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The periodical welcomes papers in both English and Greek on all aspects of Modern Greek Studies (broadly defined). Prospective contributors should preferably submit their papers on disk and hard copy. All published contributions by academics are refereed (standard process of blind peer assessment). This is a DEST recognised publication.

Το περιοδικό φιλοξενεί άρθρα στα Αγγλικά και τα Ελληνικά αναφερόμενα σε όλες τις απόψεις των Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών (στη γενικότητά τους). Υποψήφιοι συνεργάτες θα πρέπει να υποβάλλουν κατά προτίμηση τις μελέτες των σε δισκέτα και σε έντυπη μορφή. Όλες οι συνεργασίες από πανεπιστημιακούς έχουν υποβληθεί στην κριτική των εκδοτών και επιλέκτων πανεπιστημιακών συναδέλφων.

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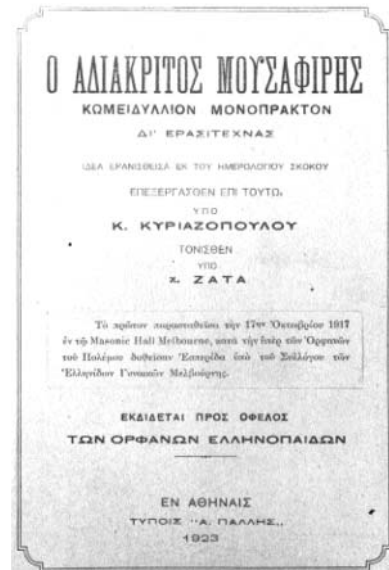
THE THEATRE AS AN ASPECT OF ARTISTIC EXPRESSION BY THE GREEKS IN AUSTRALIA

INTRODUCTION

The history of the theatre of the Greeks in Australia, both as literary writing and as stage production, is not as old as their immigrant history, yet during its course of life of nearly ninety years it has formed a body which we are able to study and evaluate as an entity. This occurred, on the one hand, because of the particular geographical, socio-cultural, linguistic and other conditions of Australian society under which it developed, and, on the other hand, because of the idiosyncratic atmosphere of immigrant community life in which it was born and grew.

However, irrespective of the theatre's important role and contribution to Greek community life in Australia, the fact is that this field is still awaiting full research and study.¹ In fact, apart from an M.A. thesis by Pipina Iosifidou-Elles on the theatre productions of the Greek Orthodox Community of Sydney and New South Wales², my short monograph on the late Sydney theatre personality Chrysostomos Mantourides³, as well as a few articles published in community newspapers and magazines⁴, comprehensive detailed analysis of this theatre in the Antipodes has not yet been accomplished.

The front cover of *The Inconsiderate Guest*, the first Greek play written in Australia.



Regarding the art of playwriting in particular, an attempt to examine this subject, especially from a diachronic point of view, should start from its sources of influence and inspiration, since these comprise a very characteristic element of its physiognomy.

There are three main sources which over the years have shaped the face of playwriting by Greeks in Australia: the Greek *paroikia*, the broader Australian society and the immigrant's native land, not only in its general sense (Greece, Cyprus etc.) but also in its more geographically specific one (village, island, city).

The Greek *paroikia* is reflected in various ways such as in its human characters, the rhythm of its daily life, the problems of the Greek immigrant family, etc.

Australia has also exercised its influence in many different ways, with subjects such as the Greek immigrant's difficulties in adjusting to and putting down roots in the new social environment, the psychological consequences for the individual and his or her family, the creation of feelings of alienation and isolation, the different social and cultural ideas, mores and ways of life, the unexpected physical environment of the new country, etc.

The immigrant's native land has proved equally dynamic and varied with subjects such as rural life, Greek customs, the Greek landscape, etc., including, of course, subjects



The cast of the drama *Athanasios Diakos* and its producer E. Venlis (middle-centre), Brisbane, 1933.

deriving from politico-military and social upheavals there, physical disasters, etc., such as the Asia Minor Catastrophe, World War II, the military dictatorship in Greece, the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, and earthquakes.

