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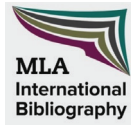
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DOAJ

İÇİNDEKİLER / *CONTENTS*

Araştırma Makaleleri / *Research Articles*

Politisches Theater oder Theater politisch machen? Brecht im deutschsprachigen Theater der Gegenwart

Political Theater or Making Theater Political? Brecht's Influence on Contemporary German-Language Theatre

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ABSTRACT (DEUTSCH)

Das deutschsprachige Theater der Gegenwart zeichnet sich durch eine große Bandbreite an ästhetischen und dramaturgischen Formen aus. Eine überwiegende Mehrzahl von ihnen kann man als Regietheater bezeichnen, die sich mehr oder weniger auf die Ästhetik, Theorie und Theaterarbeit von Brecht zurückführen lassen. Jahrelang wurde der Einfluss Brechts kaum mehr bewusst wahrgenommen, dies ändert sich seit der Jahrtausendwende, seit 9/11, Finanzkrise und drohendem Klimawandel. Neben einem aktuellen Überblick über avancierte Formen des deutschsprachigen Gegenwartstheaters soll aufgezeigt werden, dass sich heute eher gegensätzliche Ästhetiken wie der dramatisch-soziale Realismus auf der einen und postdramatisches Theater auf der anderen Seite gleichermaßen als Erb*innen Brechts verstehen. Politisches Theater machen oder Theater politisch machen, der Bezug auf Brechts Schaustücke oder auf Brechts Lehrstücke setzt differente Schwerpunkte, die sich auch auf den Schauspielstil des Gegenwartstheaters allgemein auswirken. Die dialektische Differenz zwischen Rolle und Schauspieler*in stellt im deutschsprachigen avancierten Theater eher den Normalfall dar, auch wenn es sich jeweils anders ästhetisch ausprägt. Jüngere Theatermacher*innen entdecken zudem vermehrt den revolutionären Brecht, etwa im Engagement des Theaters gegen die zunehmende Ungerechtigkeit und den Klimawandel.

Schlüsselwörter: Brecht, Gegenwartstheater, Theater politisch machen, Sozialer Realismus, postdramatisches Theater

ABSTRACT

A diverse range of aesthetic and dramatic forms characterizes contemporary German-language theater. The vast majority of them are directors' theaters, which can be traced back to Brecht's aesthetics, theory, and theatrical work. For many years, Brecht's influence went unnoticed, but that has changed since the millennium's turn, with 9/11, the financial crisis, and the threat of climate change. In addition to providing a current overview of advanced forms of contemporary German-language theater, this study shows that today, seemingly opposing aesthetics, such as dramatic-social realism on the one hand and post-dramatic theater on the other hand, see themselves as heirs to Brecht. Making political theater or making theater political, the reference to Brecht's "Schaustücke" or

Brecht's "Lehrstücke" establishes different priorities, which influence the acting style of contemporary theater in general. Even if it is aesthetically different in each case, the dialectic difference between role and actor is more common in German-speaking state-of-the-art theater. Younger theater-makers are also increasingly discovering the revolutionary Brecht, as evidenced by the theater's commitment to combating increasing injustice and climate change.

Keywords: Brecht, contemporary theater, making theater political, social realism, post-dramatic theater

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Contemporary German-language theater is characterized by many aesthetic and dramaturgical forms, for example, creative director's theater, radical director's theater, virtuoso actor's theater, and author-focused productions. Pop aesthetics, post-humanist theater, narrative theater and the "authenticity" of the documentary, a theater of experience, and stylistic elements of new bourgeoisie, post-dramatic theater, performance (art) and installations, video games, overwriting, and poor theater in empty space, are all available on the stages. The vast majority of them are directors' theaters, which can be traced back to Brecht's aesthetics, theory and theatrical work. For many years, Brecht's influence was hardly noticed, but that has changed since the millennium's turn, with 9/11, the financial crisis, and the threat of climate change. In the theater, irony and general relativization have given way to a new seriousness, as opposed to the situation in the 1990s. Postmodernism appears to be largely pragmatic in its process of historicization, whereas its achievements, such as the deconstruction of stereotypes and the withdrawal of expectations of normalcy, have fortunately become somewhat commonplace. Older and younger representatives of current directorial theater such as Pinar Karabulut, Claudia Bauer, Toshiki Okada, Jan-Christoph Gockel, Anne Lenk, Nicolas Stemann, Yael Ronen, Dusan David Parizek, Leonie Böhm, Karin Henkel, Karin Beier, Helgard Haug, Michael Thalheimer, Sebastian Nübling, and Christopher Rüping all work with and in the Brecht tradition. As is well known, the viewer should not empathize with Brecht, but rather take a detached, reflective stance. Brecht felt that the actors had more to tell about their roles than to play them in illusionistic manner, so that the character in the role did not invite too much empathy. This had an impact on the director's work. The approach should be inductive rather than deductive. Thus, in the production process, especially in rehearsals, the astonished attitude of the actors must be organized, and the productivity of everyone involved must be aroused. Under no circumstances should the director arrive at the theater with an idea, a plan, or a vision. The rehearsal should be used to experiment; it should always open up new perspectives and allow you to try out innovative ways of playing. This must lead to a dialectical enrichment of the staging in the performance, which today is the basis of the works of Frank Castorf, Christoph Marthaler, or Leonie Böhm, kept postmodern openly in deconstruction or in the post-dramatic theater of René Pollesch, Claudia Bauer, and Alexander Giesche. For Brecht, the director had to create crises to discover

what was not a solution. The audience should see and feel the performance's crises, resistance, mistakes, corrections, and objections. This manifestation of resistance is effectively rooted in the aesthetics and dramaturgy of contemporary German-speaking theater. Today, opposing aesthetics, such as dramatic-social realism and post-dramatic theater see themselves as heirs to Brecht. As Pollesch observes, Thomas Ostermeier and Oliver Reese appear to lean more toward Brecht's "Schaustücke," whereas Pollesch leans more toward Brecht's "Lehrstücke." When viewed in this way, Brecht's gesture precipitated two contradictory developments in contemporary theater: On the one hand, Brecht defines gesture as a post-dramatic, performative theater of effectiveness that breaks up the dialectic and makes it impossible to assign meaning and thus shape to the other. On the other hand, a new social realism attempts to recognize the typical, social, economic, and political structures dispassionately and convey them in a slightly alienated manner. A peculiar dialectic difference exists between role and actor in the tradition of epic theater, which is more the norm in German-speaking advanced theater, even if it is aesthetically different in each case. Recently, younger theater-makers have been increasingly rediscovering the revolutionary Brecht, for example, in the fight against inequality, as in Nora Abdel-Maksoud's productions, or in the theater's commitment to combating climate change, as in the Theater of the Anthropocene.

Für die regelmäßige, auch gelegentliche Theatergänger*in eröffnet sich im deutschsprachigen Theater gegenwärtig – und hier wird nur geringfügig übertrieben – ein Theaterparadies, zumindest was Quantität, Qualität und Vielfalt des Angebots an Inszenierungen auf deutschsprachigen Bühnen betrifft. Zu sehen bekommen die Besucher*innen kreatives Regietheater, radikales Regisseur*innentheater, virtuoses Schauspieler*innentheater und der Autor*in verpflichtete Inszenierungen. Die Bühnen bieten Popästhetik, posthumanistisches Theater, Erzähltheater und die Authentizität' des Dokumentarischen, ein Theater der Erfahrung sowie Stilelemente neuer Bürgerlichkeit, postdramatisches Theater, Performance (Art) und Installationen, Video-Spiele, Überschreibungen und armes Theater im leeren Raum.[1] Die in diesem Zusammenhang interessante Frage lautet, ob das heutige vielseitige deutschsprachige Gegenwartstheater nicht in Gänze oder zumindest in der überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Fälle als Regietheater begriffen werden kann, das sich auf die Überlegungen, Theorien und die Theaterarbeit Brechts stützt. Zumindest kann man die These vertreten, dass im hochsubventionierten institutionellen Feld des deutschsprachigen Gegenwartstheaters Brecht zum einen immer mehr oder weniger an den dort entwickelten Perspektiven beteiligt ist. Zum anderen ist er so fundamental beteiligt, dass man ihn oft gar nicht mehr bemerkt. Doch seit einiger Zeit ist Brecht auch in der allgemeinen Aufmerksamkeit wieder stark vertreten. Im Vergleich zu den 1990er Jahren, nach dem 11. September 2001 und erst recht nach der Finanzkrise 2007, wurden Ironie und allgemeine Relativierungen durch eine neue Ernsthaftigkeit auch im Theater abgelöst. Die Postmoderne scheint sich weitgehend im Prozess ihrer Historisierung pragmatisch einzurichten, während ihre Errungenschaften wie die Dekonstruktion von Stereotypen und der Entzug von Normalitätserwartungen glücklicherweise ein Stück weit selbstverständlich geworden sind. Eine wie auch immer sich ausprägende ‚Brechtrenaissance' in den Spielplänen verdeckt jedoch, dass, so meine These, Brecht grundsätzlich die Basis des deutschsprachigen Gegenwartstheaters, sowohl in den Inszenierungen als auch in den Theatertexten wie auch im Schauspielen, immer war und ist. Ältere und jüngere Vertreter des aktuellen Regietheaters wie Jan-Christoph Gockel, Anne Lenk, Christian Stückl, Dusan David Parizek, Leonie Böhm, Michael Thalheimer, Sebastian Nübling und Christopher Rüping arbeiten mit und in der Brechttradition. Leider scheint man sich dessen gar nicht mehr in allen Fällen bewusst zu sein. Brechts Einfluss ist auch heute noch so groß, dass er sowohl die Grundlage für ‚realistische' Inszenierungen wie die von Thomas Ostermeier als auch postdramatisch-dekonstruktivistische Theaterformen wie Sebastian Hartmanns bildet. Er ist die Folie für den gegenwärtig nicht mehr ganz so aktuellen, eher untergründig schwelenden Streit um eine den unsicheren Verhältnissen adäquate Dramaturgie: Soll auf der einen Seite mit mehr oder weniger ‚realistischem' Rollenspiel wie in den Überschreibungen von Simon Stone, man denke an seine „Drei Schwestern", oder wie in Anne Lenks „Maria Stuart" reale Welt mehr oder weniger mimetisch repräsentiert oder soll auf der anderen Seite in der Präsenz der Performer*in, wie in „Show Me A Good Time" von Gob Squad, inszeniert, (re-)präsentiert, produziert bzw. dekonstruiert werden?

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1   Vgl. Andreas Englhart, *Das Theater der Gegenwart* (München: C.H.Beck, 2013).

Bild 1: Gob Squad: Show Me A Good Time. Juni 2020, Berlin, HAU - Hebbel am Ufer; Foto: Dorothea Tuch.

Wäre eine eher traditionell-dramatische oder eine nichtdramatische Struktur zu wählen? Ist politisches Theater heute eher in der Vermittlung von politisch wie gesellschaftlich relevanten und brisanten Themen in einer Konfliktdramaturgie, wie noch bei Stefan Pucher, Martin Kusej, Mateja Koleznik oder bei Falk Richter zumindest angedeutet, oder in der Unterbrechung von Bedeutungszuweisung bzw. in einem Theater als Ritual wie in Thom Luz Ästhetiken zu finden?

Der unlängst verstorbene Johann Kresnik, Vertreter eines dezidiert politischen Tanztheaters, meinte auf die Frage zum politischen Theater, dass man, wenn man heute echte Flüchtlinge auf die Bühne bringt, nicht darüber reflektiere, wieso es Flüchtlinge gäbe.[2] Dies verweist zumindest indirekt auf die Frage, ob man gegenwärtig politisches Theater und/oder Theater politisch macht bzw. ob man, und das wäre eine weitere spannende Unterscheidung, politisches Theater und/oder Theater politisch machen sollte? Selbstverständlich lassen sich weder dramatische noch theatrale Texte, also Dramen bzw. Theatertexte und Aufführungen bzw. Inszenierungen diesen beiden polarisierten ästhetischen Positionierungen trennscharf zuteilen. Dies umso mehr als heute neben allen reflektierenden Grabenkämpfen an sich alles möglich und in bestimmten Grenzen (die sich institutionell bzw. lokal am jeweiligen Tendenzbetrieb Theater einrichten)

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2   Johann Kresnik, *„Den Körper in den Kampf werfen". Johann Kresnik im Gespräch mit Ulrike Timm*, https://www. deutschlandfunkkultur.de/choreograf-johann-kresnik-den-koerper-in-den-kampf-werfen.970.de.html?dram:article_ id=433708.

auch erlaubt, wenn nicht gefordert ist. Brechts Gestus initiierte für das Gegenwartstheater zwei Entwicklungen, die sich eigentlich widersprechen: Zum einen den Gestus nach Brecht als postdramatisches, performatives Theater der Wirksamkeit, das die Dialektik aufbrach und Bedeutungs- und somit Gestaltzuweisungen gegenüber dem Anderen verunmöglichte.[3] Zum anderen einen neuen sozialen Realismus, der das Typische, die gesellschaftlichen, ökonomischen und politischen Strukturen unromantisch zu erkennen wie zu vermitteln sucht. Postdramatisches oder performatives Theater reagierte seit den 1960er-Jahren auf die Überkomplexität und ubiquitäre Theatralität der sozialen, politischen, wirtschaftlichen, biologisch-physikalischen und privaten Welt. Den gültigen Codes, mentalen Stereotypen sowie traditionellen Gestaltungen im Rollenspiel wären das Unperfekte, der Fehler, das Versagen oder gar psychische und physische Verletzungen bis hin zum Tod entgegenzusetzen. She She Pop verbündeten sich in der „Relevanz-Show" mit dem gewöhnlichen Publikum, forderten in „50 Grades of Shame" in der Tradition des Living Theatres zur Orgie der nicht allzu attraktiven Körper im Zuschauerraum auf, Gob Squad spielten in „Super Night Show" mit auf den Straßen der Stadt zufällig angetroffenen Passant*innen dilettantisch Liebesszenen. Alle Beteiligten erkannten: Der Andere, der sich in seiner Unähnlichkeit in nichts von mir unterscheidet, wäre genauso peinlich und unperfekt wie ich. René Polleschs zentrale Kritik ist dementsprechend die an der Ähnlichkeit im erkennbar Dramatischen. Wir spielen alle unsere Rollen, aber im Bewusstsein einer knallharten Normalität und eines Normalisierungsdrucks irgendwie immer zu schlecht. Gerade weil jeder gerne relevant wäre, einen perfekten Körper hätte und eine perfekte Rolle spielen wolle, gerate er in die Normalisierungsfalle, was durch die Präsentation unzusammenhängender Bedeutungsangebote und das Subvertieren jeder Perfektion und Professionalität zu dekonstruieren wäre.[4] Dialektisch gesehen schlüge jedoch, so die Kritik an dieser postmodernen Theaterästhetik, in der gesuchten Unähnlichkeit der Solipsismus der reinen Selbstbezüglichkeit des Subjekts zurück. Von Thomas Ostermeier („Plädoyer für ein realistisches Theater") und Milo Rau („Was tun?") bis hin zu Peter Laudenbach und Bernd Stegemann („Lob des Realismus", „Kritik des Theaters") wird dieser eine originäre biedermeierliche politische Naivität unterstellt. Performer*innen erzeugten nur Aufmerksamkeit über Präsenzeffekte, der performative Freiraum würde nach Frank M. Raddatz („Das mimetische Dilemma"), der die Möglichkeit der Grenzüberschreitung im schillerschen Spiel propagiert, eher das Herrschende bestätigen.[5] Weder Produzierende noch Rezipierende lernten etwas

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3 Vgl. auf Überlegungen von Richard Schechner bauend und eine Entwicklung seit den 1960er-Jahren zusammenfassssend: Hans-Thies Lehmann, *Tragödie und dramatisches Theater* (Berlin: Alexander, 2013).

4 Vgl. zur „Normalität", die nicht mit der „Norm" verwechselt werden sollte: Jürgen Link, *Versuch über den Normalismus. Wie Normalität produziert wird* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck&Ruprecht, 2009).

5 Vgl. Milo Rau, *Globaler Realismus* (Berlin: Verbrecher, 2018); Milo Rau, *Was tun? Kritik der postmodernen Vernunft* (Zürich: Kein & Aber 2013); Philipp Ruch, *Wenn nicht wir, wer dann? Ein politisches Manifest* (München: Ludwig 2015); Bernd Stegemann, *Kritik des Theaters* (Berlin: Theater der Zeit 2013); Bernd Stegemann, *Lob des Realismus* (Berlin: Theater der Zeit 2015); Thomas Ostermeier, „Erkenntnisse über die Wirklichkeit des menschlichen Miteinanders. Plädoyer für ein realistisches Theater", in *Kräfte messen. Das Körber Studio Junge Regie. Bd. 6*,ed. Kai-Michael Hartig (Hamburg: Körber Stiftung 2009), 48–51; Frank M. Raddatz, „Das mimetische Dilemma", in *Lettre International* 114/2016: 76–81.

über tatsächliche Macht- und Wirtschaftsstrukturen, die erlaubten, dass wenige Macht und Geld hätten, viele jedoch arm, ohne Einfluss und unwissend wären. Die Ibsen-Produktion „Gespenster" des Kollektivs Markus&Markus, in der Performer und betroffenes Publikum eine alte Frau in den Suizid begleiten, das Publikum ,authentisches' Sterben im Videofilm miterlebt, provozierte hitzige Diskussionen. Doch die Attraktion beruhte insbesondere auf dem schockierenden Präsenzeffekt des Sterbens. Keineswegs versuchten Markus&Markus, die gesellschaftliche Situation zu erhellen, in der eine alte Frau ,freiwillig' den Tod suchte, in der in einer neoliberalen Effizienzgesellschaft ihrer offensichtlichen Altersdepression attraktive Angebote zur aktiv-leichten Sterbehilfe gegenüberstanden; wieso verweigerten Markus&Markus eine wie auch immer gestaltete Darstellung von eindeutigen Machtstrukturen? Weil, vor postmodern philosophierendem Hintergrund, jede Eindeutigkeit als Reduktion einer angeblich unendlichen Komplexität totalitär gegenüber dem Anderen wäre, weil in der Tradition althusserschem Posthumanismus das leidende Subjekt nicht im Zentrum theatral-postdramatischer Theoriebildung stünde. Diesen Posthumanismus in seiner negativen Perspektivierung allen an der Avantgarde orientierten spannenden Theaterexperimenten unterzuschieben, wäre sicher ungerecht. Aber tendenziell scheinen Denkmuster des Posthumanismus gut anschlussfähig an dekonstruktivistische Ansätze zu sein.

Dennoch wäre noch mal die Frage Kresniks aufzugreifen, was echte Flüchtende bzw. Schutzsuchende auf der Theaterbühne eines politischen Theaters zu suchen hätten. Ostermeier fordert deswegen ein realistisches Theater, das die soziale Gegenwart nicht eins zu eins widerspiegelte, sondern das Wesen des menschlichen Miteinanders in der Inszenierung des Anderen erfasst, insbesondere versteckte Macht- und Wirtschaftsbeziehungen entdeckt, diskutiert sowie kritisiert. Der Intendant der Schaubühne bezichtigt postmodern-performatives Theater der Kapitulation vor einer angeblich zu komplexen Wirklichkeit des Anderen, es bliebe programmatisch unentschieden; er würde gar von einem „kapitalistischen Realismus sprechen, weil diese Kunstform, ähnlich wie der sozialistische Realismus des Ostblocks, nichts anderes tut, als das Weltbild des Kapitalismus zu bestätigen und so keine Gefahr für die herrschende Doktrin darstellt."[6] In Ostermeiers Inszenierung von Ibsens „Volksfeind" (2012), die durch globale Regionen und Städte wie Berlin, Moskau, Neu Delhi, Istanbul oder Minsk tourte, öffneten die Figuren, ohne aus der Rolle zu fallen, die Diskussion über Ethik, Moral, Ideale und lokale Realpolitik für das Publikum, nachdem Dr. Stockmann im 4. Akt seine berühmte Rede, angereichert mit Auszügen aus dem situationistisch-linken Manifest „Der kommende Aufstand" des Unsichtbaren Komitees, gehalten hat. In den oft hitzig-engagierten Diskussionen wurde das realistische Rollenspiel so weit wie möglich fortgeführt, wiewohl performative Elemente stärker betont wurden. Das Publikum war und spielte die von Dr. Stockmann einberufene öffentliche Anhörung, es funktionierte als Kulisse wie als reale lokale Bürgerversammlung.

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6   Thomas Ostermeier, „Erkenntnisse über die Wirklichkeit des menschlichen Miteinanders. Plädoyer für ein realistisches Theater", 50.

Bild 2: Henrik Ibsen: Ein Volksfeind, R.: Thomas Ostermeier, Premiere 2012 Berliner Schaubühne; Foto: Susanne Burkhardt.

Ostermeier vermied mit seinem realistischen Inszenierungsstil dezidiert, den Handelnden ihre schon von Ibsen intendierte Grauzeichnung zu nehmen. Die Figuren offenbaren im Spiel das weite Feld zwischen Auflehnung und Anpassung, ethisch redend und doch in der Entscheidung die eigenen Interessen nicht aus den Augen verlierend, widerstehend und ängstlich zugleich. Man konnte sich mit einigem Mut zur Selbsterkenntnis in allen Figuren als das inszenierte Andere spiegeln, erkannte in einem Theater der Neoaufklärung die eigenen Determinationen und einrichtenden Machtbeziehungen sowie -strukturen wieder. Mit Brecht ging es in Ostermeiers sozialem Realismus um Widersprüche, die sich dialektisch zumindest in der Erkenntnis des Drückenden zur Aufführung brachten, während zugleich eine neue Gesellschaftsordnung gefordert wurde. Neuer Realismus, Gesellschaftskritik und Aufruf zur Revolution ließen wieder eine Utopie zu und hatten den Mut zur Aufdeckung von Strukturen wie zur eindeutigen Benennung der Schuldigen.

Paradoxerweise können sich also beide ästhetische Richtungen, der soziale Realismus wie auch das postdramatische Theater, jeweils auf Brecht berufen. Wenn man den Konflikt sehr vereinfacht auf den Punkt bringen will, dann geht es darum, ob man den dialektischen Prozess in den Proben wie auch in der Rezeption der Inszenierung postmodern offen hält und darin eine Utopie im Entzug in der unendlichen Semiose und im Einbruch des Realen sieht oder ob man ihn im Dienste einer dramatisch-repräsentierenden Wiedergabe der aktuellen Machtverhältnisse in eine bestimmte Richtung ausrichtet, die wieder so etwas wie eine dramatisch vermittelte Utopie erlaubt. Idealerweise kombiniert man dramatische Konflikt- und

Überschreitungsdramaturgien, wie etwa Dusan David Parizek in „Die lächerliche Finsternis" oder Jan-Christoph Gockel in „Eure Paläste sind leer" oder Christopher Rüping in „Dionysos Stadt" oder aktueller in dessen „Einfach das Ende der Welt".

Bild 3: Thomas Köck: Eure Paläste sind leer (all we ever wanted), R.: Jan-Christoph Gockel, Münchner Kammerspiele 2021, Foto: Armin Smailovic.

Parizek, Gockel und Rüping bieten keine illusionäre Dramaturgie, die Brecht bekanntermaßen ablehnte; insbesondere der Naturalismus beschränke sich, so Brecht, auf Milieuschilderungen, ahme nur die soziale Realität nach. Das ist eine der vielen Gründe (neben Theaterreform oder (Neo)avantgarde etwa), wieso Mimesis und Repräsentation heute so einen schlechten Ruf im Gegenwartstheater haben und man zum Beispiel die Stücke von Yasmina Reza, Juli Zeh oder Lutz Hübner gerne als Trivialdramatik abtut.

Brecht selbst hätte wohl gestaunt oder es als produktive Dialektik begriffen, wenn er noch erlebt hätte, wie weit sich ästhetisch und dramaturgisch seine theoretischen Überlegungen und seine Theaterarbeit heute in den verschiedenen aktuellen Inszenierungen weit ausdifferenziert wiederfinden lassen. Für ihn, wie bekannt, verkörpere episches Theater in der Nachahmung nicht, sondern erzähle, jede Szene stehe für sich und nicht für eine abzubildende Wirklichkeit, die Handlung verlaufe nicht im aristotelischen Sinne dramatisch kausal bzw. linear.[7] Auch

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7   Bertolt Brecht, „Anmerkungen zur Oper „Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny" (1930)", in *Bertolt Brecht. Werke. Große kommentierte Berliner und Frankfurter Ausgabe*, Band 24, ed.Werner Hecht u. a. (Berlin, Weimar, Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1991), 74-86.

im Schauspielen orientiere man sich nicht an der Stanislawskischule, insbesondere nicht am Filmacting nach Michael Tschechow, Lee Strasberg oder Stella Adler. In seinem Traktat der Straßenszene aus dem Jahre 1940 explizierte Brecht seine Vorstellung einer zeitgemäßen Schauspielästhetik: In ihr sollten die Protagonist*innen wie bei der Beschreibung eines Unfalls durch Passant*innen nur so viel andeuten, dass sich diejenigen, die nicht dabei waren und denen hier gestisch etwas angezeigt wurde, ein Bild machen können.[8] Wenn man Fabian Hinrichs sich in René Polleschs „Stadt als Beute" oder „Ich schaue dir in die Augen, gesellschaftlicher Verblendungszusammenhang" ausagieren sieht, vermutet man, wie Spielen für Brecht heute aussehen könnte. Mit der forcierten Vermeidung einer einfühlenden Illusion strebte Brecht einen eigenen ‚Realismus' an, der in der Nachahmung des menschlichen Verhaltens den sozialen Hintergrund nicht ausspart. Das auf der Bühne Gespielte durfte seinen Zeichencharakter in keinem Moment verleugnen, eigentlich eine Theaterroutine heute, man denke nur an die theatralen Installationen Susanne Kennedys oder an die kreativen Ausdeutungen Antú Romero Nunes. Die immer sichtbar bleibende Differenz zwischen gespielter Realität und Bühnenrealität arbeitete dem von Brecht geforderten Akt der Verfremdung zu. Damit wurde eine gesellschaftliche Situation auf der Bühne wie in einem wissenschaftlichen Experiment untersucht und als grundsätzlich veränderbar begriffen. Vermieden werden sollte, dass die theatrale wie die gesellschaftliche Situation als ewig bestehende anthropologische Konstante gesehen wird, heute würden wir von aufzulösenden Fluchtpunkten in einer grundsätzlich abzulehnenden Metaphysik der Substanz sprechen. In diesem Sinne spielt Sandra Hüller bei Johann Simons einen furiosen „Hamlet", ohne dass dies weiter auffallen würde. Die zugrunde liegenden gesellschaftlichen Strukturen sollten als Konstruktion verstanden werden, daran knüpfen performative Ansätze wie von Judith Butler und Gender Performances, aber eben auch dramatisches Theater wie Ostermeiers oder Simon Stones an. Ostermeiers „Volksfeind" wird so, ohne das erzählende dramatische Gerüst zu verlassen, eine experimentelle Folie, auf der in jedem Land, in das man auf Tournee kommt, in jeder lokalen politischen Struktur das immer gleiche Spiel von Idealismus, Opportunismus, Macht und Wirtschaftsinteressen diskutiert werden kann. Das eint wohl einen bedeutenden Teil des avancierten Gegenwartstheaters mit Brecht: Eine Zuschauer*in sollte sich nicht einfühlen, sondern eine distanziert-reflektierende Haltung einnehmen. Damit die Rollenfigur nicht zu sehr zur Einfühlung einlud, hatten für Brecht die Schauspieler*innen ihre Rolle mehr zu erzählen als illusionistisch zu spielen. Das hatte auch Folgen für die Arbeit der Regisseur*in, oder, wie sie Brecht 1939 nannte, des Probenleiters.[9] Die Regie solle induktiv, nicht deduktiv vorgehen. Im Produktionsprozess, insbesondere in der Probe gehe es darum, „die staunende Haltung der Schauspieler" zu „organisieren" und

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8   Bertolt Brecht, „Die Straßenszene. Grundmodell einer Szene epischen Theaters (1940)", in *Bertolt Brecht. Werke. Große kommentierte Berliner und Frankfurter Ausgabe. Band 22.1*, ed. Werner Hecht u. a. (Berlin, Weimar, Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp), 1993, 370-381.

