

WALTER PUCHNER

A SHORT OUTLINE OF THEATRE HISTORY  
OF THE BALKAN PENINSULA  
(From Renaissance to Mid-War years)

The dynamism of theatre history in South-East Europe shows certain common elements, permitting a typological comparison of developments, especially after the gradual loss of the Venetian possessions in the Mediterranean and the conquest of the Serenissima during the Napoleonic wars, and chiefly among the countries under the two-headed eagle of the Habsburg Monarchy and the half-moon of the Ottoman Empire. This despite the religious and dogmatic differences between Orthodox Christians, Catholics, Protestants, Anabaptists, Calvinists, Lutherans, etc., who were opposed to theatrical development and despite the cultural influences from Italy, Austria-Hungary and the urban centres of the Greek Enlightenment. This possibility of comparison concerns chiefly the period of pursuit of the ethnic and cultural independence during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (with some time differentiations) which was expressed in the countries under Turkish domination through revolutions, in the countries of the Habsburg Empire through cultural conflicts for the prevalence of the regional language, as an official means of expression and communication<sup>1</sup>. For the Slovenians, Croats, Serbs (in Novi Sad and Belgrade), Hungarians, Romanians, Bulgarians, Greeks and Turks (after the Young Turks' revolution and the foundation of a secular state), the establishment of national theatres acquired a historical symbolism, which marked off cultural autonomy – in the countries under Turkish domination, territorial autonomy as well – from the dominant cultures of the two multi-ethnic empires (Puchner 1993)<sup>2</sup>. In the light of this autonomy and independence procedure away from the Ottoman and Austrian cultures, the efforts for ethnic awakening of the Balkan peoples during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Valjaveć 1955, 1961, Maass 1951-61, Kann 1964, Pollo 1985, Kitromilides 1983, Stavrianos 1958, Grothusen 1974) can be examined as parallel and analogous, in spite of their differences in timing, particular manifestations, in the use

<sup>1</sup>In this paper the meaning of South-East Europe is used as a linguistic, political, historical and cultural term, as has been established in most centres of research of the area in question (i.g. in the *Biographisches Lexikon zur Geschichte Südosteuropas*, 4 vols. München 1972-81 and in the "Bibliography of South-East Europe", published by Südost-Institut in the same city). However, Albania and FYROM have been left out of this comparison, because these countries configure their national literature only in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Cyprus is not included either, because it shows an autonomous theatrical evolution after 1880 (on the beginnings of Cyprian theatre under the English rule see Γ. Κατσούρης, «Το παλιό θέατρο, ο συγγραφέας, η παράσταση, το κοινό», *Κυπριακή Λογοτεχνία. Οι ρίζες*, Λευκωσία 1980, σσ. 71-83, Π. Χ. Μουστερίδης, *Χρονολογική ιστορία του κυπριακού θεάτρου. Από των αρχαιολόγων χρόνων μέχρι και τον 1986*, Λεμεσός 1988, σσ. 25 εξ. The German-speaking parts

of Habsburg Empire have also been left out. On the other hand, investigating the popular theatre and popular spectacles and rituals, East and South-East Austria has to be included (see Β. Πούγγερ, *Λαϊκό θέατρο στην Ελλάδα και στα Βαλκάνια. Συγκριτική μελέτη*, Αθήνα 1989).

<sup>2</sup>Specifically: the Slovenians in 1867/92 (the legalisation of the Slovenian "Dramatic Society" in 19.4.1867, the festive opening of the new theatre in Ljubljana in 29.9.1892 and at the same time the 478<sup>th</sup> performance of the Dramatic Society); the Croats in 1861, the Serbs (Novi Sad) in 1861, the independent kingdom of Serbia (Belgrade) in 1868, the Hungarians (beginning of Nemzetszin haz in Peste) in 1837, the Romanians in 1852, the Bulgarians in 1904, the Greeks in 1901 (there were performances, however, with the character and function of national theatre before 1821 in Jasy, Bucharest and Odessa), the Turks in 1916 (Darülbedayi Osmanî, in 1914 as a musical academy, became the national theatre only in 1927).

of cultural or military methods, etc. (Stadtmüller 1976, Jelavich/Jelavich 1963, Stavrianos 1957, Djordjević 1970, Plaschka 1985, etc). This procedure of establishing independent nations and the demand for autonomy of the national cultures compose the firm framework within which it is possible to compare the theatre history of the Balkan peoples for a definite, quite long, time period (Puchner 1993: 25-42, Puchner 1994: 8-18). Neither before nor after this "regeneration" phase can such a phenomenon be observed: differences prevail. In the stage of national formation, the whole intellectual life, the sciences and arts, were orientated towards the strengthening and stabilisation of national consciousness, also of the elaboration and establishment of a national ideology, capable of handling present, past and future (for Greece, Veloudis 1970, Veloudis 1982, Πούτχερ 1996, Puchner 1999). Nor was the theatre absent from this national "mission": historical tragedy together with national and patriotic drama, idolised as well as taught the glorious national past. This past might concern antiquity, or the Middle Ages, or recent eras. The aim was to transfer the legendary roots of the nation to the remotest possible past in order to explain the present as a continuity and reflection of bygone grandeur, capable of illuminating the future. Social and political comedy functioned as a law court for the problems of the present, in which the ideals of patriotism, sacrifice, justice, liberty and self-determination, constituting the national ideology in the awakening phase, deviated sadly from living reality. The domestic political situation of Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria and Greece was almost the same during the 19<sup>th</sup> century: foreign royal houses reigned in these miniature states; the political situation was fluid, even chaotic; the Great Powers intervened openly in domestic affairs; the upper classes were marked by ideological confusion and moral corruption; nepotism, arrogance of government officials, bribery, the short-sighted self-centredness of the petit bourgeois; fortune and office-hunting, the sham patriotism of leaders who were aping Western manners and attire, etc. Playwrights like the Serb Bronislav Nušić, the Romanian Ion Luca Caragiale, the Bulgarian Ivan Vaso and the Greek Michael Chourmouzis have a relative subject-matter: they criticise and ridicule the same phenomena and describe the same social conditions (Mladenov 1965). These procedures of autonomy of the Balkan peoples, providing the framework of the comparable developments of the theatre, stretch chronologically from the last decades of 18<sup>th</sup> century (Hungary) up to the Young Turks' revolution of 1908, the Balkan Wars and the dissolution of Austria-Hungary at the end of the First World War. In ideology and style, the national drama of the Balkan peoples moves into different structures: from Enlightenment and Romanticism, through Realism to Naturalism and Symbolism, reaching Modernism of the turn of the century and inter-war years. However, several stylistic fusions, unknown in Central and Western Europe, can be detected. This means that the stylistic terminology demands some special attention and discussion, as similar phenomena appear in several national literatures in different eras (on Romanticism, see Iorga 1924, Buşulenga-Dumitrescu 1978, Castellan 1985, Matl 1965).

The ideological fermentations of the Balkan 'regeneration' era, are essentially influenced by the humanistic ideology of the Enlightenment (Valjaveć 1953-70, Turczynski 1959, Veloudis 1983, Thierfelder 1943, etc), also by Herder's 'Sprachnation' (Sundhaussen 1973, Δημαράς 1983, etc.), the identification of language and nation, and the right to self-determination as understood by political Romanticism and German Idealism, the instructive ideas of Joseph II reforms (Bernath 1972, Turczynski 1985) and of the French Revolution (Kitromilides 1990). In the countries of the two-headed eagle the national and nationalistic trends were manifested in a cultural struggle against the domination of the German language, the institution of preventive censorship, the German itinerant companies enjoying the privileged treatment of the local authorities and of the German-speaking theatres (Dietrich 1967, on Budapest, Mályusz-Czászár 1968). All these factors still affected, if indirectly, the national stages for quite a long time by

imitating the repertory of the Viennese Burgtheater (Πούγγε 1993: 43 et seq., Puchner 1994: 23 et seq.); the juxtapositions take place mainly at the language level, because the national literature written in the national language and the national theatre as the place of cultivation and teaching of this literature and its national subjects are the visible landmarks of the establishing of national autonomy. In the countries of the Ottoman Empire these efforts to achieve cultural autonomy are simply preliminary phases of military national revolutions aimed at territorial independence. In order to throw off the foreign rule, the subjugated peoples did not restrict their targets to the language, but aimed from the beginning at political self-determination. Anyway, apart from the linguistic, the religious differences played an important part in this matter<sup>3</sup>. The juxtaposition of local culture of the Danube Principalities and Bulgaria with the dominant Greek culture and language, is secondary. The Greek language played a similar part under Turkish rule in large areas of the eastern and southern Balkan peninsula, as did the German language in its northern and north-western parts (Stadtmüller 1952, Mackridge 1981, Βακαλόπουλος 1973: 236-288, Daskalakis 1969, Papacostea-Danielopolu 1969, Maslev 1968).

National drama and national theatre, with their high prestige, played an important part in the procedures of stabilisation of the national languages. Most national languages of South-East Europe were still in a fluid state during this "regeneration" stage, between spoken and written language, between church codification and dialect-idiom differentiation as well as literary traditions deriving from the Renaissance and baroque eras, the purifying tendencies of the Enlightenment and the linguistic orientation of political Romanticism in its resort to the language of traditional songs in its search for models for a desirable national language (i.g. on Greece see Hering 1987).

Creating and developing of national-language theatre was easier in those countries which already had a theatrical tradition, or where the itinerant German companies or the local German-speaking stages in the dominions of the Habsburg Monarchy provided an organisation model. Another tradition was the school religious theatre of Catholics and Protestants, decisive for amateur stages in their first steps towards the constitution of a national stage. These amateurs shared the following difficulties: the formation of a repertory in the local language, the finding of trained actors, especially for the women's parts, the securing of a suitable place to perform, the production of costumes and scenery, financing by patrons or local authorities and in general the organisation of the performance and the co-ordination of the actors. The traditionally hostile attitude of the Orthodox Church towards spectacles and theatre could be overcome only on special occasions (as on Chios, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Puchner 1999a). Only in areas where the Venetian occupation or Italian cultural standards had established theatrical performances as a self-evident factor in education or a festive display of power, such as tournament (*giostro*) (Puchner 1998, Πούγγε 1998), was the Church not an obstacle. Furthermore, the enlightening function of the theatre as a school of humanistic values for the nation, with directly patriotic motivation and a generally humanistic objective, succeeded in overriding the hostility of the Church towards the theatre. This hostility had existed since the earliest centuries of Christianity. The conservative circles of the 19<sup>th</sup> century shared it on a

<sup>3</sup> On the role of religion (especially Orthodoxy) in the configuration of national consciousness, see selectively: G. Zach, *Orthodoxie und rumänisches Volksbewußtsein vom 16.-19. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1977; E. Turczynski, *Konfession und Nation. Zur Frühgeschichte der serbischen und rumänischen Nationsbildung*, Düsseldorf 1974; H.F.

Schmidt, "Konfession und Nationalität in Südost-Europa", *Österreichische Osthefte* 5 (1963) 2, p. 92-108; by the same author "Funktion und Organisation der orthodoxen Kirchen in Südost-Europa", *Südosteuropa - Jahrbuch* 3 (1959), p. 34-46.



large scale (Puchner 1983, 1990). The Muslim prohibition of icons (and images of living things in general) and any kind of Christians' gathering in the countries under Turkish rule contributed from the beginning to the thwarting of the development of a regular theatrical life. The only exception to this is the shadow-puppet theatre, which can be traced in all the major Balkan countries up to the 20<sup>th</sup> century, first as an entertainment of the local pashas, later as a popular show in the traditional coffee shops (Πούγγεο 1985, Puchner 1997).

