

Painters as Designers on the Greek Stage from the inter-war era to the 1950s: A quest for modernisation or nationalisation of local theatre aesthetics?

Ilia Lakidou

Scenography reflects the aesthetics of the society of an era in a way that fulfils the artistic and ideological perceptions of the audience. Theatre aesthetics are, practically, the result of a compromise between a number of factors: the expectations of the producers, the company's financial capability, and the technical capacity of the theatre building hosting the performance. Consequently, stage design has followed the same path toward modernity as all other art forms; leading it to the realisation of its autonomy, free from compromises.

These developments saw, firstly, the denial of the representation of bourgeois life and the imitation of nature, and secondly, the tendency to throw off the economic parameters that might control its artistic results.

It is common knowledge that on the stages of Europe, particularly those of France and Germany from which Greek theatre derives its artistic norms, painters were decisive in helping directors, producers and playwrights abandon the theatrical compromises of nineteenth-century realism and explore new forms of expression. *Théâtre d'art*, *Théâtre de l'oeuvre* and *Théâtre des Arts* in France, *Kunstler-Theater* and Max Reinhardt's performances in Germany, and Diaghilev's famous *Ballets Russes* touring company introduced to theatres a number of painters who, as designers, aimed to elevate the artistic value of their work, to differentiate it from commercial-type performances and to present on stage new, unseen images with symbolic or expressive, yet no descriptive, value.¹

In Greece, a country on the edge of the Balkan Peninsula, economic, social and political circumstances were very different from the rest of Europe. The newly born state took its first steps in independent national life under the rule of an adolescent German king.² Despite its great name, the capital Athens was a village where few people of any wealth had lived before independence. The bourgeois class lived and operated commercial enterprises in the great harbours of the south-eastern Mediterranean: Patras, Ermoupolis-Syros, Volos, and also Constantinople, Smyrna and Alexandria. As a consequence of the dispersion of financial forces, Athens had only one proper theatre building from 1840 until 1888, when the Municipal Theatre was completed. Another thirteen years passed before the Royal Theatre, later the National Theatre, was inaugurated in 1901. In the meantime, municipal theatres were constructed in all the major cities of Greece, in effect that aspired to European-style venues that never succeeded in operating properly and which soon became a considerable financial burden to their local communities.³ In addition, Greek cities, which were developed around retail and not industrial economies, were not highly populated. Therefore, a theatre company had to travel to meet its audience, and if it planned to remain in one place for a long time it would have to offer a variety of different plays, up to three or four per week. Thus, from the nineteenth century until the 1920s, a show was not performed for more than two or three nights in a row.⁴ Theatre companies had to travel frequently to sustain themselves, with theatres hosting a number of different groups and a great variety of spectacles without being the home of a permanent company, although the inauguration of the Royal Theatre marked a change in this situation. In addition, Athens' major theatrical activity took place in open-air venues with an Italian-style roofed stage, which was very small in size and lacked any special technical equipment.⁵

Given these conditions, no serious scenographic work was able to develop. Instead, every venue had a stock of scenery ready for use in any kind of performance, without consideration for scenographic originality or for the content of the play.⁶ The upper classes' dislike of anything Greek and its longing for European influences meant that all new sets were ordered from specialised Italian or German workshops, while used sets were bought by foreign travelling troupes.⁷ Greek theatre companies could not transport scenery on their long tours, and had to contend with the scenery on offer at local venues.⁸ Accordingly, actors and actresses in nineteenth-century Greece had to have their own personal wardrobe with all the necessary costumes; this was a prerequisite of their employment.⁹

The first eight years of the twentieth century were marked by the performances of the Royal Theatre and Constandinos Christomanos's New Stage, with tailor-made costumes and scenery newly created for every play. But even these were not made in Greece, but were imported.¹⁰ All the New Stage sustained was a costume workshop with Greek seamstresses.¹¹ The most important contribution made by these companies to the history of Greek stage and costume design was the shift in the audiences' opinions, from seeing the artistic interest of a theatrical event solely in terms of its literary value to also appreciating its spectacular aspect.¹²

