my first thesis *The problem of the formation of women's artistic images in the ancient Greek tragedies* and was granted the degree of Candidate in Philological Sciences (PhD). In 2005 I defended my second, post-doctoral, thesis *Women in the social context of 5th century Athens and Greek tragedy* and received the academic title of Professor. At present I am working at the Tbilisi State University at the Centre for Mediterranean Studies as Senior Scientific Fellow. My particular fields of study are: Women's Studies and Ancient Greek Drama. I am the author of 37 academic publications and one monograph. Among my other activities, I would like specially to draw attention to participation in two projects: 'Caucasus – the Dictionary of the ancient sources for the ancient Caucasus', and the international Project – 'The Network of Research into and Documentation of Ancient Greek Drama'. Of my publications, I would note the following: "Die Prinzipien der Individualisierung der Helden in der Altgriechischen Tragödie (*Antigone, Electra, Medea*)", *Phasis, Greek and Roman Studies*, Vol. 1,

1999. Tbilisi, 'Logos' Publishing: 129-138; "The Conception of Woman in Greek Tragedy in the Context of Binary Oppositions of Sex Roles.", *Phasis, Greek and Roman Studies*, Vols 2-3, 2000. Tbilisi, 'Logos' Publishing, 300-306; "The Misogynic and 'Feministic' Tendencies and Culture/Nature Opposition in Ancient Greek Literature", *Proceedings of Tbilisi I. Javakhishvili State University 340, Literary Studies*. Tbilisi, University Press, 2002: 195-213; "The Role of Women in the Religion of Athens.", *Bulletin of the Georgian Academy of Sciences*, Vol.165, May-June, 2002. Tbilisi, Georgian Academy Press: 630-633; N. Tonia, K. Nadareishvili, *Penelope. The Portraits of Women in the Ancient World*. Tbilisi, 'Logos' Publishing, 2003, 424 pages (monograph); "Women in the Law of Democratic Athens", *Phasis, Greek and Roman Studies*, Vols 5-6, 2003. Tbilisi, 'Logos' Publishing: 173-185.

JOSÉ LUIS NAVARRO

Full Professor of Ancient Greek at the CARLOS III Lykeion (Madrid), Associate Professor at the Universidad Autónoma (Madrid) and Professor at the Hellenic Open University, Department of Spanish Studies. He has published several course books in Latin and Greek. Translator into Spanish from Ancient Greek of Lucian, Demosthenes, Ancient Lyric Poetry and, above all, of Aeschylus (*Persians*), Euripides (*Trojan Women*, *Helen*, *Hecuba*, *Andromache*), Menander (*Samia*), and Aesop (*Fables*). Director of the SELENE company 30 years ago. He has directed: *Oedipus*, *Oedipus at Colonus*, *Antigone*, *Electra* (Sophocles), *Electra* (Euripides), *Ion*, *Perses*, *Andromache*, *Hecuba*, *Trojan Women*, *Medea*, *Helen*, *Plutus*, *Ecclesiazusae*, *Lysistrata*, *Peace*, *Samia*.

SAVAS PATSALIDIS

Professor of Theatre History and Theory at the School of English, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. He is the author of six books of drama criticism/theory and co-editor of another seven. His latest book-length work *From Re-presentation to Presentation: About Limits and Possibilities* was published by Elinika Grammata in 2004.

GEORGES P. PEFANIS

Georges P. Pefanis est professeur assistant d'études théâtrales à l'Université d'Athènes (Département d'Études Théâtrales). Spécialiste du drame grec moderne et contemporain ainsi que de la théorie du théâtre, il est l'éditeur de *Parabasis* (Bulletin Scientifique du Département d'Études Théâtrales de l'Université d'Athènes). Il a publié plusieurs articles dans des revues comme *L'Annuaire Théâtral*, *Revue des études néohelléniques*, *Journal of Modern*

Greek Studies, etc.). Il est l'auteur de 14 livres (*Le théâtre et les symboles*, Athènes 1999; *Trends in the Greek Theatre on the Expiration of the 20th Century*, International Theatre Institute, Unesco, Athens 2001; *Scènes de la théorie*, Athènes 2007).