### *Popular shows and popular theatre*

There is a rather different possibility of comparison at the typology level in the case of popular theatre and popular shows, which will be mentioned only incidentally here (Πούγγεο 1985 – bibliography: 255-351, 1994: 151-200, Wildhaber 1968, Schmidt 1965). Besides the common rural-mythological and magic-religious basis of the representative rituals and practices, the more sophisticated forms of popular theatre reveal a stronger dependence on the nature of the faith. The religious popular spectacle was chiefly fostered in Catholic regions and less in Orthodox ones (Πούγγεο 1989: 13-36). However, the common grounding of the church calendar, like the belief in the presence of 'souls' on the earth during the 'Twelve Days' (Puchner 1977: 110 et seq.), the idea of 'modus reversus' during carnival (Moser 1986), the Christian celebrations of Christmas and Easter, the spring celebrations of May Day and Lazarus rituals (Puchner 1978, 1979), the occasional rituals to induce rain to fall (dodola, perperouna) (Puchner 1982, 1984) springing from church supplicatory processions, all these common bases, being simple, first-degree forms of the theatrical, show a certain possibility of comparison (Πούγγεο 1989: 27 et seq., 61 et seq.), especially in the Orthodox regions, where differentiating and destructive procedures such as the Reformation, Counter-Reformation and Enlightenment did not take place and such customary phenomena some times descend directly from the first thousand years (i.g. the Roman rosalia, Puchner 1987, Πούγγεο 1994a: 11-95).

More complex forms of popular spectacles are even closer to religion. In the masquerades and the disguises, though, there are comparable figures throughout the Balkans: the plant-shaped disguise in green – the Slovenian 'Želeni Juraj' (the green Saint George) (Huziak 1957, Kuret 1967), Saint George on horseback in New Souli, Serres (Αιχατερινίδης 1969), - the green-dressed perperouna, sprinkled with water, from Hungary to Crete (Puchner 1996: 89-124). There are the animal-shaped disguises of the two-legged and four-legged 'beasts', included in the category of 'horse-like masks' (Kretzenbacher 1965), numbering among them 'camels' (from South Styria to Attica, Puchner 1977: 203, 206 et seq., 218, 241, 259 et seq., 263 et seq.), 'bears' dancing to the sound of the gipsy bear-trainer's tabor (Puchner 1977a), the 'goat' (from Austria to Asia Minor and in Romania always with the Old Man) (Cantemir 1973: 316 et seq., Σαμουηλίδης 1980: 237), and many others. There are also the human-shaped disguises (Πούγγεο 1989: 94 et seq.), in which the bridegroom and the bride, the 'negro' (a demonic black bugbear), the 'old people', the doctor, the priest, etc (Puchner 1977, Kuret 1979, Bombaci 1963) perform improvised parodies of weddings, funerals, abductions of the bride, murders and resurrections of the victim, law courts, medical tests, etc. (Puchner 1977, Πούγγεο 1989: 120-128), in more or less elaborate versions.

There are many elementary forms of the puppet theatre, so common in the Balkan countries, using statuettes or effigies: the Viennese Kasperl (Rommel 1952) and its Hungarian counterpart Gaspar, Kis Bohóc, Jancsi Paprika (Belitska-Scholtz 1975, Balassa/Ortutay 1982: 699-702), the Croatian pair Šante i Pante (Bonifačić-Rožin 1962) and the Slovenian, Serbian and Bosnian-Herzegovinian



counterparts (Bonifačić-Rožin 1979), the Romanian kinds presenting "Herod" (also known in Hungary, Ukraine and to the Germans of Eastern Dispersion, Schmidt 1962: 330 et seq., Schram 1964, Schuller 1959, Vargyas 1948, Földes 1958, Gragger 1925), "Bethlehem" ("vicleim", Gitză 1964, Nadejda 1960), with the primitive pair "Vasilache și Marioara" (Oprișan 1978, Rădulescu 1978) played "à la planchette" also in Bulgaria (Kacarova 1968, 1976, 1979). In "jocul papu șilor" there are mixed forms, with living actors (Popescu-Judetș 1967, Teodorescu 1874, 1885, Vulpescu 1926, 1941, Săineanu 1900) embodying disguises belonging to winter carols and figures from the shadow-puppet theatre (Πούγγεο 1985: 57 et seq.). There are the forms of "kukla oyunu" (Jacob 1919, Spies 1959) like the primitive "bebek oyunu" in Asia Minor (And 1965) and the Greek "Fassulis" (Puchner 1978a, Βελλιώτη 1979/80), springing possibly from the "fagiolino" or "fasulein" of Bologna. All these elementary forms of the puppet theatre have as a deeper meaning and function the mission to move fertility forward or to bring the desired rain. In order to do this, the figures are buried and lamented over (Puchner 1986-88, Πούγγεο 1989: 61-75). Such cases are the Romanian "caloianul" or "skalojan" (the name comes from the Czar Kaloyannis or Skyloyannis, the besieger of Thessaloniki in 1207, Fischer 1908, Burada 1880: 28, Candrea 1900, Beza 1926: 32-36, Ivănescu 1967, Πούγγεο 1994a: 139-142). There is the Bulgarian "german" (Zelenčuk/Popović 1976, Kostov 1913, Marinov 1914, Vakarelski 1971: 613 et seq., Kaufman 1968, Genčev 1973, Benovska 1981) played also in Greece and Besarabia (Zečević 1969, 1973, 1976, Ginčev 1982). In Greece there is "Zafirīs" from Epirus (Σάγγρος 1900, Κακούρη 1965, Puchner 1977: 199 et seq.), "Lidinos" on Aegina (Ηρειώτης 1921-25, Κακούρη 1952: 216 et seq., Μέγας 1956: 236 et seq., Puchner 1977: 165 et seq.), the "Fouskodendri" (sap-rising) in the Peloponnese (Κακούρη 1952: 225 et seq.), "Krantonellos" on Mykonos (Μαχρουμήςχας 1941, Κακούρη 1946: 166, Puchner 1977: 166 et seq.), "kannavos" (hemp) in Asia Minor (Μισαμλίδης 1960, Κακούρη 1951, Μέγας 1956: 204 et seq., Σαμουηλίδης 1980: 236, Πούγγεο 1983). In the processions for Lazarus in Bulgaria a doll called "buenec" appears (Jordanova 1966, Puchner 1978). In Greece Lazarus' doll is dandled like a new-born baby (Puchner 1977: 167) like the doll "sulul" in Romania (Rădulescu 1969) and the doll "kuchkutera" in Asia Minor (Παταδόπουλος 1938-40: 262). In Bulgaria (Angelova 1960) and on the islands of the Aegean Sea (Μέγας 1956: 125, Arnott 1956, Puchner 1991: 53 et seq., 58) they prepare festive breads like mummies (or a swaddled baby) for Lazarus and distribute them to the people. A Judas effigy, made of clothes and straw, is burned or shot, while the dynamite in its belly explodes (Puchner 1977: 161-164, 1977b, 1982a, 1991: 105-108).

In the field of religious popular theatre, the Orthodox Balkans cannot compete with the multiform spectacles of the Catholic and Protestant regions (cf. the rich bibliography in Πούγγεο 1989: 172-179). In the Orthodox regions only the following popular-religious rituals can be considered as theatrical activities: the symbolic representation of Christ on Good Friday by the Sarakatsani (Χατζημυχάλης 1957: ρξδ'); the representation of Lazarus' Rising on Cyprus and wider Eastern Hellenism (Ohnefalsch-Richter 1913: 86 et seq., Puchner 1977: 200 et seq., 317 et seq.); the ritual "portae clausae" ("Arate pylas", in Western Europe "Tollite portas" before the Reformation) on the night of the Resurrection or when the Good Friday epitaph returns (Puchner 1979a, 1988: 71-126); the representative Service of the "Pedilavium" in Saint John's Monastery on Patmos (Puchner 1977: 319-331, Πλωρίτης 1999: 187 et seq.), etc. In the areas which were influenced by the Western Church, because of the theatrical activities of the Orders, the baroque representative processions, the religious theatre of the schools and the public religious spectacles, there was a totally different basis for later developments (in the Orthodox regions such activities can be detected only on the islands of the Aegean Sea).

This anti-theatrical prejudice in the Orthodox regions is counterbalanced in the areas of Venetian influence and of Italian culture in general by the tradition of the Renaissance and baroque theatre.

Some survivals of it lingered in public spectacles: the chivalrous performance of “moreška” on the island of Korčula near Dubrovnik (Ivančan 1967), the “nailing of the ring” (correr all’ anello) in the hinterland of Venice (Kuret 1963), the Dalmatian coast and its hinterland (Kretzenbacher 1963, 1966, 1968, Nikolić 1964, Petrović 1962), the several kinds of tournament (giostra) in the Ionian Islands until the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Puchner 1979b, 1980, 1994: 103-150, 1998) but also in the Venetian-occupied Crete and Cyprus (Luciani 1994, Vincent 1994). It exists even today as a theatrical show on Zante (Πούγγεο 1994b), where they stage an adaptation of the second part of *Erotokritos*, the tournament (Holton 1991: 205-238, 1997: 253-291, Μαθιοπούλου-Τορναρίτου 1995, Puchner 1998). They also stage abridged popular adaptations of Georgios Chortatsis’ *Erophili* (c. 1600) (Holton 1991: 144-148) performed in several places in western and central Greece during the carnival. These shows differ in length. They use costumes, props and somewhat symbolic acting of a regular theatrical performance (Πούγγεο 1989: 196-206, Πολυμέρου-Καμυλάκη 1998).

These are popular spectacles of literary origin. In remote areas they go through a new ritualising procedure and dwindle into a primitive carnival ritual, representing the killing and resurrection of a central person<sup>4</sup>. We meet sophisticated rituals having Death-Resurrection as their subject in many parts of the Balkans. As to this, I will refer only to the ritual of “Kuker” or “Kalogeros” or “Kiopek-Bey”, of Romanian-Bulgarian-Greek-Turkish origin (Puchner 1982b). This ritual, thanks to the English archaeologist Richard Dawkins’ description (concerning the village of Aghios Georgios in Eastern Thrace) (Dawkins 1906), has had a remarkable bibliographical career in studies of classical philology and the science of religion as an alleged survival of a Dionysiac cult which identifies the primary stages of ancient theatre before Thespis. It can well be used as a typical example of a wrong scientific theory in the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Puchner 1983a, 1988: 53-69). We must place the fire-walkers of Thrace called “Anastenaria” or “Nestinari” (in Northern Thrace – today Bulgaria, after 1919 in Eastern Macedonia) in a similar context (Puchner 1982b). There are the acrobatic and ecstatic dances of the Romanians “călușarii” (Kligman 1981), used to cure diseases caused by “rosaliile”, the Whitsun fairies (Puchner 1987, Πούγγεο 1994: 11-95), also the Serbian ritual of Whitsun, of “padalice”, combining prophesies, visions, oracles, magic cures and popular medicine (Antonijević 1990: 147-187).

The only really elaborate form of popular theatre in the mainland regions of the Turkish-occupied Balkans seems to be the shadow-puppet theatre (Πούγγεο 1985, 1988: 253-288, Puchner 1998). It can be identified along the Danube from the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Nehring 1983: 101, Antonijević 1984: 390). A revel of the local courts, it developed into a popular spectacle of all the major cities, staged by non-Muslims (gipsies, Jews, Armenians and Greeks). In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Swiss military officer Sulzer describes such a performance, in the Turkish-Greek-Vlach language, as he phrased it (Sulzer 1781: 402 et seq.). The language of these performances seems to change according to the audience. There is evidence of phallus-bearing Karagöz (Jacob 1925, Gerçek 1942, Menzel 1941, Ritter 1924-53, Siyavusgil 1955, Süßheim 1909, And 1975, 1977, 1986)<sup>5</sup> as an urban entertainment in Sarajevo until the eve of the Second World War. This spectacle gradually

<sup>4</sup>On the theoretical theatrological aspects of the matter of this refunctioning procedure in rituals, see B. Πούγγεο, *Θεωρία του λαϊκού θεάτρου. Κριτικές παρατηρήσεις στο γενετικό κώδικα της θεατρικής συμπεριφοράς του ανθρώπου*, Αθήνα 1985 (*Λαογραφία, παράστημα* 9), p. 64 et seq.