Between 1908 and 1916 the Royal Theatre and the New Stage went out of business and a new kind of theatre, the Greek theatrical revue, overwhelmed audiences and became the dominant form of drama in Athens. Although the local intelligentsia constantly criticised the revue performances for lacking the virtues that the educated public deserved from a theatrical evening, some of these revues supported the birth of local set and costume design. As they could raise the curtain for a whole summer season and a play could be repeated from fifty to two hundred times consecutively, theatre producers invested a substantial amount of their budgets in scenery and costumes.¹³ The realistic, and often spectacular sets were the first to be truly crafted locally. They were made not only by Greeks but also by foreign designers that lived and worked in Athens such as Jolie, Boyer and Walter René Fuerst.¹⁴

The success of the Greek revue and the eagerness of audiences for any theatrical hit that the Parisian scene could offer led to such French plays being constantly translated and performed by the commercial companies, and resulted in the neglect of Greek playwrights who could barely entertain the idea that they might see their plays performed.

With no company willing to put on serious contemporary Greek plays, the Greek Playwrights Guild formed their own theatre troupe, the Greek Theatre Society (1919-1921).¹⁵ The company promoted the importance of the role that a director could have in the mounting of a play and in the nurturing of the aesthetic features of its performances. Although Fotos Politis and Miltiadis Lidorikis, the directors and producers of the Greek Theatre Society, and Spyros Melas, the writer, founder and director of the first Art Theatre in 1925, claimed that the commercial success of revue performances was due to glamorous scenery and costumes, they were acutely aware of the importance of the 'spectacular' to their performances. It was not only an artistic choice but also a matter of commercial survival, as theatre was threatened by the growing success of the cinema.¹⁶ The Greek Theatre Society nurtured theatre aesthetics, and it was in this supportive atmosphere that the first easel painters were introduced as designers. They were Periklis Vizandios and Giorgos Gounaropoulos.¹⁷

A second, more systematic introduction of painters as designers took place from 1927 to 1929 in the student performances of the Professional Drama School directed by Fotos Politis. No more than five years after the Greek Debacle in Asia Minor, when hopes for a Greater Greece had been shattered, Politis, an acclaimed reviewer and newly established director, set about staging a series of shows that would encourage a new national ideology of self-sufficiency and self-awareness to replace territorial imperialism.¹⁸ These shows were based mostly on neglected plays from Greek theatrical history, which he hoped would encourage audiences to be proud apart from their ancient Greek heritage, and also on plays from the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries.¹⁹ He entrusted the art direction to new easel painters who also resented any tradition that was marked by European, especially German, art trends. These painters had rejected the tradition of the Greek School of Fine Arts, which had been strongly influenced by the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Munich. The artists tried to reveal the traces of the local art tradition that had been erased by the Europhilia of the local bourgeoisie. Among them was the writer and painter Fotis Kondoglou, a refugee from the coast of Asia Minor, who became an inspiration for members of the so-called 'Generation of the 1930s, either as their teacher, as he was for Giannis Tsarouhis, or as a leading figure of the local art scene. Kondoglou passionately resented any connections between Modern Greece and the rest of Europe and promoted the embracing of Anatolian traditions as a basis for thinking and writing.²⁰

Although Politis trusted the painters Kondoglou, Spyros Papaloukas, Tsarouhis and Spyros Vassiliou to design sets and costumes for his educational performances, he believed that the new National Theatre, which opened its doors in 1932, had to mount serious European-style performances to give weight to its status.²¹ Because of this he denied Tsarouhis the post of Head Art Director, giving it instead to Kleovoulos Klonis, a commercial theatre set designer, and Andonis Fokas, a former collaborator with the Greek Theatre Society. Between 1932 and 1934, the year of his sudden death, Politis staged a series of productions as Director and Art Manager of the National Theatre. Fascinated by the technical possibilities offered by the most elaborate stage in the country, he laid aside his previous misgivings about the effect that the realistic scenery could have on the intellectual content of a performance.²² In 1937 Vassiliou, his former artistic collaborator, accused Politis on behalf of all the painters of the 1930s, of having founded “a vague theatre perception, partially romantic, partially naturalistic, whether it constructs, with a builder’s fervour, realistic towers or reproduces mimetically picturesque neighbourhoods, on a wooden stage floor surrounded by textile curtains”.²³

