Prospective Dreams of a Field to Come
The Emergence of Theater Studies in Flanders

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Theater studies in Flanders is a young field of research. This is a statement one often encounters in early texts mapping the birth of this discipline in Flemish academia (see, e.g., Van Schoor, “Theaterwetenschap hic et nunc” 210; Tindemans, “Ziele und Methoden” 49; Schrickx 189). In these writings, the somewhat belated arrival of theater studies is frequently invoked by way of compensation for the fact that there had hardly been any progress, or as an excuse that everything moved so slowly and that still so much was lying ahead of us. The main culprit of this default was the university system, in which there was no place for innovation and a lack of elementary funds for research. In 1971, Jaak Van Schoor aptly summarized this:

In Flanders, Theater Studies is practically non-existent. What has already happened in Leuven and Ghent, what will happen in Antwerp this year, has little to do with theater studies. One should rather speak of an encouraging preamble than that it can be seen as a thorough and fundamental approach. Something like this supposes a sufficient potential of staff, of funds, of knowledge and trust of the university authorities. Unfortunately, the latter is very often lacking, because the question of its functional use cannot be answered by the hierarchic upper structure of our universities. (Van Schoor, “Theaterwetenschap hic et nunc” 210)

Theater studies, as imagined by Van Schoor, ought to be an academic discipline with its own educational profile, effectuating an outflow of students who will take up specific functions within the performing arts scene. In the beginning of the 1970s, this was still a very distant dream. To be sure, a long tradition of theater research already existed, also in Flanders, albeit outside the university system. Fascinated with theater, many individuals were already intensely concerned with analyzing theatrical phenomena based either on their own knowledge and insight or on their familiarity with certain methods for theater studies that were already developed elsewhere in Europe. This early research often focused on historical overviews, such as Lode Monteyne’s Een eeuw Vlaamsch Tooneelleven (A Century
European traditions or gravitate towards professional training for different functions in the theater (actor, designer, costume designer, director).

What is striking in Tindemans’ account of the 1963 conference in Brussels is again his focus on academic accreditation:

Already from the opening papers it became clear that two very different directions have been developed. The professors Heinz Kindermann (Institut für Theaterwissenschaft, Vienna) and Jacques Schérer (Institut d’Études Théâtrales at the Sorbonne, Paris) mentioned that, with the start of their department, there was strong resistance from the literary critics. They refused vigorously to acknowledge theater studies as an autonomous discipline, and while Vienna was principally vindicated as early as 1943 …, still no valid degree is granted at the Sorbonne, but merely a certificate without any kind of legal value. (Ibid. 573)

Another constant in this story is indeed the emancipation of theater studies from the grip of literary studies. Historically, the scholarly interest in theater grew out of philology: next to poetry and prose, drama is traditionally seen as one of the three principal literary genres and, sporadically, research on dramatic texts also sparked interest in their concrete stagings over different historical periods. It was Max Herrmann, the nestor of theater studies in Germany, who claimed the autonomy of performance over its textual basis, arguing that the analysis of this “actual theatrical” should happen with a specific methodology and thus within a distinct scholarly field (Van den Dries, Omtrent de opvoering 19). Herrmann’s premise that the performance of a dramatic text leads to an autonomous work of art that is different from that text, will grow into the core of his foundational and extensive research into the history of theater. He was the first in Europe who succeeded in creating an institutional framework for his aspirations: at the University of Berlin, he was able to set up the first academic chair for Theater Studies in 1922, which grew out of the foundation he helped to establish in 1920, the “Gesellschaft der Freunde und der Förderer des theaterwissenschaftlichen Instituts an der Universität Berlin” (Society of Friends and Patrons of the Theater Studies Institute at the University of Berlin).

The symposium in Brussels made it clear for a couple of Flemish intellectuals concerned with theater research that a proper academic discipline in their own country was not merely possible, but even more so, it was necessary. The
pioneering position of the Netherlands, where the University of Utrecht already had its own theater studies institute, was obviously an important trigger. Perhaps this was also Carlos Tindemans’ personal wish or even his dream, as he remarked in his conference report with a slight sense of envy that also “the South of the Netherlands is doing prospection work in order to start within a brief period of time” with a new theater studies department (Tindemans, “Universiteit en theater” 573).

Another attentive spectator during this international conference on theater education was Jaak Van Schoor. He too saw opportunities to introduce theater studies in Flanders and would ardently plea for this in several of his writings, such as in a 1967 article for *Tijdschrift van de Vrije Universiteit Brussel* (*Journal of the Free University Brussels*). In this text, Van Schoor reports on the 8th summer seminar for theater studies in Bregenz (Austria) that took the staging of the classics as its central theme. What captivated him was that “a right place was given to the creative priority of the acting and in particular to the interpretation of the drama on stage” (“De dramatische wetenschap” 188). Van Schoor goes on to claim that only theater studies as a field of its own, with its own perspective and methodology, can guarantee adequate research on such topics: “this can no longer be the task of the philologist, [who works] according to literary patterns” (189). In the same contribution, he also includes the outline of a curriculum for the foundation of an Institute for Dramatic Science that was drafted by Herman Teirlinck. From 1966 onwards, Van Schoor worked as an assistant at the department for German Philology at Ghent University and he assiduously committed himself to gathering the interest from the university authorities for this new field of study. It turned out to be a long-term effort. When, in 1971, the Ghent magazine *Teater* (of which Van Schoor was the editor-in-chief for many years) devoted a special issue to the state of the art of theater studies, the thought of establishing a genuine theater studies department in Flanders still sounded like a mere wish and a distant dream:

If we could concretely agree upon a department of theater studies, then it should in our opinion be posited that this department definitely must *not* be a theater museum, a drama school, nor an information center for contemporary theater. On the contrary, it should be a *research institute* and an *educational institution* for theater, in which opportunities are given to attend classes and seminars and in which experts from theater practice are invited to give lectures. In this context, it should also be
made possible that, besides the classes of the fulltime department, one or more courses in theater studies are open to students from other departments. (Van Schoor, “Theaterwetenschap (2)"

Jaak Van Schoor and Carlos Tindemans, the two pioneers of theater studies in Flanders, will do everything possible to academically anchor their discipline. It is notable that, for both of them, the starting point of their long quest was the same symposium in Brussels. Moreover, they also shared the same university background, as they both studied German philology at Ghent University. Tindemans received his Master's degree in 1954 with a thesis on Afro-American poetry; Van Schoor graduated in 1961 with a thesis on the theater of Herman Teirlinck. They were both active members of various committees, counsels, or cultural magazines, while always keeping in close contact with theater artists too. They also worked as guest lecturers at several drama schools, where they taught the more theoretically oriented courses. Nevertheless, in nearly every other aspect, these two pioneering theater academics were also each other's opposite, perhaps seeing each other as rivals, doomed to fish in the same proverbial pool. The outright negative review Carlos Tindemans wrote on Een huis voor Vlaanderen (A House for Flanders, 1972), Van Schoor's history of 100 years of professional theater in Ghent, certainly did not help to improve their already cold and detached relation.8

In the texts that Tindemans and Van Schoor wrote during the early stage of their academic career, it is mainly their attempt to defend their own ambitions that stands out. Van Schoor, for instance, would call upon his network to clarify his position:

"Thereby we start from an experience that stems from a direct encounter with the activities of the institutes of Vienna, Berlin, Stuttgart, Amsterdam, and Utrecht and not from our own improvisation. The opinion of Herman Teirlinck and his associates Alfons Goris, Walter Tillemans, and Fred Engelen seems to me a useful addition that is grown from a local need. In this manner, a corrective was offered from theater practice towards all too theoretical standpoints. (“Theaterwetenschap hic et nunc” 210)."

In this quote, Van Schoor clearly construes a discursive opposition between practice and theory, as he distinguishes between a kind of theater studies closely
affiliated with artistic practice and another kind that gives primacy to theory. While this opposition is of course nothing more than a rhetorical construct, it does correspond with a deep-rooted suspicion of theater practice towards theater studies. The kind of suspicion that cannot be wiped out with reasonable arguments, because it starts from a schism between people with a practical knowledge of theater and those who are standing on the sideline, yet still permit themselves to comment on that same profession. This mistrust will last for decades and will only start to fade away when theory and practice are no longer seen as opposites or as each other’s corrective, but as a productive chiastic couple. Nonetheless, Van Schoor’s description – its rhetorical function in the race for academic legitimacy put aside – also has an element of truth, to which I will return shortly.

**Foundational Views**

Both Jaak Van Schoor and Carlos Tindemans were self-made theater researchers who have grown into their field through their own insight and perseverance, but also through patient reading and by modeling themselves on already existing institutes or figures in other countries. For Van Schoor, however, the most pertinent model was not distant at all, as the influence of Herman Teirlinck is clearly traceable in his view on theater studies:

> From the very beginning, Van Schoor stated that theater studies should focus on the theatrical performance. The ideas of Herman Teirlinck in this context exerted an undeniable influence on the perspective of Van Schoor. The chairs in drama at the universities that Herman Teirlinck envisioned, were based on the core ideas of his *Dramatisch Peripatetikon* (1959) and explicitly stated that the dramaturgical study “no longer belonged to the in this case only partially qualified literary studies.” (Bussels et al. 9)

Herman Teirlinck is known as one of the greatest authorities in the Flemish theater scene until far in the twentieth century and Van Schoor was one of his close intimates. He had access to Teirlinck’s personal archive, he was his guest student from 1963 until 1966, and he would become lecturer at the Studio Herman Teirlinck in 1969. The study of Teirlinck’s legacy became one of Van Schoor’s major ambitions: after his Master’s thesis, he would also devote his PhD dissertation to this monumental figure. Van Schoor, however, did not obtain his doctoral degree at a Flemish university, but at the University of Amsterdam,
under supervision of Benjamin Hunningher, who is generally seen as one of the founding fathers of theater studies in the Netherlands.

Teirlinck’s ideas continually resonate in the background when Van Schoor reflects on what Flemish theater studies should look like: “The theatrical act finds its extended image in the image of the stage, the stage composition, the individual and collective movement and rhythm, the dramatic word, etc. But pivotal to all this remains the act, not in the first place as a primal instinct but as a technical motive” (“Theaterwetenschap (2)” 207). Alfons Goris, the successor of Teirlinck as the head of the Studio, claims in the same special issue of Teater on the status quaestionis of theater studies in Flanders that Teirlinck saw a theater researcher as someone with a great deal of practical experience:

He did not have any confidence in the approach of philologists, sociologists, or aestheticians without any kind of experience in the theater. Only an engaged leader-director [“spelleider-directeur”] could, in his opinion, elucidate with authority the history of acting or of dramatic literature, along the lines of the phenomenological study of drama, that ought to be continuously buttressed by practical examples. (Goris, “Over de opdracht van een theaterwetenschap” 183-184)\(^\text{14}\)

It is this kind of phenomenological approach, deeply rooted in Flemish theater practice, that would become Van Schoor’s guiding principle in establishing theater studies at Ghent University.

In his 1972 article “Theaterwetenschap: Een terreinverkenning” (“Theater Studies: An Exploration of the Field”), Carlos Tindemans outlines a different approach, which indeed could be seen as more “theoretical,” even though his perspective on theory is more multi-layered than generally acknowledged. Tindemans makes a decisive stand for a systematic approach to theater that uncovers its structural elements and key dynamics. In his opinion, theater studies should “in the first place, search for the nature of this systematic structure” (369). As he explains:

What is necessary is a basic model for the theater event. A time of collecting should now be followed by a time of constructive knowledge. The time of small facts is over, the time of understanding has arrived.
In this text, Tindemans lays the foundations of his vision of theater studies and he pleads for a triadic model of the system that theater is: a combination of intention, demonstration, and effect. He nevertheless emphasizes that, “only during the analysis, [it is useful] to separate these three stages,” because “in the reality of the theater performance, they form an immediate trinity” (372).

