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From the play to the event: Delineating phenomena of theatrical activity in Greece at the turn of the twenty-first century

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FROM THE PLAY TO THE EVENT: DELINEATING PHENOMENA OF THEATRICAL ACTIVITY IN GREECE AT THE TURN OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Platon Mavromoustakos

Abstract: Attempting a general overview, this article may be understood as a preliminary requisite towards a more systematic study of theatrical activity in Greece since the turn of the twenty-first century. At the heart of this approach lies the fundamental shift from the dramatic play to the performance event, which has taken place both in theatre practice and theatre studies since the 1960s. The hypothesis underlying this study is that in Greek theatre the transition commenced after the reestablishment of democracy, becoming more broadly evident in this century. Some of the main points discussed are the profile of the new generation of theatre creators, the role of some major theatrical events and organisations, institutional transformations, new forms of collectivity in theatrical activity, the persistent demand for extroversion, dramatic production and its links to the stage.

During the short life of the modern Greek state, theatre has had an even shorter history. In addition, we should not forget that during these approximately 150 years of history, marked by more or less systematic theatrical activity, that is, the continuous operation of Greek theatres, there were very few years where theatrical life developed without hindrance and without external limitations. Up to 1974, theatre was in a very difficult position: it had to deal with impediments that were due to the lack of continuity that was characteristic of modern Greek political life and the various upheavals caused by wars and dictatorships. The abolition of censorship was perhaps the greatest achievement of the re-establishment of democracy and this is the element that allowed theatre to develop. More than during any other period of modern Greek theatre, in the years from the re-establishment of democracy to the first decades of this century theatrical activity gained a far greater range, incorporated new features and increasingly followed (or at least attempted to follow) more systematically the achievements and the lines of inquiry of the central European stage. This period of just less than 50 years gave the theatre a new profile, which has not yet been dealt with in an overall manner. In fact from the end of the twentieth century and shortly thereafter, a great many accounts were published, as were certain studies concerning the recent past;

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however, to date no unified attempt has been made to deal with the events since the end of the twentieth century.[1] This article shall attempt to set out an initial outline and boundaries concerning the new issues brought out by the theatrical activity of these 20 years in comparison with what took place in the final decades of the previous century.[2]

As the basic goal is an overview of established modern Greek theatrical history using the terms of creation of theatre studies and its definition as the science of performance[3] (something that is often forgotten in modern Greek theatrical studies), we shall attempt an outline of the recent theatrical events and phenomena and propose an endeavour to classify the basic characteristics of theatrical activity in general. It shall be based on observations sparked by the systematic observation of theatrical activity over the past decades. Some of these observations require more research to be confirmed and others may perhaps require greater analytical documentation at a later stage. This overview, however, is the requisite preliminary phase to be able to deal with this period in future: in

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[1] Theodore Grammatas, *Το ελληνικό θέατρο στον 20ο αιώνα: Πολιτισμικά πρότυπα και πρωτοτυπία* [Greek theatre in the 20th century: cultural models and originality], vol. 2, Athens: Exantas, 2002; Platon Mavromoustakos, *Το θέατρο στην Ελλάδα 1940–2000: Μια επισκόπηση* [Theatre in Greece, 1940–2000: a survey], Athens: Kastaniotis, 2005; Theodoros Hadjipantazis, *Διάγραμμα ιστορίας του νεοελληνικού θεάτρου* [Diagram of the history of Greek theatre], Rethymno: Crete University Press, 2014.

[2] See, indicatively, Savvas Patsalidis and Anna Stavrakopoulou, "Introduction: From the Years of Utopia to the Years of Dystopia", *Gramma/Γράμμα: Journal of Theory and Criticism* 22/2 (2014): 7–16; Grigoris Ioannidis, "Le théâtre grec en période transitoire", *Théâtre/Public* 222 (2016): 70–79; Philip Hager and Marissia Fragkou, "Dramaturgies of Change: Greek Theatre Now", *Journal of Greek Media and Culture* 3/2 (2017): 139–144. Also, George P. Pefanis, "Mapping Contemporary Greek Dramaturgy, 2000–2016", in *The Oberon Anthology of Contemporary Greek Plays*, ed. Lena Kitsopoulou, Nina Rapi, Yannis Mavritsakis, Akis Dimou and Charalampos Giannou, London: Oberon, 2017, 7–27; Marilena Zaroulia and Philip Hager (eds.), *Performances of Capitalism, Crises and Resistance: Inside/Outside Europe*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015, and Savvas Patsalidis, "Οι περιπέτειες της (νέας) ελληνικής γραφής" [The adventures of (new) Greek writing), http://www.greek-theatre.gr/public/gr/greekplay/index/reviewview/68, and Irene Moundraki "Where does Greek Theatre Stand?", http://www.greek-theatre.gr/public/en/greekplay/index/reviewview/54, both accessed 12 December 2019.

[3] See the chapter on the history of theatre studies in Erika Fischer-Lichte, *Ästhetik der Performativen*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2004, pp. 42–57. Translated in English as *The Transformative Power of Performance: A New Aesthetics*, London: Routledge, 2008. See also the Greek edition, *Θέατρο και μεταμόρφωση: Προς μια νέα αισθητική του επιτελεστικού*, ed. Platon Mavromoustakos, trans. Natascha Siouzouli, Athens: Patakis, 2013, pp. 58–75.

expectation of a more systematic approach, whose purpose would be to compose new historical studies whose objective shall be the theatre.[4]

The intention of the present study is to examine the phenomena of Greek theatrical life through a new prism offered by theatre studies following the effective change of direction of the 1960s,[5] a change that contributed not only to a revision of the forms of stage action but also to a redefinition of the theoretical view of the stage event. The transition *from play to event*, that is, from the theatrical text to the performance event, constituted the basic consequence of this effective changeover.[6] This concise text is based on the hypothesis that this transition commenced gradually during the first period of the re-establishment of democracy and resulted in the gradual merging of Greek theatrical life both on the level of forms and manners of expression and on the level of institutions and state policy in the 1980s and 1990s. It became more broadly perceivable as we proceeded into the twenty-first century. At the end of the 2010s, it may be politic to attempt a first record of the state of things.