IRÈNE PERELLI-CONTOS – CHANTAL HÉBERT

Irène Perelli-Contos et Chantal Hébert sont toutes deux professeures titulaires au département des Littératures de l'Université Laval (Québec). Elles enseignent au programme de Baccalauréat en études théâtrales et sont, par leurs activités de recherche, rattachées au Centre de recherche interuniversitaire sur la littérature et la culture québécoises (CRILCQ). Elles mènent depuis plusieurs années des recherches subventionnées par le Conseil de recherche en sciences humaines du Canada (CRSH) sur *le théâtre de l'image* et notamment sur celui de Robert Lepage. Elles sont coauteures de plusieurs articles sur ce sujet et d'un livre intitulé *La face cachée du théâtre de l'image* (Québec/Paris: Presses de l'Université Laval/L'Harmattan, 2001) qui fait état de l'influence exercée par les nouvelles technologies sur le théâtre actuel. Elles ont également codirigé deux ouvrages collectifs: *Théâtre, multidisciplinarité et multiculturalisme* (Québec: Nuit blanche Éditeur, 1997) et *Le théâtre et ses nouvelles dynamiques narratives* (Québec: P.U.L., 2004). Elles travaillent actuellement à un projet de recherche, subventionné aussi par le CRSH, sur le phénomène d'hybridation dans la scénographie actuelle.

KYRIAKI PETRAKOU

Kyriaki Petrakou has been associate professor in the Department of Theatre Studies at the University of Athens. She was appointed lecturer in the same department in 1998, of which she is also a doctor (1997). The subject of her Ph.D. thesis was *The drama competitions in Athens (1870-1925)*. She received a grade of 'excellent' in the evaluation. Before that she had undertaken two large-scale postgraduate works based on research. Their subjects were: "Woman in Post-War Greek Drama" and "Oscar Wilde and Greece". The field of her specific academic interest is Modern Greek Theatre and most of her publications are on this subject.

CLEO PROTOKHRISTOVA

Professor at Plovdiv University, Bulgaria. Books: *The Mirror. Literary, Metadiscursive and Cultural Comparative Trajectories*. Plovdiv: Letera, 2004; *West European Literature. Comparative Observations, Theses, Ideas*. Plovdiv: Hermes Press, 2000 (second enlarged edition

- Plovdiv: Lettera, 2003); *Through the Glass into the Enigma. Literary and Metadiscursive Aspects of the Mirror Metaphor*. Shumen: Glauks, 1996; *The Euphony of Discordance. Studies on Intertextuality*. Sofia: 'St Kliment Okhridski' University Press, 1991 (second edition – Shumen: Altos, 1996); *Imperfect Sentences. Essays on Bulgarian Literature*. Plovdiv: Chr. G. Danov, 1990.

WALTER PUCHNER

Born in Vienna. Studied the science of the theatre (theatre studies) in the Faculty of Arts of the University of Vienna, and in 1972 received his doctorate from the Faculty with a thesis on the modern Greek shadow theatre. In 1977, he received his post-doctoral degree, at the same university, for his thesis on the birth of the theatre in Greek popular culture. He then settled permanently in Greece. He taught history of the theatre in the Arts Faculty of the University of Crete for 12 years. Since 1989, he has taught at the University of Athens, to begin with in the Department of Philology, and from 1991 in the Department of Theatre Studies.

From 1985 to 2006, Dr Puchner taught as visiting professor at leading university-level institutions in Europe and the United States, such as at the University of Graz, Austria, in the chair of Ethnologia Europaea, at Princeton and Harvard, at the University of Vienna in the chair of Ethnologia Europaea, at the Institute of Byzantinology and Modern Greek Studies of the University of Vienna, and at the Universities of: Munich, Freiburg, Cologne, Bonn, Göttingen, Berlin, Hamburg, Amsterdam, London, Oxford, Cambridge, and Birmingham; also at the Sapienza University in Rome and the University of Naples, at the University of the Sorbonne, at the Freie Universität of Berlin, at Boston College, Boston, the City University of New York (Post Graduate Center of Theater Studies), Ohio State University, Columbus, and the University of South California, Los Angeles, and at the University of Tor Vergata in Rome. He has published more than 300 scholarly studies on subjects concerning the Greek and Balkan theatre, comparative ethnology, Byzantine and Modern Greek studies, and theory of the theatre and drama. He has written more than 800 book reviews, and taken part in more than 150 conferences. In 1994, he was elected corresponding member of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna ('Theaterwissenschaft und Volkskunde der gesamten Balkanhalbinsel'), while in 2001 he received the highest distinction – Austrian Cross of Honour for Science and Art (Ehrenzeichen für Wissenschaft und Kunst) – from the President of the Austrian Republic. He has been awarded the Prize for a Political and Social Essay in memory of Panaghiotis Photeas, and has also received awards from the Academy of Athens and the Society of Greek Theatre and Music Critics in collaboration with the Cultural Organisation of the Municipality of Athens.