Perhaps the most dominant and characteristic source of inspiration for playwriting, however, has been immigration and *xenitia*. It is worth noting that the outcome of this has been the writing and staging of both dramatic and comic plays.

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

The beginning of the theatre produced by the Greeks in Australia was marked with the staging in 1914 of the play *The Lyre of Old Nicholas* by the Athenian playwright Dimitrios Kokkos⁵ in the then small Greek *paroikia* of Sydney. This, like his other play entitled *Barbalinardos*, belonged to the new type of theatre literature for Greece of the time, known as the *comidyll*.

The points which attract the interest of the researcher today regarding this pioneering theatre event are that:

- a) the content of the play has no relation to immigration or, in particular, to the immigrant life of the Greeks in Australia, as one might have expected,
- b) it was not written by a Greek immigrant in Australia, but by an established playwright of Greece, and
- c) it was staged in a Sydney Greek community school celebration, the first on record of what would become a frequent phenomenon.

The theatre of the Greeks in Australia, especially in its beginning and early years, did not function as an autonomous form of art, but was embodied in community activities such as school and Greek national celebrations, etc. A contributing factor to this was the traditional idea of the educational value of the theatre which the Greek immigrants had brought with them to their new homeland, helping with the maintenance of their language, their customs and their Greek consciousness. At the same time, the theatre, within the frame of its social role in the Greek community, was also used as a means for supporting philanthropic causes, not only Greek community concerns but also those in Greece itself – an impressive fact when one considers the small size of the Greek population in Australia at that time.

Such a philanthropic cause would even become a creative factor in the appearance of another landmark in the Greek immigrant theatre in Australia, namely the writing of the first play by a Greek immigrant in this country. This was the one-act *comidyll*, *The Inconsiderate Guest*, by the polyglot medical doctor from Adrianople, Constantine Kyriazopoulos⁶, who, in his own words, borrowed the idea for his play from the diary of the Athenian

writer Constantine Skokos.⁷ So, it is not surprising that in 1917, when the conflagration of World War I was still causing great catastrophes, Kyriazopoulos decided to use the theatre as a means for fund-raising among the Greeks in Melbourne in support of the orphans of the war. The result of this decision was his writing of *The Inconsiderate Guest*, staged on 17 October 1917 during a celebration organised for this purpose by the Greek Women's Society of Melbourne, the president of which was his wife.

It should be noted that this play was published in 1923 in Athens by the publishing company A. Pallis, in this way becoming the first work in the field of literature by a Greek immigrant of Australia to be published as a book. In keeping with the philanthropic nature of Kyriazopoulos himself, this publication was made in order to raise money, but this time for Greek orphaned children.

In the meantime, the year 1915 had witnessed another significant event in the history of the Greek theatre and in general in the intellectual life of the Greeks in Australia, with the founding in Sydney of the Greek Philodramatic Society, the first Greek theatre group in this country. This cultural association was also the first Greek community association of its kind in Sydney, and one of the earliest among the Greeks in Australia. Its aim was, among other things, the regular production of plays in the Greek language by Greek and non-Greek writers, on the one hand, for entertainment and, on the other hand, to attract



The cast of the musical review *Athenian Nights* with its writer and associate producer Dimitris Ioannides (front centre right), Perth, 1939.

the Greek public of Sydney to the theatre arts. This association, however, apart from theatre performances, also organised philanthropic and other activities.

The intellectual contribution to the Greeks of this artistic group proved tremendous, but at the same time the support which the Greek public gave was encouraging and important.

The significance of this endeavour is revealed even more by the fact that in 1915 the Greeks in the entire state of New South Wales numbered just over 800.⁸ It was very unfortunate that in 1921 the Society was abruptly dissolved because of general opposition from the Greek Church in Australia, and, in particular, to the two founders of the Society and prominent community figures of the time, Alexander Grivas (subsequent owner of the Sydney newspaper *Panellinos Kiryx*)⁹ and George Payzis, a man totally devoted to the theatre arts.