The basis of criticism over previous centuries was to approach the performance through the theatrical text: an evaluation of each performance had as its basic criterion the literary value of the text being presented. The perception of the conflicting relationship between the stage and literature, even though it was already a matter of serious discussion and inquiry from the dawn of the twentieth century,[7] started to become more broadly understood during the 1960s, due to the major restructuring in the European and world stage and, particularly,

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[4] This article is, in a sense is, a continuation of my *Το θέατρο στην Ελλάδα 1940–2000* [Theatre in Greece 1940–2000].

[5] Erika Fischer-Lichte, Friedemann Kreuder and Isabel Pflug (eds.), *Theater seit den 60er Jahren: Grenzgänge der Neo-Avantgarde*, Tübingen: Francke 1998, 1–20; Also Fischer-Lichte *Ästhetik der Performativen*, pp. 31–57. And in the Greek edition, pp. 45–74

[6] As Hans-Thies Lehmann points out: "The fundamental *shift from work to event* was momentous for theatre aesthetics." *Postdramatic Theatre*, London: Routledge, 2006, p. 61.

[7] Edward Gordon Craig: "The Art of the Theatre: The First Dialogue", in *On the Art of the Theatre*, Seven Arts Book Club, London 1958, p. 143. Regarding Craig and the broader crisis of theatre and drama at the end of the nineteenth century, Lehmann notes: "Edward Gordon Craig explicated in the 'First Dialogue' of the *Art of Theatre* that one should not stage Shakespeare's great plays at all! This would even be dangerous because the acted Hamlet would kill some of the infinite wealth of the imaginary Hamlet. (Later Craig actually undertook a production of the play and declared the attempt had proved his thesis that the play was unstageable.) Theatre is here recognized as something that has its own different roots, preconditions and premises, which are even hostile to dramatic literature. The text should recede from the theatre, Craig concludes, precisely because of its poetic dimensions and qualities." Lehmann, *Postdramatic Theatre*, p. 49.

following May 1968 and the student uprisings of the start of the 1970s, which linked the point of art, and particularly representational and performance arts, to politics in a new manner. The Greek stage, however, remained far removed from these developments, isolated through introversion and the restrictions on expression imposed by the (latest) dictatorship/military junta (1967–1974).

The first years following the re-establishment of democracy witnessed an unprecedented flourishing of contemporary Greek dramatic production and a quantitative leap of its presence on stage.[8] The lifting of what had been stifling censorship, imposed by the dictatorship, and its immediate abolition in 1974 brought about an immediate result, with a series of dramatic texts arising from contemporary Greek playwrights as well as from worldwide dramatic production, which nobody could perform over the seven years of the dictatorship (including some older texts written about the period of the inadequate Greek democracy), which went on to be played on many stages, which asserted their claim for a more immediate political discourse by the start of the 1980s. To this end, the new political regulations at the start of this decade played a part: instituting grants to independent theatre groups and establishing municipal regional theatres, which emphasised the staging of Greek plays,[9] led to the gradual expansion and, finally, the saturation of these quantitative features of the Greek stage. The transition, however, from the play to the event would require even more time.

In the attempt to set boundaries on the data of the general terms for the development of the art of theatre in the decades since the 1980s we may ascertain that, in contrast with the first post-war decades, the landscape had altered fundamentally in more than one sector. The alterations, however, have one perhaps causal relevance: the passage from one condition to the next is not linear, but constitutes an expression, on the one hand, of the time delay which exists in all kinds and all forms of artistic expression but also, on the other, of

[8] See the catalogues of performances published in the annual survey of *Χρονικό* (1972–1989), published by Galerie Ora, and *Επιλογος* (1992–2020). Annual statistics were also published by Giorgos Sarigiannis in the newspaper *Τα Νέα* from 1985 to the early 1990s. See also Platon Mavromoustakos, "1974–1984: μία στατιστική της θεατρικής δραστηριότητας στην Αθήνα και στον Πειραιά" [1974–1984: a statistical survey of theatrical activity in Athens and in Piraeus], *Δρώμενα* 3–4 (1984), pp. 136–139.

[9] The promotion of contemporary Greek plays has been one of the main criteria under which annual subsidies were allocated to independent theatre groups. It has also been one of the main obligations for the repertory not only of the national stages (National Theatre of Greece and National Theatre of Northern Greece) but also for the municipal regional theatres (δημοτικά περιφερειακά θέατρα) established on the initiative of Culture Minister Melina Mercouri.

the fact that interconnectedness between things cannot always be traced to the same precise cause.[10]

As the first term of these new conditions, the result of a process that began with the ideological reshuffling that took place in Greek society following the end of World War II, but was also strongly influenced by the particular type of legal but risk-free resistance which was played out by cultural and particularly by theatrical activities under the junta, we must consider that the supremacy of this artistic theatre, of the creativity of more companies, which are classified primarily as art theatre, constitutes the claim of a broader group of companies and audience members. The establishment of this artistic nature for theatre is directly linked, ultimately, to the upgrading of the position of the director. The role of director was now definitive, not only in forming new companies but also in the formulation of a stage image even in older, star-led companies. The creation of companies which followed a model linked to the image of Karolos Koun's Theatro Technis became more general after the re-establishment of democracy and created an ever-increasing nucleus of theatrical activity following the establishment of the institution of grants.

Here we can add that in seeking artistic autonomy and demanding that what is seen on stage be the vision of artistic creation – in contrast with a theatrical activity whose goal is to entertain – constituted the common locus for the great majority of theatre people during this period. The old conflict with "commercial" theatre appears to have lost its edge: the conviction that theatre is an art equivalent to the other fine arts, even if it is not fully established, appears to have gained many places in the ranking of the general groups of theatre-lovers as well as more occasional audience members. What is taken for granted by *regular theatregoers*[11] is accepted with greater ease by less well-informed or consciously engaged audience members.

The transition in the theatre does not constitute solely an expression of the middle-class audiences or the intelligentsia among the youth but is an expression

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[10] As the art historian Ernst Gombrich states: "It is one thing to see the interconnectedness of things, another to postulate that all aspects of a culture can be traced back to one key cause of which they are manifestations." Ernst Gombrich, *In Search of Cultural History*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989, p. 46. Also cited in Thomas Postlewait, *The Cambridge Introduction to Theatre Historiography*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, p. 186.