IRÈNE ROY

Irène Roy est professeure adjointe au département des Littératures de l'Université Laval, Québec. Elle dirige présentement les programmes de premier cycle en études théâtrales, où elle enseigne l'histoire de la mise-en-scène, la sémiotique de la représentation théâtrale et la direction d'acteur. Spécialiste de l'approche de création Cycles Repère, elle donne également des ateliers sur la créativité. Ses études doctorales portaient sur la dynamique communicationnelle de ce processus. Elle a publié de nombreux articles sur le sujet ainsi que *Le Théâtre Repère. Du ludique au poétique dans le théâtre de recherche*. Ses plus récentes publications concernaient le phénomène de la narrativité dans la dramaturgie contemporaine ainsi que le jeu de l'acteur québécois. Ses recherches actuelles portent sur l'étude des relations entre les Cycles Repère et la génétique du spectacle.

DON RUBIN

Don Rubin, originally trained as an actor in New York, has worked as a theatre critic and editor for more than 40 years. A Professor of Theatre Studies at Toronto's York University, a founding faculty member of York's Faculty of Fine Arts and a former Chair of its Department of Theatre, he was the Founding Editor of the quarterly journal *Canadian Theatre Review* from 1974 to 1982, Editor of Routledge's six-volume *World Encyclopedia of Contemporary Theatre* (1994-2000) and Editor of *Canadian Theatre History: Selected Readings* (2004). His essays on theatre have appeared in such journals and magazines such as *Theatre Quarterly* (UK), *Dialog* (Poland), *Entre* (Sweden), *World Theatre* (China) and *The World and I* (USA). He is currently working on a three-volume series on contemporary playwriting for Routledge.

ZOÉ SAMARA

Professeur émérite de Théorie de la Littérature au département de Langue et de Littérature françaises de l'Université Aristote de Thessalonique. Ses intérêts principaux étaient, au début de sa carrière, la philosophie et la poésie, surtout de la Renaissance française dans ses rapports avec l'Antiquité. Les vingt dernières années elle a consacré ses recherches à la théorie du texte dramatique et ses métamorphoses en texte scénique. Ses intérêts actuels portent sur la théorie et la pratique de l'écriture dramatique.

Elle a écrit notamment *Le Règne de Cronos* (Paris, 1983), *Simulation du discours théâtral* (en grec, Thessalonique, 1996), *Les profondeurs du signe* (en grec, Athènes, 2002), «Le théâtre comme espace idéologique de l'imaginaire» (en grec, 1996), «La théâtralité de la

mémoire» (en grec, 2003), «Le sens comme reflet: lecture platonicienne des Essais», dans *Lire les Essais de Montaigne* (Paris, 2001); «Rêverie et mythe», dans *Questions de Mythocritique. Dictionnaire* (Paris, 2005). Elle a traduit Marivaux et Jarry pour la scène grecque.

HENRI SCHOENMAKERS

From 1984 – 2005 Professor of Theatre Studies and Head of the Theatre Department, Theatre, Film and Television Department and the Institute for Media and Re/presentation Studies of Utrecht University. From 2000 Professor of Theatre and Media Studies and Head of the Institute for Theatre and Media Studies of the Friedrich Alexander University Erlangen-Nürnberg. Specific research interests: theatre and media theory, reception theory and research, innovation in theatre and media and Ancient Greek drama and performance.

BERND SEIDENSTICKER

Bernd Seidensticker is Professor Emeritus of Classics at the Freie Universität, Berlin, and Member of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften; Visiting professor at Austin/Texas, Berkeley, Harvard, Ann Arbor, and Princeton. He is the author of *Die Gesprächsverdichtung in den Tragödien Senecas* (Heidelberg 1969), *Palintonos Harmonia. Komische Elemente in der griechischen Tragödie* (Cöttingen 1979); *Erinnern wird sich wohl noch mancher an uns, Studien zur Antikerezeption nach 1945* (Bamberg 2003); *Über das Vergnügen an tragischen Gegenständen, Studien zum antiken Drama* (Leipzig-München 2005) and editor of numerous collections of essays on the reception of classical antiquity in modern literature and thought.

JOHN SOMERS

John Somers is a Research Fellow at the School of Performance Arts, Exeter University, England. He is Founding Editor of the journal *Research in Drama Education* and Director of the international conference *Researching Drama and Theatre in Education*. He is Artistic Director of *Exstream Theatre Company*, which specialises in interactive theatre in non-theatre sites. His play *On the Edge* recently won prestigious awards for its contribution to better understanding of mental health issues. He has worked extensively internationally. He won the *American Alliance of Theatre and Education Special Recognition Award* in 2003. Books include *Drama in the Curriculum* (1995), *Drama and Theatre in Education: Current Research* (1996) and *Drama as Social Intervention* (2006). He has written many

published articles. His research interests focus on Applied Drama and the role of narrative theory in drama. He is developing a new interactive theatre project on stress and suicide in the veterinary profession.