9   Vgl. hierzu und zu dem Folgenden: Andreas Englhart, „Brecht als Regisseur im Theater der Gegenwart", in *Der Deutschunterricht* 6/2015: 52-60.

die Produktivität aller Beteiligten „zu wecken".[10] Der Probenleiter solle keinesfalls „mit einer ‚Idee', oder ‚Vision', einem ‚Plan der Stellungen' und einer ‚fertigen Dekoration'" ins Theater kommen.[11] Das kannten wir schon von Peter Zadek, das beobachten wir weiterhin bei Leonie Böhm. Die Probe soll, so Brecht, zum Ausprobieren werden, es sollen immer viele Perspektiven eröffnet, mehrere Möglichkeiten des Spielens erprobt werden. Dies müsse dialektisch zu einer Anreicherung der Inszenierung in der Aufführung führen, anarchisch radikalisiert wäre es heute die Grundlage der Arbeiten von Frank Castorf oder Christoph Marthaler, postmodern offen gehalten in der Dekonstruktion bzw. im Diskurstheater René Polleschs. Für Brecht müsse der Regisseur „Krisen entfesseln", der Probenleiter müsse zugeben, dass er „nicht immer ‚die' Lösung weiß und parat hat". Seine Autorität beruhe eher darauf, dass man ihm zutraue, herauszufinden, „was keine Lösung ist".[12] Da die Schauspieler*innen meist den schnellen Effekt bzw. Rollenzugriff suchen würden, hätte die Regisseur*in ständig Fragen, Hindernisse, Anlässe zum Zweifel beizusteuern. Die Regisseur*in müsse erreichen, dass sich die Schauspieler*innen oder die sonstigen Beteiligten fragen: „‚warum sage ich das? und warum sagt dieser das?' Er muss sogar erreichen, dass sie sagen: ‚ich (oder diese) könnte doch besser dies oder das sagen'".[13] „Das anfängliche Stutzen und Widersprechen, wenn eine bestimmte Antwort erzielt wurde", solle, so Brecht, „nicht ganz aus der Gestaltung" verschwinden „beim weiteren Verlauf der Proben". Damit auch der Zuschauer „Gelegenheit zu diesem Stutzen und Widersprechen" habe, sollen die Krisen, Widerstände, Fehler, Korrekturen sowie Einwände in der Aufführung sicht- und spürbar bleiben: „Der Zuschauer soll die ‚Lösung' als eine besondere, aber das gewisse Zufällige noch enthaltende sehen, das ja in Wirklichkeit ihr anhaftet". She She Pops „Sieben Schwestern" tragen in diesem Sinne die aktuellen Ungeschicklichkeiten der Performer*innen in die Begegnung mit den tschechowschen Figuren. Beispielgebend hierfür wären auch die letzten Arbeiten von Leonie Böhm und Sebastian Hartmann. Böhm versucht in ihrer „Medea", nach(!) Euripides, theatral und in nicht nur behaupteter Kooperation mit der Schauspielerin Maja Beckmann und dem Musiker Johannes Rieder, den emotionalen Kern, das komplexe Innenleben der Figur Medea zu erkunden.

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10   Bertolt Brecht, „Haltung des Probenleiters (bei induktivem Vorgehen) (1939)", in *Bertolt Brecht. Werke. Große kommentierte Berliner und Frankfurter Ausgabe. Band 22.1*, ed. Werner Hecht u. a. (Berlin, Weimar, Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp, 1993), 597-599, 598.
11   Bertolt Brecht, „Haltung des Probenleiters (bei induktivem Vorgehen) (1939)", 597.
12   Bertolt Brecht, „Haltung des Probenleiters (bei induktivem Vorgehen) (1939)", 597.
13   Bertolt Brecht, „Haltung des Probenleiters (bei induktivem Vorgehen) (1939)", 598.

Bild 4: (Nach) Euripides: Medea, R.: Leonie Böhm, Schauspielhaus Zürich 2020, Foto: Gina Folly.

Hartmann bricht mit seinen Schauspieler*innen den typisch deutschen Roman „Der Zauberberg" von Thomas Mann assoziierend auf, um die Krise vor dem ersten Weltkrieg gewinnbringend auf die Krise vor dem drohenden Klimawandel zu übertragen, oder er demonstriert in seinem „Lear / Die Politiker" die hohle Form der Macht des alten weißen Mannes, indem er unter anderem die Hauptrollen als Dialoge völlig streicht. Die Verantwortung für die am Abend gespielten Textfragmente werden zu einem unüblichen großen Teil an die Schauspieler*innen übertragen, die Krise in der Gesellschaft wird als Krise im Spiel körperlich getragen und (mit)erfahrbar. Damit demonstrieren die Probenarbeiten bei Böhm und Hartmann die gelungene Übertragung einer Forderung Brechts: Die Montage der Inszenierungsarbeit solle nicht zum Ergebnis eines „nietenlose(n) Ineinanderschweißen(s) der Details" führen, sondern „als eine logische Kette von Details, die noch Detailcharakter" aufweisen, erscheinen: „Gerade so kommt die Logik ihrer Aufeinanderfolge und ihres Ineinanderübergehens zur Geltung".[14] Diese dialektische Praxis grundierte auch die dann nicht mehr dialektisch in der Synthese schließende Montage etwa im heutigen dokumentarischen Theater von Rimini Protokoll oder in den Doku-Mashups von Jan-Christoph Gockel bzw. Überschreibungen (wenn es denn welche sind) von Nicolas Stemann. Sogar das Weihnachtsmärchen kommt in Stemanns „Schneewittchen. Beauty Queen" nicht ohne ständige Überblendungen aus anderen Stücken auf die lebendige Bühne, nicht ohne Kommentare der selbstbewusst gewordenen Figuren, deren Verweigerung eines stereotypisierenden Auftritts als bekannte Märchenfigur. Geboten

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14   Bertolt Brecht, „Haltung des Probenleiters (bei induktivem Vorgehen) (1939)", 598.

wird stattdessen der revolutionäre Gestus Schneewittchens, die sich weigert, den Zwergen oder irgendeinem Prinzen, schon gar nicht dem Theaterbetrieb zu Diensten zu sein.

Bild 5: Schneewittchen. Beauty Queen, R.: Nicolas Stemann, Schauspielhaus Zürich 2020, Foto: Zoé Aubry.

Und Gockels historisch-systematische Erkundungen der togolesisch-bayerischen Partnerschaft, „'Wir Schwarzen müssen zusammenhalten' – Eine Erwiderung" (so ein Originalzitat Franz Josef Strauß aus dem Jahr 1983), bricht Zeiten, Räume, Blickordnungen, Identitätszuweisungen so radikal an den kulturhistorischen Nähten auf, dass dahinter in der theatralen Recherche entlarvende strukturelle Ähnlichkeiten zwischen beiden, also den togolesischen und bayerischen, nur vordergründig verschiedenen Gesellschaftssystemen deutlich werden.

Heute ist den meisten Zeitgenoss*innen Brecht vor allem durch seine Stücke und seine theoretischen Reflexionen bekannt.[15] Nur: Machen wir uns vielleicht ein falsches Bild, wenn es um den Theatermacher und Regisseur Brecht geht? Die Brechtschauspielerin Regine Lutz behauptete, als sie in meinem Seminar zu Gast war, dass Brecht gar nicht brechtisch inszenierte, im Zweifel den auf Wirkung bedachten Theaterpraktiker dem dialektisch argumentierenden Theaterästhetiker vorzog. Wenn wir diese Aussage an den filmischen Aufzeichnungen des

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15   Einen guten Überblick bieten aktuell: David Barnett, *A History of the Berliner Ensemble* (Cambridge: University Press, 2015), und: Stephen Brockmann, ed., *Bertolt Brecht in Context* (Cambridge: University Press, 2021).

gerade 17-jährige Hans Jürgen Syberberg 1953 im Berliner Ensemble überprüfen (meines Wissens nach das einzige filmischen Probendokument aus Brechts Lebenszeit), darin Teile von Proben und Aufführungen aus Brechts „Herr Puntila und sein Knecht Matti" sehen, in denen Regine Lutz die Tochter Puntilas spielt, dann bemerken wir, dass etwa Curt Bois als Puntila in Kostüm an Chaplin erinnernd im Spiel mit dem Attaché ein prägnantes Beispiel für angewandte Meyerholdschen Biomechanik präsentiert.[16] Aber(!): Im Vergleich zur Spielpraxis im Gegenwartstheater, etwa mit den Arbeiten von Pinar Karabulut, Susanne Kennedy, von Thom Luz, Yael Ronen, Karin Beier, Antú Romero Nunes, Florentina Holzinger, Doris Uhlich, Toshiki Okada oder Anta Helena Recke wirkt Brecht 1953 doch erstaunlich konventionell. Dies bestätigt sich auch in den unlängst veröffentlichten Tondokumenten[17], die Brecht 1955 und 1956 in der Probenarbeit an seinem „Galilei" hören lassen, wobei sich das dialektische vor allem im typisierend Komischen auszuprägen scheint. Wie man mit aller quellenkritischer Vorsicht den filmischen Zeugnissen Syberbergs und den Tonquellen Suschkes entnehmen kann, bleibt die Handlung auch in der Inszenierung kausal nachvollziehbar, Ort und Zeit des Gespielten bleiben eindeutig erkennbar. Die Schauspieler*innen proben und agieren jede für sich immer in der Rolle, ihr Spiel ist, wenn auch auffällig gestisch-typisierend, weiterhin im deutlich gemachten Rahmen des Sozialen figurencharakterisierend, die Abstraktion im Bühnenraum hält sich in einem beschränkten Rahmen, die szenische Kohärenz bleibt etwa im Vergleich zur Ästhetik René Polleschs, Sebastian Hartmanns, Leonie Böhms oder Nicolas Stemanns erhalten. Nun: Sehen bzw. hören wir in Syberbergs Film und in den Aufzeichnungen Suschkes den Brecht, den Brecht eigentlich wollte? Wahrscheinlich nicht.[18] Auf die Frage: „Aber Sie arbeiten doch nicht mit eigentlichen Verfremdungen, wie Sie es in Ihrem ‚Kleinen Organon' anraten?", antwortet Brecht: „Nein. Wir sind nicht weit genug".[19] Das Theater sei wie ein „Schwimmer, der nur so schnell schwimmen kann, wie es ihm die Strömung und seine Kräfte erlauben."[20] Um seine Ziele zu erreichen, müsste er „die Schauspieler völlig umschulen". Ob das besser mit dem Brecht der „Lehrstücke" als mit dem Brecht der „Schaustücke" gelänge, wie es heute René Pollesch differenziert, wobei Pollesch sich in der Tradition der „Lehrstücke" sieht, während Oliver Reese als gegenwärtiger Intendant des Berliner Ensembles von Pollesch in die Ecke der weniger revolutionären „Schaustücke" gestellt wird, mag für uns höchst relevant sein. Ob es auch Brecht interessiert hätte, wissen wir nicht. Brecht meinte zumindest, dass die Theatermachenden wie die Zuschauenden erst noch „einen ziemlich hohen

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16   Hans Jürgen Syberberg, *Syberberg filmt bei BRECHT*, Berlin, (1953/1970).

17   *Brecht probt Galilei. 1955/56. Ein Mann, der keine Zeit mehr hat*. Originaltonaufnahmen. Ausgewählt und kommentiert von Stephan Suschke, Berlin speak low, 2020. Vgl. auch Florian Vaßen, Brecht – der „Probenleiter". Überlegungen zu Probe und Schauspielkunst, in *„einfach zerschmeissen". Brecht Material. Lyrik – Prosa – Theater – Lehrstück*, 350-354 (https://www.schibri.de/978-3-86863-218-7/einfach-zerschmeissen).

18   Vgl. hierzu im Detail: Andreas Englhart, Brecht als Regisseur im Theater der Gegenwart, in *Der Deutschunterricht* 6/2015, S. 52-60.

19   Bertolt Brecht, „Anmerkungen zur Oper „Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny" (1930)", 430.

20   Bertolt Brecht, „Anmerkungen zur Oper „Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny" (1930)", 430.

Bewusstseinsstand benötigen, Verständnis für Dialektik usw."[21] Da sollte definitiv noch etwas wirklich Veränderndes kommen, sowohl auf ästhetischer wie auf politischer Ebene – Brecht: „Ich wollte auf das Theater den Satz anwenden, dass es nicht nur darauf ankommt, die Welt zu interpretieren, sondern sie zu verändern".[22] Zitiert wird hier bekanntermaßen die elfte These über Feuerbach von Karl Marx: "Die Philosophen haben die Welt nur verschieden interpretiert; es kömmt drauf an sie zu verändern".[23] Daran würde das Zentrum für politische Schönheit direkt anschließen, nichts sei so wirksam wie die Feststellung von Verantwortlichkeit und die performative Tat, auch wenn diese, wie in der Aktion „Flüchtlinge fressen", höchst umstritten bleibt und die Frage provoziert, ob das überhaupt noch Theater wäre. Auch Milo Rau drängt uns wie in seinem „Neuen Evangelium", das die knallharte Ausbeutung bzw. Sklavenarbeit von Geflüchteten in der südeuropäischen Landwirtschaft, deren Produkte wir alle essen, zeigt, in die reale Verantwortung für das reale Leid.

Bild 6: Das Neue Evangelium, R.: Milo Rau, Matera 2020.

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21   Bertolt Brecht, „„Katzgraben"-Notate (1953)", in *Bertolt Brecht. Werke. Große kommentierte Berliner und Frankfurter Ausgabe. Band 25*, ed. Werner Hecht u. a. (Berlin, Weimar, Frankfurt/M.: Suhrkamp), 1994, 399-490, 430.
22   Bertolt Brecht, „„Katzgraben"-Notate (1953)", 401.
23   Karl Marx, „Exzerpte und Notizen Sommer 1844 bis Anfang 1847. Notizbuch aus den Jahren 1844-1847, 1) ad Feuerbach", in *Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels Gesamtausgabe (Mega), Vierte Abteilung, Bd. 3* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1998), 19-21, 14.

Im Rahmen dieses Beitrags kann man kaum im Detail auf die vielfältigen Spuren von Brecht eingehen, nur nochmal betonen, dass Brecht direkt und indirekt, bewusst und unbewusst sowohl politisches Theater machen wie Theater politisch machen im deutschsprachigen Gegenwartstheaters entscheidend mitbestimmt. Auch im Schauspielen hat sich Brecht auf breiter Ebene, auch hier oft unbewusst, eingetragen, stellt doch das Die-Rolle-neben-sich-Stellen im deutschsprachigen avancierten Theater eher den Normalfall dar, auch wenn es sich jeweils anders ästhetisch ausprägt. Und wie halten wir es mit der Revolution oder zumindest mit realen gesellschaftlichen Transformationen? Auch wenn Brecht sowohl die ästhetische Basis in der Regie wie im Schauspielen der mehr oder weniger dramatischen oder performativen Theaterarbeiten von Böhm bis Stemann, Karabulut bis Haug, Rüping bis Lenk, Gob Squad bis Parizek, Henkel bis Okada bildet, bedeutet das noch lange nicht, dass sich etwas zum Positiven verändert – die passive Reaktion des Publikums von Rüpings „Trommeln in der Nacht" mit neuem revolutionären Ende bestätigt dies aufs Neue. Aber es scheint tatsächlich gegenwärtig einiges in Bewegung zu geraten. Brecht scheint heute einige Theatermacher*innen neu zu motivieren – so fordert und erwartet Milo Rau in seinem globalen Realismus die Revolution; wir seien, so Rau, in Europa alle satte und dekadente Adelige, die den kommenden Umsturz aus dem marginalisierten „Rest" der Welt nicht kommen sehen. Nora Abdel-Maksoud experimentiert in ihrer politischen Farce „Jeeps" mit dem theatralen Modell, dass Erbschaften neuerdings per Los zugeteilt werden, um die Welt gerechter einzurichten. Vor allem auf einer anderen, gegenwärtig aufgrund der Pandemie etwas in den Hintergrund gerückten Folie, der des Klimawandels, wird man, wie uns Alexander Eisenach und das Theater des Anthropozän zeigt, um radikale Veränderungen nicht herumkommen.

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Research Article / *Araştırma Makalesi*

Rewriting Women and Trauma: Zinnie Harris's
This Restless House

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to argue that Zinnie Harris's This Restless House, which is a *rewriting of Aeschylus' The Oresteia,* is an attempt to give voice to Clytemnestra's and Electra's disregarded wounds, claiming that overlooked and/or suppressed traumas demand to be communicated on stage, seeking justice and solace. The act of rewriting by women is also interpreted as an act of reckoning for the trauma of the negation/misrepresentation of the female voice in the canon. Thus, rewriting a classical play functions on two levels, it helps moving female characters and their traumas centre stage, and with the attendance of the live audience the play experiments with the experience of bearing witness to and transmission of women's traumatic stories. In the light of trauma theory, acting-out & working-through, hauntology, bearing witness and testimony, this article explores staging uncommunicable traumas and the transmission of traumatic experience through retelling and re-enacting.
Keywords: Zinnie Harris, *This Restless House*, trauma, acting-out and working-through, rewriting

1. Introduction

Elie Wiesel suggests that *"[i]f the Greeks invented tragedy [...] our generation invented a new literature, that of testimony"*[1]; in her feminist and distinctive rewriting of Aeschylus' *The Oresteia*, Zinnie Harris is able to synthesize Greek tragedy with our literature of testimony. In *This Restless House*, she relocates the play to the present time and decentres the male characters to give voice to Clytemnestra and Electra as traumatized characters who are haunted by the past.

In the Attic tragedy of Aeschylus, Clytemnestra and Electra are important characters, yet they are not central to the play, their stories and traumas are ignored to depict them as the counterimages to the idea of the ideal woman in patriarchal Greek society. Clytemnestra's challenging power and sexuality, whose last lines in the first play of the tragedy are "*[y]ou and I, / Joint rulers, will enforce due reverence for our throne,*"[2] or Electra's aggressive melancholy are all depicted from a prejudiced, hostile, and even misogynistic male point of view. As Rachel M. E. Wolfe also suggests "*Clytemnestra combines her masculine political power with her destructive feminine sexuality*"[3] and is abhorred for her actions that destruct the gender roles introduced by the patriarchal system, and while Electra is siding with her (dead) father and the patriarchal order, she is depicted as a hysterical female figure and ignored, even omitted from the play while Orestes is proven right, justified, and freed by the gods. Therefore, these women are not only depicted as evil or mad but are also denied a more realistic representation of their stories, as Petros Vrachiotis also underlines, "*[t]here is no place for tragic heroines, in a patriarchal society. Their acts needed to be devalued and these women had to be presented as crazy witches, prostitutes, or murderesses of their relatives. [...] In order to marginalize women, the newly established man-dominated society tried to suspend these figures [...].*"[4] It can be suggested that specifically Clytemnestra and all the other female characters are victims of being represented by male authors who choose to depict women either as evil or docile beings. Sarah Wood Anderson in *Readings of Trauma, Madness, and the Body*, draws attention to the way male and female authors differ in writing about "*the mental condition of women.*"[5] While male authors tend to depict women as child-like, destructive, "*dangerous,*" and "*hysterical,*"[6] female authors focus more on the "*repression [...] of trauma,*" being "*made useless and unproductive.*"[7] Thus, it can be suggested that female authors strive to present a

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1 Elie Wiesel, "The Holocaust as a Literary Inspiration," in *Dimensions of the Holocaust*, ed. E. Wiesel & L. S. Dawidowitz, et. al. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1977), 9.
2 Aeschylus, *The Oresteian Trilogy*, trans. Philip Vellacott (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1974), 100.
3 Rachel M. E. Wolfe, "Woman, Tyrant, Mother, Murderess: An Exploration of the Mythic Character of Clytemnestra in All Her Forms," *Women's Studies* 38, no. 6, (2009): 700.
4 Petros Vrachiotis, "Medea, Clytemnestra and Antigone: A Psychological Approach According to the Tragedies and the Myths under the Frame of the Patriarchal Society," in *Tragic Heroines on Ancient and Modern Stage*, ed. M. de F. Silva & S. H. Marques (Coimbra: University of Coimbra, 2010), 27.
5 Sarah Wood Anderson, *Readings of Trauma, Madness, and the Body* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 113.
6 Ibid., 114.
7 Ibid., 114.

more insightful and realistic picture of women suffering from trauma by eluding the patriarchal prejudices one encounters in male author's works. The same problem can be traced in the history of playwriting, specifically in tragedy as a sub-genre that remains predominantly male. Elaine Aston suggests that "*feminists have been critical of tragedy 'as a genre preoccupied with the heroics of masculine overreaching,'*"[8] and she thinks about the "*feminist uses of tragic conventions: to examine how women playwrights might be moving 'complex, flawed female characters' centre stage.*"[9] Zinnie Harris, by deconstructing and rewriting *the Oresteian Trilogy* by "*moving complex*"[10] Clytemnestra and Electra centre stage, gives voice to women's disregarded wounds claiming that their traumas demand to be voiced, seeking justice and solace. Thus, the act of rewriting by women can also be interpreted as a reckoning for the trauma of the negation/misrepresentation of the female voice in the canon.

2. Trauma Theory and Representing (Women's) Trauma

In her attempt to define trauma, Cathy Caruth chooses to retell the story of Tancred's "*wounding his beloved in a battle and then, unknowingly, seemingly by chance, wounding her again*"[11] as Freud uses this story to define "*traumatic neurosis,*" the "reenactment"[12] (1996, 2) of a traumatic event. Caruth, building her definition of trauma on Freud's ideas, underlines the importance of terms such as wound, repetition, and belated responses to trauma. Moving from the word trauma which means "wound" in ancient Greek, she explains the term as follows:

> *In its later usage, particularly in the medical and psychiatric literature, and most centrally in Freud's text, the term trauma is understood as a wound inflicted not upon the body but upon the mind. [...] the wound of the mind [...] is not, like the wound of the body, a simple and healable event, but rather an event that [...] is experienced too soon, too unexpectedly, to be fully known and is therefore not available to consciousness until it imposes itself again, repeatedly, in the nightmares and repetitive actions of the survivor.*[13]

As Caruth's influential book's title also suggests, the traumatic experience is an unclaimed one due to its imperceptible and obscure nature. However, it is not only an experience that eludes the victim/witness but also one that is consciously or unconsciously buried deep inside as an act of the mind's defence mechanism. Judith Herman opens her *Trauma and Recovery* by saying that "*the ordinary response to atrocities is to banish them from consciousness. Certain violations of the social compact are too terrible to utter aloud: this is the meaning of*

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8   Elaine Aston, "Moving Women Centre Stage: Structures of Feminist-Tragic Feeling," *Journal of Contemporary Drama in English* 5, no. 2, (2017): 294.

9   Ibid., 294.

10   Aston, "Moving Women Centre Stage," 294.

11   Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 2.

12   Ibid., 2.

13   Ibid., 3-4.

the word unspeakable. Atrocities, however, refuse to be buried."[14] Thus, the traumatic event is not acknowledged properly and as a result of the mind's self-preservation, knowing the traumatic event and the proper reaction to it are suspended by the victim/witness. Yet, at the same time, the uncommunicable trauma seeks its own voice to speak out, thus, as Caruth also suggests, it revisits or haunts the survivor in the forms of "*repetitive actions,*" "*nightmares,*"[15] "*hallucinations and other intrusive phenomena.*"[16] Because, as Dori Laub suggests, the victim/witness feels the need to tell their own story, *"[t]he survivors did not only need to survive so that they could tell their story; they also needed to tell their story in order to survive. There is in each survivor, an imperative need to tell and thus to come to know one's story, unimpeded by ghosts from the past against which one has to protect oneself.*"[17] Telling one's own story becomes crucial to recovery and survival, yet the victim/witness is caught in a double bind due to the "*impossibility of telling,*"[18] trauma wants to be claimed and needs to be narrated, however, remembering is either difficult or painful, therefore the survivor refrains from remembering and (re-)telling which may eventually lead to more symptoms as well as self-doubt, as Laub indicates "*[t]he longer the story remains untold, the more distorted it becomes in the survivor's conception of it, so much so that the survivor doubts the reality of the actual events.*"[19] This idea of self-doubt, which leads to the victim/witness's questioning of the veracity of the traumatic event, is one version of the denial of trauma. Doubt also works in an opposite way, as the outsiders, the public opinion question the veracity of the victim/witness's story which leads to the retraumatization of the survivor due to "*the absence of an empathic listener (...) an addressable other.*"[20]

This is a condition that specifically affects traumatized women or children as the patriarchal society is preconditioned to disregard and deny their traumatic experiences and testimonies. Judith Herman indicates that "*[T]he study of psychological trauma must constantly contend with this tendency to discredit the victim or to render her invisible,*" because "*the more powerful the perpetrator, the greater is his prerogative to name and define reality.*"[21] Thus, representations of women's trauma are either misconstrued or misrepresented by the dominant discourse and the victims are not given the right to be heard which is crucial for their recovery and survival. As Herman underlines, "*[W]hen the victim is already devalued (A woman, a child), she may find that the most traumatic events of her life take place outside the realm of socially*

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14   Judith Herman, *Trauma and Recovery: The Aftermath of Violence – From Domestic Abuse to Political Terror* (New York: Basic Books, 2015), 1.

15   Ibid., 2.

16   Ibid., 11.

17   Dori Laub, "An Event Without a Witness: Truth, Testimony and Survival," in *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History, ed.* S. Felman & D. Laub (London: Routledge, 1992), 78.

18   Ibid., 79.

19   Ibid., 79.

20   Ibid., 68.

21   Herman, *Trauma and Recovery*, 8.

validated reality. Her experience becomes unspeakable."[22] Therefore, trauma, specifically women's trauma, does not only call for acknowledgment but also for a voice of its own that will be heard by "*an addressable other*"[23] who will bear witness to the trauma victim/witness.

Theatre, as a space that enables the staging and representing of stories and actions of human beings, provides a place for the representation of trauma with its intrinsically re-enacting-based and audience-based nature. Thus, the stage provides a fertile ground for the exploration of trauma through/in performance. The audience of any performance that deals with trauma inevitably becomes the voluntary yet "*involuntary witness*"[24] to a trauma narrative or the re-enactment of a traumatic action; Patrick Duggan and Mick Wallis argue that "*witnessing in the context of performance is typically second-order: we bear witness to on-stage witnessing.*"[25] This second-order witnessing to trauma functions on many different levels, first of all, witnessing trauma narratives/performances prepares the audience for similar catastrophic experiences. This preliminary function of performance, which is related to the idea of child's play, helps the audience/witness to familiarize themselves with traumatic experiences through acting out and/or spectatorship. Bearing witness as a member of the audience also poses the threat of transmission as trauma is considered to be contagious, seeing trauma in action or listening to trauma narratives may contaminate the audience who will be a part of the performance and may even trigger the audience's own traumas, as Laub suggests "*[f]or the listener who enters the contract of the testimony, a journey fraught with dangers lies ahead. There are hazards to the listening to trauma. Trauma – and its impact on the hearer – leaves, indeed, no hiding place intact.*"[26] However, this uncanny encounter may be curative for the audience, performing or representing trauma may offer these second-order witnesses an alternative way to face and deal with their own unclaimed experiences. As Duggan and Wallis argue, "*the theatron suggested by the idea of trauma [...] may be a tool with which we can read, contemplate and reflect on a structure of feeling and potentially thus progress from it, as well as rehearse for or work through our own traumata.*"[27] From the playwright's standpoint, predominantly in contemporary female playwrights' works, "*the theatron*" is a fitting space to excavate and deal with the traumas of women, including the "*discredited*"[28] victims of the past, as well as making these unseen or unacknowledged traumas visible with the participation of the audience, the "*[in]voluntary witnesses.*"[29]

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22 Ibid., 8.
23 Laub, "An Event Without a Witness: Truth, Testimony and Survival," 68.
24 Shoshana Felman, "Education and Crisis, or the Vicissitudes of Teaching," in *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History, ed.* S. Felman & D. Laub (London: Routledge, 1992), 4.
25 Patrick Duggan and Mick Wallis, "Trauma and Performance," *Performance Research* 16, no. 1, (2011): 7.
26 Laub, "An Event Without a Witness: Truth, Testimony and Survival," 68.
27 Duggan and Wallis, "Trauma and Performance," 8.
28 Herman, *Trauma and Recovery*, 8.
29 Felman, "Education and Crisis, or the Vicissitudes of Teaching," 4.

3. Clytemnestra and Electra Reimagined

In her rewriting, Harris changes the play by diverting it from Aeschylus's celebration of matricide and devaluation of women, and although she focuses on the female characters and their traumatization, she equally treats Agamemnon and Orestes by showing the audience their sufferings as well. To be precise, she depicts these tragic characters firstly as human beings, thus she eludes promoting the historical gender bias. *This Restless House,* the title, which replaces *the Oresteian Trilogy*, rejects the reclamation of patriarchal authority and the celebration of masculinity and diverts the attention to the house as a space that has its own memory which bears witness to the generational vicious cycle of violence and trauma.

3.1 "Agamemnon's Return"

The first play is named "Agamemnon's Return" rather than "Agamemnon," and shifts the focus from Agamemnon to his "return." The play opens in a city that has been under the rule of a female ruler, Clytemnestra, for ten years, but the city is in a neglected state as if to reflect the Queen's mental state. Similar to the original text, the Chorus undertakes an important responsibility of bearing witness to the traumatic events and recounting the backstory to the audience, specifically the story of Agamemnon's sacrificing his daughter, Iphigenia. However, this "*Chorus of old and dishevelled men*"[30] is in no way similar to the seemingly respectable, influential yet prejudiced chorus of the elders in the Attic tragedy. They are a group of old and invalid men paralleling the state of the city and are friendly towards the Queen until bearing witness to her crime. Contrary to the original text they recount the death of Iphigenia with all the tiny and grotesque details without being able to make their minds up about Agamemnon's justifiability:

> but the knife was in her back and now watching how
> she flailed
> he put it in and in and in
> and again
> a frenzy now
> a thin line of sweat on his upper lip from all his work
> and in and in
> until she –
> Pause
> then lifeless and limp
> And covered in blood, he put her on the sand
> [...]
> oh the mother should have buried but the father was
> alright to slaughter her? It's the mother's fault that
> she can't rest?!