[11] In interviews, the French stage director Antoine Vitez very often referred to these systematic theatregoers as "spectateurs à risque", which is a rather interesting definition for theatregoers who attend performances by non-established artists and, thus, risk changing their point of view towards the theatrical event or the play performed. For the term "regular theatregoers", see Sonia Livingstone (ed.), *Audiences and Publics: When Cultural Engagement Matters for the Public Sphere*, Bristol: Intellect, 2005.

of the need for an examination of contemporary life in ever larger portions of the audience. Since the 1980s and particularly the end of that decade, we can observe that the audience cannot be treated as a singular group but is a conglomeration of many different groups as far as their pursuits and choices are concerned. Different audience groups began to be formed, maintaining and supporting the different forms of theatrical endeavours. Distinctions that used to exist in the past began to fade: the middle-class audience can systematically follow the performances of the Athens Festival yet also steadily support performances in a new venue created outside the centre in an abandoned factory space; an audience of students can follow small alternative groups and forms and, at the same time, follow productions by large theatrical organisations or major foreign companies.

This goes hand in hand with the fact that the post-war generation and, even more, the generation of young artists who appeared during the twenty-first century do not clash with an old-fashioned concept of theatre, whose sole goal is to entertain its audiences, but is in discourse with more recent trends that set aside and almost remain indifferent to that old clash. The creators of new performance events belong to a generation that has no close bonds with previous generations, which does not necessarily seek out either the collaboration or a close bond with those who went before, as it has formulated its theatrical consciousness in different ways, maintaining a certain critical distance. Overall, the younger generation is characterised by systematic theatre studies, which did not necessarily take place in one of the main drama schools, alongside other more specialised studies and with far more direct links to what is going on outside Greece than older generations of creatives and, particularly, actors. This development was significantly influenced by the increase in the number of drama schools as well as by the creation of theatre studies at universities, more frequent studies at overseas schools and contact with recent central European stage lines of inquiry. This latter relationship is personal and direct, as the new generation has a more outward orientation.[12] One final observation we could add here is that the factors that go into formulating the theatrical viewpoint of creators depends less on work and more on stage practices. Transmitting innovative characteristics of theatre to creators and the Greek audience has not been accomplished by traditional companies but by major theatrical events.

In this sector, the Athens Festival played a definitive role: it acquainted Greek audiences with those creative forces, who set the tone on the European stage by operating companies and organisations in their countries and by participating

[12] The many indicative examples include the Mkultra, Nova Melancholia, Projektor, Vasistas and Bijoux de Kant theatre groups.

in international European festivals. Their performances had been unknown to Greek audiences up to that point.[13] After 2006, the Athens Festival changed radically, reminding older audience members of the first staging of the European Capital of Culture in Athens in 1985, which was marked by many major events and the booking of particularly fascinating artists, which created a short-lived but pleasant sensation that the distance between the stages of Athens and those of other European countries had become shorter. Thanks to the renewed festival, we could say that in a very short space of time the audience got to know the major international contemporary expressions of theatre and dance, thus exiting the introversion that, to very great extent, defined Greek cultural life. By exceeding the limitations of a conventional cycle of events, which is arrayed tidily through time, the festival gained the features of an artistic event. The stereotypes that had defined summer events were overturned, through the use of indoor spaces and "difficult" spectacles. Moreover, the language barrier was no longer an obstacle for spectators, with performances attracting not only the traditional middle-class audience but, mainly, those among the youth with an inquiring mindset towards theatre and artistic interests. This development formulated a different dynamic: a new audience comprised of viewers and creators from a broader range of the performing arts, which enriched the education of the gaze, and obtained new criteria.

At the same time, the new form of the Athens Festival revealed many of the limitations of the critical discourse, provoking a very intense stand-off between a group of critics and the new creators, Greek and foreign, creating clear demarcation lines, between, on the one hand, the critics who supported the familiar forms of conservative production to which theatregoers were accustomed, but were often suspicious of foreign productions,[14] and, on the

[13] Among the many indicative examples are Thomas Ostermeier's performance of Henrik Ibsen's *Nora-A Doll's House* and of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Schaubühne am Lehniner Platz (2006); William Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Tennessee Williams' *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* (2008); Henrik Ibsen's *John Gabriel Borkman* (2010); Dimiter Gotscheff, *Ivanov*, Volksbühne Berlin (2007); Pina Bausch, *Café Müller*, Tanztheater Wuppertal (2006); The Wooster Group, *To You, The Birdie!* (Phèdre) (2006) and William Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (2008); Socìetas Raffaello Sanzio and Romeo Castellucci, *Inferno, Purgatorio, Paradiso* (2008), *On the Concept of the Face, Regarding the Son of God* (2011); Peter Stein, Fyodor Dostoevsky's *The Demons* (2010); Kolyada Theatre, William Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (2011); Krzysztof Warlikowski, *(A) pollonia* (2011); Maguy Marin and the Centre Choréographique National de Rillieux-la-Pape, William Forsythe, Frank Castorf, Christoph Marthaler and La Fura dels Baus.

[14] Moreover, the Epidaurus Festival has increased the hosting of performances by foreign directors: for example, Theodoros Terzopoulos, Tadashi Suzuki, Anna Badora and Valery Fokin, *The Theban Cycle* (2002), Peter Stein, Sophocles' *Electra*, National Theatre of

other, a less homogeneous group, more tolerant of all that was unknown and different, with a greater openness to discourse and equally accepting not only of the less daring stage expressions but also the more groundbreaking forms.

The conflicting relationship between critics and the newer forms of expression became less pointed at the turn of the twenty-first century. Criticism in certain instances grew more tolerant of whatever appeared as new.[15] It could be argued that the nature of the performances often emphatically stated its position within the rationale of experimentation, supporting in this way the choices of its creative forces. Besides, the winner was the theatrical debate: it became familiar with new lines of inquiry concerning the stage image, thus redefining a process of change and experimentation in the goals of theatre.

The change in the theatrical landscape in the 1980s and 1990s was related also to a series of institutional rearrangements. As we have already mentioned, the development of modern Greek theatre received a great deal of momentum from the institution of grants for independent theatre, the establishment of regional theatres and the creation of an similar system of grants for dance.