<sup>5</sup>On a comparison with the Greek shadow-puppet theatre see St. Damianakos, “Karagöz turc et Karaghiozis grec,

lectures comparatives”, St. Damianakos (ed.), *Théâtre d’ombres. Tradition et Modernité*, Paris 1986, p. 119-158; A. Μυστακίδου, *Karagöz. Το Θέατρο Σκιών στην Ελλάδα και στην Τουρκία*, Αθήνα 1982; W. Puchner, *Das neugriechische Schattentheater Karagiozis*, München 1975, p. 39 et seq., 53 et seq., 76 et seq.; K. Μυστακίδου, *Οι μεταμορφώσεις του Καραγκιόζη*, Αθήνα 1998.

vanished there, as in other provinces of the Ottoman Empire – Algeria (Maltzan 1863: 58-61, Piese 1882: 38, Bernard 1882: 38, Bachetarzi 1968: 424), Tunisia (Maquoi 1984: 125-31, Maltzan 1870: 225, Lux 1882: 94-104, Fagault 1887: 128 et seq., Radiot 1892: 286 et seq., Quedenfeldt 1890, Spies 1928), Libya (Hoernerbach 1959), Egypt (Kahle 1909), Syria (Littmann 1901, 1919), etc. The changing of social conditions caused its disappearance, as was the case even in Constantinople itself, where its basic mental function was lost after the Young Turks' revolution and the changing of the multi-ethnic population in the Turkish mahala (Puchner 1985: 43 et seq.). Only in Greece, during the years 1900-1930, did this spectacle flourish unexpectedly (Puchner 1975: 116 et seq.) and was at times more widespread and important than all the other kinds of theatre (Πούγγεο 1988: 309-318). There were some special reasons for this. The shadow-puppet theatre (called "Karagiosis") assimilated the legends about the leaders of the revolution of 1821. It absorbed traditional stories (like "Alexander the Great and the accursed serpent") in the so-called Epirus tradition (Πούγγεο 1985: 43 et seq.). The puppeteer Mimaros from Patra around 1890 made some essential changes (Χατζηπανταζής 1984): together with others, he created a series of new figures, reflecting the varied social and legendary-historical context (Petek-Şalom 1986).

A special feature of this kind of show, that is, its total dependence on the reactions of the public, makes it a distinctive example for the theory of theatre (Puchner 1975: 185 et seq.). Its gradual disappearance has to do with a change in its traditional public which decided the style of the show: children, "intellectual" bourgeois, tourists restrict and alter reactions which guide the improvisation of the puppeteer (Puchner 1986). There are also some general procedures leading to the changing of popular culture into folklore. There is the crisis of oral speech; cinema and television come into the picture, newspaper "rags" of doubtful quality circulate (for bibliography see Πούγγεο 1976-78, 1979-81, Myrsiades 1983, on orality, Myrsiades 1985), there are innovations in the repertory and pedagogical corrections of the self-centred and nihilistic protagonist (Πούγγεο 1994c, Χατζάκης 1998), etc. In Turkey there are still some puppeteers; they play out of printed booklets, however.

### *History of the theatre*

Within the subject framework of this first approach to the theatre of South-East Europe, let us begin with the Greek developments, examining them, of course, together with the general procedures in the Balkan region. We can gain a clear picture of how theatrical developments differ, just by looking at the chronological table of the foundation of the national theatres: 1867/1892 by the Slovenians, 1861 by the Croats, 1861 by the Serbs in Novi Sad, 1868 in the independent kingdom of Serbia, 1837 by the Hungarians (at the beginning of Nemzetiszínház), 1852 by the Romanians, 1904 by the Bulgarians, 1901 by the Greeks (though there were performances functioning as national theatre already before 1821, as was mentioned above, in Jasy, Bucharest and Odessa), 1916 by the Turks (at the inauguration of "Darülbeydi Osmani" a music academy since 1914), in 1927 in reality (see note 2). Combining these data with the dates of foundation of the first European national theatres, that is, the Comédie Française 1680 (Kindermann 1961: 150 et seq.) and the Burgtheater 1776 (Kindermann 1962: 13 et seq., 83 et seq., Zechmeister 1971), if we compare the phenomenon in the whole Europe we can gain information about the special dynamism in the theatrical developments of the Balkans. In the countries of the two-headed eagle, the Hungarians and the Southern Slav peoples are the leading factors, while in the countries under Ottoman rule, Greeks of the Diaspora. It also



emerges that the small states which won their independence made a longer and more difficult effort to establish their national theatres than the peoples under the Habsburgs, who had the beneficial model of the Viennese Burgtheater and the local German-speaking theatres (although they might have been a handicap for the establishment and growth of theatres performing in the national languages).

This was the situation around 1800, first with the Hungarians and the Greeks. The background of this national theatrical activity permits comparisons on a limited scale. The beginning of theatrical activity in Crete and the Ionian Islands is still an open question<sup>6</sup>. Towards the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century playwrights like Georgios Chortatsis appear (Bancroft-Marcus 1978, 1980), belonging to the world literature, who must have carried on an already existing theatrical tradition (Αλεξίου 1979). From the repertory played up to 1660 (even in Candia during its siege by the Turks) eight texts have survived: tragedies, comedies, pastorals and religious plays, together with 18 intermezzi (Holton 1991). They were retrieved after the conquest of Crete in 1669 from Ionian manuscripts and Venetian printed editions (Πούχγκερ 1991: 19-26). The few sources for theatrical activity (Παναγιωτάκης 1998) indicate amateur actors and seem to connect the performances with the carnival and the activities of the literary academies. The tragedies have concrete Italian models<sup>7</sup>. The comedies come from *commedia erudita*, although they follow their own particular Cretan tradition (Πούχγκερ 1991: 179 et seq., 1999: 91-113). The pastoral comedy *Panoria* by Chortatsis (there are also a Cretan and an Ionian translation of *Pastor Fido* by Giambattista Guarini) treats the Italian pastoral mode with a delicate irony (Πούχγκερ 1991: 349-361). On the islands of the Ionian Sea theatrical activity seems to have begun as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Παναγιωτάκης 1998: 91-118). From the 17<sup>th</sup> century (1647), the religious drama *Evyena* (Eugena) has survived, written by Theodoros Montselese (Vitti/Spadaro 1995). There is also the prologue of an unknown play written about 1650 (Ευαγγελάτος 1970 et seq.). In 1683, there is evidence of a performance of *Zeno* on Zante (Ευαγγελάτος 1968, Πούχγκερ 1988: 215-297). After the conquest of Crete the Cretan repertory appears on the Ionian Islands (Πούχγκερ 1991: 363 et seq., 428 et seq.). From the 18<sup>th</sup> century there are the tragedies *Iphigenia* and *Thyestes* by Petros Katsaitis (following Lodovico Dolce's models) (Κριωράς 1950, Ευαγγελάτος 1995), *The Comedy of Mountebanks* by Savoyas Rousmelis (1745) (Πρωτοπαπά-Μπουμπουλίδου 1970), and *Hassiss* by Demetrios Gouselis (1795) (Συνοδινός 1997). In 1733, the loggia in Corfu was converted into the San Giacomo Theatre, where, during the 18<sup>th</sup> century almost 100 performances of Italian opera were given (Μαυρομούστακος 1995). At the same time, the first translations of Metastasio's and Goldoni's plays were available on the Ionian Islands. On Crete all theatrical activity stopped after the Turkish conquest. It continued on the Aegean islands. The first religious performances were connected with the Jesuit Order and took place in 1612 in Constantinople, spreading during the 17<sup>th</sup>

<sup>6</sup> On the various theories see N. M. Παναγιωτάκης, "Ιταλικές Ακαδημίες και Θέατρο. Οι Stravaganti του Χάνδακα", *Θέατρο* 27-28 (1966), p. 39-53; by the same author, "Ο Ιωάννης Κασσιμάτης και το Κρητικό θέατρο", *Αριάνη* 1 (1982), p. 86-120 (both papers in the vol. by the same author *Ο ποιητής του "Ερωτοκορίτου" και άλλα βενετοκρατητικά μελετήματα*, Ηράκλειον 1988, p. 11-50 and 324-340). Again by the same author see "Le prime rappresentazioni teatrali nella Grecia Moderna: Antonio

Molino a Corfù e a Creta", *Θεοαντίσματα* 22 (1992), p. 345-360, as well as "Νέες ειδήσεις για το Κρητικό θέατρο", in his *Κρητικό θέατρο. Μελέτες*, Αθήνα 1998, p. 141-158).

<sup>7</sup> Georgios Chortatsis' *Erophili* is after *Orbecche* by Giraldo Cinthio, Ioannis Andreas Troilos' *King Rodolinos* follows *Il re Torrismondo* by Torquato Tasso, while *Zinon* has the Latin Jesuit tragedy *Zeno* by Joseph Simons as its model.

century to Chios and the Cyclades. On Chios, where even the Orthodox priests wrote plays for school performances, they began sometime around 1640, on the Cyclades from 1628. This was an uninterrupted tradition carried on until the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. Ten plays have survived, with subjects from the Old and New Testament and from the legends (Puchner 1999a).

This Classicistic Greek drama, created in among the Renaissance and baroque, Mannerism and Counter-Reformation, can be compared to the beginnings of Croatian theatre on the Dalmatian coast and Ragusa (Dubrovnik) (Πούγγε 1991: 467-502, 1994: 15-39) as both regions were under Italian influence (Batušić 1978: 1-25, Kumbatović 1959, Πούγγε 1991: 467 note 857 more bibliography). Still there are essential differences: the comedies and the pastorals of Marin Držić (Držić 1958, 1969, Pantić 1958, Gavella 1970, Čale 1979, Novak 1984, etc.), Mavro Vetrančić (Bogišić 1968, Kolendić 1909, Švelec 1959/60), Hanibal Luci (Švelec 1973, Kombol 1961: 123-130) and Nikola Nalješković (Bogišić 1971), had appeared already on Lesina island (Hvar) and continued all during the Counter-Reformation with the baroque mythological plays of Ivan Gundulić (Setschkareff 1952, Stipčević 1983, Hadrovics 1962) and Junija Palmotić (Potthoff 1973, Rešetar 1893, Hadrovics 1938, Panzer 1969, Pavić 1983/84). The earthquake of 1667 interrupted this theatrical activity, which was restored tentatively only during the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Batušić 1978: 149 et seq.). The predominance of tragedy is absent from Croatia of the Renaissance and baroque periods. In the pastorals of Držić and Nalješković the demystification of literary conventions is more crude and exuberant (Batušić 1984, Gladić 1973, Švelec 1968) than in Chortatsis' plays. The thematic sources are the same, that is, Tasso's and Ariosto's long epics<sup>8</sup>. On the other hand, in the Mediterranean Orthodox region under Venetian rule, no traditions of medieval religious theatre or *sacre rappresentazioni* seem to exist, as they do in Croatia (Perillo 1975). We see, however, the impact of Jesuit theatre as strong on Palmotić of Ragusa as on the islands of Ionian and Aegean seas (Puchner 1999a). The *Commedia dell'arte* stock characters appear occasionally in 18<sup>th</sup> century drama (Švelec 1975, Bojović 1980). The production of performances was the same: groups of young amateurs played on squares or in the Town Hall (the palace of the ruler), in the loggia, etc. They were unmasked, only men-actors, using scenery at the beginning, like Serlio's stock scenery of the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century (Pantić 1952, Rešetar 1922, Čale 1968). In the Cretan intermezzi and the baroque mythological plays we have to suppose that they used special effects, for which they must have needed a stage-designer or architect (Pantić 1958a: 69 et seq.). The role of music became more and more substantial during the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Demović 1981), resulting in opera performances during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. A local tradition was gradually formed: Držić's impact on later playwrights is as strong (Cronia 1961) as that of Chortatsis (Πούγγε 1995: 178-196, 1997: 251-284). Gundulić's *Dubravka* is as popular as Chortatsis' *Panoria*. While in the Greek history of the theatre between the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century there is a geographical gap (the fall of Crete), in Ragusa the theatrical tradition continues to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. At this point it was eclipsed by the theatrical developments in the Croatian hinterland (Batušić 1978: 153 et seq., 169 et seq.).

<sup>8</sup>On Gundulić's epic *Osman* there is a long bibliography. See selectively: A. Jensen, *Gundulić und sein Osman*, Göteborg 1900; O. Makojef, "Beiträge zu den Quellen des Gundulićschen 'Osman'", *Archiv für Slavische Philologie* 26 (1904), p. 71 et seq.; A. Cronia 'L' influenza della 'Gerusalemme Liberata' di Tasso sull' 'Osman' di Gondola', *L' Europa Orientale* 2 (1925); H. Rothe, "Untersuchungen zur Gattung des 'Osman' von Ivan

Gundulić", *Ost und West. Frankfurter Abhandlungen zur Slavistik*, Wiesbaden 1966, p. 123-146; A. Haler, *Gundulićev "Osman" v estetskog gledišta*, Beograd 1929; M. Deanović, "Les influences italiennes sur l' ancienne littérature yougoslave du littoral adriatique", *Revue de littérature comparée* 1934, p. 1-23. In Crete there are immediate influences of Tasso's epic on the intermezzi.