In his systematic approach to theater studies, Tindemans clearly builds on Dietrich Steinbeck's theories, who in his 1970 study Einleitung in die Theorie und Systematik der Theaterwissenschaft (Introduction to the Theory and Systematics of Theater Studies) had already proposed a similar kind of threefold perspective. According to Steinbeck, the art of theater consists of three heteronomous modes of being: intentional, real, and perceived being, of which the latter is most important, since it marks the finalization of the art work, even though it does not coincide with it:

With the staging, the layered structure of the theatrical work of art is constituted. The intended stage character is conceived in full concreteness, whereby the spectator's act of perception corresponds to the intentional act of the actor who provoked it. And this correspondence between opposed acts of consciousness makes theater happen. (Steinbeck 111)

Another unmistakable influence on Tindemans’ view on the founding principles of theater studies is theater semiotics. An important instigator of the interest in applying semiotics to theater was the Lithuanian-Polish literary scholar Tadeusz Kowzan, who himself drew on the famous structuralist Prague School of, amongst others, Roman Jakobson and Jan Mukařovský. Kowzan’s 1968 essay “Le signe au théâtre” (“The Sign at the Theater”) sparked an explosion of semiotically-oriented research. During the 1970s and 1980s, theater semiotics indeed grew into the most important paradigm in theater studies and Tindemans was eager to signal its importance also in Flanders.15

As suggested earlier, when comparing Van Schoor’s and Tindemans’ seminal ideas on theater studies, not only clear methodological divergencies, but ever so many convergences appear. Especially their joint focus on an interdisciplinary
approach to theater studies is striking. They both advocated that, despite the hard struggle to emancipate itself from literary studies, theater studies should not lock itself up in its own autonomy and appeal instead extensively to several other scholarly disciplines in order to deepen our understanding of the phenomenon of theater. This is fairly remarkable, given that Van Schoor and Tindemans were writing more than forty-five years ago, during the earliest stages when theater studies in Flanders was still searching for its own identity. Another clear parallel is that they both call for a definition of theater as not merely an aesthetic event, but also as a broader and deeply human social practice. Jaak Van Schoor formulates it in this way:

The subject of theater studies as a study of corporeal creativity commands an open approach, it also presupposes a general human approach that does not constrain itself to the limited environment of theater alone. Essentially, it is in the end about an inevitable facet of human existence, which evokes ties with existential issues in the most general sense. (“Theaterwetenschap (2)” 208)

Carlos Tindemans primarily sees potential in abandoning a purely aesthetic contemplation:

It should become possible to look at theater no longer solely for its aesthetic aspects, but also to explore it as a social phenomenon, as a function of communication, which transmits social contents by means of an aesthetic information technique. Theater studies should no longer approach theater exclusively as an object of a general art theory, but it should see it just as much as an object of the social sciences and the media and communication research that is developing therein. (“Theaterwetenschap: Een terreinverkenning” 370)

Theater studies is thus summoned to take up a truly interdisciplinary position: it has everything to gain from an approach that, open-mindedly, draws on neighboring scientific fields and their specific methods to fully understand specific aspects of theatricality. As Tindemans claims, “literary studies, language studies, art and cultural studies, sociology, economics, anthropology, and psychology have each in their own way touched upon aspects that belong to the total project of theater” (ibid.).

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In this respect, both Tindemans and Van Schoor connected to a more general international trend in the development of theater studies. In the beginning of the twentieth century, theater studies was predominantly concerned with the reconstruction of historical facts, but, during the 1940s, it evolved quite rapidly into a more anthropological kind of research. By the end of the 1950s, however, a second and even more incisive paradigm shift ensues from the influence of sociologists and psychologists (such as Jean Duvignaud, Ervin Goffman, Georges Gurvitch, Donald Woods Winnicott, and many others), who began to research theatrical processes in daily life, or studied sociological data of theater. Accordingly, the attention of theater scholars was drawn to the analogy between certain ceremonies of social life and theater (Goffman), or to the fact that a society questions or confirms itself through theatrical formats (Duvignaud). In these types of sociological research, theater serves as a paradigm for processes acted out by society. Various theater scholars tried to make this sociological perspective productive for their own field. Arno Paul, for instance, reconceived the communication process inherent in the theatrical event by describing it as a symbolic interaction:

The mutual conditionality of actors and spectators, who are interchangeable at any given time, specified by a certain symbolic role behavior in a socio-culturally determined field of interaction. (179)

Given these developments, it would seem that the first generation of Flemish theater researchers is ready to integrate the enormous influence of Richard Schechner and to open up to the then burgeoning field of performance studies. In reality, however, this process of opening up to “other” kinds of theatricalities took place only partially and rather reluctantly, since the first generation’s top priority was to legitimize theater studies “pur sang” within academia. For Schechner’s famous fan- and web-theory, which broadened the category of performance to include also sports, games, rituals, everyday life, or shamanism, it was still a bit too early…

**Slow Entries into the University**

From a contemporary viewpoint, Tindemans’ 1972 article “Theaterwetenschap: Een terreinverkenning” (“Theater Studies: An Exploration of the Field”) reads like a job application of someone who has intensively immersed himself in the fundamental principles of theater studies. By that time, Tindemans had been able to get up to speed at the HRITCS (Hoger Rijksinstituut voor Toneel en
But it was not until 1973 that his dream of an academic study of theater finally came true. The Universitaire Instelling Antwerpen, which was founded only two years earlier, engaged Tindemans as a part-time guest lecturer at the department of German Philology, where he would teach the elective course “Theater Studies.” From the academic year 1975-1976 onwards, Tindemans offered a second course, “Modern Dutch Drama Texts,” and another three years later, in 1978, he finally held a full-time professorship in Theater Studies. In Ghent, a similar development took place: after a brief intermezzo as the head of the city theater company Nederlands Toneel Gent (NTG), Jaak Van Schoor devoted himself fully to the establishment of theater studies at Ghent University, gradually adding theater studies courses to the curriculum. While the universities in both Ghent and Antwerp thus began to offer specific course modules related to theater through the figures of Tindemans and Van Schoor, it should be emphasized that there was still no question of a complete program (and hence also no degree) in Theater Studies. Instead, these courses were integrated in the Master’s program of German Philology, which reflects – once again – the subservient position of theater studies to language and literary studies.

Slowly but surely, theater studies in Flanders was germinating, but in the story I have unfolded so far, two other important figures have not appeared yet: Ludo Verbeeck at the Catholic University of Leuven (KU Leuven) and Dina Hellemans at de Vrije Universiteit Brussel (Free University of Brussels, VUB). In contrast to Tindemans and Van Schoor, Verbeeck and Hellemans were not so much concerned with programmatically declaring what a theater scholar should be or do. Neither did they feel the need, certainly at that point in their career, to establish a full-grown theater studies department at their own universities. Instead of formulating an overarching top-down view on what theater studies ought to be, they rather developed their research in a bottom-up fashion by working in a project-based manner, which absolutely does not mean they did not have a clear vision of where they wanted to go.

The KU Leuven already had a long tradition of student theater, which was coordinated by literature professor Joos Florquin. When, in 1988, dance critic and later dramaturg Hildegard De Vuyst took stock of the development of theater studies in Flanders for a special section on theater education in the performing
arts magazine *Etcetera*, she discerned the following evolution: “The Leuven Universitair Toneel (University Theater of Leuven) led by professor Joost (sic) Florquin was part of the Institute for Literature Studies. Participation in the theater production was rewarded in course hours. The inspiration for this came from the American model of the Drama Department of the 1950s” (De Vuyst, “Dossier opleiding” 47). When Florquin passed away in 1978, his hours were redistributed to offer a couple of theoretical courses next to the theater production, which nonetheless retained its central role. Literary scholar Ludo Verbeeck took the lead in this development. Already in a 1971 article, Verbeeck had defended the stance that “at university level, a critical forum should be created, where thinking and doing, theory and experience meet one another in a productive manner” (220). He gathered a young team of assistants and researchers around him, such as An-Marie Lambrechts, Geert Opsomer, and later on Erwin Jans. In this way, he was able to form a dynamic group of scholars and to develop a varied set of courses that, from 1982 onwards, was honored with a “Certificate in Dramaturgy.” The strong emphasis on practical experience remained, probably in part because “the performance somewhat served as the showpiece for the academic authorities” (Verbeeck qtd. in De Vuyst, “Dossier opleiding” 48). Verbeeck and his team made great efforts to attract interesting professional theater artists, such as Herman Gilis and Pol Dehert, Paul Peyskens, Jos Verbist, Guy Cassiers, and others. But the program also offered some of the more “traditional” courses in theater studies, including “Dramaturgy” and “Performance Analysis.”

At the VUB, it was theater researcher Dina Hellemans who persistently tried to implement her passion for the theater in an academic context. In her opinion, literary and theater studies do not need to stand in each other’s way. In a course on the theater play *Vrijdag* (Friday), written by Hugo Claus in 1969, she devoted an important part to the development of avant-garde theater, showing how the ideas of Antonin Artaud had a decisive influence on the young Claus. Dina Hellemans was talented in building bridges between different disciplines, people, and institutions. She had a strong sense for anything possible and achievable, even if sometimes she had to fight for it for years. The autonomy of theater studies was not her primary concern, simply because it was unrealistic at that time. Yet she closely watched the developments in Flemish theater and as a self-proclaimed Marxist she was mainly fascinated by the fierce rise of political theater in Flanders and the Netherlands at the beginning of the 1970s. Since its premiere in 1972, *Mistero Buffo* by the Internationale Nieuwe Scène
(International New Scene) was the newest phenomenon in Flemish theater. It was an artistic apex of an evolution that had a longer history and which announced itself perhaps most clearly with the foundation of the Werkgemeenschap (Working Community) of the Beursschouwburg in 1968. The Werkgemeenschap wanted to be a self-governing company interested in socially committed repertoire, but already two seasons later, the company was disbanded due to a conflict with their executive board. However short-lived it was, the Werkgemeenschap was an important impetus for the emergence of several more overtly political theater groups, such as Het Trojaanse Paard, Vuile Mong en zijn vieze gasten, Mannen van den Dam, and Internationale Nieuwe Scène. Their work heralded a new movement in Flemish theater that presented itself in concurrence with international tendencies.24

To study this movement, Dina Hellemans established within the Center for Language and Literary Studies at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel the “Werkgroep voor Vormingstheater” (Working Group for Political Theater).25 This initiative was probably also spurred by Marianne Van Kerkhoven, who was a co-founder of Het Trojaanse Paard and who began working as a researcher at the same center in 1976. Hellemans and Van Kerkhoven managed to attract not only a diverse range of researchers (such as Hans Van Maanen, Paul De Bruyne, or Carlos Tindemans), but also graduated students to join them in their study of political theater in Flanders.26 The research activities of the Working Group would eventually result in no less than five (!) volumes that together give an overview of the development of Flemish theater from the beginning of the 1970s until the middle of the 1980s, covering the period of political theater until the rise of the so-called “Flemish Wave” and postdrama.27 In his discourse analysis of the entire book series by means of digital tools from computer linguistics, theater scholar Thomas Crombez came to the following conclusion:

The Working Group Political Theater realized in this way something that few academics from art or literary studies had achieved before. A critical-scientific discourse was started on an art form that was still fully developing. While literary and art studies have a reputation to keep themselves occupied with meticulous autopsies of only historically relevant cultural products, these (predominantly young) researchers attempted to catch hold of political theater “in full flight.” (129)
Figure 2.1. Group photo of the Werkgemeenschap in 1969.
© Collection Herman Verbeeck
The productivity of the Working Group as well as the interest of students in scholarly research on theater became the stimulus to implement at the VUB a set of courses in theater studies. In the middle of the 1980s, then, a basic curriculum of elective courses, whether or not they were clustered in a minor or leading to an official certificate, were offered at four Flemish universities. It seemed that the search for academic legitimization, which was the main goal of the first generation of theater scholars, had been accomplished. But nothing is what it seems. I will return to this shortly.

A Changing Scene
When, during the mid-1980s, theater studies began to settle at Flemish universities, a passionate interest in Flemish theater had always been the fueling force behind it: theater studies grew in and from theater practice. In this respect, it is also important to take into account the specific context and institutional habitat that buttressed and partly steered this blossoming of theater studies in Flanders. In 1977, for instance, the art center 't Stuc was founded in Leuven, and six years later (in 1986), the biannual international dance festival Klapstuk, which was first organized at 't Stuc, turned into an autonomous non-profit organization. 't Stuc belonged to a new circuit of Flemish art centers that shared a specific interest in innovative forms of theater, dance, and performance. As such, it managed to introduce to Leuven audiences an impressive range of international and national theater companies, choreographers, and performance artists, including Maatschappij Discordia, Jan Fabre, Epigonentheater vzw, Steve Paxton, Karole Armitage, and others.28 This circuit of art centers also provided crucial support to a young generation of Flemish artists, which emerged at the beginning of the 1980s and would become known as the “Flemish Wave.” Between ‘t Stuc and the theater studies program at KU Leuven, various cross-connections grew quite naturally, if only because the art center was located very close to the university, offering an exciting selection of contemporary performing arts that furnished both faculty and students with subjects to write about. In addition, a center as vibrant as ‘t Stuc made clear that there might be a field with job opportunities for graduates with an academic certificate in dramaturgy, even though these jobs were not always immediately paid positions.