Payzis' artistic and intellectual contribution to the Greeks of Sydney and New South Wales for over seventy years from his arrival in Sydney in 1910 until the end of his life in 1984 proved invaluable. He served the Greek Letters and Arts in this country as a poet, a stage producer and an actor in Greek and English-language plays.¹⁰

During his life in Sydney, Payzis, apart from the Greek Philodramatic Society, also founded several other theatre groups. He staged more than sixty plays (Greek plays, others in Greek translation and a few in English) including dramas, comedies, operettas and revues (*The Rag* by Dario Nicodemi [1931], *The Petrified Forest* by Robert E. Sherwood [1939], *Scandal in a Girls' High School* adapted from Hungarian by Gregorios Xenopoulos and directed by Krinio Pappas and Spyros Moussouris when they were on tour in Australia in 1950, etc.). He also acted in many plays, some of which he produced himself.

Payzis' case is one of the rare ones in the history of Greek theatre in Australia, because, among the amateur individuals for decades, he was the only one totally dedicated to the idea of the theatre. This is why, when he died, the Greek newspapers in Sydney wrote many articles about the "venerable theatre figure" which the Greeks had lost, as well as about the huge gap he left behind.

Although the decades of the 1920s and 1930s saw quite a lot of theatre activity in Sydney, due almost exclusively to Payzis' efforts, the plays which were staged continued not to be by immigrant writers, with the exception of one or two one-act sketches published in the Greek press of Sydney, their writing stimulated mainly by the Church–Community conflict in Sydney, and which simply constitute part of theatre literature. However, during this period there were some sporadic cases of plays, such as the one-act Greek-language plays *The Crazy Gambler of the Foreign Land* (drama) and *A Woman in the Barracks* (comedy) by the Adelaide resident Constantine Panayiotides, written by Greek immigrants and staged by amateur theatre groups, associations or Greek

schools, mainly in State capital cities. These plays were staged with great success in 1932 in that city by a local Greek amateur theatre group.

While this was the situation with Greek-language playwriting, with the English-language it was somewhat different. The earliest English-language plays appeared towards the end of the 1920s, and were one-act plays by the immigrant Edward Parry, born of a Cypriot mother and a Welsh father.¹¹ Probably because of his background, the content of his plays was not entangled in the Church – Community discord of the time. They appeared in the pages of the Sydney newspaper *Panellinos Kiryx*, but were never staged. With Parry's death in 1945, English-language playwriting would die too, not to reappear until the late 1950s.



Chysostomos Mantourides as the priest in *Oedipus Tyrannus*, Sydney, 1954.

As with playwriting (both Greek and English-language), with theatre production we see that up to the outbreak of World War II Sydney was the main centre. Melbourne was less active, with a few plays, mainly by writers of Greece, staged occasionally by Greek schools, brotherhoods and associations, or by the two community societies (the Greek Amateur and Philanthropic Association “Orpheus” and the Ithacan Philanthropic Society “Ulysses”), both founded in 1916. Some occasional theatrical productions would also be staged in Brisbane, such as the Greek national drama *Athanasios Diakos* produced by Efstratios Venlis, the founder of the Greek press in Australia¹², and in other State capitals where there were Greek *paroikies*.

The outbreak of World War II, which would revitalise nationalism among the Greeks of Australia, even exercised an impact upon the arts, including a renewal of theatre activity as well as of its dynamism and themes. It is interesting that now the main playwriting activity is noticed in Melbourne, although plays written in Greek continued to be produced with the same enthusiasm in various cities which had Greek populations, both by older and newly founded independent theatrical groups¹³ or by groups belonging to associations, schools, etc.

The main writers of the War and early post-War years proved to be the two friends Stathis Raftopoulos¹⁴ and Nikos Fiambolis¹⁵ of Melbourne who wrote a few comedies and sketches of community and patriotic content, reflecting the spirit of the times. Occasionally not only did they act in their own plays but also in each other's. Raftopoulos wrote seven comedies in all, six of which were staged. Fiambolis also wrote several comedies, staging them in Melbourne and later some in Newcastle, the most well known being *The Business Agent's Debts* which revolved around the bankruptcy of a Melbourne Greek business agent. The importance of the Greek immigrants' plays of those times lies mainly in their contributions to the cultivation of the Greek theatre tradition in Australia.