The course of theatrical history in these regions was the following: the tradition of Jesuit school religious theatre in several cities of Croatia; the same tradition in Slovenian Ljubljana (Kumbatović 1961, 1966, Kindermann 1967: 609 et seq.), where they produced Latin historical plays and martyr tragedies (Staska 1935) on the new baroque stage with wings; in Hungary (Staud 1962/63, 1965/67) even before Turkish rule, since the 15<sup>th</sup> century they had been performing mystery plays in Latin (Klaniczay 1964, Kindermann 1959: 388 et seq.) as well as humanistic dramas in the Hungarian language<sup>9</sup>, and from mid-16<sup>th</sup> century only in Upper and West Hungary. These developments correspond to religious drama in the Greek-speaking areas of the Aegean Sea, cultivated by the Catholic Orders (especially the Jesuits), during the 17<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. There are no connections with the German-speaking touring companies, characteristic for the Slovenian, Croatian and Hungarian areas (Staud 1967: 21f et seq., Pukánsky-Kádár 1972, Radics 1912, Duwan 1966, Breyer 1938, Batušić 1964). This chapter, recently discovered and still the object of research in the history of modern Greek theatre, includes the following religious plays: *David* (Παπαδόπουλος 1979), some plays about the Passion of Christ, the Presentation of Virgin Mary, the Seven Maccabees Children, the Three Children in the Furnace, the Man Born Blind, a draft of a play about Saint Isidore (Πούχνεο 1999: 147-220), all from Chios. There is also a Christmas play about Herod's death (Πούχνεο 1998a) and a martyr tragedy about Saint Demetrius from the Cyclades (Παναγιωτάκης/Πούχνεο 1999). A series of performances can be substantiated from 1580 at the Greek College of Rome, on Chios and the Cyclades, and even Constantinople itself, where, in 1623 there was produced a play about Saint John Chrysostom in which the leading part was played by the little son of De Césy, the French Ambassador. The ambassadors of the great powers were in the audience (Πούχνεο 1995: 197-240). Even the Orthodox Patriarch Cyril Lucaris wanted to attend this show which his personal enemy had set up, helped by the Jesuits, but his diplomatic manoeuvre failed and his presence was not accepted. This theatrical activity which was connected with the Jesuit colleges - and declined only in the first part of 18<sup>th</sup> century - usually took place at carnival or in the processions of Corpus Christi (Puchner 1999a). The last leaf of the manuscript of *Saint Demetrius' Tragedia* informs us that the performance was given on 29 December 1723 on Naxos. The manuscript contains also a list of the actors, all coming from the Western European noble families of the island. On Chios also the Orthodox colleges were engaged in such a theatrical activity. It is remarkable that this play-writing consciously continues the Cretan tradition (Μανούσας 1989).

This development was followed by a new break, as the chronological succession appears in the Danubian principalities, during the "epoca fanariotilor", in the courts and the Greek "academies" of Bucharest and Jasy (Puchner 1975a). These developments appeared first with translations of plays by Molière, Goldoni and Metastasio meant to be edifying and beneficial texts. Later plays by Voltaire and Alfieri were translated because of their political and revolutionary content, within the ideological framework of Enlightenment (Ταμπάκη 1988: 11-32, 1993, Σπάθης 1986, Δημαράς 1983, Πούχνεο 1992: 181-221, 1994: 241-264). In the Greek-speaking areas it was not Joseph II's reforms or Herder's "Sprachnation" that defined theatrical developments after 1800, but the ideas of the French Revolution. The beginnings

<sup>9</sup>In selection: G. & K. J. Hegedüs, *A magyar dráma útja*, Budapest 1964; T. Kardos, *A magyar színjáték kezdetei*, Budapest 1960; T. Kardos/T. Dömötör, *Régi magyar dramái emlékek*, Budapest 1960; M. Horányi, *Teatro*

*italiano del settecento in Ungheria*, Budapest 1967; J. Fekete, *Anfänge des ungarischen Schauspiels*, Berlin 1973; L. Bernath, *Protestáns iskoladramák*, Budapest 1963, etc.



of theatre history in the early part of 19<sup>th</sup> century are the same for Romania and Greece (Σιδέρης 1970, Camariano 1943, Knös 1962: 655 et seq., Ζωίδης 1968), with a common factor in the person of Konstantinos Kyriakos Aristias (1800-1880). Other Greeks also played an important part in the establishment of national theatres in the Balkans. Jovan Sterija Popović (his father was Greek) contributed substantially with his plays to the first Serb-Croatian repertory, some of which (like *Skenderbey*) definitely belong to world literature (Πούχνης 1994: 40-102, Schmaus 1969). Zagreb was the scene of Demetrios Demetriou's activities (Demeter); Demetriou was one of the leaders of the Illyricist movement and worked for the establishment of the Croatian national theatre. These Balkan-wide interconnections are typical of the time period 1750-1850 (cf. personalities like Nikolaos Piccolos and Grigorios Stavridis/Prličev, whose work involves at least two Balkan languages).

The Phanariot translations intended to be educational reading, were accompanied by satirical plays in dialogue, coming from the entourage of the Patriarchate<sup>10</sup> or from the Phanariots of Constantinople themselves (Σπάθης 1995): the first are against religious movements and personalities, the second against other Phanariots and the moral corruption within their classes (Papacostea-Danielopolu 1977, Chisacof 1998). Later they turned against Korais' "middle road" (Πούχνης 2001: 23-92) and the foreign rule of the Bavarians (Λιγνάδης 1986, Δελβερούδη 1997). The comedy of character in Molière's style and the comedy of morals in the spirit of Goldoni's last plays acquire a political and revolutionary dimension after 1800 (Ταμπάκη 1993: 127-148), especially after the foundation of "Philiki Etairia" (Association of Friends) in Odessa in 1814, where until 1821 they kept an important Greek amateur stage (Ταμπάκη 1993: 39-50). They performed on it the adaptation of *Philoctetes* by Nikolaos Piccolos (Σπάθης 1986: 173-198). Playwriting and theatrical manifestations of the Enlightenment ideology, comparable to those mentioned above, are encountered in Slovenia. There they performed the comedy *Zupanova Mička* (The Daughter of the Mayor) 1789<sup>11</sup>, and the translations played in the "Slovensko Drustvo" (1848-50)<sup>12</sup>; in Croatia Molière and Goldoni (even Kotzebue and Iffland) were performed during the last decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (in adaptations by Tito Brezovački, 1757-1805) (Nikolić 1955: 13 et seq., Wojat 1962) together with the Serbian translation of Goldoni's *I mercatanti* by E. Janković in 1787 (Herrity 1980) and the Hungarian translations of Lazló Kelemen and Ferencz Kazinczy; the Romanian, Bulgarian and Turkish translation of drama began later.

### *Traditions of drama translation and reception mechanisms in the Balkan theatre*

We can now identify common reception procedures of certain European playwrights from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in all the Balkan countries. These procedures prove the existence of broad impact mechanisms and go beyond the range of examining only one national literature

<sup>10</sup> *The stable*, 1692 (É. Legrand, *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire*, vol. 2, Paris 1881), the *Comedy of real incidents*, (about 1750) against Rebaptists (Ε. Σκουβαράς, "Στη λιτεντικά κείμενα του ΙΗ' αιώνα", *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 20, 1970, p. 181-194), the unpublished *Works and dids of the Humbug Hermit Afentios or Repentant Afentianos*, and others.

<sup>11</sup> It is an adaptation of J. Richter's comedy *Die Feldmühle*.

This performance is considered the beginning of the Slovenian theatre (Kindermann 1962: 656; P.V. Radics, "Aelteste Geschichte des Laibacher Theaters", *Blätter aus Krain* 1863, p. 70 et seq., 1865, p. 66 et seq.).

<sup>12</sup> Eight Slovenian plays were performed totally (J. Sive, *Opera v Stanovskom gledališču v Ljubljana od leta 1790 do 1881*, Ljubljana 1971; A. Trstenjak, *Zgodovina slovenskoga gledališča*, Ljubljana 1896).

when investigating such phenomena (Puchner 1993). The ways of the reception certainly do not lead only to the stage performance; they also have a special reading tradition. This applies, for example, to the Greek reception of Molière within the intellectual climate of the enlightened Phanariots in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, while, in Ragusa, at the same time, were performed adaptations of Molière's plays in the theatre. Goldoni's reception (Mangini 1964) in the 18<sup>th</sup> century in countries outside the range of Burgtheater and its repertory (Turkey, Greece, the Danube Principalities, Serbia) is registered first with reading editions. In the countries under the Habsburg crown the dramatic Trivallliteratur of the Enlightenment, that is, Iffland, Kotzebue, Weiße, etc. occupies Goldoni's place<sup>13</sup>. Metastasio's reception followed a similar course. While the librettos of the popular dramatist of the 18<sup>th</sup> century began their triumphant career throughout the world from Vienna (of course they were performed mostly in Italy itself) (Hortschansky 1978), the reading editions came first, circulating among Greeks living abroad and in the Danubian Principalities. Only in Ragusa was one of Metastasio's plays staged as early as the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Batušić 1978: 65, Πούγγεο 1994: 311-319). In the countries under the half-moon they were staged in Bucharest and Jasy some time before the outbreak of the Greek Revolution<sup>14</sup>. The translation of Metastasio's libretto *L' Olimpiade* by Rigas Fereos, in Vienna (1797), was not meant to be staged (Πούγγεο 1984: 109-119, 194-201, 1997: 241-264). Alfieri's and Voltaire's performance reception was earlier in the areas of rebellion against Turkish rule, not in the countries of Austria-Hungary though (because of censorship). The political questioning of the two dramatists was too late to reach Bulgaria and Turkey, because of the belated entry of these two into the history of the theatre. Shakespeare's reception in the Balkans was universal. First he became known even through German adaptations of sentimental literature, as for instance in the Burgtheater repertory (George Sakellarios' lost Greek translation of *Romeo and Juliet* comes from this domain, Veloudis 1983: 116, Puchner 1990a: 38, Πούγγεο 1995a: 219 et seq.). Later came the Shakespeare-worship of the German Romanticism. The Romantic-realist Grillparzer was played in the provincial theatres of the Habsburg monarchy, but displayed a tardy blooming in Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey (Deliwanowna 1972, Veloudis 1983: 350 et seq., Πούγγεο 1995b: 86 et seq., 155, 700, 738, 763 et seq.). Ferdinand Raimund's impact reached only Hungary (Staud 1986). Schiller's success was greater in the areas under Turkish rule, and even in Russia (Stehenski 1959, Peterson 1934). Goethe cannot compete with it (as his reception was restricted to *Faust*), neither can Victor Hugo. From the middle of the century (19<sup>th</sup>) an increase in the impact of French comedy, of boulevard and vaudeville, as well as committed social drama can be observed. They were the "stuffings" of the repertory, especially in Greece and Turkey. They took the place of comedy of social criticism and they "held back" the "national" function of the theatre<sup>15</sup>. This was the function of Kotzebue with the South Slavs – Bulgarians and Russians excepted (Giesemann 1971) – half a century earlier (Curcin 1909, Giesemann 1975). Until 1805, Kotzebue was the most frequently played dramatist on the German-speaking stages of the whole of Europe. His impact reached South-East Europe,

<sup>13</sup> Though many of these translations were published in Vienna, like the Greek translations of Kotzebue's plays by Konstantinos Kokkinakis (Λαδογιάννη 1996: No. 221-224).

<sup>14</sup> In Jasy *Themistocles* in 1817, in Bucharest the same in 1819 and 1821. The translation was published unonymously in Vienna (Λαδογιάννη 1996: No. 211).