A similar dynamic can be observed at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel, where the activities of the Working Group for Political Theater flourished alongside those of the Kaaitheater. From 1977 onwards, Hugo De Greef organized a biannual international theater festival in Brussels, called “Kaaitheater,” which also offered a
selection of the avant-garde performing arts at that time. Together with the non-profit organization Schaamte (also founded by De Greef), Kaaitheater would grow into a central platform supporting young Flemish artists. In 1986, Schaamte merged with Kaaitheater, which continued as an art center presenting its first full seasonal program in 1987. Quite organically, Kaaitheater and theater scholars at the VUB found each other through collaborations, such as the joint organization of debates and introductions to performances, or simply on the road, as is often the case when people find each other talking about a controversial performance. Together with Johan Wambacq, Hugo De Greef also founded in 1982 a new theater magazine, Etcetera, for which they explicitly looked in the direction of theater studies. Etcetera would prove to be a crucial outlet, not only for me personally, but also for an entire generation of theater artists and critics. While Marianne Van Kerkhoven was still appointed as a researcher at the VUB, she began to collaborate more intensely with the artists of Kaaitheater/Schaamte, until she decided in 1985 to leave the academic context to become the resident dramaturg of the Kaaitheater.

Ghent also had its own experimental performing arts scene during this crucial period at the end of the 1970s and into the 1980s, when theater studies started to plant its roots into academic soil and theater departments began to expand. One of the earliest venues to present national and international artists was Proka, which started its activities already by the end of the 1960s. From the early 1980s onwards, new art centers, such as Vooruit and Nieuwpoorttheater, welcomed cutting-edge work that left the habitual paths of theater, providing space for the development of new mixtures of theater, dance, music, and performance. For many years, Jaak Van Schoor was editor-in-chief of the theater magazine Teater, which steadily paved the way for a change of mentality in Flemish theater by tenaciously attacking, amongst other things, the censorship that was still in force then. When Van Schoor became the director of the city theater Nederlands Toneel Gent (NTG) in 1976 and carefully wanted to include more innovative work in the new season's program, his plans were met with strong and obstinate opposition and he eventually resigned supposedly due to health problems.

Carlos Tindemans too saw one of his own dreams vanish when he, together with Hugo Claus and Alex Van Royen, wrote the manifesto T68, a blueprint for a new contemporary theater company, defined as a workspace and a laboratory:
T68 does not want to be a side activity for private intellectual circles but wants to achieve the consolidation of its own profile through the risk of unrelenting experiment. On the other hand, we wish to conceive of our experiments as laboratory work that cannot be tested unconditionally at the expense of the audience. In the workspace of T68, attention and energy go principally to the experiment, but only the results, which after a probationary period and a checking of their maximal value turn out favorable, will be included in a final performance. (273)

Politicians found the initiative unrealistic and promptly consigned it to the trash bin. Nonetheless, Tindemans remained committed to theater practice: for the career of Franz Marijnen at the Ro-Theater (the city theater of Rotterdam), for instance, he was of crucial importance.34

Adjacent to the only chair of Theater Studies in Flanders at that time, instituted by the Universitaire Instelling Antwerpen (UIA), many other initiatives emerged and did grow. At the UIA, the Centrum voor Experimenteel Toneel (Center for Experimental Theater, CET) was established in 1978.35 Frank Coppieters, then assistant at Antwerp’s modest department of theater studies, was the steering force behind it and he gathered around him a whole team of people, such as Bart Patoor, Luk Mishalle, Paul De Bruyne, Hugo Durieux, and many others. With an extremely limited budget, mountains were moved: the CET presented international theater and dance, organized a Performance Art festival at the university campus in Wilrijk, published their own magazine Data,36 and it fully invested in workshops and seminars in collaboration with invited theater artists and scholars. In 1982, the CET also created its own production, De stilte ervoor (The Silence Before), directed by Saskia Noordhoek-Hegt. In retrospect, however, the most important event in the history of the CET was Richard Schechner’s lecture, “The Decline and Fall of the American Avant-Garde” (1980).37 Schechner was the spokesman of a new vision on theater, the prime example of an academic who had both feet strongly rooted in theater practice and who at the same time was building an impressive critical oeuvre. His foundational view, which basically laid the foundation of the field of performance studies, would gather following, not so much amongst the first pioneers of theater studies in Flanders, but there was a younger generation of attentive listeners attending his lecture and they were definitely all ears. Yet Schechner did not come to Antwerp to present his model for performance studies. Instead, he came to announce the end of the American avant-garde: the collapse of the theatrical vanguard coincided, in his opinion,
with the end of the belief in collective systems, leading to a deficit of social action, incomprehension by the press, a lack of continuity, and an acute shortage of financial means. The irony was that Schechner's scathing judgment came at a moment when everything in Flanders had yet to begin, the new “Flemish Wave” still had to arrive!

**Finally: Collaboration**

There is little sense in signaling a lack of connections between theater studies and theater practice, as Hildegard De Vuyst did in her overview of the different theater studies programs anno 1988 (“Dossier opleiding” 48). As a matter of fact, from the very start until our present day, there has always been some kind of link between theory and practice, even though these interactions obviously took on many different guises. De Vuyst did have a point when she criticized what she termed a “never-enough-degrees-in-the-pocket-mentality” (47), which Flemish universities seemed to stimulate by offering various so-called “Bijzondere Licenties” or Special Master’s Degree programs. Theater studies would also be placed under this heading of a Special Master’s Degree and, from 1988 onwards, students could enroll for this type of program at all four major universities in Antwerp, Ghent, Leuven, and Brussels. These programs were more specifically aimed at incoming students who already had a Master’s degree (or an equivalent) but who wanted to get an additional degree in Theater Studies through a concise but intense curriculum that, in all cases, consisted of a loose patchwork of courses that in some way or another dealt with theater and which were actually a part of a variety of other existing Master’s or Bachelor’s programs. It was only with the implementation of the Bologna Declaration in Flanders 2003, that it became possible to get a Master’s degree in Theater Studies. For the university administrations, it was merely an economic calculation and those extra students were very welcome. For the departments in question, it was more a matter of defining their area of specialization and to highlight both their profile and potential in terms of theater studies. In this early period, there was an ardent ambition to create an autonomous academic discipline, but the means or manpower to achieve this were profoundly lacking.

These different proto-“departments” of theater studies were run by an absolute minimum of staff members (with many of them still responsible for literature courses) and one assistant. At best, the “team” would also have one or two researchers working on projects with external funding. The subsequent waves of cutbacks affecting the Faculties of the Arts would endanger various times even
this minimum. For each assistant position, hard struggles had to be fought. At the beginning of the 1990s, red alert was imminent: due to illness, Carlos Tindemans had to resign and Dina Hellemans died at the untimely age of 50. While theater studies had always been extremely vulnerable in Flemish academia, it was now threatened with extinction and struggling to survive. Marianne Van Kerkhoven repeatedly made her voice heard to offer support and to raise public awareness on this precarious situation.39 When she was awarded the Blanlin-Evrart Prize by the KU Leuven in 1995, Van Kerkhoven stood up for theater studies once again:

By the sudden passing away of Dina Hellemans at the VUB and the sickness of Carlos Tindemans at the UIA, the intellectual potential has been decapitated, as it were. But even more significant is the societal mentality that regards disciplines such as theater studies as economically not useful; they rather want to break them down than to build them up. In this space within the walls of one of these universities, in my capacity as dramaturge, a capacity in which theory and practice have always been the two intimately intertwined veins from which [a] work could spring, I want to make an ardent plea for the safeguarding and the development of the discipline of theater studies. Practice is always in need of theory, but today probably even more than ever. (Van Kerkhoven, “Vanaf nu tot aan het einde” 3).

Around the same time, dramaturg Erwin Jans too sounded the alarm: “In Flanders, hardly anything serious on theater is being published, from which it could be deduced that theater is a less serious art form than, for instance, literature or the visual arts. There is no historical research at all. The universities have little or no interest in the theater studies programs” (21). And Geert Opsomer, who felt the full impact of the financial cutbacks, wrote a razor-sharp analysis of where we were in Flanders by the end of the 1990s:

New rounds of cutbacks have severely marginalized the position of the core [programs] in theater studies, the financial leeway is non-existent, the teaching staff has been halved, there is hardly any room left for research. The critical threshold to be able to meet educational, intake, and research needs has been reached. Here as well there is no other alternative than a collective initiative of the four universities to save theater studies as an academic discipline. (188)
Making a virtue of necessity, but also understanding that collaborating was the only way to ensure the future of theater studies in Flanders, a new generation slowly took over the wheel in the middle of the 1990s and put their heads together.\textsuperscript{41} Out of these negotiations, the interuniversity Specialized Study in Theater Studies arose, a so-called GGS, which means that it was aimed at students already having some prior knowledge of the discipline.\textsuperscript{42}

![Figure 2.2. Advertisement for the new Specialized Study in Theater Studies (GGS) in a 1994 issue of theater magazine \textit{Etcetera}. © Etcetera](image)

The program, at first coordinated by the VUB and later on by the University of Antwerp, wanted to find a right balance between courses focused on academic research and modules preparing for employment in the arts scene. The intake of
students coming from different universities in Flanders as well as the Netherlands generated a productive dynamic between people with various backgrounds.

Yet the most decisive turning point that eventually led to a definitive (?) breakthrough of theater studies in Flanders was the Bologna Declaration, which became effective in Flemish higher education in 2004-2005 and which completely redrew the map of the university landscape. The previous “Kandidatuur” (Candidacy) and “Licentie” (License) programs were replaced with a Bachelor and Master structure. The smaller departments saw this as an opportunity to solidify and expand their position. At Ghent University, the theater studies program, which had already moved to the department of Art History and Archeology, became more autonomous and renamed itself Performing and Media Arts. VUB collaborated with RITS to create a minor in theater studies with a broad intermedial perspective and close ties to theater practice. At the University of Antwerp (which by that time was unified into one single institution), theater studies became a part of a new Bachelor program in Theater, Film, and Literary Studies and a Master in Theater and Film Studies. The earlier interuniversity GGS program was converted into an Advanced Master’s degree that continued to exist for several years next to the Master. Only KU Leuven chose for a different direction in this story and discontinued its theater studies program.43 The success of these new curricula and the number of students they attracted have permitted a considerable growth of the theater studies departments. Sadly enough, the survival and continued existence of certain university programs like theater studies still is, above anything else, an economic reality: quantifiable numbers remain a primary criterium. Nonetheless, the developments following the Bologna Declaration did lead to more solid groups of faculty members, larger research centers with clear profiles, and significantly different emphases in education and scholarly research.

Whether or not theater studies has earned its definite place at Flemish universities, only time can tell. The subsequent waves of budget cuts of the last decennia have, unfortunately, not come to an end yet. With every change in staff, another struggle needs to be fought and, every time, there is the anxious uncertainty if a position can be maintained. There is little time to look back, or to rest on one's laurels. As the performing arts scene changes at a bristling pace, it also needs other kinds of theater researchers than ten or twenty years ago. But then again, that is a different story for another time…
Works Cited


1 All quotes from Dutch, German, or French are the author’s translation.
The ITI was founded in 1948 and was “the first consulting organ of the UNESCO,” branching off into nearly 60 national centers. The Belgian division was established in 1952. See De Roeck 27.

For a detailed discussion of the tensions between theater studies and literary studies, see Bart Philipsen's contribution to this issue.

See, for instance, Max Herrmann's first major study, published in 1914: Forschungen zur deutsche Theatergeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance (Research on Theater History of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance). For more on the influence of Herrmann on the development of German theater studies, see Fischer-Lichte 30-37.

For more on the increased attention for the actual staging and the context of the theatrical event in the emergence and development of theater studies, see Van den Dries, Omtrent de opvoering.

The following passage is based on the introductory chapter “Theaterwetenschap hic et nunc” by editors Christel Stalpaert, Stijn Bussels, and Bram Van Oostveldt in the volume Liber Amicorum Jaak Van Schoor: Meester in vele kunsten (Master in Many Arts, 8-15).

