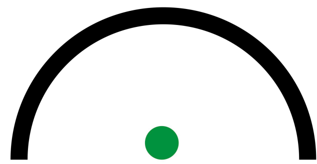

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Translocating Theatre History

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Editorial

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Much has happened in the field of theatre historiography in recent years. Areas of investigation are expanding, and theories and methods are being examined and modified. The Journal of Global Theatre History and the Munich Centre for Global Theatre History (www.gth.theaterwissenschaft.uni-muenchen.de) provide platforms for research into global and transnational theatre history and historiography. Both the journal and the centre place new perspectives and methods at the core of their scholarly programme.

The articles in this issue directly or indirectly address the "translocality" of theatre history and theatre scholarship. By viewing and writing theatre "transnationally" or "transregionally," and by challenging the dominant prisms of locality and nation in historiography, they reposition specific theatre cultures both spatially and theoretically. Looking into the history of theatre, it becomes obvious that the conceptual frameworks and perspectives from which we study it are in constant flux. Mobility, whether present or historical, always has more than one engine: migration, trade, and ideology – sometimes in combination. Such translocations therefore manifest themselves on at least three levels: artistically, since mobility creates new forms of cultural exchange, appropriation and circulation; linguistically, since theatre is often performed and received in situations of linguistic asymmetry; and institutionally, since new ways of organizing and disseminating theatre require great adaptations, while also causing disturbances. When theatre moves across geographical and linguistic borders, we as historians are called upon to illuminate its context by looking at it through a multi-perspectival lens.

In her essay "Travelling Theatre Companies and Transnational Audiences. A Case Study of Croatia in the ninetheenth Century" **Danijela Weber-Kapusta** (Germany) follows the traces left by German-speaking touring troupes and theatre practitioners in Croatia. She argues that German groups travelling for over half a century were among the most important mediators of a cultural identity and imagined cultural community of the Habsburg Monarchy, promoting a "transnational theatre market in the German language" through their mobility. Using numerous, partly unknown source materials and examples, the author discusses the political and social backdrop of theatre in Croatia in the nineteenth century, focusing in particular on the theatre centres Zagreb and Osijek.

The American theatre historian **Laurence Senelick** (USA), whose astute study on Jacques Offenbach, *Jacques Offenbach and the Making of Modern Culture*, was recently published with Cambridge University Press, looks at "Musical Theatre as a Paradigm of Translocation". In his contribution he considers the comic operas of Jacques Offenbach to be an example of "Omni-Locality", a concept, which was proposed by classicist Emily Greenwood as a variation of "Transglobality". He discusses how Offenbach's works were able to achieve worldwide success and how their impact (also on a socio-political level) differed locally, from Rio de Janeiro to Cairo, Tokyo and other cities.

The essay by **Viviana Iacob** (Romania) examines the period after the Second World War. Against the background of an increasingly global perspective on the Cold War in recent years, she sees her article “Caragiale in Calcutta: Romanian-Indian theatre diplomacy during the Cold War” as a contribution to this discourse from a theatre history and cultural policy perspective. It also contributes to a better understanding of the history of cultural diplomacy between Eastern Europe and the global South. Her focus is on Romania and India and their efforts during the 1950s to bring the two different cultures closer together – through theatre.

It took an unusually long time to launch this issue. The reason for this was a technical change which was not in our hands but which will improve user-friendliness for authors and readers alike from now on.

We are confident that the following issues will be published on a regular basis.

Nic Leonhardt, Munich, December 30, 2017

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Danijela Weber-Kapusta

Travelling Theatre Companies and Transnational Audiences. A Case Study of Croatia in the Nineteenth Century

Abstract

For over a hundred and fifty years, the travelling German theatre companies were some of the most important mediators of the common cultural identity of the Habsburg Monarchy. By tirelessly travelling across the borders of the German-speaking area, they encouraged the emergence of a transnational theatre market in the German language, which extended beyond the borders of the empire, and shaped the theatrical taste of a multi-ethnic audience for decades. This article examines the political and social factors that promoted this transnational distribution of German theatre in the nineteenth century. Particular attention is paid to the linguistic identities of the empire and the model function that Vienna played in shaping the lifestyle and the imagined cultural communities throughout the monarchy. The case study of two Croatian theatre centres – Zagreb and Osijek – examines the role played by the travelling German theatre companies in the spread of the common cultural identity on the one hand and in the development of professional Croatian theatre on the other.

Author

Danijela Weber-Kapusta studied theatre studies, German language and literature and comparative literature at Zagreb University (Croatia) and obtained her PhD in Theatre Studies from LMU Munich in 2011. She was research associate of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb (Institute of Theatre History 2005-2007), external research associate of the Institute of Lexicography Miroslav Krleža in Zagreb (2007-2009), lecturer at the Institute for Theatre Studies at LMU Munich (2009-2011) and external research associate of the Austrian Academy of the Sciences in Vienna (Institute of Cultural Studies and Theatre History 2015-2016). Currently, she is affiliated with the Centre for Global Theatre History and the Department for Theatre Studies at LMU Munich on a research project "Culture-Power-Identity," funded by the German Research Foundation. Her research interests are theatre history of the nineteenth and twentieth century, theatre and identity, travelling theatre companies, post-colonial studies and contemporary German theatre.

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1. The emergence of a transnational German theatre market in the Habsburg Monarchy: Period, Territory, Causes

In 1776 the Habsburg Emperor Joseph II passed a law, which permitted the establishment of private theatres and allowed the theatrical profession to be exercised freely in the Habsburg Monarchy. According to this law, every actor in the monarchy was allowed to entertain audiences and to earn money with his profession (Hadamowsky 1994, 255). This legislation had a crucial influence on the creation of theatre as a private enterprise and prompted the establishment of both permanent city theatres and travelling theatre companies. The emergence of the theatre landscape in the Vienna suburbs was its first result. Theatre as a central cultural institution became a matter of prestige for the fast-growing middle-class society. At the same time, a new tendency of theatre, not as a moral or aesthetic institution, but as a profit-making venture changed the structure of the potential audience. The establishment of new private theatres made theatre entertainment accessible to a broad section of the population. Theatregoing was no longer an exclusive privilege of the aristocracy and the court; it was now open to all individuals able to pay the entrance fee.

The privatization of the theatre and the advantages that the free market economy created encouraged the creation of countless travelling theatre companies. It was precisely this kind of theatre, which played a crucial role in the emergence of the transnational theatre market in the German language in the Habsburg Monarchy in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century.[1] The travelling German companies travelled throughout the Hapsburg Empire and brought the latest theatre trends to the most remote parts of the monarchy.[2] The individual countries of the empire did not yet have a professional theatre, so the travelling German theatres were the first to introduce ongoing theatre activity in countless cities of the monarchy, creating an audience, shaping and influencing their taste and theatre expectations. The performing sites of the travelling German theatre companies were not restricted to the territory of the Habsburg Empire. There were companies that also travelled much further. From the eighteenth century onwards, travelling German theatre also played in the Baltic (Tallinn, Riga) in Saint Petersburg and Moscow. In the nineteenth century, travelling German theatre performed in South Africa and in countless cities in the USA. There were numerous factors that enabled this transnational distribution of German theatre. Some of the most important were migration, wars, colonialism and the cultural prestige of the German language and its frequent use among educated classes. There are numerous studies and contributions on the presence of German theatre in European and non-European countries. [3] However, the transnational perspective is still mostly missing from research in this field. While the existing works focus on one country or one city in which the travelling German theatres performed, a transnational comparative perspective remains indispensable for the present study and future research.[4]

Until the end of the First World War, the Habsburg Monarchy was one of the largest and most powerful European empires. It was a multi-ethnic and multinational empire consisting of the territories of present-day Austria, Hungary, Italy, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia, Romania and Poland.[5] The Slavs represented the largest ethnic group in the empire, but the Slavic countries had no political power. The centres of power were in Austria and Hungary and the Austrian Emperor was the supreme sovereign (Stagl 2002, 151).[6] German was the official language of the empire

during certain periods, such as the reign of Joseph II in the 1780s and the era of neoabsolutism in the 1850s. Although these periods were very short, the German language for centuries played a decisive role in the public and private life of the whole monarchy. German was the language of scholars and culture, the status symbol of high society and the educated middle-class, the language of the army, handicraft and trade. It was *precisely* the knowledge and the general use of the German language by a broad range of social groups, which enabled and fostered a rapid expansion of German theatre across the entire monarchy and its surrounding territories. The result was the establishment of a transnational theatre market in the German language, which extended from the German and Austrian cities through Ljubljana, Zagreb, Bratislava, Prague, Buda and Pest, Novi Sad, Sarajevo, Krakow, Timișoara and Lviv, up to Riga, Tallinn and Saint Petersburg in the north, and some Italian cities in the south.[7] The knowledge of the German language and a great demand for cultural goods and entertainment turned German theatre into a multinational meeting point. German theatre outside its own ethnic territory connected different ethnic groups and created a new form of imagined cultural community (Anderson 1998) united by a common language and lifestyle.

From the last third of the eighteenth century and the unification reforms of the Habsburg Emperor Joseph II onwards, the nobility, the bourgeoisie and the middle class of the whole monarchy imitated the lifestyle of the capital city of Vienna. Going to the theatre was a Viennese social ritual, which was greatly admired and passionately imitated throughout the whole empire. At the end of the eighteenth century, Vienna already had two court theatres (*Burgtheater* and *Kärntnertortheater*) and three private theatres (*Theater in der Leopoldstadt*, *Theater in der Josefstadt* and *Theater an der Wieden*; the fourth private theatre, *Theater an der Wien*, was founded in 1801). There were also permanent theatres in the bigger cities like Prague, Pest, Trieste and Bratislava. In the smaller cities, theatres had not yet been built and the actors had to play in adapted spaces such as aristocratic palaces, church rooms or even army barracks. The companies mostly stayed in the smaller cities for one season and then moved on to another city. The winter season began at the end of September and lasted until Palm Sunday. As late as 1839, the Viennese cultural magazine *Der Humorist* reports that there were only eight permanent stages in the monarchy, which were in use in the summer and winter, in other words, all year long. In addition to Vienna, these were Prague, Pest, Graz, Lviv, Brno, Linz, Preußberg (Bratislava) and Zagreb.[8] This meant that the majority of theatre companies were only engaged for half a year and had no guaranteed income for the rest of the year. As a result, the actors and theatre directors changed frequently. The whole ensemble often dissolved at the end of a season and had to be reassembled for the beginning of the new season. The cities with larger populations, such as Prague or Pest, showed greater continuity: here the directors managed to keep their ensemble and to perform in one place for a much longer period. The fact that they had a commitment for the whole year played a decisive role for the actors (and the directors). All those who did not receive an engagement in Vienna, had to go to the provincial stages. Despite the slow communication methods, there were many links between the directors and actors in Vienna and the provinces.[9] Many had already met in Vienna or during the constant touring on the provincial stages, which encouraged an exchange among the companies. An actor or theatre director often worked in all the countries of the monarchy during his or her career.

The theatre repertoire was subject to strict censorship. Since the theatre was a matter of policy, every theatre director had to obtain permission for his repertoire selection. Without permission he was not allowed to stage any new pieces.[10] "Usually plays that were approved in the capital were automatically permitted in the Austrian provinces, with acceptance at the Burgtheater in particular viewed as an official seal of approval."[11] In addition, "lists of prohibited plays were sent from Vienna to the provinces in order to provide certain homogeneity of censorship within the monarchy."[12] The result of this strict censorship policy was standardization and unification of the repertoire. A limited corpus of plays, comedies, magic plays, farces, vaudevilles, operettas and operas was performed throughout the monarchy. The policy of unification was a significant sign of Habsburg rule. It is worth emphasising that the theatre was just one representative example of unification, which affected numerous levels of public life (language, administration, school system, press, architecture, to name just a few). By studying the history of the Habsburg Monarchy from a postcolonial perspective, Johannes Feichtinger has pointed out the interconnection of power and unification. The measures of homogenization were a way of exerting power, and this power was colonial (Feichtinger 2003, 14–16). By setting a fixed repertoire of prohibited and permitted plays, the authorities implemented a universal canon, which did not take account of the highly heterogeneous social landscapes and cultural identities of the individual countries of the Habsburg Monarchy. Therefore, it may be concluded that the emergence of the transnational theatre market in the Habsburg Monarchy was partly due to colonial strategies of unification and homogenisation. Without a common language, a common set of values, knowledge and social practices the establishment and ongoing activity of the transnational theatre market in the German language would not have been possible.

2. Multi-ethnic public and common cultural identity in the pre-national age: Case study of Croatia

In the second part of this article, I will discuss the key role played by travelling German theatre in the formation of cultural identity in Croatia in the nineteenth century. In the urban centres of Croatia the theatre was one of the most important cultural media. In contrast to literature and the press, which addressed only the educated classes – and one should not underestimate how few people were able to read and write in the nineteenth century – the theatre was open to all who paid the entrance fee. Against this backdrop, travelling German theatre succeeded more than literature or the press in spreading a common cultural identity in broader and more varied social groups of Croatian society. How *common* this identity was remains questionable since its model was the residence town. With the advent of nationalism, cultural identification with the capital city changed decisively. The new ideal was no longer a common, transnational shared identity, but an individual national identity. The change in the status of German theatre with the advent of nationalism will be examined in the final part of the paper.

Since the eighteenth century, larger Croatian cities, such as the present-day capital Zagreb and the old cultural city of Osijek, show a continuous presence of the German theatre. The city of Osijek has recorded the presence of the travelling theatre companies since the 1730s. In Zagreb they performed from the 1780s onwards.[13] In the period before the emancipation of the newer Croatian culture[14], visits by German theatre companies were the most important cultural ritual in the multi-ethnic Croatian society. The

presence of the economic elite from South Germany and present-day Austria was one of the reasons for the success of the German theatre. The second was the cultural identity of the potential spectators. Whatever their ethnic origins – German and Croatian are just two examples, followed by other ethnicities such as Serbs, Jews, Slovenians, Czechs, Hungarians, and Greeks – all of them imitated the lifestyle of the West European middle class, its values, habits and practices (of which theatre-going was one of the most important). Finally the German language was the basis for interethnic communication.[15] Against this social backdrop, visits by German theatre companies became the main cultural practice of the higher and rising middle class in Croatia in the nineteenth century.

Depending on the size of the city and the potential audience, the travelling German theatre companies stayed in Croatia for one season, several seasons or just a few months. The directors of the travelling theatres were mostly from Southern Germany and from the territory of present-day Austria. In contrast, the ensembles were ethnically much more heterogeneous, often consisting of numerous actors from Slavic countries or Hungary. The quality of the performances varied greatly from society to society. While the good companies, such as Heinrich Börnstein's Theatre, Carl Meyer's Theatre, Julius Schulz's Theatre and Franz Schlesinger's Theatre, stayed for at least one season and often for several seasons, the poorer companies left the city after only a few months. The most detailed testimonies on the theatrical life of the period are provided by the daily newspapers. They wrote extensively and enthusiastically about talented and experienced actors. If the performances were bad, the critics preferred not to write about the theatre. Nevertheless, it can be concluded from the reports published that the main reason for bad performances was poor interaction (*Mitspiel*) between the members of the ensemble. It was difficult to stage good performances, as a large number of theatre companies dissolved and reassembled at the end of the season. In addition, the performances suffered particularly from the short rehearsals and a constant demand for new premieres.

The theatre audience in Zagreb and Osijek was mostly educated. It consisted of the nobility, bourgeoisie, military, middle class and students. While travelling, studying, working or doing business, all of them had an opportunity to visit the prestigious Austrian and German theatres. The most admired theatre in the whole empire was the Vienna *Burgtheater*, but the Viennese theatres in the suburbs (Theater in der Vorstadt), their repertoire and profile, were also well known to the audience in Zagreb and Osijek. The German-language press provided the readers with information about contemporary theatre trends, new performances and plays, famous actors, directors and other theatrical events. There was no other city, which was imitated as ardently as Vienna. Its cultural practices and social rituals – theatre was just one example, followed by concerts, coffeehouses, architecture, literature, to mention just a few of the best known – were assimilated and imitated in Croatian cities. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that the repertoire of the travelling theatres in Croatia was a copy of the repertoire played in Viennese theatres. This was a result of both the strong censorship policy and the social prestige of the capital city. In this way Vienna became a kind of a mirror. The travelling German theatre companies played the repertoire of Viennese theatres throughout the monarchy. Along with the plays, the theatre directors often adopted complete staging solutions, set design and costumes. Vienna was the benchmark for good taste. It was the focal point of the imagined cultural community, whose way of life and cultural practices were passionately imitated in the provinces. The travelling theatre companies

transformed the cultural assets of the residence into the common cultural assets of a transnational Habsburg community.[16] The Viennese daily newspapers and periodicals, such as *Wiener Theater-Zeitung* and *Der Humorist*, were the most important sources for the theatre directors who worked outside the residence, from which they drew information about the latest stage success.