KALINA STEFANOVA

Dr Kalina Stefanova is the author/editor of 11 books, three of which are in English and were launched in New York and London. Her articles have been published in 22 languages. She has been a Fulbright Visiting Scholar at New York University and Visiting Scholar at the University of Cape Town, and has delivered lectures and led seminars in 12 countries. For two mandates she served as Vice-President of the International Association of Theatre Critics. Currently she is Associate Professor at the National Academy of Theatre and Film Arts, Sofia, and Director, Symposiums of the IATC. In 2007 she served as a dramaturge of the highly-acclaimed production of *Pentecost* at the Stratford Festival of Canada. She is a member of the Society of Independent Theatre Critics and the Union of Bulgarian Writers. Her first fiction book, *Ann's Dwarves*, has won her comparisons with *The Little Prince* and has been published in Macedonia and South Korea.

ANNA TABAKI

Anna Tabaki est actuellement professeur au département d'Études théâtrales de l'Université d'Athènes. Diplômée de la faculté des Lettres de l'Université d'Athènes, elle a poursuivi, en tant que boursière du gouvernement français, puis de la Fondation «Alexandros S. Onassis», ses études doctorales en France et elle devenue docteur de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (Paris). De 1980 à 2000, elle a occupé un poste de chercheur à l'Institut de Recherches Néohelléniques de la Fondation Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique de Grèce, où elle conserve le titre de chercheur associé. De 1995 à 2000, elle a enseigné au département d'Études théâtrales de l'Université de Patras. En 2000 elle a été élue professeur associé au département d'Études théâtrales de l'Université d'Athènes et en 2004 professeur au même département.

Elle est membre actif de plusieurs associations scientifiques, a participé à de nombreux congrès et rencontres internationales et a organisé plusieurs colloques internationaux ainsi que des rencontres de travail thématiques. Elle a publié 17 livres et environ 130 articles sur des sujets variés, se rapportant aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles, touchant le domaine de la littérature comparée, celui de l'histoire des idées, des transferts culturels, de l'histoire de la traduction et de l'histoire comparée de la dramaturgie grecque moderne. Parmi ses ouvrages les plus récents: (en collaboration avec Stessi Athini), *Translation and*

Intercultural Relations. [Proceedings] Second International Congress *Identity and Alterity in Literature, 18th-20th c.*, vol. III, Athènes: Domos, 2001; *La dramaturgie néohellénique (XVIII^e-XIX^e siècles). Une approche comparée*, 2^e éd., Athènes: Ergo 2002 (en grec); *Des Lumières néohelléniques. Mouvements d'idées et réseaux de communication avec la pensée occidentale*, Athènes: Ergo, 2004 (en grec); *Greek Romanian Relations. Interculturalism and National Identity/Relations Gréco-roumaines. Interculturalité et identité nationale*. Sous la direction de Paschalis M. Kitromilidès et Anna Tabaki, Athènes: IRN/FNRS, 2004; *Le théâtre néohellénique (XVIII^e-XIX^e s.). Approches interprétatives*, Athènes: Diavlos 2005 (en grec); *Tendances actuelles de la Littérature comparée dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe/ Contemporary Trends of Comparative Literature in South-Eastern Europe*, Cahiers de travail 28, Séminaire de Littérature Comparée et d'Histoire des Idées Athènes: IRN/FNRS, 2006; *Questions de Littérature Comparée et d'histoire des idées*, Athènes: Ergo, 2008 (en grec).

DMITRY TRUBOTCHKIN

Dmitry Trubotchkin is Director of the State Institute for Art Studies and Professor of Theatre Studies at the Russian Academy of Theatre Arts (GITIS) in Moscow, Russia. He is the author of the book *All is Well, the Old Man is Still Dancing!: Roman Comedy in Action* (Moscow 2005, in Russian). He has published many articles in Russian and in English and presented papers at conferences around the world on theatre history, classical art studies, aesthetics, and philosophy of art. He regularly advises theatre practitioners on performances of classical drama in Moscow. He is currently working on a book on the interpretations of ancient Greek and Roman drama in Russia in the XIXth-XXth centuries.

CHRYSOTHÉMIS STAMATOPOULOU-VASILAKOU

Née à Athènes. Professeur au Département d'Études Théâtrales de l'Université d'Athènes. Elle se spécialise sur l'histoire du théâtre néohellénique au 19^{ème} et 20^{ème} siècle, et surtout, sur l'activité théâtrale des communautés grecques dans le Proche-Orient (Constantinople et Smyrne).

Elle a publié huit (8) monographies: *L'histoire du théâtre grec au 19^{ème} à Constantinople*, vol. I (1994), vol. II (1996); *L'histoire de l'Association des Acteurs Grecs* (1999); *Les Archives du Chorédrame Grec de Rallou Manou* (2005); *Le théâtre dans l'Orient Grécophone au 19^{ème} siècle* (2006), etc. et elle a édité en plus six (6) volumes. Elle a aussi publié plus que cinquante (50) études dans des revues scientifiques et dans des ouvrages collectifs.