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30   Zinnie Harris, "Agamemnon's Return," in *This Restless House* (London: Faber and Faber, 2016), 19.

> *the gods asked it, of course he was right*
> *we saw him anguish, didn't we?*[31]

As the Chorus retells the scene of sacrifice, the audience sees the event being re-enacted on the stage hearing the screams of Iphigenia who will appear again as a ghost only visible to Clytemnestra, and then Electra. While Harris gives Iphigenia, who was non-existent in the original text, a chance for ghostly appearance, she also investigates the waters of bearing witness through the narrative of the Chorus and the witnessing of the Chorus and the spectators. These "*outsider-witnesses*"[32] to the event say that they have "*watched it every night for ten years*"[33], reminding the audience of the heaviness of this burden. Thus, the very beginning of the play not only introduces Iphigenia as a child who is struck by betrayal trauma but also performs the never-ending process of traumatization through witnessing.

Clytemnestra is the main character of the first play who is suffering from repressed trauma. She spends her days "*singing a song as she drinks too much*"[34] and is caught up in time, suffering from *aporia* in a state of melancholy. As Herman suggests "*Traumatized people feel and act as though their nervous systems have been disconnected from the present,*"[35] thus, it can be suggested that, rather than anger or denial, Clytemnestra is stuck in the depression stage of the grief cycle after the loss of Iphigenia and her ties are cut with the present, her drinking is a sign of her desire to forget the traumatic past whereas her singing is a form of incomplete trauma narrative. Laub suggests that *"[T]rauma survivors live not with memories of the past, but with an event that could not and did not proceed through to its completion, has no ending, attained no closure,*"[36] and van der Kolk and van der Hart argue that, "[*A*]s the trauma is fixed at a certain moment in a person's life, people live out their existences in two different stages of the life cycle, the traumatic past, and the bleached present. The traumatized, fixated, inflexible part of the personality has stopped developing.*"[37] Moving from these ideas, it can be suggested that Clytemnestra is also caught between the past and present, as a mother who witnessed the sacrificing of her daughter by her husband she is a witness to and a victim of a catastrophic event, and until the return of Agamemnon, she is in Limbo as she has not been able to go through a healthy mourning and healing process due to the unfathomable nature of the traumatic loss.

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31 Ibid., 28, 29, 31.
32 Laub, "An Event Without a Witness: Truth, Testimony and Survival," 30.
33 Harris, "Agamemnon's Return," 30.
34 Ibid., 36.
35 Herman, *Trauma and Recovery,* 35.
36 Dori Laub, "Bearing Witness or the Vicissitudes of Listening." in *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History, ed.* S. Felman & D. Laub (London: Routledge, 1992), 69.
37 Bessel A. van der Kolk, "The Intrusive Past: The Flexibility of Memory and the Engraving of Trauma," in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, ed. Cathy Caruth (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 177.

Dominick LaCapra stresses the "*distinction between absence and loss*"[38] as well as the interaction between the two. According to his line of thought, absence can be seen as something that is never possessed or obtained whereas loss is losing something that existed before. As he suggests, absence is "*the absence of an absolute,*"[39] and loss which is related to the past is "*correlated with lack*" and related to "*the present and future.*"[40] It will not be wrong to suggest that Clytemnestra is still suffering from the loss which happened ten years ago but still very much existent in the present, in the shape of Iphigenia's ghost. Iphigenia, who was non-existent in Aeschylus' play, appears as a ghost in a cadmium yellow dress with a red ribbon and a blue suitcase and triggers Clytemnestra's traumatic memory. Her ghost, to borrow a term from Derrida, can be interpreted under "*hauntology,*"[41] something visible yet invisible that comes from the past to point out a problem: "*In this mourning work in process, in this interminable task, the ghost remains that which gives one the most to think about- and to do. Let us insist and spell things out: to do and to make come about, as well as to let come (about).*"[42]

Kate Shaw, in *Hauntology*, indicates that "*[r]eceiving the specter is not a passive act—the 'performativity' of the specter is not a signal to sit and watch but a call for responsibility.*"[43] Thus "*[t]he first rule of hauntology does not focus on the specter at all, but rather underscores the responsibility of the haunted subject to welcome, and speak to, the specter.*"[44] In the first play, the ghost of Iphigenia haunts Clytemnestra as if asking her to take action; however, the seeing of a ghost, as Herman also suggests, is a way of traumatic memory's rejection to be "*buried.*"[45] The traumatic memory of Iphigenia's death appears as a ghost as "*[t]raumatic memories lack verbal narrative and context; rather, they are encoded in the form of vivid sensations and images.*"[46] In the beginning, Clytemnestra tries to avoid the ghost saying "*I can't do it*" but then calls her back: "*I am spineless, a spent force. Any power I had I lost.*"[47] These lines parallel the ideas posed by Derrida and Shaw, and Gordon's argument that "*it is an animated state*":

> Haunting is not the same as being exploited, traumatized, or oppressed, although it usually involves these experiences or is produced by them. What's distinctive about haunting is that it is an animated state in which a repressed or unresolved social violence is making itself known [...] I used the term haunting to describe those singular yet repetitive instances when home

38 Dominick LaCapra, *Writing History Writing Trauma* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 48.
39 Ibid., 50.
40 Ibid., 53.
41 Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, translated by Peggy Kamuf (New York: Routledge, 1994), 10.
42 Ibid., 122.
43 Kate Shaw, *Hauntology: The Presence of the Past in Twenty-First Century English Literature* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), 11.
44 Ibid., 9.
45 Herman, *Trauma and Recovery*, 1.
46 Ibid., 38.
47 Harris, "Agamemnon's Return," 46.

> *becomes unfamiliar, [...] These specters or ghosts appear when the trouble they represent and symptomize is no longer being contained or repressed or blocked from view. The ghost [...] has a real presence and demands its due, your attention. [...] Haunting [...] always registers the harm inflicted or the loss sustained by a social violence done in the past or in the present. But haunting, unlike trauma, is distinctive for producing a something-to-be-done.*[48]

Although Gordon's interpretation of revenants suggests the reappearance of the past asking for compensation or redemption without being limited to trauma, it is also important to note that, in this context, Harris is using the ghost as a reminder, a very lively image of the repressed traumatic memory as well. Thus, the demanding of taking action is applicable to the ghosts that haunt Clytemnestra and also Electra as they are reminders of the past as well as traumatic memories. Near the end of the second Act, Iphigenia *"climbs on her mother's back,"*[49] and in Act Three Clytemnestra is crushed under the weight of the ghost, her *"back goes again. She falls down on to hands and knees. / She has to crawl up."*[50] These references to the ghost as a burden strengthens the idea that Iphigenia is a vision of the Queen's trauma that lies heavy on her shoulders or spine, at first, she feels powerful yet when she is testing Agamemnon it starts to hurt her as if to remind her to act or not to act in a certain way.

This scene in which Agamemnon is put to the test is influential as Harris tries to pay tribute to a wronged woman or an unjust depiction of women, she does not depict Clytemnestra as a woman who is plotting the death of Agamemnon from the very beginning. She is depicted more as a woman who questions the possibility of forgiving and moving on. When the impossibility of forgiving and forgetting is doubled up by suspicion, Clytemnestra cannot believe that he suffers at all, this pushes her to test his loyalty to the gods. When Agamemnon walks on the purple cloths that are exclusive to gods, Clytemnestra decides that he sacrificed their daughter in vain and this decision leads to the act of killing, an act she thinks she is pushed by Iphigenia's ghost. As we do not see Clytemnestra claiming her traumatic experience or openly talking about it at all, killing Agamemnon looks like her only solution to heal her wound. Stabbing him multiple times is a re-enactment of the murder of Iphigenia, in terms of trauma studies, this act can be read as the repetition compulsion as well as *"acting out"* defined by LaCapra. He defines acting out and working-through as two processes of dealing with trauma while acting out means being *"caught up in in the compulsive repetition of traumatic scenes-scenes in which the past returns and the future is blocked or fatalistically caught up in a melancholic feedback loop"*[51] working-through is *"an articulatory practice: to the extent one works through*

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48   Avery F. Gordon, *Ghostly matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), xvi.

49   Harris, "Agamemnon's Return," 94.

50   Ibid., 109.

51   LaCapra, *Writing History Writing Trauma*, 21.

trauma."[52] He also underlines that due to "*fidelity to trauma*"[53] or as Laub suggests due to a "*feeling of belonging to a 'secret order' that is sworn to silence,*"[54] traumatized people may show resistance to working-through.[55] LaCapra also adds that "*mourning might be seen as a form of working-through, and melancholia as a form of acting out.*"[56] Following this definition, it can be suggested that Clytemnestra is acting out as she is stuck in the moment of the event which comes back in the shape of the ghost and reliving the experience, something that she tries to repress by numbing her senses and memory with the use of alcohol. However, her inability to work through her trauma and killing Agamemnon, when doubled with the unintentional murder of Cassandra, makes her realize that violence is recursing thus retraumatizing rather than freeing her of her burden. The death of Cassandra, the Trojan princess who is also a trauma victim, serves as evidence of the impossibility of ending this vicious circle. The same goes for Clytemnestra's desire to keep Electra in her room on the day of the celebrations:

> *I told you to keep her inside*
> *[…]*
> *now close your eyes my darling*
> *sweet Electra*
> *turn your head*
> *[…]*
> *shut your eyes I said*
> *this I don't want you to see*
> *[…]*
> *The ghost of Iphigenia […] puts her hand over her eyes.*[57]

Clytemnestra does not want Electra to see the scene of the murder, because she wants to protect her from bearing witness to the death of her father, she does not want to traumatize her. However, the first play ends with the witnessing and re-traumatization of the Chorus as well as Electra. In the play, most of the characters are involuntary witnesses to traumatic events, Felman suggests that "*[t]he contemporary writer often dramatizes the predicament […] of a voluntary or of an unwitting, inadvertent, and sometimes involuntary witness: witness to trauma, to a crime or to an outrage; witness to a horror or an illness whose effects explode any capacity for explanation or rationalization.*"[58] Electra cradles the dead body of her father and Iphigenia's ghost stays with her hugging her and smoothing her hair, which clearly show that Electra's is also contaminated by the trauma of loss (the loss of the father) like her mother.

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52 Ibid., 22.
53 Ibid., 22.
54 Laub, "An Event Without a Witness: Truth, Testimony and Survival," 82.
55 LaCapra, *Writing History Writing Trauma*, 22.
56 Ibid., 65.
57 Harris, "Agamemnon's Return," 123-125.
58 Felman, "Education and Crisis, or the Vicissitudes of Teaching," 4.

3.2 "The Bough Breaks"

In the second play "the Bough Breaks" (not "Libation Bearers"), Electra is depicted as the exact opposite of Aeschylus' Electra, she says she loves her mother, needs her and is anxious about her death-like sleep.[59] Clytemnestra is not able to wake up from her unexplainable sleep which can be interpreted as an aftereffect of her part in the violent act of killing Agamemnon and Cassandra, thus, as a sign of the perpetrator's trauma. Electra thinks that it is a haunting,[60] and the Butcher, her best friend and the man who carried her to bed on the night of the catastrophic event, reminds her that the "*talk of ghosts is outlawed.*"[61] The mentions of haunting and ghosts become clear tokens of the repression of trauma. However, Electra becomes the libation bearer and wants to visit her father's grave to be able to break the curse that puts her mother to sleep. The father is dead, buried after being cut into pieces as Orestes recounts, his grave is unmarked, and in a place where only thieves and murderers are buried. This does not only recall Agamemnon's murderous/criminal past, but the unmarked grave which is impossible to find is also important in terms of mourning and working-through, as Derrida indicates "*[n]othing could be worse, for the work of mourning, than confusion or doubt: one has to know who is buried where-and it is necessary (to know-to make certain) that, in what remains of him, he remains there. Let him stay there and move no more!*"[62] However, finding the father's grave is mostly important for Electra to save her mother from this haunting. In the ancient play, Electra, as Jill Scott also suggests, "*chooses anger over sorrow and stops at nothing to ensure that her mother pays*" and she both encourages and supports her brother in murdering their mother "*and her reward is the restitution of her father's good name.*"[63] Although the undertone of the ancient tragedy is about power and obtaining the throne as the rightful heir, "*Electra's story is not obsessed with power*"[64] even in this new context. Harris's Electra has a bond with her mother rather than being stuck in anger and hatred towards her because of the death of her father, and she openly and honestly utters that she does not know him at all, a truth that is overlooked for the sake of strengthening the patriarchal bonds in Aeschylus. On her second visit to the grave, she meets Orestes for the first time, he says that he loves his mother, but he has to do something as he slowly turns into his father:

> *I hardly sleep now because*
> *of the itches*
> *[...]*
> *he was always itchy*
> *he had scabs on his feet*

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59   Zinnie Harris, "the Bough Breaks," in *This Restless House* (London: Faber and Faber, 2016), 146.
60   Ibid., 146.
61   Ibid., 146.
62   Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 9.
63   J. Scott, *Electra after Freud: Myth and Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 1.
64   Ibid., 2.

> *it used to drive him crazy*
> *[…]*
> *if it was just the itches well okay but*
> *he had a scar on his side where they took his appendix*
>   *out*
> *[…] my appendix has not been taken out but look –*
> *He lifts up his top.*
> *He has a scar.*[65]

The itch, and the scar of a wound that is not inflicted on him are all physical symptoms of trauma that are suffered mutually by Orestes and Electra. These symptoms can also be interpreted as the signs of intergenerational trauma or postmemory which is another form of transmission. In Marianne Hirsch's words, "*postmemory*" is "the relationship that the 'generation after' bears to the personal, collective, and cultural trauma of those who came before – to experiences they 'remember' only by means of the stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up."[66] In Harris's rewriting, Electra and Orestes are not only inflicted by bearing witness to traumatic events as outside witnesses (and later as perpetrators), but also are infected by the traumatic background of the house of Atreus as well as the traumas experienced by their parents; as Sinem Yazıcıoğlu suggests "*[t]he problem of generational transmission in postmemory also demands a return to familial structures.*"[67] Electra and Orestes have to bear the burden of the entangled traumatic memories of their familial history, and as they are not yet first hand victims/perpetrators in the experience, they are actually contaminated by witnessing as well as postmemory, as Duggan and Wallis suggest "*Bearing close witness to a perpetually unresolved trauma can install second-hand memories that are so powerful as to become traumatic in their own right. Moreover, such 'collective traumatic memory' can become installed across a culture.*"[68] However, although these visions and symptoms turn into signs of "*collective traumatic memory*" and demand that Electra and Orestes claim these unacknowledged traumatic memories of their ancestor, they fail to recognize the signs and claim their traumatic background. Orestes is also haunted by the ghost of the father and confesses to Electra that they must kill Clytemnestra to avenge the death of their father which will eventually cure him/them, so he seeks a cure that will heal the wound. The revenge plot, in this context, is a faulty way of liberating themselves from the trauma of witnessing and/or loss and postmemory.

In Harris's version, it is Orestes, rather than Electra, who tries to persuade his sister to kill the mother, similar to the Queen's actions in the first play, they decide to test her first.

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65   Harris, "the Bough Breaks," 196-197.

66   Marianne Hirsch, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture after the Holocaust* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 5.

67   Sinem Yazıcıoğlu, "Intergenerational Transmission in the Age of Postmemory: Rebecca Makkai's Music for Wartime," *Litera* 31, no. 1, (2021): 77.

68   Duggan and Wallis, "Trauma and Performance," 7.

Although Clytemnestra wakes up from her long sleep, she starts smelling a terrible smell, seeing flies, and other hallucinations which are of course reminders of her repressed trauma. She does not only suffer from the loss of her daughter but now also suffers from perpetrator trauma. To keep the flies away she wants to close the windows and does not want anyone to go out, a symptom which will also be visited upon Electra in the last play. She tries to stop anything that recalls the memory of the event. Her sleep, hallucinations, and the flies the others cannot see are like the symptoms of Lady Macbeth, they are signs of her guilty conscience and suppressed memories trying to make their way out. This is also represented in her fear of knives after waking up and her fear of her own son who turns into a snake that bites her in her dream. As Caruth indicates "*trauma describes an overwhelming experience of sudden or catastrophic events in which the response to the event occurs in the often delayed, uncontrolled repetitive appearance of hallucinations and other intrusive phenomena.*"[69] Therefore, these fearful visions, hallucinations, dreams are all seen as the forces of the supernatural, yet they are belated responses to trauma that calls the victim/witness/perpetrator to face her traumatic experience.

Electra's transformation in this second play is also significant. It can be suggested that as she does not remember anything about the day of the death of her father, she forgot her witnessing and repressed her memories as a common reaction/response to trauma. To use Caruth's description, she carries "*an impossible history within*"[70] her. Orestes' return and his retelling of the traumatic events of that night trigger her trauma, she is, in a sense, contaminated as a listener to trauma, as well. After testing Clytemnestra, Orestes is not sure about moving forward with his plan yet this time Electra, whose trauma is triggered by the narrative of Orestes and Clytemnestra's inability to cry when she is told that her son is dead, encourages him to kill the mother. Although Clytemnestra shows a loving and caring reaction when she sees Orestes and he realizes that he cannot stab his mother, "*the bough breaks*" with Electra taking the knife and killing Clytemnestra in a moment of impulse, which destroys the last chance for reconciliation and working through trauma. As the audience learns later in the last play, this act will lead to Orestes' suicide and the bough, which stands for the bond between mother and daughter, peace and reconciliation[71] and a branch of the family tree, is broken, symbolizing the end of the house of Atreus. Yet, it also leads the way to the re-traumatization of Electra who not only becomes a perpetrator but also a witness/victim as she loses all her family.

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69   Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience*, 11.
70   Cathy Caruth, "Trauma and Experience: Introduction," in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, ed. Cathy Caruth (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 5.
71   J. Chevalier and A. Gheerbrant, *The Penguin Dictionary of Symbols*, translated by John Buchanan-Brown (London: Penguin Books, 1996), 117.

3.3 "Electra and Her Shadow"

"Electra and Her Shadow," the last play of Harris's trilogy, contrary to the original play, centralizes Electra's story after the death of Clytemnestra, rather than Orestes' story. As Jill Scott also underlines Electra is an important figure in the "Attic tragedy" yet "*was largely ignored by authors in subsequent periods. And when she did make an appearance [...] it was in the guise of Orestes' helper or Agamemnon's daughter rather than as a heroine in her own right.*"[72] Scott also suggests that she becomes a central figure in the twentieth century and Harris's twenty-first-century play reimagines Electra not only as a "*heroine in her own right*" but also as a character not driven by hysteria and anger, in a sense this reimagining of Electra challenges both Aeschylus and Freud and even Jungian Electra Complex as she is not hysterical or melancholic about the loss of the beloved father. Harris abstains from recreating the female character that supports the patriarchal order with her hatred for the mother and yearning for the father figure, she depicts her as a more realistic character that suffers from trauma.

While in the Attic tragedy this third play is about Orestes being driven crazy by the Furies, and the judgement scene in which Apollo and Athena vote for him to reimburse the patriarchal order by trespassing the maternal rights, Harris turns this part into a play happening in a psychiatric ward where Electra is hospitalized for a mental illness that made her kill her mother[73] and suffers from hallucinations, such as seeing the ghosts of Agamemnon, Clytemnestra, and Orestes and hearing the screeching voices of the Furies. She is afraid of open windows and doors, and in a way, she repeats the patterns of her traumatized witness/perpetrator mother. In this play, Electra is not able to communicate her trauma yet obsessively repeats her fears concerning the coming of the creatures of hell and underlines the fact that they are sent by her murdered mother.[74] These references inevitably point out Electra's traumatized self, for that matter, her inability to communicate her trauma which reveals itself through ghosts and voices without bodies.

This part also introduces Audrey, a therapist who aims to cure Electra before leaving for another hospital in the United States of America. The inclusion of a relationship between a patient who is the victim and perpetrator of a traumatic event, and a therapist/listener to trauma enables us to talk about the possibility of healing and further contagion. As Audrey strives to remain scientific, medical, and distanced at first, her distance makes it impossible for Electra to open herself as no one believes her story. As Laub suggests "*[t]he absence of an empathic listener, or more radically, the absence of an addressable other, an other who can hear the anguish of one's memories and thus affirm and recognize their realness, annihilates the story.*"[75]

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72 Scott, *Electra after Freud*, 7.
73 Harris, "Electra and her Shadow," 261.
74 Ibid., 259.
75 Laub, "Bearing Witness or the Vicissitudes of Listening," 68.

However, after a while, Audrey inevitably forms a bond with her patient on the ground that they share a similar background. Yet, this time, Electra's recounting of her hauntings by the ghosts and the voices of the Furies starts showing its effects on Audrey, slowly taking her over and transforming her into Electra's shadow. Audrey is also traumatized as a child and has been through treatment[76], however, her trauma is not cured but suppressed as she was not able to reveal and claim the truths about her traumatic background. Electra, as a patient who lost her siblings and father and killed her mother, triggers Audrey's own trauma of losing a sibling, being a witness to the death of her victimizer father, saying that "*he's sent them [the Furies] to you like my mother sent them to me.*"[77] Audrey not only denies the similarity between their cases but also sees this as a very natural act of projection by her victimized patient.[78] Although it may be true in the sense that Electra tries to protect herself from further suffering through projection, Audrey is also forced to face her trauma as she also starts suffering from similar hallucinations. In Laub's terms "*[t]he listener" becomes "a witness to the trauma witness and a witness to herself.*"[79]

The Furies, who are not seen but heard and felt only by the traumatized women, visit Electra and then Audrey repeatedly, as Iphigenia visits Clytemnestra, and Clytemnestra visits Electra. As Derrida also indicates while discussing hauntology, these visits turn into "*visitare,*" "*[V]isit upon visit, since it returns to see us and since visitare, frequentative of visere (to see, examine, contemplate), translates well the recurrence or returning, the frequency of a visitation. The latter does not always mark the moment of a generous apparition or a friendly vision; it can signify strict inspection or violent search, consequent persecution, implacable concatenation.*"[80] In the case of Electra and Audrey, these frequent visitations are not friendly but more sinister as these audial and visual hallucinations are symptoms of trauma seeking recognition as well as justice.

The third play of Harris's trilogy also stages a trial scene between Electra and the ghost of Clytemnestra, while the Chorus serves as the judge and Audrey as an outsider witness. As Aydoğmuş suggests, in "Eumenides," "*[a]fter the trial, the generations of curse and revenge ends. The case of Orestes is considered as the first court of justice in the Athenian democracy. [...] the decision of Athena gives men superiority over women. In conclusion, Clytemnestra doesn't become successful. Giving more credit to Orestes represents the transition from matriarchy to patriarchy.*"[81] However, the judgement in Harris's play differs from the one presented in Aeschylus. The deciding vote in the trial is given by the ghost of Iphigenia who reveals that

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76   Harris, "Electra and her Shadow," 269.
77   Ibid., 269.
78   Ibid., 270.
79   Laub, "Bearing Witness or the Vicissitudes of Listening," 58.
80   Derrida, *Specters of Marx*,126.
81   Azime Aydoğmuş, "Clytemnestra as a nightmare to patriarchy in Aeschylus tragedy, the Oresteian trilogy," *Tiyatro Eleştirmenliği ve Dramaturji Bölümü Dergisi* 27, no 2 (2015): 27.

she is not the vengeful spirit, it has been their traumas haunting them all along, rather than her ghost, and her verdict is reconciliation rather than picking sides. Iphigenia, who replaces the masculine goddess Athena in this play, votes for peace and shows the possibility of a different future. Thus, Harris introduces an alternative ending to this tragedy, however, the outcome of the trial is followed by Electra's suicide. Electra commits suicide as she cannot escape or heal her trauma because she cannot succeed in putting it in words and finding an empathic listener who would understand her. It can be suggested that she sees this as the only way out of this vicious cycle of trauma. The curse/trauma can be said to come to an end, however, with the fall of the house of Atreus and not with the cleansing of Orestes and his line. Audrey, who similarly is on the verge of committing suicide during the trial scene is able to free herself from this shadow as she is saved from the rope:

> **Jordan**
> They said
> a patient died and if the nurse hadn't been there,
> you would have to
> **Audrey**
> I know
> Beat.
> I'm glad she was there
> that she found me in time
> I watched my father die, and I didn't help him
> I'll always have to live with that
> but I can live
> I can live with it
> and look, the window is open.[82]

Learning to live with the ghosts is offered as the cure to the haunting, and at the end of the play Audrey not only claims her traumatic experience but also acknowledges her ghosts, and seemingly overcomes her fear of windows, something Electra was not able to achieve. However, the very last stage directions of the play, "[S]*he looks out. / She leans right out,*"[83] leave the interpretation to the director/audience as her action is ambivalent, when she leans out of the open window it is possible to see it as a courageous act of overcoming her fear or as another attempt at suicide. If it is a suicide attempt, then it means that Audrey also fails to achieve coming to terms with her trauma. It can be said that Harris, eventually represents the difficulty of healing trauma as well as living with its burden which mostly lies heavily upon women.

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82 Harris, "Electra and her Shadow," 318-19.
83 Ibid., 319.

4. Conclusion

Harris, contrary to the patriarchal propaganda of Aeschylus, focuses on women's trauma, yet she is not picking sides or treating her characters unequally. She not only gives an insight into the misjudged and misrepresented characters of the past but also shows all the characters in a different light with their weaknesses which comes as a female playwright's approach to violence and trauma; rather than focusing on power and patriarchal expectations she tries to see and represent her characters as human beings who suffer and seek justice and redemption. Everyone is traumatized in the play in different ways, including Iphigenia and her betrayal trauma, and Aegisthus who is a living witness to the murder of his brothers. Harris carefully conveys their traumas in her text. Each has her or his own case, although it physically appears in the form of a bag in the play that holds the personal belongings of Iphigenia, and is later mentioned individually by all the other ghosts, it refers to their individual psychiatric cases that contain their case histories.

Harris's rewriting is influential in the sense that it comes as a counter-narrative that moves women and a variety of marginalized mental states centre stage, as Aston suggests "*[c]ountering the gender bias that militates against women-centred narratives moving centre stage is important to feminism's renewal of 'progressive over-coming' or 'becoming'.*"[84] Rewriting is not only an act of overcoming but also an act of deconstructing the past and can be seen as a way of communicating with the ghosts of the past. Shaw indicates that "*[d]econstruction raises the specter of doubt as its central tenant: nothing is fixed, firm or stable in the hands of deconstructionists. [...] Deconstructionists are concerned with moving concepts from the margins to the centre—as in the privileging of writing over speech, for example— in order to examine the creation of power and meaning.*"[85] Moving from Shaw's ideas, it can be suggested that deconstruction is also a form of raising spectres, ghosts that demand to be heard and need to communicate a message from the past. In the context of Harris's rewriting, these spectres need to communicate their own traumas as well as the traumas of the haunted living beings. It can be said that Harris as a twenty-first-century playwright is communicating with the ghosts of Clytemnestra and Electra who seek the help of a female playwright to retell their story as theatre is a medium that helps them to be heard/seen by a large group of witnesses, who carry the potential to be contaminated, haunted or cured by these stories because "*[t]raumatic narrations both heal and plague not only the narrator and listener characters but also the audience in the theatre, stemming from the interactive nature of enacted staged drama.*"[86] Therefore, Harris's use of theatre for this purpose, which remains predominantly male, functions uniquely as it both challenges the authority of a classical playwright and calls for a live audience to bear witness to the trauma narratives of women.

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84 Aston, "Moving Women Centre Stage: Structures of Feminist-Tragic Feeling," 308.
85 Shaw, *Hauntology*, 4.
86 Özlem Karadağ, "Trauma on the Contemporary English Stage: Kane, Ravenhill, Ridley" (PhD diss., Istanbul University, 2013), 58.

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Research Article / *Araştırma Makalesi*

Living in the Past, Living with the Ghosts: Trauma and Postmemory in Jonathan Lichtenstein's *Memory**

Tuğba Aygan[1] ID

ABSTRACT

The 'memory boom' has promoted a wide array of plays among a large amount of literary output in Western literature. Among these, Jonathan Lichtenstein's 2006 play *Memory* is an aptly named memory play. Inspired by the memories of the playwright's father, the play interweaves three stories: one set in 1933, when the Nazis took power in Berlin; the second in East Berlin, 1990, just after the fall of the Berlin Wall; and the last in Bethlehem, 2006, as the Apartheid Wall was rising. Whilst connecting these separate stories at the intersection of memory, this paper seeks to address a traumatized and conflicted relation to the past, and drawing on established trauma theorist Dominick LaCapra's terms 'acting out' and 'working through', it discusses how traumatic memories and one's relation to them shape the present. The study then reflects on Marianne Hirsch's term 'postmemory' as manifested in *Memory* as well as Lichtenstein's life.
Keywords: Postmemory, trauma, acting out, Holocaust drama, *memory*

Introduction

Freddie Rokem in *Performing History* (2000) evaluates Marcellus's question, "*What, has this thing appear'd again tonight?*" in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* as deeply evocative of the operations of the theatre itself. Emphasizing the theatrical representations of the past, he says, "*On the metatheatrical level, this question implies that the repressed ghostly figures and events from that ('real') historical past (re)appear on the stage in theatrical performances.*"[1] Echoing Rokem, Marvin Carlson remarks concordantly, "*theatre, as a site of the continuing reinforcement of memory by surrogation, is not surprisingly among the most haunted of human cultural structures.*"[2] "*All theatre,*" Carlson further argues, "*is a cultural activity deeply involved with memory and haunted repetition.*"[3] As Carlson and Rokem propose, theatre, among all other literary and artistic forms, retells, again and again, the stories of the past; hence, by means of re-enacting, it activates the memory and resurrects the past and its ghosts.