<sup>15</sup> On the Turkish "adaptasyons" see O. Spies, "Die moderne türkische Literatur", in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, I. Teil,

Vol. V: *Altaistik*, A' part, *Turkologie*, Leiden/Köln 1963, p. 336-382. There are no methodical Greek studies on the Greek adaptations (see Χρ. Σταματοπούλου-Βασιλάκου, *Το ελληνικό θέατρο στην Κωνσταντινούπολη το 19<sup>ο</sup> αιώνα*, τόμ. Α', Αθήνα 1994, p. 163 et seq., και Β. Πούγγεο, *Η πρόσληψη της γαλλικής δραματολογίας στο νεοελληνικό θέατρο (17<sup>ος</sup> - 20<sup>ος</sup> αιώνας)*. Μια πρώτη σφαιρική προσέγγιση, Αθήνα 1999, chap. 6).

including Greece<sup>16</sup>. His plays were necessary for the beginnings of the amateur troupes of the national theatres of the Balkans, i.g., Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, as an exercise in the art of theatre without high standards of acting and directing (Giesemann 1975: 71-103, Πούγγεο 1994: 311-319). This was the use of his countless plays for other European peoples as well, constructed as they were with mastery, sure of success as they always evoked laughter and tears in the audiences (on translations, Goedeke 1893). Even in Ambelakia, in Thessaly, in 1803, there is evidence of an amateur performance of his play *Misanthropy and Repentance*. Even within the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when Kotzebue has been condemned in central Europe in the histories of literature at best as a representative of para-literature, in Greece another of his plays was translated (Σιδέρης 1990: 130). For the Southern Slavs, especially the Bulgarians, but also the Serbs and the Croats, the Russian drama was dominant: Gogol, Ostrowski, Chekhov, etc. (especially *The Inspector General* as a comedy of social criticism to be applied to local conditions). For the Slovenians and the Croats the Czech and Polish drama (more advanced at this stage) were more important; for the Serbs also the Hungarian.

The reception procedure did not always follow the route of translation into the national language. It was achieved through performances in the original language by touring companies and foreign ensembles. In this way of transference, special attention should be given to the phenomenon of German-speaking companies in the Balkan dominions of Austria-Hungary, together with the French companies in the Danubian Principalities and Constantinople, the Italian opera troupes which roamed the Balkans from the Dalmatian coast to Bosphorus, not omitting Middle East, particularly after 1840, but partly earlier too (as on the Ionian Islands in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Μαυρομούστακος 1995). The range of the German-speaking companies did not exceed the south-eastern military borders (Militärgrenze) between Austria-Hungary and Ottoman Empire in the region of Yugoslavia. There are exceptions: Rallou Karatza brought a Viennese troupe to Bucharest in 1817. The range of the French and Italian companies stretched to the far end of the Ottoman Empire (Rădulescu 1965). Armenian companies came from the Orient and played an important part in the history of the Turkish theatre of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. They also travelled in Romania and Bulgaria, following the itinerary of Armenian puppeteers and performers, who can be met in the Bucharest court by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Πούγγεο 1985: 19 et seq., 76 et seq.). In the same areas, with emphasis on Constantinople, during the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, amateur Greek companies and also professionals after 1865, took over and played an important part. They toured in the Middle East as well and played in Alexandria, Cairo, Smyrna and Odessa. This rather dense network of performances in foreign languages led to immediate contact with the foreign repertoires (and the staging of the plays as well), providing motivation for translations, which are the bases for the first repertoires of the developing movements towards the foundation of national theatre.

The difficulties of these theatrical companies which started out without a background of tradition were: the training of the actors (especially in playing women's parts)<sup>17</sup>, the organisation and the

<sup>16</sup> During 1790-1860, in the Viennese Burgtheater, they performed Kotzebue's plays for 3650 nights (A.v. Kotzebue, *Schauspiele*. Herausgegeben und kommentiert von J. Mathes. Einführung B. von Wiese, Frankfurt/Main 1972, p. 13). See also Veloudis 1983: 109 et seq., and Πούγγεο 1994: 311 et seq.

<sup>17</sup> Two examples of it only: 1) in the Greek amateur productions, in Bucharest, before the Revolution, only

Konstantinos Kyriakos Aristias played women's parts. He had specialised in them until the first leading actresses showed up; 2) in Turkey, until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, only Greek and Armenian actresses performed on stage. As late as 1923 did the director Ertugrul manage to persuade a Turkish actor to let his wife appear on stage (see in detail M. Özgü, "Türkei", H. Kindermann (ed.), *Theatergeschichte Europas*, vol. 10, Salzburg 1974, p. 521-573, esp. 566 et seq.).



technical equipment, but mainly the formation of a national repertory as original plays expressing the ideology and function of a national theatre did not exist yet or were not sufficient. Then a provisional "handy" repertory was thought necessary. This was the use of the German dramatists of the Enlightenment Trivialliteratur from 1800 on (Kotzebue chiefly). Later the romantic tragedy of destiny and horror took over, together with the historical chivalric plays in the broad range of the Burgtheater's influence (Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Hungary). In Greece after 1850 and in Turkey later, the French dramatists "of the day" supplemented in this way the repertory of the sparse original dramatic production. However, the foreign ephemeral plays were transferred into a native climate: they adjusted the names, they used proverbs and sayings, they chose the colour of the expressiveness, they used dialects and idioms, they changed the place of action into a native one, etc. Such efforts in "Serbianisation" have been identified in the first translation of a play by Goldoni into the Serbian language<sup>18</sup>. These techniques are typical to Kotzebue translations by the Southern Slavs (Giesemann 1975, Čurčin 1909). "Hellenisations", even using dialect, are stated as a policy in Ikononou's prologue to the Greek translation of Molière's *Miser*, in 1816 (Σκαλιόρας 1970: 25). In Turkey, during the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a whole theatrical form called "adaptasyon" was created, transferring into the Near East French comedies mostly, performed by Armenian companies in Constantinople (And 1963/64: 86 et seq.). Such interventions and adaptations into certain dramatic models have a wide morphology: they range from the simple adjustment of the names to the total re-arrangement of the plot, with added hints and implications, scenes containing cryptic references, etc. altering the translation into an original play in effect and reducing the original into a mere source of inspiration (on the typology of the interventions, Giesemann 1975: 71-103). Such alteration strategies are known in the Balkan-Mediterranean drama of the Renaissance and baroque, in which the Italian models, despite their incomplete translation, present a picture of a deep transformation and re-creation. The changing of titles causes a multitude of literary problems, as it often does not permit the recognition of the original. The wide range of the Trivialdramatik, that is, of the ephemeral plays for everyday needs and consumption, covering a large number of dramatic works, often inhibits or complicates the tracking down of the originals used (i.g., the Serbs Vujic and Popović presented adaptations of Kotzebue works as their own, Čurčin 1907).

The conditions for investigating theatrical reception in the several countries are quite different and we cannot analyse the whole phenomenon comparatively (Puchner 1993: 74 et seq., 1994: 68 et seq.). We can report some results, however. Molière's and Goldoni's reception has the purpose of didactic comedy aimed at reforming character and morals, according to the interpretation of the Enlightenment. Metastasio's rococo Classicist librettos fulfil a similar function to the French classicists Racine and Corneille: they are the playwrighting models, while for the Greeks also sources of remembrance of ancient greatness (an example is Rigas' translation of Metastasio's *L' Olimpiade*). In any case the success of the play is important for the reception procedures. This goes especially for the plays of Kotzebue, whose comedies and emotional, lachrymose dramas do not always belong to the didactic morality of the Enlightenment, but ignore or go beyond the moralistic codes of the time. They are, however, easily acted and staged, which means that they could easily be performed by untrained amateurs, whereas they always succeeded in extracting from the audience the expected reactions (laughter, emotion, compassion), because of their calculated construction. Quite a few dramatists of the Balkan national literatures were apprentices in the "school" of the controversial German dramatist

<sup>18</sup> Janković defended comedy in the prologue of the translation of *Mercatanti*, in 1787, and praised its truth to

life, together with the need for translations, as his countrymen did not speak foreign languages (Herrity 1980).

of para-literature. Even the great Goethe, when he was director of the Weimar court theatre, had to stage plays of the writer he despised<sup>19</sup>. Schiller was in general much more successful than Goethe. Together with Alfieri and Victor Hugo, they were the chief inspirators of the Romantic national drama. Grillparzer's historical dramas were not as useful for a national "exploitation" in the Balkans, because they lack a tangible national commitment. Shakespeare is sovereign without rivals among all the peoples of South-East Europe. His reception began with translations made in the spirit of the German Enlightenment and culminated with Romantic Shakespeare-worship<sup>20</sup>. The reception of ancient drama was quite restricted, beginning in fact only in the era of Modernism, with Max Reinhardt's spectacular stagings (Fuhrich-Leisler 1976, Jacobi 1963, Andreescu 1973, Majestić 1962). Adaptations of the German and French dramatists of para-literature are to be found everywhere<sup>21</sup>. By the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century a certain preference for the Slav playwrights is observable, perhaps as a consequence of Pan-Slavism.

With the invasion of Modernism (Naturalism, Symbolism, Impressionism, Neo-Romanticism, Expressionism, Futurism, etc.) the dynamic of the reception mechanisms becomes more complicated and anthropocentric because of better communication and the newly appearing internationalism. The "-ism" movements led to medleys and style mixings which can only be examined separately. The model of transferring the innovations from the cultural capital to the periphery weakens gradually (for Greece, Πούγγεο 1988: 329-379), because the centres of cultural innovations move incessantly and do not last long.

### Drama

The dynamism of theatre history in the Balkan countries during the 19<sup>th</sup> century renders impossible a typological comparison (Puchner 1994: 23-64, Πούγγεο 1993: 49-112), which can focus only on drama. The history of the theatre in the 19<sup>th</sup> century can be approached only incidentally in its variety. In Hungary, theatrical activity remained decentralised until the foundation of the national theatre in Budapest. Slovenia, as a country under the authority of the Habsburg Monarchy, remained long in the immediate influence of the Burgtheater and Vienna censorship. In Croatia, Zagreb became the centre of Illyricism (the union of South-Slav peoples), a fact with direct consequences for the theatre, whereas the Dalmatian coast became unimportant for cultural developments. In Serbia, Novi Sad remained for a long time the second cultural centre, with a Serbian national theatre. Romanian theatre history is gradually clarified only through Greek (after Jasy and Bucharest, the Transylvanian cities became important for the history of the theatre). The Bulgarian theatre began in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (first as a refugee theatre in Romania) in Philippopolis (Plovdiv) and Sofia<sup>22</sup>. The Greek theatre, only at

<sup>19</sup> In the court theater of Weimar, 1791-1817, in 4809 nights, 667 of Kotzebue's plays were staged (13,87%). Among the 600 staged plays, Kotzebue figured first with his 87 plays (14,5%) (C.A.H. Burkhardt, *Das Repertoire des Weimarischen Theaters unter Goethes Leitung*, Hamburg 1891, p. XXXV et seq.).

<sup>20</sup> In the regions of Austria-Hungary Monarchy, the Burgtheater repertory affected decisively the reception of the English dramatist.

<sup>21</sup> The quite restricted impact of the English theatre, Shakespeare excepted, is interesting. It was imported in the Balkans through the German theatre, however.

<sup>22</sup> On the history of Bulgarian theatre see in selection: J. Schaulov, *Das Theater in Bulgarien*, Sofija [1964]; K. Deržavin, *Bolgarskij teatr*, Moskva/Leningrad 1950; I. Popov, *Minaloto na bŭlgarskija teatŭr. Spomeni i dokumenti*, vol. 1-5, Sofija 1939-60; K. Popova, *Das bulgarische Theater*, Sofia [1970]; P. Athanassova, *Die*

a late date and step by step, acquired a new centre of developments in Athens, while the Ionian Islands and the cities of the Greek Diaspora (especially Constantinople until 1922) (Σταματοπούλου-Βασιλάκου 1994/96) remained the centres of remarkable theatrical activity. In Turkey, during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Armenian, Greek, French and Italian companies (amateurs and professionals) were the vehicles of theatrical life in the Bosphorus (Borçaklı/Koçer 1973, Sevilgil 1959/62, Özgü 1974, Spuler 1968). The Turks came into play only after the Young Turks' revolution. Here, as in other cases, drama preceded practical theatre.