Despite the disappointment of painters, directors and other young intellectuals, Politis’s National Theatre represented the necessary status quo, which the local avant-garde had to oppose in order to embark on their own modernist path. For the painters it was another Munich School; for the new directors, it was stylistically outdated compared to the Parisian avant-garde. If the National Theatre had failed to build a national theatrical aesthetic, there were avant-garde theatre troupes that would try to accomplish it. Karolos Koun’s first company, the Folk Stage (1934-36), and Sokratis Karandinos’s New Drama School (1934-38) used painters such as Tsarouhis, Diamandis Diamandopoulos, Vassiliou, Nikos Hantziyriakos-Ghikas and Giorgos Asteriades as designers for their productions in order to present modern or Greek-style shows.²⁴ Several motifs from local folk art were used in sets and costumes, along with flat screens, cubist lines, symbolic colours and light, mobile structures [Pl.1 & Pl.2]²⁵. Even though these efforts were proclaimed by their creators to be more Greek and contemporary than those of the National Theatre, they were also influenced by European paradigms. The local avant-garde discovered the aesthetic modernity of Greek folk art and of the traditional architecture of the Cycladic Islands at the same time as their colleagues in France.²⁶ Was this a coincidence? Certainly not; Tsarouhis eloquently testified: “We’ve done whatever a European would have done if he were Greek”.²⁷

The influence of inter-war Paris’ avant-garde theatre scene was most obvious in the painters’ collaboration with Marika Kotopouli’s Company, the country’s head commercial theatre scene. Her private venue, the Rex, was inaugurated in 1937 and was the only theatre with a rotating stage and several other mechanical and lighting devices, which enabled it to compete with the National Theatre.²⁸ Between 1937 and 1939 Kotopouli mounted a number of performances directed by Giannoulis Sarandidis, also called with his French artistic name Jean Saran, former student of Charles Dullin and second director of his company, as well as an actor and director of *Le Compagnie des Quinze*.²⁹ Saran, Manolis Skouloudis and Karolos Koun and the painter-designers Ghikas, Tsarouhis and Nikos Eggonopoulos tried to introduce their artistic preferences for anti-realism and symbolic expressionism, with a touch of surrealism and cubism as featured in the Paris art and theatre scene [Pl.3]. These performances were not only a response to the academism of the National Theatre, but also represented a sense of Europe that only the painters and designers who had studied in Paris could offer to local audiences, who were always thirsty for European trends.³⁰

As we have seen, during the inter-war era young painters either sought the establishment of a Greek character in stage design or helped to introduce modern artistic languages, particularly from the Paris School, to Greek performances. Giorgos Theotokas used these painters as vehicles both of modernisation and nationalisation during his management of the National Theatre from February 1945 to May 1946. A writer and leading figure of the 1930s generation, Theotokas wished to question the dominant aesthetic style of the national stage that had been established by the permanent set and costume designers Klonis and Fokas.³¹ It comes as no surprise that his right-hand man was the director Sokratis

Karandinos, who had criticised the design of performances at the National Theatre in numerous articles and books, and proposed an alternative scenographic language that was more local, pictorial, anti-realistic and respectful to the theatre's nature.³² Thus, Vassiliou, Tsarouhis, Eggonopoulos, and the painter-scenographer Giorgos Vakalo, who had returned to Greece following a successful career in Paris, worked for the National Theatre for seven of the thirteen performances produced under Theotokas' management.³³