A shorter version of the same curriculum was published by Alfons Goris in 1966 in the brochure Over de opleiding van de tonelist (On the Education of the Dramatist 20-21). In his 1971 article “Over de opdracht van een teaterwetenschap” (“On the Task of a [sic] Theater Studies”), Alfons Goris mentions that, already in 1959, Teirlinck was brooding on these ideas: “Herman Teirlinck talked to me in 1959 about establishing chairs for drama at universities” (183).

In his review of Van Schoor's book, Tindemans wrote: “What Van Schoor lacks is a cultural-historical understanding that would enable him to situate the theater as a societal phenomenon … It is impossible to achieve this if you (as Van Schoor tends to do) an unshakable belief in the value and the truth of your sources. … My disappointment in its quality [of this study] stems more from what in relation to theater is necessary than from what this book now already offers … The history of theater comes off badly” (“Toneel te Gent” 603).

In the early 1970s, various authors signal the suspicion of theater practice towards theater studies. See, for example: “It is striking how theater has always been suspicious of every alienating, intellectual bidding” (Goris, “Over de opdracht van een theaterwetenschap” 182); “The resistance of the purely practicing theater people is so large that even four centers of theater studies (one for every university) will not exert influence of any importance. We should clear the way for creative talents, and not let it be suppressed by cerebral interferences” (Van Vlaenderen 216).

The authors are quoting Goris, “Over de opdracht van een theaterwetenschap” 183.
Herman Teirlinck started his career as a literary writer of both novels and theater plays in the 1910s and 1920s. Following his interest in theater, Teirlinck began to teach acting at the Studio van het Nationaal Toneel in 1946, which in 1967 became the Studio Herman Teirlinck. For more on Teirlinck and the “pedagogical project” he developed at the Studio, see Toon Brouwers’ recent book, Niets bestaat vóór het spel (Nothing Precedes the Acting).


Van Schoor received his PhD in 1974 with a dissertation titled Herman Teirlinck en het Toneel. Afterwards, he published extensively on Teirlinck and was also curator of several exhibitions on Teirlinck. See “Selectieve bibliografie,” in Bussels et al. 326-337.

According to the editors of the Liber Amicorum Jaak Van Schoor, Herman Teirlinck saw Jaak Van Schoor as the fulfilment of his ideal type of a theater scholar (see Bussels et al. 10).

For an overview of the different schools in theater semiotics, see Van den Dries, Omtrent de opvoering 41ff.

See, for instance, Carl Niessen’s three-volume Handbuch der Theater-Wissenschaft (Handbook of Theater Studies, 1949-1958). For a recent assessment of the developments Niessen depicts in his three-part work, see Balme.

For more on the influence of sociology and psychology on theater studies, see Helbo et al. 77-91.

This paragraph is based on Van den Dries, Omtrent de opvoering 13-14.


Schechner unfolds his fan- and web-model of performance in the introduction to Performance Theory (xvii-xix).

The HRITCS was founded in 1962 and offered professional training programs in theater, film, radio, and television. The school still exists, but was renamed in 2015 as RITCS (Royal Institute for Theater, Cinema, and Sound). Tindemans worked from 1962 till 1973 as a guest lecturer at the HRITCS. This and the following passage is based on Van den Dries, “Aanzet tot een biografie” (“Beginnings of a Biography”).

UIA was created as a third university in Antwerp that would offer Master programs, next to the existing two other universities UFSIA and RUCA. In 2003, the three universities merged into the University of Antwerp.
At a later stage, the courses related to theater studies were clustered into a so-called “minor,” which students could choose for within their program in German Philology. At Ghent University, however, theater studies would eventually move to the Department of Art History and Archaeology, a transfer promoted by Jaak Van Schoor as he believed theater was closer to the arts than to language while also for students this would be enriching, since they were more easily exposed to other art forms (see Bussels et al. 13).

The renewed attention for political theater from 1968 onwards was a decidedly international phenomenon. Amongst the most important theater groups associated with the movement were the Living Theater, El Teatro Campesino, The San Francisco Mime Troupe, Bread and Puppet Theater, Théâtre du Soleil, or Proloog and Sater in the Netherlands. Theater artists such as Augusto Boal and Dario Fo also played an influential role.

Literally translated, the “Werkgroep voor Vormingstheater” would be “Working Group for Educational Theater,” but we translate it here as “Political Theater,” since this is the kind of work the researchers associated with the Working Group were interested in. The general trait that connected the various theatrical practices that were studied by the Working Group was that they demonstrated some degree of social engagement or an attempt to expose societal or political structures. Nevertheless, a specific concern of the Working Group was to develop a more precise and at once more varied definition of the general label “Vormingstheater” (see, e.g., Abs et al.).

In January 1980, I became a member of the Working Group as well. At that moment, I was assigned as a researcher by the VUB to work on this project on political theater, which was funded by the Research Foundation Flanders (FWO).

Next to ‘t Stuc, the other arts centers participating in this new or “alternative” circuit were: Monty (Antwerp), Vooruit (Ghent), Nieuwpoorttheater (now Campo, Ghent), Limelight (now Buda, Kortrijk), Beursschouwbrug (Brussels), and Kaaitheater (Brussels). For a historical overview, see Hildegard De Vuyst’s 1999 book *Alles is rustig. Het verhaal van de kunstencentra* (*Everything is Quiet: The Story of the Arts Centers*). For more on ‘t STUC (renamed STUK in 2002), see Marleen Broeckhoven’s recent study, *STUK, een geschiedenis: 1977-2015* (STUK, A History: 1977-2015).


From the start of the magazine in 1982, I was secretary of the editorial board and from 1989 until 1991, I was editor-in-chief. Marianne Van Kerkhoven and Paul de Bruyne were also on the editorial team. During the first year, Carlos Tindemans was asked to write guest columns as well.

For more on the history of Proka, see Stalpaert, “Doorgeefluik van meesters en methoden” (“Hatch of Masters and Methods”).

For more on the development of these art centers in Ghent, see Stalpaert, “Huizen voor kunst en kunstenaars” (“Houses for Art and Artists”).

In 1972, for example, an issue of the magazine *Theater* (5:1) was devoted to the question of censorship in light of a trial caused by a staging of Spanish writer Fernando Arrabal’s play *En ook de bloemen werden geboeid* (*And Also the Flowers were Handcuffed*, 1969) by Theater Arena in 1971.


To support the CET, which was a university center, the non-profit organization Open Theater was founded, an initiative of academics and theater practitioners. See Brouwers, *Antwerpen theaterstad* 218; 228n8-11.

The magazine *Data* was in itself more of an experiment: only three issues appeared, each of them numbered “zero” and designed by visual artist Annemie Van Kerckhoven. Because their application for subsidies was declined by the Flemish government, the CET decided against investing in the magazine.

Schechner’s lecture was published in Dutch in the summer issue of CET’s magazine *Data* in 1981. In the same year, an extended version appeared in two parts in *PAJ: Performing Arts Journal* (5:2 and 5:3).

To be entirely accurate, I should mention that the Special Master’s Degree offered at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel was called “Cultural and Movement Studies” instead of “Theater Studies.”
See also Van Kerkhoven, “Omtrent een (on)mogelijke eenheid: een verhaal voor Carlos” (“On a (Im)possible Unity: A Story for Carlos”).

This award has been renamed and is currently known as the KU Leuven Culture Prize.

The people involved in this process were: Geert Opsomer (KU Leuven), Ronald Geerts (VUB), Christel Stalpaert (UGent), and Luk Van den Dries (UIA). In early 1996, they again will raise the alarm in a document titled “The Tragedy of Theater Studies in Flanders.” In this text, the authors denounce the disquieting situation of the different theater studies departments and propose to found an “interuniversity center (department) for theater studies” in which there is extensive collaboration. Unfortunately, this center was never realized.

GGS is the abbreviation of “Gediplomeerde in de Gespecialiseerde Studies” (“Certified in the Specialized Studies”).

KU Leuven also canceled its involvement in the Advanced Master in Theater Studies in 2005-2006. The program was continued by Ghent University, VUB, and the University of Antwerp until it was disbanded in 2014.
Belgium consists of two major official language communities that inhabit their own space not only geographically but also mentally. The Dutch-speaking Northern part and the francophone Southern part of the country are often seen as two different groups with their own cultural identity as well as political ideology. The dichotomy between Flanders and Wallonia is further enhanced by the dual structure of Belgium's media landscape where Flemish and francophone radio, newspapers, and television channels each serve their own audience, with hardly any interaction between them. Yet the “distance” between Flanders and Wallonia is perhaps most tellingly illustrated by the fact that students at Flemish universities can enroll in Erasmus exchange programs at francophone universities, as if they are going “abroad” in the other part of their own country.

The Belgian theater scene obviously does not evade this duality, even though – as I will discuss below – some artists and institutions have attempted to narrow the gap between both communities. There is no doubt, however, that the French- and Dutch-speaking theater in Belgium have a very different dynamic. I always tell my students that, as far as theater is concerned and especially when compared to London or Paris, we are spoiled in Brussels: at least we always have everything double. There are historical reasons for this double-twisted cultural scene that typifies Belgium nowadays. One possible explanation is the absence of a clearly identifiable canon of theatrical texts for the Dutch-speaking part of the country: because Flemish literature never really had authors of the same caliber as Shakespeare in England, Goethe and Schiller in Germany, or Racine and Molière in France, Flemish theater artists were considerably less burdened by the expectation to work with a fairly standardized repertoire of canonical drama texts, often in order to respect and celebrate them rather than to critically challenge their meaning or status. Another reason lies in the fact that, for a long part of its history, French-speaking theater in Wallonia was mainly oriented toward what was happening in France. Not coincidentally, there is a Belgian proverb that says “if it rains in Paris, it drizzles in Brussels,” pointing to the strong influence coming from France.
However, the allegedly clear split that divides the Belgian cultural sphere into two distinct spaces is increasingly under pressure. Brussels, for example, is no longer a bilingual city: in about half of the families, members speak more than one language and in many cases, as Eric Corijn has consistently repeated, these languages are neither Dutch nor French (Corijn and Vloeberghs 170-172). The city has meanwhile evolved into a city of multiple minorities; a multilingual, cosmopolitan environment in which identity is by definition varied, plural, and continuously changing. Moreover, during the past few years, quite a lot of cultural organizations (such as Recyclart, Auguste Orts, Kunstenfestivaldesarts, and many others) have manifestly attempted to set up concrete and bottom-up collaborations with colleagues from the other part of the country. Several theaters in both Flanders and Wallonia have recently sought to link their programs, presenting work that otherwise would only be seen by one community, with the Beursschouwburg and Les Brigittines even doing an entire “house swap” for four consecutive days. The collaborations between Tristero and Transquinquennial (respectively a Flemish and a francophone collective) are also a case in point, as well as the several bilingual pieces created by Raven Ruëll and coproduced by the Flemish Theater Antigone and the francophone Théâtre National.

Various artists and institutions thus do not seem to be burdened by the cultural and mainly imaginary dividing line that runs through the country, as they happily cross the language boundary that tends to separate Flemish from francophone theater. Yet, despite these rapprochements, anyone who wants to understand the immense diversity of the Belgian theatrical landscape cannot but acknowledge that the Dutch- and French-speaking theater in Belgium each have their own history that for the large part took a different direction. Likewise, the academic study of theater in Flanders and Wallonia developed along remarkably distinct pathways, notwithstanding the sporadic contacts between Flemish and francophone research groups and scholars. In both cases, the institutional establishment of theater studies at Belgian universities is, of course, closely interwoven with how theater developed in both parts of country and with the history on which it drew or reacted against. This story is further complicated by the fact that, at each individual Belgian university, theater studies followed different theoretical and intellectual traditions, or laid at least other emphases, which makes it impossible to consider Belgian theater studies as consisting of two monolithic fields. Nonetheless, the general assumption holds that the development of theater studies in Flanders cannot be dissociated from what is now commonly known as the “Vlaamse Golf” (Flemish Wave), whereas in
francophone Belgium, theater studies rather developed in a close dialogue with the French “études théâtrales.”