For the theatre audience outside the centre of the monarchy, the guest performances of famous Viennese actors were of special importance. The task of the theatre directors was to invite the great actors and to organize guest performances on the provincial stage. The big actors such as Josef Lewinsky and Adele Sandrock went on tour, especially in the summer months. They performed as guest actors in different cities of the monarchy or they stayed as guests on a single stage for a longer time. For a provincial stage, the famous guests were the most important attraction of the season. By playing their best roles, the great actors enjoyed triumphs and endless ovations and they made a profit for the travelling company. By inviting famous guests, the theatre directors tried to improve business in bad seasons. It was a proven method to fill the coffers and the theatre without much effort. Despite their more mercenary intentions, they made it possible for the provincial audience to see the admired actors in some of their best roles. In the summer of 1840, Heinrich Börnstein – director of the German theatre in Zagreb in the seasons 1839-1841 – organised the guest performances of Ludwig Wothe, at that time one of the most famous comic actors of the Vienna Burgtheater. Wothe stayed in Zagreb for three weeks and gave fourteen performances of contemporary plays, which thrilled the audience and filled the theatre daily[17]. Wothe appeared in the plays of authors who are no longer known to the modern reader (with the exception of Eugène Scribe and Karl Lebrun). Nevertheless, these were the greatest stage hits of the time. The plays in which he performed in Zagreb were so-called *Kassenstücke* both at the Burgtheater and at the Viennese suburb theatres. For the sake of brevity, only a few of the most important ones can be mentioned here. The selected repertoire was dominated by the comedies of August von Kotzebue. Wothe performed in Kotzebue's play *Der Schauspieler wider Willen* (Pfifferling), in Eugene Scribe's comedy *Ehergeiz in der Küche* (Vatel), in Schall's comedy *Die unterbrochene Whistpartie* (Bern) and in Oliver Goldsmith's comedy *Irrtum auf allen Ecken* (Allersdorf). In the reviews, Wothe was praised as an actor with an unlimited ability to transform himself and one of the most natural actors of his time (in the sense of a simple and realistic representation of life).[18]

In the summer of 1847, Ludwig Löwe (Fig. 1), the star of the Burgtheater and one of the greatest actors of the time, performed in Zagreb. His performance was organised by Karl Rosenschön, who directed the German theatre in Zagreb for many years. Nikola Batušić – one of the principal scholars of Croatian theatre history – wrote about Löwe's performances:

> Löwe's guest performances were not just a theatre event. They were a social spectacle. Despite the difficult climatic conditions prevailing in the theatre during the summer period, the theatre was packed every evening. Löwe performed in Zagreb seven times and showed his virtuosity by playing seven different characters. His performances had a profound influence on the audience.[19]

Fig. 1: Ludwig Löwe. Source: Hinko Vinković, Des Burgschauspielers Ludwig Löwe Gastspiele in Zagreb *(Zagreb, Morgenblatt, 1935).*

The press was full of superlative praise. The German-language journal *Luna,* called Löwe's Hamlet a work of a "genius mime"[20] and the Croatian-language journal *Danica* wrote about the enthusiastic audience who called him the "German Garrick"[21]. While the German press focussed on an aesthetic analysis of Löwe's performance, the Croatian press reported extensively on the social sensation caused by the presence of the great artist in the city and its surroundings.[22] Löwe chose a predominantly tragic repertoire for the Zagreb guest performances. His best roles were Ingomar in Friedrich Halm's drama *The son of the wilderness* – one of the most frequently performed contemporary plays – Shakespeare's Hamlet and Roderich[23] in Pedro Calderón de la Barca's play *Life is a Dream*. Despite the "tropical heat" in the theatre, Löwe had "magical effect" on the audience.[24] His natural representation of the role, which was praised as the greatest achievement in contemporary criticism, was enthusiastically received by the audience.[25]

Like Zagreb, Osijek was also frequently visited by the great artists. Here too, the guests came mostly from the Viennese theatres. As in Zagreb, the guests determined the roles and the repertoire to be played. They performed together with the ensemble of the travelling company, which was playing in the city at the time. Of course, there were great differences in the acting style, representation of the characters and stage language, and the interplay between the great guest and the ensemble did not always work as desired.

Fig. 2: The memory of Ludwig Löwe's guest performances in Zagreb in 1847. Source: Hinko Vinković, Des Burgschauspielers Ludwig Löwe Gastspiele in Zagreb *(Zagreb, Morgenblatt, 1935).*

The presence of the great actors underlined the difference between a permanent stage with a permanent ensemble, including many outstanding artists, and a travelling company in which the ensemble, the location and the audience constantly changed. Despite all the deficiencies, the presence of the great guest was what counted at that moment. The guest performances of the great actors and singers, such as Adele Sandrock, Josef Lewinsky, Marie Geistinger, Carl Blasel or Josefine Petru, intensified the knowledge of the Viennese theatre world. For the aristocracy, the middle class, and the students, the theatre was an essential part of the evening. The Viennese theatre as a meeting point for various classes and ethnic groups and the centre for renowned artists represented an ideal admired and imitated by educated classes throughout the monarchy. The presence of the great actors strengthened and intensified the feeling of belonging to the imagined theatre world of Vienna. Thus the guest performances of the admired Viennese artists were of enormous importance for the provincial audience. An article about Adele Sandrock's guest performances in Osijek in 1900, published in the newspaper *Die Drau*, shows how strong the influence of the residence was. This article compares Adele Sandrock and Sarah Bernhardt in the role of the Camille and judges in favour of Adele Sandrock:

> We have once again seen the 'The Lady with the Camellias'. Or shall we say that we have only seen it now? That would be to wrong Sarah Bernhardt. But whoever saw Sarah Bernhard and Adele Sandrock in this role may doubt which of them deserves more praise. Sarah Bernhardt is a virtuoso, Adele Sandrock is an artist. Bernhardt is an excellent pianist on the human instrument with an excellent technique. Adele Sandrock masters all the registers, from the cynicism of an experienced lady to the humble surrender of the loving woman. Everything is a beautiful sound. This is what Adele Sandrock is! Shall we be considered tasteless because we discover the artist only now? We believe we can spare the effort. Anyone who has seen the actress on stage has not only watched her laughing and crying, her life and maybe a bit too virtuoso dying, but also felt it. Those who heard the thunderous acclamation of the audience can put down the pen and say: the verdict is spoken, better and more beautiful than the most enthusiastic praise! [26]

In contrast to Zagreb, where the travelling German theatre companies played continuously since the opening of Amadéos Theater in 1797, German companies played in Osijek from the 1730s onwards. Unlike in Zagreb, where the nobility and the bourgeoisie initiated the establishment of German theatre, the first travelling companies in Osijek were invited by the military. The beginnings of Osijek theatre history are connected to the cultural policy fostered by the ruler within the territory of the military borders.[27] Osijek was an important military base in the defence against the Ottoman Empire. Although the aim of the theatre was to provide entertainment for the military circles, it soon opened up to a wide audience. Due to its first function, the first German stage in Osijek was commonly known as *Festungs-Theater* (Fortress Theatre), *Generalathaus-Theater* (Theatre in the General's House) and *Offiziers-Theater* (Officers' Theatre). This theatre existed until 1873, but from 1866 onwards it was increasingly replaced by the new established theatre in the Upper Town (Fig. 3).

The colonisation of Slavonia pursued by Maria Theresa and Joseph II, which began in the second half of the seventeenth century, made Osijek one of the most important German urban centres in this part of empire. The migrants from South Germany and Austria brought economic, social and cultural developments. They were predominant not only in all sectors of public life, but also as an ethnic group. In contrast to Zagreb – which was also a multi-ethnic city, but in which the Croats formed the ethnic majority – in Osijek, the German and Austrian settlers constituted the ethnic majority almost until the First World War. For this – major – part of the theatre audience, the travelling German theatre had a double function: It was not only a space of identification with Viennese theatre and its audience but also a space of identification with the "imagined community" (Anderson 1998) of the audience's own nation. Even though the first function of the German theatre in Osijek was to entertain, its impact went far beyond simple entertainment and aesthetic enjoyment.

At the end of the 1960s Osijek founded a third theatre stage in the Lower Town. This stage served predominantly for Croatian performances. In contrast to Osijek, the founding of new theatres in Zagreb was not permitted. In 1833, Zagreb entrepreneur Christoph Stankovich undertook to build a private city theatre at his own expense (Fig. 4 and 5). The city magistrate granted him not only free land but also an exclusive theatre patent ("ausschließliches Theater-Recht"). According to this right, which was defined in clause 3 of the contract between the City Magistrate and Stankovich (Fig. 6), the establishment of a second stage in Zagreb was not permitted. Each theatre director who rented Stankovich's Theatre also acquired the exclusive patent. If other entrepreneurs wanted to play in Zagreb or give guest performances, they had to pay a second lease to the current tenant of the theatre as compensation for every performance held.

Fig. 3: Amand Alliger, Croatian National Theatre in Osijek. The German Theatre in the Upper Town from 1866 until 1907. *Source: Croatian National Theatre Osijek.*

Fig. 4: Kaiserlich freistädtisches Theater in Zagreb: rented to German theatre companies from 1834 to 1860. *Source: City library Zagreb*

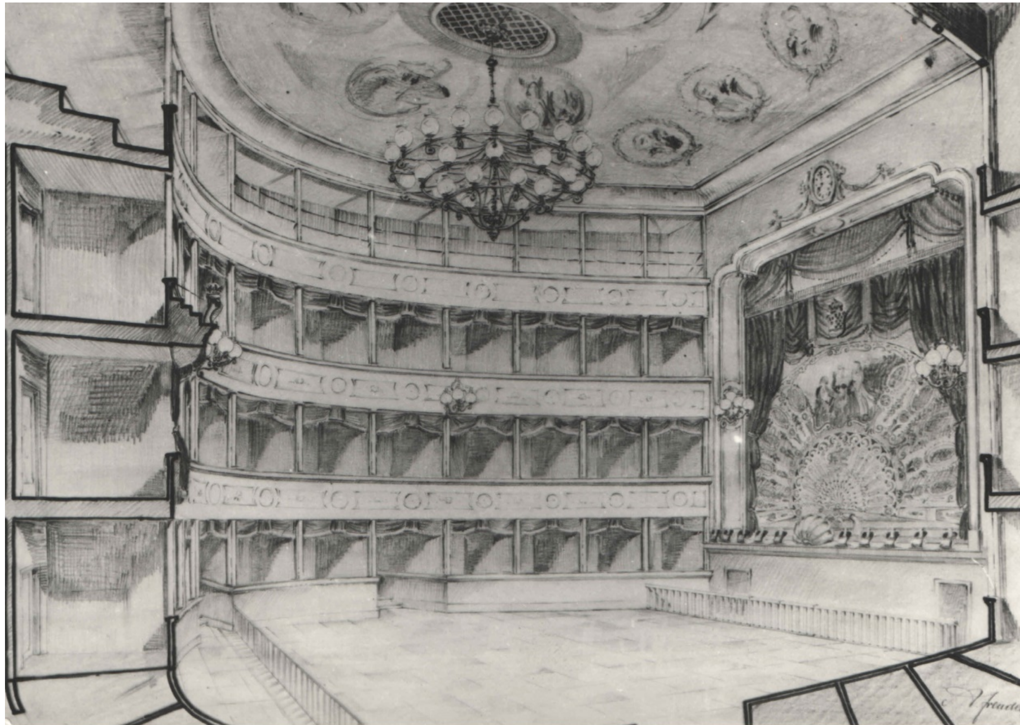
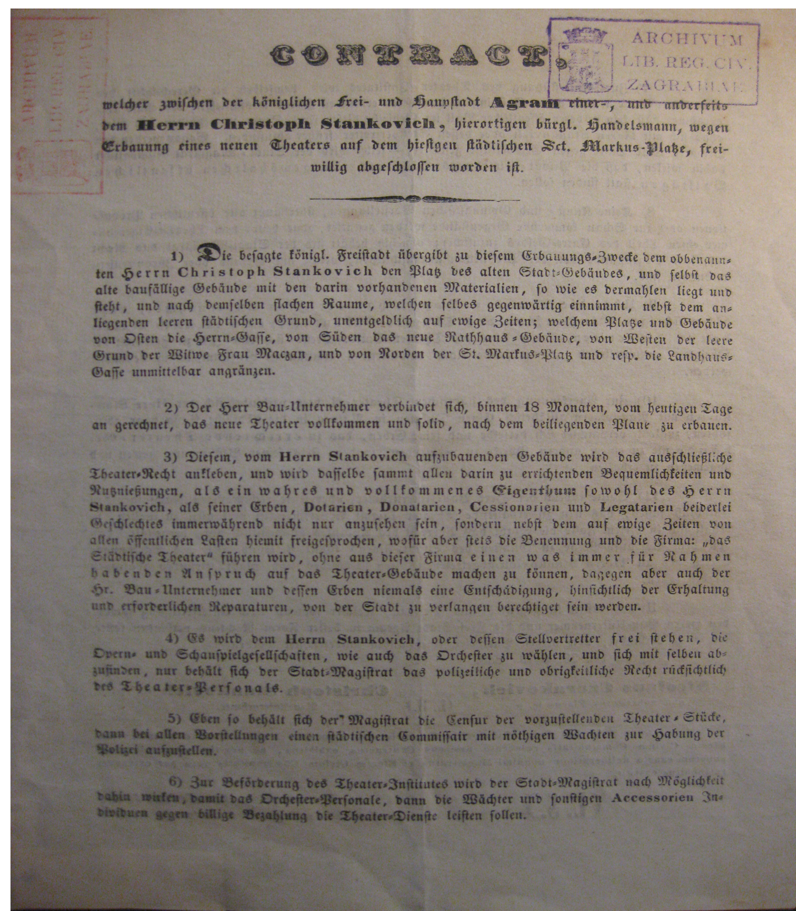


Fig. 5: Kaiserlich freistädtisches Theater in Zagreb. *Aleksandar Freudenreich's reconstruction. Source: Institute for Croatia Theatre History, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb*



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CONTRACT,

welcher zwischen der königlichen Frei- und Hauptstadt **Agram** einer-, und anderseits dem **Herrn Christoph Stankovich**, hierortigen bürgl. Handelsmann, wegen Erbauung eines neuen Theaters auf dem hiesigen städtischen Sct. Markus-Platze, freiwillig abgeschlossen worden ist.

1) Die besagte königl. Freistadt übergibt zu diesem Erbauungs-Zwecke dem obbenannten Herrn Christoph Stankovich den Platz des alten Stadt-Gebäudes, und selbst das alte baufällige Gebäude mit den darin vorhandenen Materialien, so wie es dermahlen liegt und steht, und nach demselben flachen Raume, welchen selbes gegenwärtig einnimmt, nebst dem anliegenden leeren städtischen Grund, unentgeldlich auf ewige Zeiten; welchem Platze und Gebäude von Osten die Herrn-Gasse, von Süden das neue Rathhaus-Gebäude, von Westen der leere Grund der Witwe Frau Maczan, und von Norden der St. Markus-Platz und resp. die Landhaus-Gasse unmittelbar angränzen.

2) Der Herr Bau-Unternehmer verbindet sich, binnen 18 Monaten, vom heutigen Tage an gerechnet, das neue Theater vollkommen und solid, nach dem beiliegenden Plane zu erbauen.

3) Diesem, vom **Herrn Stankovich** aufzubauenden Gebäude wird das ausschließliche Theater-Recht ankleben, und wird dasselbe sammt allen darin zu errichtenden Bequemlichkeiten und Nutznießungen, als ein wahres und vollkommenes Eigenthum sowohl des Herrn **Stankovich**, als seiner Erben, **Dotarien**, **Donatarien**, **Cessionarien** und **Legatarien** beiderlei Geschlechtes immerwährend nicht nur anzusehen sein, sondern nebst dem auf ewige Zeiten von allen öffentlichen Lasten hiemit freigesprochen, wofür aber stets die Benennung und die Firma: „das Städtische Theater" führen wird, ohne aus dieser Firma einen was immer für Nahmen habenden Anspruch auf das Theater-Gebäude machen zu können, dagegen aber auch der Hr. Bau-Unternehmer und dessen Erben niemals eine Entschädigung, hinsichtlich der Erhaltung und erforderlichen Reparaturen, von der Stadt zu verlangen berechtiget sein werden.