By the end of the century, the grants had helped create new nuclei for theatrical activity but also dance and theatrical dance companies, groups and formats. The traditional theatre hall, which was usually a derivative of the Italian stage, was abandoned almost permanently by the new groups, as, increasingly, non-theatrical spaces were utilised, far from the traditional spaces of the theatrical market, for theatrical performances or spectacles focused on the features of the spaces. The theatrical season was expanded and the clear demarcation between the winter and spring theatrical periods dissipated. Yet,

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Greece (2007); Karin Neuhäuser, Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, Schauspiel Frankfurt (2007); Anatoly Vasiliev, Euripides' *Medea* (2008); Dimiter Gotscheff, Aeschylus' *The Persians* (2009). It also stages more texts from other repertorial areas, for example, Dimitris Mavrikios, Jean Racine's *Andromache* (2007); Deborah Warner, Samuel Beckett's *Happy Days*, National Theatre, London (2007); Pina Bausch, Christoph Willibald Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice*, Paris Opera Ballet (2008); Ted Hughes, Jean Racine's *Phèdre*, National Theatre, London (2009); Sam Mendes, William Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*, The Bridge Project (2009); Thomas Ostermeier, William Shakespeare's *Othello*, Schaubühne am Lehniner Platz (2010); Sam Mendes, William Shakespeare's *Richard III*, The Bridge Project (2011); and Lefteris Vogiatzis, Molière's, *Amphitryon*, National Theatre of Greece (2012).

[15] This becomes clearer in the staging of ancient drama as the sterile confrontations about "misrepresenting" the texts have ceased. On this matter, see Platon Mavromoustakos, "Das antike griechische Drama als nationale Frage: Kritiker- und Publikumsreaktionen auf moderne Aufführungen", in *Staging Festivity. Theater und Fest in Europa*, ed. Erika Fischer-Lichte und Matthias Warstat, Tübingen: A. Francke Verlag, pp. 303–316, and "Ideological Parameters in Reactions to Performances of Ancient Greek Drama at the End of the Twentieth Century", Athens Dialogues e-journal, accessed 24 January 2020, https://www.academia.edu/38599723.

performances have increasingly become bound by a limited season and a specific number of performances.

In essence the theatre has become more democratic. The ability of creators from the younger generations to become members of companies or to create new companies has become easier. These new creative groups follow, to a great extent, a new perception: the artistic, expressive capabilities contained in the stage event are independent of the text being performed. This perception, beyond connecting performances with the idea of experimentation or research, also functions as a form of liberation for theatrical creators, freeing them from the chains and deformities of the past as well as those of criticism. To a great degree, this new sense of liberty in creators contributed not only to the total transformation of the Athens Festival (as well as to the more limited but still essential changes in the Epidaurus Festival)[16] but also to the National Theatre of Greece's policy to pursue new contemporary aesthetic choices at the end of the first decade of this century. During the six-year term of Yannis Houvardas as artistic director (2007–2013), the National Theatre was revitalised with new artistic staff, new stage trends and aesthetic orientations, and international collaborations.[17] This is also the direction taken by the Onassis Stegi, which follows a programme (similar to that of the Athens Festival) of inviting major creators in theatre and dance from the world stage for a schedule of events enriched with many new proposals and activities, addressed not only to established audiences and artists but also to various categories and age groups among the general public.[18]

These parallel developments propelled the Greek stage on an intense development trajectory in the first decade of the current century. While the

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[16] Through performances such as Theseum Ensemble, *I'm Dying as a Country* (2007) and *Insenso* (2012); Michail Marmarinos, Euripides' *Herakles* (2011); Michail Marmarinos and Rokuro Gensho Umewaka, *NOH–Nekyia* in Epidaurus (2015); Theatro Domatiou and Angela Brouskou, Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (2008); Yannis Houvardas, Euripides' *Orestes* (2010); Blitz, *Don Quixote* (2012); and Choros Theatre Company and Simos Kakalas, *Practice: Epidaurus–Syssemon* (2013).

[17] See Platon Mavromoustakos, "Εθνικό Θέατρο 1974–2014: Πρώτες σημειώσεις για την ανάγνωση μιας αντιφατικής πορείας από τη Μεταπολίτευση ως την κρίση" [National Theatre, 1974–2014: First notes for approaching a contradictory course from the restoration of democracy to the current crisis], in *Θέατρο και δημοκρατία: Με αφορμή τη συμπλήρωση 40 χρόνων από την αποκατάσταση της Δημοκρατίας, αφιερωμένο στον Βάλτερ Πούχνερ* [Theater and democracy: on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the restoration of democracy; dedicated to Walter Puchner], vol. 2, ed. Kaiti Diamantakou and Alexia Altouva, Athens: Department of Theatre Studies, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, 2018, pp. 103–112.

[18] Such as Victoria Chaplin and Jean-Baptiste Thierrée, *The Invisible Circus* (2011); Ivo van Hove, Ingmar Bergman's *Scenes from a Marriage* (2011), Robert Lepage/Ex Machina, *The Far Side of the Moon* (2011); William Kentridge, *Refuse the Hour* (2012); Joël Pommerat, *The*

onset of the economic downturn brought this progress in theatre to a halt, it did not substantially change the general image of theatrical activity. Many of the features that marked the end of the twentieth century continued to exist. The inflation of theatrical activity continues to shape the general picture, despite the ongoing economic frailty of the companies involved, which has been made more severe by the gradual quantitative lessening of the grants, the long-term delays in the payment of amounts approved and the essential breakdown of the system of theatrical grants for a significant period of time (2010–2017).

While the image appears similar overall, nevertheless there have been changes in certain instances. Beyond the fact that grants increasingly pay a less definite role in the terms of a production, it has become clear that working relationships are increasingly flexible in economic terms. Gaining funding is no longer a prerequisite for creating an event or even a company. Directors no longer constitute the sole agency around which actors gather; instead, new forms of collectives have been instituted.[19] Companies are increasingly defined by their collective image and not by the personalities of their leading figures. Communication between the new companies has become ever closer. Collaborations have developed at a production level for the first time, which frequently results in different groups performing in the same spaces.[20]

Despite the fact that this characterises the entire period from the start of the economic crisis to the end of the 2010s, the way in which work is provided in the independent theatre is increasingly characterised by professionalism on a functional level. In contrast, the financial rewards for younger artists in particular

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Great and Fabulous History of Commerce (2013); Christoph Marthaler, Eugène Labiche's *The White of the Egg* (2015); Chekhov Moscow Art Theatre, Fyodor Dostoevsky's *The Karamazovs* (2016); Complicité/Simon McBurney, *The Encounter* (2016); Rimini Protokoll, *Adolf Hitler: Mein Kampf, Volumes 1 and 2* (2016); Krzysztof Warlikowski, *Phaedra(s)* (2016); and Pina Bausch, *Sweet Mambo* (2016) etc. As for the policies of the Onassis Stegi to open up to new audience categories and new areas of the artistic potential, see the teenagers theatre, Meeting Points festival, Fast Forward Festival, Transitions Festival, Unlimited Access programme and disabled theatre.