In this article, I want to provide a more refined account of this assumption through a comparative overview of the emergence of theater studies on both sides of the Belgian language border that will allow me to identify a number of divergences and parallels. My attention will go less to the present state of affairs of theater studies in Flanders and Wallonia (since this would require me to talk about my own work at the ULB as well), but I will rather expose what happened before. To the extent that it is impossible to recount this history without making any reference to the actual theater practice, my discussion contains a few sidesteps to the most important tendencies in the professional field in Flanders and Wallonia. These excursions can obviously not offer the same panoramic quality as other book-length publications on Belgian theater. For example, in his edited volume *Jouer le jeu: De l’autre côté du théâtre belge (Playing the Game: From the Other Side of Belgian Theater, 2009)*, Benoît Vreux presents an effective panorama of the recent renewals in francophone Belgian theater, which I will briefly discuss in the last section of this article. Antoine Pickels and Guido Minne have done something similar for Brussels, in their *Regards croisés sur les arts du spectacle à Bruxelles (Crossed Looks at the Performing Arts in Brussels, 2003)*. With regard to the recent history of theater in Flanders, one could refer to *Toneelstof*, the four-part series published between 2007 and 2010 by this journal, *Documenta*, in collaboration with Thersites and the Flemish Theater Institute. The ambitions of the present contribution are necessarily far more modest and its focus is also somewhat different since it deals primarily with the development of theater studies at Belgian universities. Without aspiring to provide an exhaustive account of this recent history, I hope to reveal the different accents that characterize theater studies on both sides of the Belgian language border.

**A Quest for Emancipation: The Flemish Part**

In Belgium, as in many other European countries, theater studies went through a laborious struggle for emancipation largely from the 1970s onward, and this on both sides of the linguistic border. The recent history of the academic study of theater is one of gradual autonomization, as theater scholars tried to detach their research and teaching assignments from philology and to transform theater studies from an auxiliary science within literary studies into an autonomous scientific discipline. Not the text and its potential as scenic material were to be the primary object of study, but the live event itself and the processes of
production and reception that, typical for the theater, happen simultaneously within a limited span of time. At least in this sense, there seems to have been no fundamental difference between Flemish and francophone theater studies, but I will come back to this below.

During the 1980s, the emancipation of theater studies accelerated, mainly at Flemish theater studies departments: not only did the focus definitively move from text to scene, but also the theoretical substructure became broader and increasingly interdisciplinary, partly due to the influence of performance studies, which was mainly present in Flanders, yet far less in francophone Belgium. As suggested earlier, the expansion of theater studies in Flanders was also tightly interwoven with the artistic developments of the so-called Flemish wave that fundamentally changed not only the aesthetics but also the institutional organization of Flemish theater from the early 1980s onward. The experimental theater later described by Lehmann as “postdramatic” (1999) was enthusiastically supported by a young generation of scholars and critics (such as Luk Van den Dries, Marianne Van Kerkhoven, Geert Opsomer, Klaas Tindemans, and An-Marie Lambrechts), who took this transformation as leverage to obtain a greater intellectual and institutional autonomy for their emerging discipline. Reversely, the academic recognition of the sudden outburst of creative energy in the Flemish performing arts scene also fueled these artistic practices, as it turned them into legitimate objects of academic inquiry while at the same time giving them canonical value and a central institutional position within the cultural field. A crucial impetus for this double-sided dynamic of innovation in both academia and the performing arts was the founding of the theater magazine Etcetera (1983) as well as the Flemish Theater Institute (1987), which aimed to facilitate the development of a new critical discourse and incite thorough reflection within the broader field of cultural politics.

Despite these efforts to build connections between theoretical discourse and artistic practice, the relationship between both remained quite tensed throughout these early years. It is telling, for example, that the “Brussels Kamertoneel” (the Brussels Chamber Theater) chose to stage in 1988 Rainer Mennicken’s De Kunstopmeter (The Art Surveyor, 1986), a satirical portrait of a critic who turns to theater studies in order to get a fixed position at a university and to assure himself of an income. Yet even today artists tend to take a rather derogative stance towards theater scholars by scapegoating them as failed artists or as pedantic “flics du sens.” Or, artists are suspicious of the normative influence academics can have via, for instance, advisory committees or other institutional roles as
gatekeepers. While, according to some, theater studies led to a far-reaching intellectualization of professional practice, others considered this academic research crucial for a deepened understanding of artistic knowledge. Even though theater studies departments are today no longer (and maybe they have never been) isolated islands, completely disconnected from the reality of artistic practice, the skepticism – and, in some cases, even the sarcasm – on the side of practitioners remains fairly widespread.

One of the driving forces behind the establishment of theater studies in Flanders has been Carlos Tindemans, who devoted his professional career to creating a truly interdisciplinary field of research by drawing on reception analysis, semiotics, performance analysis, and historiography (Van den Dries, “In Memoriam”; Van den Dries and Degryse). But Tindemans also stimulated the avid ambition of his younger colleague Frank Coppieters and the freshly graduated Karel Hermans to found the “Centrum voor Experimenteel Theater” (Center for Experimental Theater, CET) in 1977. They conceived of the CET as a small venue for experimental artists with a specific interest in the interactions between performance and the visual arts (Crombez 226; see also Hooijerink). In 1980, the CET also attempted to publish a journal, Data, of which three trial issues were printed, but because their appeal for subsidies was denied, the journal would never come of age.

Also at other Flemish universities, and roughly around the same time, theater studies began to bloom. At the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (VUB – Free University Brussels), the untimely deceased Dina Van Berlaer-Hellemans, Professor of Literature and Theater, played a key role in the theorization of Flemish theater by establishing the “Werkgroep Vormingstheater” (Working Group for Political Theater). Marianne Van Kerkhoven – who, next to her practice as a dramaturge, was also working as a researcher back then – played an important role in this initiative too. The Working Group initiated a series of six seminal books that accompanied and examined the recent tendencies in Flemish theater history, from the political theater of the 1960s to the postmodern wave of the 1980s. The Catholic University of Leuven (KU Leuven) jumped on board as well. In 1982, they established a Certificate for Dramaturgy, while, from 1988 onwards, they also offered a Specialized Degree in Theater Studies. A substantial part of the program was devoted to a practical workshop, which functioned as a laboratory for students to learn to observe and decode the complicated grammar of live performance. During the 1990s and under the impulse of Geert Opsomer, theater studies at the University of Leuven became emphatically embedded in the critical
and ideological agenda of cultural studies, importing the heritage of intellectuals such as Edward Said, Stuart Hall, and Rustom Barucha into Flemish theater studies (Opsomer, “Theaterwetenschap en culturele studies”). A lot of attention went to postcolonial forms of theater and performance which critically reevaluate power hierarchies and identity constructions (Opsomer, *City of Cultures*). At Ghent University (UGent), Jaak Van Schoor advocated from the very beginning an integrated research perspective on theater as a live practice, in which all aspects of live performance (space, text, body, time) are considered to be equivalent components (Van Schoor, “Theaterwetenschap”; Van Schoor, “Uit de archiefdoos”; Stalpaert et al.). Van Schoor’s efforts would ultimately be rewarded with a complete program in theater studies, which was embedded in the Arts Department, together with art history and musicology. Up until today, students are introduced to each of these fields, but as they move on through the program, they can gradually increase the number of specialist courses specifically devoted to theater and performance.

One particular event that is indicative of the changes going on during the formational period of Flemish theater studies is a lecture delivered by Richard Schechner at the University of Antwerp in 1980. Schechner’s lecture, titled “Decline and Fall of the (American) Avant-Garde,” has ever since grown into a seminal text, in which he proposes “to borrow certain principles from theater, more specifically *theatricality*, and to start ‘interweaving’ these with other social activities” instead of “like the reformers of yore, to try stubbornly to blow up the classical structures of theater and to use them for something else” (qtd. in Crombez 233). Schechner’s visit to Antwerp exemplifies how Flemish theater scholars were keen to broaden their scope by embracing his anthropologically inspired perspective on key concepts such as theatricality and performativity. To put it in a very general way, by the end of 1980s and throughout the 1990s, theater studies in Flanders essentially developed into performance studies, as it welcomed the so-called “broad spectrum approach” advanced by Schechner, which was aimed at “treating performative behavior, not just the performing arts as a subject for serious scholarly study” (Schechner, “Performance Studies” 4).

While this international trend has deeply affected theater studies in the Flemish part of Belgium, universities in Wallonia would remain, as I will elucidate below, much more indebted to rather classical approaches, such as semiotics or text-based dramaturgy, even though this slightly varies between different institutions. Flemish theater scholars, on the other hand, were increasingly open to the influences of new fields of study emerging at that time, such as gender and queer...
theory or postcolonial studies, leading to a specific interest into how sexual and ethnic identities are constructed, reiterated, criticized, and deconstructed by means of performance. The same tendencies also encouraged more historically oriented theater scholars to go beyond the traditional predicament to reconstruct past theatrical events in an allegedly faithful manner and in accordance with Leopold von Ranke’s famous dictum “wie es eigentlich gewesen” – which is, of course, an impossible task taking into account theater’s live character. More recent historical studies on theater, such as Bram Van Oostveldt’s work on the trope of the natural in 18th century theater, exemplify how Flemish theater historians have been developing a form of cultural history that favors a contextual, instead of a purely reconstructive, approach in which the theatrical event is analyzed in relation to a larger network of cultural imaginations, including the varying narrative emplotments of these events in historical discourse itself (see Van Oostveldt).

A Mixed Story of Missed Encounters: Wallonia

In the francophone part of Belgium, both the performing arts scene and theater studies have developed along significantly different lines for a complex array of reasons that I can only begin to unravel here. Yet perhaps even this concise discussion can help to rectify the predominant perception of these developments by Flemish critics and spectators, who for a long time have harbored a stubborn prejudice against francophone theater by stereotyping it as moldy, pathetic, ceremonious, and – above all – deeply bourgeois. French-speaking theater in Belgium was either thought to be intellectualistic and rhetorical by proposing interesting ideas but failing to bring these themes to life on stage, or it clung to conservative views on repertoire, reducing canonical texts to the historical universe they evoked. In the first case, theater would pretend to commit itself to the world, but merely on a theoretical level, whereas, in the second case, it seemed to withdraw into a bourgeois timelessness by approaching plays from the grand repertoire as consumer goods to be savored like old fine wines. Moreover, francophone theater has often been regarded as overly oriented towards result or the eventual performance “product,” with little or no room for thorough dramaturgical or practice-based research in the studio or on stage. Thus, the southern part of Belgium seemed to be locked up in its own francophone cocoon and its corresponding cultural referential framework (and to a certain degree it actually was), with France and especially Paris as its intimidating sisters-in-law. A lot of “paraître” (pretending) and only a little genuine “être” (being): that was often the verdict of Flemish critics and professionals.
It is certainly true that the renewal inaugurated by the Flemish Wave did not have its equivalent in scale and impact in Wallonia, if only because in Flanders it led to a profound reorganization of the entire cultural field. At the same time, even if the Walloon theater scene was more prone to conservative tendencies, it would be erroneous to think that there were no artists trying to break out of this cocoon by advancing a deliberately critical theater. Already in the 1970s, a considerable number of theater artists (such as Marc Liebens, Jean-Marie Piemme, Philippe Sireuil, and Philippe Van Kessel) were, influenced by French post-structuralism, attempting to combine ideological critique with rigorous textual research. Others, like the Théâtre Laboratoire Vicinal, focused on physical research, mostly inspired by Antonin Artaud (Vreux, “Verandering en continuïteit” 29-30), while artists such as Martine Wijckaert experimented with space and scenography to create a theater of highly effective visual *tableaux*. Yet it was the merit of Jacques Delcuverlie and his artist collective Groupov, which also went under the name of “Centre Expérimental de Culture Active” (Experimental Center for an Active Culture), to really break things open. Not only did he integrate performance art and its immediate impact into theater, but he also and perhaps even more importantly aimed to reinstall theater as an instrument for explicit ideological reflection (Delcuverlie). A slightly younger generation of artists who sought to go against the conservatism in Wallonia's theater include Frédéric Dussenne, Michael Delaunoy, Lorent Wanson, or Ingrid von Wantoch Rekowski, while also itinerant companies, such as Compagnie Arsenic and the Brussels collective Transquinquennal, introduced new working formats in the performing arts scene.