J. MICHAEL WALTON

J. Michael Walton is Emeritus Professor of Drama at the University of Hull, which he joined in 1965 after a period as an actor and director in the professional theatre. His first degree was in Classics at the University of St Andrews in Scotland and his doctorate was awarded by publication for three books on Greek theatre (one of which has recently been translated into Modern Greek) and another on Edward Gordon Craig. His other main interest is in translation of classical plays. He has published a dozen translations from Greek or Latin, three in collaboration with Marianne McDonald – they are joint editors of two other books – and was General Editor of Methuen Classical Dramatists, the whole of surviving Greek tragedy and comedy in English. He was the founder-director of The Performance Translation Centre at Hull, and is author of *Found in Translation: Greek Drama in English* (2006) for Cambridge University Press.

DAVID WILES

David Wiles is Professor of Theatre at Royal Holloway, University of London. He is currently working on the mask of Greek tragedy, an enquiry which led him to the work of Copeau. He has published numerous articles and the following books: 2003: *A Short History of Western Performance Space*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2000: *Greek Theatre Performance: an Introduction*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1997: *Tragedy in Athens: Performance Space and Theatrical Meaning*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1993: *Shakespeare's Almanac: A Midsummer Night's Dream, Marriage and the Elizabethan Calendar*, Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer; 1991: *The Masks of Menander: Sign and Meaning in Greek and Roman Performance*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1987: *Shakespeare's Clown: Actor and Text in the Elizabethan Playhouse*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 1981: *The Early Plays of Robin Hood*, Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer.

S. E. WILMER

S. E. Wilmer is an Associate Professor of Drama and a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. He is the author of *Theatre, Society and the Nation: Staging American Identities* (Cambridge University Press, 2002) and co-author (with Pirkko Koski) of *The Dynamic World of Finnish Theatre* (Helsinki: Like Press, 2006). He has edited *National Theatres in a Changing Europe* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), *Writing and Rewriting National Theatre Histories* (Iowa University Press, 2004), *Portraits of Courage: Plays by Finnish Women* (Helsinki University Press, 1997), and *Beckett in Dublin* (Lilliput, 1992). He has co-edited *Humour and Human-*

ity: *Contemporary Plays from Finland* (Helsinki: Like Press, 2006), *Rebel Women: Staging Ancient Greek Drama Today* (Methuen, 2005), *Stages of Chaos: Post-war Finnish Drama* (SKS, 2005), *Theatre, History and National Identities* (Helsinki University Press, 2001), and *Theatre Worlds in Motion* (Rodopi, 1998).

NURITH YAARI

Nurith Yaari, Senior Lecturer, Chair of Theatre Studies at Tel Aviv University, Israel. Dr Yaari has published a book, *French Contemporary Theatre 1960-1992* (Tel Aviv and Paris, 1994) and edited *On Interpretation in the Arts* (2000), *The Man with the Myth in the Middle: The Theatre of Hanoch Levin* (with Shimon Levy, in Hebrew, 2004), and *On Kings, Gypsies and Performers: The Theatre of Nissim Aloni* (in Hebrew, 2005). She has published numerous articles in international journals focusing on the reception of Ancient Greek theatre and on Modern Hebrew theatre. She is currently working on a book *Identity through foreignness: Israeli Theatre between Jerusalem and Athens*. Since 1997 she has been the Artistic Consultant of the Khan Theatre of Jerusalem.

Addendum



Annexe

ΕΘΝΙΚΟ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΠΟΔΙΣΤΡΙΑΚΟ
ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ
ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΚΗ ΣΧΟΛΗ
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Secrétariat: Panayota Pramantioti, théâtrologue, étudiante en 3ème cycle

Εναρκτήρια Συνεδρία
Opening Plenary Session
Séance plénière d'ouverture

Τετάρτη, 28 Σεπτεμβρίου 2005
Wednesday, 28 September 2005
Mercredi, 28 septembre 2005

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- 18.45':** Υποδοχή των Συνεδρών
 Welcoming of participants and registration / Accueil des participants et inscription
- 19.00':** Τελετή αναγόρευσης του καθηγητή Marvin Carlson σε επίτιμο διδάκτορα του Τμήματος Θεατρικών Σπουδών του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών
 Ceremony awarding the title of Doctor Honoris Causa to Professor Marvin Carlson by the Department of Theatre Studies of the University of Athens
 Cérémonie de nomination de M. le Professeur Marvin Carlson au titre de Docteur Honoris Causa par le Département d' Études théâtrales de l'Université d' Athènes
- 20.00':** Έναρξη των εργασιών του Συνεδρίου από τον Πρύτανη του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών, καθηγητή Γεώργιο Μπαρμινιώτη
 Formal opening of the Congress by the the Rector of the University of Athens, Professor Georgios Babiniotis
 Allocution formelle d' ouverture du Congrès par Le Recteur de l'Université d'Athènes, Monsieur le Professeur Georgios Babiniotis