The choices made by Theotokas concerning not only the aesthetics of the performances of the National Theatre but also its repertoire, were judged to be anti-national and pro-communist by the right-wing press. What was his fault in the eyes of the nationalists? He had not ignored the financial problems of the company by supporting performances of ancient Greek tragedy. Instead, he and his artistic board had chosen plays written by Angelos Sikelianos, an alleged supporter of the EAM (the main left-wing resistance group in Greece during the war), and the alleged communist Nikos Kazantzakis.³⁴ The first official victim of the upcoming Civil War was to be Giorgos Theotokas's National Theatre.³⁵

In the 1950s the Hellenic Chorodrama (Hellenic Dance Theatre) staged the dreams of Greekness that painters, musicians and dancers shared. Influenced by Diaghilev's *Ballets Russes*, the company aspired to the production of dance performances with a notable Greek character in theme and performance, and to introduce a contemporary dance idiom.³⁶ Its founder Rallou Manou was a student of Martha Graham and was highly influenced by her teaching, as evidenced by Manou's acknowledgement of the importance of local tradition and her debt to ancient Greek themes.³⁷

"Petrouska must learn to dance zeibekiko and we must persuade Romeo and Juliet to die in hasapiko steps," Tsarouhis once said [Pl.4]. "A unification of music, colour, dance and speech that all together will express the truest form of Greek life", Ghikas added.³⁸ In addition, Manou underlined the need "to give as Greek artists a Greek interpretation, an exceptional style, this particular *something* that will add the stamp of Greece in our creations. With this quest we respond to the *particular demands* of our land".³⁹

What were these particular demands? Why imply that the art of this European country must have an exceptional Greek style? On the one hand, there was the issue of national identity, a theme that arose after every critical and painful historical period, and did so again in the aftermath of the Civil War, in order to be reinforced and reformulated. On the other hand, there was the economic factor of tourism, which, although emerging cautiously in the 1930s, was becoming a more central demand in the 1950s and during the period of financial reconstruction.

Indeed, in its first press release Hellenic Chorodrama announced that one of its main purposes was to "prepare and organise regularly either open-air performances either shows in winter venues with the aim of establishing permanent tourist festivals".⁴⁰ The close cooperation of the company with the private Greek Tourist Club, a forerunner of the Greek Tourist Organization, and the official inauguration of its activities during the Homecoming Year for the Emigrant Hellenism, demonstrates the radical bonds between the demands of tourism and the company's aesthetic choices.

What were the main characteristics of the work produced by these painters-as-designers for the Hellenic Chorodrama, and how did this work contribute to the nationalisation of Greek theatre aesthetics? The first characteristic concerned respect in pictorial values. The theatre sets and costumes consisted of well balanced images that tended to feature colour used in a symbolic manner. The artist-designers isolated and magnified motifs from local rural Byzantine or contemporary urban folk art and used them as symbols of space, values or behaviour [Pl.5]. This abstract ideological frame, utilised by all the painters, produced a theatre design with an ethnographic character in its final form. Because of this, the company's performances fell short in expressive dynamism, while they excelled in narrative aspects.⁴¹

Hellenic Chorodrama placed the narration of a myth at the centre of its interests. This myth was beneficial to national moral; that of eternal Greekness, a belief that derives from the theory that Greece lived continuously three thousand years, and survives untouched into

the present.⁴² Plays with mythological origins performed before or after ballets based on contemporary folk tradition supported the assertions of this both historical and artistic perception.⁴³ The images of Ancient Greece interspersed with those of traditional fairytales and rebetiko implied that all of them were essential to Greece: the black-clad mother and the Halloween pony; the figures of Death and the nymphs of the mythological past alongside hard men and the working girls of the present; ornamental edge tiles and ancient pillars; Pluto's kingdom and a Turkish saray. Of course this is an illustrated version of Greece, uncontaminated by the dirty spots of poverty and contemporary kitsch that dominated the post-war streets of Athens. It was an image of Greece that supported the dominant ideology and was useful for the growth of the tourist sector.⁴⁴