Memory and theatre, two closely associated words, have been sharing a common ground for centuries. The fact that theatre has exclusively been dominated by memories, has made this affinity more manifest. Together with this, Western playwrights have been at the forefront of the memory boom, the upsurge in social and scholarly interest in individual and collective memory in the last four decades, and stages around the world have hosted a wide array of plays bringing expunged or ignored memories to the spotlight. Among others, the ravages of two World Wars and the Holocaust legacy have been widely enacted on world stages. One such play, Jonathan Lichtenstein's *Memory*, is an aptly named memory play in the literal sense since it was inspired by the memories of the playwright's father, who escaped Nazi Germany as a child with the *Kindertransport*, as well as his own relationship with these memories. Informed by modern trauma theories, this paper reflects on how traumatic memories of the past penetrate the whole lives of the traumatized and what unworked through traumas amount to, as manifested in Lichtenstein's play through the central character Eva's Holocaust memories and Israeli-Palestinian conflict that continues to wreck people's lives. In line with the unworked traumas, drawing on Marianne Hirsch's concept of 'postmemory', the present study also discusses the possibility of bearing the burden of traumatic memories even though one is not a first-hand victim of the catastrophic incidents, namely Eva's grandson Peter and Lichtenstein himself.

Memory in Trauma, Trauma in *Memory*

Alluding to the challenges literature faces in embodying traumatic memories, Anne Whitehead in *Trauma Fiction* (2004) notes, "*impact of trauma can only adequately be represented by*

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1 Freddie Rokem, *Performing History: Theatrical Representations of the Past in Contemporary Theatre* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2000), 133.

2 Marvin Carlson, *The Haunted Stage*: *The Theatre as Memory Machine* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003), 134.

3 Ibid., 134.

mimicking its forms and symptoms, so that [in the works of trauma] *temporality and chronology collapse, and narratives are characterized by repetition and indirection.*"[4] As an exemplary trauma narrative, Lichtenstein's *Memory*, manifesting this resistance to direct representation, interweaves three trauma stories on a metatheatrical level and demands a critical reading by presenting the stories' interrelationship in a non-linear fashion. The play opens in a rehearsal room where a group of actors is preparing the play *Memory*. The first story opens in 1990, just after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Seventy-eight-year-old Eva is visited by her grandson, Peter, who lives in the UK with his parents. Peter tries to reveal his family's past, which unsettlingly prepossesses him, by questioning his estranged grandmother. The second story, set in 2006 in Bethlehem, is not directly related to the main plot. Unlike the previous scene which starts following the fall of a wall, in this one, a new wall, the Apartheid Wall between Israel and Palestine, is rising. A Jewish soldier, Isaac, talks with a Palestinian, Bashar, whose house will shortly be pulled down for the construction of the wall. With a flashback, the third story goes back to Holocaust-era Berlin, around 1933, where twenty-one-year-old Jewish German Eva marries another Jew, Aron, leaving his best friend Felix jealous. Eva and Aron attempt to run away from Germany with their son and two other children whom Eva tries to save from the Nazis. However, Felix, who becomes an SS soldier, gives them away.

Lichtenstein's *Memory*, whilst interweaving these stories, raises a discussion of various ramifications of traumatic memories. At the very outset, the central figure of the two stories, Eva, stands out as a Nazi victim in one story and an old woman trying to cope with the traumatic memories of her past in the other. One of the corollaries of trauma speculated by theorists is that it creates impairments in a person's ability to adapt and make meaningful connections with other people, ultimately leading to isolation from society. The prolonged feeling of detachment from others eliminates the feeling of love, and as a result, the victims cannot commit themselves to any kind of relationship. As a witness and first-hand experiencer of the atrocities, Eva is heavily traumatized and estranged from other people, even her family. As her story unfolds, it is understood that while she, her husband, and two boys, the couple was looking after, cannot leave Germany, they succeed in sending their own son to the UK via the *Kindertransport*. Afterward, however, even though Eva survives the war and the Holocaust, she cannot reconnect her son and his family. As trauma theorist Judith Herman proffers, "*Traumatic events call into question basic human relationships. They breach the attachments of family, friendship, love, and community. They shatter the construction of self that is formed and sustained in relation to others.*"[5] This explains why Eva, the only surviving witness and owner of the traumatic memories in the play, withdraws from social engagements and leads an excluded life. As she cannot find any close relative for a prolonged time, she turns into herself and when her grandson shows up years later, she refuses to talk to him about the past.

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4   Anne Whitehead, *Trauma Fiction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004), 3.
5   Judith Herman, *Trauma and Recovery: The Aftermath of Violence— From Domestic Abuse to Political Terror* (New York: Basic Books, 1997), 51.

Putting trauma into words has been the subject of a long-lasting debate among scholars. Mainly due to the "*speechless fright*"[6] trauma creates and an ensuing inability to put horrible experiences into words, many survivors of catastrophic events either prefer or are coerced to remain silent. Nevertheless, some trauma theorists accept the importance of putting traumatic suffering into narration and believe in the need to verbalize the incident for easing its detrimental after-effects while some others insist that words do not suffice to convey the enormity of these experiences. In order to clarify the underlying causes of this linguistic incompetence, neurobiologists Bessel A. van der Kolk and Onno van der Hart identify two forms of memory drawing on pioneering French psychologist Pierre Janet's studies. They classify them as 'normal' or 'narrative' and 'traumatic' memories. Singling out traumatic memories from others, they argue that

> In contrast to narrative memory, which is a social act, traumatic memory is inflexible and invariable. Traumatic memory has no social component; it is not addressed to anybody, the patient does not respond to anybody; it is a solitary activity. In contrast, ordinary memory fundamentally serves a social function.[7]

In this context, Eva's silence can be explained by her experiences being stored in traumatic memory. Because of their overwhelming nature, these experiences cannot have a place in normal memory; hence, they cannot find expression by way of speech. Her prolonged silence, thus, compels her to live with the buried memories of these experiences.

One of the key figures of modern trauma theory Cathy Caruth, on similar lines, formulates her definition of trauma, based on the elusiveness of traumatic memories in narrative representation. As she puts it, trauma "*describes an overwhelming experience of sudden or catastrophic event in which the response to the event occurs in the often delayed, uncontrolled repetitive appearance of hallucinations and other intrusive phenomena,*"[8] as "*the event is not assimilated or fully experienced at the time, but only belatedly, in its repeated possession of the one who experiences it.*"[9] Caruth's formulation emphasizes the suddenness of the event and the belatedness inhering in the traumatic moment itself. Rather than being remembered as a past experience, trauma thus becomes a part of a survivor's life, being compulsively repeated in the present and maintaining its ungraspable nature.

In the light of these arguments, Eva comes to the forefront as an epitome of trauma. No matter how untouched she seems and acts, she relives traumatic memories of the past belatedly by various repetitions. As she breaks her memories to Peter, she confesses that she offered

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6   Michelle Balaev, "Trends in Literary Trauma Theory," *Mosaic: An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal* 41(2) 149 (2008): 149-66.

7   Bessel van der Kolk, Otto van der Hart, "The Intrusive Past: The Flexiblity of Memory and Engraving of Trauma," in *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*, ed. Cathy Caruth 163 (Baltimore: JHU Press, 1995), 158-182.

8   Cathy Caruth, *Unclaimed Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 1996), 49.

9   Cathy Caruth, *Trauma: Explorations in Memory* (Baltimore: JHU Press, 1995), 5.

her body to Felix to buy her family's freedom and later Aron hanged himself believing Felix would save the children and Eva. In the meantime, ghosts of Aron and Felix appear:

> *Peter: Tell me. I am like him*
> *Eva: You are. You have come home. (Felix enters. Eva breaks away from Aron.) No! No! Not again! Not that memory again. I will not remember that!*[10]

This hallucination proves that Eva has been haunted by the compulsively repeated memories and ghosts of the past as she has been unable to assimilate the overwhelming experience of rape and her husband Aron's death. That being the case, rather than being remembered or communicated as a past incident, these traumatic memories, thus, become a part of her life recurring belatedly.

As these memories unveil, her grim past justifies Eva's persistent silence to an extent. This silence, albeit understandable, is not an ultimate escape way for trauma victims, though. While deliberating the challenging question of addressing and representing issues related to the trauma experience specific to the Holocaust, Dominick LaCapra draws a distinction between 'acting out' and 'working through' as possible responses to trauma. LaCapra interprets acting out as compulsive and repetitive re-living of the trauma, which keeps the survivor haunted by the past event and withholds them from re-engagement in life.[11] Working through, on the contrary, functions as "*a kind of countervailing force*"[12] in which the traumatized person can take a critical distance to the event they experienced. Turning back to the traumatic event and constructing a complete narrative, which is strongly supported by the theorists, is a rather effective working through tactic for enabling a step towards detraumatization. However, besides the enormity of the incidents that render her speechless, Eva cannot find anyone who can support and listen. On that account, she grievously stays bound to live with traumas and to act them out, diversely and indefinitely.

Eva's resistance to verbalize her pain and share it with others traps her into a loop of acting out which arises in form of distorted narratives, too. She occasionally talks of Eli and how she saved both him and Joshua from the Nazis by lying on them.[13] Peter reads one of the letters which were written by Eli, as Eva claims, yet he realizes that they seem to be written by Aron who definitely died a long time ago. In the culminating scene, she changes this long-standing story of saving boys from the Nazis by lying on them and states that the boys are both dead. Just as Eva begins her revealing speech, Lichtenstein disrupts the illusion of reality and turns the scene back to the rehearsal room. Actor Vivien, as Eva, forgets her lines, and a prompter helps her. This way, they complete the real story.

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10   Jonathan Lichtenstein, *Memory* (New York: Dramatists Play Service, 2008), 50.
11   Dominick LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 174.
12   Ibid., 174.
13   Lichtenstein, *Memory*, 10, 12, 13, 41.

Eva: The two boys in green hats were with me, squeezing my hands. One of them was crying. "You boy, stop crying," says some of the guards … (as Vivien.) I can't go on. … I don't know this speech. I told you at the beginning.

Chris: I'll feed you the lines. His tears would not stop.

Vivien: His tears would not stop.

Chris: He held my hand tight.

Vivien: He held my hand tight.

Chris: Stop crying the guard says.

Vivien: Stop crying the guard says.

Chris: But he couldn't

[…]

Chris: If you do not stop crying

Vivien: If you do not stop crying

Chris: I will kill you.

Vivien: I will kill you.

Chris: Then his brother started to cry.

Vivien: Then his brother started to cry.

Chris: Quiet tears.

Chris: Kneel down said the guard.

Vivien: Kneel down said the guard.

Chris: Gently.

Vivien: Gently.

Chris: And your brother.

Vivien: And your brother.

Chris: The boys were confused.

Vivien: The boys were confused.

Chris: Their lips were blue.

Vivien: Their lips were blue

Chris: The guard helped them.

Vivien: The guard helped them.

Chris: He arranged them

Vivien: He arranged them

Chris: So that the older boy was kneeling alongside the younger one […]

Chris: He levelled their heads

Vivien: He levelled their heads

Chris: So that they were at the same height.

Vivien: So that they were at the same height.

Chris: He took out his gun.

Vivien: He took out his gun. […]

Chris: He was precise.

Vivien: He was precise.

Chris: Then he shot them

Vivien: Then he shot them

Chris: One bullet …

Vivien: One bullet…

> *Chris:* *Through both their heads.*
> *Vivien:* *Through both their heads.*
> *Chris:* *The guard said.*
> *Vivien:* *The guard said.*
> *Chris:* *Why waste two bullets?*
> *Vivien:* *Why waste two bullets…* (*Silence*)[14]

Rendering one of the most poignant scenes in *Memory*, this part both offers recognition for the audience and Peter, and it unveils the real extent of Eva's trauma withal. Frozen in time, the memories of the traumatic events are so vivid that for Eva they are like now. Tense shifts from past to present, in this context, attest to the freshness of the memories and their "*durational time*"[15] that never passes. Lichtenstein's twist by taking the scene back in the rehearsal room, on the other side, primarily breaks audience identification and requests witnessing. Repetition of Eva's lines, disclosing the enormity of Nazi atrocities, intensifies pathos and evokes an echo. This, in that case, can be interpreted as an echo of that unprecedented violence that still reverberates today and will possibly reverberate for some more time.

Getting back to Eva's response to trauma by distorting the painful realities and fabricating positive scenarios that the above-mentioned scene reveals, Eric Santner's term "narrative fetishism" can render a better interpretation, since it meets Eva's situation in full measure. Santner in his paper titled "History Beyond the Pleasure Principle" defines narrative fetishism as the "*construction and deployment of a narrative consciously or unconsciously designed to expunge the traces of trauma or loss that called that narrative into being in the first place.*"[16] As a matter of fact, working through, as a healthy response to a loss or a traumatic happening, necessitates 'work of mourning' which embodies a process of accepting and integrating the traumatic loss by repeating and remembering it. Unlike mourning, narrative fetishism, Santner writes, is "*the way an inability or refusal to mourn employs traumatic events; it is a strategy of undoing, in fantasy, the need for mourning by simulating a condition of intactness, typically by situating the site and origin of loss elsewhere.*"[17] This means, while mourning necessitates acceptance of the loss and the trauma it causes, narrative fetishism invalidates the trauma, therewith, the need to mourn.

Eva, who focused on survival after the loss of her husband and two boys, cannot have a healthy mourning process either due to her inability or refusal and due to the lack of people who could support and listen. Unable to cope with the reality of trauma, she stalls herself and

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14   Ibid., 52-54.
15   Lawrence L. Langer, "Memory's Time: Chronology and Duration in Holocaust Testimonies," in *Admitting the Holocaust: Collected Essays* 16 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 13-24.
16   Eric Santner, "History Beyond The Pleasure Principle: Some Thoughts on the Representation of Trauma," in *Probing the Limits of Representation: Nazism and the "Final Solution"*, ed. Saul Friedlander 144 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 143-154.
17   Ibid., 144.

others to alleviate her pain utilizing a fabricated story. Very tragically she witnesses the death of two boys she was supposed to protect. Yet, even though she remains aloof and rarely talks to her family, in her letters to them and during her conversations with Peter, she frequently mentions Eli and Joshua and how she saved them from Nazi persecution. On the one hand, this distorted story ensures her a pseudo relief as it secures a persistent trauma, on the other because she cannot face real trauma and, therefore, cannot have a healthy working through. However, undervaluing the arduous process of coming to terms with the past and trauma, Lichtenstein awkwardly upties Eva's story. She concedes the past when she starts talking to Peter; because as she starts recalling her memories, other traumatic memories also bubble to surface and reveal themselves cascading back. Hinting at the power of speaking of the haunting past, Lichtenstein erroneously boils it down to a moment similar to an epiphany.

Postmemories, Post-victims

> **Eva:** *They happened to me. Not to you.*
> **Peter:** *They are like salt. They've salted me. A few white crystals affecting everything.*[18]

This interaction between Eva and her grandson encapsulates the very essence of Lichtenstein's dramatic work as well as winking at the vicarious forms of trauma. As she puts it, Eva witnessed and suffered unspeakable horrors with other victims; however, as Peter avows, these horrors have plagued a lot more people who had no experience of them. This is because the Holocaust, as John McCumber posits, is "*the master rupture*"[19] of the twentieth century, and its magnitude is beyond the comprehension of the human mind. It happened to a small minority in proportion to the whole world, yet as one of the most inhumane and darkest episodes of history, it created a rift that has not yet been sealed. On this account, its legacy continues to plague contemporary consciousness and vicariously traumatize a growing number of people.

It has been revealed that trauma that is too serious and large in extent does not stay confined to its real victims but can be transferred to subsequent generations. In order to define this poignant phenomenon of trauma's continuing effect across generations, Marianne Hirsch, in her 1992 article, "Family Picture: Maus, Mourning and Post-Memory," coined the term 'post-memory'. The term refers to the memory "*that of the child of the survivor whose life is dominated by memories of what preceded his/her birth.*"[20] Hirsch argues that in cases of post-memory, descendants of survivors (victims as well as perpetrators) of massive traumatic events connect so deeply to the previous generation's remembrances of the past that they need to call that connection memory. Thus, in certain extreme circumstances, memory can

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18   Lichtenstein, *Memory*, 54.
19   John McCumber, "The Holocaust as Master Rupture: Foucault, Fackenheim, and 'Postmodernity'," in *Postmodernism and the Holocaust*, eds. Alan Milchman and Alan Rosenberg (Atlanta: Ropodi, 1998), 239-64.
20   Marianne Hirsch, "Family Pictures: Maus, Mourning, and Post-Memory," *Discourse* 15(2), Special Issue: The Emotions, Gender, and the Politics of Subjectivity 8 (1992): 3-29.

be transmitted to those who were not actually there to experience an event.[21] Given this, in Lichtenstein's play, it is apparent that Peter, who has never been to Germany before and has no experience of the Holocaust, inherited catastrophic memories of his ancestors. As he has grown up with inherited memories, not through direct experience or recollection but mediated images, stories, and behaviors, he turns up as a 'post-victim'.

The purpose of Peter's visit, likewise, verifies that for a very long time he has been grappling with the handed-down memories. Raised with the stories that his father told him, he wants to face them both by learning the details and by visiting the sites of these traumatic happenings before his grandmother dies. He wants himself, as well as Eva, to "*Make peace with the past*"[22] by facing its baggage no matter how hard it would be; so that both could get rid of its haunting traces. Even though Lichtenstein leaves the ending open, the ghost of Aron's putting out the menorah that Peter has lighted as Eva starts talking about what really happened to her and her family suggests a closure. It implies that Eva's dormant suffering has been alleviated after being ignited. Yet, this unsatisfactory attempt, unfortunately again, runs the risk of trivializing the trauma and underestimating the tough process for the closure of this ever-crying wound.

Actually, Jonathan Lichtenstein himself comes to the forefront as a paragon of post-memory. His father Hans Lichtenstein escapes from Germany alone when he was twelve with *Kindertransport*, yet his parents die there. Even though Lichtenstein's father does not talk about his childhood, family, Germany, or the Holocaust, Lichtenstein proclaims that he has been imbued with memories of them throughout his life. In "Writing Through the Silences of a Lost Family", he asserts:

> *Over many years I came to understand that I had been infused part of my father's traumatic history. Why this happened I do not know. All I do know is that it became the dark ghost inside me, the lining of my heart, the stones of my kidneys. His unspoken pain surrounded me, then settled inside me—and despite my battles with it, it gripped me.*[23]

Haunted with this ghost and unable to cast it aside, Lichtenstein decides to trace this trauma his father endured by taking him to Berlin where Hans Lichtenstein had lived as a child. Recreating the journey from Berlin to Wales backward, father and son visit places in Berlin where Hans had lived, shopped, eaten, played, and said goodbye to his mother for the last time. Playwright's book *Berlin Shadow* (2020) narrates their trip to Berlin and thus brings Lichtenstein's postmemories to light. Besides attesting to the playwrights' postmemories of the Holocaust, *Berlin Shadow* also evinces their traces in the *Memory*. Much like Peter's, Lichtenstein's father comes to the UK as a *Kindertransport* evacuee leaving his parents

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21   Marianne Hirsch, "The Generation of Postmemory," *Poetics Today* 29(1) 105-6 (2008): 103-28.

22   Lichtenstein, *Memory*, 13.

23   Jonathan Lichtenstein, "Writing Through the Silences of a Lost Family," *Literary Hub*. Accessed on 8 June, 2021. https://lithub.com/writing-through-the-silences-of-a-lost-family-history/

behind in Berlin. Avoiding conversations about the past, he hides his father's suicide until Jonathan's eighteenth birthday.[24] Although Hans Lichtenstein loses both parents, his grandmother survives whom Jonathan cannot talk to. In this respect, Peter can be regarded as Lichtenstein's spokesperson while penning *Memory* and later paying a visit to Berlin manifests to his real attempts of coming to terms with the past.

From Victim to Perpetrator

Set in Bethlehem, in 2006, the third duologue between Israeli Isaac and Palestinian Bashar seems very loosely connected to the main plot. Some critics even remark that the play would be better without this third plotline.[25] As a matter of fact, through critical reading, it is conspicuous that these three plotlines share a common ground. Apart from the names, the stories are the same yet in a reversed order; in another part of the world, in another time, another wall is being built and other people are being displaced from their birthplaces. A noteworthy difference is that former victims become the very perpetrator, at this instant.

Bashar and Isaac's confrontation ostensibly delineates the Palestinian and Israeli conflict, yet weaving this conflict with two other plotlines, the play facilitates a correlation between these disparate stories on the basis of memory and trauma. Hence, when read beyond the lines, the play implies a cause-and-effect relationship alongside a similarity between two traumatic incidents. One is overshadowed by the Holocaust and the other by the *Nakba;*[26] Israelis and Palestinians are two nations suffering from personal and collective traumas. No matter how incommensurable with the Holocaust, the ongoing prolonged and violent conflict caused both parties to inflict harm on one another, and to demand recognition of their identity and legitimate rights as well as suffering. In *Memory* Bashar's proposition "*We are the Jews of the Middle East*"[27] and Isaac's "*I am just carrying out orders,*"[28] echoing Nazi SS soldiers, embody this similitude. In addition to this similarity, their failure to recognize each other's suffering is also highlighted.

> *Isaac: They will make you move. [...] You were born in this house?*
> *Bashar: And my father and his father.*
> *Isaac: You lived in this house?*
> *Bashar: All of us. Yes.*
> *Isaac: You will be buried in this house.*[29]

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24   Jonathan Lichtenstein, *The Berlin Shadow: Living with the Ghosts of Kindertransport* (London: Scribner, 2020).
25   Tom Williams, "Memory," *Chicago Critic*. Accessed on 10 June, 2021. https://chicagocritic.com/memory/ Philip Fisher, "Memory," *British Theatre Guide*, 2008. Accessed on 12 June, 2021. https://www.britishtheatreguide. info/reviews/memoryPF-rev
26   Also known as Palestinian Catastrophe or Exodus, *The Nakba* refers to the expulsion and displacement of more than 700.000 Palestinians during Palestine War in 1948.
27   Lichtenstein, *Memory*, 39.
28   Ibid., 34.
29   Ibid., 33.

This speech embodying Bashar's grief over leaving the house, he and his ancestors have lived for decades, is mirrored in Aron's reluctance to leave Germany, which is his and his forefathers' home.

> **Felix:** *Take my advice and go.*
> **Aron:** *Felix, I'm a German. My father was a German and his father and his father. You know all this. I love Germany, so why? Why?*
> **Felix:** *I don't know. Truly, I don't. But. It may get worse before it gets better.*[30]

No matter how similar their sufferings are, both Bashar and Isaac fail to empathize and continue to blame one another. Thus, the conflict between them, just like several others between communities, becomes unsolvable.

Several scholars contend that major collective traumas fatally impair a group's sense of security, self-worth, and future creating a perpetual sense of victimhood.[31] Since the group is preoccupied with past traumas, this sense of victimhood shapes their worldviews, values, practices, and relationships with other people. If they stay fixed on their past traumas and cannot get rid of them, they stay alert to defend themselves from any threat leading them to easily turn into perpetrator.[32] Those who are victims of trauma fail to recognize and accept others' victimization. In this context, the duologue of Bashar and Isaac can be seen as a corollary of the unworked trauma of the preceding one. Besides, it is probable to see this new Apartheid Wall and never-ending walls visible and invisible across the world as evocative of unworked traumas of conflicts between nations and generations. This story, in these lines, also shows how unworked through traumas of victims turn them into perpetrators creating new traumas and victims, anew.

Conclusion

Multiplication of collective catastrophes maintains the proliferation of memory studies and enables umpteen artistic and literary responses. Among others, the memory of the Holocaust, punctuating a watershed in human history, is still a politically, socially, culturally, and artistically loaded subject. In parallel with this, whilst the Holocaust's impact on individuals and communities constitutes one of the most influential strands of research within memory studies, its painful

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30   Ibid., 37.
31   Daniel Bar-Tal, Sabina Cehajic-Clancy, "From Collective Victimhood to Social Reconciliation: Outlining a Conceptual Framework," in *War, Community, and Social Change: Collective Experiences in the Former Yugoslavia*, eds. D. Spini, G. Elcheroth, and D. Corkalo Biruski (New York: Springer 2014), 125–136; Maya Kahanoff, "Collective Trauma, Recognition and Reconciliation in the Israeli–Palestinian Conflict," in *Recognition as Key for Reconciliation: Israel, Palestine, and Beyond*, eds. Yoram Meital and Paula Rayman (Boston: Brill, 2018), 59-92; Joseph V. Montville, "The Healing Function in Political Conflict Resolution," in *Conflict Resolution Theory and Practice Integration and Application*, eds. Dennis J. D. Sandole and Hugo van der Merwe (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1993), 112-27.
32   Ervin Staub, "Reconciliation after Genocide, Mass Killing, or Intractable Conflict: Understanding the Roots of Violence, Psychological Recovery and Steps toward a General Theory," *Political Psychology* 27 871 (2006): 867–94.

legacy that dominated post-war literature preserves its relevance in the contemporary world, too. Exceeding spatial and temporal limits, it still haunts a wide array of people and finds manifold artistic expressions perpetually. Thus, even artists, who are born much later after the War and have no direct experience of the Holocaust with the brunt of postmemory produce works manifesting trauma of this transnational phenomenon.

Exemplary of the Holocaust literature, Jonathan Lichtenstein's play *Memory* engenders specific manifestations of traumatic memory through three intertwined stories, each engaging in various ways with the pathologies of trauma. One story sheds light on the overwhelming incidents in 1930s' Berlin that will cause tremendous personal and collective traumas for many decades to come. Protagonist Eva, her husband, their son, and two other children experience Nazi persecution. Eva is separated from her only child, her husband commits suicide, and two little boys she is trying to protect are executed before her eyes. Besides keeping an account of unspeakable horrors, people suffer in Nazi Germany, this part also facilitates interpretation of the second story as it encapsulates underlying causes of the characters' trauma.

The second story, set in 1990s Berlin as a follow-up to the first, embodies the traumatic lives of the people arising out of the preceding catastrophes. Eva, now a woman of seventy-eight, lives in total isolation with the haunting memories of the past. As she cannot find anyone to support and listen to her, she lives fixed to her traumatic past and perpetually acts them out. Moreover, she tries to expunge traces of trauma by fabricating false memories which prevents her further from working through. In addition to Eva's trauma, this story also offers insights into the notion of postmemory through Peter. Eva's grandson, Peter is similarly haunted by the traumatic memories of his grandmother although he has no experience of them. Having been brought up with the images, stories, and sufferings of his father and grandmother, he is heavily traumatized and becomes an epitome of postmemory. It can also be argued that Peter is the spokesperson of Lichtenstein as the playwright himself is a Holocaust survivor's son. Vicariously traumatized for he was brought up with the harrowing Holocaust memories, Lichtenstein becomes a post-victim as an owner of postmemory and to verbalize his own trauma he creates this affinity in his play.

The last story manifests the heavy cost of the unworked through traumas in the form of new traumas on personal and national levels. Through a duologue between an Israeli soldier and a Palestinian, evacuated from his house, this story brings the persistent Israel-Palestine conflict to attention. Subsequent to the former two stories, this part renders a conflicted and traumatized relation to the past and its catastrophic consequences apparent.

Caruth asserts that trauma "*is always the story of a wound that cries out, that addresses us in the attempt to tell us of a reality or truth that is not otherwise available,*"[33] Literary and

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33   Caruth, *Unclaimed*, 4.

artistic works attempt to verbalize these various wounds, in this wise, bring untold traumas into relief. Among others, dramatic works provide fruitful ground for such traumas to be voiced and enacted anew. It can even be claimed that just like traumatic memories haunting their survivors, the past and its figures repeatedly haunt the dramatic works and theatre stages, as intrusive ghosts, in order to find expression by re-enacting what has happened earlier. Epitomizing this affinity, Jonathan Lichtenstein's *Memory* incorporates harrowing memories of the past that permeate the lives of the owners and plague many others. Enabling these memories to be remembered and communicated in one story, it deliberates on the possibilities of working through and alerts its audience against the risks of acting out former traumas time and again.