In the framework of national drama, historical drama and patriotic tragedy shoulder the task of substantiating the existence of the nation in the remotest possible past, onto which the ideological background of nationalism in the regeneration phase is projected. For the Southern Slavs and the Hungarians this past is the Middle Ages, for the Romanians, the Roman Empire, for modern Greeks, Greek antiquity. The plot of the plays itself has plenty of scope for variety (from the political drama about tyrannicide to sentimental love intrigue), dependent as it is on the tastes of the time. The plays may belong to several style mixtures, ranging from the domestic drama of the Enlightenment, passing through the Romantic and chivalrous drama and tragedy of destiny and horror, to the realistic play of manners in a rustic milieu, the musical vaudeville or rustic operetta with plenty of "couleur locale", or the naturalistic sensational play, a document of social sordidness. They are based on the data of local theatrical and literary history, on political history, the particular historical circumstances of the time, as well as on the aesthetic and dramatic profile of the playwrights. Despite all this phenomenological and stylistic variety, the basic function of national and historical drama remains the same: the awakening and cultivation of national self-consciousness, emphasizing the difference from other peoples and underlining the native element, giving life to existing or developing pictures of "Us" and "Others" ("self-stereotypes" and "other-stereotypes") of the remote past, offering them to the spectator so that he can identify himself. This procedure gives a sense of continuity through the centuries, serving as the foundation stone of the national and state ideology of the new or recently formed national entity. Historical drama and patriotic tragedy in the national language is an act of "raison d' état" and many sources of the period reflect the awareness of the political mission of writers and actors and other involved in a national theatre, as they organised such national events with mass audience participation and intense sentimental reactions during and after the show.

There are many examples of this enthusiasm: *Veronika Deseniška* in Slovenia may not be a characteristic one<sup>23</sup>, but the Illyricist movement in Zagreb created the *Teuta* by Demetrios Demetriou (1844), a typical national-historical drama with a contemporary reference (Barac 1977: 127 et seq.). Jovan Sterija Popović wrote many national-historical dramas, concerning the history of other Balkan peoples too, transcending, thanks to their humanism, the narrow framework of the national-historical drama in general<sup>24</sup>. Djura Jakšić and Laza Kostić are the

*Entwicklung des bulgarischen Theaters bis zum Weltkrieg*, Diss. Wien 1947; St. Karakostov, *Bŭlgarskijat teatŭr*, Sofia 1972; A.B. Despotowa, "Bulgarien", H. Kindermann (ed.), *Theatergeschichte Europas*, Vol. 10, Salzburg 1974, p. 284-304; W. Köppe, epilogue in: *Bulgarische Dramen*, Berlin 1974, p. 483-501.

<sup>23</sup> On the adaptation of the historical subject of *Veronika von Desenitz* (1422) see M. Jevnikar, "*Veronika di Desenice*" nella letteratura slovena, Trieste 1965 and F.

Jesenovec, "Jurčičeva u Tomičeva Veronika Deseništa", *Celjski Sbornik* 1969/70, p. 199-212.

<sup>24</sup> On the half-Greek Serb dramatist there is an extensive bibliography. See L. Subotin's bibliography "Bibliografija o Jovanu St. Popoviću", in *Jovan Sterija Popović*, Beograd, SANU 1974, p. 641-671. Also the paper collection: *Jovan Sterija Popović 1806, 1856, 1981. Zbornik Matice Srpske za književnost i jezik XXIX/2* (Beograd 1981), p. 173-447. On his intellectual biography also M. Tokin, *Jovan*



most typical cases<sup>25</sup>. The situation with the Hungarians was different. *Bánk bán* by József Kátona wins the rosette of the first and most important Hungarian national drama (Kont 1906: 149, 153 et seq., Czigány 1984: 145 et seq., Kiadó 1982: 174 et seq., Keresztury 1966). An example of the difference between the Hungarian national drama and the others is the fact that Imre Madách's famous philosophical *Tragedy of the Man* does not represent the data of Balkan drama of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>26</sup>. In Romania, Vasile Alecsandri and Bogdan Petriceicu Hașdeu cultivated the national historical drama (*Cetatea Neamului* 1857 by the former, *Răzvan și Vidra* 1867 by the latter, Dietrich 1974: 466 et seq.). In Bulgaria there are Dobri Vojnikov, Ivan Vazov and Petko Todorov<sup>27</sup>. In Greece all the plays with ancient subjects acquired a patriotic function, beginning with *Achilles* by Athanassios Christopoulos, published in Vienna in 1805 (Βαλέτας 1969: 35 et seq.). Later, the Greeks also wrote plays with Byzantine subjects or about the heroes of the national liberation struggle of 1821, which inspired a multitude of historical plays (the first being *Nikíratos* by Evanthia Kairi, Naflion 1826), impossible to mention them all here (Πούγγος 2000). This trend was instigated by the poetry and drama contests which intentionally aimed at cultivating the national historical drama written in the puristic Greek language, as an expression of the dominant state ideology (Μουλλάς 1989, Πετράκου 1999). In Turkey, the play *Native Country* or *Silistria* (1873) by Namık Kemal may be considered as the first patriotic drama<sup>28</sup>; the real patriotic drama, however, developed only in the period of Ata Türk.

To summarise, one could stress stylistic variety and functional stability. Specialised developments can be observed in Hungary and Turkey. In Greece patriotic subjects included antiquity, though they mostly used Middle Ages or the years of the rebellion against the Turks.

*Sterija Popović*, Beograd 1956, as well as E. Klier, *Jovan Sterija Popović. 1806-1856*, Wrschatz 1934. See also the list of the exhibition *Jovan Sterija Popović, 1806-1856-1956*, Novi Sad 1956 and the fundamental studies of St. Novaković, "Jovan Sterija Popović", *Glas SAN* 4 (1907), p. 1-121, St. Marković, *Jovan Sterija Popović*, Novi Sad 1968 and the volumes of studies *Knjiga v Steriji*, Beograd 1956 and *Jovan Sterija Popovic*, Beograd 1965.

<sup>25</sup> On Djura Jakšić (1832-1878) see J. Popović, *Djura Jakšić i njegovo doba*, Beograd 1949, R. Konstantinović, *Djura Jakšić*, Beograd 1961. On Laza Kostić (1841-1910) see Barac 1977: 142 et seq. On the stagings of his plays R. Jovanović, "Dela Laze Kostića na Beogradskoj pozornici", *Književnost* 16 (1961) 32, p. 81-89. See also R. Lauer, "Zum Problem der Wortspiele bei Laza Kostić", *Die Welt der Slaven* 137 (1961) 387, p. 93-113.

<sup>26</sup> "Az ember tragédiája", written in 1861, first performance only in 1883. On Madách see I. Sötér, "Imre Madách" (1823-1864), *Acta litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 1 (1957), p. 27-85. On the meaning of the play see G. Voionovich, *Madách und 'Die Tragödie des Menschen'*, Budapest/Leipzig 1935 and I. Sötér, "Madách et les courants de l' époque", *Acta litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 7 (1965), p.

5-18. On the scenic career of the play A. Németh, *Az ember tragédiája a színpadon*, Budapest 1933 and A. Faj, "Madáchs 'Tragödie des Menschen' in Ungarn seit 1945", *Ural-altäische Jahrbücher* 34 (1962), p. 268-276.

<sup>27</sup> On Dobri P. Vojnikov's (1833-1878) six Romantic tragedies see P. Dinekov, *Vúzroždenski pisateli*, Sofija 1964, p. 209-224; G. Konstantinov, *Nova búlgarska literatura*, Sofija 1947, p. 295-313; B. Penev, *Istorija na novata búlgarska literatura*, vol. 4, Sofija 1936, p. 792-832. On Vasov's historical dramas, see J. Vuzkov, "Vasovata istoričesko drama, Metod i stil", *Teatúr* 1960/2, p. 34-44 and M. Cavena, "Za novootkritike piesi na Ivan Vasov", *Izledvenija v čest na akad. M. Arnaudov*, Sofija 1970, p. 213-234. On Petko Todorov's (1879-1916) *Púrviie*, produced by the National Theatre of Sofia in 1907, see L. Georgiev, *Petko J. Todorov. Monografija*, Sofija 1963 and of the same author "Ezik i stil na Petko J. Todorov", *Ezik i literatura* 20 (1965), p. 382-403.

<sup>28</sup> *Vatan Yáhut Silistre*, performed in 1873. There is a German translation: Kemal Bey, *Heimat oder Silistria*, Schauspiel in vier Acten. Aus dem Türkischen übersetzt und herausgegeben von L. Pekotsch, Wien 1897. See Horn 1902: 30 seq., Spiess 1963: 377.

The plots concern historical personalities, leaders and kings, but usually they deviate essentially from the historical facts. The objective is not the study of sources and the historical truth (though they do not disdain legends and myths as sources) but the sensational message, the noble passions, the relentless conflicts, the tragic fall of the protagonist, the "Haupt-und-Staataktion" of great history on the stage, displaying in front of the audience the glorious and sometimes pretty dark past. At the sight of such a spectacle, feelings of national enthusiasm were aroused and the awareness of brotherhood, of "We", was intensified. The historical drama of the national theatre had a cohesive effect on the group of the spectators. In fact "history" is really just décor. The plots follow the standards of the time, that is the Classicistic drama of French or Italian origin and, in the countries with a previous theatrical tradition, the baroque historical drama as well. As these plays were charged with the national prestige and the teaching of the national myth, the linguistic style was important: in many countries the condition of the language was still fluid and conflicts broke out about the literary language as a national factor. The topicality of the 19<sup>th</sup> century national drama did not lie only in the subject, but in the handling of the language as well. Greece is rather an extreme example of this phenomenon: no play of the puristic historical drama of the 19<sup>th</sup> century has ever been staged during the 20<sup>th</sup><sup>29</sup>. The style mixtures of certain writers and plays depended each time on the local conventions and the general course of the national literature or/and the specific aesthetic model of a theatrical form (i.g. prose dialogue in the dramatic Trivialliteratur of the Enlightenment and the domestic bourgeois drama, high rhetoric for the Classicistic drama, open forms for the Romantic plays, symmetrical drama structure following Gustav Freytag, etc., see Dietrich 1961). Only the social and political function of this kind of drama remained permanent. It fulfilled its objective by presenting in the national theatre a patriotic teaching of history, a knowledge of the past, whose glory radiated into the present and lent meaning and dignity to it. It was a guide and a manual of deeper self-consciousness for the nation.

This necessity and function, that is, the giving of a meaning to and the psychological rallying of the group, become intelligible if we consider the chaotic conditions of domestic affairs or the bitter disillusionment after the high idealistic expectations of national regeneration. The present is the subject of comedy of social criticism. If historical patriotic drama was a course towards the myth of the nation, satirical comedy was an excursion to contemporary reality. It did not consolidate the state ideology, but criticised and denounced the problems; it demanded correction. As has already been mentioned, the similarity of the political conditions in the domestic affairs of many Balkan countries after the regeneration phase, permits to some extent a transfer of comic situations castigated by comedy from one country to another: from Greece to Bulgaria and Romania, from Serbia to Croatia, etc., and in the 20<sup>th</sup> century by Caragiale and Nušić even further. The starting point was usually the comedy of morals and character by Molière and Goldoni within the didactic scope of the Enlightenment, and even the German dramatic Trivialliteratur of Iffland, Kotzebue, Schröder, etc. In the sophisticated technique of the situation comedy, stock characters were used to represent a certain social reality: the bourgeois swollen with pride and his conceited wife, the upstart social climber and political careerist, a society at the turning point from rural patriarchy to urbanisation still in progress and unassimilated as yet, characterised by moral disorientation and partly grotesque misunderstanding of the new ideology. The comedy of deviating behaviour exposed the characters to the laughter of the audience, its

<sup>29</sup> The only exception is Spyros Evangelatos' production of *Maria Doxapatri* (1858) by Demetrios Vernardakis,

in 1963 and 1968. However, it was translated in the demotic (colloquial) language.

criticism and condemnation. It derived its corrective norms and its evaluating ideas from the "regeneration" era, though they had not always been applied in practice: this was the "patriotic" contribution of the comedy of social criticism.

