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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.

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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 Habsburg 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 culture¹⁴, 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 daily¹⁷. 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* (Pffifferling), 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 Roderich²³ 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 Frau*, 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 Bernhardt 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*

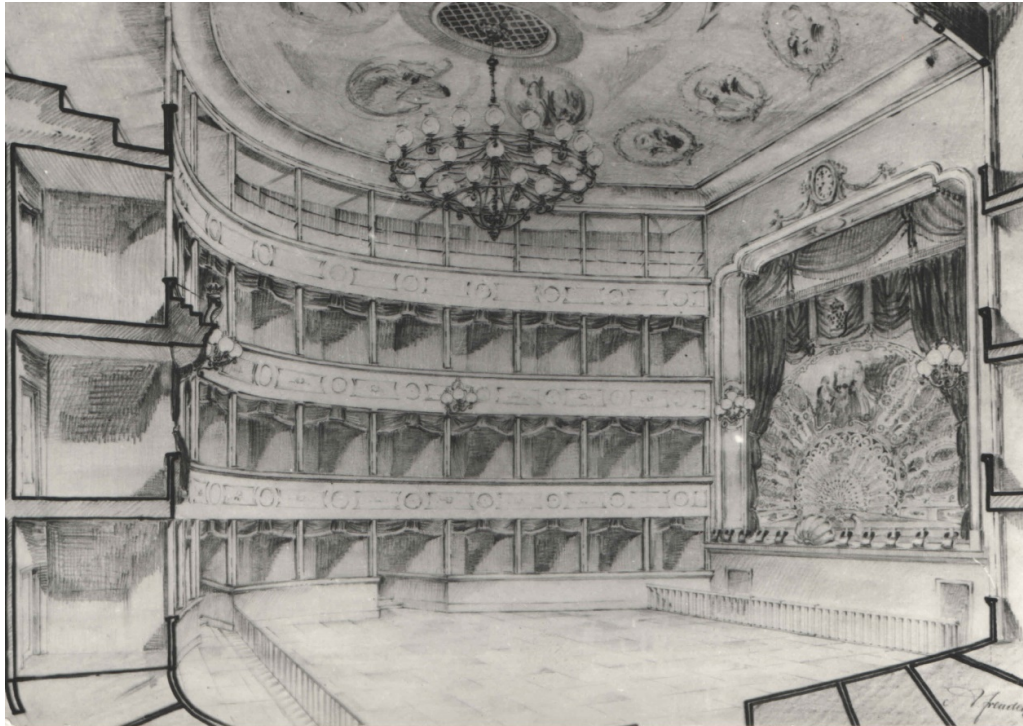


Fig. 5: Kaiserlich freistädtisches Theater in Zagreb. Aleksandar Freudenberg's reconstruction. Source: Institute for Croatia Theatre History, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb

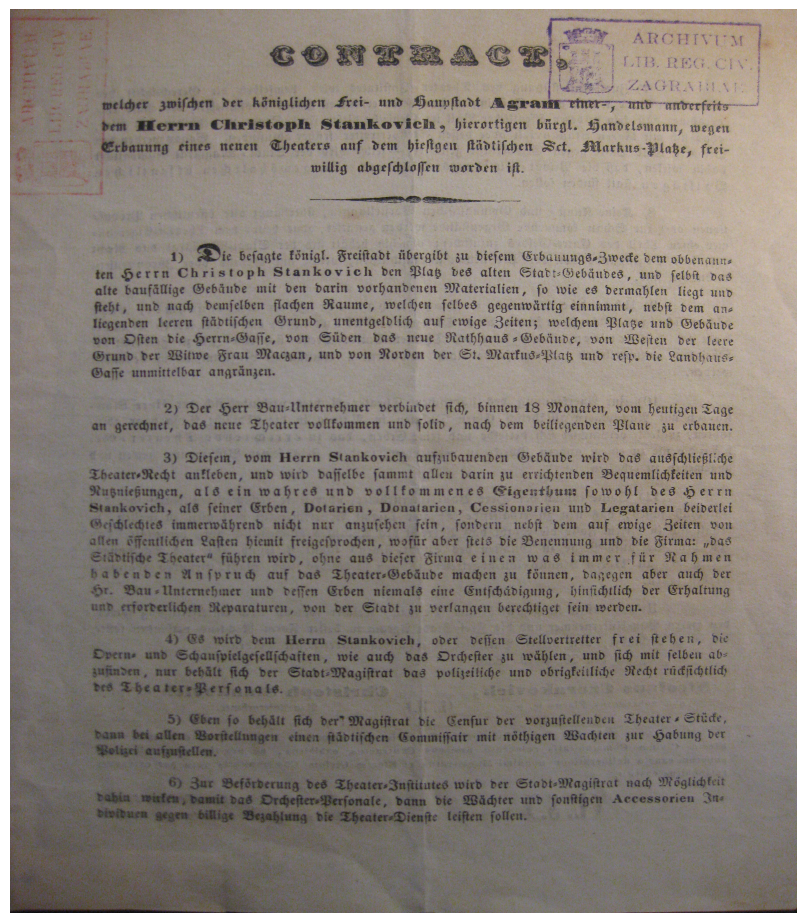


Fig. 6: The contract between Christoph Stankovich and the Zagreb City Magistrate. Source: Croatian State Archives Zagreb. Sg: Acta Theatralia, HR-HDA-893, Box 42.

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 Croats. 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 a 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 Börnstein³² 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 any 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 Börnstein 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 Brambilla 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 Middle 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 Kroatiens*. 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 Norbert 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 Firingner. 1957. "Prvih 85 godina osječkoga kazališta." In Jelčić, Dubravko (ed.), *Spomen-knjiga o pedesetoj godišnjici Narodnoga kazališta u Osijeku (190–71957)*.

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- 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 Roksanđić. 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 Hvarškoga kazališta. Publika i kritika*. Zagreb-Split. HAZU-Knjževni 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. ("Löwe's 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 Frau*. 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 Virtuusin, 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 virtuosos Sterben nicht nur mitangesehen, sondern auch mitempfunden, wer den Beifallsturm der das Haus durchtobte mitangehört hat, kann ruhig die Feder beiseitelegen und sagen: das Urtheil 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/view/Issue/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, Timișoara, 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 emigrated 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 Kassiers 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 fakultet Osijek, 50–60.

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

Danijela Weber-Kapusta

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

19

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