In addition to these local examples of experimental theater artists, the field was remarkably eager to familiarize itself with artistically innovative work from abroad. From the 1980s onwards, for instance, a number of francophone artists took the initiative for the “Festival de Bruxelles” which presented work by the most important representatives of the international avant-garde of that period, including the Wooster Group, Odin Teatret, Mabou Mines, Meredith Monk, Il Carrozzone, Butoh artists, and many others. These foreign influences had a profound impact on various theater and dance artists from the francophone scene, such as Théâtre Laboratoire Vicinal, Elémentaire, Groupov, Pierre Droulers, and even Maurice Béjart, who at the time was the Director of Dance at La Monnaie. Some of the icons of the international avant-garde, such as The Living Theater, could be seen at the Brussels Théâtre 140 as well, an experimental venue whose founder and artistic director Jo Dekmine also invited Flemish avant-garde companies, such as Radeis. Even earlier than Flanders, Wallonia would
Figure 3.1. Cover of the first issue of *Alternatives théâtrales* (1979). © Alternatives Théâtrales
also have its own journal documenting these artistic developments when the first issue of *Alternatives théâtrales* appeared in 1979. Although these concerted attempts to rejuvenate the performing arts scene in Wallonia were fairly peripheral, it is nothing short of remarkable that the scholarly research on theater at francophone universities in Belgium did not seem to keep pace with either the apparent need for formal experimentation or the metropolitan dynamic to look beyond the borders of Wallonia or France. Until recently, theater studies in Wallonia was considerably less intertwined with theater practice than in Flanders, where scholars actively supported and intellectually nourished the Flemish Wave, while also drawing inspiration from these innovations for their own academic work. In francophone Belgium, in contrast, academia played hardly any substantial role in constructing the artistic identity of theater. Changes in the professional field were only very partially documented by the francophone theater studies departments in Belgium and only a limited segment of the official academic research output dealt with these developments. Notwithstanding the high quality of, for example, publications such as *Études théâtrales* at UCL or the theoretical work of several scholars, these almost never engaged with debates going on in Wallonia's artistic field and played a rather modest role in building a critical discourse on theater in that part of Belgium. Exemplary in this respect is that most publications directly engaging with the performing arts scene in Wallonia appeared outside of the academic realm. Next to the magazine *Alternatives théâtrales* mentioned earlier, another important impetus for a more intensive coverage of the francophone performing arts came from the arts venue and documentation center La Bellone. Especially from the 1990s onwards, La Bellone initiated various publications, such as the bilingual *Balcon/Balkon* (in collaboration with the Flemish Theater Institute), to take stock of the most pertinent developments in the performing arts in both the Flemish and francophone communities. La Bellone also founded the periodical magazine *Scène*, of which thirty-five issues were published between 1998 and 2012. In contrast to standard academic publications, these smaller publishing opportunities accommodated more open and creative kinds of writings, while they also ensured a closer link with the artistic and professional field, with the result that these texts found their way more easily to artists themselves.

From a theoretical point of view, then, theater studies in Wallonia remained for a considerably long time indebted to the French text-based approach of the “études théâtrales.” This approach is highly informed by twentieth-century repertoire theater in France in which the text has indeed long been treated as the alpha and omega of theater. The main intellectual legacy on which theater studies in
Wallonia drew was likewise rooted in a primarily French intellectual tradition, with structuralist thinkers, such as Roland Barthes but also Bernard Dort, being the main references, while also the influence of psychoanalysis on dramaturgy and character development continued to be a steering force in theory and in practice, as exemplified by Barthes’ *Sur Racine* (*On Racine*, 1960).

At the time when Flemish theater scholars were discovering Richard Schechner’s work and the interdisciplinary approach championed by performance studies, their francophone colleagues remained rather isolated from international tendencies other than those perceived in France. They became acquainted relatively late with the Anglo-Saxon field of performance studies. It is telling, in this respect, that the first French translation of a selection of Schechner’s writings was not published until 2008. Another example of the divergent rhythm by which theater studies has developed on both sides of the Belgian language border can be found in Hans-Thies Lehmann’s influential notion of “postdramatic theater.” For scholars working in Flanders, Lehmann’s category provided for a considerably long time a crucial framework to understand the reformation the Flemish performing arts had undergone from the 1980s onwards, including the profound influence that the 1960s and 70s performance art exerted on a new generation of theater and dance artists, such as Jan Fabre or Anne Teresa De Keersmaeker. In contrast to Flanders, a large part of francophone theatrical academia appeared to have missed out completely on the so-called “postdramatic turn.” Lehmann’s book too arrived late on the scene, as it was translated in French only in 2002.

In all this, it is important to emphasize that the different rhythm of francophone theater studies should not be misinterpreted as a story of delay or subordination, but rather as one in which other forces are at work. One must know that, within the French critical tradition, Brecht has always been a key reference point, ever since the hugely successful passage of the Berliner Ensemble in Paris, mainly between 1954 and 1960. His critical theater theories have had a major influence on French theater practice, as can be seen, for example, in the work of Jean Jourdheuil and Jean-Pierre Vincent (see Finburgh). Nevertheless, however revolutionary Brecht’s quest for a politically engaged theater might have been, his anti-Aristotelian views on theater do not defy rather classical principles such as the fable or fictional character construction. Consequently, the French reception of Brecht and the central position of his theater theory could have been indirectly responsible for the fact that it took quite long for both practice and theory to fully embrace more performative, non-textual forms of theater.
Salient Strands in Theater Studies in Wallonia: Three Universities

Now that I have pointed out some of the most conspicuous differences in the recent history of both the practice and scholarly study of theater in Flanders and Wallonia, I want to zoom in on three francophone universities in Belgium where academic research on theater is conducted. While I am well aware of the risk to reduce complicated institutional realities to overly generalized profiles, I believe it is possible to identify at least three salient strands in the development of theater studies in francophone Belgium from the 1980s onwards. These strands coincide with three theater studies programs that also structure my discussion below.

First, I will consider the Centre d’études théâtrales (Center of Theater Studies) at the Université catholique de Louvain (UCL) in Louvain-la-Neuve, which is most clearly rooted in the French perspective on theater. I then move on to the Theater Studies Department at the Université de Liège (ULg), which rather strives to tie in with local practices, often with a distinct political and/or ideological bias. This particular focus arguably follows from the presence of the activist artist collective Groupov in Liège as well as from the city’s political profile, which is marked by a strong socialist tradition and whose history but also self-image is often thought of in terms of a militant anti-authoritarian attitude. The last institution I will focus on is the Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB), where the appointment of André Helbo as Professor of Theater Studies led to an increased attention to the theoretical foundations of the field (with semiotics as its primary focus), while he also embedded his research in the broader, more international fields of cultural semiotics, adaptation studies, neurosciences, and other scientific paradigms.

Université catholique de Louvain (UCL)

When the UCL was founded as a new French-speaking university in Louvain-la-Neuve in 1968, actor and director Armand Delcampe immediately took the initiative to integrate, together with the support of Professor of Roman Philology Raymond Pouilliart, a number of academic courses on theater within the programs of the Faculty of Philosophy, Arts, and Literature. This initiative also meant the formal start of the Centre d’études théâtrales (CET) at the UCL. In contrast to the Université de Liège and the Université libre de Bruxelles, where theater studies are still embedded in the Department of Communication Studies and form a tandem with film studies (united by decree in the Master’s degree Arts du Spectacle), the UCL opted from the very beginning for the establishment of its own research center. While Delcampe chose for an explicitly text-based approach, with a clear focus on the analysis of dramatic texts and on theater that uses text as its central means of communication, he always sought to infuse this
focus with cross-disciplinary connections by inviting lecturers from other faculties or universities with expertise in psychology (Jacques Schotte), sociology (Jean Duvignaud), scenography (Denis Bablet), or dramaturgy (Jacques Scherer).

In addition to intellectual education in theater studies, the CET included right from the start a practical component in the program by means of internships which students could do within the framework of Delcampe’s organization Atelier Théâtral. The students organized debates with artists and intellectuals (such as Ariane Mnouchkine, Antoine Vitez, Armand Gatti, Marcel Jacno, and others), during a weekly event called “Les mercredis du CET” (The Wednesdays of the CET). In 1975, the Drama Department of the Institut des Arts de Diffusion (IAD, Institute of the Arts of Diffusion) left Brussels and joined forces with the CET and the Atelier Théâtral. This merging fostered new synergies between theory and practice. The majority of the teaching and research activities were located at a renovated farm, “Ferme de Blocry,” which up until today serves as the CET’s home base and still hosts both its library and teaching infrastructure. The “Ferme” also provides students, staff, and the wider community of Louvain-la-Neuve with a fully equipped theater space. From the 1990s onwards, the CET would encourage its students to undertake internships also in other art venues and institutions (and no longer only in its own theater), with the aim of strengthening the ties with the professional field. In 1983, Jean Florence became the director of the CET and after Armand Delcampe left the ULC in the 1990s, the CET was separated from the Atelier Théâtre Jean Vilar and, even though they each started to follow their own institutional paths, they continued to collaborate, also with IAD and UCL Culture, forming together what they call the “pôle théâtre.”

In 1992, the CET launched its journal Études théâtrales, which has grown into a leading academic publication for francophone theater and performance studies, not only within but also beyond Belgium. For its teaching staff, the CET recruited not only part-time visiting professors from Belgium, but also quite a lot from French universities like Paris 3 and Paris 10. The large number of French academics at the CET has undoubtedly reinforced its orientation toward France as its main intellectual and theoretical framework. Recent developments, however, indicate this situation has changed. In 2011, UCL decided to create a new Faculty position for a Professor in Theater Studies and hired researcher and stage director Jonathan Châtel. Together with Professor Pierre Piret, Châtel is responsible for the MA program in Performing Arts. Today, education and research at the CET seem to be wider in scope as it pursues a pluralistic approach
that examines theater and the performing arts from a theoretical, historical, and aesthetic perspective. The overarching aim is to investigate the diversity of the performing arts (both in Europe and worldwide) through the lens of a series of key issues, such as corporeality, exile, or spatiality. To this end, the CET has recently partnered with the “Centre de recherche écriture, création, représentation” (Research center writing, creation, representation), while also initiating new lines of research. The research project “Theater and Exile,” for example, analyzes how contemporary performing arts attempt to understand the complexity of exile in its historical, sociological, and psychological dimensions. The program explores how various practices, such as documentary theater or socio-artistic interventions, try to formulate new, alternative responses to a major problem of the twenty-first century. On the initiative of theater scholar Véronique Lemaire, the CET has also set up a new interuniversity research group on scenography and space, which approaches space in theater as a genuine dramaturgical medium, as a particular semiotic network that places the work in the actual world rather than being a mere vehicle for the enactment of the text. The group not only ambitions to advance the dialogue between researchers and practitioners (including set designers, architects, visual artists), its members also share a keen interest in understanding the potential of scenography beyond theater, in public space, politics, or everyday life.

**Université de Liège (ULg)**

Contrary to the CET at ULC, the Université de Liège (ULg) has never established a separate department or research center specifically devoted to theater studies. In Liège (as well as at the Université libre de Bruxelles), academic research and teaching programs are embedded within the Department of “Sciences de l’information et de la communication” (SIC, Information and Communication Studies). The basic idea behind the institutional anchoring of theater studies in a larger department that also houses other domains is that both cinema and theater are primarily regarded as forms of cultural communication, rather than as distinct aesthetic systems situated in the broader history of art and culture. At the ULg, the Master’s program “Arts et sciences de la communication” (Arts and Communication Studies), which is currently still offered, resulted in fact from an innovative movement that began in the 1970s and which sought to rethink the prevalent methodologies for teaching as well as examining theater and adjacent art forms, such as dance or opera. This renewal was to a large extent initiated by Jacques Dubois, a professor of modern French literature and sociology of culture at the ULg. Together with several other colleagues, Dubois created in the 1960s the “Group µ,” which would develop a new approach to classical rhetoric by
combining it with semiotics. Dubois was also greatly inspired by the critical sociology of Pierre Bourdieu, which eventually led to a reformation of the literary studies program: “sociologie de littérature” (literature sociology) was introduced as a full course within the curriculum, while also more popular genres, such as graphic novels or police novels, became legitimate objects of analysis. The other domains in the Department (most notably Journalism, Mediation, and Theater) were to follow the same tendency soon, with the aim to go beyond and even contest a purely aesthetic approach to culture, promoting instead the systematic contextualization of any kind of cultural production (thus not only “art” per se, but also popular practices or mass media) within the dynamics of a specific “field.” This shift in focus resulted in a double orientation at ULg’s Department of Arts and Communication Studies that still persists today: next to the “aesthetic” approach that is mainly present in film studies, there is another strong line of research that adheres to the perspective of critical sociology.