The flow of time now brings us to 1952, a turning point in Greek immigration to Australia (due to an agreement signed in August 1952 by Australia and Greece according to which Australia would provide assisted passage to Greeks willing to emigrate there) with an unprecedented influx of new Greek arrivals, resulting in pronounced consequences for the development of the Greek communities and their activities, including the theatre.

The characteristic point is that from now on gradually the proportion of works by writers of Greece starts diminishing, and in parallel we notice an increase in the writing of plays by local writers and on local subjects. This means that increasingly we are moving towards a more authentic community theatre. In parallel, there has been a growth in the publishing of plays either in the press or in book form. The first in this period seems to have been *Tonia Mantouri* by the Kytherian Anargyrios Fatseas of Sydney.

This play, a drama which was never staged, but appeared serialised in the Melbourne journal *Ikoyenia* (1 October 1957 to 1 August 1958), is about the life of a Greek immigrant woman in Australia. In this play the writer stigmatises Greek social customs such as matchmaking and the dowry.

English-language playwriting reappears towards the end of the 1950s with the play *The Foreign Born* also by Anargyros Fatseas. Fatseas wrote the play for ABC television and it deals with Greek immigrant life in Australia in a warm and humourous style. Later, in 1971, he would write another English-language play, under the same title and thematically similar, but this time for the theatre. Both remained unpublished and unstaged. The next attempt would appear in 1978, with the play *Robert M – the Big M* by Tes Lyssiotis, the first of a number of plays she would write. This time the content of the play dealt with the mainstream Australian reality and was a satire on Prime Minister Robert Menzies. It was staged successfully at the Why Not Theatre in Melbourne.

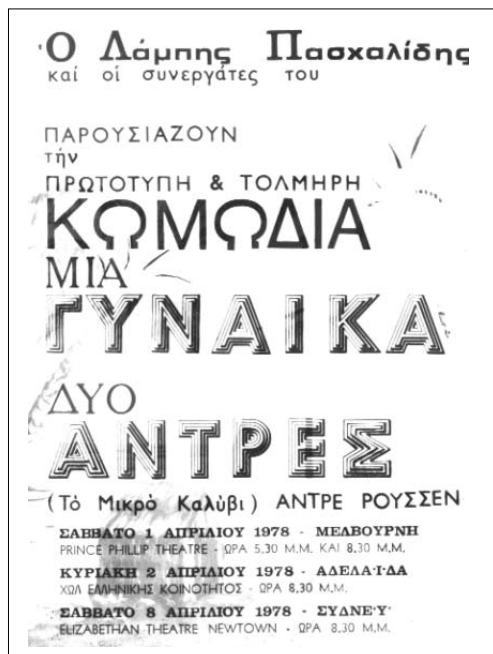
From the 1950s onwards, while George Payzis was continuing his theatrical activities in Sydney, another theatre personality would start his impressive career in the same city. This



George Payzis (right) receiving an honorary award for this contribution to the theatre from Petros Printezis.

was the Cypriot Chrysostomos Mantourides who, in February 1949, came to Australia with theatrical experience from Cairo.¹⁶ Committed completely to the art of the theatre, mainly as a stage producer, his rich talent also found expression in acting, stage design, painting, sculpture and some literary writing. In 1950, he founded the Sydney Hellenic Theatre Group, and later the Greek Artists Group. From 1950 until 1979 he staged over thirty plays with many successful performances. His repertoire was extensive, ranging from ancient Greek tragedy to modern Greek plays by Melas, Psathas, Xenopoulos, Kambanellis, Katiforis, Mourselas and others, as well as foreign works in translation, such as works by Chekhov, Tennessee Williams and others. Also, for the first time in Australia, he wrote and staged an innovative version of Karagiozis, a venture which had only ever been attempted once before, in Greece, with Photos Politis' satire *Karagiozis the Great* staged by the Royal Theatre in Athens. Another equally daring endeavour for the time was the staging in 1972 of Nikos Kazantzakis' tragedy *Christopher Columbus*, until then not presented on stage even in Greece. Mantourides staged *Christopher Columbus* in Sydney in a world premiere, with unexpectedly remarkable success. Also, Mantourides did not neglect to stage works by local Greek playwrights on Greek immigrant subjects, such as *The Uncle from Australia* and *Throw Away Your Harmonica, Pepino*, both by Theo Patrikareas.