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Plague: A Tragic Way to Empower the Artistic Imagination and to Deliver Hope

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the impacts of the plagues in dramatic literature and performance art beginning with ancient Greek Theatre and ending in Contemporary Theatre. It addresses the traditional application of the metaphorical employment of the plagues and a shift towards the pronunciation of the space in Contemporary Theatre. This research exposes the existential concerns that threaten humanity, such as fascism, marginalization, and the catastrophic consequences of climate change. To clarify the main argument, the classical and modern texts, along with the opinions of legendary theater theoreticians, directors, and artists, are examined. These sources range from Sophocles' *Oedipus the King*, Daniel Defoe's *A Journal of the Plague Year,* Albert Camus' *The Plague*, and Ann Bogart, to Robert Wilson. These existential concerns, along with possible artistic responses to the current problems of climate change and COVID-19, inspired them to start a discussion through more ecologically concerned theater practices..

Keywords: Plague, Marginalization, Metaphor, Space, Eco-Theater

Introduction

Plagues have been one of the sources that have empowered the imagination of theater artists throughout history. The main reason for this creative force is the context of the diseases, such as the physical and psychological manifestation of the plagues, contamination, and the methods of treatment. This article examines the traditionally metaphorical application of the plagues to address existential issues of humanity, and a shift through physical and even virtual space in Contemporary Theatre due to COVID-19.

The recent COVID-19 pandemic encouraged art makers to find new aesthetic methods to reflect social, political, and ecological issues and emergencies. Historically, plagues have fired playwrights and artists' imaginations metaphorically. Artists investigated the question of "who are we" in their new surroundings.[1] For example, Sophocles wrote *Oedipus the King* as a "plague character." In fact, the play wasn't literally about the plague that hit Athens in 430 B.C.E. Regardless, the dramatist applied the disease as a metaphor of devastation to articulate the tragic destiny of an innocent man, Oedipus.

In the 1940s, Albert Camus wrote *The Plague*, employing a fictional plague as an analogy to criticize rising fascism, Nazis, and other dictatorial regimes. Nowadays, the emerging aesthetics of art, such as Eco-Theater, concentrate on the question of "where are we?"[2] This question is linked to climate change, as well as the current and future environmental catastrophes that threaten the environment. Ecological issues are predominantly related to physical space. Fires, droughts, hurricanes, dislocation, and exodus significantly affect living organisms, endangering them in their habitats. The catastrophic effects of climate change are a big issue that we are and will be dealing with globally. After all, both aesthetic approaches are interested in the existential emergencies of humans and ecology. Comprehension of these aesthetic perceptions can assist art makers in creating dialogues to explore options while reflecting on contemporary social, political, and ecological issues.

COVID-19 destabilized and paused human lives for a while. Loss, unrest, uncertainty, fear, anxiety, isolation, and violence highlighted this tragic period. The consequences of crises have been traumatizing as well as opening doors for hope. This temporary pause has allowed artists to stop, to think, and to reconstruct. It has paved a way to communicate and to share both among the art makers, and between art makers and audience in terms of responding more effectively to the issues of the current pandemic or plague environment. In a recent interview, Richard Schechner states, "This virus gives an opportunity to think between the end of the virus and the climate catastrophe. Artists can participate in this. Because an artist's job is

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1   Kristin Idaszak, "ECODRAMATURGY", Kristin Idaszak, accessed February 7, 2022, https://www.kristinidaszak.com/ecodramaturgy.

2   Ibid.

imaginary and participatory… So, I do feel that we have the opportunity, locally as artists, to reconfigure the aesthetic structures. And then to elaborate social and political world to world to deep structural changes."[3] Schechner's hopeful approach as socially and politically active members of the art community remind us of Brecht's activism. Anne Bogart also gives credit to Brecht with this quote from him: "New times need new forms."[4] Clearly, Schechner and Bogart see the future, which is embedded in activism, as hopeful, as did Brecht. In terms of possible changes in theater ecology, Bogart believes it is necessary to rethink the basics of theater. She reminds us of the value of listening, which allows us to cultivate ideas. Artists must be aware of the issues as well as fragmented words and pay attention to them. Bogart views the artists as the voice of the problems and happenings in life.

Therefore, Bogart is less interested in using the virtual platforms as a means of self-expression and critically approaches the way people use social media platforms. She shares Tina Landau's definition of self-expression on virtual platforms as a "form of mourning" and Bogart argues with this statement by stating, "The theatre is not self-expression… If anything, it's a eulogy. It's actually giving voice to dead people."[5] This profound perception of theatre has a dimension of social and community consciousness.

As theater makers, she wants to see that people are using virtual platforms to project deeper issues that connect with one another through understanding and empathy. Bogart illustrates her point with a story. American prisoners at camps during the Vietnam War, and during WWII in Japan and China, created a communication method by tapping. The story continues, "they would be separated and enforced not to actually speak to one another. And so, they figured out a very elaborate way of tapping to one another, either through the walls or against the pipes. They figured out elaborate messaging systems that would go from one cell to another. And I thought, ultimately, that is interesting because it's one person trying to reach out to others or a group of people trying to stay together amidst horrifying circumstances."[6] What Bogart suggests is a way of communication that has a deeper understanding and sense of each other, rather than shoddily expressing oneself in virtual reality. This is like earlier artists who used plague as a metaphor– a metaphor of touching ever-existing issues such as marginalization and violence. Ultimately, plague urges artists to search for their own way of reaching out, as Bogart expressed, "[A]re you there, do you hear me, and I have something to say than just kind of showing off."[7]

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3   The Segal Center, "SEGAL TALKS Richard Schechner (NYC)", Video, *YouTube*, April 22, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oznSzKhiw8c&t=1763s.

4   The Segal Center, "SEGAL TALKS: Anne Bogart (New York, USA)", Video, *YouTube*, May 29, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E38Ft3pQGJg.

5   HowlRound Theatre Commons, "Directors Lab West Connects - Anne Bogart and Jessica Hanna on Sunday 24 May 2020", Video, *YouTube*, May 24, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UUHOSjT5HX8.

6   Ibid.

7   Ibid.

There is an undeniable shift from pre-pandemic to during and post-pandemic aesthetics and our means of communication. Zoom became a popular platform connecting people locally and globally. Eco-theater is gaining great currency across the globe by pointing out emerging current and future climatic catastrophes. The predicted future environmental disasters will manifest more horrifying effects on the planet than COVID-19. Richard Schechner warns, "New York will not have 250 thousand cases and 15 thousand deaths but be under 10 feet of water where Amsterdam and London will have disappeared where Bangladesh will be flooded out etc."[8] As evidenced here, the question of "where we are" is more highlighted than "who we are."

This approach has two points related to Eco-Theater. Firstly, Eco-Theater is primarily focused on ecology-based issues rather than human-centered problems. Secondly, space has crucial importance in Eco-Theater. Yet the theater world is diverse. A number of performance companies still center on human conditions such as alienation, marginalization, violence, exodus, human trafficking, love, loss, and isolation, which are as urgent as the growing concerns of Eco-Theater. Hence, it is worthwhile to study the plagues in their historical and contemporary conditions. Examining the metaphorical applications of plague, and its relations with space, will allow us to understand the deeper relationship between plague's political and social dimensions, such as minorities, scapegoating, pollution, and purification. The metaphorical comprehension of plague may help us to examine horrifying historical and current events such as Hitler's "Jewish Plague," violence against minorities, and even deportations at the borders.

Pharmakos, Scapegoating

A healthy body is a powerful metaphor in Western literature. It refers to the wholesomeness of the city or nation. In ancient Greece and its colonies, scapegoating or pharmakos rituals were practiced, purifying the city from plague and other environmental disasters. The plague was pollution and it needed to be purified by exclusion, extermination, containment, and isolation for curative purposes. Therefore, the annual pharmakos or scapegoating rituals symbolized the purification process of the city. The ancient Greek dramatists used the metaphorical applications of the healthy body. One of the greatest plague dramas was *Oedipus the King*.

The scapegoat ritual was based on human sacrifice. In this ritual "a man of the poorer classes used to offer himself as a scapegoat for the city which in return, supported him, for a year upon the best quality food."[9] His service as a scapegoat was meant to benefit the community. Then, "at the end of the period, dressed in sacred garments, he was led through the whole city, while prayers were uttered that all the evils of the people might fall upon his head. He was then cast out of the city or stoned to death by the people outside the walls."[10] The pharmakos maintain

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8   The Segal Center, "SEGAL TALKS Richard Schechner (NYC)".
9   Jennifer Cooke, *Legacies of Plague in Literature, Theory and Film* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 77.
10   Ibid., 77.

two binary functions: curative and transmitter of the plague. Thus, removing the scapegoat from the city or community meant eradicating the disease and bringing the cure. Hence, the sacrificed person was both considered poisonous and curative. In fact, this binary is consistent both in the formal and natural religions. Later on, we will see that there are attributions against Jewish people as plague carriers in the Old Testament, and even more recently. In ancient Greece, along with several of his duties, Apollo is considered the one bringing plague and the cure, as in *Oedipus the King*. In formal religions, God is also believed to be both the beneficent and the bringer of diseases to punish sinners. Albert Camus extensively talks about God's role in delivering the plague in his well-known novel *The Plague*, which criticized Nazism, fascism, and dictatorships.

The sacrificial ritual symbolizes the distinction between outdoor and indoor borders. By placing the scapegoat outside the city borders, the community contains itself as a city or nation. In this way, "the scapegoat who the city casts beyond its walls is supposed to secure the city by placing outside what is actually part of the inside and its constitution."[11] The insider-outsider binary and scapegoat has been practiced throughout history in different forms. In his book, *A Journal of the Plague Year,* Daniel Defoe talks about shutting down houses by marking their doors with cross signs. Later, Hitler stigmatized the Jewish people as a "Jewish plague" and exterminated them. Even today, we witness deportation tragedies at the US borders, to protect the so-called healthy body of the nation. In terms of the dramatic text, *Oedipus the King* is the most notable plague-driven play in Western drama. In the play, Oedipus, like a scapegoat, blinds himself and exiles himself from his kingdom of Thebes to reestablish stability.

The classical Athenian drama was immensely influenced by the Great Plague that appeared in 430 B.C.E. The plague fostered the Athenians' imagination and language. The tragedians were inspired by the characteristics of the plague to profoundly express "the tragedy's concern with social conflict and stability through a particular system of metaphors."[12] Sophocles' *Oedipus the King* is more concerned with the curative factor that rebalances and heals the social systems through pharmakos. Thebes purges Oedipus to restabilize the healthy body of the polis. While setting up the dramatic elements of this tragedy, "Sophocles maintains an active interest in the dramatic implications of disease yet seems reluctant to extend these implications as openly as Euripides to the realm of metaphorical."[13] Sophocles makes the audience work hard to understand the function of his dramas.

However, *Oedipus the King* is a post-plague play. When it was written, the audience was familiar with the Great Plague and its effects. It was probably easier for the spectators to sense

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11 Ibid.*,* 79.

12 Robin Mitchell-Boyask, *Plague and the Athenian Imagination: Drama, History, and the Cult of Asclepius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 5.

13 Ibid., 6.

the supporting relationship between the plague and the well-known myth of Oedipus. The catastrophic force of the plague powerfully enforces the original myth to the point of catharsis. The plague adds urgency and tension to the text.

The language of plague and pharmakos is deeply embedded in the story as driving and resolving factors. Oedipus, the king of Thebes, is dealing with a big problem: plague. He is a responsible king, and vows to erase the disease from Thebes. He sends Kreon, his brother-in-law, to Delphi to receive a message from an oracle of Apollo. Meanwhile, the Thebans congregate and wait for Oedipus in front of the palace at dawn. Oedipus is distressed to see his people in misery. The Priest explains the reason they are convened and urgently pleads with him:

> *Lord Oedipus, right there,*
> *In front of your eyes-this city-*
> *It reads under a wild storm of blood, wave after*
> *Wave battering Thebes.*
> *We cannot breathe or stand.*
> *We hunger, our world shivers with hunger.*
> *A disease hungers,*
> *Nothing grows, wheat, fruit, nothing grows*
> *Bigger than a seed*[14]

In these lines, the plague defines the language. The disease crisis affects the choice of emotionally charged images and words like *wild storm of blood*, *disease hungers*, and so on. The physical reality of plague becomes both a metaphor itself and it shapes the language to form diverse metaphors to express the destruction of the physical condition.

The plague is embedded in the language throughout the story. We never lose sight of it. Plague words like suffering, disease, and fear constantly remind us of the calamity of plague and the tragedy of Oedipus. In fact, plague is the reason Oedipus finds out who he really is. As a fair and responsible king, he vows to find the murderer of the former King Laios. This action will supposedly eradicate the plague from the land as Apollo had declared. Oedipus says, "Follow me. Join me in fighting this sickness, this plague, and all over sufferings may end, like a dark sky."[15] The constant repetition of the disease-related words turns into metaphorical expressions of Oedipus' wretched situation as a king who has fallen into blind exile. From now on, he will wander beyond the city borders like a dervish.

There are two pharmakos in the play: Oedipus and Apollo. Oedipus leaves his kingdom to restore the healthy body of Thebes. This means metaphorically, he carries this disease, and his departure will be the cure for his people. Apollo is known as the God of disease and healing along with his other specialties. In *Oedipus the King*, he sends the plague to Thebes

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14   Sophocles, *Oedipus the King* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 24.
15   Ibid., 33.

due to the corruption that Oedipus has caused in killing Laios unwillingly. Apollo instructs Oedipus to find the murderer, since the plague is rooted in murder. Thus, the murderer needs to be removed. Thereby, Apollo enacts a pharmakos. Kreon brings the news from Delphi. In his news, Apollo commands:

> *"Cleanse the city of Thebes, Cleanse the plague from that city*
> *Destroy the black stain spreading everywhere (...)*
> *A man must be banished. Banished or killed.*
> *Blood for blood. The plague is blood,*
> *Blood, breaking over Thebes"*[16]

Clearly, the characteristics of the plague and the bodily sense of the disease determine the language of the dramatic text, and how to apply it. Moreover, it creates disease metaphors.

Later, these metaphors varied in literature depending on the type of plague experienced. For instance, William Defoe's *A Journal of the Plague Year* takes the reader into the Bubonic Plague that struck London in 1665. It is also called the Great Plague of London. It began in 1664 and lasted through late 1695. The Bubonic Plague terrorized Londoners and swept away 68,590 people out of a population of 460,000. The symptoms of Bubonic were "buboes and inflammatory swelling of lymph glands."[17] Usually, it killed its victims in a most horrific way, as is heartbreakingly illustrated in *A Journal of the Year*. Centuries later, these experiences were metaphorized by playwrights like Albert Camus.

William Defoe was a merchant, and a journalist in essence. His novel *narrates* the plague year of 1665. Essentially, a narrator named H.F. walks through parishes of London and reports on the terrifying plague environment by blurring reality and fiction. The novel compiles the regulations of the authorities: shutting up infected houses, mortality bills, death carts, and short stories. The text has an episodic structure because it is made up of short stories. Other prominent plague writers also applied the episodic structure, such as Boccaccio in *The Decameron,* and Camus in *The Plague*. Decameron refers to the Black Death in Florence in 1348. Ten men and women express their lamentations through one hundred short stories while they are escaping the Black Death. In *The Plague,* the Bubonic Plague hits the Algerian town of Oran through rats. The town closes its doors and militaristic measures are taken to eradicate the plague. The novel tells the stories of the individual characters rather than one big dramatic narrative. In its conclusion, the untimely ending of individuals' lives reflects on the episodic structure of the texts from Boccaccio to Camus.

As in *Oedipus*, the language of plague is prevalent throughout *A Journal of the Plague Year.* But unlike in Oedipus, language is not the driving force of the novel; rather, it is descriptive.

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16   Ibid., 27.
17   Daniel Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year: Easyread Edition*, Dover Thrift Editions (2001; repr., London: Dover Publications, INC., 2020), iv.

This difference might be related to the episodic structure of the text: unlike the dramatic structure of Oedipus that rises through crises, it resolves. In this context, plague-related words and expressions are prevalent throughout *A Journal of the Plague Year* and present in the novel as one big horrific experience of Londoners. Some of the words and phrases are *terror*, *delirious*, *cries and shrieks*, *burial pits*, *murderers*, *watchmen*, *horrible*, *exile*, *grief*, *shutting up houses*, *death*, and death carts. The horrifying, heartbroken images drawn through language impacted Camus' *The Plague* and *The State of Siege* deeply, and they became a perfect tool to express the madness of Nazism, fascism, and dictatorial regimes.

The nature of the Bubonic Plague drove people to delirium. The lymph nodes were swollen. The body took on absurd shapes to get rid of the pressure of the virus. The plague was so violent that "the power of man was baffled and ended. So, the plague defied all medicines."[18] Once infected, men and women would drop dead in the marketplace and on the streets within just a few hours. The horror and pain of the plague led people to take extreme actions to ease the pain. Hence, the stories in the novel seem exceedingly absurd and almost unbelievable. The accounts are brief because the lives of the infected people are incredibly short– like one breath. Daniel Defoe uses the idea of a human life cut short as a literary technique. He tells a story of an infected man in one sentence, as if in one breath:

> I heard of one infected creature who, running out of his bed in his shirt in the anguish and agony of his swellings, of which he had three upon him, got his shoes on and went to put on his coat; but the nurse resisting, and snatching the coat from him, he threw her down, ran over her, ran downstairs and into the street, directly to the Thames in his shirt, the nurse running after him, and calling to the watch to stop him; but the watchman, frighted at the man, and afraid to touch him, let him go on; upon which he ran down to the Stillyard stairs, threw away his shirt, and plunged into the Thames, and, being a good swimmer, swam quite over the river; and the tide being coming in, as they call it (that is running westward) he reached the land not till he came about the Falcon stairs, where landing, and finding no people there, it being in the night, he ran about the streets there, naked as he was, for a good while, when, it being by the time high water, he takes the river again, and swam back to the Stillyard, landed, ran up the streets again to his own house, knocking at the door, went up the stairs and into his bed again; and that this terrible experiment cured him of the plague, that is to say, that the violent motion of his arms and legs stretched the parts where the swellings he had upon him were, that is to say, under his arms and his groin, and caused them to ripen and break; and that the cold of the water abated the fever in his blood.[19]

The poorest classes were the ones most affected by the plague. The government's regulations against the disease were strict. Some regulations closed up and marked the houses of infected people, placing two watchmen, one for day and one for night; these houses would be watched and no one would be allowed to go in or out. Two orders seem especially cruel: closing up and

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18   Ibid., 27.
19   Ibid., 123.

marking the houses. Even though it seems necessary due to health reasons, it is confinement and imprisonment of people by isolating them. According to Defoe, "…shutting up of houses was at first counted a very cruel and unchristian method, and the poor people so confined made bitter lamentations."[20] Ultimately, the upper classes fled London, but the poor had to deal with harsh regulations to protect the healthy body of the city. Closing borders during COVID-19 presents a similar mentality, shutting foreigners out and protecting the nation's healthy body. This regulation reminds us of the ancient Greek ritual scapegoat. Foreigners are considered pharmakon: both the transmitter of the disease and the cure by staying out of the country. Londoners presumably protected themselves by containing the infected ones in their homes, outside the social borders.

The images became a powerful tool to express the militaristic measures that the government took, and the horrifying and unthinkable results of the plague. Because of the rage and intolerable agony of the swelling, people became crazed and violent, even toward themselves, including, "...throwing themselves at their windows, shooting themselves; mothers murdering own children in their lunacy… some into despair and lunacy, others into melancholy madness… some broke into streets, perhaps naked and would run directly down to the river if they were not stopped by the watchman or other officers, and plunge into the water wherever they found it."[21] There were cases where the infected died, and their children would be "found sucking the breasts of their mothers, or nurses after they have been dead of the plague".[22]

Furthermore, death carts carried the dead to the burial pits, which were like mass graves. The officials carried the dead bodies during the night. The graves had to be six feet deep. Men and women, rich and poor, were dumped to the burial pits like sacks of potatoes. Once a farcical event happened with a drunk piper and death cart carriers. A locally known piper would go from door to door piping around ten o'clock, and people would take care of him by providing food and drink. As the story goes, he became drunk, laid down in a stall, and fell asleep. Someone saw him and thought the piper was dead. They called the death cart, which took him to the burial pit, where he woke up. The frightened piper yelled, "Hey! Where am I?... But I ain't dead though, am I?"[23] Greatly inspired by Defoe, Camus uses the drunk piper character directly, along with death carts and other images, as an analogy to criticize the political upheavals of his time.

As a matter of fact, the authorities' militaristic attitude towards the Great Plague, and Defoe's response to the disease and regulations align with Camus' political concerns, in which he uses plague as an analogy to address the emerging, existential issues of humanity. Camus' novel,

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20   Ibid., 37.
21   Ibid, 62.
22   Ibid., 90.
23   Ibid., 69.

The Plague, dwells on growing dictatorships which threaten the natural growth of humanity. Suddenly, the rats start to come out and die in Oran, a French Algerian city in the 1940s. Soon after, in the novel, the Bubonic Plague begins to spread. The government cremates the rats and takes militaristic and tyrannical steps to prevent the spread of plague, like closing the borders for quarantine. These measures leave its inhabitants feeling trapped and exiled. The novel is interested in questioning existential issues in the context of plague. Camus applies plague metaphorically to make an analogy between the disease and the Nazis and fascism.

The Plague is written in an episodic structure. It relates the lives of the characters who are imprisoned in Oran, struggling to fulfill their personal goals and desires under "the reign of terror."[24] For instance, Dr. Rieux is separated from his beloved wife. She has health issues, and leaves Oran for treatment. Rambert, a French Journalist, makes every effort to reunite with his wife in Paris. Grand tries to perfectly write the first sentence of his dream novel, and he longs for his ex-wife. Rambert dreams of a big success. He exclaims, "What I really want, doctor, is this. On the day when the manuscript reaches the publisher, I want him to stand up? After he's read it through, of course, say to his staff: 'Gentlemen, hats off!'"[25] Father Phaneloux is torn between God and his consciousness. *The Plague* moves the reader from one character's life to another's. Meanwhile, all these figures interact with each other, mostly in conjunction with Dr. Rieux's professional efforts. The episodic structure of *The Plague* reminds us of Defoe's *A Journal of the Plague Year,* which inspired Camus greatly.

The Plague is set in the uninspiring, dull city of Oran, where the only concern is to make money and be rich. There are no gardens, trees, or flowers. It has a dusty, gray air which is truly unpleasant. People spend their free time with short-lived, ephemeral pleasures. There is no intimacy among the business-minded inhabitants of Oran. Oran is "treeless, glamourless, soulless, the town of Oran ends by seeming restful and after a while, you go complacently to sleep there."[26]

The images are like the ones in Defoe's text, since Camus chose the same plague as Defoe did, with such word choices as *grief*, *delirium*, *agony*, *buboes*, *blotches*, *suffering*, *death carts*, and so on. Furthermore, Camus uses additional images that suggest to the reader political connections. The author encourages the reader to create connections between Nazis, fascism, and existential issues by using the plague's symptoms and outcomes. The following images assist the audience in experiencing the state of existentialism: "the feeling of exile, that sensation of a void, and the prisoners of the plague."[27] Camus also employed expressions that may be related to the Holocaust, for instance, "a systematic extermination of the rat population by injecting

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24   Albert Camus, *The Plague*, n.d., accessed February 7, 2022. 144.
25   Ibid., 50.
26   Ibid., 2.
27   Ibid., 34.

poison gas into the sewers, and a strict supervision of the water supply."[28] He also mentions mass burials, "the heaps of corpses," collective punishment, and the military.[29] Most of these images and the other illustrations in *The Plague* might also connect to any other dictatorial regime, such as Stalin's. However, the choice of words like *Holocaust* and *extermination* immediately leads us to recall the Nazis. Moreover, the depiction of the environment, lack of individual freedom, and business-minded military state lead us to think that Oran is governed under fascism. Therefore, it is safe to say that Camus mostly criticized Nazis and fascism in *The Plague*.

The Nazi's extermination of the Jews, a marginalized community, leads us to inquire about the relationship between Jews and the plague. Where did Hitler ground his allegation of a "Jewish plague?" Moreover, Camus' account of the extermination of rats raises the question: is there any supposed connection between the rats and the Jews? To answer these questions, a presumed connection between disease and otherness/foreignness needs to be explained. This supposed link is cardinal since it leads groups to conceive of others as "non-us, the alien," which underlies the source of all anger against Jews and other marginalized groups of people or individuals in history.[30] Sontag refers to Aristotle's definition of metaphor in *Poetics.* Aristotle says that metaphor, "consists in giving the thing a name that belongs to something else."[31] Metaphorization engages the mental process of analyzing and exploring the common characteristics of two unrelated things. Disease is a literal name for the soma deviating away from the healthy, normal state of the body. Treatment processes involve separation, confinement, isolation, and other methods, which all have military features. The diseased body is polluted. Society stigmatizes a polluting individual and finds that person is always wrong and harmful. This conception distresses society, so the individual needs to be isolated from the community. Essentially, the body is a metaphor. Plague disrupts the body by contaminating it. The solution is to segregate the body from society for the benefit of society.

The connection between plague and pharmakos expresses the Jewish people's experiences through history. Historically, Jewish people have been stigmatized and cast out as pharmakos by being accused of being plague carriers. This idea became part of anti-Semitic discourse by fascists and Nazis, and it gained a number of supporters. The strongest and earliest basis for anti-Semitism appears in a story in the Old Testament, where the Jewish people were punished by God "with plagues of different kinds," so Jews were thought of "as plague- bringers or plague carriers… [T]hese views linked Jewishness to plague."[32] Secondly, a plague emerged in "a small village in the Bavarian mountains" during the early 1700s.[33] Following 1634, the

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28   Ibid., 26.

29   Ibid., 145.

30   Susan Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and Its Metaphors* (Macmillan, 2001). 136.

31   Ibid., 93.

32   Cooke, *Legacies of Plague in Literature, Theory and Film*. 116.

33   Ibid., 116.

villagers began to stage *The Oberammergau Passion Play* every ten years as a "theatrical pledge to avert plague" by reciting their rescue story.[34] However, the play was strictly associated with being Jewish. The villagers also portrayed Jewish people negatively for their connection to Christ's death. This celebration became very popular. People visited the village as pilgrims. Hitler saw this performance two times. Furthermore, most of the villagers became supporters of the Nazis. In addition, during the second half of the fourteenth century, the plague of Black Death emerged in Europe. Jewish people were blamed for poisoning and spreading disease. According to the accounts, God was displeased with Jewish actions and sent a plague. Hence, "Jewish families were hounded and ostracized… whole Jewish communities burnt alive or chased from towns, with thousands dying, particularly in Germany."[35]

The so-called sickness that is inherited in Jewish people was seen as impure and jeopardized the pure, healthy body of the Aryan Germans. Therefore, the body became property of state politics, and scapegoated Jewish people once again. As bringers of the plague, rats and Jews were associated with each other. It was considered that "the rat and the Jew are the physical manifestations of disease".[36] They both carried the plague, and their removal would cure the whole nation, as it was practiced in the Greek rituals of pharmakos. Hitler said:

> *"If somebody tells us, 'The future will demand sacrifices,' then we say, 'Yes, indeed it will!" National Socialism is not a doctrine of inertia but a doctrine of conflict. Not a doctrine of happiness or good luck, but a doctrine of work and a doctrine of struggle, and that also a doctrine of sacrifice"*[37]

Consequently, Camus' *The Plague* leans on these painful historical facts, and uses them to question the Nazis and fascism, which do not value love, wisdom, or democracy. Therefore, their mindset creates irrational politics, and the consequence of irrationality is madness, like the Holocaust. Hence Camus applies plague as a metaphorical analogy to criticize Nazis and fascism. Susan Sontag states, "The plague metaphor was common in the 1930s as a synonym for social and psychic catastrophe."[38]

Eco-Theater and Space

Nevertheless, contemporary theater, reframed as Eco-Theater, diverts from the traditional view of plagues as being a source of metaphorical inspiration to address the existential issues of humanity. Eco-Theater is mainly concerned with ecological issues that threaten the living environment, or "environmental justice." The physical space, site-specific settings for plays, and immersive interaction with space are essential to create living and breathing plays.[36]

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34   Ibid., 117.
35   Ibid., 118.
36   Ibid., 124.
37   Ibid., 126.
38   Sontag, *Illness as Metaphor and AIDS and Its Metaphors*, 145.

Eco-Theater is immediate and urgent. It aims to relay the message directly and efficiently by connecting the audience with the specific environment of the drama, and with each other. Lately, environmental performances such as *The Wolf Project* and *Sila* have impacted audiences' theatrical experiences somatically and intellectually. In particular, *The Wolf Project* creates an immersive opportunity for the audience to engage with the site-specific location of the performance that was staged. Furthermore, the artistic views and practices of legendary theater-makers, such as Anne Bogart's actor training technique of Viewpoints and Robert Wilson's space-oriented vision, have become more alive than ever due to their timely responsiveness to our current environment. Their art, along with that of others, looks for reciprocal, immersive relationships with the environment.