4) Es wird dem **Herrn Stankovich**, oder dessen Stellvertretter frei stehen, die Opern- und Schauspielgesellschaften, wie auch das Orchester zu wählen, und sich mit selben abzufinden, nur behält sich der Stadt-Magistrat das polizeiliche und obrigkeitliche Recht rücksichtlich des Theater-Personals.

5) Eben so behält sich der Magistrat die Censur der vorzustellenden Theater-Stücke, dann bei allen Vorstellungen einen städtischen Commissair mit nöthigen Wachten zur Habung der Polizei aufzustellen.

6) Zur Beförderung des Theater-Institutes wird der Stadt-Magistrat nach Möglichkeit dahin wirken, damit das Orchester-Personale, dann die Wächter und sonstigen **Accessorien** Individuen gegen billige Bezahlung die Theater-Dienste leisten sollen.

Fig. 6: The contract between Christoph Stankovich and the Zagreb City Magistrate. *Source: Croatian State Archives Zagreb. Sg: Acta Theatralia, HR-HDA-893, Box 42.*

The companies that played in Zagreb did not travel to Osijek after the end of the season, but instead to other parts of the monarchy. It has not been investigated why there was no exchange between the two theatre cities, since the directors had links to the other city. One reason was perhaps the poor transport connections between the two cities. The only way to get from Zagreb to Osijek was to take a carriage or a steamboat. It was only in the last third of the nineteenth century that the companies were able to travel by rail from Zagreb, on a long detour through Buda and Pest, to Osijek. Travelling was not only associated with inconveniences and uncertainties of all kinds (the length of the journey, transportation of the whole company, scenery, costumes, etc.), but also with enormous costs. Although the theatrical exchange between Zagreb and Osijek was very small, there were a lot of similarities in the repertoire profile. This was, as already pointed out, the result of the common censorship policy. Broadly speaking, in the nineteenth century, the repertoire of the travelling theatre in Osijek and Zagreb was dominated by Johann Nestroy's farces, August von Kotzebue's comedies (*Lustspiele*) and Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer's melodramas (*Rührstücke*). Beside these playwrights, the most popular genres and authors in the first half of the century were the farces of Adolf Bäuerle, the magic plays (*Zauberstücke*) of Ferdinand Raimund, comedies and dramas of Friedrich Wilhelm Ziegler, and finally, the dramas of Ernst Raupach. In the second half of the century, the dramas of Friedrich Halm and plays of August Eugène Scribe enjoyed particular popularity. Classic plays were rarely performed. The theatre directors considered them a financial risk as the majority of the audience visited the theatre for entertainment and not for educational purposes. However, the companies had to perform them from time to time to fulfil the expectations of the theatre critics and the educated audience. It is interesting that in both Zagreb and Osijek Friedrich Schiller was the most frequently performed classic author, even though or precisely because he was considered a revolutionary author.

To summarize the second part of the paper, in the nineteenth century the travelling German theatre companies decisively influenced the formation of cultural identity in the urban centres of continental Croatia.[28] They created the theatre audience and theatre criticism and shaped their taste and expectations for decades. Before the rise of nationalism, the travelling German theatre companies were some of the most important mediators of the common cultural identity of the Habsburg Empire. In Croatia, too, they promoted the emergence of the theatre audience that more than anything imitated Viennese theatrical life and its audience. In the last part of the paper, I will examine a contrasting development, the emergence of the national audience. With the advent of nationalism the continued existence of the common transnational cultural identity of the monarchy and the model character of Vienna were questioned. Each country in the monarchy, from then on, sought to maintain its own cultural identity and national community. In the third part of this paper, I will discuss how the German theatre reacted to the changed cultural demand and what role it played in the development of the Croatian theatre.

3. The Zagreb Case: The formation of the national community

The German theatre lost its previous monopoly in Zagreb in the 1840s and in Osijek in the 1860s. This was the formative period of the professional Croatian theatre. The emergence of nationalism changed the status of German theatre and German culture.

The promotion of Croatian theatre was part of a complex program, which aimed to revitalise the national culture, which had been strongly repressed by the dominant German culture in the nineteenth century. This renaissance of the national culture was closely linked with the emergence of the Croatian national movement in the 1830s. At that time, the new generation of Croatian intellectuals and politicians had set itself the goal of defending the country against *Germanization* and *Hungarization* by fostering and spreading the national culture. The main aim of the movement was to achieve more political, social and economic power. A precondition for commencing this struggle for power was awakening the national consciousness. Since at that time, affiliation with a social class and geographical region was much more prevalent than the affiliation with a nation, national awareness had yet to be created. In Croatia – just like in other national movements across Europe – the nation was associated with language, which was proclaimed to be the essence of the modern national state (Feichtinger 2003).

This was problematic, because Croatia was struggling not just with the question of national affiliation, but also with the question of language identity. Only the lowest social classes spoke Croatian or, more precisely, different dialect forms of the Croatian language. The middle class and the aristocracy used German, Latin or a mixture of several languages depending on the context. The Croatian language was clearly underrepresented in these social classes and used by the few proponents of national identity. The first aim of the national movement was to standardize the Croatian language and spread it to all social classes.

By creating a direct relation between the language and the nation, the Croatian national movement started to change the language topography of the country in an irreversible way. It was a long and complex process, which did not take place simultaneously across the whole country. The goal of the process was to *croatize* the nation and this took decades to achieve. Although the standardisation of the Croatian language was carried out very quickly during the second half of the 1830s, the wider population began to use the new standard language only after the end of the era of neoabsolutism, that is, in the 1860s.[29] As the political centre of the country, Zagreb took a leading role in the language struggle. In Osijek, the German language was clearly dominant even at the beginning of the twentieth century. A crucial shift happened with the First World War. The disintegration of the Habsburg Monarchy and the founding of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in 1918 meant the end of the multilingual society and identities.

Theatre played a key role in the long struggle for national and linguistic autonomy. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Croatian society mainly consisted of an undeveloped agrarian population. It was governed by feudal lords and it was politically dependent on Vienna and Budapest. At that time, the infrastructure necessary to establish Croatian theatre did not exist. There were no Croatian actors and no contemporary Croatian drama. At the same time, "the dislocation of people engendered by migration created new theatre publics that might be termed 'translocal' audiences: geographically separated from their homes, immigrants longed for cultural entertainment familiar to them."[30] Since the biggest group of immigrants – from South Germany and present-day Austria – shared a common lifestyle, language and cultural practices with the upper classes of the Croatian society, it was worthwhile extending the German theatre market to Croatia.

Until the emergence of the national movement in the 1830s, German theatre enjoyed a monopoly. With the rise of national consciousness and the revitalization of national culture, the founding of Croatian theatre became of fundamental importance for several reasons. First, German theatre was the most prestigious cultural institution and a meeting place for the transnational elite, which consisted of Croatian nobility, Austrian military circles and bureaucrats, a multi-ethnic bourgeoisie and educated Croatians. Second, as a foreign institution, German theatre symbolized the domination of German culture over Croatian. Finally, the theatre was a mass medium and an oral medium able to spread the Croatian standard language and national identity throughout society. The biggest obstacle was the absence of Croatian actors and contemporary plays. This was the decisive factor, which led to the collaboration with the German theatre companies. Since there were no Croatian actors, in 1840, the *Illyrian Reading Society* (*Illyrische Lesegesellschaft*) invited a Serbian travelling theatre from Novi Sad to play in Zagreb for several months. This company gave the first performances in the new standard Croatian.[31] The Croatian ensemble was the result of an collaboration between the *Illyrian Reading Society*, the German theatre director Heinrich Börnstein and the travelling theatre from Novi Sad. A decisive impulse was an article published by Heinrich Börnstein[32] in November 1839 in the Croatian magazine *Danica ilirska* (*Illyrian Morningstar*).[33] In this article, Börnstein strongly supported the founding of Croatian theatre and offered to provide the Croatian performances with advice and action. The ensemble of the travelling troupe from Novi Sad, which performed in Zagreb under the name *Illyrian Theater Society*, was small and not experienced enough. It was particularly difficult for it to fill the women's roles, as the troupe had only two actresses, who had hardly and theatrical experience. In the summer of 1840, the troupe began the first performance cycle. *The Illyrian Reading Society* financed the performances and the actors. The reading society signed a contract with Börnstein, which clearly regulated the duties of both sides. Börnstein was obliged to put on Croatian performances twice a week, to stage them using his directors and to provide them with the stage design and costumes. The *Illyrian Reading Society* paid a month's rent to Bornstein for the release of the stage for Croatian performances. The German actors and directors who participated in the Croatian performances were paid by the *Reading Society*. Börnstein also received half the profit from every Croatian performance. Both sides benefited from the contract. Börnstein benefited financially, as the patriotic audience filled the house daily during the Croatian performances, and the national ensemble had the opportunity to observe the work of a professional theatre and to draw on this for its own training. Börnstein also agreed to engage one of the best actresses in the German ensemble for Croatian performances.[34] The actress was Josephine Wagy, whose Polish background and knowledge of the Polish language enabled her to learn Croatian quickly, thus solving the problem of the main female roles. As the only actress with a rich stage experience and talent she – more than all the other measures – contributed to the success of the Croatian performances. She became the darling of the Croatian audience and enjoyed a storm of applause and endless ovations.

In the course of time the ensemble was expanded and enriched by the first Croatian actors. In February 1842 the company dissolved and the Serbian actors went to Belgrade. The talented Croatian actors, such as Franjica Vesel (Franziska Wessel) and Josip Tkalac, remained and became – thanks to their bilingualism – members of the German theatre. The practice of bilingual performances continued in Zagreb to varying extents. After

Börnstein, there were many German directors who supported Croatian performances. The great actors of the Croatian theatre like Josip (Joseph) Freudenreich, Franjo (Franz) Freudenreich, Franjica Vesel, Marija Adelsheim, Ivana Bajza, Adam Mandrović and Maca Peris were scholars in German ensembles with directors such as Vincenz Schmidt, Karl Rosenschön, Rudolf Stefan, Joseph Röder and Ulisse Brambilla. Depending on the political situation and the size of the Croatian ensemble, they gave both German and Croatian performances. More important than occasional interruptions of Croatian performances was the fact that on the German stage between 1840 and 1860 the domestic actors received almost uninterrupted training. The artistic profile of Croatian actors was decisively influenced by the acting style, directing methods and repertoire policy of the travelling German theatre companies. The example of Franjica Vesel shows what progress some of the Croatian actors made. When Ludwig Löwe played Shakespeare's Hamlet in Zagreb in 1847, theatre director Karl Rosenschön chose Franjica Vesel, a Croatian actress, to play the role of Ophelia.

In contrast to German theatre, Croatian theatre was, from the very beginning, characterized by its eminently political role. It was much more than an aesthetic and cultural institution. From the first performance in 1840 Croatian theatre was instrumentalized for political purposes. Its most important functions were to spread the Croatian standard language and promote national identity. The theatre played a key role in the process of the formation of the Croatian nation. The Croatian stage became a space of "grand narration" (Lyotard 1999), where both historical memory and the new national community were systematically created. This does not, however, mean that the artistic dimension of the theatre was neglected entirely, but the main goal was clearly political.

Although, in 1860, the artistic dimension of Croatian theatre was not comparable with that of German theatre, the political changes caused by the fall of neoabsolutism made an interruption of further German performances in Zagreb possible. Although public life during the era of neoabsolutism (1850-1860) suffered from far-reaching Germanization (introduction of the German language into the school system, bureaucracy, the political and legal system), the strengthening of national consciousness could no longer be prevented. The Croatian press did its best to spread national ideals despite strong censorship. The abolition of national rights by Franz Joseph I also promoted anti-German sentiment. After the abolition of the absolutist government, the reintroduction of the constitution and the formation of the Croatian government in 1860 exacerbated the situation and Zagreb was shattered by anti-German demonstrations. German theatre was no longer regarded as a cultural institution par excellence, but as a symbol of foreign repression. The stage of German theatre became the literal symbol of national resistance. On November 24, 1860 the German company, led by the Italian director Ulisse Brambilla, performed a play by Charlotte Birch-Pfeiffer. The theatre was crowded and, strikingly, the audience contained a large number of Zagreb students, which was unusual for German performances. Immediately after the beginning of the performance an unprecedented protest against German theatre broke out and lasted until the performance was cancelled. Because of censorship, the Zagreb press was not allowed to report on the theatre demonstrations. A few Polish and Austrian newspapers nevertheless succeeded in publishing a report. *The Innsbruck News* (*Innsbrucker Nachrichten*) wrote on the title page:

> For the 24th of November the performance of the German ensemble 'Peter Szapary' was announced. In the audience the rumour spread, Brambilla [theatre director] will not play any Croatian performances

> anymore. To the astonishment of the cashier, spectators came to the theatre in crowds. This was striking, since the German performances had long been poorly attended. Soon it became clear that the crowd came not to watch, but to act itself. The curtain opens, two actresses appear, but they have scarcely spoken the first sentence, when a terrible noise, raging, whistling, and screaming develops, and the call for Brambilla resounds. A police commissar stands up. But he can do nothing against the din. The spectators pull pipes out of their pockets, eggs and garbage are thrown onto the stage. The actresses have to withdraw. The orchestra tries to end the protest by beginning to play the national anthem. The noise does not stop and the eggs continue to fly onto the stage. The music must be silenced. A lady in a box says 'Pst! Pst!' to try to silence the noise. Thereupon a new roar rises, the boxes shall be cleared, and one must obey. The director appears and speaks to the audience in German. He also has eggs thrown at him and disappears. The orchestra also goes. Finally a Croatian actor appears and promises that the performance will be in Croatian tomorrow. The protesters reply: it should always be in Croatian. Then they disperse.[35]

In the next few days, the Croatian government dissolved the German theatre company directed by Ulisse Brambila and gave instructions for the season to continue with Croatian performances. The loud audience had indeed managed to prevent further performances of German theatre in Zagreb. In Croatian theatre historiography the audience protest against German theatre has become known as the *expulsion* (*Vertreibung*) of German actors.[36] Interestingly, the Zagreb case did not change the status of German theatre in Osijek. There the travelling German theatre companies dominated the stage almost 50 years later (until 1907).

In summary, German theatre played a decisive role in the formation of collective identities in Croatia in the 19th century. Firstly, the travelling theatres promoted identification with Viennese cultural life, which was an object of admiration, identification and imitation in Croatia and in other countries of the empire, that is, in a transnational context. With the advent of nationalism, cultural identification with the capital city changed decisively. Instead of a common cultural identity, a new ideal emerged: national identity. In this second phase the travelling German theatres prompted and accelerated the emergence of Croatian theatre, which played a key role in the process of nation-building in Croatia in the nineteenth century. The establishment of national culture also meant the re-evaluation of German culture. It was no longer regarded as a common culture of a multinational empire; instead it was now a foreign culture, the culture of the ruling nation.

For more than 150 years the travelling theatres shaped the cultural identity of the Habsburg Monarchy, while also performing in Saint Petersburg, Moscow, Riga and Tallinn, in countless cities in the USA and in South Africa. For the emerging nations, they facilitated the institutionalisation of the theatre, shaped the audience, criticism and the first professional domestic actors. They literally represented an institution without institutional (state) support. In this regard, their history must be (re)written and (re)investigated from a transnational perspective. New case studies, which will consider the interconnections between the national and the transnational history of travelling German theatre, are needed. I will mention only a few of the potential fields of research. The question of the composition of the audience is of particular importance. From what classes, nations, and ethnic groups did the audience of the travelling German theatre companies originate? What were the proportions of the individual groups? Which political, demographic and other factors encouraged the travelling theatres to search for new performance sites on a transnational and global level? How well-connected were the individual directors on a national and transnational level? What repertoire did travelling German theatres play in a transnational comparison? What did the troupes perform in the monarchy, what did they perform in Russia, America or Africa? Were there

companies or directors that travelled globally? How great was the influence of the travelling German theatre on the formation of collective identities in a transnational comparison? By examining some of these questions, we will be able to provide insights into the fascinating influence that the travelling German theatre companies had in the 19th century on the formation of collective identities on a transnational and even global level.