Actually, the decade of 1955–1965 saw two main playwrights, Theo Patrikareas and Lambis Paschalides, who wrote and staged in Sydney several of their works, some of which



were published later. Patrikareas' two above-mentioned plays appeared on stage in 1963 and 1964 respectively in Sydney and were published in book form in 1973 (Sydney) and 1984 (Athens) respectively. Paschalides published one play, *She Was Spanish*, in the Sydney periodical *Tachydromos* in 1979. Apart from being a playwright, he also proved to be a talented actor, stage producer, translator, poet and prose writer. In 1955, only seven months after his arrival in Australia from Cairo, he had staged and directed in Sydney five one-act plays

Cover of the program for the comedy
One Woman, Two Men staged by
L. Paschalides, 1978.

under the general title *Five Masterpieces*, three of which he himself had written, including *She Was Spanish*.

In the decade of the 1970s, Australia changed quite radically with the development of the policy of multiculturalism. A result of this was the encouragement given to the artistic expression of immigrants. Organisations such as the Australia Council began funding writers, painters, etc. and, in this case, playwrights for the translation or staging of their works. All this helped with the establishment of more permanent theatrical groups in Melbourne, Sydney and elsewhere, as well as with a general increase in theatre activities. Efforts of this period worth mentioning were those by Lambis Kalpakidis of Melbourne and Vaggelis Mygdalis of Sydney, both repatriated now. They wrote one comedy each on topical subjects. Kalpakidis' play, *The Genuine Greek*, has not yet appeared on stage but was published in book form in Melbourne in 1979. Mygdalis' play *From Newtown to Vauchuse* appeared on stage in Sydney in 1979 with considerable success, but it has never been published.

In 1980 another significant event occurred. This was the playwriting competition organised by *Laiki Skini* of Melbourne for a work of Greek-Australian content, the first such competition in Australia. The first prize was shared by John Vasilakakos' *The Identity* and Vasso Kalamaras' *The Breadtrap*. Both plays were staged in 1981 by *Laiki Skini* and were later published as books.¹⁷ It should be noted here that Vasso Kalamaras is the first Greek woman playwright in Australia.

From then on, more and more plays by Greek immigrant women have been staged, while several of them have also appeared as books. Especially in recent years, the Greek women playwrights have become increasingly dynamic and productive. Today, apart from Vasso Kalamaras, successful Greek women playwrights include Sophia Catharios of Sydney, as well as Koula Teo and the English-language playwright Tes Lyssiotis of Melbourne. In fact, plays by some women writers have broken the boundaries of Australia, and have been staged by various theatre groups in Greece, including the Panhellenic Immigrant Theatre founded in Hania, Crete, in 1995, the main aim of which is to create and maintain strong ties with the Greek communities abroad, and in particular with their cultural expression.

Overall, the last three decades have seen increased theatre activity, both as stage productions and as theatrical literature, both published and unpublished, staged and unstaged.

Another area which has seen considerable growth in these decades has been children's theatre. Apart from Dimitris Katsoulis and Andreas Linardatos' short-lived Children's Theatre of Melbourne, which lasted for only seven months, from mid-1974 to 1975, and a few other sporadic productions of plays written in Greece¹⁸ mainly for

community school and Greek national celebrations, a concerted effort for children's theatre did not start until 1987.

In October of that year, Stavros Economides (founder of the Theatre of Art of Australia in Sydney) staged in Canberra the children's musical *The Shanty Town* by the writer of Greece Eugenia Faninou. This was the outcome of six months' weekly travel to Canberra where Economides conducted workshops with Greek children there.

The next children's play, *The Present Tense*, would make its appearance six years later in 1993 in Melbourne. It was not only written but also produced by Koula Teo. In that year she also wrote and produced two other children's plays and has continued her activity in children's theatre to this day, with another five such plays to her credit. In 1997/8 one of her works, *Grandma's Song*, which was originally staged in 1993 in Melbourne, was re-staged by her in Crete with children from the Melbourne Greek school "Nestor".