Similar to the Theater Studies program at the Université catholique de Louvain, students at the ULg are stimulated to immerse themselves into actual artistic practices and the professional field, primarily through practice-based workshops led by directors, actors, or writers. When Nancy Delhalle joined the department in 2007, she introduced a new line of research that was more historiographical in nature. Delhalle’s interest was to uncover the history of francophone theater as it developed in Belgium since World War II, which until then had never been the topic of sustained academic study. This is fairly remarkable, since – in contrast to Wallonia – the history of postwar Flemish theater had already been researched more thoroughly, both at Flemish universities and other institutions. In this respect, Delhalle’s 2006 book Vers un théâtre politique: Belgique francophone 1960-2000 (Towards a Political Theater: Francophone Belgium 1960-2000) offered an important and timely contribution to the historiography of theater in Wallonia. In Le tournant des années 1970 (The Turn of the 1970s, 2010), a volume Delhalle co-edited with the aforementioned Jacques Dubois, the focus lies on the specific sociological embedding of theater in the local context of Liège. The contributing authors analyze how theater in Liège has always been connected to the particular industrial history of the city as well as the socio-demographic divisions that come with it. Delhalle has played an important role in the development of theater studies at the ULg, not the least because, in 2016, she founded CERTES, “Centre d’études et de recherches sur le théâtre dans l’espace social” (Center of the study of and research on theatre in the social space). CERTES intends to examine the role of theater in our current society of the spectacle in which flat-screens and mass entertainment dominate everyday life,
while it also wants to foster critical reflection on different organizational models as possible alternatives for our neoliberal and globalized economy.

*Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB)*

At the Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB), it was especially André Helbo who functioned as the driving force behind the institutional emancipation of theater studies, which included the establishment of both an official Master’s program and a research line specifically devoted to theater and other performing arts. His longstanding interest in semiotics provided him with the theoretical credentials to forge this emancipation, since he was drawing on an intellectual tradition that was recognizable and acknowledged by colleagues from other domains in the humanities, while this same focus also facilitated the internationalization of education and research on theater at the ULB. However, when Helbo started working at the ULB in 1980, there were already other scholars with a keen interest in theater who have also played a pivotal role in expanding the scope of theater studies at the university. American studies scholar Gilbert Debusscher, for example, promoted research on the American canon of modern playwrights (such as Tennessee Williams, Edward Albee, David Mamet, or Eugene O’Neill), but he also included the theater of the Wooster Group.28 Even though the analysis of the drama text has always been De Busscher’s most primary concern, he is a genuine theater aficionado who has infected quite a lot of students and junior researchers with what is described in a tribute book devoted to him as his “Thespian enthusiasm” (Den Tandt and Maufort 15). Also Paul Delsemme, who was appointed at ULB as Professor of Belgian francophone Literature in 1964, was a great theater enthusiast and included the history and aesthetics of theater in his classes. His teachings eventually resulted in the publication of *L’œuvre dramatique, sa structure et sa représentation* (*The Dramatic Work: Its Structure and its Representation*, 1979). During the same period, Roger Deldime founded the “Centre de sociologie du théâtre” (Center of Theater Sociology) at the ULB’s Institut de Sociologie, albeit without a formal appointment. These examples demonstrate how, until the 1970s, the interest in theater at the ULB was vivid but institutionally deeply scattered: several individuals included theater in their research and teaching activities, but they worked at different departments and faculties across the university. At the time, the ULB did not have a coherent theater studies program, while the international development of the field did not seem to play any substantial role either.

It was only in the early 1980s and with the arrival of André Helbo that the ULB started to follow a similar path as other universities in Wallonia. Here too, the
growing academic interest in theater first sought to move away from the longstanding predominance of philology and literary studies, turning instead to communication studies as a potential partner to find the required institutional anchoring for theater studies. Helbo was first invited by the ULB to teach, amongst other things, a course in semiotics as part of the program “Animation socio-culturelle” (socio-cultural work). He subsequently set up various European collaborations with a number of foreign colleagues (including leading theater scholars, such as Patrice Pavis, Jean-Marie Pradier, Anne Ubersfeld, Hans-Thies Lehmann, and Marco De Marinis). By organizing joint seminars, exchanging staff, or promoting student mobility, Helbo promoted the international character of the education offered at the ULB. Students would eventually be able to obtain a so-called DEC2 or “Diplôme d'enseignement complémentaire” (Degree of complementary education), which today would be equivalent to a specialization degree that sits somewhere between a professional certificate and an Advanced Master.

When the Bologna reformation was implemented in Belgian higher education in 2004, the autonomous MA program “Master en Arts du Spectacle Vivant” was established at the ULB. After this institutional recognition, Helbo consistently attempted to broaden the focus from a narrow conception of theater studies to a transdisciplinary approach that takes the notion of “spectacle vivant” (the live performing arts), rather than just theater or performance, as its primary object of study. Using “spectacle vivant” as key heuristic tool, Helbo strongly insisted on liveness as the distinctive characteristic of the performing arts, while he also became interested in reception analysis and the question of how live events are decoded by spectators, which eventually spurred him to collaborate with neuroscientists. Helbo also continued his earlier efforts to internationalize ULB’s educational program. From 2005-2006 onwards, a European “master conjoint” (joint Master) was offered, which allowed students to spend an entire semester at one of several partner universities, each offering a specific and specialized program in line with its own research agenda. The joint MA was complemented in 2007-2008 with an Erasmus Mundus program in order to attract foreign students and international specialists. The partnerships with various universities under Erasmus Mundus allowed Helbo to invite not only scholars but also stage directors to lead workshops and to strengthen the relationship between the theoretical study of theater and professional practice.

Contrary to the CET in Louvain-la-Neuve and more explicitly than his colleagues in Liège, André Helbo embraced semiotics as a primordial intellectual tradition,
since it seemed to provide the methodological foundations for the study of both
theater and other forms of cultural expression that could be embedded in the
Department of “Sciences de l’information et de la communication” (SIC –
Information and Communication Studies). Helbo is not only still active in the
International Association of Semiotics, but he is also chairman of the “Association
internationale pour la sémiologie du spectacle” (International Association of the
Semiology of Spectacle), which had its inaugural congress at the ULB in 1981.
The speakers’ list featured leading scholars in the fields of theater and
performance studies, including Eugenio Barba, Anne Ubersfeld, Jean-Marie
Pradier, and also Erving Goffman, who sadly passed away only a few months
later.\(^{29}\)

According to Helbo, semiotics is a “discipline d’interface,” or an interface-
discipline, because it enables researchers to look for cross-overs between various
fields of knowledge (Helbo et al.). Helbo’s own scholarly work deals indeed with
subjects such as adaptation and intermediality, which quite immediately require a
cross-disciplinary perspective, yet he also draws on fields such as neuroscience
and anthropology in order to rethink theater “in its evental dimension” (Helbo,
Le théâtre 13; own translation). Contrary to classical theater semiotics, Helbo
does not regard the theatrical codes themselves as his primary objects of analysis.
Instead, his main concern is to unfold “the process of assembling these codes into
the production of meaning: enunciation” (ibid.). Rather than the mere
articulation of a text on stage, he is interested in “the construction of the
signification through the ensemble of instances that are active hic et nunc within
the representation” (14).

In a 2012 interview, Helbo explains why theater would be the perfect laboratory
to analyze and understand the complex processes of encoding meaning as well as
decoding signification, while he also acknowledges how this raises particular
challenges for any scholar interested in semiotics:

Live performance, as an object that combines the verbal and the non-
verbal, text and image, the cognitive and the intuitive, permits, more
pertinently than ever, to put semiotic theories to the test. It is the only art
form that, within the moment and in an ephemeral manner, invites to co-
construct systems of signification. (Saurée n.p.; own translation)

These claims exemplify how Helbo takes semiotics beyond its traditional focus on
formalist aesthetic analysis and reconceives it as a deeply contextual perspective
that ought to take the interactions between sender, receiver, and the environment as its central vantage point.\textsuperscript{30} Due to Helbo's mainly theoretical orientation, little of his work explicitly refers to the artistic work created on the francophone side. However, he did manage to develop a new interdisciplinary research program aimed at building a solid methodological foundation for theater studies and at internationalizing the scope of the field within Wallonia.

Today, both the MA program and the research program at ULB increasingly intensify the collaborations with the professional field (Kaaitheater, Les Brigittines, Théâtre Les Tanneurs, and many others) and art schools (ESAC, La Cambre), while also reconnecting historical research to concerns of contemporary performance practice and vice versa. Both research and education aim at understanding the spectacular (“liveness”) as an integral part of our society, analyzing its role and function within global culture, while at the same time investigating its relation with other arts and new media. Recent funded research projects investigate rehearsal strategies in (post-)documentary theater and contemporary dance, in Belgium but also in other countries; (neo)baroque theatricality; countercultural strategies in 1970s performance art; the use and confines of theatrical space in Teheran (Iran); the development of artistic careers in the Brussels arts sector; etc. To support these growing research activities, ULB recently founded “CiASp | Centre de recherche en cinéma et spectacle vivant”, which brings together researchers from theater and cinema studies, or acts as a cooperating partner in interuniversity research consortia, such as “B-Magic,” a large-scale project on the history of the magic lantern. Performance scholars from ULB also participate, together with colleagues from the VUB and different Brussels-based art schools, in the joint research group “THEA | Theatricality and the Real”. THEA aims at building (paradigmatic, theatrical, political) bridges between art practices, artistic research, and scientific research in the fields of theater, performance, and theatricality. Finally, ULB co-organizes from 2018-19 onwards a new MA program in Comparative Dramaturgy and Performance Research,\textsuperscript{31} which intends to familiarize students with theater practice and research in different national contexts and to provide them with profound insight into the various production conditions and processes in various countries.

**And Now?**

Earlier in this text, I referred to the clichéd image that Flanders cherishes on francophone theater in Belgium and which reduces it to a rather conservative and repertoire-oriented theatrical practice that lacks the sense of experimentation that would typify the Flemish scene. This is only partly true, and the same goes
for theater studies in Wallonia. Especially during the past decade, an invigorating dynamic has been thoroughly reshaping the French-speaking theater as well as the academic study thereof, even if the Flemish press or the Dutch-speaking public are only slowly becoming aware of these newer tendencies.

A younger generation of more adventurous theater makers, directors, and actors are producing theater with a great sense of urgency: they not only experiment with integrating various media into theater or explore new strategies of artistic research, they also take up explicitly political positions that are peppered with a headstrong theatrical imagination. Amongst the artists that one could range under this wave of renewal in theater in Wallonia are: Armel Roussel, Fabrice Murgia, Anne-Cécile Van Dalem, Claude Schmitz, Selma Alaoui; authors like Thomas Depryck; or companies such as Raoul Collectif, Rien de Spécial, Nimis Groupe, Cie Art & tça, Transquinquennal, le Collectif Mensuel, and many others. This generation of theater makers strives to develop its own poetics and to give shape to an imaginative aesthetic, without reducing this ambition to a purely formalist approach. Instead, they embark upon a quest for new means of expression that enable them to take a stance toward today’s complex world. Their work is often frivolous and deadly serious at the same time, as they vigorously embrace humor and playfulness. Notable themes include, for instance, consumerism, hyper-individualism, and over-stimulation as the main tenets of our current neo-liberal system (e.g., *Rumeur et petits jours* by Raoul Collectif, November 2015), political populism (e.g., *Tristesses* by Anne-Cécile Van Dalem, April 2016), or the refugee crisis (e.g., *Ceux que j’ai rencontrés ne m’ont peut-être pas vu* by Nimis Groupe, January 2016).32

It is furthermore striking that the youngest generation of actors is increasingly casting off psychological realism and emphatic rhetorical acting, which have been the two dominant traditions in francophone theater for a considerably long time. The actors of Raoul Collectif, for example, take the “now” of the performance – the event of being together in the same space at the same time – as their starting point: together they create on stage a situation that may lead to anything, there and then, at the spur of the moment. The work of Raoul Collectif shows great affinity with theater collectives like Tg STAN: they share a similar approach to theater as they both use the moment of performing as a means to undermine the “as if” or the “make-believe” that continues to impregnate the theatrical apparatus. Precisely for these reasons, Tg STAN is a company that is very much admired by French-speaking and French actors, since it radically breaks with the traditions that are most familiar to them. However, the specific theatricality of Tg
STAN is often mistakenly seen as a style one could learn to master through imitation, while it is in fact the result of a fundamentally different view on theater and a more research-oriented attitude towards the rehearsal process. In this respect, the aim of Raoul Collectif is not to imitate a particular acting style. Instead, what they have in common with Tg STAN is a keen interest in research, not only during rehearsals, but also (and most importantly) on stage during the performances themselves. A shared adventure of research and trial-and-error allows them to make instant, seemingly intuitive decisions on stage while at the same time freely commenting on these decisions.