Endnotes

1 This paper argues that the existence of a transnational theatre market in the German language was a significant characteristic of the Habsburg Monarchy in the nineteenth century. The Habsburg Empire did not consist of one country but a number of countries which did not share a common history, territory, or ethnicity. Against this background, the concept of a *transnational* theatre market highlights the pluralism of national and ethnical landscapes within the monarchy. The language of the travelling theatre companies was indeed German, but the same theatre companies worked in all countries of the monarchy, so they acted in a transnational and multiethnic context.

2 In this article the term *travelling German theatre* refers to the professional touring theatre companies that performed in German. The ensembles of such companies consisted mostly of the actors from the territory of present-day Germany or Austria. There were, however, also German-speaking actors from the other countries of the monarchy.

3 For German theatre abroad see the series *Thalia Germanica,* vol. 1–15. Edit. by Horst Fassel, Paul S. Ulrich et. al., published in the LIT Verlag Münster and Berlin.

4 One of the very few contributions that examine the subject in a transnational perspective is Paul Ulrich's paper "The Topography of German Theatre outside Germany in the nineteenth Century." In Horst Fassel and Paul S. Ulrich (eds.). 2006. *Welt macht Theater. Deutsches Theater im Ausland vom 17.–20. Jahrhundert*. Berlin-Münster: LIT, 76–98. See also Paul S. Ulrich's paper "Sources for German-Language Theatre Research. Theatre Almanacs, Yearbooks and Journals." In Laurence Kitching (ed.). 2000. *Die Geschichte des deutschsprachigen Theaters im Ausland: Von Afrika bis Wisconsin – Anfänge und Entwicklungen. A history of the German language theatre abroad*. Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang, 127–166.

5 For more about the territorial development of the Habsburg Monarchy from the late Midle Ages to the end of the First World War see: http://www.habsburger.net/de/landkarte (last modified September 21, 2017).

6 For more about the political and social history of Croatia in the nineteenth century see, for example: Wolfgang Kessler. 1993. *Politik, Kultur und Gesellschaft in Kroatien und Slawonien in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. München: R. Oldenburg Verlag and Mirjana Gross. 1993. *Die Anfänge des modernen Kroatien*s. Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau.

7 Here I have listed only a few performance sites of German theatre. To get an idea of the real extent of the area in which travelling German theatre was active for decades, see the above-mentioned papers by Paul Ulrich (2000, 2006).

8 *Der Humorist*, No. 121, June 19, 1839, 483.

9 In his memoirs the German theatre director Heinrich Börnstein portrays how well-connected the directors and the actors were despite slow communication methods. See: Heinrich Börnstein. 1884. *Fünfundsiebzig Jahre in der Alten und Neuen Welt. Memoiren eines Unbedeutenden*. Leipzig: Otto Wigand.

10 On stage censorship in the Habsburg Monarchy see Norbert Bachleitner. 2009. "The Habsburg Monarchy." In Robert Justin Goldstein (ed.). *The Frightful Stage. Political Censorship of the Theater in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. New York-Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2009, 228–299. The German version of the article is digitalized. See Nobert Bachleitner. 2010. "Die Theaterzensur in der Habsburger Monarchie im 19. Jahrhundert." In *Zeitschrift für Literatur und Theatersoziologie*, 5, 71–105, http://unipub.uni-graz.at/lithes/periodical/pageview/786068 (last modified February 6, 2017).

11 Norbert Bachleitner, "The Habsburg Monarchy", 234.

12 Ibid.

13 For more about the history of the German theatre in Zagreb and Osijek see Nikola Batušić. 1978. *Povijest hrvatskoga kazališta*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga and Nikola Batušić. 1968. "Uloga njemačkoga kazališta u Zagrebu u hrvatskom kulturnom životu od 1840. Do 1860." In *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, 11, 395–582 and digital version last modified September 21, 2017, http://dizbi.hazu.hr/object/view/lmONcG1J1L. Nikola Batušić. 2017. *Die Geschichte des deutschsprachigen Theaters in Kroatien*. Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2017. Blanka Breyer 1938. *Das deutsche Theater in Zagreb: 1780–1840: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des dramatischen Repertoires*. Zagreb: Universität Zagreb; Kamilo Firinger. 1957. "Prvih 85 godina osječkoga kazališta." In Jelčić, Dubravko (ed.), *Spomen-knjiga o pedesetoj godišnjici Narodnoga kazališta u Osijeku (190–71957)*.

Osijek: Narodno kazalište Osijek, 11–61; Gordana Gojković. 1997. *Njemački muzički teatar u Osijeku 1825–1907. Prilog povijesti Osijeka*. Osijek: Hrvatsko narodno kazalište u Osijeku.

[14] This refers to the standardization of the Croatian language in the 1830s, which from then on formed the basis for the emergence of modern Croatian literature and culture.

[15] For more about the use of the German language in Croatia in the nineteenth century see: Daniel Baric. 2013. *Langue allemande, identité croate: au fondement d'un particularisme culturel*. Paris: Colin; Kristijan Novak. 2012. "What can language biographies reveal about multilingualism in the Habsburg Monarchy? A case study on the members of the Illyrian movement." In *Jezikoslovlje 2*, 395–417, digital version last modified on September 21, 2017, http://hrcak.srce.hr/91469; Kristijan Novak. 1988. *Višejezičnost i kolektivni identiteti iliraca. Jezične biografije Dragojle Jarnević, Ljudevita Gaja i Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskoga*. Zagreb: Srednja Europa; Thomas George. 1988. *The Impact of the Illyrian Movement on the Croatian Lexicon*. München: Otto Sagner, 21ff; Drago Roksandić. 2007. "Kontraverze o njemačkoj kulturnoj orijentaciji u hrvatskom narodnom preporodu, njemački jezik u hrvatskoj svakodnevici, 1835–1848." In *Historijski zbornik*, 65–82 and Danijela Weber-Kapusta. 2016. "Društvena struktura i kulturni identitet zagrebačke publike između 1834. I 1860 godine." In Boris Senker (ed.). 2016. *Dani Hvarskoga kazališta. Publika i kritika*. Zagreb-Split. HAZU-Književni krug Split, 28–54, digital version last modified on September 21, 2017, http://hrcak.srce.hr/158026.

[16] Here, too, I choose the term *transnational* to emphasize the multitude of countries governed by one crown.

[17] See Blanka Breyer, *Das deutsche Theater in Zagreb*; Nikola Batušić, *Die Geschichte des deutschsprachigen Theaters in Kroatien*.

[18] One of the most detailed reports about the actor Ludwig Wothe can be found in the anonymous article. A.A. 1840."Nachrichten aus Provinzstädten. Aus Agram.-Die Gastdarstellungen des Hrn. Wothe." In *Allgemeine Theaterzeitung, Originalblatt für Kunst, Literatur, Musik, Mode und geselliges Leben*, No. 193, August 12, 816.

[19] Nikola Batušić. *Die Geschichte des deutschsprachigen Theaters in Kroatien*: 90. Translated into English by D.W.K. ("Löwes Gastspiel wurde nicht nur zu einem Theaterereignis, sondern auch zu einem gesellschaftlichen Spektakel. Ungeachtet der in den Sommermonaten schwierigen klimatischen Verhältnisse im Theater waren die Vorstellungen jeden Abend überfüllt. Löwe trat in Zagreb insgesamt sieben Mal auf und präsentierte sich dabei in sieben verschiedenen Rollen, durch die er die ganze Breite seines vielfältigen schauspielerischen Talentes zeigen konnte.")

[20] *Luna*. No. 56, July 17, 1847, 224.

[21] *Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska*, No. 29, July 17, 1847, 117–118. See also *Agramer politische Zeitung*, No. 56, July 13, 1847, 234.

[22] See *Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska*, No. 29, July 17, 1847, 118.

[23] Joseph Schreyvogel translated and edited Calderon's piece for the German stage. The imprisoned heir to the throne is called Roderich in the German adaptation.

[24] See *Der Humorist*. No. 182, July 31, 1847, 727.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Stein. 1999. "Adele Sandrock in Essek." In *Die Drau*. No. 144, December 6, 4. Translated by D. W. K. ("Nun haben wir abermals eine 'Cameliendame' gesehen. Sollen wir sagen 'erst' gesehen? Das hieße Sarah Bernhard Unrecht thun, aber wer diese und die Sandrock gesehen hat, darf wohl im Zweifel sein wem er die Palme reichen soll. Sarah Bernhard ist ganz Virtuosin, Adele Sandrock ist ganz Künstlerin. Jene eine ausgezeichnete Pianistin auf der menschlichen Claviatur, ganz blendende Technik, – diese eine Meisterin aller Register, von dem Cynismus der Lebedame bis zur demüthigen Hingebung des liebenden Weibes ein einzig schöner Vollklang das ist Adele Sandrock! Sollen wir uns der Geschmacklosigkeit schuldig machen, die Künstlerin erst zu entdecken? Wir glauben uns die Mühe sparen zu können, denn wer die Sandrock gesehen, der hat ihr Lachen und Weinen, ihr Leben und ihr vielleicht um eine Nuance zu virtuoses Sterben nicht nur mitangesehen, sondern auch mitempfunden, wer den Beifallsturm der das Haus durchtobte mitangehört hat, kann ruhig die Feder beiseitelegen und sagen: das Urteil ist gesprochen, besser und schöner als es die enthusiastischste Lobeshymne vermöchte!) [sic].

[27] See: Schubert, Gabrielle. 2003. "Das deutsche Theater in Esseg (Osijek/Eszek)." In *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, 39, 90–107.

[28] On the Adriatic coast the same function was fulfilled by Italian theatre.

[29] For more about the transformation of linguistic identity in Croatia in the nineteenth century see Daniel Baric, *Langue allemande, identité croate*.

[30] Leonhard, Nic. 2016. "Editorial." In *Journal of Global Theatre History* 2, III. Last modified September 21, 2017, https://gthj.ub.uni-muenchen.de/issue/viewIssue/301/32.

[31] At the time of its founding, the troupe consisted of Serbian actors from Novi Sad. However, over time, the ensemble was extended to include Croatian actors.

[32] Heinrich Börnstein (born 1805 in Hamburg, died 1892 in Vienna) was a German actor, theatre director, journalist and playwright. Börnstein enjoyed the reputation of a versatile actor who was capable of masterfully portraying comic and serious characters. He performed at the German theatres in Lviv, Timişoara, Ljubljana, Pest, Zagreb, Trieste and Venice. He directed German theatre in St. Pölten, Ljubljana, Linz, Zagreb and Trieste. In the 1840s he was the director of the Italian Opera in Paris. Since he was a

politically active democrat, he emegrated to the USA after the revolution of 1848. There he fostered German culture and took on political roles. From 1859 to 1861 he directed the German theatre in St. Louis. In the sixties he returned to Europe and he directed from 1868 to 1870, together with Carl von Bukovics, the Viennese *Theater in der Josephstadt*. Afterwards, he devoted himself to writing and journalistic activities. See: Wilhelm Kosch (ed.). 1951. *Deutsches Theater-Lexikon*. Klagenfurt–Wien, Kleinmayr Verlag, 172.

[33] Börnstein, Heinrich. 1839. "O utemeljenju ilirskoga narodnog kazališta." In *Danica ilirska*, No. 46, November 16, 181–182.

[34] See: Börnstein, Heinrich. *Fünfundsiebzig Jahre in der Alten und Neuen Welt*, 273–374.

[35] *Innsbrucker Nachrichten*, No. 280, December 5, 1860: front page. Digital version accessed on September 21, 2017, http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=ibn&datum=18601205&seite=1&zoom=78. Translated by D. W. K. ("Für den 24. Nov. war 'Peter Szapary' als deutsche Vorstellung angekündigt. Im Publikum hatte sich das Gerücht verbreitet Brambilla habe geäußert er werde nie mehr anders als deutsch spielen. Zur Verwunderung des Kassierers drängten sich während sonst nur wenige Personen erschienen waren diesmal die Zuschauer in Menge heran. Bald wurde klar, daß [sic] sie kamen, nicht um zuzuschauen, sondern um selbst zu agieren. Der Vorhang geht auf, zwei Schauspielerinnen erscheinen; aber sie haben kaum den ersten Satz gesprochen, als schon ein furchtbares Lärmen, Toben, Pfeifen und Schreien entsteht und der Ruf nach Brambilla erdröhnt. Ein Polizeikommissar steht auf, vermag aber nichts gegen das Getöse, die Zuschauer ziehen Pfeifen aus der Tasche, auf die Bühne werden Eier und Unrath geworfen, so daß die Schauspielerinnen sich zurückziehen müssen. Das Orchester stimmt, um dem Lärmen ein Ende zu machen, die Volkshymne an, aber der Lärm und das Eierwerfen dauert fort, die Musik muß verstummen. Eine Dame in einer Loge will durch ein 'Pst! Pst!' die Lärmer zum Schweigen bringen, darüber erhebt sich ein neues Gebrüll, die Logen sollen geräumt werden, und man muß gehorchen. [sic] Der Regisseur erscheint und redet das Publikum deutsch an, aber mit Eiern beworfen verschwindet er alsbald, ebenso das Orchester. Endlich erscheint ein kroatischer Schauspieler und verspricht, wes werde morgen kroatisch gespielt werden, die Lärmer erwidern, es müsse immer kroatisch gespielt werden, und gehen dann auseinander.")

[36] For more about the *expulsion* of German theatre from Zagreb see: Car, Milka. 2002. "24. November 1860 im kroatischen Theater. Die 'Vertreibung' der deutschen Schauspieler." In *Zagreber germanistischen Beiträge*. 11, 97–116, Slavko Batušić. 1960. "24.11.1860." In Duško Roksandić and Slavko Batušić (eds.). 1980. *Hrvatsko narodno kazalište. Zbornik o stogodišnjici 1860–1960*. Zagreb: Naprijed, 93–101, Pavao Cindrić. 1980. "Slamnati vijenci za njemačke glumce." In *Večernji list*, December 26, 25 and *Večernji list*, December 25, 25, Danijela Weber-Kapusta. 2015. "24.11.1860. Protjerivanje njemačkih glumaca iz zagrebačkoga kazališta u svjetlu strane novinske kritike." In Branko Hećimović (ed.) *Hrvatska drama i kazalište u inozemstvu. Krležini dani u Osijeku 2015*. Zagreb-Osijek, HAZU Hrvatsko narodno kazalište u Osijeku, Filozofski fakulter Osijek, 50–60.

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Musical Theatre as a Paradigm of Translocation

Abstract

"Omni-local", a concept promoted by the classicist Emily Greenwood, is a variation on "transglobal." It describes a work significant enough to be influential in a wide sphere but which undergoes local adaptation to ensure its reception. In the sphere of performance, this can be observed in the commedia dell'arte, opera and musical theatre. A prime example for the nineteenth century is the comic operas of Jacques Offenbach, which achieved global success, with varying effect, depending on the nature of their introduction and of the host societies. In Rio de Janeiro, they aided liberalization, abolition of slavery and the development of carnaval. In Cairo, imposed from above, they were meant to promote Westernization, but ultimately made to advance Arabic culture. In Japan, they were first viewed as an outlandish novelty, but over the decades became acclimatized and assimilated into indigenous popular entertainment.

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In a recent essay on the cultural mobility of the classics, Emily Greenwood attempts to promote among literary scholars the term "omni-local." She considers it more sophisticated than cosmopolitanism or universalism or timelessness, which make "naïve assumptions about cultural equivalence and translatability." "To label a classic omni-local is to acknowledge its local historical origins, some of which are untranslatable, while simultaneously crediting it with a strong degree of cross-cultural adaptability that is virtual and indeterminate – to be determined by the receiving reader and audiences."[1] While a classical work may circulate among different interpretative communities, once it is adopted and adapted it again becomes local and specific, and an inevitable gap opens up between the text and its adaptation.

Greenwood's concern is the transmission of Greek and Latin classics, a body of texts whose stability has often been taken for granted by scholars and popularizers alike. However, the concept of "omni-local" may be more useful in studying performance rather than texts. What the poststructuralists saw as the essential ungraspability of a work that shifts its shape and meaning with every act of reception had been foretold by theatre studies, where it is a foundational tenet. The mutability of every live performance is a given of the art form, although the methods of studying such changes are themselves transient and imperfect. In charting the fluctuations of theatrical phenomena, "omni-local" may apply, particularly in its refusal to assume the essentialism of any given performance.