Eco-Theatre artists are politically aware. The artists respond to the pressing issues of their times by investigating the most effective ways to transmit their messages. However, their methods have a profound tradition in the avant-garde theater movements. Traditionally, avant-garde artists have shown great interest in the environment, racism, inequality, and other issues, and have been in search of new art forms and site-specific performances. Distinctively, Eco-Theater is more concentrated on ecology and climate change. The Eco-Theatre Manifesto states:

> *"The future of our ecosystems – the network of relationships that make up our earth, our society, and by extension our theatre – depends on a radical and immediate change in our culture. The combined legacies of capitalism, colonialism, and white supremacy have manufactured a world of mass extinction, vanishing coastlines, displacement, and inequality. Climate change is not an issue to overcome but our new global reality. Eco-Theatre is a movement of artists compelled to make work in the context of this new reality, toward a collective goal of environmental justice… A just society can only be achieved by shifting culture; by shaping our values through artistic practice and imagining alternative futures through stories… Theatre thrives on cultural diversity: intersectional, collaborative spaces produce great art. Eco-Theatre amplifies underrepresented voices, includes people from all fields as artists, and features a myriad of performance forms."*[39]

Clearly, the Eco-Theatre Manifesto addresses the current momentous problems around the globe, but climate change is exceedingly pronounced. The matter of climate change is closely related to physical space, such as in "vanishing coastlines, displacement."[40] Calling attention to physical space in Eco-Theater is a departure from the inquiry of "who are we" to the contemporary approach of "where are we." In addition, contemporary artists highly regard virtual platforms to present their art. These new trends in theater represent a shift from the traditional metaphorical application of plague to the significance of the physical or virtual space, which has gained prominence due to plague and isolation. "Who are we" has more existential implications, as in Oedipus being in search of his identity, or Camus' characters, who are trapped by plague/fascist circumstances. The answer changes from person to person.

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39   "What Is Ecotheater?," Superhero Clubhouse, http://www.superheroclubhouse.org/what-is-ecotheater/.
40   Ibid.

On the other hand, "where are we" is more direct, and gives an impression of urgency to find solutions right away.

Richard Schechner, who is one of the most ardent advocates of Eco-Theater, points out the gravity of the consequences of climate change. He warns that the outcome of climate change will be much more catastrophic than the current plague. Climate change is going to lead, and already leads, to complex environmental problems such as:

> "Extreme weather, shifting wildlife populations and habitats, rising seas and a range of other impacts… lost crops, and drinking water shortages…some species-including mosquitoes, ticks, jellyfish, and crop pests-are thriving." Moreover, "Booming populations of dark beetles that feed on spruce and pine trees, for example, have devastated millions of forested acres in the U.S."[41]

Schechner observes that COVID-19 is temporary, but climate change isn't. Therefore, art makers must take the responsibility to reflect these issues to create awareness.

Despite the scientists' apprehensions about current and future expected disasters, Eco-Theater is hopeful. The loss is unavoidable, but Eco-Theater suggests that we must acknowledge and work through it to solve the problems. The Eco-Theatre Manifesto asserts, "There is a better future, Eco-Theatre counters narratives of futility by centering stories of resilience, innovation, and interconnection."[42] The upshot of all this guides the artists to pause and rethink the events that endanger living environments and evaluate the new tools that technology offers for creativity to respond to the issues.

The temporary state of the plague has given an opportunity for art makers to pause and think about their art, and to explore the possibilities of new tools. The COVID-19 plague and its environment have introduced us to new possibilities of creating an reaching a wider audience through digital platforms. Universally, Zoom has become the most common virtual place for a wide range of practices to share ideas and work. However, it is still an unknown land for many artists who used to do live theater. Anne Bogart argues that technology and the soul of the theater should be in balance. High reliance on technology can cause the loss of the original soul of theater. At the same time, technology like lighting, sound systems, and Zoom contribute greatly to drama. This resembles the high-tech train example in Thomas Friedman's *The Lexus and the Olive Tree,* which Bogart shares as an anecdote, "The South of France. You have this incredible countryside and then you have a high-speed train running through it."[43]

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41   "Global Warming Effects," *National Geographic*, January 14, 2019, https://www.nationalgeographic.com/environment/article/global-warming-effects.

42   "What Is Ecotheater?," Superhero Clubhouse.

43   HowlRound Theatre Commons, "Directors Lab West Connects - Anne Bogart and Jessica Hanna on Sunday 24 May 2020."

Virtual spaces, which are the latest internet technology, have contributed to theater by impacting its accessibility and audience participation. Through the internet, theater makers can reach the audience and expand it globally. Now they create a production in a small intimate theater, and reach a wide range of audiences around the world. The easy accessibility creates global interconnection and participation. The possibilities of the new digital platform can serve superbly to the benefit of immersive theater and create a "collective experience."[44] The online environment also provides instant feedback.

However, it is doubtful that the virtual environment by itself is capable of creating a soulful, collective heartbeat among spectators. In an online environment, audiences are connected globally, yet they are still on their own couches, in their safe environments. There is not an organic inter-connectedness, as in live theater. There is no communal laughter, tears, anger, or thought sharing. Thus, the possibilities of virtual space may serve theater better if they are in conjunction with the physical state. At the same time, the participatory and liberal characteristics of virtual space align with the immersive nature of Eco-Theater.

The immersive quality in Eco-Theater is achieved mostly through space, making it an active participant of the performance. The settings in Eco-Theater are mostly site-specific, and more diverse. It is intended to create superior ecological awareness in the audience through experiencing nature's bequest to the performance. Environment is no longer considered a setting that serves human-centered concerns, as it is in naturalism. Now, the ecological issues are central. Furthermore, the interactions between audience and performers and between audience and nature are encouraged in Eco-Theater. *The Wolf Project* (the prologue *The Princess of the Stars* and epilogue *And Wolf Shall Inherit the Moon)* is an Eco-Theater interactive performance set in the wilderness of Canada by R. Murray Schafer, "a librettist, educator, writer, and soundscape theorist."[45] It is a one-week project that includes performance and camping. Nature is incorporated into the work; it seeks to "erase the line between life and art."[46] For example, the setting of an opera affects the audience's experience distinctly from outdoors from a concert hall. The view, sounds, and smells of nature incorporate music and human sounds. The environment, humans, and music blend together. Nature is a participant in the performance too. In this mobile and immersive performance, the audience travels to the cliff singing, and sits. In the performance, "The Princess paddles down the lake slowly singing all the way."[47] This continues about thirty to forty minutes until it gets dark, and her voice gets softer. Then, people walk back to the camping area and sleep. *The Wolf Project* is like a ritual, taking a moment from life, submerging oneself in nature, remembering being a part of nature, breathing with it, staying quiet, and contemplating.

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44   Ibid.

45   R. Murray Schafer, Eleanor James, and Sarah Ann Standing, "Eco-Theatre," *PAJ: A Journal of Performance and Art* 36, no. 1 (January 2014): 35–44, https://doi.org/10.1162/pajj_a_00174.

46   Ibid.

47   Ibid.

Similarly, Anne Bogart uses current COVID-19 as an opportunity of space and time to contemplate and acquire "the quality of the energy in the moment before you move or before you act…As Eugene Barba said it is the moment before the release of the arrow that determines the success of the arrow."[48] Even though Bogart's statement seems relatively apart from the dynamics of the performance and space, it is still in the context of the current living environment and artist's response to it through contemplation before s/he acts, as in *The Wolf Project*.

In addition to site-specific performances, space and architecture also suit the intentions of Eco-Theater. Space and architecture are two of the techniques in Bogart's Viewpoints that function to create spatial interactions and multiply the meanings of the existent or non-existent text. The actors are affected by where they are, and influence the environment they are in. These spatial relationships pronounce more spontaneous and evolving interactions within the theater ecology.

Regarding the "social distance" rule of the COVID-19 pandemic, Bogart asserts that the expression should be rephrased as "physical distance." She illustrates how people are superbly considerate about the people around them. Now individuals need to learn how to move by respecting each other's space. Her view is closely associated with people's current experiences globally, and the Viewpoints. Therefore, Bogart's Viewpoints become more immersed in life and they seem to be more responsive to our current conditions.

Correspondingly, Robert Wilson enjoys creating art projects pronouncing the space, either site-specific or by relying on media technology. Plastic arts such as sculpture, objects, and their interactions with theatrical elements such as light, color, space, architecture, set design, and actors are the landmarks of Wilson's art. His performances are a poetic composition of vivid and intimate interactions between these elements –which have the flavor of dreams– where all participants fluidly interact with each other in a magical sense.

Wilson believes in blending art and life. He looks at life as if it is already a piece of art, for example, sitting in the park and observing that the wind is blowing, the leaves are moving, and there is a smell of flowers in the air. He thinks these momentary experiences of living things can be taken as they are and reframed as art. Wilson thinks this approach makes art exciting, living, and breathing. Thus, he breaks the barriers between the environment and the art.

Both artists value space and time, community, presence, social responsibility, and architecture. They celebrate pluralism and openness, as in Eco-Theater. For instance, Wilson has an open-door policy on his property in Long Island at the Watermill Center where he gives residencies to artists every year. Wilson explains, "You can walk into the property. You can walk into the building. In the past few years, it's been difficult to bring certain people in, a Muslim

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48   The Segal Center, "SEGAL TALKS: Anne Bogart (New York, USA)."

or someone who has different religious beliefs than your political ideas, a different color of skin."[49] Thus, the open-door policy has both the literal and symbolic value of inclusiveness. Wilson's perception of inclusivity goes beyond what theater institutions offer their students or state in their productions.

It is also striking how Wilson is inspired by the events happening in life. He advocates for being a responsible citizen. He reacts to life, sees the creative potential in it and turns it into an extraordinary project that reflects his interaction with the ecology of life, but he doesn't directly present his point of view in his performances. He takes the realities and transforms them into a unique representation of the issue, forcing the audience to think harder by creating associations between the elements in theater ecology.

In conjunction with this, Wilson's first play was based on his involvement in protecting a Black boy, who presumably was mute, and thought "in terms of visual signs and signals."[50] One day, Wilson was walking in New Jersey. He witnessed a policeman who was about to beat the boy with his club. Wilson grabbed the policeman's arm and stopped him. This conversation occurred between Wilson and the policeman;

> Wilson: *Why do you hit the boy?*
> The policeman: *It's none of your business.*
> Wilson: *I am a responsible citizen.*[51]

After this altercation, Wilson wrote his first play with this boy. He says, "It was not something I was planning to do or necessarily even wanted to do it. It's something that happened."[52] Thus, Wilson's productions are inspired by the events in the ecology of life and presented in the ecology of the theater through the vivid interactions of theatrical elements. Wilson's views on art also show that he is deeply interested in the issues of communities around the world such as Afghans, Aborigines, and Eskimos. He believes understanding of the global community will enrich the local community and make the work of art timely.

Bogart also emphasizes that we have an intentional civic responsibility to the wellness of our community and social system. At this time of uncertainty, Anne Bogart's technique of the Viewpoints, specifically space, becomes more alive. In the Viewpoints, the environment and the actors' interaction with and within are prioritized. Actors' awareness, attention, and spontaneity in the space are highlighted. In the Viewpoints it is explained as, "The physical environment of the space through which the actor moves, be it the rehearsal studio or the stage set, its shape, dimensions, furnishings, textures, light levels, entrances and exits, and actor's

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49 HowlRound Theatre Commons, "Segal Talks with Robert Wilson at the Martin E Segal Theater Center on Thursday 8 April 2021," Video, *YouTube*, April 8, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KDYSPXp0Zc0.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid.
52 Ibid.

relation to them."[53] Bogart asserts that this type of relationship became more viable in social life under the COVID-19 circumstances. She says, "Social distancing is really a misnomer. Physical distancing is true."[54] Physical distancing is about the space between people, and how much they care about this distance. Bogart asserts, "With intentional civics that we intentionally take care of people around us. We move together more gracefully."[55] In Bogart's technique, space is considered an element of theater that has a community function through experimenting with "how to get along" by spatially engaging the physical space.[56]

In Wilson's works, space is not a main concern between the actors, or the actors and the audience, or audience members or actors and their surroundings. He widely uses different locations. Once he created a performance in an area with seven hills in Shiraz, Iran. Each day, they performed on a different hill. Wilson stated that when he looked out from an airplane, he saw infinite space. Both Bogart and Wilson are interested in being present, which is associated with eliminating the distinction between art and living. The active participation of space in a production is the main point of Eco-Theatre– that is, being interested in the question of "where we are."

This inquiry is reflected in the design of contemporary performance centers, their immersion in the surroundings, and what they are including in it. There is a fluidity between the architectural style and theater ecology. These contemporary performance spaces allow communication between sound and architectural design. The fluidity in design breaks the audience's usual perception of art and paves a way for immersive experiences.

One of the most cutting-edge, high tech, contemporary performance venue spaces is the DOX Centre for Contemporary Art in Prague. It is a multifunctional, complex, and dynamic building that includes sections such as a music hall, school of architecture, film, dance halls, and rehearsal places. The parts are unified into a single body through the fluid interaction of the buildings. The unity of the architecture is expressed in that, "the buildings are a single unit from the architectural aspect and this principle is symbolically expressed by the unified gray color and fluid interaction of all parts into one whole… The hall has variable acoustics and can be compared to a musical instrument which can be tuned depending on the needs of the specific performance."[57] Moreover, "The three-walled panels are supported by a sound absorbent, diffuse and reflective surface and can be rotated to modify the acoustic properties

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53   Scott T. Cummings, *Remaking American Theater: Charles Mee, Anne Bogart and the SITI Company* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). 113.

54   The Segal Center, "SEGAL TALKS: Anne Bogart (New York, USA)."

55   Ibid.

56   Ibid.

57   Daniel Tapia, "Centre for Contemporary Art DOX+ / Petr Hajek Architekti," *ArchDaily*, December 13, 2018, https://www.archdaily.com/907565/centre-for-contemporary-art-dox-plus-petr-hajek-architekti.

of the ceiling, thereby changing the acoustic parameters of the entire hall."[58] The features of the music hall "modifies the acoustic properties of the ceiling, thereby changing the acoustic parameters of the entire hall".[59] Another striking feature is the ring of foyers that surround the main hall. This creates a substantial lengthening of the fadeout part during the lower numbers. Seemingly the architectural design of the complex and the interactive features of the contemporary performance center, are focused on the exploration of the space and the ecology of the performance. This reminds the audience that they are not central in the performance environment, but a part of it.

Conclusion

Plague has been a force for the imagination of artists since ancient times. Predominantly, plague was applied as a metaphor to express the political, social, and existential concerns of humanity, as in Sophocles' *Oedipus* and Camus' *The Plague*. Plague images stir the audience and readers' imaginations as well as intellect. Traditionally, human issues have been the central focus of art makers. In contemporary theater, the perspective of art has begun to shift from the human-centered aspect to an ecology-centered one. This shift celebrates the immersive, reciprocal relationship of the elements of the performance with their surroundings and encourages politically-driven ecological consciousness. The current COVID-19 pandemic has opened up the possibilities of virtual space reaching a global audience. Even though the resonances of plague changed from the metaphorical application of it to directly addressing the issues of Eco-Theater, the traditional way of employing plague images as metaphors is still valid, since human suffering continues. The deportations and marginalization of people, and therefore scapegoating, are as alive as they used to be in ancient Greece, and throughout history.

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1880-1920 Arası İstanbul'daki Tulûat Tiyatrolarında Kantocu Kadınlar

Kantocu Women in Tulûat Theater in Istanbul between 1880-1920

Dila Okuş[1]

ÖZ

Kanto 19. yüzyıl İstanbul'unda popülerleşen bir sahne gösterisidir. Biçimsel olarak genellikle bir kadın sanatçının sahnede dans ederek şarkı söylemesi olarak tarif edilir. Kanto halkın büyük bölümünün ilgisini kazanmış ve kanto gösterilerine çıkan kadınlar geniş hayran kitleleri edinmişlerdir. Ancak kanto bazı kesimler tarafından hafif bir gösteri olarak da nitelenmiş, kadınların sahne üzerinde cilveli hareketler icra etmeleri bayağı ve ahlaksızca bulunmuştur. Kanto gösterilerine ve kantoculara yöneltilen eleştiriler, dönemin Osmanlı toplumunu şekillendiren kültürel bağlamdan kaynaklanmaktadır. Bu çalışmada 1880-1920 yılları arasında kadınların tuluat gösterilerinin bir parçası olarak sahneledikleri kanto gösterileri, icra ve kültürel bağlam çerçevesinde incelenecektir. Çalışmada kanto sanatının önde gelen isimlerinden Peruz Terzekyan, Şamram Kelleciyan, Küçük Virjin ve Amelya Hanım'ın yaşam öykülerine ve çalışmalarına odaklanılacaktır. Bu yaşam öykülerindeki ortaklaşan unsurlardan yararlanarak, kanto sanatçılarının kadın kimliklerinin kanto icrasına ve kantonun seyirciler tarafından alımlanmasına etkileri ortaya konacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kanto, Kantocu Kadınlar, Tulûat Tiyatrosu, Peruz Terzekyan, Şamram Kelleciyan

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ABSTRACT

Kanto is a stage performance that became significantly popular in 19th-century Istanbul. Kanto may also formally be defined as an actress singing and dancing on stage. *Kanto* performances gained the attention of many people, and big fan groups gathered around *kanto* artists. Meanwhile, some groups described *kanto* as a light banal type of performance and accused these women singers of being meretricious as they stood on stage behaving flirtatiously. The criticisms directed at the *kanto* performances and artists stemmed from the cultural context that had shaped the Ottoman society of the period. This study will analyze women's *kanto* performances between 1880-1920 in *tulûat* [improvisational] theater with regard to the performance tools and social-cultural context surrounding the artists. The study will discuss the biographies and works of leading names in *kanto* such as Peruz Terzekyan, Şamram Kelleciyan, Küçük Virjin, and Amelya in terms of the commonly encountered aspects and will reveal the effects artists' female identities had on *kanto*'s performance and reception.

Keywords: Kanto, Kantocu Women, Tulûat Theater, Peruz Terzekyan, Şamram Kelleciyan

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

Kanto is a stage performance that became significantly popular in 19th-century Istanbul. *Kanto* can be defined as an actress singing and dancing on stage. At the end of the 1800s, *kanto* was performed in *tulûat* [improvisational] theaters and music halls in Istanbul's Galata, Direklerarası, and Kadıköy districts. At the end of the 19th century, *kanto* singers mostly involved actresses dancing and singing on stage accompanied by music composed of Western instruments and traditional maqams.

Tulûat theater is a specific form of theater based on improvisation with no written theatrical text. The origin of this form is related to the privilege given to Güllü Agop, which stated that performing Western-style, Turkish text-based theatre would not be allowed to any but Güllü Agop's company. The rest of the theater people began to look for alternative ways to do theater and make money. That privilege included neither improvisational theater nor musical theater, so *tulûat* was developed based on traditional improvisation in the performing arts. The main concern in this type of theater is to attract spectators' attention to the performance, so the theater players had a series of strategies, with one of these being the inclusion of *kanto* performances in the show. One of the fundamental functions of these performances is to attract spectator intention. In that sense, having women perform the *kanto* increased the *tulûat*'s attractiveness.

The *kanto* performances achieved their goal: The public liked these performances so much, and big fan groups gathered around the *kanto* singers. However, some groups labeled *kanto* as a light form of performance and accused the female artists of being meretricious for standing on stage and behaving flirtatiously with obscene stage costumes. This approach is related to the opinion that describes *tulûat* theater as lacking seriousness and devoid of art. Once women had gotten on stage in inappropriate costumes, critics inevitably became violent toward them. Women who appeared in the public sphere with clothes they would not have been allowed to wear in daily life, despite not committing any illegal crime, had passed beyond the commonly accepted social rules and boundaries and as such became a threat to social order. The violence the artists faced was not limited to verbal critics. They were also frequently exposed to male violence. Cases occurred very often such as fans invading backstage and physically attacking one another or the *kantocu*s (*kanto* artists).

In addition to being accused of inappropriateness and meretriciousness, *kanto* performances were also described as banal because singers developed a wishy-washy image onstage and did not sing known songs. In terms of vocals, the melody of the singer's voice and the melody of the instrument were not always in harmony, and the singers, being non-Muslim, were unable to pronounce the words in the "proper" dialect. However, the performances were consistent within themself, with the inconsistency of the performance being part of the rules that create the original characteristic of *kanto* performance. *Kanto* songs tells a story, with stage props

such as sounds, instruments, movement, and costumes being unusually brought together to construct an atmosphere typical of the representative/expressive level. In that sense, one must consider consistency within *kanto* itself and follow the action executed on the stage in order to understand the fundamentals of kanto as a performing art.

This study analyzes women's *kanto* performances between 1880-1920 in *tulûat* theater in terms of the performance tools and social-cultural context surrounding the artists. The study will discuss the biographies and works of leading names in *kanto* such as Peruz Terzekyan, Şamram Kelleciyan, Küçük Virjin, and Amelya in terms of the commonly encountered aspects and will reveal the effects the artists' female identities had on *kanto*'s performance and reception.

Tulûat Tiyatrolarında Kantonun Yeri

Kanto özellikle Osmanlı İstanbul'unda 1800'lerin sonlarında tulûat kumpanyalarıyla beraber popülerleşmeye başlamış bir sahne gösterisidir. 19. yüzyıl sonunda sahnelenen seyirlik kantolarda[1], çoğunlukla bir kadın sanatçı, batılı enstrümanlar ve geleneksel makamların birleşmesinden oluşan bir müzik eşliğinde, sahne üzerinde şarkı söyleyerek dans eder. Kantolar bu dönemde genellikle Galata, Direklerarası ve Kadıköy'deki gazinolar ve tulûat tiyatrolarında sahnelenmiştir. Ancak ilk olarak Pera'da bahçeli birahanelerde, İtalyan komedilerinin oynandığı tiyatrolarda ve kahvelerde ortaya çıktığı söylenmektedir.[2] Kanto formu doğrudan tulûat tiyatrolarının bir ürünü değildir ancak tulûat tiyatrolarında yaygınlaşmıştır.[3]

1839 yılında Sultan Abdülmecid döneminde Tanzimat Fermanı'nın ilanıyla beraber Osmanlı toplumunun ekonomik ve sosyal yaşamı, toplumu sarmalayan batılılaşma rüzgarıyla bir dizi değişikliğe sahne olmuştur. Bu değişikliklerden tiyatro alanı da nasibini almıştır. Tanzimat döneminde Batılı tarzda Türkçe oyun oynama imtiyazının Güllü Agop'a verilmesi üzerine tiyatrocular oyun oynayabilmek ve gelir elde etmek amacıyla çıkış yolu arayışına girmişlerdir.[4] Bu arayış tulûat tiyatrolarının ortaya çıkması ve yaygınlaşması sonucunu doğurmuştur. Tulûat tiyatroları imtiyaza karşı gelmeden, kapalı salonda oyun oynamanın yöntemini sunar. Çünkü bu tiyatroda bir metin, suflör ya da ezber yoktur. Tulûat, bir tiyatro oyununun hikayesinin ya da olayın belirlenmiş kabataslak hatlarını esas alınmakta ve oyun belirli tipler üzerinden doğaçlama bir şekilde oynanmaktadır.[5] Tulûat tiyatrosunun bir gecelik programı yalnızca tek bir oyundan oluşmaz. Programların içerdiği çeşitliliğe bir örnek, İkdam Gazetesinde 22 Şubat 1912 yılında yayınlanan bir ilanda görülebilir:

> *"Şehzadebaşı'nda Pathé Frères'in sinematoğraf fabrikası idaresinde bulunan Ferah Tiyatrosu'nda sinematoğraf ve Abdi Efendi Kumpanyası tarafından Şubat'ın 9'uncu perşembe günü gündüz hanımlara gece beyefendilere "Kethüda Kadın" gülünçlü millî piyes 4 perde, kantolar, düetler. "Çingene Kızı" nam 1.200 metreyi hâvi büyük dram ile sâir renkli, renksiz menâzır-ı muhtelife irae edilecektir. Perde aralarında mükemmel ince saz takımı icrayı ahenk edecektir."*[6]

Rekabetçi bir tiyatro ortamında gelir elde etme kaygısı tulûat tiyatrolarının seyircinin ilgisini çekmeye yönelik bir tutum geliştirmesine yol açmıştır. Refik Ahmet Sevengil, *Türk Tiyatrosu Tarihi* kitabında tipik bir tulûat tiyatrosu girişini şöyle tasvir eder: *"Binanın önünde,*

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1   Ergun Hiçyılmaz 19. yüzyıl sonunda sahne üzerinde icra edilen kantoları seyirlik kantolar olarak kategorize etmektedir: Ergun Hiçyılmaz, *İstanbul Geceleri ve Kantolar* (İstanbul: Sabah Kitapçılık, 1999), 16.

2   Ruhi Ayangil, "Kanto", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, c. 4 (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı, 1994), 419.

3   Selçuk Alimdar, "XIX. Yüzyıldan İtibaren Osmanlı Devleti'nde Batı Müziğinin Benimsenmesi ve Toplumsal Sonuçları" (Doktora Tezi, İstanbul Teknik Üniversitesi, 2011), 370-380.

4   Metin And, *Başlangıcından 1983'e Türk Tiyatro Tarihi* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2022), 86.

5   Refik Ahmet Sevengil, *Türk Tiyatrosu Tarihi*, (İstanbul: Alfa Yayıncılık, 2015).

6   Alimdar, "XIX. Yüzyıldan İtibaren Osmanlı Devleti'nde Batı Müziğinin Benimsenmesi ve Toplumsal Sonuçları", 276.

sokakta kapının iki tarafına elle yazılmış, üstüne dikkati çekecek resimler çizilmiş ve tahtaya iliştirilmiş büyükçe el ilanları konur. Bunun adı karteladır. Oyun saatine yakın tiyatro binasının önünde orkestra yer alır.''[7] Orkestranın temel işlevi seyircinin dikkatini çekmek ve müşteri toplamaktır. Sevengil tiyatro salonu içindeki atmosferi de şöyle aktarır: *''Halk parterde kibarlar locada yerlerini alır. Kahve, çay, gazoz, fındık, fıstık satışı yapılır. Büfecinin adamları perde aralarında salonda ve locaların arkasında yüksek sesle bağırarak dolaşır…''*[8] Bazı kanto şarkılarının tiyatrodaki bu yiyecek içecek satışını artırmak amacıyla seyirciyi alışverişe teşvik eden içerikleri olduğu görülmektedir. Kantocuların tiyatrolara seyirci çekmek için halkın farklı kesimlerini ve meslek gruplarını konu edinen şarkılar söyledikleri de bilinmektedir. Mesela Galata Tiyatrosu'ndan Küçük Amelya "Tâ'ife (tayfa) Kantoları" söylemesiyle meşhurdur. Kantocu kadınlar gecenin repertuarını gelen seyirci profilini de göz önünde bulundurarak belirlerler. Arabacı ve turşucu kantoları esnaf kantolarına örnek olarak gösterilebilir:

> *Arabacı Kantosu Mâhûr/ Celâ*
> *Bizim araba boştur / Yine de çayıra koştur / Ne güzel eğleniştir / Câne safâ vermiştir / Hopla hopla hey / Kayıkla gitmeyiniz / Arabaya bininiz / Geliniz a geliniz / Hopla hopla hey*

> *Turşucu Kantosu Hüzzâm/ K. Virjini*
> *Biber turşusu yaparım / Sokakları gezmek kârım / Lahana patlıcan katarım / Domates salatalık satarım / Lahana biber turşusu / Hani ya bunun ekşisi / Lezzetlicedir biberim / Mahalleleri gezerim*[9]

Esnaf kantolarında görüldüğü gibi, kanto gösterileri tulûat tiyatrolarında "seyircinin ilgisini çekme" işleviyle yerini almaktadır. Kantonun kadınlar tarafından icra edilmesi ilgi çekiciliği artıran bir unsurdur. Ancak çeşitlilik içeren bir program kapsamında şarkılı gösteriye yer veren ilk tiyatro gösterimleri tulûat tiyatroları değildir.[10] Güllü Agop idaresindeki Gedikpaşa Tiyatrosu'na ait 1871 yılından bir ilanda programda kanto gösterisine yer verildiği görülmektedir:

> *(Gedikpaşa'da vâkî Tiyatro-i Osmanî)*
> *İşbu şehr-i Şubat'ın dördüncü Perşembe akşamı yani Cuma gecesi saat iki buçukta bed' olunacaktır. İcra edilecek lubiyat*

> **Tosun Ağa,** *komedi, üç perde.*
> **Zor Nikâh,** *bir perde.*
> **Çoban Oğlu ve Çoban Kızı,** *kanto ve raks, bir perde*[11]

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7   Sevengil, *Türk Tiyatrosu Tarihi*, 408.
8   A.g.e., 408.
9   Esra Aydınlıoğlu, "Udi Şamlı Selim'in Kanto Mecmuası" (Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ege Üniversitesi, 2021), 105-383.
10   Sevengil, *Türk Tiyatrosu Tarihi,* 408.
11   Alimdar, "XIX. Yüzyıldan İtibaren Osmanlı Devleti'nde Batı Müziğinin Benimsenmesi ve Toplumsal Sonuçları", 380.