Why did the painters of the 1930s generation serve modern Greek theatre as set and costume designers? Their work elevated the artistic value of the performance, providing a link with Parisian avant-garde trends, anti-realism and local art tradition. They assisted in the quest for theatrical autonomy, a highly modernist goal. However, the autonomy that the Greek painters wanted to achieve meant that they must engage in a new war of independence against a European Art School that unquestionably dominated the local art scene. Yet conversely, this revelation of Greek character was inspired by the Parisian avant-garde. The nationalisation of the Greek theatre aesthetic was the other face of its modernisation. As it was a bipolar art movement, it had also double-sided results. Greek painters as designers contributed to a deeper knowledge of Greek aesthetic norms throughout time, although in some cases their work promoted the fake doctrine of the eternal Greek race existing through the centuries. These artists were decisive in the formation of a new aesthetic, although this was to become a vehicle for financial purposes. Their decision to be modern collapsed under the economic demand to be national. Besides, had modernity not become a financially profitable trend?

¹ Mainly: 1) H. Rischbieter (ed.), *Art and the Stage: Painters and Sculptors work for the Theater*, Connecticut 1968, 10, 12 and in separate chapters for every painter that worked for the company as designer. 2) L. Garafola, *Diaghilev's Ballets Russes*, USA 1998. 3) A. Shouvaloff, 'Design for the Theater', *The Art of Ballets Russes: The Serge Lifar collection of theatre designs, costumes and paintings at the Wadsworth Atheneum*, New Haven 1997, 26-53.

² Ioannis Kapodistrias ruled the independent Greek State from 1828 to 1831. Afterwards, in 1832, the Bavarian Prince Otto, son of Ludwig I, was appointed ruler of the Greek Kingdom.

³ For the theatres built in Athens and other Greek cities in nineteenth-century, see: E. Fessa-Emmanouil, *Η αρχιτεκτονική του Νεοελληνικού Θεάτρου 1720-1940*, Athens 1994, Vol.1, 142-143, 207-228 and 276-317.

⁴ D. Spathis, 'Ο Κωνσταντίνος Χρηστομάνος και η καθιέρωση της σκηνοθεσίας', *Ο Κωνσταντίνος Χρηστομάνος και η εποχή του: 130 χρόνια από τη γέννησή του. Αθήνα 1 Μαρτίου 1997. Πρακτικά Ημερίδας*, Athens 1999, 141.

⁵ About the summer theatres in Athens, see: Fessa, *Αρχιτεκτονική Νεοελληνικού Θεάτρου*, 263-265.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 276, 277, 281.

⁷ G. Vakalo, 'Το ξεκίνημα της ελληνικής σκηνογραφίας', *Σύντομη ιστορία σκηνογραφίας*, Athens 1979, 83.

⁸ Spathis, *Κωνσταντίνος Χρηστομάνος*, 143.

⁹ Th. Handjipandazis/L. Maraka, *Η αθηναϊκή επιθεώρηση*, Athens 1977, Vol.1, 14.

¹⁰ G. Vakalo, *ξεκίνημα*, 83.

¹¹ A. Glytzouris, *Η σκηνοθετική τέχνη στην Ελλάδα: η ανάδυση και η εδραίωση της τέχνης του σκηνοθέτη στο νεοελληνικό θέατρο*, Athens 2001, 86, note 181.

¹² G. Sideris, 'Η «Νέα Σκηνή» και το «Βασιλικόν Θέατρον»', *Ιστορία του νέου Ελληνικού θεάτρου 1794-1944: τόμος πρώτος (1794-1908)*, Athens 2000, 256.

¹³ Handjipandazis/Maraka, *επιθεώρηση*, 26.

¹⁴ L. Maraka, *Ελληνική θεατρική επιθεώρηση 1894-1926: Τέσσερα Κείμενα*, Athens 2000, 33 and Handjipandazis/Maraka, *επιθεώρηση*, 192-193.