In Western theatre perhaps the most obvious case of a performance that might be classified as "omni-local" is the *commedia dell' arte*. It is invariably cited as a type of performance whose basic plots and characters were constantly being mutated and naturalized and thereby enabled to colonize the imagination to create archetypes ubiquitous in their cultural manifestations. A recent dissertation by a student of mine demonstrates how, in the early eighteenth's century, the troupe of Luigi Riccoboni at the Comédie-Italienne in Paris had to balance what was expected of it as "Italians" with French taste, manners and language. (McMahan 2016) *Commedia* is transglobal in its dynamic exploitation of the porosity of borders, but it is omni-local, since each transplantation entails assimilation. I would go beyond the *commedia* to suggest that, by its very nature, pre-modern professional theatre has always been "omni-local."

By pre-modern professional theatre I mean the livelihood of devoted practitioners – minstrels, acrobats, clowns, mimes, and the like –, which traditional theatre histories have segregated as "popular entertainment." Itinerant by nature, tribal in organization, they readily crossed borders in the confidence that their skills needed little translation. The big guns of early theatre history – Greek festivals, medieval religious plays, the university drama of Renaissance, – were amateur endeavors, originally bound to a particular locale and cultural context. Not until the sixteenth century the two strands begin to entwine, with the establishment of permanent playhouses. This permanency enforces on what was once a performative *lingua franca* a greater need for adaptation. *Hamlet* has to be introduced to Germany as *Der bestrafte Brudermord,* whereas the slapstick of Jack Pudding more easily fit the hand of Hanswurst. It is ironic that Goldoni, who had fettered the *commedia* to a script, had to write his plays in French after he was hounded out of Italy.

Perhaps the best example of an omni-local genre that required less adaptation than the *commedia* is opera. Opera began in the early modern period as an experiment in reviving the classics and, although, because of its expense and technical complexity, it made its home in courtly surroundings, is too was flexible and mobile. Travelling companies carried it from town to town, finding patronage with nobility and statesmen who were looking for prestige. This "mobile professional force" had a limited repertoire, invariably written in Italian or one of its dialects, so that the same operas were performed all over the place. Francesco Cavalli's Venetian opera *Il Giasone* was "produced in Milan, Florence, Lucca, Naples, Bologna, Milan, Piacenza, Palermo, Liverno, Vicenza, Ferrara, Genoa, Ancona, Siena, Brescia, Reggio Emilia and Rome, as well as spoofed by *commedia dell' arte* actors. An opera designed for

Venice and its heterogeneous publics became a staple after it was introduced at the palace of the Spanish Viceroy of Naples" (Stein 2014, 844).

Popular libretti were widely circulated: Silvio Stampiglia's text for *Partenope* travelled from Naples to Mexico. In the process, however, the libretto underwent alterations, with arias from earlier productions inserted, creating a *pasticcio* with music by many hands. "Scenes were cut and reordered, roles were expanded, attenuated, or deleted altogether; recitative passages were dispensable and even recomposed; and arias were added, recomposed, deleted, substituted, and appended more often than not" (Stein 2014, 848).

Opera also deferred to the demands of the patron or host; having begun in the academy, it habituated itself to the court, rising in the hierarchy of theatrical and musical genres. While the *commedia* had to relinquish its Italian dialects for pidgin French or pure gesture when it crossed borders, opera made no such sacrifices, in opera Italian remained the language being sung at court theatres, whether or not audiences could follow it. This exclusionary aspect often led to the relegation of playhouses to its specific performance, such as the Théâtre Italien in Paris and the Haymarket and the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden, in London.

The social exclusivity of attendance at such houses, with their high prices and dress codes for certain portions of the hall, encouraged the development of local forms such as ballad opera and *Zauberstücke*. Resistance to the Italian model came from Gluck and Rousseau in France; there and eventually in Germany and elsewhere opera began to be performed in the vernacular. What continued to abet the translocation of opera was its music. Music was the medium that enabled this exotic to be so widely exported. Music was the lubricant that allowed otherwise alien forms to glide smoothly into the otherwise resistant receptor. Music permeated through the walls of theatre to be heard from parlor pianos, street-corner hurdy-gurdies, and military bands.

Moreover, opera productions visually resembled one another. Anyone surveying the pictorial record of opera between 1840 and 1940 can identify the work and even the character portrayed because scenery and costumes remained formulaic. A set design in Stockholm for the execution scene in *La Juive* is almost identical to that recorded by a Parisian stereographic card. *Faust*, whether sung in St Petersburg or Melbourne or Montevideo by the local troupe or a touring company, looked very much the same in respect to costumes, scenery, and blocking. This consistency was abetted not only by the innate conservatism of stage managers, but by music publishers such as Choudens in France, who, when they licensed the scores for provincial or amateur performances, also provided booklets of designs of the original production.

Touring companies were, of course, a pre-eminent medium of operatic transmission, and by the twentieth century of the diffusion of more localized and more popular genres. Franz Lehár's *Die lustige Witwe* was perhaps the first Viennese operetta to become what today we call a "blockbuster." The Viennese musical plays of Raimund and Nestroy lose their special flavor when translated to other spheres. Yet they are the forebears of the operettas of Strauss and Lehár, which won international favor, usually in heavily adapted guises.

Nowadays we are used to megamusicals that appear all over the globe almost simultaneously, remain ensconced in theatres for years on end, and inundate the media

with their tunes, often getting a second life from movies and recordings. *Die lustige Witwe* is the forerunner of these phenomena. Within two years of its opening in Vienna on December 30, 1905, this work of a Moravian ex-military bandmaster was playing in theatres across Europe and in virtually every city in the German-speaking world, including imperial colonies in Africa and Asia. As many as five versions opened simultaneously in Buenos Aires, each in a different language. By 1908, three road companies were touring the United States, and numerous burlesques of the piece were competing for the playgoer's informed belly-laughs. When *The Merry Widow* finally arrived in Paris in 1909, it had been performed nearly 20.000 times (Rouchouse 1982, 26).

The rapid dissemination of this particular work owed something to the finesse of local adaptors, but much to modern innovation: the speed with which it crossed borders was abetted by advances in wireless telegraphy, steam-powered ocean liners, a transnational market in theatrical commodities, and the feminization of theatre audiences. As Marlis Schweitzer has demonstrated in her excellent book *Transatlantic Broadway*, up-to-date publicity and its stunts, legal restrictions that guaranteed quality in production, and new methods of sound transmission all played a part in this process (Schweitzer 2009, 189–221).

Innovative as *The Merry Widow* was in so many ways, I would argue that the global translocation of light opera actually began half a century earlier with the work of Jacques Offenbach, and without the help of electric means of transit and communication. Like Woody Allen's Zelig, Offenbach pops up in a myriad of ways that define the modern world (Senelick 2017). Hanna Glawari, the flirtatious merry widow, was pre-empted by Offenbach's more blatantly libidinous heroines, la Belle Hélène, la Périchole and the Grand Duchess of Gerolstein.

In his lifetime and long afterwards, Offenbach was taken to be the musical embodiment of the Second Empire, and the *galop* that ends *Orphée aux enfers* cited as the cancan emblematic of Parisian licentiousness. The cancan as shorthand for the France of Napoleon III was imprinted by Shostakovich's use of it as a leitmotiv in his score for the Soviet film *The New Babylon* (1929). It later became the sonic mnemonic for the *Belle Epoque* through Manuel Rosenthal's ballet suite *Gaité parisienne* (1938).

The controversial director Jérôme Savary speaks to Offenbach's slippery identity in his remark that "Offenbach is neither German nor French. He is above all a Parisian, like Picasso, like Chagall, like Giacometti" (Savary 2001, 9). Born in Cologne, the son of a German cantor, he was a baptized Jewish Rhinelander, who, like Heine, assimilated himself to Parisian culture in the romantic period. He had close professional relations with Vienna, where he prepared variant versions of his latest operas. Of his two attempts at grand opera both were first performed there: *Die Rheinnixen* in a German translation. The other, the unfinished *Les Contes d' Hoffmann*, drew on a German classic. In the late 1860s and mid-1870s, his *opéras-bouffes* and *opéras comiques* filled the bills of leading theatres worldwide. Philip Luez has called him "the last truly European composer before music broke into national schools." That fellow traveller of the Frankfurt School Siegfried Kracauer went even further and named him "an international musical phenomenon" at a

time when globalization was in its infancy. His music was a "kind of Esperanto" (Luez 2001, 307 and, Kracauer 1976, 151).

Offenbach was part of the wide transmission of French theatrical and musical culture through adaptations and translations enabled in part by lack of copyright protection. However, a more powerful agent was Louis-Napoléon and his desire to make Paris the hub of world civilization. Although international exhibitions took place in other cities, the Exposition universelle of 1867 was perhaps the most influential in diffusing art as a commodity (Mainardi 1987). The affluence of and confluence to this world's fair was unparalleled. Offenbach was to capture the moment in *La Vie Parisienne*, which opens in an up-to-date railway station and presents a sample of visitors from abroad (a Swedish count, a Brazilian *rastaquouère*).

Offenbach already had several operas playing during the exposition and in April he opened *La Grande Duchesse de Gérolstein*. This tale of the sexually rapacious ruler of a minor German principality and the intrigues that surround her had immense appeal to crowned heads and middle-class visitors alike. In May it was performed in Vienna in Julius Hopp's translation, which became standard for the German-speaking world, then revived in Berlin (Jan. 1868) and Munich (Mar. 1868). It appeared in Swedish in Stockholm (Sept. 1867), English in London, and Danish in Copenhagen (both Jan. 1868), Czech in Prague (Jan. 1868), Portuguese in Rio de Janeiro (Feb. 1868). In April 1868 the London translation turned up in New York, while a new version was put on in Birmingham. To quote Lewis Carroll's "The Walrus and the Carpenter": "And thick and fast they came at last and more and more and more:" Spanish in Madrid (Nov. 1868) and Mexico City (Mar. 1871), Italian in Naples (Apr. 1869), Catalan in Barcelona (May 1870), Polish in Lemberg (Lvov, Dec. 1871). It was even performed by the Mormons in Salt Lake City (June 1869). Meanwhile, between 1867 and 1870, the French original was on view in Brussels, New York, New Orleans, Liège, Turin, Then Hague, Geneva, Antwerp, London, St Petersburg, Milan, Montreal, Cincinnati, Florence Tournai, Namur, Cairo, Santiago, Valparaiso, Barcelona, Ghent, Constantinople, Liverpool, and a great many other venues (Yon 2008, 13–15). When it played in Rome, the Pope is said to have exclaimed, "*Che disgrazia*! And to think I am the only sovereign who cannot attend this Grande Duchesse!" In New York, the steamship *Grand Duchess* was launched (Yon 2000, 417).

In modern parlance, the Grand Duchess "had legs." Bismarck even credited her with exploding the pretensions of the petty German states standing in the way of the Prussian unification of Germany. What was true of this opera held true for Offenbach's work as it spread throughout the world. During Chekhov's stage-struck childhood and adolescence, they were the most popular plays in Russia. Offenbach's tunes accompanied the entry of young Leopold II into Brussels for his coronation as well as the ceremonies for the union of Austria and Hungary. However, it was Offenbach's *opéras bouffes* as a medium of erotic liberation and anarchic subversion that left the deepest mark. In Stockholm the young August Strindberg felt liberated psychically and sexually when he attended *La Belle Hélène*, on the advice of his college tutor. In Lisbon the novelist Eça de Queiroz lauded Offenbach as a "philosopher in music," who was undermining the very society that delighted in his

operas. Nietzsche lauded him as a proper Dionysus to counteract Wagner's Apollonian pretentions (Senelick 1990, 455–68 and 2016, 1–16).

For the remainder of this paper, I want to examine three case studies of the omni-local influence of Offenbach on three societies that might seem alien to his milieu: Brazil, Egypt, and Japan.

Rio de Janeiro

The earliest mention of Offenbach in the Latin-American press seems to be a notice of *Les Deux Aveugles*, presented by the "théâtre français" at São Januario Hall in Rio de Janeiro on November 15, 1856, directed by Florindo Joaquim de Silva; other Offenbach one-acts in French and Portuguese followed. Brazil was to prove a more hospitable haven for French comic opera than the Spanish-speaking capitals of South America. Foreign visitors had noted that the ruling class combined quasi-British *humour* with quasi-French *esprit*, particularly in regard to fashion, elegance and education. Since the native musical and dramatic conservatories were ineffective, Meyerbeer, Verdi, and Donizetti were sung at the Teatro São Pedro by superannuated European sopranos. Mildly erotic fiction had begun to appear in major journals, often directed at a female reader. Since Brazil was a patriarchal slave society, certain aspects of communal life were more porous, the populace more variegated in race and colour than in the rest of the Americas (Frevre 1964, 78 and Exquilly 1864, 21–22).

Theatre historians have traditionally cited the opening of the Alcazar Lyrique Fluminense on 17 February 1859 as the origin of the decline in audiences for "serious" drama. When its first manager went bankrupt, it was taken over by another Frenchman Joseph Arnaud Garnier, and, as a café chantant, gained a reputation as a stag resort, the terror of parents. With the introduction of vaudeville and operetta, the Alcazar built on the existing popularity for French plays and players. The epidemic began with the arrival of Mlle Aimée's comic-opera troupe at the Alcazar and was spread by the parodies of the actor Vasques at the Phenix Dramatica and productions at the Gymnasio[2] (Fario 2012, 219–33). Its enthusiasts were socially diverse, although primarily male, as might be expected in a Latino culture. What has been called "operetta fever" set in early and generated immense enthusiasm for the originals and the copies, which dominated all the city's theatres, to the great dismay of moralists. Yet none of Offenbach's operas was ever banned or altered by censorship.

"Operetta fever" was taken by some as a sign of the *afrancesamento* of Latin-American elites. The Rio equivalent of "intelligentsia" saw the new types of amusement as tokens of the progress and modernization that aided the belated abolition of the slave trade. Others regarded it as a sign of decadence; its unabashed commercialism was compared with that of brothels. Still others valued the French comic operas and the Spanish *zarzuelas* that came in their wake as the origin of such new forms of native Brazilian musicals as the *revista de ano* and *la burleta* (Fléchet 2014, 321). Whatever the interpretation, the introduction of Offenbach in impeccably authentic renditions by French performers made the Alcazar the foremost theatre in Rio. Professionally composed music at popular prices appealed to a wide

spectrum of "cariocas" [the local nickname for natives of Rio]. One such enthusiast wrote of the opening of *Orphée aux enfers*:

> The larger part of the [Rio] populace which does not consist of blue-blooded noblemen and has no access to an easy and light genre of entertainment similar to [that] in European capitals, [and for those for whom the] lyric theatre, with its high cost and agonizing histrionics, is not an option… [At the Alcazar] the lively and cheerful *Orphée aux enfers* is being welcomed with great enthusiasm (Magaldi 2004, 98).

Another factor in Offenbach's popularity was the element of European emigrants in the audience nostalgic for Parisian cosmopolitanism.

A growing middle class, its wealth enhanced by coffee exports, was making its presence known politically even those respectable families who refrained from attending the Alcazar could make the acquaintance of Offenbach through available sheet music, both imported and home-published. They might also hear his music sung at charity concerts for churches by French chanteuses from the Alcazar. The French companies toured the remote regions of the Brazilian Empire and even to Buenos Aires, while the lusophone troupes visited Portugal after 1880, contributing to the transatlantic traffic in entertainment. Offenbach also won popularity as a benefactor by eschewing fees for type-setters, compositors and publishers responsible for printing his music. The flocking of audiences to performances of Offenbach enriched the urban economy: song-writers, café-owners, newspaper reporters and illustrators all benefitted from the craze.

An unintended consequence of the vogue for Offenbach was its contribution to the ongoing debate about the modernization of Brazilian society. Although the central issue was the abolition of slavery, along with social and moral reform through public education, civil rights and democratic institutions, free expression was essential to these developments. Music and lyrics, gossip about plays and players could be widely disseminated even to those who might not have the opportunity to see the spectacles themselves. Offenbach inspired native wit and introduced the public to a Gallic sophistication that promoted broader views.