[19] Among the many indicative examples are The Institute for Experimental Arts (2008), Institute for Live Arts Research (2010), Mavili Collective (2011), Kolektiva Omonia (2013) and Green Park (2015) as well as the Performing Arts Festival–Bios, Off Off Festival and Thessaloniki Performance Festival.

[20] Many new venues hosting a big variety of performative events have been created in rather infamous or neglected areas of the city centre, giving a new lease of life to some and unused or abandoned buildings, with Bios the most representative example among them. Combining a stage with all-day cafés and meeting spots for young artists, they have transformed the centre of Athens, offering a young public of students a new variety of activities.

range from the non-existent to the minimal: this has led to the creation of a peculiar type of theatrical market with working conditions with no financial terms. It prolongs the stereotype of young artists who survive professionally by working in other jobs and who, at the same time, establish new groups, settle into new spaces that are converted for theatrical purposes and manage to maintain a systematic relationship with a small audience, which suffices, however, to maintain many small company groups and event spaces in various parts of Athens.

A similar landscape dominates Thessaloniki while theatrical activity in other cities is very limited, which is also due to the fact that their needs ought to be covered by the municipal regional theatres, which are decaying and to a great degree unable to carry out their cultural role. By the dawn of the twenty-first century, the demand for decentralisation brought by the re-establishment of democracy and the 1980s left behind certain municipal-regional festivals, which function as venues for spectacles from the capital during the summer months, effectively providing additional venues for the productions of the state theatres as well as large-scale productions, whose purpose is mainly to ensure better financial returns for the stars and the traditional company leaders, who venture out from the old central theatres to conduct large tours of the country.[21] If in the past, and particularly up to the end of the 1980s, the clarion call for decentralisation sounded loud, from the middle of the first decade of the current century a new demand emerged from the hierarchy of theatrical creators: the demand for extroversion, for the presence of Greek theatrical creation overseas. The Athens and Epidaurus Festival has taken this direction, offering the possibility for certain companies to represent Greek theatre at international festivals. The Onassis Stegi, which has followed a policy of co-productions and of promoting Greek performances overseas, has been even more systematic in this regard.[22]

However, by the end of the period under examination we can observe a phenomenon similar to that at the end of the twentieth century. During the 1990s

[21] Apart from Piramatiki Skini Technis (1979) and Nees Morfes Theatre (1996–2004), some of the new theatre groups in Thessaloniki include the A4M Centre for Performing Arts (2008), Ouga Klara (1999), Oberon Art Group (2009), Angelus Novus (2003), Aktis Aeliou (2001–2014), In Flux (twice a recipient of an Ibsen scholarship), Vis Motrix, BlackBox and Theater T.

[22] Among the touring performances we should mention Nikos Karathanos, Aristophanes' *Birds*, an Onassis Stegi production that toured the United States; the dance performances of Dimitris Papaioannou that toured many European countries; and *Clean City*, another production of the Onassis Stegi and Anestis Azas and Prodromos Tsinikoris' Projektor group that has toured many German cities.

many directors, around whom a number of theatrical groups and companies sprung up, which entered the regime of government grants, were working as freelance artists, collaborating with large mostly state-run organisations, with the result that few of the old grant-run companies remained systematically active in the current century.[23] As we approach the end of the 2010s, something similar is happening: the new groups of creators, who led theatrical activity along interesting paths towards research and experimentation begin to fall apart,[24] with their main players pursuing a personal, somewhat autonomous path, collaborating with state agencies and production organisations in large artistic productions.

During the 2010s in Athens, two axes of event venues emerged along the two main roads that link the capital with Piraeus. On Syngrou Avenue is the Onassis Stegi, which quickly gained a special place in the minds of audiences. At the end of the avenue, at the Faliro Delta, the Stavros Niarchos Foundation Cultural Centre started operations in 2015, providing a new home for the National Library and National Opera. On the other hand, near Omonia Square, is the National Theatre and, further down Pireos Street, the Athens Municipal Cultural Centre at Gazi, the Benaki Museum–Pireos 138, which besides exhibitions also hosts theatrical events. Nearby is the Michael Cacoyannis Foundation, Foundation of the Hellenic World and the building complex at 260 Pireos Street, where most of the stages are put to such good use by the Athens Festival (as well as Irene Pappas' Scholeion). At the end of both these axes is the renovated Municipal Theatre of Piraeus, which is equipped with modern technical infrastructure. These spaces, which border an area in which new young groups are active, are mainly supported by productions where the dominant role is played by the directors, some of whom come from the generation that characterised theatre from the return of democracy to the end of the twentieth century and others from the dynamic generation, which has moved rapidly from small venues to the larger stages. With different goals and different financial capacities, they now

[23] Among those groups that halted their activities from the end of the last to the onset of the economic crisis are Yannis Margharitis' Spring Theatre (Θέατρο της Άνοιξης), Vassilis Papavassiliou's Epoch (Θέατρο Εποχή), Yannis Kakleas' Spectacle Group (Ομάδα Θέαμα) and Yannis Houvardas' very active Theatre of the South (Θέατρο του Νότου). Similar groups have appeared in the meantime that follow the same model of Vangelis Theodoropoulos' Neos Kosmos Theatre (Θέατρο του Νεου Κόσμου).

[24] In addition to the groups already mentioned in n. 16, we should add Group Blitz, Group Projektor and a big number of dance groups that have appeared since the end of the twentieth century.

constitute the hosts for major Greek artistic productions[25] and where emblematic figures of the world stage from the entire range of performing arts are invited to perform.