Correspondingly, during this period, Stavros Economides continued his keen involvement in children's theatre in Sydney with his popular children's workshops, especially in the decade of the 1990s until today, as well as with some productions (Children's Stage of the Theatre of Art of Australia). These latter were the stagings of *Karagiozis in Australia* by Miltos Moutafidis of Sydney (each time adapted by Melpo Papadopoulou). The first performance in April 1994 was under the auspices of the Greek Community Festival in Sydney, as were the more recent performances in December 2002 and March 2003.

Although in the last twenty years others have also been involved in children's theatre in one way or the other, such as Toula Filokosta of Melbourne who has staged a number of children's plays, Teo and Economides have made a double contribution to this field – Teo as both a writer and a producer and Economides as a producer and, through his theatrical workshops, as an educator.

In addition to children's theatre, many have been the playwrights who contributed in the last few decades, such as Vasso Kalamaras in Perth; Georgia Xenophou in Adelaide; Dimitris Katsoulis, Vassilis Georgarakis, Dimitris Katsavos, Sotiris Mantalvanos, Tes Lyssiotis, Koula Teo, Dina Amanatides and others in Melbourne; Angela Costi in Brisbane and now in Melbourne, and Sophia Catharios, Yota Krili, Pipina Elles and recently George Makridis and George Cazouris in Sydney. A number of them continue their writing today.

At the same time, there have been several theatrical groups in the capital cities, some of them belonging to cultural or regional associations, fraternities, etc., such as Dimokritos' Greek Progressive Youth of Australia and the Theatre Section of the League of Greeks from Egypt and the Middle East, both in Melbourne, school theatrical groups, Greek Community theatrical groups, as well as others functioning on an independent basis, such as Sakis

Feidogiannis' *Laiki Skini*, the Experimental Theatre, the Greek Theatre of Australia, Nikos Skiadopoulous' Drama School and Theatre Group *Yefyra* in the early 1980s, Thanasis Makrigrigios' *Thiasos Paroikia*¹⁹, the Greek Artists' Group, and others in Melbourne; Petros Printezis' Theatre of Comedy, Stavros Economides' Theatre of Art of Australia and others in Sydney; Max Mastrosavvas' Theatre of Dreams in Adelaide, and others.

CONCLUSION

What we can say today with certainty is that there is a long history of theatre created by Greek immigrants in Australia, in the form of both playwriting (in Greek and in English) and stage production. In many cases, it has proved to be theatre of quality, and very often with its own local themes, in this way adding to its distinctive personality, although Greece and Cyprus are still valuable sources of works for staging.

Another interesting point is that, despite the problems which local groups always face (lack of finances, lack of facilities, etc.), many people offer their enthusiasm and talent to the idea of the theatre as actors, producers, musicians, painters, etc., on a steady basis.

The final conclusion we can draw is that, despite the difficulties mentioned above, the dynamism and uniqueness of the theatre of the Greeks in Australia which have grown and developed over the last ninety years, and which are obvious today, give us confidence that Greek theatre has a bright and steady future in the land of the Antipodes.