The *galop infernale* that ends *Orphée* had a special appeal. For years before the opera opened, Musard-style public balls had concluded with a cancan, performed with due propriety but aimed at enlivening stodgy family audiences. After Offenbach's work revealed the *galop* to be an expression of riotous dissent, it was taken up by liberals to play out discontent with the government of Pedro II and the war with Paraguay. Local events and public figures were pilloried by the *galop*; a group of insubordinate students was encouraged to dance the cancan to reverse the prison sentence threatened by a local magistrate. Despite the occasional complaint that the overheated dance ill suited "our tropical temperatures," the Carnival Societies (Sociedades Carnivalescas) cancaned through the streets, accompanied by brass bands. What had once been a celebration of European liberalism became, with the injection of the frantic cancan, an exercise in self-indulgence and social upheaval, a topsy-turvydom that featured loose women kicking up their legs on top of the floats. Attacks on the aristocracy and black servitude accompanied such antics. In 1871, the "puff" for one carnival society announced,

> Rejoice, oh outlawed race [because your] heroes possess no wealth, because although you cannot drape yourselves in golden brocade…your soul stands far above that of the civilized bacchanalian; because in the end, the cancan de rigueur will be danced (Magali 1871, 104).

It may be claimed, without exaggeration, that the modern identification of Rio with a Bacchanalian carnival in which citizens of African descent predominate owes a debt to Offenbach.

Cairo

One of the most enduring *canards* of theatre history is that Verdi's *Aïda* was performed at the opening of the Suez Canal in 1868. In fact he had been invited to write an inaugural hymn for that occasion, but had declined; as for his opera, the Siege of Paris delayed its performance in Cairo until Christmas Eve 1871.[3] The honor of celebrating the initiation of the Canal falls to Offenbach.

The theatrical movement in Egypt was imposed from above. The Khedive, Ismā'il Pasha (1830–95), educated in France, promoted what he called "euphoria for progress." "My land is no longer in Africa," he announced. "We now represent a piece of Europe" (Flores 2008, 133). His modernization was Gallocentric, and, following a visit to the Paris Exposition in 1867, he attempted to reshape Cairo in the image of the French capital. A casino, café-concerts, and a playhouse for French *vaudevilles* were imposed on this Islamic if cosmopolitan city. The Khedive, in his role as patron of the arts, had a private entrance for himself and his retinue to the Théâtre de la Comédie through the Azbakkiya garden. The harem was permitted to watch the performances through a grille. It was managed by a Frenchified Armenian, named Séraphin Manasse, who had already toured a French troupe to Istanbul.[4]

It should come as no surprise that the opening production was a work by Offenbach, *La Belle Hélène*, although the choice of a piece based on Greek mythology is peculiar. However, it happened to be Ismā'il's favorite *opéra bouffe*, or, rather his favorite vehicle for Hortense Schneider. While in Paris, he had attended every performance of *La Grande Duchesse* and, it was rumoured, had an affair with the diva. However, the costumes for Helen of Troy were more revealing than those for the Grand Duchess. The largest contingent of Europeans in Egypt was in Cairo (47.316), which could provide an audience for the new theatres but could not be guaranteed to have had a classical education. To familiarize the ladies of the harem and the monolingual courtiers with the repertoire the Khedive ordered everyone on the staff of the government bureaucracy who knew French to drop official business and collaborate in translating this and other *opéras bouffes* into Arabic. The Greek Paolina Draneht, superintendent of the Khedival Opera Theatre from 1867 to 1879, had authorization to translate into Arabic a boxful of Italian opera libretti to be performed the coming winter season in Cairo. "These libretti or poems are in general the work of distinguished poets and it would be a service to the public to enable them to understand and enjoy their beauties" (Sadgrove 1996, 52–53).

Consequently, the first translation of a European play into Arabic (and incidentally the first Arabic work published in Egypt) was *Hilāna al-Jamīla* (*Beautiful Helen*) printed at

Būlāq on 17 Ramaḍān 1285 (December 31st and January 1st, 1869) three days before the first performance. It is more a paraphrase than an accurate rendition, with puns and ambiguities glossed over, and meant as a synopsis to be followed during the performance.[5] It was evidently put together by a committee under the supervision of Rifā'a Rāfi aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī, a "giant in Arabic intellectual life," who had already written about theatre in a book on French culture and translated hundreds of other works for the Khedive's grandfather Muhammed 'Ali. The Arabic newspapers urged the public to buy this translation and those that followed. Subsidized by the Khedive, journalists explained that theatres help train and cultivate the soul to adopt good morals, and, to this end, the translation of libretti would educate the native public. The newspaper *Wādī al-Nīl* devoted two editorials to this; the second, published in January 1869, dealt with *Helen* as "the creation of a new literary genre… a useful means to order Arab morals."

> This excellent innovation spread at first with the translation of the play (*la'ba*) [*La Belle Hélène*]. It was distributed last year amongst literary productions. It appeared in the most beautiful form. By order of the Khedive, the famous man of letters, Rifā'a Bey Effendi, took charge of the translation, to make it comprehensible to the lovers of such plays. Translations of several theatrical works followed it… All this is like the appearance of the crescent moon, which achieves perfection gradually (Sandgrove 1996, 52–53).

While self-righteous Europeans were condemning *opéra bouffe* as deleterious to morality, Egypt was praising its value in national edification.

The Khedival Comedy Theatre was inaugurated by *Hélène* on January 4th, 1869, with his son Prince Tawfiq and over 300 spectators, made up of senior government officials, prominent Europeans, consuls, financiers, businessmen and members of the press. It created a furore in Cairo. The spendthrift Khedive's expenditure from the privy purse to bribe journalists and entertain guests, including the Empress Eugénie and, later, the Prince and Princess of Wales, was so prodigal that it provoked Larose, the manager of the French theatre, to write a farce called *C'est le Vice-roi qui paie*. It enjoyed a single performance before it was suppressed and Larose reprimanded.

Ismā'īl also bestowed a munificent subvention on Manasse to engage a theatrical troupe of thirty-two artists from France to perform *opéra bouffe*, comedy and vaudeville (many sources report that Schneider was the prima donna, but, although invited she demurred, and the leading lady was Céline Montaland). The repertoire was identical to that of the Vaudeville and the Palais-Royal, with operettas from the Variétés and Folies-Dramatiques. They played to packed houses, made up of Europeans, French-speaking officers and bureaucrats, and a middle-class Arab component, dressed in "stambouline" attire (long black frock-coats) and tarboosh. Schneider's other hits, *La Grande Duchesse*, *Barbe-bleue,* and Hervé's *L'Œil crevé* appeared in turn. (*La Périchole* was performed in French-occupied Algeria in November 1869, but since its main butt is a Viceroy thwarted in love it is no wonder that the Khedive eschewed it.) These and the numerous translations of opera libretti were said to have a positive effect on the development of "Arabic Morale." Whether it extended far beyond court circles is questionable. A contemporary commented, "even Schneider, fit interpreter as she is of the melodious indecencies of Offenbach, cannot [sic] amuse a population which, from prince to peasant, has ever been accustomed to the greater

levities and license of its own Ghawazee and Almehs, who outstrip any civilized competition however daring" (De Leon 1869, 748–49).

Whatever the influence, it was short-lived. In April 1869 a bomb was found under the Khedive's seat in the royal box; it was alleged that Manesse had planted it himself to claim a reward. The manager was exiled and the Khedive stayed away from the theatre.[6] In the 1870s an economic depression forced cut-backs on the arts, and in 1879 Ismā'il was deposed by Tawfiq. The British occupation in 1882 ended the brief reign of French theatrical culture in urban Egypt.

It re-emerged in the 1920s in a more assimilated fashion. The political unrest that followed the Great War, the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire and intensive nationalist mobilization against the British created an atmosphere congenial to artistic innovation. Sayiid Darwīš (1892–1923), an outspoken bohemian active in the rebellion of 1919, was the most popular composer in Egypt. Between 1917 and 1923 he wrote 30 musicals or operettas, which were rapidly put on stage. The sources were almost always French. The two most relevant to the Offenbach connection are *al-'Ašara aṭ-ṭayibba* (*The Good Ten*, 1920), with lyrics by Badī' Ḥayri, and *Šahrazād* (1921), both libretti by the playwright Muḥammed Taymūr. *The Good Ten* is almost a scene for scene, line for line copy of *Barbe-bleue,* though with fewer musical numbers. Because the setting has been transferred to Osmanic Egypt, love duets, which in *Barbe-bleue* come across as lightly ironic, take on emotional intensity. Boulotte's coquettishness is transformed into forceful militancy. Autochthonous Egyptians are the heroes, the Turkish governance provides the villains. Although the work is suffused with local color, the dialogue realistic and expressive, it was not well received by the literati; a group of authors sharply criticized it for helping the "enemy."

Šahrazād, with dialogue by the famous actor-director 'Azīz 'Īd and lyrics by the popular folk poet Maḥmūd Bayram at-Tūnisi, has nothing to do with the Arabian Nights; it is an exact copy of *La Grande Duchesse*. The original title was *Šahwazād,* which means lust, but the censorship office objected. In fact, the lyrics are far more erotic than those of Offenbach's collaborators Meilhac and Halévy, who preferred innuendo. Again the positive characters are Egyptian, with the first scene between the Fritz and Wanda surrogates more patriotic than amorous; again the villains are Turkish, but the blatant patriotism also casts aspersions on the British.

These operas have enjoyed a long afterlife through radio broadcasts, theatrical revivals and music cassettes, playing a major role in the formation of modern Egyptian culture. These models ensured that native opera would have a political bent. The francophilia of literate Egyptians of the 1920s was later obliterated by a negative interpretation of foreign influence; the French source was played down, to avoid charges of colonialism. These days Sayyid is lauded as an icon of Egyptian anti-imperialism. In the words of Alexander Flores, "Intercultural osmosis is not admitted" (Flores 2008, 138–69).

Yokohama-Tokyo-Osaka

The treaty port of Yokohama, heavily settled by non-Japanese, saw the introduction of many Western novelties to Japan: newspapers, photography, ice cream, beer, horse racing,

cricket, rugby – and comic opera. The coming of Offenbach to Japan was enabled by the creation of fitting performance spaces and the itineraries of light-opera companies, which originated in Australia. Before 1870 shows were performed in Yokohama hotel rooms, technical institutes, warehouses, Professor Risley's Royal Olympic Theatre (a circus), mostly by resident amateurs or touring professionals. The Gaiety Theatre opened on 6 December 1870 on Honmachi Street and then moved to a public hall in the Yamate district.[7] The earliest appearance of Offenbach was an amateur *Barbe-bleue* staged at the Gaiety on June 13th, 1873. The first foreign professional ensemble, the L'Auney-Céphas Buffo Opera Company, arrived in April 1876, offering performances of *La Périchole* (3), *Le Violoneux* (1), *Barbe-bleue* (3), *La Grande Duchesse* (2), and *La Belle Hélène* (Mamiko 1996, 164–67). Standard histories cite a performance of the trial scene in *The Merchant of Venice* by the Bungei-Kyokai (Literary Society) in 1904 as the inaugural moment of the *shingeki* or New Drama movement, wherein Japanese actors began to imitate or slavishly follow the acting style of the Western theatre as it was introduced into the country. However, in the period 1878–79 the fashionable zangiri Theatre (*zangiri* means "closed cropped," the hair style of a samurai whose topknot has been cut off) offered modern domestic dramas that copied foreign models in reaction to changes in everyday life. First seen in Tokyo in 1872, the innovations were introduced in names and dialogue, though not the acting style, which remained pure kabuki; it was a short-lived fad, fading out by 1882 (Leiter 1997, Tschudin 1995 and Hennion 2009).

Most of the Zangiri plays were written by the renowned Kawatake Mokuami (Yoshimura Yoshisaburō, 1816–93), and performed by Onoe Kikugorō V (1844–1903), a kabuki star who preferred realism and Western novelties. Mokuami wrote eleven plays in the genre including *Ningen Banji Kane no Yokonaka*, an adaptation of Bulwer-Lytton's *Money,* played by male kabuki actors in February 1879 at the Shintomi-za.

At this point a cohort of foreign artistes, the Royal English Opera Company, arrived at the Gaiety Theatre. It had been organized by a popular Australian tenor Howard Vernon (1848–1921), and had already toured Hong Kong and Shanghai. Between June and August 1879, it offered its repertoire of light opera by Wallace, Balfe, Benedict, Lecocq, Donizetti and Offenbach (*La Grande Duchesse, Geneviève de Brabant, La Rose de Saint-Flour*). Each was performed for only one night, with a bonus of an outdoor entertainment at Yamate Park. In *La Grande Duchesse* General Boum was played by a Dutchman, Her Hageman, the others by Australians, including the soprano Elcia May, with the music entrusted to an amateur French couple, M. and Mme Hirlemann. Miss May had once run her own opera company, which settled in Shanghai in 1876, introducing *La Grande Duchesse*, *Der Freischütz,* and Lecocq's *Giroflé-Girofla*. By May 1879 it was foundering, unable to round up enough talent among expatriates to stage a full opera, and so she joined Vernon ('Shanghai' 1879, 652).

The theatrical columnist for *L' Écho du Japon* found the troupe lived up to their advance billing, but the English-language *Japan Gazette* was more critical:

> What can we say of a mutilated version done into English and then performed to the inspiriting accompaniment of a thin wiry piano by such glorious artists as the gentleman who undertook the part of Prince Paul. Verily he deserved the ironical cheers and recall for his intrepidity in leading so forlorn a hope.

> The *prima donna* herself, who dressed the part magnificently but who scarcely possesses sufficient *physique* to do justice to the role in its entirety, has a good light soprano voice and we hope to hear her in some work more suited to her powers.[8]

The Japanese newspapers were unfavorable, reporting on the bad behavior of the audiences and reflecting a native prejudice that the "players must be low-class." Kabuki actors paid a visit when the company staged *La Fille du Régiment*. However, the visitors from Tokyo were discommoded by a nine o'clock curtain, which prevented them from catching the last train from Yokohama. Another visitor was ex-President Ulysses S. Grant, who presented a curtain to the Shintomi-za, to which Vernon's company moved in September to offer three nights of *La Grande Duchesse*.

This novelty from overseas inspired the impresario Morita Kan-ya XII to commission a play from Mokuami to incorporate it. *Kyōryu Kidan Seiyō Kabuki* (*An Amazing Story about Drifters and Western Kabuki*) was advertised for a run at the Shintomi-za from September 1 to September 25, 1879. Act Four was set in Paris where two Japanese visit a theatre when the scene naturally changes to a play-within-a-play in which three operettas are shown: Act I of *La Duchesse*, Donizetti's *La Fille du Régiment*, and Lecocq's *La Fille de Mme Angot* (expressly abridged versions, with playing time of one hour for each as requested by Morita). The main roles were played by Vernon's cohort of foreigners, but minor characters and the chorus, including American Indians and Englishmen, were assumed by ten Japanese actors of the Shintomi-za.[9]

This hybrid was scheduled to run for six weeks, but turned out to be a dismal failure. The Japanese audience, which included ten actors from the Tokyo Shintomi-za and an artist who made lightning sketches, watched with breathless silence and rapt attention every action or note of their countrymen in the walk-on roles, but greeted the fortissimo that accompanied the prima donna's aria's last notes with shouts of laughter.[10] Receipts were poor, leading to a deficit of 20.000 yen, a huge loss. The heavy debt led the entrepreneur to lose interest in Western theatre. Vernon and his players departed in late October, although Miss May was still around in November to perform in scenes from Shakespeare.

In the case of Japan, music failed to serve as the lubricant, but, instead, created a culture clash. The grafting on French *opéra bouffe* on to the *zangiri* style may have failed as a box-office draw, but the floodgates were opened for French and English light opera companies to pour in during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Vernon's troupe returned in 1880. In 1889 alone, Japan was visited by Amy Sherwyn with her English Opera company, the Royal Compagnie Italienne, the Carandini Operatic & Ballad Company, the Loftus Company, P. Maurel's troupe, the Mascotte Opera Company, the Emilie Melville ensemble, the Petite Troupe Française, Salinger's English Opera Bouffe and the Stanley Company. Their repertoires included many other full-length and one-act Offenbach operas, including, invariably, *La Grande Duchesse*. Renamed *General Boum*, it became a mainstay of the Asakusa Opera repertoire in the first quarter of the twentieth century.