We can find many examples in the several national literatures of the Balkans. Criticism of the nobility is heard in Anton Linhart's early Slovenian comedies (1789 and 1790)<sup>30</sup>. The abolition of patriotism by the bourgeois is portrayed in Ivan Cankar's play *For the Benefit of the Nation* (1901)<sup>31</sup>. The Croatian comedy *The Scorerer's Apprentice* (*Matijaš Grabancijaš Dijak*, 1804) by Titus Brezovački satirises the superstitious villagers in the spirit of urban Enlightenment, while we meet a criticism of the petit-bourgeoisie in Janko Vurković's plays (Barac 1977: 148 et seq.). The first Serbian comedy, from Jovan Sterija Popović's pen, satirises the stingy Greek retailer of the Balkans *Kir Janja* (*The Miser*, 1837), satirically parodying his own father, and is still played today<sup>32</sup>. The rest of this writer's comedies parody the nouveau riche bourgeoisie, marital life, the fake patriotism of his fellow-countrymen during the revolution of 1848 and the aping of foreign manners and customs by the Serb bourgeois (French and German expressions, in *Kir Janja* Greek as well). Milovan Glišić's comedies were written in the transition to the ethnological subjects of the village (Popović 1902, Gligorić 1968: 86-112). The prolific Bronislav Nušić has an inexhaustible repertory of social criticism, while the moral mirror of his comedies reaches the mid-War years<sup>33</sup>. The technique of Károly Kisfaludy's Hungarian comedies with the picturesque characters of rural feudal society is mostly orientated towards the theatre of the German dramatists of Trivialliteratur. Only Ignác Nágy touches on political subjects with his comedy *Prefectorial Pools* (1843), satirising the falsification of the election results and expressing a demand for more liberalism, the subject of a series of Hungarian comedies; here the transition towards the rural idyll is rather easy and the same can be said about consumption comic drama in general (i.g. István Toldy's, see Kont 1906: 149 et seq., 151 et seq., 166, 216 et seq.). The philosophic fairy-play *Csongor és Tünde* by Mihály Vörösmarty is unique (1831, first staging only in 1879, Czigány 1984: 130 et seq.). In Romania, comedy is chiefly associated with

<sup>30</sup> *Zupanova mička*, 1789. On its model see A. Gspan, "L. Zupanova Mička in Richtereva 'Die Feldmühle'", *Slovenski jezik* 4 (1940) p. 84-97; by the same author, introduction to Anton. T. Linhart, *Zbrano delo* 1, Ljubljana 1958, p. 460-473. Also Slodnjak, *Slovenska slovnost*, Ljubljana 1968, p. 77 et seq. Linhart's second comedy, *Ta veseli dan ali Matiček se ženi* (1790), is an adaptation of Beaumarchais' *La folle journée, ou Le mariage de Figaro* (1785). See J. Veyranc, "Une adaptation slovène du 'Mariage de Figaro' de Beaumarchais, le 'Matiček se ženi' de T. Linhart", *Annales de Faculté des Lettres d'Aix* 36 (1962), p. 117-141.

<sup>31</sup> *Za narodov blagor* (1901, produced in Prague in 1905 and in Ljubljana in 1906. See J. Groo-Kozak, *Szczesna twórczosc dramatyczna Ivana Cankara*, Warszawa 1968, J. Kos, "Idejna in oblikovna tipologija Cankarjeve dramatike", *Jezik i slovnost* 1969/1, p. 10-16, and R. Sajko, *H. Ibsen in prve drame I. Cankarja*, Ljubljana 1966, esp. p. 31-44.

<sup>32</sup> *Tvrđica* 1837, *Kir Janja* in the second edition. Selective bibliography: D. Živaljević, "Kir Janja na konstruktivnoj pozornici", *Život i rad* 4 (1931), vol. 7, part 44, p. 623-639; G. Petrović, "Sterija i njegov 'Kir Janja'", *Srpska scena* 1943/15, p. 446-460, 1943/16, p. 469-472; J. Popović, "'Tvrđica' Jovana Sterije Popovića", *Izbor*, Novi Sad 1953, p. 235 et seq.

<sup>33</sup> There is an extended bibliography on Nušić. His *Complete Works* were published in 1966, in Belgrade and occupy 25 volumes. See Barac 1977: 228 et seq.; A. Chvatov, *Bronislav Nušić*, 1864-1938, Moskva/Leningrad 1964; M. Boković, *Bronislav Nušić*, Beograd 1964; L.P. Lichaceva (ed), *Bibliografičeskij ukazatel*, Moskva 1965; B. Ničev, *Bronislav Nušić (Monografija)*, Sofija 1962, etc. On the scenic career of his comedies, see J. Kulundžić, "Savremeno scensko tumačenje Nušića", *Letopis Matica srpske* 140 (1964), p. 1-28.



Vasile Alecsandri<sup>34</sup> and Ion Luca Caragiale<sup>35</sup>. The former follows the French comedy of morals (Drouhet 1924). The latter, with his demonic and grotesque caricatures prepares the way for the absurdist drama of Ionesco (Minea 1977, Ionesco 1965: 117-120). Bulgarian political comedy also is full of careerists, petit-bourgeois, frauds and followers of political agents: Ivan Vazov: *Vesnikarin li?* (*Are You a Journalist?*), *Službogonci* 1903 (*Careerists*), Anton Strassimirov *Svekūrva* 1907 (*Mother in Law*), especially in Stefan L. Kostov's (1879-1939) plays *Golemanov* (1928), *Vrašalec* (1928, *Fortune-teller*), *Skakalci* (1931, *Cicadas*) (Dietrich 1974: 455 et seq.). In Greece, political comedy blooms especially in the era of Bavarian rule (1833-1862) (Bάλας 1994: 311 et seq., 324 et seq., 353 et seq., Δελβερούδη 1997). On the Ionian Islands, when they were a British protectorate, this comedy had an aggressive style. Demetrios Vyzantios turned to the linguistic problem in his *Babylonia* (1836) (it reached eight editions during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Λαδογιάννη 1996: no 367). Michael Chourmouzis is considered today as the main representative of the political comedy of morals (Αιγνάδης 1986, Παπαϊωάννου 1991). In Turkey, during the 19<sup>th</sup> century there was practically no comedy of social criticism. Ibrahim Sinasi's *The Marriage of the Poet* (1859) is against conventional marriage.

To sum up, one could conclude that similarities of subject predominate: weak points of the political systems ("foreign rule", bribery, corruption), together with foreign-worship, aping foreign vogues, vain and stupid petit-bourgeois ideology to political megalomania, undigested transition from the farmer to the bourgeois, leading to a dangerous vacuum of values impossible to fill even by the most blatant patriotism. The styles are mostly the comedy of morals and character of the Enlightenment, later the comedy of intrigue, together with small forms and open structures (like Chourmouzis' *Dialogues* and Caragiale's *Moments*). The comic element is usually based on deviating behaviour, that is, deviating from the norms of patriotic ideals of the regeneration era, the ridiculous difference between "is" and "must", between moral demand and real action. The construction of the plot often follows the comic schematisation of situations. Some writers give new dimensions to the dialogue, when there are obstacles to the unimpeded communication of the characters on stage (misunderstandings, intentional mishearing, two soliloquies instead of a dialogue, etc., Lauinger 1964) leading to extreme situations and reaching the modern shrinkage of the language as a means of communication (representing the shrinkage of the speaker's existence).

Before we come to the transition to Modernism, however, when the developments show a centrifugal and differentiating tendency in the Balkans, not permitting any broader comparisons, we should investigate another genre of the same origin, concerning the subjects of South-Eastern European drama, that about rural life and the world of the village. Interest in the countryside awakens in the era of Realism, within the framework of a general ethnological

<sup>34</sup>During the period 1845-60 he wrote about 10 comedies, following the technique and structure of the French tradition. See G. Alexici, *Geschichte der Rumänischen Literatur*, Leipzig 1906, p. 110-113; G.C. Nicolescu, *Viața lui Vasile Alecsandri*, București 1964; E. Radulescu-Pogoneanu, *Viața lui Vasile Alecsandri*, Craiova 1954; M. Ruffini, *Vasile Alecsandri*, Brescia 1949, etc., On his comedies see also N. Iorga, *La société roumaine du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle dans le théâtre roumain*, Paris 1926.

<sup>35</sup>On Caragiale see selectively: I. Roman, *Caragiale*, București 1964; D.S. Murarasu, *Viața lui Ion Luca Caragiale*, București 1940; A. Colombo, *Vita e opere di Ion Luca Caragiale*, Roma 1934; G. Bertoni, *La lingua di un umorista romeno*, Firenze 1930; H.P. Petrescu, *Caragiales Leben und Werk*, Diss. Leipzig 1911; S. Casimir, *Caragiale, universul comic*, București 1967; S. Ciolescu, *Ion Luca Caragiale*, București 1967.

and folklore interest in the ways of life of the agrarian population. In the era of Romanticism many collections of traditional songs and tales were published and were regarded as linguistic monuments of the collective creation of a national literature. Both views, Realistic and Romantic, are mingled into the national ideology, in which the bourgeois looked back nostalgically at their own past. The "locus amoenus" of the lost paradise of the nation was of course ideologically exploited and idealised as folklore: the native characters of the village, with their strong and picturesque dialect, in authentic scenery depicting the *couleur local*, serve as representatives of an idealised national culture. In it, the values of the restricted world of the village are still valid, functioning and contrasting with the relativity of values of the bourgeois in the cities. The uniqueness and ancestral quality of nationality are traced back into the details of local tradition. The genuine and familiar definite fact guarantees cultural uniqueness. Dialect, folk music, costume, dance, customs and architecture, all these elements are used by the theatre. In the transition from Romanticism to Realism, folklore and social criticism may co-exist harmoniously. The loss of the social criticism element may lead to the shallow rural operetta and vaudeville. On the other hand, historical drama may be transformed into rural drama of social conflict by adding the social criticism dimension. The subjects of traditions and ballads are often turned into plays. If we compare this phenomenon with political comedy, we notice that it is a kind of escape from reality into a redemptive and undamaged world. At the same time, this kind of drama contributes to the building of the national myth, carving the image of "We" with all the local details, even though it is only a nostalgic and folklorised ideal. From the point of view of "national" function, this folklore theatre is nearer the national-historical drama as an ideological application of "raison d'état" than the comedy of social criticism. In the transition from Realism to Naturalism the "locus amoenus" of the picturesque country idyll may be ruined and transformed into "locus terribilis". In it, the analytical and critical approach proceeds to a horrible anatomy of poverty and degradation of the rural population and a forceful description of its living conditions.

In the various Balkan literatures, this thematic level of folklore drama is represented with varied intensity or meaning. The Slovenian social drama *King in Betanova* (*Kralj na Betanojvi* 1904) by Ivan Cankar takes place against the background of a rural industry. The Croat Milan Ogrizović dramatises subjects of the homeland and traditional poetry (Barac 1977: 242). In the mid-War years there is also a transition towards a fascist-like concentration on earth and blood (Blut-und-Bodendramatik). The Serb dramatist Bronislav Stanković describes the shrinking of old patriarchal structures of society (*Tašana* 1901, *Kostana* 1902, Janković 1902). In Hungary, during the decade of 1840, there is a whole type of melodramatic and operetta-like popular plays with life in province as their subject ("népszínmű", Kont 1906: 162 et seq., Cziganý 1984: 154 et seq., Combos 1933), a genre a little like vaudeville. It has many interpolated songs and musical pieces and is clearly influenced by the Viennese popular theatre. Ede Szigligeti is considered its chief representative (Osvath 1959, Kiadó 1982: 286 et seq.). This form was transformed into operetta by József Szigeti after 1875, when there was another turning-point towards the naturalistic play of social conflict (Kiadó 1982: 269, 305 et seq., 316). In Romania, the same form is represented by Caragiale's peasant tragedy *Napasta* (1890) and in Bulgaria by Raco Stojanov's ethological *Majstori* (Dietrich 1974: 459). In Greece, a movement towards ethology was created after 1880, producing a special theatrical form somewhat like vaudeville, called "comidyllion" (comic idyll). The action takes place in an urban milieu, using European music (*Maroula's Fortune*, by Demetrios Koromilas, 1889). There is its serious counterpart, the "dramatic idyll", its action in rural context (*The Lover of the Shepherdess*, by the same writer, 1891) (Χατζηπανταζής 1981, Δρομάζος 1980,

Παπαϊωάννου 1983). The ethological context becomes deeper in the Symbolist drama *Trisevgeni* by Kostis Palamas. The action takes place in a village, but it goes beyond the realistic reproduction of the couleour local (Πούγγεο 1995b: 175-578).