¹⁵ A. Glytzouris, *σκηνοθετική τέχνη*, 158-179.

¹⁶ A. Vasiliou, *Εκσυγχρονισμός ή παράδοση; Το θέατρο πρόζας στην Αθήνα του Μεσοπόλεμου*, Athens 2004, 51. For the cinema at the same period: E. A. Delveroudi, 'Κινηματογράφος', in Ch.

Handjiosif (ed.), *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας του 20ού αιώνα : Ο Μεσοπόλεμος 1922-1940*, Athens 2003, Vol. B2, 367-377.

¹⁷ A. Glytzouris, *σκηνοθετική τέχνη*, 35.

¹⁸ “The Great Idea rests immortal. Just its subject changes. From the growth of national territory shifts in the growth and elevation of our civilization [...]”, as Giorgos Papandreou said in his speech to High School teachers in July 1934. T. Kagialis, ‘Λογοτεχνία και πνευματική ζωή’ [Literature and intellectual life], in Handjiosif, *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας*, 337-338.

¹⁹ In 1927 he mounted A. Matesis’s *Vasilikos*, a nineteenth-century bourgeois drama. He continued, in 1929, with V. Kornaros’s *Η θυσία του Αβραάμ* [*The sacrifice of Abraham*], an alleged mystery play of the seventeenth-century, and I.R. Neroulos’s *Korakistika*, a nineteenth-century literary comedy. A. Glytzouris, *σκηνοθετική τέχνη*, 653.

²⁰ A. Kotidis, *Μοντερνισμός και «Παράδοση» στην ελληνική τέχνη του μεσοπολέμου*, Thessaloniki 1993, 112-115.

²¹ D. Fotopoulos, ‘Γιάννης Τσαρούχης’, *Παραμύθια πέραν της όψεως*, Athens 1990, 156.

²² F. Politis, ‘Αι φαντασμαγορικοί σκηνογραφία’ [The spectacular scenographies], *Νέα Ελλάς* 14/08/1916 and F. Politis, ‘Το πρόβλημα των επιθεωρήσεων’ [The revue problem], *Τέχνη και Θέατρον* 30/07/1916. Handjipandazis/Maraka, *επιθεώρηση*, 113-114, note 2.

²³ S. Vassiliou, ‘Σκηνογραφία’ [Scenography], *Νεοελληνικά Γράμματα* 19, 10/04/1937. Republished in: S. Vassiliou, *Με το πινέλο, το καλέμι και τη γραφίδα*, Athens 2002, 111-113. Also: D. Hliopoulou-Rogan, ‘Ο Νίκος Χατζηκυριάκος – Γκίκας μιλάει στην Ντ. Ηλιοπούλου – Ρογκάν για το σκηνογραφικό του έργο’ [Nikos Hantzikyriakos-Ghikas talks to Dora Hliopoulou-Rogan for his scenographic work], In: D. Tsouchlou /A.Baharian, *Η σκηνογραφία στο νεοελληνικό θέατρο*, Athens 1985, 173.

²⁴ Glytzouris, *σκηνοθετική τέχνη*, 620. Ibid., 614.

²⁵ Plate 1 is from D. Fotopoulos, *Stage design in the Greek Theatre*, Athens 1987, 314. Plate 3 is from E. Andreadi, Σπύρος Βασιλείου, Νίκος Εγγονόπουλος, Νίκος Νικολάου: ζωγραφική για το θέατρο, Athens 2000, 91. Plate 4 is from R. Manou, *Ελληνικό χορόδραμα 1950-1960*, Athens 1961, 89.