Χαιρετισμοί / Welcoming Addresses / Allocutions:

- Καθηγητής Θεοδόσιος Πελεgrίνης, Κοσμήτορας Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής / Professor Theodosios Pelegrinis, Dean of the School of Philosophy / Monsieur le Professeur Theodosios Pelegrinis, Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres
- Καθηγητής Σπύρος Α. Ευαγγελάτος, Πρόεδρος του Τμήματος Θεατρικών Σπουδών / Professor Spyros A. Evangelatos, President of the Department of Theatre Studies / Monsieur le Professeur Spyros A. Evangelatos, Président du Département d' Études théâtrales
- Καθηγητής Βάλτερ Πούχνερ, Αναπληρωτής Πρόεδρος του Τμήματος Θεατρικών Σπουδών / Professor Walter Puchner, Vice-President of the Department of Theatre Studies / Monsieur le Professeur Walter Puchner, Président Suppléant du Département d'Études Théâtrales

Δεξίωση / Reception / Réception

Πέμπτη, 29 Σεπτεμβρίου 2005
Thursday, 29 September 2005
Jeudi, 29 septembre 2005

Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Κεντρικό Κτήριο, Αμφιθέατρο «Ιωάννης Δρακόπουλος»
 University of Athens, Central Building, Auditorium "Ioannis Drakopoulos"
 Université d'Athènes, Bâtiment Central, Amphithéâtre «Ioannis Drakopoulos»

Θεωρία του θεάτρου - Όψεις της θεατρικής ιστορίας και ιστοριογραφίας
Theories on theatre - Aspects of theory and historiography
Autour de la théorie du drame - Questions d'histoire et d'historiographie théâtrales

Πρωινή Συνεδρία / Morning Session / Séance du matin

Πρόεδροι: **Marco de Marinis, Βάλτερ Πούχνερ**
 Presidents / Présidents: **Marco de Marinis, Walter Puchner**

- 10.30'-10.50': Marvin Carlson**
 "The impact of new digital technology on theatre research"
- 10.50'-11.10': Stratos Constantinidis**
 "The emotional problem in the theatre and the courtroom"
- 11.10'-11.30': Claudine Elnécavé**
 «Quelques réflexions sur les métamorphoses de la théorie de la mise-en-scène»
- 11.30'-11.50': J. Michael Walton**
 "Crisis, what crisis?"
- 11.50'-12.10': Συζήτηση / Discussion**
- 12.10'-12.30': Διάλειμμα / Coffee break / Pause-café**

Πρόεδροι: **Marvin Carlson, Επύρος Α. Ευαγγελάτος**
 Presidents / Présidents: **Marvin Carlson, Spyros A. Evangelatos**

- 12.30'-12.50': Lila Maraka**
 "Activating imagination: Myth, History and Literature, Memory and Remembrance as material in a Theatre of Images. A tendency of contemporary theatre with reference to the works of Heiner Müller"
- 12.50'-13.10': Zoé Samara**
 «Routine dénuée d'art (ou Qui a tué la Théorie?)»
- 13.10'-13.30': Anna Tabaki**
 «La réception et ses métamorphoses: l'exemple grec moderne»
- 13.30'-13.50': Walter Puchner**
 "Historiography of theatre after Evolutionism and Formalism. The Greek case"
- 13.50'-14.10': Συζήτηση / Discussion**

Θεωρία του θεάτρου - Όψεις της θεατρικής ιστορίας και ιστοριογραφίας
Theories on theatre - Aspects of theory and historiography
Autour de la théorie du drame - Questions d'histoire et d'historiographie théâtrales

Απογευματινή Συνεδρία/Afternoon session/Séance de l'après-midi

Πρόεδροι: Ζωή Σαμαρά, Stratos Constantinidis
Presidents/Présidents: Zoé Samara, Stratos Constantinidis

- 17.00'-17.20': Georges Pefanis**
 «Le maître omnipotent de la scène: aspects et limites de la métaphore théâtrale au début du XX^e siècle»
- 17.20'-17.40': Kyriaki Petrakou**
 “Appeal of Modern Greek Theatre abroad. The case of Nikos Kazantzakis”
- 17.40'-18.00': Sirkku Aaltonen**
 “Does the Eel Have a Gender? Processes of interpretation in the translation into English of three plays by Laura Ruohonen”
- 18.00'-18.20': Pirkko Koski**
 “Anna Liisa”
- 18.20'-18.40': Συζήτηση / Discussion**
- 18.40'-19.00': Διάλειμμα / Coffee break / Pause-café**