Kanto şarkılarının tiyatro programlarındaki varlığı hedefine ulaşmış, kantolar halkın ilgisini çekmeyi başarmış, şarkılar büyük bir popülariteye kavuşmuşlardır. 19. yüzyıl sonunda ve 20. yüzyıl başlarında kanto şarkıları herkesin dilindedir, kantocuların başlarından geçenler, çoğunlukla özel hayatlarına dair bilgiler, sohbetlere konu olmaktadır. Ancak kanto halkın büyük bir kısmı tarafından beğenilirken kimileri için de sanattan yoksun ve bayağı bir gösteri olarak kabul edilmektedir. Kanto, tulûat tiyatroları öncesinde icra edildiği kahvehanelerin ziyaretçi kitlesi ve hitap ettiği kitle sebebiyle bir alt kültür gösterisi olarak nitelenmektedir. Tulûat tiyatroları öncesinde kahvehaneler ve gazinolarda sahnelenen kanto gösterilerinin izleyicisi genellikle alt sınıftan insanlardır. Bu anlamda elit bir kesime hitap eden bir sahne gösterisi değildir.[12] Kantonun başlangıçta böyle bir kitleye hitap etmesi, kimileri tarafından türün aşağı bulunmasının arkasında yatan sebeplerden biridir. Kantonun tulûat tiyatrolarının bir parçası olarak sahnelenmeye başlaması da bu görüşü aksi yönde değiştirmemiştir. Nitekim tulûat tiyatrosu, batılılaşma hareketlerinin etkisini arttırdığı Osmanlı toplumunda yaygınlaşmaya başlamış Batılı tarzda tiyatronun karşısında aşağı bir tür olarak görülmektedir. Batı tarzı tiyatronun taraftarlarından ve bu türden eserler verme kaygısıyla çalışan Namık Kemal, tulûat tiyatrosunun dayandığı ortaoyununun tiyatro olmadığını ve seyircinin ahlakını zedeleyen bir eğlence türü olduğunu savunmaktadır.[13]

Osmanlı'nın Tanzimat dönemindeki kültürel atmosferi ekonomik ya da toplumsal sınıf fark etmeksizin kadınların pek çok haktan yoksun bırakan, bu anlamda erkeklerin toplumda ayrıcalıklı bir konuma sahip olduğu bir yapılanmaya dayanmaktadır. Dolayısıyla kadınlara yönelik şiddet eylemlerinin caydırıcılığına yol açacak toplumsal düzenlemeler yoktur. Bu toplumsal yapı kantocu kadınların şiddet olaylarının doğrudan hedefi olmasını kaçınılmaz kılmaktadır.[14]

Kantocular sahne yaşamları boyunca erkek şiddetine çok fazla maruz kalmışlardır. Hayranlarının kulislerini basmaları, birbirlerini bıçaklamaları, zaman zaman kantocu kadınları da yaralamaları sıklıkla görülen olaylardandır. Hatta kantocu Agavni erkek bir hayranı tarafından öldürülmüştür.[15] Metin And, tulûat tiyatrosunun aydın çevrelerde hoş karşılanmamasının sebebinin, düşük düzeyde bir faaliyet olmasının yanında kantocuların *"bıçak çekilmesi, yaralama, silah patlaması gibi polis olaylarına yol açmalarından"* da kaynaklandığını ifade etmektedir. Kantocuların maruz kaldıkları şiddet olayları bu olayların sorumlusu kendileriymiş

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12   Kantonun tuluat tiyatroları öncesi sahnelemelerinde hitap ettiği seyirci kitlesi hakkında detaylı bir çalışma için bkz. Erik Blackthorne-O'barr, "Song and Stage, Gender and Nation: The Emergence of Kanto in Late Ottoman İstanbul" (Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Sabancı Üniversitesi 2018).

13   Nilgün Firidinoğlu. "Actors of the Ottoman Stage & Walk-Ons of Dramatic Texts: Representation of Non-Muslim Ottomans in the Western-Style Drama" *Tiyatro Eleştirmenliği ve Dramaturji Bölümü Dergisi* 30, (2020): 1-16. https://doi.org/10.26650/jtcd.742928.

14   Serpil Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, İstanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2016.

15   Hiçyılmaz. *İstanbul Geceleri ve Kantolar,* 19.

gibi anlatılmakta ve hatta "genç kızlara kötü örnek" oldukları için suçlanmaktadırlar.[16] Dönemin ünlü kantocularından Şamram Kelleciyan, Hikmet Feridun ile gerçekleştirdiği bir röportajda sanat hayatının büyük tehlikeler içinde geçtiğini, sahneye çıktığında localardan kendisine anlamı "senin için kan dökerim" demek olan kırmızı ipekli mendil gösterildiğini ifade etmektedir.[17]

Kanto sanatçıları belki de kendilerini şiddet olaylarından korumak için çoğunlukla tulûat kumpanyalarından erkeklerle evlenmişler ya da belalı sevgililerden medet ummuşlardır. Pek çok kaynakta Peruz Terzekyan'ın sevgilisi olarak bahsedilen Bıçakçı Petri de bu belalılardan biridir.[18] Reşat Ekrem Koçu'nun "Galata Canavarı Bıçakçı Petri"[19] tefrikasına göre annesi 13 yaşındayken Peruz'u Bıçakçı Petri'ye satmıştır. Sermet Muhtar Alus da *Onikiler* romanında Peruz ve Petri ilişkisine dair detaylar paylaşır: *"Galata'nın en azgınlarından Bıçakçı Petri, Peruz'a çiçek atan birinin başına sandalye vurmuş; kafatasını dört bölük etmiş. Kaçarken bir adamın da burnunu kesmiş. Üstelik caka olarak, kapı önünde altı el tabanca atmış."*[20] Petri, Peruz'un hayranlarına korku salmasının yanında, Peruz için de bir tehdit haline gelmiştir. Azılı bir suçlu haline gelen Petri'nin yerini sahnede söylediği bir kanto şarkısının sözleri ile Peruz'un ihbar ettiği ve onu tutuklattığı söylenmektedir.

Peruz gibi sahne yaşamında şiddete maruz kalan bir başka ünlü kantocu Amelya Hanım'dır. Amelya Hanım kantocu Küçük Virjin'in kızı ve "komik-i Şehir" olarak bilinen Naşit Özcan'ın eşidir. Naşit'ten iki çocuğu vardır: Selim Naşit Özcan ve Adile Naşit. Amelya Hanım Naşit ile evlenmeden önce onun kumpanyasında çalışmaktadır. Naşit kendisine fena halde aşıktır ancak o sırada evli olduğu için, her ne kadar hukuki olarak mümkün olsa da etraftan gelecek tepkilerden çekindiğinden Amelya ile evlenememektedir. Ancak Amelya'nın hayranlarının artması Naşit'i kıskandırmaktadır. Bir gün gösteri sonrası kıskançlık krizine girerek kulise gidip seni başkasına yar etmem diye silahla korkutmaya çalışırken Amelya'yı "yanlışlıkla" vurmuştur.[21] Daha sonra Amelya ile evlenmek isteyen bir kişiyi korkutmak ve bu fikirden caydırmak için fotoğrafçıya gidip elinde silahla fotoğraf çektirmiş ve Amelya'nın talibine göndermiştir. Nihayetinde Amelya ve Naşit evlenmişlerdir. Bu hikâye evlilik amaçlı bir ilişkide dahi şiddetin son derece meşru olduğu bir kültürel ortamda, kantoculara herhangi bir bağlılığı olmayan hayranların yapabileceklerinin sınırsızlığı konusunda fikir vermektedir.

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16 Metin And, *Kısa Türk Tiyatrosu Tarihi* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2019), 126.

17 Şamram Kelleciyan, "Tiyatromuzun Eski Bir Emektarı: 34 Seneden Beri Kanto Söyliyen Şamram Hanım Tiyatroculuğa Nasıl Başladı?" Röportajı yapan Hikmet Feridun, 001525847006, Dosya No: 175, *Taha Toros Arşivi*.

18 Gökhan Akçura, "Peruz Hakkında Çalışma Notları", *manifold*. https://manifold.press/peruz-hakkında-calisma-notlari#ref05 (30.05.2022 tarihinde erişilmiştir).

19 Reşat Ekrem Koçu, "Galata Canavarı Bıçakçı Petri", *Tercüman*, 1972, tefrika.

20 Sermet Muhtar Alus, *Onikiler* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1999), 166.

21 Hiçyılmaz. *İstanbul Geceleri ve Kantolar,* 46.

Kantonun İcrası

"Direklerarası'nın ünlü eğlence mekânı, Şamram Hanım sahneye çıkacağı zaman kırmızı renklere bürünürdü. Kantocu ise kıpkırmızı dekor içinde san ki bir ateş parçasıdır. Ellerine ziller takmış şıngır mıngır oynadığında, seyircileri de yakacaktır. Sahneyi dolanarak yaptığı bu girişten sonra, iş göbek faslına gelir: "Yangın var, yangın var / Ben yanıyorum / Yetişin a dostlar / Tutuşuyorum" dedikçe salon bu aşk ateşini söndürmeye can atacaktır."[22]

Kanto gösterileri, tanıklıklarda seyircilerin üzerinde yoğun bir etki bıraktıkları ve coşku yaratttıkları yönünde tespitler içermektedir. Cemal Ünlü tarafından popüler müziğin ilk örneği olarak nitelenmektedir.[23] Akılda kalıcı ve eğlendirici bu şarkılar, dönemin İstanbul yaşayışından güncel olayları konu edinirler. Ancak kantolar bir yandan da şarkıcıların şarkıları kuralına uygun söylenmediği ve sahnede hafif bir imaj çizdikleri gerekçesiyle bayağı bulunmaktadır. Kanto gösterilerinin icra süreçlerinin bileşenlerine bakmak bu yorumların temellerini anlamak bakımından gereklidir. Bu bölümde tulûat tiyatrolarının bir parçası olarak sahnelenen kantoyu, sahne üzerinde müzik ve dans araçlarını kullanarak hikâye anlatılan bir sahne gösterisi olarak ele alacağım.

Tiyatro ansiklopedisinde kanto; *"sahnede hareket ederek şarkı söylemeye, bu yolda yazılmış özel şarkılara denir"*[24] şeklinde, Refik Ahmet Sevengil tarafından ise *"...sahnede bir kadın şarkıcının dans edip şarkı söylemesidir, fakat şarkıcı hareketlerini şarkının konusuna göre ayarlar."*[25] şeklinde tanımlanmıştır. Kanto sanatçısının icra ettiği dans, söylediği şarkının sözlerinin anlattığı hikâyenin atmosferine ve bu hikâye aracılığıyla temsil edilen hayali kişinin davranışlarıyla uyumludur. Kantocunun kostümü de sahne üzerinde yaratılmak istenen tasviri destekler niteliktedir. Mesela çingene kantosu söyleyen kantocu çingene gibi, çoban kantosu söyleyen kantocu ise kantoda söylediği bölüme ya da aldığı role göre, çoban, çobana aşık kız ya da kızın babası gibi giyinmektedir.[26] Kanto gösterisinde şarkı sözlerinin anlattığı hikâyenin geçtiği dünyanın bir taklidi yaratılır. Kantoda icra taklide dayalı olması bakımından, tulûat tiyatrolarındaki icra ve sahne davranışıyla benzerlik taşır, bu anlamda sadece bir şarkı söyleme faaliyeti değil, teatral yönü baskın bir sahne gösterisi olduğu söylenebilir.

Kanto şarkısının konusu öncesinde ya da sonrasında sahnelenen oyunun konusuyla ve gösterimin bütünsel yapısıyla bağlantılıdır. Kantoyu "teatral" bir tür olarak tanımlayan Murat Belge, dansta jest ve mimiklerin ön plana çıkmasının güftelerin vurgusunu pekiştirdiğini düşünmektedir.[27] Şarkıcının sahne hareketleri kantoyu tanımlayan önemli bir unsurdur. Kanto bir kadın şarkıcı tarafından tek başına sahnelenebildiği gibi iki kişi olarak da sahnelenebilir.

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22 A.g.e., 38.
23 Cemal Ünlü, *Kantolar, CD- Kitapçık.* İstanbul: Kalan Müzik Arşiv Serisi, 1998.
24 *Türk Tiyatrosu Ansiklopedisi*, Ed. M. Nihat Özön ve Baha Dürder (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1967), 240.
25 Sevengil, *Türk Tiyatrosu Tarihi.*
26 Hiçyılmaz, *İstanbul Geceleri ve Kantolar.*
27 Murat Belge, *Sanat ve Edebiyat Yazıları* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2009).

İki kişi tarafından icra edilen kanto gösterilerine düetto denmektedir.[28] Şamram Kelleciyan sahneye ilk kez Peruz'la beraber söylediği "Pembe Kız Düettosu" ile çıkmıştır ve sonraki yıllarda da pek çok düettoya beraber çıkmışlardır.[29] Düettolarda şarkıların sözleri bir diyalog da içerdiğinden bu gösterilerdeki "teatral" yön daha da baskındır:

> *Peruz'la Şamram'ı Hicaz düettosunda bir arada görmek mümkündür. Burada da çingenenin adı Pembe'dir. Düetto Çingene dünyasından bir kesit verir. Peruz düettoda Şamram'ın deyimi ile 'Güzel Beyaz'dır. Peşinde küçük beylerin dolaştığı kadife cepken giyen Peruz, ızgara maşa yapan Şamram'la kapışır.[30]*

Kantocuların şarkı söylerken sahne üzerinde icra ettikleri fiziksel skor da aşağı yukarı her şarkıda benzerdir. Sermet Muhtar Alus, kantonun; *"aranağmeden sonra güftenin başlamasıyla beraber keman solosuyla dans etme, gerdan kırma, sahnenin ortasında hoplayıp sahneden ayrılmaktan ibaret"*[31] olduğunu ifade etmektedir. "Sahnenin ortasında hoplayıp sahneden ayrılma" Alus'un kantonun basit bir gösteri olduğunun altını çizmek için kullandığı bir ifade olsa da gösterinin icrasına dair yaptığı genelleme, kantolarda ortaklaşan bir yapı olduğunu düşündürmektedir.

Kanto şarkıları, diğer şarkılardan müzikal icra bakımından da farklılaşmaktadır. Kantocuların şarkıyı söylerken ağızlarından çıkan ezgiyle enstrümanların çaldığı ezgi her zaman örtüşmemektedir. Bu durum kimilerince "doğru şarkı söyleyememe" olarak yorumlanmaktadır. Kantonun icrasının o dönemde makbul bulunan şarkı söyleme kurallarının dışına çıkıyor olması eleştiri konusu haline gelmektedir. Kantonun doğru olmayan bir icraya dayandığı tespiti güftelerin telaffuzunda da kendini göstermektedir. Gayrimüslim kadınlar tarafından Türkçe sözlerle söylenen bu şarkılar "doğru olmayan" bir Türkçe telaffuzla icra edilir. Bu "kırık" Türkçe şarkıların karakteristiğini oluşturur ve ilerleyen yıllarda anadili Türkçe olan sanatçılar da kanto söylerken şarkıyı dili bozarak icra ederler.[32] Gülriz Sururi bu icra biçiminin kantonun temel bir karakteristiğini oluşturduğunu ifade eder:

> *Kusursuz bir kanto sahnelemek diye bir şey yoktur. Zaten kanto kötü bir dille söylenen ancak sempatik bir sahne gösterisi, Ermeni çengilerinin ortaya çıkardığı marifetti. Eğer aynı şarkıyı güzel bir şekilde seslendirirseniz o 'şarkı' söylemek olurdu 'kanto' değil. Kanto sanatçılarının sıkıştığı yerlerde 'e' koyup derin bir nefes alıp, şarkının final kısmında sesleri yetmediği için feryatlarla bitiren kantoculara ve kantolara bayılıyorum.[33]*

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28 Özge Şen Tuncel, "Kantonun Tanımı ve Dönüşümü", *Kanto Kitabı,* Ed. Emine Gürsoy Naskali, (İstanbul: Kitabevi Yayınları, 2018), 13.

29 Şamram Kelleciyan, "Herdem Taze Bir Sanatkar Kadın: Şamram Hanım, Muharririmize Hayatını Hatıralarını Anlatıyor", Röportajı yapan Hikmet Feridun. 001525846006, Dosya No: 175, Taha Toros Arşivi.

30 Hiçyılmaz. *İstanbul Geceleri ve Kantolar*, 24.

31 Sermet Muhtar Alus, "Kantocuların Kadınnesi Peruz", *Yedigün Dergisi* s.70, 1934, 10.

32 Şen Tuncel, "Kantonun Tanımı ve Dönüşümü", 20.

33 Gülriz Sururi, *Kıldan İnce Kılıçtan Keskin* İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1978).

Kantocuların şarkıların bazı yerlerinde feryat edercesine seslerinin incelmesinin sebebinin seslerinin yetmemesi olduğu da söylenmektedir.[34] Oysaki şarkıların çoğunun bestesi şarkıyı icra eden kantocular tarafından yapılmaktadır ve bu kadınların seslerinin yetmediği besteler yapmaları çok akla yatkın değildir. Bir diğer yorum bedensel hareketlerin vokallerini etkilemesi yönündedir: *"Muhtemelen ayak hareketlerinden kaynaklanan uzatmalar..."*[35] Bu daha olası bir açıklamadır, çünkü bedensel aksiyon ile vokal aksiyon arasındaki ilişkiyi ima etmektedir. Kantodaki doğru bulunmayan vokale ve telaffuza dayalı icra, kendi içinde bir tutarlılık taşımaktadır ve kantonun kendisine has yapısını oluşturur. Kanto şarkıları bir hikâye anlatmaktadır; ses, enstrüman, hareket, kostüm gibi sahne araçları alışıldık olmayan bir biçimde bir araya gelerek bu hikâyenin kendine has dünyasını kurarlar. Bu nedenle sanatçıların kantoyu icra etme biçimlerini alışılagelmiş doğruluk ölçütlerine göre değil, kanto gösterisinin kendi içindeki tutarlılığına bakarak, sahnede yaratılan aksiyonu takip ederek değerlendirmek ve incelemek icrayı daha derinlemesine anlamamızı sağlamaktadır.

Buna dair bir örneğe Tarık Buğra'nın, *İbiş'in Rüyası*[36] romanında rastlarız. Tulûat sanatçısı Naşit Özcan'ın hayatından esinlenerek yazılan romanda kantoculara yönelik ortaya konulan algı dönemin beklentilerini yansıtmaktadır. Romanda tiyatro sanatçısının kantoculara dair beklentisi şöyle anlatılır:

> *"...üç mü beş mi kaç kantocu olacaktı tiyatroda? Bunların hepsi de çok güzel sesli ve oyunun en ustaları arasından seçildi diyelim. İşte o zaman hapı yutardı tiyatro. Çünkü nerede idi bunun sesi çatallısı? Kantosundaki ah'ları, of'ları notaya, duyguya göre değil de simitçisine, terzi çırağına bakkalına da ah çektirecek, of çektirecek ve 'Sen of çekme canım ben çekeyim' diye nara attıracak olanı? 'Amma da kıvırıyor' dedirteni değil de başka şeyler düşündüren ve umduranı?"* [37]

Kantonun seyirci üzerinde yaratması beklenen etki onun kendine has icra biçimine dayanmaktadır. Ayrıca bu etki sadece bedensel beceriye değil, seyircide belli duygular ve coşku yaratmasına bağlıdır. Bu anlamda kanto gösterilerinin anlattığı hikâyenin dans, şarkı, müzik, kostüm, dekor gibi sahne araçlarıyla kurduğu sahnesel gerçekliğin izleyiciyle kurduğu ilişki de ayrı ve önemli bir inceleme konusudur. Buradaki asıl konu kantonun bu etkiyi salt icracının bir kadın olarak sahnedeki varlığıyla ve kişi olarak sergilediği cilveli tavırlarla mı, yoksa kanto gösterisiyle temsil edilen hikayedeki hayali aşık/çingene/vs. tipinin sahne davranışıyla mı yaratacağıdır. Kanto gösterisinde anlatılan hikâyenin yarattığı dünyanın temsili ile kantocuların gerçek varlıkları izleyici nezdinde geçişkendir. Sahnedeki kanto şarkıcısı çingene kantosu söylerken o kantoyu söyleyen "çingeneyi" ve o "çingenenin aşkını" temsil etmektedir. Nitekim aynı kantocu bir sonraki gösterisinde turşucu kantosu da söyleyebilmektedir.

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34   Hiçyılmaz. *İstanbul Geceleri ve Kantolar*.
35   Şen Tuncel, "Kantonun Tanımı ve Dönüşümü", 20.
36   Tarık Buğra, *İbiş'in Rüyası* (İstanbul: Ötüken Neşriyat, 2013).
37   A.g.e., 48-49.

Ancak seyirciler gene de sahnedeki aşık çingenenin kişi olarak kendilerine seslendiğine inanabilmektedirler. Bu durumun iki sebebi olabilir: Birincisi, kanto gösterisinin izleyiciyle kurduğu ilişkiyle ilgili olan bu durum, insanların (çoğunlukla erkeklerin) geçmişten getirdikleri kanto seyretme alışkanlıklarıyla bağlantılı olabilir. Kahvehane ve gazinolarda bir tiyatro gösterisinin parçası olmadan icra edilen bu eğlence biçimi doğrudan erkeklere yöneliktir ve erkekleri eğlendirme işlevi taşımaktadır.[38] Kurulan bu doğrudan ilişki tulûat tiyatrolarına da taşınmış olabilir. İkincisiyse açık kıyafetlerle sahneye çıkan kadınların seyirci çekmesi sebebiyle, kanto gösterilerinde tiyatro patronları ve tiyatrodaki temsil alışkanlıklarının yönlendirmeleri, sahne üzerindeki kantocuların kadınlık durumlarının altını çizmektedir. İleride bahsedeceğimiz gibi, tulûat tiyatrocularının kantoculardan büyük bir övgüyle bahsederken, kantocu kadınları ve dolayısıyla kendi tiyatrolarını, ahlaksızlıkla suçlayan kişilerden koruma kaygısı taşıdıklarını düşünmek mümkündür. Bu anlamda bir sahne gösterisi olarak kantoyla, açık kıyafetlerle sahneye çıkan kadın kantocu arasındaki dengeyi kurmaya çalışıyor olmaları da muhtemeldir.

Kantocu Kadınlar ve Sahne-i Alem: Peruz Terzekyan, Şamram Kelleciyan, Küçük Virjin

Kantoyu ilk olarak İtalyan gezgin tiyatrocu gruplarının Yoğurtçu Parkında oynadığı söylenmekte, ilk kantocunun ise Aranik Hanım isminde biri olduğu iddia edilmektedir.[39] Fakat kanto mecmualarında karşımıza çıkan ilk isim Peruz Terzekyan'dır. Peruz'un ardından Şamram Kelleciyan, Küçük Virjin, Mari Ferha, Flora, Amelya, Büyük Amelya gibi birçok gayrimüslim kantocu yetişmiştir.[40] Kantonun popülerliğinin doruk noktasına ulaştığı 19. yüzyıl sonlarında Müslüman kadınların sahneye çıkmaları hala yasaktır. Yalnızca gayrimüslim kadınların sahneye çıkabildiği dönemde Kadriye isimli bir kantocu Paşaköprülü Amelya takma adıyla Nazilli'de sahneye çıkmıştır. Fakat Müslüman olduğu anlaşılınca sahne yaşamına son vermek zorunda kalmıştır. 19. yüzyıl sonunda tüm kantocuların gayrimüslim olmasının yanı sıra, kantoya eşlik eden orkestralar da genellikle gayrimüslimlerden meydana gelmektedir.[41]

Kantonun Osmanlı'daki en fazla şarkı bestelemiş ve popüler sanatçısı olarak görülen Peruz Terzekyan'ın 1866 yılında doğduğu ve 14 yaşlarında sahnelerde kanto yapmaya başladığı söylenmektedir. Musahipzade Celal bir dönemin adeta bir "Peruz devri" olarak anıldığını belirtmektedir.[42] Peruz'un bazı kaynaklarda Sivas'ta, bazı kaynaklarda ise İstanbul'da doğduğu annesinin de Zürafa Sokak kadınlarından olduğu bilgisi yer almaktadır.[43] Peruz Hanım 19. yüzyıl sonunda Şehzadebaşı'nda *Sahne-i Alem* adlı bir sahne grubu kurmuştur. Bu toplulukta

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38　"Kanto" http://www.istanbulkadinmuzesi.org/en/kanto, (30.05.2022 tarihinde erişilmiştir.)
39　Hiçyılmaz, *İstanbul Geceleri ve Kantolar,* 60.
40　Aydınlıoğlu, "Udi Şamlı Selim'in Kanto Mecmuası", 8.
41　Ahmet Fehim, *Sahnede Elli Sene* (İstanbul: Mitos Boyut Yayınları, 2002).
42　Musahipzade Celal, "Kafesler kâfi görülmedi, localara birer de tül gerildi", Röportajı yapan Hikmet Feridun, *Akşam*, 16 Kasım 1936.
43　Sermet Muhtar Alus, *İstanbul Kazan Ben Kepçe* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995).

Şamram, Amelya, Küçük Virjin, Violet, Flora gibi kantocularla birlikte çalışmıştır. Sahne-i Alem bir eğitim kurumu gibi de işlev görmüştür.

Sahne-i Alem'e katılan kadınların çoğu Peruz'un akrabası ya da tanıdığıdır. Peruz bu kadınları yetiştirmiş, tulûatçılarla tanıştırmış ve onlara iş olanağı sağlamıştır.[44] Ermeni asıllı bir diğer Osmanlı kanto sanatçısı Şamram Kelleciyan, Peruz'un teyzesinin kızıdır ve kantoculuğa onun sayesinde başlamıştır. Hikmet Feridun'un yaptığı röportajda kantoya nasıl başladığını şöyle anlatır: *"Ermeni patırtısı çıkmıştı, bu yüzden zevcime iftira ettiler işten çıkardılar… Peruz o zaman meşhur bir aktristi lakin o zaman sanatçıların kıymetini bilmezdik, biz bile aktris oldu diye Peruz hanımla konuşmazdık…"*[45] Peruz ile arası çok da iyi olmayan Şamram onunla bir gün yolda karşılaşmıştır. Peruz, o sıralarda ekonomik olarak büyük bir sıkıntı içinde olan Şamram'a *"yazık değil mi sana aktrislik büyük meslektir gel aktris ol"* demiştir. İlk önce evli olduğu için buna itiraz eden Şamram'ı ikna etmiştir. Şamram gibi Küçük Virjin de Peruz'un sayesinde sahneye adım atmıştır. Peruz, bir gün Küçük Virjin'i, kendi kendine şarkı söylerken duymuş ve sesini çok beğenmiştir. Yazmış olduğu kanto bestelerinden bazılarını seslendirmesini teklif ederek sahnelere çıkmasına vesile olmuştur.[46] Kanto hayatına bu şekilde adım atan Küçük Virjin ayrıca kendisi gibi kantocu Amelya'nın annesi, Adile Naşit'in ve kadın kılığında sahneye çıkan erkek kantoculardan Niko'nun anneannesidir.

Kantocu kadınlar özellikle Peruz'un da teşvikiyle kantoyu bir meslek olarak icra etmeye başlamışlardır. Bu işi profesyonel olarak yapmaları kendilerine ekonomide de bir yer açtıkları gerçeğini ortaya koymaktadır. Ancak kantoculuk mesleğinin bu kadınlar için ne dereceye kadar bir seçim olduğu tartışmalıdır. Nitekim kanto genellikle zaten son derece yoksul ve ekonomik olarak güç durumda kadınların icra ettiği bir sanattır.[47] Dolayısıyla kadınların kantoyu bir meslek olarak icra etmelerinin, kadınlara açık mesleklerin sınırlı olduğu bir dönemde bir seçim değil dolaylı bir mecburiyet olduğu görülmektedir.[48]

Kısa Fistan Çağı'na Eleştiriler

Kantocular, kadın olarak sahneye çıkıp cilveli bir edayla şarkı söylemeleri sebebiyle ağır eleştirilere maruz kalmışlardır. Örneğin Peruz Terzekyan tarafından kurulan ve çok sayıda kadın kantocunun yetişmesine olanak sağlayan Sahne-i Âlem topluluğu, çoğunlukla bir "rezalethâne"

44   Blackthorne-O'barr, "Song and Stage, Gender and Nation: The Emergence of Kanto in Late Ottoman İstanbul", 40-50.

45   Şamram Kelleciyan, "Tiyatromuzun Eski Bir Emektarı: 34 Seneden Beri Kanto Söyliyen Şamram Hanım Tiyatroculuğa Nasıl Başladı?".

46   Hiçyılmaz. *İstanbul Geceleri ve Kantolar*.

47   Kadınların kantoya başlama hikayeleri için Ergun Hiçyılmaz'ın İstanbul Geceleri ve Kantolar kitabındaki biyografilere ve Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı tarafından hazırlanan *İstanbul Temaşa Hayatında Kadınlar* kitabına bakılabilir.