Under these conditions a very complex image of theatrical activity, separated by distinct distances, has emerged. Focused on innovation and originality, the new groups coexist with traditional companies, the older grant-led ones and the professional star vehicles – which have gained certain new features, mainly on the level of repertory and in terms of occasional collaborations with directors and actors of the new generation – and the large organisations, which draw on the large pool of both established and new creatives to present a tight programme of stage events. During the economic crisis, Athens achieved a synchronicity that enveloped the heterogeneity of theatrical phenomena and created an overall image of a contemporary theatrical life typical for the model of a western capital: more than any other sector in the public space, the example of theatrical activity demonstrates the lack of continuity and the unexpectedness of the peculiar process of development of the modern Greek state.

With its plurality of activities, the theatrical market in Athens is proportionate to that of all the capitals of central Europe, leading to a situation where it is almost impossible, even for the most systematic of theatregoers, to take in the totality of the significant theatrical events in each season.

The inability to comprehend theatrical life in its totality is not limited to engaged audiences. It also places theatre studies in an awkward position: it is an increasingly difficult endeavour to handle theatrical activity under discrete and unambiguous special categories or at least to delineate time limits for phenomena. We can ascertain that any attempt to deal with Greek theatrical history from a theatre studies standpoint assumes features that also shape the very image of theatrical life: a totality of approaches appears impossible, as there is always some special facet that manages to avoid examination. At the same time, it is clear that it has become increasingly necessary to link the historical approach to theatre with the theoretical approach.[26]

The problem becomes increasingly discernible as we seek to handle dramatic production, whether domestic or not, or, to be specific, the performance text

[25] For example, the performances at the Onassis Stegi of Büchner's *Danton' Death*, directed by Stathis Livathinos (2011); Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, directed by Thomas Moschopoulos (2012); Brecht's *The Good Person of Szechwan*, directed by Katerina Evangelatou (2013); Goethe's *Faust*, directed by Michail Marmarinos (2014); Shakespeare's *Hamlet,* directed by Yannis Houvardas (2015).

[26] Erika Fischer-Lichte, "Theatergeschichte und Wissenschaftsgeschichte: Eine bedenkenswerte Konstellation", in *Arbeitsfelder der Theaterwissenschaft*, ed. Erika Fischer-Lichte, Wolfgang

selected by theatre creators over the years that concern this study. Perhaps here the progression from the play to the event, which constitutes the basis of the syllogism for the working hypotheses that provided a framework for this article and affords it the characteristics of an initial overview of the more recent history of modern Greek theatre, becomes clearer.

Already from start of the 1980s, at the repertoire level we may observe certain transpositions of the performance terms, both in modern Greek works and in dramaturgy from the rest of the world.

The impressive increase in the number of companies, including the rising numbers staging new Greek plays, modifies how we approach our dramaturgy, given that there is no common measure with which to compare performances. The fact is that playwrights have the capability to address many different audiences, as there has been a change in the ratio of supply and demand; consequently, this means that there are increasingly fewer playwrights who are linked to a specific company, in contrast to the situation that prevailed up to the end of the 1970s.[27] A similar change has taken place in the process of hiring foreign playwrights. There are many different paths that can be taken to keep in touch with modern play production worldwide, as more and more companies directly monitor international trends in play production and showcase authors who are unknown to Greek audiences. Under these new conditions, Greek playwrights have been introduced to a wealth of sensitivity and paths of enquiry, oftentimes through conflicting stage perceptions. This is a major difference compared to the past, where the aesthetics of certain important companies, in particular Koun's Theatro Technis up to the late 1970s, defined the overall output of Greek playwrights.

At this point we should once again mention the more direct contact younger generations of creators have with events abroad (as a result of wide-ranging extroversion as well as university studies and other studies overseas)

Greisenegger and Hans-Thies Lehmann, Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1994, p. 21; Henri Schoenmakers, "Between Reasonless Passion and Passionless Reason: Theatre Studies in the Nineties", *Humanities in the Nineties: A View from the Netherlands*, ed. Erik Zürcher and Ton Langendorff, Amsterdam: Swets and Zeitlinger, 1990, p. 198; Vince, Ronald, "Theatre History as an Academic Discipline", in *Interpreting the Theatrical Past: Essays in the Historiography of Performance*, in Thomas Postlewait and Bruce A. McConachie, Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1989, pp. 9–13.

[27] Examples of the special link between the theatres that gave a special impetus to Greek drama and playwrights in the post-war theatre include Karolos Koun's Theatro Technis, with Giorgos Sevastikoglou, Iakovos Kambanellis, Dimitris Kechaidis, Loula Anagnostaki and Giorgos Skourtis; STOA Theatre, with Marios Pontikas and Panagiotis Mentis; and Twelfth Curtain (Δωδεκάτη Αυλαία), with Vangelis Goufas, Vasilis Andreopoulos, Vasilis Ziogas and Kostas Mourselas.

and, certainly, their greater knowledge of foreign languages. The level of communication, particularly in the English language, is far greater than it was before, which makes it far easier to keep up with the foreign language bibliography, to learn what is being staged overseas and to quickly adopt new trends in stage production. Of course, the capacity for more rapid information dissemination through new media, the internet as well as a broader network of information from other sources, both print and digital, have played a definitive role in this regard. The changes at the communication level are having a fundamental effect on the forms of development in the sphere of theatrical production and creation.

Extroversion and progressively more systematic monitoring of developments in the theatre arts on the European stage, supplemented by the performances staged at the renewed Athens Festival, were promoted by the stage practices of the National Theatre from 2007 to 2013, which were fundamentally different to those that held sway previously. With new personnel, the premier state stage now offers a wider platform for new directorial trends and stage experimentation, which is different to those accepted by conservative critics. Performances at the National Theatre enjoy far greater freedom on all levels of discourse and stage action, which has resulted in the state stage gaining, increasingly and more intensely, some of the renewing features of the great European stages. The concurrence of the regeneration of the National Theatre and that of the Athens Festival constitutes an additional reason for the liberation of the new theatrical forces from their limitations or distortions and their distancing from the more conservative outlook of the past.

Under these conditions, Greek dramatic production has changed many of its features. All that had held true during the post-civil-war era and the years of the junta has been set aside. We can no longer classify plays into basic groups, but we can note certain trends and directions.