The Asakusa Opera, from its founding in Tokyo in 1917 to its demise in the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923, offered raffish farragos of Western operas, including Offenbach (*Orphée* was a great hit) to a heterogeneous public of nursemaids, bored citizens, trend-setters, and drifters off the street. Its glory days were revived by the Casino Follies, a

network of theatres, music halls and cinemas, which won huge demotic audiences with Western style revues, European fashions and the display of bare female limbs. In 1929 the show *Okaru and Kampei* married Offenbach to an episode from the kabuki epic of the 47 Ronin; it featured Kosiji Fubuki, one of the *otokoyaku* or male impersonators from the wildly popular all-female Takarazuka troupe. The Takarazuka, founded in 1913 by the railway magnate Ichizō Kobayashi to get tourists to stay on his Osaka train to the end of the line, had based its entertainments on traditional Japanese themes and stories. Under the influence of the Casino Follies, European styles and genres began to dominate. Its audience, largely school-girls and housewives, safely enamoured of the cross-dressed heroes, has now grown to include aficionados of Las Vegas-style revue and kitschy musicals based on Western classics (Greenwood 2016, 43–44).

A dotted line might be drawn from the misalliance of Offenbach and kabuki to the Taisho-era adaptation of Offenbach to the plebeian tastes of the Asakusa Opera to the Western-intoxicated Casino Follies to the internationally celebrated Takarazuka. In 1993 the Snow Troupe (one of four situated in different cities) inaugurated *Heaven and Hell. The Tale of Offenbach*, a musical romance by Shinji Ueda with music by Takio Terada and Yūko Yoshida, which garbled the history of the opening of *Orphée* in 1855 with a frame-story set in a Manhattan rehearsal studio. The four troupes combined in 1996 to offer an Offenbach medley in a grand revue *Melodies and Memories*, and in 2008 the Moon Troupe ambitiously presented a *Tales of Hoffmann*, adapted by Tani Masazumi.

To sum up

Cultures take what they need from imports or innovations, applying their own emphases and coloration; the original features may remain identifiable beneath the cosmetic alterations. These various translocations of Offenbach and, specifically, *La Grande Duchesse*, demonstrate the working of the "omni-local" idea. Whether embraced or rejected, they were regarded as harbingers of modernization, the vanguard of reform or freedom of thought in otherwise conservative societies. As prime examples of commercial theatre, easily transferred from nation to nation, they also made professional the element of commodified entertainment. Recognizable for all their metamorphoses, they served as a model, an incentive, an inspiration, or an alternative. The circulation in our time of the mega-musical or the "blockbuster" are only the latest avatars of the "omni-local" phenomenon.

Endnotes

[1] Greenwood, Emily. Spring 2016. "Reception studies: the cultural mobility of classics." In *Dædalus*, 43–44. She first launched this concept in "Afterword: omni-local classical receptions." In 2013. *Classical Receptions Journal 5 / 3*, 354–361.

[2] The novelist Machado de Assis, usually a champion of national theatre, rhapsodized over Mlle Aimée as 'a blonde demon, a flimsy, svelte, graceful silhouette, a face half-woman, half-angel, sharp eyes, a nose worthy of Sappho, an amorously fresh mouth, which seems to have been shaped by two poems of Ovid.' Quoted in Ruben José Souza Brito, "O teatro cómico e musicado: operetas, mágicas, revista de ano e burletas." In João

Robert Fario, ed. 2012. “História do teatro brasileiro.” In *Das origens ao teatro profissional da primerio metade do século XX. São Paulo*: Ed. SESCSP, I, 219–33. My translation.

[3] A Théâtre Khédivial de l'Opéra had been built to entertain the ruling families who were to attend the opening of the Suez Canal; designed by Avoscani on the site of the Prince Azbak's palace, it was built, decorated and furnished in five months at a cost of £160.000 Egyptian pounds, to seat between 800 and 850. It opened on November 1st, 1869 with *Rigoletto*.

[4] For Manasse's fascinating career, see Adam Mestyan. 2011. “A garden with mellow fruits of refinement: music theatre and cultural politics in Cairo and Istanbul, 1867–1892”. Ph.D. Diss., Central European University, Budapest, Ch. 5.

[5] A copy of the text was discovered in 2014 by Amani Gamal Ibrahim, a student at Helwan University in Cairo, and published the following year, edited by Dr Sayyid Ali Ismail (General Egyptian Book Organization).

[6] Manasse retuned to Turkey to resume his impresarial activities; Turkish translations of Offenbach libretti began to appear in the mid-1870s.

[7] It survived to 1923, a cinema in its latter phases.

[8] Chronique théâtrale. *L'Écho du Japon* (June 9, 1879) and *The Japan Gazette* (June 9, 1879), quoted in Kobitsu Matsuo, 1988. *Nihon Shingeki Rinen-shi* (*The History of the Idea of Japanese New Theatre*). Tokyo: Hakusuish, 257–60. My account is reliant chiefly on Kobitsu, 228–29, 253–70, 862–72 and Taro, Akiba (1975) *Toto Meiji Engekishi*. Tokyo: Ōtari Shuppan and Kinka, Kamura. 1975. *Morita Kan-ya*. Tokyo: Shintaishusha, 1943 and Masahiko, Masumoto. 1986. *Yokohama Gaiety Theatre*, 2, ed., Yokohama: Iwasaki Museum and Yoshio, Ōzasa. 1985. *Nihon Gendai Engeki-shi* (*The History of Modern Japanese Theatre*). Tokyo: Hakusuisha, 28–34. Translation is provided by the late Aya Mihara.

[9] I have in my collection an *ukiyo-e* triptych commemorating the event: the left portion of the print shows Kabuki actors in European dress playing *Money*, while in the right the European actors, with a red-nosed General Boum, perform *La Grande Duchesse*.

[10] *The Japan Weekly Mail* (Sept. 6 and Sept. 13, 1879), quoted in Kobitsu, 254–55, 863, 870–71. ‘Of all the elements of Europeanization, European music is the one for which the Japanese have been slowest to evince any taste.’ Chamberlain, Basil Hall. 1905. *Things Japanese, being notes on various subjects connected with Japan for the use of travellers and others*, 5th ed. Revised. London: John Murray, 343.

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Jornal de commercio (19 Feb. 1871), quoted in Magali, 104. Translation revised. See also: 100–105.

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Viviana Iacob

Caragiale in Calcutta: Romanian-Indian Theatre Diplomacy during the Cold War

Abstract

History of Cold War culture has moved in the last couple of years from an East versus West bipolar narrative to investigating the phenomenon from a global perspective. There is a resurgent focus on encounters between the Second and the 'Third' Worlds, between socialist states and those from the Global South. My paper is a contribution to the discussion about the role played by theatre exchanges in the cultural dialogue between East and South. Its focus is on Romanian and Indian attempts, starting with the mid-1950s, to bridge the distance between the two cultures. I underline the connection between broader programs of developmental assistance and the entrenchment of cultural relations between Romania and India, particularly in the realm of theatre. I argue that economic rapprochement constituted the igniting premise for mutual discovery. Drawing from the representation of the socialist camp as the "Second World," my paper will underline the role of Indian progressive intellectuals in the consolidation of theatre exchanges with Romania – a development that can easily be extended to relations across Eastern Europe. Based on the Romanian-Indian encounter, the paper will flesh out two interrelated evolutions in theatre diplomacy between Eastern Europe and the Global South: the importance of individual elective affinities built by way of bilateral relations in facilitating reciprocal adaptation; and, the conversion of personal experience into more systematic programs of theatre exchanges, which mirrored the developmental assistance of state socialist regimes to post-colonial societies.

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In 1969 two plays by Romanian playwright I. L. Caragiale opened in Calcutta: *A Stormy Night* and *The Lost Letter*. Both were adapted to Bengali by translator Amita Ray and produced by the group Panchamitram. Ray, a long time correspondent of the Institute for Cultural Relations Abroad sent clippings from Bengali newspapers attesting to her excellent adaptation skills. These performances were the peak of a program of cultural bilateral relations that had its ups and downs all throughout the Cold War.

In the 1950s and the 1960s India and the second world searched together for a common language in which to converse. Romania's initiative to branch out to the Global South and to India, in particular, took the cue from the Soviet Union. In the early 1950s information about Indian culture was gathered by authorities in Bucharest via journals such as *Sovietzkaia Muzica*, *Sovietkaia Cultura* or *Pravda*[1]. They also paid close attention to interactions between India and other socialist bloc members. During the 1960s, Romanian officials created a program of cultural exchange with India that successfully negotiated the input about this country received via the Soviet Union and/or Eastern Europe and Bucharest's own interests in the region. The article is a case study of East-South exchanges and it reveals a bilateralism that defies Cold War binaries.

The contribution analyses the tensions between what Romania considered relevant for export in terms of theatre and how officials and socialist experts tailored a cultural exchange program for the Indian context. I discuss several points of contact between the two cultures in order to show the role played by theatre diplomacy in connecting the East and the South during the Cold War.

Romania and India signed their first cultural exchange agreement in 1957[2] in the aftermath of a tour carried out in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union by a significant Indian cultural delegation. This particular event sowed the seeds for future interactions between the two states. At the same time, the encounter reveals the difficulties in pursuing a viable exchange and communication between these two very different cultures. The Indian delegation (36 members) travelled to the USSR in 1956 for the second part of the year. All travel expenses to Prague (the entry point in Eastern Europe) the per diem for artists and the equipment were covered by the Indian government. The journey to Moscow, all the expenses entailed by the delegation in various Soviet Republics as well as the travel expenses to Bucharest were provided for by the USSR. The tour across Eastern Europe was followed by Romanian cultural officials. Information was exchanged between USSR and Romania on how to receive the Indian delegation, what to discuss, what to expect. The Institute for Cultural Relations Abroad, an institution that at the time managed all friendship societies with foreign countries translated diligently articles about the activities of the Indian delegation featured in the Soviet press. Detailed accounts were compiled about the official personnel (party and state) that received the Indian artists in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary. Tabs were kept on the talks carried out with each government and the results achieved. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Bucharest received from the Indian delegation beforehand a complete list of the artists and a short description of the art form they were presenting. Sitara Devi, an internationally renowned Indian classical dancer, was among the delegation members. There were representatives of the Santiniketan Group (a school established by Tagore and transformed by the Indian Government into a University). Aside Bharatanatyan, there were also Katak and Kathakali performers.

Reading the documents gathered in the Romanian archives about the Indian delegation's tour in USSR, there is a sense that an effort to find a common ground was an important issue throughout the journey. The Soviet commentators reviewing the visit described the Kathakali performance as a pantomime dance featuring elaborate "masks." They praised Sitara Devi for her grace and the Santiniketan group for their "Harvest dance," (IRRCS 46/1956-1958, 157) no doubt in an attempt to honour Tagore's special connection with the Soviet Union. Even though communication was arduous, all parties went to great lengths to meet each other half way. Indian artists gave up their honorariums (when Soviet artist visited India a year earlier, they had done the same). The Soviet press did its best to show that audiences were warm and welcoming, that they appreciated the charm and elegance of performers and that the artists on both sides found dance to be a common language.[3] The fact that the East – South dialogue was by no means effortless is confirmed by a report filed with the Romanian Foreign Affairs Ministry in the aftermath of the tour. The document underlined that "as Indian art forms are far removed from the Russian, Ukrainian and other peoples on the European side of the USSR, the program performed by Indian artists was a bit monotonous and boring for the public in Moscow, Leningrad, Simferopol and Odessa. It was better received in the cities of the Asian republics of the USSR" (MAE 66 / 1956, 14). The tensions the Indian group had to deal with in terms of its overall reception in the socialist camp were voiced back home by some members of the delegation (Kumar 1957, 20). The fact that the gulf between cultures needed much work on either side was further confirmed when a Polish cultural delegation, a violoncellist, a pianist, a singer and a couple of translators went to India in late 1956. They discovered that "Indian audiences are not necessarily fans of European classical music they do not understand or appreciate it" (MAE 67 / 1956, 31). To make matters worse, their Indian counterparts were administratively overwhelmed when it came to organizing encounters that featured cultural events from Eastern Europe. The ground to be covered in terms of bilateral cultural exchanges between Eastern European countries and India became obvious a year earlier. Yuri Zavadsky, a celebrated Soviet director, visited India as member of the 1955 cultural delegation. His account is telling for what one might describe as a culture shock. He tried to overcome it by narrating the journey in all its minute details. The underlining theme of his account was the idea of contrast: old men in traditional garb on bicycles, ancient temples standing next to the city built by Corbusier, students learning under a three about Soviet economics at the Santiniketan University (mentioned earlier). He visited museums and mused about the ancient art of India while also wondering if there will ever be an Indian opera since Indian music never knew polyphony. Zavadsky met with progressive personalities such as Malayan poet Vallathol (the founder of the Kerala Kalamandalan)[4] and with Mulk Raj Anand, a central figure in the post-independence theatre scene in this country (Dharwadker 2005). Zavadsky recorded their conversation for the Soviet public making a point in underlining Anand's opinion that "India must create its own theatre based on popular traditions which are currently used by progressive associations that cherish classical forms by supplementing them with a new content" (IRRCS 46 / 1956-1958, 223).

Soon after the Soviet delegation came back from India, playwright and theatre historian Balwant Gargi wrote for *Inostranaia Literatura* about the "the popular tradition of Indian theatre" presenting Tagore as precursor of Lorca and Brecht. The

Indian intellectual also discussed the role of the popular theatre movement in India and the influence of Gorky and Stanislavski in this context. He even mentioned the fact that Indian directors travelled to USSR to train at the Moscow Art Theatre and the Vaghtangov Theatre. But Balwant Gargi also corresponded with Romanian cultural institutions. In 1956 he wrote to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to enquire if any of his works were published in Romania and to let Romanian officials know that *Stop Press*, by interwar Romanian writer Mihail Sebastian, was adapted for stage in Hindi (MAE 67 / 1956, 130). In this particular context, there is an interesting conversation on Gargi's relationship with Romanian officials. The latter worried that the adaptation of the above-mentioned play to the Indian context might entail altering its message. The idea of following as closely as possible a specific approach in production will come up later in the context of Caragiale's adaptation in Bengali. Certainly to his disappointment, a play by Gargi was available in Romanian only in 1967. *The Mango Tree* was translated for the Association of Artists from Musical and Theatre Institutions from a French version published in a series of six Asian plays by the International Theatre Institute (I.T.I.), a UNESCO-affiliated NGO, one of the most important arenas for global theatre interaction. The connection with I.T.I. might seem haphazard, but the international organization played an important role in Romanian - Indian cultural bilateralism. For example, in September 1956, when the Indian delegation toured Romania, the articles featured in the local press echoed to some extent the Soviet narrative about Indian culture, but, at the same time, there were strong signs that local commentators were acutely aware of the role that the I.T.I. sponsored journal *World Theatre* played in bridging cultural divides. There were reviews of the Indian performances by Tudor Vianu (soon to be secretary of the Romanian UNESCO Commission) and critic and playwright Ecaterina Oproiu. More importantly, the cultural journal *Contemporanul* translated Kapila Malik's article on Barathanatyam from *World Theatre*.[5] Cultural historian Ovidiu Drâmba's musings on the Indian theatre traditions quoted heavily Raghavan's article from the same *World Theatre* issue dedicated to India's theatre history.

Gargi was not the only Indian progressive theatre expert with whom Romanian officials were in contact, nor was he their only I.T.I. connection. Another very influential liaison was Kamaldevi Chattopadhyaya. Kamaldevi had an interesting background. She and her former husband were known for their progressive views, she was close to Nehru and aside from being president of the Indian Centre of the International Theatre Institute she was the president of the Indian Handicrafts and Visual Arts Associations. In mid-1956, she inquired with the Romanian Legation representative in New Delhi if she could visit the country as part of her larger research about theatre training and production for both professional and amateur theatre (MAE 59 / 1956, 80). She was promised help with her inquiry in exchange for an invitation to the First World Conference of the I.T.I., which she was coordinating in Bombay.[6] The latter gathering was part and parcel of what one might call India's 1956 worldwide cultural offensive. Not only was the ninth session of the UNESCO Congress held in New Delhi but there was also a World Congress on Asian and African Writers[7] and the 31st Indian Philosophical Congress (MAE 68 / 1956, 86). Romania received an invitation for all these events. The I.T.I. gathering was in fact seen as a preamble for the general conference of UNESCO (BNF/ITI/ 1956, Bogdanovici, 1). Moreover, the address of I.T.I.'s secretary general at

the time, André Josset, was tailored so as to consider delegations in the audience that weren't I.T.I. members (BNF / ITI / 1956, Josset 1956, 10).