48   Hasmik Khalapyan, "Theatre as a Career for Ottoman Armenian Women, 1850 to 1919", *A Social History of Late Ottoman Women : New Perspectives,* Ed. Duygu Köksal ve Anastasia Falierou, E-book: Brill, 2013.

veya bir genelev olarak görülmektedir. 1899'da tiyatronun adı iyice kötüye çıkmıştır ve devlet tarafından kapatılmıştır. Sahne-i Alem'in bir rezalethane olarak görülmesinin en büyük sebebi kadınların sahnede açık kıyafetlerle cilveli danslar yapmalarıdır. Bu yaklaşımın tuluat tiyatrosunu da ciddiyetsiz ve sanattan yoksun olarak tanımlayan algının bir devamı olduğu düşünülebilir. Buna bir de sanatçıların kadın olarak o döneme göre açık sayılabilecek kıyafetlerle sahneye çıkmaları durumu eklendiğinde, kendilerine yönelik sert eleştiriler kaçınılmaz hale gelmektedir. Kamusal alanda gündelik yaşamlarında giymedikleri açıklıkta kıyafetlerle yer alan kadınlar, hukuki olarak suç işlemeseler de alışılagelmiş toplumsal kuralların dışına çıkmakta ve toplumsal düzen için bir nevi tehdit unsuru oluşturmaktadırlar.

Serpil Çakır, Osmanlı döneminde tesettürün ve örtünmenin bazı kadınlar tarafından kamusal alandan uzaklaştırılmayla bağlantılandırıldığını ifade eder.[49] Giyim kuşam konusundaki düzenlemeler Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi içindeki kadınlar tarafından toplumsal yaşama katılım bağlamında sorunsallaştırılmaktadır. Ayrıca sokakta ve erkeklerin yanında vücudu kapatan giysiler giyilmesi gerekliliği müslümanlar ve gayrimüslimler için ayrım yapmamaktadır. Mesele kadınların toplumsal hayattaki görünürlükleri olduğunda benzer kurallar geçerli olmaktadır. Bu anlamda giyim kuşam düzenlemesi de kültürel bir arka plana sahip olmakla birlikte, toplumsal düzeni sağlamaya yönelik, bir bakıma devlet idaresine ait bir konu haline gelmektedir. Çakır'a göre *"tesettürle biçimlenen giyimden sadece mahremliğin, cinselliğin korunması, gösterilmemesi değil, toplumsal düzenin de korunması"* amaçlanmaktadır.[50]

Kanto gösterilerini aktaran tanıklıklarda bu sanatı icra eden kadınların seyirciler için erotik çağrışımlarda bulunduklarına dair yaygın bir anlayış karşımıza çıkar. Birçok kaynakta "açık saçık kantocular" tabirine rastlanmaktadır. Salah Birsel, kantocuların açık kıyafetlerle sahneye çıktıkları dönemi "kısa fistan çağı"[51] olarak nitelemekte ve kanto izleyen seyircilerin kantocular karşısında tezahüratlar yapma sebeplerinin o dönem için "açık" sayılabilecek kanto giysileri giymeleri olduğunu düşünmektedir. Esra Aydınlıoğlu'nun hazırladığı *Udi Şamlı Selim'in Kanto Mecmuası* başlıklı Yüksek Lisans Tezinde aktardığına göre; *"Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın da kantocuların dar bir şalvar içinde tüm vücudunu titreterek dans etmesinin seyircileri heyecanlandırmak için olduğunu ifade etmektedir. Nazım Güneş de (1974); kantocuların işveyi sanat haline getirdiğinden, dikkat çekici ve davetkar oluşlarından bahsetmiştir."*[52]

Eleştirilere bakıldığında Direklerarası'ndaki kanto gösterileri Galata'dakilere göre daha seviyeli bulunmaktadır. Ancak burada da kanto gösterisi izlemeye gelen seyircilerin motivasyonları arasında kadınların bedenlerini görmek beklentisi devam etmektedir. Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, "Kanto bir perde anonsunun" kendiliğinden kadın bedeni görme vaadini beraberinde

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49 Çakır, *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*, 244.
50 A.g.e., 244.
51 Salah Birsel, *Kuşları Örtünmek: Günlük 1972-1975* (İstanbul: Ada Yayınları, 1976).
52 Aydınlıoğlu, "Udi Şamlı Selim'in Kanto Mecmuası".

getirdiğini öne sürmektedir.[53] Bu nedenlerle kanto gösterileri Ahmet Rasim ve başka kişiler tarafından da "fuhuşun tahrik bölgesi" olarak isimlendirilmiştir.[54] Kadınların açık kıyafetlerle sahneye çıkmaları ve kamusal alanda bu şekilde görünür olmaları bir bakıma toplumsal düzenin bekası için bir tehdittir. Kantoculara ahlak üzerinden yapılan suçlamalar toplumsal düzene yönelik bir tehdit oluşturmaları kaygısına dayanmaktadır.

Kantocu kadınların ahlaki değerini sorgulayan bakış, kantocuların sanatsal birikimlerinin gündeme gelmesinin de önüne geçmektedir. Ancak hem kanto mecmualarını incelediğimizde karşımıza çıkan güfte beste sayılarından hem de tiyatro patronlarının belki de kendilerini yöneltilen aşağı ve ciddiyetsiz eleştirileriyle başa çıkmak için ısrarlı biçimde kantocuları övdükleri açıklama ve yazılarından, bu kadınların hiç de hafife alınmayacak bir sanatsal birikime sahip oldukları görülmektedir.

Musahipzade Celal Peruz Hanım'ın müzik bilgisinin çok kuvvetli olduğu belirtmektedir. Ayrıca Udi Şamlı Selim'in kanto mecmuasında Peruz'a ait 131 adet güfte bulunmaktadır.[55] İsmail Dümbüllü; Peruz'u dönemin en iyi kantocuları arasında saymaktadır. Naşit anılarında Peruz'u *"Tulûat tiyatrosunda yetişen kadın sanatkârların en yükseğidir."* diye nitelemekte, mükemmel nota bildiğini ve herkese hocalık ettiğini söylemektedir.[56] Kemani Yorgi Büyük Şevki'nin kumpanyasında Peruz'la çalıştığı günleri onun müzik bilgisini överek anlatır:

> *"... O hakikaten üstad bir kantocu idi. Ona keman çalmak mühim bir meseleydi. Yanlış çaldı mı ya perdeyi kapattırır yahut insanı rezil ederdi. Hiç unutmam bir gün, Bakırköyü'nde çalarken küçük bir kusur yapmıştım. O kadar kişinin içinde: 'Maestro, mi fe sol fa mi re do olacak' diye ihtar etti. Pancar gibi kızardığımı hissettim. Yan gözle notaya baktım, hakikaten dediği doğruydu."*[57]

Kantocuların sahne üzerindeki faaliyetlerinin eleştirildiği bu dönemde aslında kadınların müzik bilmesi kantocuları eleştiren kişiler tarafından da karşı olunan bir durum değildir. Ancak kadınların bu bilgilerini açık kıyafetlerle sahnede sergilemeleri değil, evde kocalarını eğlendirmek için kullanmaları istenmektedir. Nitekim aynı dönemde kadınların müzik bilmelerinin aile hayatlarının devamı için gerekli olduğuna yönelik yazılar kaleme alınmaktadır. Bu yazılardan birinde *"...aile huzurunun sağlanması için aile konserlerinin tesis edilmesi önerilmektedir. Böylece erkeğin tek başına dışarıdaki eğlence yerlerine gitmesinin önüne geçilmiş olacaktır."* [58] Yani kadınların müzik bilmesi değil, bunu kamusal alanda icra etmeleri sorun yaratmaktadır. Kantocuların müzik bilgilerini gelir sağlayan bir faaliyete dönüştürmüş

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53 *Türk Tiyatrosu Ansiklopedisi*, Ed. M. Nihat Özön ve Baha Dürder, 240.
54 Hiçyılmaz. *İstanbul Geceleri ve Kantolar*, 17.
55 Aydınlıoğlu, "Udi Şamlı Selim'in Kanto Mecmuası".
56 Naşit, "Hayatım. Peruz'un parlak günleri", *Son Posta*, 28 Ocak 1939.
57 Nusret Safa Coşkun, "Halk sanatkârları arasında", *Son Telgraf*, 29 Aralık 1937.
58 Alimdar, "XIX. Yüzyıldan İtibaren Osmanlı Devleti'nde Batı Müziğinin Benimsenmesi ve Toplumsal Sonuçları", 319.

olmaları da tepki çekmelerinin nedenlerinden biri olabilir. Bir dönem Peruz tulûat sanatının en fazla kazanan sanatçısı olarak bilinmektedir. Birden fazla evi, arabası ve hizmetçileri olduğu söylenir. Gazetede yayınlanan bir röportajda İsmail Efendi'nin kumpanyasında oyun başına 3 İngiliz aldığı ifade edilmektedir.[59] Şamram Hanım hakkında da geliri konusunda dedikodular çıkmıştır. Bu dedikodularda Şamram Hanım'ın ramazan ayındaki gösterileri ile gösteri başına 60 altın alarak geliri en yüksek olan kantocular arasında yer aldığı söylenir. Ancak Şamram bunu reddetmekte ve en fazla 5 lira aldığını söylemektedir.[60] Pek çok kantocu kadın, tulûat tiyatrocularının büyük bölümü gibi hayatının son günlerini açlık sefalet içinde geçirmiştir.[61] Peruz'un sahne yaşamının sona ermesinin ardından birikimi tükenmiştir, herhangi bir ekonomik güvenceye de sahip olmadığından son günlerini yokluk içinde geçirmiştir. Musahipzade Celal, Peruz'un son günlerini sefalet içinde geçirdiğini, kendisine eski bir hayranının yatacak yer verdiğini ve Peruz'un bu eski hayranının ona yatması için açtığı hamamının külhanında hayatını kaybettiğini aktarmaktadır.[62]

Sonuç

Kantonun halk arasındaki popüleritesinin sona ermesi ve icrasının giderek azalması, Direklerarası'ndaki tiyatroların kapanmasıyla bağlantılıdır. Kantocu kadınlar sahne yaşamları boyunca sert eleştirilerle ve fiziksel şiddetle sıklıkla karşılaşmışlar, oldukça zorlu yollardan geçmişlerdir. Popüler oldukları dönemlerde hayatlarını geçindirecek bir gelir elde etseler de sahne yaşamları sona erdiğinde genellikle ekonomik olarak güçlük çekmişlerdir. Her ne kadar son günlerini zorluk içinde geçirseler de kantocular bir dönem tulûat tiyatroları içinde, ekonomik ve toplumsal yaşamda kendilerine yer edinmişlerdir. Kantocu kadınlar hem ekonomiye katılarak hem de yaşayış, giyim kuşam adetlerinin sınırlarını zorlayarak toplumsal yaşamda kendilerine uygun görülen sınırların dışına çıkmışlardır ve kendilerine yöneltilen eleştirilerin temelinde yer alan rahatsızlıklar bu durumdan kaynaklanmaktadır. Yazılan kantocu biyografilerinde, istisnalar olmakla birlikte, genellikle kadınların sanatçı kimlikleri arka planda kalmaktadır, daha ziyade bedenleri, giyimleri ya da özel yaşamları konu edilir. 19. yüzyılda kendilerine yöneltilen ahlaki sorgulama bir bakıma günümüze kadar bu şekilde devam ettirilmiştir.

Kantocuların yaşam öyküleri araştırmalara konu olmakla birlikte, kantonun sahne üzerindeki icrası, kendisini sarmalayan toplumsal bağlamın icrayı belirlemesi bakımından yeterince incelenmemiştir. Oysa kanto gösterileriyle anlatılan hikâyenin anlatılma biçimi ve yarattığı etki, içinde geliştiği kültürel ortamla doğrudan bağlantılıdır. Kantocu kadınlar şarkılarında kısa hikayeler anlatmaktadırlar, bu hikayelerin içerikleri ve şarkıda temsil ettikleri karakterler

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59   Naşit, "Hayatım. Peruz'un parlak günleri".

60   Şamram Kelleciyan, "Tiyatromuzun Eski Bir Emektarı: 34 Seneden Beri Kanto Söyliyen Şamram Hanım Tiyatroculuğa Nasıl Başladı?".

61   Hiçyılmaz. *İstanbul Geceleri ve Kantolar*.

62   Musahipzade Celal, "Kafesler kâfi görülmedi, localara birer de tül gerildi", Röportajı yapan Hikmet Feridun, *Akşam*, 16 Kasım 1936.

çeşitlilik göstermektedir. Sahnedeki kanto icrasının tekniği, tulûat tiyatrosundaki icranın özellikleriyle de benzerlik taşımaktadır. Ancak sahnelemenin yarattığı etki, genellikle erkek seyircilerin tanıklıklarından okuduğumuz kadarıyla, çoğunlukla erotizmle ilişkilendirilmektedir. Bu ilişkilendirmenin sebeplerini anlamak ve yorumlamak için, kantonun sahne üzerindeki icrası, ses, beden, müzik, söz, kostüm, dekor gibi sahne araçlarına odaklanan ve bu araçların kantonun icra edildiği kültürel bağlamla ilişkisini ortaya koyan daha detaylı bir incelemeyi hak etmektedir.

Kantoculara yöneltilen ahlaksızlık suçlamaları, kendilerine yönelik şiddet olaylarının temelini oluşturmuştur. Kantoyu sanattan yoksun, ahlaksız bir faaliyet olarak gören sert eleştirilere karşılık, tulûat tiyatrocuları kantocuların sanatsal birikimlerini yazdıkları anılarda ve yaptıkları açıklamalarda sıklıkla övmüşlerdir. Ancak tulûat tiyatrolarının patronlarının yaptıkları açıklamalar, kadınlara yönelik şiddet olaylarını engellemekten ziyade, tiyatrolarını koruyacak bir savunu düzeyinde kalmıştır. Keza şiddet içeren eylemlere zaman zaman tiyatrocu erkekler de dahil olmuşlardır. Bu da açıkça göstermektedir ki, kantocuların çalıştıkları tiyatroların patronları da kadınlara sınır belirleyen anlayıştan bağımsız değillerdir. Ancak yaşadıkları tüm zorluklara rağmen kantocular onlarca şarkı bestelemiş, güfteler yazmışlardır. Kantocuların sahnede var olmak adına verdikleri mücadele, ilerleyen yıllarda kadınların sahneye daha sık çıkabilmeleri için uygun kültürel ortamın inşa edilmesi adına son derece önemli olmuştur.

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AMAÇ-KAPSAM

Tiyatro Eleştirmenliği ve Dramaturji Bölümü Dergisi – Journal of Theatre Criticism and Dramaturgy, araştırmacı, yazar, akademisyen ve yüksek öğrenim öğrencilerinin üstün nitelikli orijinal bilimsel çalışmalarını yayınlamayı ve bu alandaki bilgi birikimine katkı sunmayı amaçlar. Yılda iki kez Haziran ve Aralık aylarında yayımlanan, hakemli, açık erişimli, bilimsel bir dergidir.

Derginin konu kapsamında tiyatro tarihi ve eleştirisi, tiyatro teorileri, dramaturji, oyun yazarlığı, yaratıcı yazım, Osmanlı-Türk tiyatrosu, uluslararası ve ulusal tiyatro sahnesindeki çağdaş gelişmeler yer alır. İngilizce, Almanca ve Türkçe dillerinde orijinal araştırma makaleleri ve derleme yazıları dergide yayınlanır.

EDİTORYAL POLİTİKALAR VE HAKEM SÜRECİ

Yayın Politikası

Dergiye yayınlanmak üzere gönderilen makalelerin içeriği derginin amaç ve kapsamı ile uyumlu olmalıdır. Dergi, orijinal araştırma niteliğindeki yazıları yayınlamaya öncelik vermektedir.

Genel İlkeler

Daha önce yayınlanmamış ya da yayınlanmak üzere başka bir dergide halen değerlendirmede olmayan ve her bir yazar tarafından onaylanan makaleler değerlendirilmek üzere kabul edilir. Ön değerlendirmeyi geçen yazılar iThenticate intihal tarama programından geçirilir. İntihal incelemesinden sonra, uygun makaleler Editör (Baş Editör) tarafından orijinaliteleri, metodolojileri, makalede ele alınan konunun önemi ve derginin kapsamına uygunluğu açısından değerlendirilir.

Bilimsel toplantılarda sunulan özet bildiriler, makalede belirtilmesi koşulu ile kaynak olarak kabul edilir. Editör, gönderilen makale biçimsel esaslara uygun ise, gelen yazıyı yurtiçinden ve /veya yurtdışından en az iki hakemin değerlendirmesine sunar, hakemler gerek gördüğü takdirde yazıda istenen değişiklikler yazarlar tarafından yapıldıktan sonra yayınlanmasına onay verir.

Makale yayınlanmak üzere Dergiye gönderildikten sonra yazarlardan hiçbirinin ismi, tüm yazarların yazılı izni olmadan yazar listesinden silinemez ve yeni bir isim yazar olarak eklenemez ve yazar sırası değiştirilemez.

Yayına kabul edilmeyen makale, resim ve fotoğraflar yazarlara geri gönderilmez.

Yazarların Sorumluluğu

Makalelerin bilimsel ve etik kurallara uygunluğu yazarların sorumluluğundadır. Yazar makalenin orijinal olduğu, daha önce başka bir yerde yayınlanmadığı ve başka bir yerde, başka bir dilde yayınlanmak üzere değerlendirmede olmadığı konusunda teminat sağlamalıdır. Uygulamadaki telif kanunları ve anlaşmaları gözetilmelidir. Telife bağlı materyaller (örneğin tablolar, şekiller veya büyük alıntılar) gerekli izin ve teşekkürle kullanılmalıdır. Başka yazarların, katkıda bulunanların çalışmaları ya da yararlanılan kaynaklar uygun biçimde kullanılmalı ve referanslarda belirtilmelidir.

Gönderilen makalede tüm yazarların akademik ve bilimsel olarak doğrudan katkısı olmalıdır, bu bağlamda "yazar" yayınlanan bir araştırmanın kavramsallaştırılmasına ve dizaynına, verilerin elde edilmesine, analizine ya da yorumlanmasına belirgin katkı yapan, yazının yazılması ya da bunun içerik açısından eleştirel biçimde gözden geçirilmesinde görev yapan birisi olarak görülür. Yazar olabilmenin diğer koşulları ise, makaledeki çalışmayı planlamak veya icra etmek ve / veya revize etmektir. Fon sağlanması, veri toplanması ya da araştırma grubunun genel süpervizyonu tek başına yazarlık hakkı kazandırmaz. Yazar olarak gösterilen tüm bireyler sayılan tüm ölçütleri karşılamalıdır ve yukarıdaki ölçütleri karşılayan her birey yazar olarak gösterilebilir. Yazarların isim sıralaması ortak verilen bir karar olmalıdır. Tüm yazarlar yazar sıralamasını Telif Hakkı Anlaşması Formunda imzalı olarak belirtmek zorundadırlar.

Yazarlık için yeterli ölçütleri karşılamayan ancak çalışmaya katkısı olan tüm bireyler "teşekkür / bilgiler" kısmında sıralanmalıdır. Bunlara örnek olarak ise sadece teknik destek sağlayan, yazıma yardımcı olan ya da sadece genel bir destek sağlayan, finansal ve materyal desteği sunan kişiler verilebilir.

Bütün yazarlar, araştırmanın sonuçlarını ya da bilimsel değerlendirmeyi etkileyebilme potansiyeli olan finansal ilişkiler, çıkar çatışması ve çıkar rekabetini beyan etmelidirler. Bir yazar kendi yayınlanmış yazısında belirgin bir hata ya da yanlışlık tespit ederse, bu yanlışlıklara ilişkin düzeltme ya da geri çekme için editör ile hemen temasa geçme ve işbirliği yapma sorumluluğunu taşır.

Hakem Süreci

Daha önce yayınlanmamış ya da yayınlanmak üzere başka bir dergide halen değerlendirmede olmayan ve her bir yazar tarafından onaylanan makaleler değerlendirilmek üzere kabul edilir. Gönderilen ve ön kontrolü geçen makaleler iThenticate yazılımı kullanılarak plagiarizm için taranır. Plagiarizm kontrolünden sonra, uygun olan makaleler baş editör tarafından orijinallik, metodoloji, işlenen konunun önemi ve dergi kapsamı ile uyumluluğu açısından değerlendirilir. Editör, makaleleri, yazarların etnik kökeninden, cinsiyetinden, cinsel yöneliminden, uyruğundan, dini inancından ve siyasi felsefesinden bağımsız olarak değerlendirir. Yayına gönderilen makalelerin adil bir şekilde çift taraflı kör hakem değerlendirmesinden geçmelerini sağlar.

Seçilen makaleler en az iki ulusal/uluslararası hakeme değerlendirmeye gönderilir; yayın kararı, hakemlerin talepleri doğrultusunda yazarların gerçekleştirdiği düzenlemelerin ve hakem sürecinin sonrasında baş editör tarafından verilir.

Hakemlerin değerlendirmeleri objektif olmalıdır. Hakem süreci sırasında hakemlerin aşağıdaki hususları dikkate alarak değerlendirmelerini yapmaları beklenir.

- Makale yeni ve önemli bir bilgi içeriyor mu?
- Öz, makalenin içeriğini net ve düzgün bir şekilde tanımlıyor mu?
- Yöntem bütünlüklü ve anlaşılır şekilde tanımlanmış mı?
- Yapılan yorum ve varılan sonuçlar bulgularla kanıtlanıyor mu?
- Alandaki diğer çalışmalara yeterli referans verilmiş mi?
- Dil kalitesi yeterli mi?

Hakemler, gönderilen makalelere ilişkin tüm bilginin, makale yayınlanana kadar gizli kalmasını sağlamalı ve yazar tarafında herhangi bir telif hakkı ihlali ve intihal fark ederlerse editöre raporlamalıdırlar. Hakem, makale konusu hakkında kendini vasıflı hissetmiyor ya da zamanında geri dönüş sağlaması mümkün görünmüyorsa, editöre bu durumu bildirmeli ve hakem sürecine kendisini dahil etmemesini istemelidir.

Değerlendirme sürecinde editör hakemlere gözden geçirme için gönderilen makalelerin, yazarların özel mülkü olduğunu ve bunun imtiyazlı bir iletişim olduğunu açıkça belirtir. Hakemler ve yayın kurulu üyeleri başka kişilerle makaleleri tartışamazlar. Hakemlerin kimliğinin gizli kalmasına özen gösterilmelidir.

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Derginin tüm giderleri İstanbul Üniversitesi tarafından karşılanmaktadır. Dergide makale yayını ve makale süreçlerinin yürütülmesi ücrete tabi değildir. Dergiye gönderilen ya da yayın için kabul edilen makaleler için işlemleme ücreti ya da gönderim ücreti alınmaz.

ETİK

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Gönderilen tüm makaleler orijinal, yayınlanmamış ve başka bir dergide değerlendirme sürecinde olmamalıdır. Yazar makalenin orijinal olduğu, daha önce başka bir yerde yayınlanmadığı ve başka bir yerde, başka bir dilde yayınlanmak üzere değerlendirmede olmadığını beyan etmelidir. Uygulamadaki telif kanunları ve anlaşmaları gözetilmelidir. Telife bağlı materyaller (örneğin tablolar, şekiller veya büyük alıntılar) gerekli izin ve teşekkürle kullanılmalıdır. Başka yazarların, katkıda bulunanların çalışmaları ya da yararlanılan kaynaklar uygun biçimde kullanılmalı ve referanslarda belirtilmelidir. Her bir makale editörlerden biri ve en az iki hakem tarafından çift kör değerlendirmeden geçirilir. İntihal, duplikasyon, sahte yazarlık/inkar edilen yazarlık, araştırma/veri fabrikasyonu, makale dilimleme, dilimleyerek yayın, telif hakları ihlali ve çıkar çatışmasının gizlenmesi, etik dışı davranışlar olarak kabul edilir. Kabul edilen etik standartlara uygun olmayan tüm makaleler yayından çıkarılır. Buna yayından sonra tespit edilen olası kuraldışı uygunsuzluklar içeren makaleler de dahildir.

DİL

Derginin yayın dili Türkçe, İngilizce ve Almanca'dır.

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Örnekler:

İR: İlk referans, **SR**: Sonraki referans, **K**: Kaynakça

Kitap
İR Kerem Karaboğa, *Oyunculuk Sanatında Yöntem ve Paradoks* (İstanbul: Habitus Kitap, 2012), 73.
SR Karaboğa, *Oyunculuk Sanatında Yöntem ve Paradoks,* 44.
K Karaboğa, Kerem. *Oyunculuk Sanatında Yöntem ve Paradoks*. İstanbul: Habitus Kitap, 2012.
İR Toby Cole ve Helen Krich Chinoy, *Directors on Directing: A Source Book of the Modern Theatre* (Chicago: Echo Point Books and Media, 2013), 37.
SR Cole ve Chinoy, *Directors on Directing: A Source Book of the Modern Theatre*, 65.
K Cole, Toby ve Chinoy, Helen Krich. *Directors on Directing: A Source Book of the Modern Theatre* Chicago: Echo Point Books and Media, 2013.

Çeviri Kitap
İR Joachim Latacz, *Antik Yunan Tragedyaları*, çev. Yılmaz Onay (İstanbul: Mitos Boyut Yayınları, 2012), 24.
SR Latacz, *Antik Yunan Tragedyaları*, 32.
K Latacz, Joachim, *Antik Yunan Tragedyaları*, çev. Yılmaz Onay. İstanbul: Mitos Boyut Yayınları, 2012.

Hazırlayanı/Derleyeni/Editörü Olan Kitapta Kitap Bölümü
İR Oğuz Arıcı, "Poetika'da Zaman ve Mekan Düşüncesi", *Tiyatroda Zaman/Mekan* içinde, Ed. Kerem Karaboğa (İstanbul: Habitus Kitap, 2018), 20.
SR Arıcı, "Poetika'da Zaman ve Mekan Düşüncesi", 24.
K Arıcı, Oğuz. "Poetika'da Zaman ve Mekan Düşüncesi", *Tiyatroda Zaman/Mekan*. Editör Kerem Karaboğa, 11-34. İstanbul: Habitus Kitap, 2018.

Kitap İçindeki Önsöz, Sunuş, Giriş vb. Kısımlar
İR Özdemir Nutku, William Shakespeare'in *Othello* adlı kitabına sunuş (İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2006), XVII.
SR Nutku, sunuş, XVI.
K Nutku, Özdemir. William Shakespeare'in *Othello* adlı kitabına sunuş, I-XXI. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 2006.

Elektronik Olarak Yayımlanmış Kitap
İR Fakiye Özsoysal, *Tiyatro Metinlerinde Alımlama ve Metin Stratejileri* (İstanbul: Altkitap, 2002) Erişim 14 Mart 2018, https://www.altkitap.net/tiyatro-metinlerinde-alimlama-ve-metin-stratejileri/.
SR Özsoysal, *Tiyatro Metinlerinde Alımlama ve Metin Stratejileri*, 39.
K Özsoysal, Fakiye. *Tiyatro Metinlerinde Alımlama ve Metin Stratejileri*. İstanbul: Altkitap, 2002. Erişim 14 Mart 2018. https://www.altkitap.net/tiyatro-metinlerinde-alimlama-ve-metin-stratejileri/.
Online başvurulmuş kitaplar için URL ya da veritabanının adı verilir. Eğer sayfa numarası yoksa, bölüm ya da kısım başlığı referans verilebilir.

Telif Dergi Makalesi
İR Nilgün Firidinoğlu, "Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel'in "Kahraman Destanı" ve Yazınsal Metnin Üretim Sürecinde İdeolojik Zorunluluğun Rolü", *Tiyatro Eleştirmenliği ve Dramaturji Bölüm Dergisi* 17 (2010), 87.
SR Firidinoğlu, "Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel'in "Kahraman Destanı," 89-90.
K Firidinoğlu, Nilgün. "Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel'in "Kahraman Destanı" ve Yazınsal Metnin Üretim Sürecinde İdeolojik Zorunluluğun Rolü", *Tiyatro Eleştirmenliği ve Dramaturji Bölüm Dergisi* 17 (2010), 85-97.

Çeviri Dergi Makalesi
İR Charlotte Rea, "Kadın Tiyatro Grupları", çev. Ayşan Sönmez, *Mimesis Tiyatro/ Çeviri- Araştırma Dergisi* 12 (2006), 22.
SR Rea, "Kadın Tiyatro Grupları", 25.
K Rea, Charlotte. "Kadın Tiyatro Grupları", Çeviren Ayşan Sönmez. *Mimesis Tiyatro/ Çeviri- Araştırma Dergisi* 12 (2006), 21-37.

Elektronik Dergi Makalesi
İR Ali Artun, "Bauhaus: Modernleşmenin Tasarımı" *Skop Dergi* 14 (2019): 12. Erişim 27 Mart 2019.
SR Artun, "Bauhaus: Modernleşmenin Tasarımı", 17.
K Artun, Ali. "Bauhaus: Modernleşmenin Tasarımı" *Skop Dergi* 14 (2019): 9-21. Erişim 27 Mart 2019.
Online başvurulmuş makaleler için URL ya da veritabanının adı verilir. Eğer mevcutsa DOI (Digital Object Identifier) numarasını belirtin.

Tez
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