Some of these directions are more prominent than others. The links between what was going on in the world of the stage and what held true for Greek society is clearly perceivable in a "*theatre of everyday life*". From the microcosm of the living space we have proceeded directly to the macrocosm of society, as under the new conditions the reference to the specific society that dominated from the late 1950s to the 1970s has been lost. There, the main attention was on processes of communication and not a person's relationship to society. The natural progression since 1980 led to a passage from *everyday life* to *the everyday routine.*[28] From the instability of survival and the uncertainty, which

[28] See Platon Mavromoustakos, "Τα όρια της σκηνής και η μεθόριος της γραφής" [The limits of stage and the frontiers of writing], foreword to Iakovos Kambanellis, *Θέατρο*

was characteristic of the post-war decades up to 1980, we entered a pathological condition brought out by a reaction to personal problems created by a regular everyday routine and the difficulties that arose in interpersonal relationships. The problems with the past no longer reference collective memories, but rather personal stories.[29]

This progression has been followed by almost all playwrights of the post-war generation, who have enriched their themes with a far greater variety of issues. New themes also appeared at the same time under this transition. Some of these we should mention. Of note are performances of both newer and older plays that belong to a dramaturgy that addresses the relationship between theatre and reality: this is dominated by the inquiry into the relationship between truth and lies; the confrontation between the conventional reality of the stage and the reality of the world.[30] We also note plays that look into our relationship with

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[Theatre], vol. 9, *Η γειτονιά των αγγέλων. Η αποικία των τιμωρημένων. Οι δύσκολες νύχτες του κυρίου Θωμά* [Neighborhood of Angels. In the Penal Colony. The difficult nights of Mr Thomas]. Athens: Kedros, 2014; Mavromoustakos, "Introduction historique générale", in *D'Aventures en Miracles. Panorama des écritures théâtrales de la Grèce modern*, ed. Olivier Descotes, Paris: L'espace d'un instant, 2015, pp. 11–22; Mavromoustakos, "The Greek Theatre at the Dawn of the 21st Century: From Collectivity to Innerness", *Greek Play Project*, accessed 24 January 2020, http://www.greek-theatre.gr/public/en/greekplay/index/reviewview/45.

[29] Representative for this shift are Kambanellis' later plays *The Invisible Troupe* (National Theatre, 1988), *The Road goes Through* (Marietta Rialdi Theatre, 1990), *An Encounter Somewhere Else* (Theatro Technis, 1997).

[30] This confrontation is a permanent characteristic of Andreas Staikos' plays approaching human life and human relationships in terms of a substantial theatricality, Giorgos Veltsos' *Camera degli sposi*, *The Announcement*, etc. and recently Manolis Tsipos' *Dead Nature*, where disaster becomes a kind of ritual. Another type of confrontation between theatre and reality characterises plays with a strong reference to the contemporary world, such as Yiannis Mavritsakis' *Wolfgang*, Michel Fais' *The Yellow Dog*, etc. The abovementioned confrontation is a substantial component of documentary theatre, which has had a strong influence in Greek theatre in the 2010s, mainly the work of Anestis Azas and Prodromos Tsinikoris, who have worked closely on this type of theatre since 2011: *Journey by Train* (Athens Festival, 2011), *Epidaurus: A Documentary* (Athens Festival, 2012), *Telemachus: Should I Stay or Should I Go?* (Ballhaus Naunynstraße, Berlin, and Onassis Stegi, 2013), *Clean City* (Onassis Stegi and Munich Kammerspiele, 2016), *Hellas München* (Athens Festival, 2018) as well as Azas' *Case Farmakonisi or The Right of Water* (Athens Festival, 2015) and Tsinikoris' audio walk *In the Middle of the Street* (Athens Festival, 2015). Other Greek artists working on documentary theatre are: Georgia Mavragani (*First-Hand: A Performance on Tobacco Workers* (2015); *Not Innocent Any More* (2016), Korina Vasileiadou and Charis Pechlivanidis (In Flux) entangling Ibsen and documentary theatre (*Min(d)ing Ibsen: An Enemy of the People meets the People*

our ancient "heritage",[31] while increasingly we see plays that are canvases for a great thematic variety, which at times relate to a specific directorial concept or a theatrical group.

The great differentiation in this latest direction arose, mainly, at the beginning of the current century. Plays increasingly have a greater relationship with a company's collective stage vision, in which companies seek a common starting point for the creation of a text, which constitutes a guide for stage action rather than for use as a theatrical play. The play's text relates to a certain company or group and is inscribed within its development, without being able to be utilised by any other company to the degree that it relates to the lines of inquiry taken by each group at the time when the performance event was being created and, as such, can only be repeated by the group that created it. By

(National Theatre of Northern Greece, 2014) and *We: The Dramaturgy of the Crisis*, a triptych based on five Ibsen plays and focused on the question of children.

[31] For example, Dimitris Dimitriadis' *Homeriad* (the monologue "Ulysses" was presented by the Dame Blanche Company (National Theatre of Northern Greece, 2004) and the monologue "Ithaca" (Dame Blanche Company, Theseum Theatre, directed by Sofia Karakantza, 2006), *Cassandra's Annunciation* (Dame Blanche Company, directed by Chryssa Kapsouli, 3rd Young Artists Meeting, 14th International Meeting on Ancient Drama, 2009); *Evacuation* (first reading, directed by Yiannis Kokkos, Onassis Stegi, 2013), *Civilization: A Cosmic Tragedy* (Bijoux de Kant, Michael Cacoyannis Foundation, 2013), *Phaethon* (first reading, directed by Vasistas Theatre Group, Onassis Stegi, 2013, staged by Dimitris Karantzas, Kyklades Street Theatre-Lefteris Vogiatzis, 2015), *Chrysippus* (Athens and Epidaurus Festival, directed by Thanos Samaras, 2019); Giorgos Veltsos, *Oedipus–Anti-Oedipus* (2004) and *Plan for Electra–Plan for Ifigenia* (directed by Yannis Leontaris, Fougaro, Nafplion, 2015); Vasilis Ziogas, *Philoctetes* (1975), *The Kaffirs or the True Story of Menelaus and Helen* (1996); Marios Pontikas, *The Murderer of Laius and the Crows* (Theatre Stoa, directed by Yiannis Anastasakis, 12th International Meeting on Ancient Drama, Delphi, 2004), *Kassandra Addresses the Dead* (first reading by Theodoros Terzopoulos, 2nd International Meeting on Ancient Drama, Sikyon, 2006, staged by Theodoros Terzopoulos, Attis Theatre, 2007), *Neighing* (excerpts read by the author and Theodoros Terzopoulos at the 3rd International Meeting on Ancient Drama, Sikyon, 2011); Yannis Kontrafouris' *Medea–The Sortie* (Young creators, 10th International Meeting on Ancient Drama, Delphi, 2000), *Jocasta* (Theatro Attis, directed by Theodoros Terzopoulos, 2009); Akis Dimou, *Andromache or View of a Woman at the Height of the Night* (2003); Andreas Flourakis, *Kassy* (12th International Meeting on Ancient Drama, Delphi, 2006), *Medea's Feet* (Theatro Vafeio and Lakis Karalis, 2014), *Medea's Burqa* (Epi Kolono, Athens, 2014); Dimitris Finitsis, *Bellelεν Helen's of Troy "Eternal" Tragedy* (2015); Pavlos Matessis, *Roar* (1997). See also Dimitris Tsatsoulis, "Αρχαιόμυθη ελληνική δραματουργία: Ανασημασιοδοτώντας την ελληνική κληρονομιά" [Ancient myth-based Greek dramaturgy: resignifying the national heritage], *Greek Play Project*, accessed 24 January 2020, http://www.greek-theatre.gr/public/gr/greekplay/index/reviewview/42.