Πρόεδροι: Σάββας Πατσάλιδης, Oliver Taplin
Presidents/Présidents: Savas Patsalidis, Oliver Taplin

- 19.00'-19.20': Kalina Stefanova**
 “Theory vs Theatre”
- 19.20'-19.40': Erika Fischer-Lichte**
 “Culture as Performance. Defining a concept of Performance”
- 19.40'-20.00': Henri Schoenmakers**
 “I am the other (sometimes). The Dynamics of Involvement Processes during the Reception of theatrical events”
- 20.00'-20.20': John Somers**
 “Creating a Bridge: interactive theatre and audience involvement”
- 20.20'-20.40': Συζήτηση / Discussion**

Παρασκευή, 30 Σεπτεμβρίου 2005
Friday, 30 September 2005
Vendredi, 30 septembre 2005

Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Κεντρικό Κτίριο, Αμφιθέατρο «Ιωάννης Δρακόπουλος»
 University of Athens, Central Building, Auditorium "Ioannis Drakopoulos"
 Université d'Athènes, Bâtiment Central, Amphithéâtre «Ioannis Drakopoulos»

Αναβίωση και πρόσληψη του αρχαίου ελληνικού δράματος
Revival and Reception of Ancient Greek Drama
Renouveau et réception du théâtre grec ancien

Πρωινή Συνεδρία / Morning Session / Séance du matin

Πρόεδροι: **Henri Schoenmakers**, **Ελένη Φεσσά-Εμμανουήλ**.
 Presidents / Présidents: **Henri Schoenmakers**, **Helen Fessas-Emmanouil**

- 09.30'-09.50': Herman Altena, Platon Mavromoustakos**
 "Hard Data – Tricky Numbers: Quantitative research and some comparative results concerning modern productions of Ancient Drama"
- 09.50'-10.10': Jose Luis Navarro**
 "Ancient Greek Drama in Spanish Secondary Schools"
- 10.10'-10.30': Maria de Fátima Silva**
 "The Nurse. An Euripidean motif in the production of Héliá Correia"
- 10.30'-10.50': Freddy Decreus**
 "The POMO interpretation of Greek tragedy in Europe"
- 10.50'-11.10': Συζήτηση / Discussion**
- 11.10'-11.30': Διάλειμμα / Coffee break / Pause-café**

Πρόεδροι: **J. Michael Walton**, **Νάσος Βαγενάς**
 Presidents / Présidents: **J. Michael Walton**, **Nasos Vayenas**

- 11.30'-11.50': Kaiti Diamantakou**
 «La réception de la comédie nouvelle et romaine par la scène grecque moderne: sur les traces d'une remarquable absence»
- 11.50'-12.10': Konstantza Georgakaki**
 «La tragédie au Festival d'Athènes (1955-1960). Promotion du tourisme ou nouvelles quêtes esthétiques?»
- 12.10'-12.30': Helen Fessas-Emmanouil**
 "Eva Palmer-Sikelianos: her contribution to the staging of Ancient Greek Drama"
- 12.30'-12.50': Spyros A. Evangelatos**
 «Aspects contemporains du renouvellement du drame grec antique»
- 12.50'-13.10': Συζήτηση / Discussion**

Αναβίωση και πρόσληψη του αρχαίου ελληνικού δράματος
Revival and Reception of Ancient Greek Drama
Renouveau et réception du théâtre grec ancien

Απογευματινή Συνεδρία / Afternoon session / Séance de l' après-midi

Πρόεδροι: **Πλάτων Μαυρομούστακος, David Wiles**
 Presidents / Présidents: **Platon Mavtomoustakos, David Wiles**

- 17.00'-17.20': **Carol Gillespie - Lorna Hardwick**
 "Theory and practice in researching Greek drama in modern cultural contexts"
- 17.20'-17.40': **Ketevan Gurchiani**
 "Sophocles in 20th century Georgian theatre: Revival and Reception of Ancient Greek Drama"
- 17.40'-18.00': **Dina Mantchéva**
 «Les tragédies grecques dans l'interprétation de la dramaturgie symboliste»
- 18.00'-18.20': **Chara Baconicola**
 «Deux Phèdres "bourgeoises" du XX^{ème} siècle»
- 18.20'-18.40': **Συζήτηση / Discussion**
- 18.40'-19.00': **Διάλειμμα / Coffee break / Pause-café**
- Πρόεδροι: **Erika Fischer-Lichte, Λίλα Μαράκα**
 Presidents / Présidents: **Erika Fischer-Lichte, Lila Maraka**
- 19.00'-19.20': **Keti Nadareishvili**
 "Medea on the Georgian scene"
- 19.20'-19.40': **Savas Patsalidis**
 "Lang-scapes of Death, Inscapes of Memory: The Politics of the (Dis)Embodied Self"
- 19.40'-20.00': **Cleo Protokhristova**
 "The Bulgarian *Oedipus*"
- 20.00'-20.20': **Bernd Seidensticker**
 "Satyroi redivivi. The Reception of the Cyclops on the Modern stage"
- 20.20'-20.40': **Συζήτηση / Discussion**