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NOTES

- 1 For a diachronic overview of the theatre of the Greeks in Australia, see George Kanarakis, *Aspects of the Literature of the Greeks in Australia and New Zealand*, (Series: Hellenism of the Diaspora, no. 2), Athens: Grigoris Publications, 2003 [In Greek], especially chapters 2, 7, and 9.
- 2 Pipina D. Iosifidou-Elles, *The Greek Orthodox Community of Sydney and New South Wales and the Community Theatre*, Sydney, 2001 [In Greek].
- 3 George Kanarakis, *An Odyssey in the Greek Theatre of Australia: The Phenomenon of Chrysostomos Mantourides*, Sydney, 1993 [in Greek].
- 4 Among others see the Greek-language articles by T.[akis] K.[aldis], 'The Greek Theatre in Australia', *Krikos*, vol. 8, nos 79–80 (July–August 1957): 112–114; George Michelakakis, 'About an Immigrant Theatre', *Chronico*, nos 4–5 (1985): 78–84; Stavros Panyperis, 'The Community Theatre: Part 1. Where It Came from and Where It Is Going', *Paroikia*, vol. 1, no. 6 (May 1986): 60–61, 'Part 2. The "Thriving" Decade and Today's Problems', *Paroikia*, vol. 1, no. 7 (June 1986): 68–70; John Lippis, '75 Years of Community Theatre', *O Kosmos*, December 1989, pp. 54–59 [Second Annual Edition], and Despina Pieri-Georgiou, 'From the History of the Greek Theatre in Australia', in Koula Teo, *A Pair of Socks*, Melbourne: Dionysos Books, 1994, pp. 105–119.]
- 5 George Kanarakis, *The Literary Presence of the Greeks in Australia*, (Series: Studies, no. 1), Athens: Institute of Modern Greek Studies, 1985, p. 75 [In Greek], and George Kanarakis, *Greek Voices in Australia: A Tradition of Prose, Poetry and Drama*, Sydney: Australian National University Press, 1987 (repr. 1991), p. 57.
- 6 Kyriazopoulos graduated from the School of Medicine, University of Athens, in 1891 and in the following two years he took specialised studies in pathology and obstetrics in Paris. In 1902 he settled in Melbourne becoming one of the first qualified Greek doctors in Australia. Later, in 1921–1923, he became Honorary Consul General for Greece in Melbourne.
- 7 See the front cover of Kyriazopoulos' published play in Kanarakis, 1987, p. 18.
- 8 Cf. M.P. Tsounis, *Greek Communities in Australia*, Ph.D. thesis, The University of Adelaide, 1971, p. 50, Table I.

- 9 For the life and community activities of Alexander Grivas, see George Kanarakis, *In the Wake of Odysseus: Portraits of Greek Settlers in Australia*, (Series: Greek-Australian Studies Publications, No. 5), Melbourne: RMIT University, 1997, pp. 111–137.
- 10 Although Payzis had only three years high school education, in his free time he studied the theatre arts and attended performances in Athens and then in Sydney, where he was a member of the Repertory Theatre Society for three years (1912–1915). For Payzis' life and contribution to the Greek Letters and Arts of Australia, see Kanarakis, 1985, pp. 73–78, and Kanarakis, 1987, pp. 56–60.
- 11 See Kanarakis, 1985, p. 101 and Kanarakis, 1987, p. 76.
- 12 *Panellinios Kiryx*, 21 June 1933, p. 4. This successful theatre performance was held on 28 May 1933 in the Hellenic Club in Brisbane, as part of a fund-raising activity attended by both Greeks and Australians.
- 13 For example, in 1950 the 'Fine Arts Group' was founded in Sydney by Takis Kaldis, followed in two years in Melbourne by the theatre section of the 'League of Greeks from Egypt and the Middle East', which continues its many and diverse activities until today.
- 14 For Stathis Raftopoulos, see Kanarakis, 1985, pp. 194–197, and Kanarakis, 1987, pp. 140–142.
- 15 For Nikos Fiambolis, see Kanarakis, 1985, pp. 200–201, and Kanarakis, 1987, pp. 145–146.
- 16 For an extensive reference to Chrysostomos Mantourides' life and theatre activities in Egypt and Australia, see Kanarakis, 1993, and Kanarakis, 1997, pp. 179–209; the latter source includes a complete list of works staged by Mantourides in Egypt and Australia, with dates and places of performances.
- 17 Vasilakakos' play was published in Greek in Athens by Gutenberg in 1982. Kalamaras' play was published in bilingual form in Melbourne by Elikia Books in 1986.
- 18 Indicatively I mention the staging in Melbourne (20–21 October 1979) under the aegis of the Greek Community there of the children's play *The Gift* by the writer of Greece Antigone Metaxa for the International Year of the Child.
- 19 According to an announcement by Thanasis Makrigrigorgos in the Melbourne newspaper *Neos Kosmos* (3 October 2002), *Thiasos Paroikia* re-started the Greek Theatre of Australia twelve years after its demise, and both groups run in parallel but with different repertoires.