the end the first decade of this century, it was common to find on the Athens stage a Greek version of devised theatre, containing elements reminiscent of in-yer-face theatre, indicating a more direct influence of English-language stage and dramatic production, and a significant number of performances deriving from forms of documentary theatre. Increasingly, and particularly once the economic downturn had set in, the stage was the site of a denunciatory discourse, coloured by a critical stance towards society, which gained the characteristics of a rebellious consciousness.

We can ascertain that the goals of performances have a common ground: the need to protest against the image of society and its future. The expected result was the ever more direct political dimension to the directing of stage plays. Certainly, this outcome has been heavily influenced by the general political situation; the immigration issue, which has brought Greek society face-to-face with stereotypes towards which it had become complacent; as well as the demand for acceptance of what represents the "other" and of diversity on every level. The new political conditions reveal significant expressions of political malaise, which is characteristic of the picture of Greek society, which is now trying to find a balance between the stereotypes of the past and the acquisition of a new tolerance, which is necessary to establish a democracy.

The new stage productions include a great variety of texts: texts that are conventional coexist with unconventional styles; realistic texts and site-specific performances alongside poetic texts and performances based on intertextuality; texts based on fragmentary discourse, fractured images, narratives, interviews, witness accounts, or a story written from scratch. At other times, they involve older dramatic texts, revised or not, and in some instances they are constructed for the specific moment of the line of questioning taken by the scene's creators.

Texts now spark interest as material appropriate for implementing a theatrical design. The stage tends not to be a total construction, but rather a projection of all that is fragmentary and partial. New performances increasingly recognise the singular role of the dramaturge, as a special interlocutor between the creators, placed in a significant position in the process of the production of a spectacle. In this more recent notion, dramaturgy is conceived as an *open practice*, whose purpose is to reconsider texts and produce new thinking about them.[32]

In the 2010s, the theatregoer has been forced to wander through a theatrical landscape that is inhomogeneous and varied in form, beyond the conventional

[32] On the notion, see, indicatively, "it is everything that passes through the text and everything that passes through the text on stage". Bernard Dort, "Affaires de dramaturgie", in *Théâtre universitaire et institutions*, Caen: Fédération Nationale du Théâtre Universitaire, 1985, p. 62. This reflection entails that "The overturning of the priority between the text and

format of play and characters, beyond the male and female persons, which they expect actors to interpret. A landscape that is varied without any clear specifications and without any boundaries between each writing genre, characterised by a more "open" stance towards the theatrical event, which, however, constitutes an expression of what is sought by contemporary Greek society, faced with the problems that compose new everyday routines, imposed by Greece's rather abrupt entrance into the twenty-first century.

A general questioning of past theatre, or of psychological acting, is expressed, often emphatically, by young creators in their attempt to approach other stage techniques, to develop other codes for acting, which are often introduced into the performance event. In this context, the circle of creators, whose choices turn against text-central stage action, is increasing. The text is dealt with as an element whose value is equivalent to that of all the other elements that create the performance event, as it becomes clear that, even when the stage does not conflict with the text, it clearly rejects the latter's literary features. The way stage and play are conceived has changed radically for a large proportion of creators.

The progression towards these changes had many starting points. Beyond the changes in perception in the two key theatrical organisations we have already mentioned, we can also discern a major change in how ancient drama is staged. The extreme reactions that shaped matters in the 1980s and 1990s when confronted with any stage solution that was judged to lack respect for the text, and the violence with which critics slammed any attempt to modernise or innovate, were gradually isolated by the new artistic forces and a great portion of the audience. These reactions often put creators or actors in an awkward position, as they were faced with the aggressive refusal of a portion of the audience, who, motivated by more conservative creators, yearned for an ever more questionable "tradition", which supposedly was created by the National Theatre, in the performance of ancient plays, which, having commenced to become picturesque, were mocked by younger groups in the audience. Perhaps this framework may create grounds for the conceit that considers that the written text is more at risk from not being used on stage or being considered a museum piece, rather than from a more daring encounter with it, and a questioning of the older interpretive formats, which designated the signification of its reading. These developments in the field of stage interpretation of ancient drama have

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the stage has become a generalised relativisation of the relationships that govern the different factors that shape the theatrical performance." Dort, "L'état d'esprit dramaturgique", *Théâtre/Public* 67 (1986), pp. 8–9; Dort, *La représentation émancipée: essai*, Arles: Actes Sud, 1988; Dort, *Le spectateur en dialogue: le jeu du théâtre*, Paris: POL, 1995, p. 270. See also Joseph Danan, *Qu'est-ce que la dramaturgie?*, Arles: Actes Sud, 2010, p. 36.

contributed to highlighting the autonomy of a stage reading and to indicating the contradictions and the conflicts that exist in the relationship between the stage and literature.

Since the turn of the century, stage practice overall has tended to an ever greater extent to transfer the centre of gravity from the text to its stage realisation; and consequently to overturn an old and stated primacy of the text, in order to bring into focus the duration of the performance during which the text is flooded with theatrical devices, thus transitioning primacy to the stage. At the start of the twenty-first century, the passage *from play to event* appears to have imposed its terms.

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