²⁶ E. Mathiopoulos, ‘Εικαστικές Τέχνες’ [Art]. In: C. Handjiosif, Christos, *ιστορία της Ελλάδας*, 410-411. Handjinikolaou became aware, after comparing the contents of the journal *The 3rd eye*, published by Dimitris Pikionis, Sokratis Karandinos and Ghikas with its French contemporary counterparts *Cahiers d’art* and *Minotaure* that whilst the latter were in constant communication with present artistic practices in France, *The 3rd eye* only reported on subjects such as folk art and only on those Picasso works that could not instigate the Greek avant-garde to partake of the “irrational and incongruous” practices of modern art. N. Handjinikolaou, ‘Ο Πικιώνης, η τέχνη και «Το πνεύμα της εποχής»’, *Νοήματα της εικόνας: μελέτες ιστορίας και θεωρίας της τέχνης*, Rethymnon 1994, 370-375.

²⁷ A. Savakis, *Ιωάννης Τσαρούχης υπό Αλεξίου Σαββάκη*, Athens 1993, 261.

²⁸ Fessa, *Αρχιτεκτονική Νεοελληνικού Θεάτρου*, Vol.2, 125, where it is noted that until 1994 the stage of Rex Theatre still remained the largest and tallest of the Greek capital.

²⁹ Performance’s playbill, Greek Theatre Museum, 65B/16, 10-11.

³⁰ Savakis, *Ιωάννης Τσαρούχης*, 259.

³¹ G. Theotokas, ‘Γύρω στην παράσταση της «Εκάβης»’ [About the performance of “Hecuba”], *Καλλιτεχνικά Νέα* 30, 1/01/1944, 1-2 and G.Theotokas, ‘Η πρώτη μεταπολεμική περίοδος του Εθνικού Θεάτρου’ [The first post-war period of National Theatre], *Νέα Εστία* 451, 15/04/1946, 468.

³² 1) ‘Η σκηνογραφία’ [Scenography], *Τέχνη* 2, 5/02/1938, 6. 2) ‘Σκηνογραφία και θεατρική δράση’ [Scenography and theatrical action], *Τέχνη* 10, 15/06/1938, 6. 3) ‘Οι προϋποθέσεις της καλής σκηνογραφίας’ [The preconditions of good scenography], *Στοχασμοί γύρω από το θέατρο*, Athens 1941, 63-65. 4) ‘Τεχνικά προβλήματα του Θεάτρου: Σκηνογραφία και κριτική’ [Technical issues in Theatre: Scenography and review], *unknown journal*, 24/09/1945, 16. (Found in Spyros Vassiliou Archive).

³³ Complete list of productions of Theotokas’s management, can be found at www.n-t.gr

³⁴ Theotokas in a relevant article [‘Τι συμβαίνει στο Εθνικό Θέατρο’ (What happened in National Theatre), *Καθημερινά Νέα*, 5/05/1946] describes how the mounting of Kazantzakis’s *Kapodistias* (25/03/1946) and the preparation for Sikelianos’s *Sivylla* have become the pretext for revealing how much the political confrontations can affect the public activities in the country. Theotokas’s associates, Karandinos and Vassiliou, with articles and letters try to defend his repertory and managements choices. See: S. Karandinos, ‘Το Εθνικό Θέατρο’ [The National Theatre], *Ελεύθερα Γράμματα* 42, 1/05/1946, 124-125. S. Vassiliou, ‘Τέχνη και Κόμματα’ [Art and political parties], *Ελεύθερα Γράμματα* 43, 15/05/1946. Republished in: S. Vassiliou, *Με το πινέλο*, 150-153. S. Karandinos ‘Προς τον κ. Παπαδήμου’ [A letter to Mr. Papadimou], 19/05/1946. Republished in: S. Karandinos, *Σαράντα χρόνια θέατρο I: Στον προθάλαμο: Σκαμπανεβάσματα Α΄1920-1946*, Athens 1974, 217-220.