Σάββατο, 1 Οκτωβρίου 2005
Saturday, 1 October 2005
Samedi, 1er octobre 2005

Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Κεντρικό Κτήριο, Αμφιθέατρο «Ιωάννης Δρακόπουλος»
 University of Athens, Central Building, Auditorium "Ioannis Drakopoulos"
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Αναβίωση και πρόσληψη του αρχαίου ελληνικού δράματος
Revival and Reception of Ancient Greek Drama
Renouveau et réception du théâtre grec ancien

Πρωινή Συνεδρία / Morning Session / Séance du matin

Πρόεδροι: **Steve Wilmer, Κυριακή Πετράκου**
 Presidents/Présidents: **Steve Wilmer, Kyriaki Petrakou**

- 09.30'-09.50': Grazyna Golik-Szarawarska,**
 "Christianization of antiquity in the tragedies of Sophocles translated
 by professor Tadeusz Zielinski"
- 09.50'-10.10': Dmitry Trubotchkin**
 "Theatre theory and practice working together: ancient drama in post-revolutionary
 Russia and in the beginning of the XXIst century"
- 10.10'-10.30': Nurith Yaari**
 "Greek tragedy on the Israeli stage"
- 10.30'-10.50': Chrysothémis Vasilakou**
 «La réception du théâtre grec ancien dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée:
 le cas de Smyrne et d'Alexandrie (19^e siècle - début du 20^e siècle)»
- 10.50'-11.10': Συζήτηση / Discussion**
- 11.10'-11.30': Διάλειμμα / Coffee break / Pause café**

Πρόεδροι: **Bernd Seidensticker, Κaiti Διαμαντάκου**
 Presidents/Présidents: **Bernd Seidensticker, Kaiti Diamantakou**

- 11.30'-11.50': Oliver Taplin**
 "How the lyric passages in tragedy are handled by Seamus Heany and some other
 recent translators into English"
- 11.50'-12.10': David Wiles**
 "Practice and Theory in the teaching of Greek theatre"
- 12.10'-12.30': Steve Wilmer**
 "Women in Greek tragedy: Reconsidering the Misogyny of the Classics"
- 12.30'-13.00': Συζήτηση / Discussion**

Προοπτικές των θεατρικών σπουδών - Θέατρο και εκπαίδευση
 Perspectives of Theatre Studies - Theatre and education
 Stratégie et perspectives des études théâtrales. Théâtre et éducation

Απογευματινή Συνεδρία / Afternoon session / Séance de l'après-midi

Πρόεδροι: **Maria de Fátima Silva, Χρυσόθεμις Βασιλάκου**
 Presidents/Présidents: **Maria de Fátima Silva, Chrysothémis Vasilakou**

- 16.30'-16.50': Evelyne Ertel**
 «Les études théâtrales à l'Institut d' Études Théâtrales de Paris III - Sorbonne Nouvelle»
- 16.50'-17.10': Chantal Hébert**
 «Une pratique théâtrale actuelle: Le théâtre de l'image»
- 17.10'-17.30': Marco de Marinis**
 «Le XX^e siècle et les études théâtrales: questions méthodologiques»
- 17.30'-17.50': Συζήτηση / Discussion**
- 17.50'-18.10': Διάλειμμα / Coffee break / Pause-café**

Πρόεδροι: **Evelyne Ertel, Άννα Ταμπάκη**
 Presidents/Présidents: **Evelyne Ertel, Anna Tabaki**

- 18.10'-18.30': Irène Perelli - Contos**
 «Une approche pédagogique du théâtre à l' Université»
- 18.30'-18.50': Irène Roy**
 «Un outil pédagogique de création: Les Cycles Repère»
- 18.50'-19.10': Don Rubin**
 «The future of Theatre Studies: dim and darkening»
- 19.10'-19.30': Συζήτηση / Discussion**
- 19.30'-21.00': Στρογγυλό Τραπέζι / Round Table / Table Ronde:**
 «Theatre and Theatre Studies in the 21st century / Théâtre et études théâtrales au seuil du XXI^{ème} siècle»
 Moderator / Modérateur: **Walter Puchner**
 Participants: **Marvin Carlson, Stratos Constantinidis, Spyros A. Evangelatos, Erika Fischer-Lichte, Henri Schoenmakers, Oliver Taplin, J. Michael Walton**
- 21.00': Τέλος των εργασιών / Closing of the Proceedings / Clôture des travaux**