Organized between October 29 and November 2, 1956 in Bombay, the list of participants at the First World Theatre Conference almost read like a Bandung meeting in the field of theatre. Many recently de-colonized states were represented and were able to join a global dialogue with their colleagues from other regions of the world among them Europeans, either from the East or West.[8] Among the attendees were delegations from countries such as Indonesia, China (I.T.I. member since 1980), Iran (I.T.I. member since 1962), Syria (I.T.I. member since 1968), Egypt (I.T.I. member since 1962), East Germany (I.T.I. member since 1959) which at the time had not joined the organization yet. There were also representatives from the U.K., U.S.A, Yugoslavia, Greece, Czechoslovakia, France and the Scandinavian Theatre Union, (Denmark, Sweden, Finland with Norway as the flag bearer for all four). While I have not found archival evidence that there were Romanian participants at the I.T.I. conclave, the event took place just before the ninth session of UNESCO's general conference in New Delhi (November 5–December 5). The government in Bucharest dispatched a massive delegation at the latter gathering. They went to great lengths to make the most of their presence in India. A member of the delegation published back home an article on post-independence theatre in India, for the first time based on a firsthand account (Ghimpu 1957)[9]. The text was the outcome of the discussions and mutual discovery between members of the Romanian group and Indian counterparts, some of whom had been involved in the proceedings of I.T.I. conference (e.g., Kamaldevi Chattopadhyaya).

Being privy to debates on theatre in international contexts was important for Romania especially in the mid-1950s when local cultural officials tailored the country's future theatre diplomacy to the West. In 1956 going to India meant meeting the entire world, both the Global South and the West. At the time, Romania was not recognized as a relevant postwar theatre culture. The country was not yet an I.T.I. member. It only joined in 1959 together with the Soviet Union and East Germany. Just a few months before the First World I.T.I. Conference, Romania participated at the first Theatre of Nations Festival in Paris with two productions: *Stop Press* by interwar playwright Mihail Sebastian (mentioned earlier in connection with Gargi) and *The Lost Letter* by XIXth century writer I. L. Caragiale. The Paris festival launched I.L. Caragiale posthumous Cold War international carrier as a main conduit of Romanian theatre diplomacy. When *The Lost Letter* was performed in Calcutta in 1969, the play had been produced in 30 theatres around the world in the respective national languages (Fig.1). Furthermore, between 1968 and 1969 *The Lost Letter* and *A Stormy Night* (also by Caragiale) were shown numerous times at different venues in Calcutta, no doubt in connection with Nicolae Ceausescu's state visit to India (see footnote 2).

The Bengali productions of *The Lost Letter* between 1968 and 1969 epitomise Romania's engagement with India during the Cold War not only in terms of theatre diplomacy but also as a signifier for the coordinates of this interaction, always predicated by development related issues. Even though the 1956 events opened up Romania to the Global South and to the world, cultural exchanges with India in the following years were strenuous and after 1961 they reached a standstill. In a report from 1963, suggestions were made on how to "activize" (i.e., revitalize) connections with India. Among the measure listed were: the experts charged with technical assistance in India should be

used as propaganda anchors;[10] and, IRRCS's individual Indian correspondents who were interested in popularizing Romanian culture had to be encouraged and supported (IRRCS 64 / 1962-1964, 70).

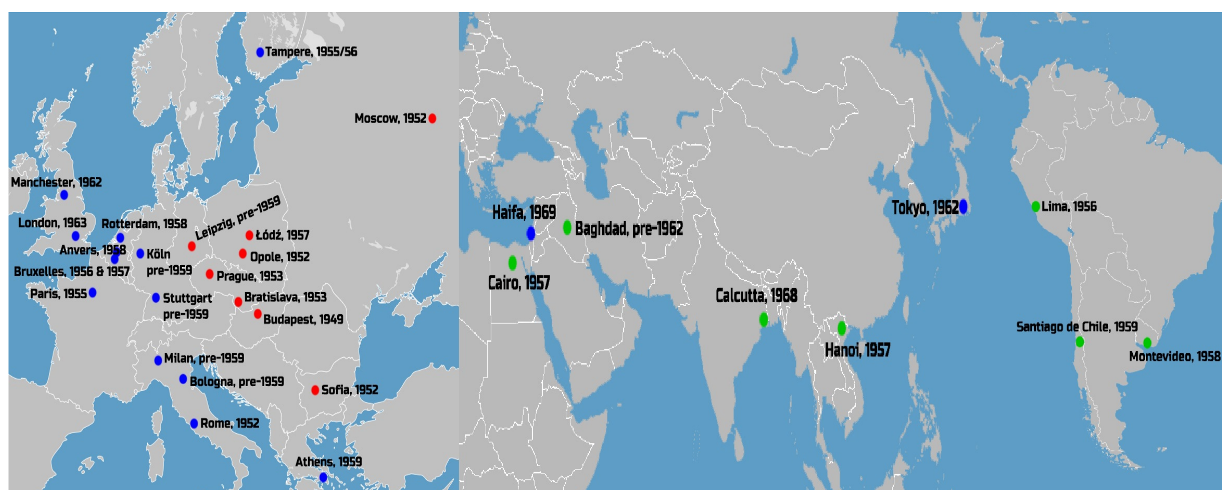

Fig.1: The Lost Letter *productions around the world between 1952 and 1969 (the map does not include the production on tour in Romanian). Blue signifies productions in the 'capitalist camp' (including Israel and Japan); red productions in the socialist camp; and green those in the Global South.*

In 1967 Romanian officials were still searching for the best way to engage India on cultural matters (MAE 657 / 1967, 7–8).[11] That year, a note of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs shows that I.T.I. was still considered the best connection to India. Actor and director Ranbir Sihn was invited for a six-day visit in Romania to research local theatre after he had initially contacted the Romanian I.T.I. centre (MAE 656 / 1967, 64).[12]

To understand the conditions that allowed for the Bengali adaptations to come to fruition we have to turn back to the 1956 Indian cultural delegation and the nature of the connections established at the time. In 1956, when A.K. Chanda, the leader of the Indian delegation, met the Romanian minister of foreign affairs, Grigore Preoteasa, they agreed that first exchanges between the two cultures should focus on technical assistance. When Chanda visited the Ministry of Culture, the discussion revolved around literacy and Romanian folklore, but no agreement was struck in terms of cultural bilateralism. Preoteasa insisted that Romania could offer expertise in oil industry and medicine while India could reciprocate with know-how on irrigations. In 1959 several Indian experts were sent to Romania for specialization. Among them, Dipak Kumar Ray, who specialized in oil geology. He brought his wife Amita Ray. In the following years, she became the foremost advocate of Romanian culture in India. In 1971, she moved to Bucharest to pursue a doctoral degree in philology. She wrote a dissertation on Mihai Eminescu, the Romanian national poet. Since 1972, she also taught a course in Bengali language and literature.[13]

In 1959, Amita Ray attended a two-year Romanian language course. Upon her return to India in 1961, she launched a campaign of popularizing Romanian culture by translating literature, holding conferences and adapting Romanian playwrights (mainly Caragiale and Sebastian) for Indian theatre companies. Her activity is particularly important since her constant engagement with Romania's theatre canon was enthusiastically supported, by Romanian decision-makers at IRRCS and MAE.

In 1967, *The Lost Letter* was produced in Hindi by the Indian People's Theatre Association. It opened in Bombay and it coincided with the electoral campaign in the country. The play was performed numerous times but there is no evidence that this production was backed by Romanian authorities (MAE 565 / 1967, 65).[14]

For the first Bengali adaption of *The Lost Letter* in 1968, Amita Ray worked with film director Sunil Banergee. Caragiale's play premiered in August at the Prekshapat theatre in Calcutta (MAE 712 / 1968, 30). The performance was accompanied by a booklet about Caragiale and his work. In late June, Amita Ray had informed the Romanian Embassy in Delhi that Caragiale's *The Lost Letter* would be staged in Calcutta to celebrate the anniversary of the Romanian Socialist Republic. She asked if the Romanian government wanted to help financially with the publication of the booklet and with additional documentation (i. e. several production photographs). She was successful in obtaining the requested Romanian support. By the end of July all materials were sent via airmail. The Romanian ambassador to New Delhi wrote back in September to report that the play was a tremendous success due to Ray's adaptation and Sunil Banergee's play text.

An additional factor of the production's success was, according to the official, Caragiale's suitability to the contemporary political context in India. I. L. Cargiale's *The Lost Letter* centres on the circumstances of an election, taking place in a provincial town in Romania during the 1880s. The socialist interpretation of the play focused on the failings of the "so-called democratic system". The production emphasized Caragiale's mordant criticism of the mores of his times. Consequently the socialist adaptation was seen as a comment to democratic systems considered flawed from a progressive perspective.

The partnership between Amita Ray, Sunil Banergee, continued in 1969 with the stage adaptation of another Caragiale play, *A Stormy Night* in Calcutta along with a re-run of *The Lost Letter*. As in the previous year, both productions honoured Romania's national celebration – August 23. In 1969, the newspaper *Hindustan Standard* described Amita Ray's and the group Pachamitram's efforts to adapt *The Lost Letter* as follows:

> Pachamitram displayed initiative in *Indianizing* a Romanian comedy and playing it brilliantly...The major share of this happy adaptation must go to Amita Ray. It is funny but clean and smart. It falls in the category of political satires and the slants are highly enjoyable. The climax of the 'Lame horse' wining the electoral race with a silly but influential woman's butting in and immobilizing the two 'strong' candidates is effected very intelligently. The boozed 'voter' is a pleasing microcosm of the bemused voters of today. The transplanted tree looks Indian all over." [n.a., the original quote in English] (IRRCS 70 / 1969, 191).

This last reference might seem cryptic but it indicates that this particular stage adaptation followed the guidelines established in the 1950s for the production of the play at the National Theatre in Bucharest. As I mentioned earlier, after 1956, *The Lost Letter* had a long career as it was performed on tour or in translation around the world. When Caragiale was adapted to a different cultural milieu, Romanian cultural officials went to great lengths to insure that the adaptation followed a specific approach. They prepared what I would call the "Caragiale package". It contained a volume of the writer's work translated in a language of international circulation (French or German), the Russian translation as a guideline was often added, director Sică Alexandrescu's 1953 published production book for *The Lost Letter* at the National Theatre, sketches and drawings for the stage design of the same production and the feature film *The Lost Letter* produced in

1953. The latter item was almost always found very useful by local recipients of the package. This was of course the point, since the film was not a screen adaptation per se but a recorded version of the 1948 production with minor cast changes. Using films such as the 1953 *The Lost Letter* as inspiration and guide for stage adaptations in foreign cultural contexts was a method of exporting socialist cultural products pioneered by the Soviets in the late 1940s. For example, the 1952 adaptation of Gogol's *The Government Inspector* at the Bucharest National Theatre was produced after such a Soviet film. In 1961, when *The Lost Letter* opened in Japan, the movie was sent to the Bugeiza theatre in Tokyo from the Romanian Embassy in New Dehli (IRRCS 93 / 1958-1965, 249).

The tree that K.N. Roy[15] talked about in the Bengali production towered over the last scene in the Romanian production both in its stage and screen adaptations (Fig. 2).

Fig.2: Sketch by Walter Siegfried for the Sică Alexandrescu *production at the National Theatre Bucharest*

In 1971, when Amita Ray (now Bhose) attended the International Translators' Congress organized in Romania, she gave some insight into the difficulties of adapting *The Lost Letter* for Indian audiences: "As far as Caragiale's masterpiece is concerned, the author's references to the Romanian electoral system made it very difficult for the Indian public to understand the play. I therefore opted for *localization*. The spirit of work, the characters did not change" (V.S. 1971, 22).

Amita Ray's career in India and Romania (she also translated playwright Al. Mirodan, Mihail Sadoveanu, one of the most celebrated local writers before, during, and after communism, and national poet Eminescu) is an excellent example of how Romanian – Indian cultural exchanges with a focus on theatre functioned. The Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, or Romania created and took advantage of a "second network" (I am drawing here on the concept of the socialist system being a "Second World"[16] [Babiracki and Jersild 2016]) based on connections with progressive cultural personalities from either the West or the Global South. It was a means to access international institutions and connect to the global. It was a fertile ground for cultivating connections that would propagate Romanian culture on socialist terms. In the context of Romanian – Indian theatre diplomacy, one individual's interest was a crucial factor in maintaining and expanding this bilateralism. Amita Ray's example is paralleled by Atsushi Naono,

another translator of Caragiale, but this time for Japanese audiences. The bond that socialist internationalists, such as Amita Ray, established with Romania survived Cold War political tides allowing the continuation of mutual discovery.

The Indian-Romanian encounters from the mid-1950s and those from late 1960s describe very different approaches to cultural exchanges. The former show the difficulty in finding a common ground and the inability to internalize and understand the Indian Other. The latter reveal the significance of an individual's immersion in the context of the Romanian Other, thus triggering a process of cultural translation. The two instances underline the essential role played by individual adapters of socialist theatre canons, who become the enablers of globality in East-South cultural diplomacy.

Endnotes

[1] By 1957 Romanian officials were well aware of the work carried by the Indian Popular Theatre Association or the theatre led by Prithvi Raj via articles featured in the Soviet press.

[2] A second agreement was signed in 1963 after Gh. Gheorghiu-Dej (the leader of socialist Romania from 1952 until 1965) and prime-minister Ion Gh. Maurer (1961-1974)'s visit to India the previous year. Their journey included Indonesia and Burma (Myanmar). A third agreement was signed for a period of two years in 1965 when president Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan came to Romania. A forth, for the same period, was ratified in 1967, this time on the occasion of Indira Ghandi's visit to Bucharest. In October 1969, Nicolae Ceausescu (the leader of socialist Romania from 1965 until 1989) and prime-minister Maurer travelled to India. Prior to that, on June 3, a new cultural exchange agreement spanning 3 years was signed. Open Society Archives, Cold War, Romanian Unit, Box 149, India.

[3] The Indian delegation met with the Berezka ensemble and the encounter was quite successful.

[4] The Kathakali group sent to USSR and Eastern Europe in 1956 came from this institution.

[5] The article was not introduced with the name of the author or the actual title featured in *World Theatre*.

[6] In a report from 1964 Kamaldevi was listed as a guest of the Romanian government. IRRCS, India 64 / 1962-1964, 60.

[7] On the Indian side, correspondence with Romania, was carried out by Mulk Raj Anand. MAE, India, 68 / 1956, 62.

[8] The Bandung Conference (1955) was the first major Asian-African gathering representatives from newly independent states and peoples on the path of decolonization. It triggered the rise of what we call now the Global South in global politics laying the ground for the creation of the Non-Aligned Movement. See Lee, Christopher [Ed.]. 2010. *Making a World after Empire: The Bandung Moment and Its Political Afterlives,* Athens: Ohio University Press.

[9] Mihai Ghimpu is listed as an expert of the UNESCO delegation. See *Records of the General Conference, Ninth Session, New Dedli, 1956: Proceedings*, http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0016/001607/160770eb.pdf.

[10] By 1962 the Guwahati oil refinery, financed by the Romanian state was completed.

[11] MAE representatives met with Czechoslovakia's representative in Romania to discuss this issue especially. MAE, India, 657 / 1967, 7–8.

[12] The dire state of theatre liaisons is mentioned in the document as a reason for inviting Sihn. He had previously researched West German theatre. MAE, India, 656 / 1967, 64.

[13] Amita Ray graduated in 1953 with a degree from Calcutta University, Department of Chemistry, Physics and Mathematics but her contact with Romanian culture redirected her career. Her translation and teaching work in Romania as well as her mistreatment rooted in the drastic changes in political atmosphere in the early 1980s are known only through the editing work carried out by some of her former students. See Bhose, Amita. 2002. *Maree Indiană, Interferenţe culturale Indo- Române, Ediţe îngrijită, cronologie şi note bibliografice de Carmen Muşat-Toma,* Bucuresti: Mihai Dascal casa de presa si editura, 1998, and *Origini, Caiete Silvane, Revista de Studii Culturale*, *Restituiri: Amita Bhose* (1933-1992), nr. 3–4, 2002, 148–172.

[14] The production coincided with the electoral campaign in India and according to Romanian reports it was very successful. MAE, 656 / 1967, 65.

[15] A note from an IRRCS file on the event introduces the author of the article as one of the most influential Bengali theatre critics at the time.

[16] Patryk Babiracki and Austin Jersild. [Eds.] 2016. *Socialist Internationalism in the Cold War. Exploring the Second World*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

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