³⁵ In the newspaper *Aima* (3/05/1946), it had been announced that all National Theatre's employees were fired according to the new law for the theatre (except for the actors with contracts till 31/05/1946 and the Drama School teachers). In the same article, it was mentioned the "reconstruction" of all the State Theatres (National Theatre and National Opera) after the elections of 31st of March 1946. These controversial elections that had taken place under international supervision and had had a result strongly questioned by the Greek Communist Party, they were the first after ten years of dictatorship and foreign occupation. V. Kondis, 'Οι εκλογές του 1946 και η έναρξη του Εμφύλιου Πολέμου', *Ιστορία του Ελληνικού Έθνους Ιστ': Σύγχρονος Ελληνισμός : Από το 1941 έως το τέλος του αιώνα*, Athens 2000, 119.

³⁶ R. Manou, *Ελληνικό Χορόδραμα 1950-1960*, Athens 1961, 21

³⁷ E. Fessa- Emmanouil, 'Ραλλού Μάνου (1915-1988): Η ιστορική και διαχρονική αξία του χοροθεατρικού της έργου', In: Ch. Vassilakou and a group of theatre historians, *Αρχείο Ραλλούς Μάνου: Η ζωή και το έργο*, Athens 2005, 55-56.

³⁸ M. Handjidakis, 'Ελληνικό Χορόδραμα: πώς το βλέπει ο καλλιτεχνικός διευθυντής του' [Helliniko Chorodrama: the views of its artistic director], *Εκλογή* 65, 3/1951, 37.

³⁹ Manou, *Ελληνικό χορόδραμα*, 16. Words italicized by the author of the article.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁴¹ Fessa, Ραλλού Μάνου, 61.

⁴² R. Manou, *Χορός «...ου των ραδίων...ούσαν την τέχνην...» Λουκιανός (περί ορχήσεως)*, Athens 1988, 45-46.

⁴³ A performance by the Helliniko Chorodrama composed by two or three ballets. For example, in its first series of shows, from March to May 1951, it presented in the same evening *Marsyas*, *Exi laikes zografies* and *To Katarameno Fidi*. The first one was based on an ancient myth, the second on rebetico songs and the latter on a well-know Karaghiozi's (folk shadow theatre) drama.

⁴⁴ X. Greffe, *La filière du tourisme culturel, gage de l'importance économique des arts*, *Arts et artistes au miroir de l'économie*, Paris 2002, 36-38. Also: 1) G.H. Tsigantes, "Ένα τουριστικόν μάθημα: Η εκδρομή εις την Αίγινα της Περιηγητικής Λέσχης (ή πώς είναι δυνατόν να προσελκύονται οι ξένοι.)" [A tourist lesson: The trip to Egina organised by Tourist Club (or how it is possible to attract the foreigners)], *Η Καθημερινή* 22/06/1950. 2) K. Paraschos, 'Τουρισμός και τέχνη: Η χορευτική εορτή Αιγίνης' [Tourism and art: The dance fair in Egina], *Εθνικός Κήρυξ* 27/06/1950. 3) G.J.K, 'Τέχνη και εκδρομισμός: Καλλιτεχνική γιορτή στην Αίγινα' [Art and travelling: An art fair in Egina], *Η Μάχη* 27/06/1950.

The following images have been removed from the online version of this article for copyright reasons:

Pl. 1. Giannis Tsarouhis, stage and costume designs for G. Hortatzis' *Erofilii*, 1934, Folk Stage.

Pl. 2. Nikos Hatzikyriakos Ghikas, stage design for Molière' *La jalousie de barbouillé*, 1938, New Drama School, tempera on wood. Greek Theatre Museum' Collection.

Pl. 3. Nikos Eggonopoulos, stage design for Sophocles' *Elektra*, 1939, M. Kotopoulos' Company, tempera, Lena and Erietti Eggonopoulos' Collection.

Pl. 4. Giannis Moralis, stage and costume design for Manos Hadjidakis' [Six folk pictures] (detail), 1951, Hellenic Chorodrama, tempera, Artist' Collection.

Pl. 5. Spyros Vassilou, stage and costume design for Mikis Theorakis' [Greek Carnival], 1954, Hellenic Chorodrama, watercolour, Greek Theatre Museum' Collection.