There are a number of possible explanations for the manner in which emerging artists are introducing new approaches in the francophone theater scene. Undoubtedly, the Brussels theater collective Transquinquennal played an important part in disrupting the prevalent acting idioms in francophone theater and in searching for alternative models. Via their collaboration with Flemish companies such as Tristero, they introduced a Brechtian, detached, and often also ironic way of acting, with actors communicating, defending, or questioning their perspective on the performance's content or story, instead of projecting themselves into a role. The influence of the Brussels Théâtre National on the French-speaking landscape during the past few years may have been even more crucial. It is in fact fairly remarkable that a theater whose name seems to refer to an established, traditional institution has actually served as a place for experimentation. Director Jean-Louis Colinet invested indeed actively in shaping new talent and made sharp, future-oriented choices: artists such as Fabrice Murgia (who succeeded Colinet as director) or groups like Raoul and Nimis first emerged under the auspices of Colinet. He definitely turned it into an open house where young artists had the opportunity to develop and flourish, with extensive coaching that prepared them for the big stage. A third possible explanation (and there certainly may be several others) is the positive impact of the actors' training offered at ESACT, the Drama Department at the Royal Conservatory in Liège, where actors are primarily trained as artists who create their own work, rather than as performers who execute the projects of others. They are required, for example, to undertake research and fieldwork, which immerses the students in specific social environments and challenges them to question continuously the role of theater in today's society as well as to explore its potential to actually intervene in that world.
Figure 3.2. Dito'Dito & Transquinquennal, *Ah oui ça alors là / Ja ja maar nee nee* (1997). © Herman Sorgeloos
The ways in which francophone theater in Belgium has recently been reinventing itself might create the momentum for a rapprochement between the artistic as well as academic communities on both sides of the language border. At least one fruitful starting point to facilitate this kind of rapprochement would be the mutual acknowledgement that the recent histories of theater studies in Flanders and Wallonia are not so different after all. As I hope to have demonstrated, there are significant parallels and convergences that connect both areas, insofar as they each had to go through the struggle of finding a legitimate space for theater studies within academia, while they each can currently also draw on a vivid artistic scene that is self-conscious about the role of theater in our present society. Trying to discern similarities obviously does not mean that differences should simply be erased. On the contrary, it cannot be denied that Flemish and francophone theater in Belgium do have distinct genealogies that, in turn, gave rise to different institutional structures (in Flanders, there is no “National Theater,” for instance). Both scenes now also face divergent political contexts, as a right-liberal government in Flanders with a clear Flemish-nationalist agenda stands opposed to the social-democratic, rather leftist government in Wallonia. However, the increasing number of initiatives to strengthen the ties between Flanders and Wallonia – a few of which I have mentioned in this article’s introduction – might indicate that perhaps the time has come for a more encompassing and sustained exchange of expertise, experiences, and intellectual traditions. This might be less utopian than it may sound. A Cultural Accord between Flanders and Wallonia that provides complimentary subsidies for intercommunity projects has long been in the making, but once it had been signed in 2013, more funds became available to support the cultural and artistic dialogue between Flanders and Wallonia. From then on, the Ministry of Culture of Flanders and Wallonia have launched a joint call each year for partnerships between Flemish and francophone cultural organizations.

Political initiatives such as the Cultural Accord are to be applauded, but a more important step might be the closure of the longstanding and gradually ingrained cultural gap between Wallonia and Flanders that continues to feed stereotypical assumptions, not only on theater, but also on other cultural, societal, or economic tendencies in each part of the country. As far as theater is concerned, these assumptions will hopefully fade away when the awareness grows that, also in Wallonia, the artist’s own voice is resounding increasingly louder and that several emerging francophone artists are giving a sense of ideological urgency to theater again, while combining it with the joy of acting. This is perhaps the only way to support productive crossovers between Flanders and Wallonia and to amplify the
possibilities for the exchange of both artistic and academic research and expertise. At the same time, governmental policies do play a crucial role by providing the necessary structures and instruments to stimulate bi-communal co-productions and training programs. Artists and scholars from both cultural sides can learn from one another not because they have to become similar, but because they are different.

Works Cited


1 I would like to thank my colleagues Nancy Delhalle (ULg), Pierre Piret (UCL), André Helbo (ULB), Benoît Vreux, and most certainly Timmy De Laet for their very useful comments on earlier versions of this article.

2 Belgium also has a small German-speaking community located in the eastern part of the country, but in order not to overcomplicate my discussion, I limit my focus to Flanders and Wallonia.

3 For more on the “house swap” between Beursschouwburg and Brigitinnes, see: http://www.beursschouwburg.be/en/event/149559/new/#149559 (Accessed 15 January 2018). Other theaters that have been collaborating include KVS and Théâtre National, who each year offer what they call “Toernee General,” a selection of performances at both theaters. Also KC nOOna (Mechelen) and Théâtre de l’Ancre have been presenting francophone work in Flanders and vice versa.

4 Because of this article’s comparative perspective on the development of theater studies in Flanders and Wallonia, it can be considered a diptych with Luk Van den Dries’ contribution to this theme issue.

5 “Toneelstof” is a word that bears a double meaning in Dutch, which in English would translate as “stuff of theater” as well as “dust of theater.” This project consisted of four issues of Documenta each covering one decade (from the 1960s to the 1990s), with critics and scholars commenting on different aspects of theater practices in Flanders during those years. Each of these issues was accompanied by a DVD featuring a newly made documentary and a wealth of audio-visual bonus material largely issued from the vaults of the VRT archives. Toneelstof was an initiative of Thersites, the organization of theater critics headed by Wouter Hillaert.

6 For more on the vexed relationship between theater studies and literary studies, see Bart Philipsen’s article in this issue.

7 Under the influence of performance studies, theater studies broadened its scope from theater in the strict sense of the word to rituals, processions, ceremonies, and other types of performed behavior, while at the same time paying attention to the fundamental contextual nature of performance through the mobilization of a broad variety of scientific disciplines as diverse as semiotics, gender studies, sociology, anthropology, ethnography, linguistics, etc. (see Carlson).

8 For a critical analysis of this dynamic, see Vanhaesebrouck.
The phrase “flics du sens” was coined by the French director Antoine Vitez. Literally translated, it means law enforcers (or, perhaps better even, cops) of meaning or signification (see Biet and Triau 998).

“Vormingstheater” is a rather difficult term to translate, but in English it would mean literally “formation theater.” It refers to a theater practice inspired by the work of artists like Augusto Boal in which theater becomes a means for social emancipation and political agency. It aims at empowering its audience through the use of specific techniques which help spectators to understand power relations as well as the constructed nature of their own social reality.

The importance of the “Werkgroep Vormingstheater” for Flemish theater studies is more extensively discussed in Luk Van den Dries’ article in this issue, whereas Christel Stalpaert’s contribution goes deeper into the ongoing influence of Marianne Van Kerkhoven’s view on dramaturgy in Flanders.

The KU Leuven did not pursue this interest in theater studies and is currently one of the few Flemish universities without a theater studies program.

Schechner’s lecture was also published in Dutch in the third and last issue of Data, the short-lived journal of the CET mentioned earlier. A different version appeared later in Performing Arts Journal, which featured a two-part essay by Schnechner, titled “The Decline and Fall of the (American) Avant-Garde” (1981).

For an overview of the most important developments in theater and performance studies during the late 1980s and early 1990s, see Opsomer, “Theaterwetenschap en culturele studies” and Jans.

For a general overview, see Aron.

Martine Wijckaert’s work is extensively discussed in Alternatives théâtrales, issue 115.

Delcuvelerie also importantly infused the education of actors in Wallonia with a radicality it seemed to lack until then. He particularly left his mark on the pedagogy of ESACT, the Drama Department at the Royal Conservatoire in Liège.

The history of the Théâtre 140 and the important role of both the venue and Jo Dekmine for the theater field in Wallonia is the topic of the volume Jo Dekmine et le 140: Une aventure partagée, published by Alternatives théâtrales in 2011.
I deliberately use the French term “études théâtrales” instead of the English term “theater studies,” in order to insist on the specificity of the French variant of the discipline, in which the dramatic text is considered to be the core element of theater. The Institut d’Études théâtrales (IET; Institute of Theatrical Studies) at the Université Sorbonne Nouvelle (Paris 3), founded in 1959 by Jacques Scherer and which counted important scholars as Bernard Dort, Anne Ubersfeldm and Jean-Pierre Sarrazac amongst its staff, has without a doubt played an important role in the institutionalization of this text-based perspective in France. Nevertheless, reducing French theater studies to text-based “études théâtrales” is of course highly questionable, since there have been French theater scholars who did look beyond the primacy of the text. One could think of, for example, Patrice Pavis, who was one of the first in France (but not the only one) to pay attention to intercultural theater, or the work of Christian Biet, whose historical research comes close to Schechner’s broad-spectrum approach.

For more on the relationship between postdrama and Flemish theater, see Van den Dries and Crombez; Swyzen and Vanhoutte.

For a beautiful reflection on the Liège cultural identity, inspired by Roland Barthes’ ideas on contemporary mythologies, see Jean-Marie Klinkenberg and Laurent Demolin’s Petites mythologies liégoises (Little Liégeois mythologies, 2016).

The francophone government determines through decree what degrees universities can offer. Each university is bound to very strict regulations regarding the number, name, and nature of their degrees. The government chose to combine cinema studies and theater studies under the umbrella of one and the same MA degree, the “Master en Arts du Spectacle,” except for the UCL, where cinema studies is not included in the program.


Belgian visiting professors who taught at UCL include, amongst others, Jean Florence, Georges Jacques, Ariane Joachimowicz, and Daniel Lesage. Examples of visiting professors from France are: Robert Abirached, Georges Banu, Jean-Pierre Sarrazac, Catherine Naugrette, Bernard Faivre, Emmanuel Wallon, and Jean-Louis Besson.

At the Université de Liège, theater studies is officially part of the Department of “Arts et Sciences de la communication” (Art and Communication Studies) that, apart from “Arts du spectacle” (which includes film and live performing arts), covers three other domains: “journalisme,” “médiation,” and “communication multilingue” (journalism, mediation, and multilingual communication).


Delhalle’s recent research continues along the same lines. Her edited volume Le théâtre et ses publics (The Theater and its Audiences, 2013), for example, deals with the interactions between changing social contexts and theatrical representation, while also considering developments such as the democratization versus the “elitization” of the performing arts.
Gilbert Debusscher often collaborated with his colleague Johan Callens at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (Free University Brussels), as they share the same interest in American drama. This collaboration between a francophone and Flemish scholar is thus another example of people working together across the language border.

Especially Goffman’s contribution to the conference remains vividly present in the memories of those who attended the event: at the moment of his intervention, Goffman appeared to have locked himself up in the toilets, but when he did turn up ten minutes later, he candidly based his lecture on that event (Helbo, “Sémiologie du spectacle”).

This rethinking of the main tenets of classical semiotics is a project that Helbo embarked upon already during his doctoral research on the novels of Jean-Paul Sartre, in which he similarly approaches signification as the result of a collaborative interaction between signifier and receiver (Le contrat de lecture dans l’œuvre romanesque de Jean-Paul Sartre, Doctorat en Philosophie et Lettres, Université libre de Bruxelles, 1977, later published as Helbo, L’Enjeu du discours).

The other universities participating in the MA in Comparative Dramaturgy and Performance Research are Goethe University Frankfurt/Main, University of the Arts Helsinki, and Université Paris Nanterre.

The titles of the pieces mentioned here would translate in English as, respectively, Rumor and little days, Sadnesses, and Those that I met may not have seen me.

See also the contribution by Naomi Velissariou in this issue. Velissariou similarly explains how she, as an emerging theater maker, took a distance from the legacy of influential theater collectives, such as Tg STAN and Maatschappij Discordia.

For more information on the Cultural Accord between Flanders and Wallonia, see: http://www.cultuurculture.be (Accessed 12 December 2017).