The dramatic adaptation of ballads is a distinctive case. The famous Serbian ballad about Hasan Aga's women "Hasanaginica", translated by Goethe (Kretzenbacher 1976), was dramatised in Serbia six times after the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Ilic 1966). Such dramatisations are substantiated in Romania and Greece, using the well-known ballad "The Bridge of Arta" (*Mesterul Manole*, Megas 1976), which was dramatised at least four times (Πούγγεο 1992: 307-330), in Bulgaria once (*Zidari* 1902 by Petko Todorov, see Canka 1981) and in Romania 24 times up to now. The interpretative possibilities of the vivid tradition about the walling in of the master builder's wife in the portals of the bridge (to "haunt" the work) range from naïve ethology, through the Nietzschean superman and the dilemma of consciousness about human sacrifice and guilt, to the Expressionist ritual of a mythical mysterious human sacrifice (Berlogea 1974: 349 et seq.).

### *The invasion of Modernism*

The network of the "-isms" in the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and even later in many European countries, in all the fields of art, created as a reaction to the sway of Naturalism, had a definite impact on the theatre as well, especially Impressionism, Symbolism, Neo-Romanticism, Expressionism, etc. In South-East Europe it was absorbed with delays and gaps, or with several innovations and far from typical mixtures. In Greece, for example, there is almost no extreme Naturalism in drama, while the delay is great. Realism is dominant in plays of commitment and "thesis" plays. Symbolism is widespread, Expressionism almost not at all (Πούγγεο 1988: 381-408). The reasons for these particular mechanisms of reception are complex and resist a level, one-dimensional analysis (perhaps in this case they have to do with the absence of watertight bourgeoisie, Πούγγεο 1988: 329-379). In the several national literatures of the Balkans, the subjects, the aesthetic models and the style mixtures are liable to changes of function and expression, while the period labelling often gives a different picture from the one known by the great European literatures, though in Europe the picture is anything but unified either: while Naturalism can be considered as a sequel to Realism with an altered scientific view and a thematic narrowing of the investigating lens to the lower strata of the population, the anti-Naturalism movements like Impressionism and Expressionism depart, as they have totally different aesthetic schedules. Isolated dramatists like Ibsen, Hauptmann, Strindberg, etc. in the several periods of their work belong to different currents. These methodological difficulties in the analysis of Modernism increase in the South-Eastern European countries because of the different theatrical traditions and reception mechanisms. However, in spite of these differences, they mark the ending and gradual withdrawal of the political and social function of the "national drama". This has to do with the fact that at this historical moment, with the exception of Albania, today's FYROM and to some extent Turkey, the phase of national independence and consolidation has been completed. Consequently the historical and political basis of the "national drama" gradually vanishes. This does not mean that the dramatic forms of patriotic tragedy and comedy of social criticism vanish as well in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In any event, drama and theatre do not have this main political and social mission for the nation any more, as in the previous century. This leads to a handling of subjects less loaded



with ideological functions and to the creation of a wider opening into the stylistic and aesthetic possibilities. Poets and dramatists are no national heroes any more, but craftsmen and artists of literature. The national theatres open secondary, experimental stages, covering the artistic needs of the avant-garde, which are not subject to the same degree to the restrictions of the official cultural policy<sup>36</sup>.

Modernism in drama appears with completely different currents and artists in the various Balkan countries. In Slovenia, Ivan Cankar is the central figure of Modernism and his Symbolist drama *The beautiful Vida*, about the feverish fantasies of a dying student (*Lepe Vida*, 1912, Slodnjak 1958: 279-286). In Croatia, Modernism appears much more violently and suddenly: first with the Impressionist one-act plays of the *Dubrovnik Trilogy* by Vojnović<sup>37</sup>, later with Milan Begović's (Barac 1977: 249 et seq.) and Miroslav Krleža's<sup>38</sup> early Expressionist plays<sup>39</sup>, which found in Branko Gavella a worthy director (Batušić 1974: 257 pass.). Serbia has nothing remarkable to show in this field, except perhaps for Bogdan Popović's Symbolist plays (Grčević 1971). In Hungary, the transition to Modernism develops more smoothly: from the "thesis" bourgeois plays by Gergely Csiky (Kont 1906: 225 et seq., Kiadó 1982: 314 et seq.), emerges by Sandor Bródy, Zsigmond Móricz, Imre Földes, Ferenc Herczeg and others (Dietrich 1974: 61 et seq., 413 et seq., Kiadó 1982: 308 et seq.), a kind of "drawing room" Naturalism culminating in the somewhat "marketable" social criticism by Ferenc Molnar (Dietrich 1974: 417 et seq.), followed by other Hungarian dramatists "for export" in the mid-War years. The special place occupied by Hungary is made apparent by the fact that even during the transitional phase to Modernism, the technical dramatic perfectionism of the "well-made" play, influenced by the boulevard theatre is not abandoned.

In Romania things are completely different. The idyllic pastoral tragedies by Vasile Alecsandri with the imaginary mythical figures from ancient Rome (*Fântâna Blanduziei* 1884, *Ovidiu* 1885) prefigure Neo-Romanticism. Victor Eftimiou cultivated the Symbolist fairy-play (Micu 1958) together with the allegorical drama (*Cocoșul negru* 1913), experimented with subjects from ancient mythology (*Prometeu* 1919, *Atrizi*, see Berlogea 1974: 349) and also wrote farce-like moralistic comedies about the provinces (*Omul care a văzut moartea* 1928). Camil Petrescu produced a "theatre of ideas" with philosophical discussions (Elvin 1962). Romanian Expressionism starts with Lucian Blaga (*Zalmoxe* 1921, a pagan mystery from the Dacian mythology, *Children's Crusade* 1930, Paleologu 1966, Gana 1967). Gheorge Ciprian's Surrealist

<sup>36</sup>The repertory of the "national theatres" as first and representative stages of a country, was subjected to calculations and restrictions of the cultural policy. It could also become easily the object of conflicts between political parties or the press, etc., as even in the 20<sup>th</sup> century those theatres still have a mission to accomplish.

<sup>37</sup>*Dubrovačka trilogija* (1902) and the epilogue *Maskerate espod kuplia* (1923). See C. Lucerna, "Die 'Ragusener Trilogie' und ihr Dichter", *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Akademie* 11 (1936), p. 529-551. The third part can be found also in a German translation in *Die Brücke* 51-53 periodical ("Das kroatische Drama des 20. Jahrhunderts", Zagreb 1977, p. 27-66.

<sup>38</sup>*Kraljevo, Kristofor Kolumbo, Michelangelo Buonarroti,*

*Adam i Eva, Golgota* (1922). See B. Donat, *Opjesničkom teatru Miroslava Krleža*, Zagreb 1970 and A. Kadić, "Krleža's tormented visionaries", *Slavonic and East European Review* 45 (1967), p. 46-64.

<sup>39</sup>On extreme Croatian Expressionism see also B. Hečimović, "Einführung in die neuere kroatische dramatische Literatur", *Die Brücke* 51-53, Zagreb 1977, p. 5-25, esp. p. 16 et seq.; M. Matković, *Dva eseja iz hrvatske dramaturgije. Marginalia na Krležino dramsko stvaranje*, Zagreb 1950; M. Bogdanović, *O Krleža*, Beograd 1956, p. 39 et seq.; M. Bogdanović, *Miroslav Krleža*, Zagreb 1963, p. 93 et seq.; *Krležin Zbomik*, Zagreb 1964 (here is the director Branko Gavella's important article about "Krleža on stage", p. 326-333).

comedies are prelude to the theatre of the absurd (*Capul de rațoi, Omul cu mîrtoaga* 1927, Berlogea 1874: 350). Bulgarian Modernism starts with the psychological Impressionist drama *At the Foot of Vitoša* (1911) by Pejo Javorov (*V polite na Vitoša*, Najdenova-Stoilova 1962, Zarev 1967: 98-181). In Greece it starts with Kambyssis's fairy plays and the "theatre of ideas" by Grigorios Xenopoulos, Demetrios Tangopoulos, Pantelis Horn, Spyros Melas, Nikos Kazantzakis and others (on Horn see Βαφειάδης 1993: 27-164). In the works of these writers one can detect the impact of Ibsen, Sudermann, Hauptmann and Strindberg (Πούγγες 1997: 311-354, specifically on Kazantzakis Πούγγες 1995: 318-434). In the mid-War period, realistic and provincial comedies, together with historical drama, predominate again. Only in Margarita Lymberaki's and Dimitris Hatzis's plays can one detect Expressionist features. In Turkey, the performance of the *Owl* (*Baykuş* 1917) written by Halit Fahri Ozansoy and directed by Muhsin Ertugrul, marks the invasion of Modernism (Spuler 1968: 167 et seq.). The first plays by Nazım Hikmet are influenced by Russian Expressionism (Spuler 1968: 124-141). However, his parabolic and politically committed plays, which he wrote mostly in exile, cannot represent Turkish drama (see mid-War performance records by Spuler 1968: 196-205).

The beginnings of Modernism in the history of the theatre in South-East Europe are some kind of measure of the level of centripetal tendencies of theatrical developments in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is a procedure which confines typological comparison within the borders, language, religion and culture of the Balkan countries. In Croatia and Romania, the typological range of dramatic forms moves from Expressionism to the theatre of the absurd. In Hungary, Modernism starts with a series of "marketable" naturalistic plays, very successful abroad. In Bulgaria, the theatre at first moves along the lines of Socialist Realism. In Greece, Historism and Realism still sway (only after the Second World War are there essential turning-points in the development, Πούγγες 1988: 419-433). In Turkey, the acceptance of Modernism remains occasional. There is, of course, a series of political and historical events interrupting the continual development of cultural affairs: the Young Turks' revolution, the Balkan Wars, the First World War, resulting in the exchange of populations in the Balkan peninsula, the Asia Minor Campaign, resulting in the exodus of the Greeks from Asia Minor, the impact of fascist and communist regimes in South-East Europe, the Second World War, the Resistance and civil war. All these hindered the new beginning of cultural life until the 1950's. Afterwards it was defined by the Cold War and the Iron Curtain, which divided the Balkans into two parts, separating Hungarians, Romanians and Bulgarians from Greeks and Turks, while the Yugoslav countries occupied an intermediate position. For the time being, it is not feasible for anyone to write the theatrical history of the Balkans of the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It still remains a desideratum for future historians of the theatre and of the comparison of cultures to spot possible common elements in the developments in the Balkan peninsula up to the dissociation of South-East Europe from the clout of the two great Powers, in the fin de siècle and the fin de millénaire, in order to present them by a similar synthetic and comparative method.

### *Theatre and City in the Balkans: A typology*

The theatrical developments in South-East Europe are closely connected with the existence of a sophisticated urban culture. Theatrical life is one of the most important manifestations of this civilisation, after the regeneration phase. A differentiation should be made as to the specific ideological functions of the repertory and the theatre building in the various times

and places. As to the time periods, we have to distinguish between the phase before regeneration and the creation of an independent and autonomous nation and the phase of independence. The repertory-prestige of the ruling (foreign) culture becomes the repertory-prestige of the national culture. As to the regions, we have to distinguish 1) the regions of Venetian occupation, where spectacles and feasts like "giostra" (tournament) were directly sponsored by the Serenest Republic itself (Kretzenbacher 1977, 1968, 1966, Puchner 1979b, 1998, Πούγχερ 1994b, 1998), 2) the regions of former Ottoman Empire, in which, after the winning of national independence, in neo-Classical theatre buildings, a repertory orientated towards Western standards appeared, usually of Italian or French origin, competing the amateur troupes which as a rule cultivated the local national drama (Athens, Bucharest, Jasy, Constantinople), and 3) the regions in the power of Habsburg Monarchy, in which German-speaking companies and German repertories were gradually restricted to the old permanent theatre buildings. In special cases however, there are remarkable overlappings, exceptions and mixtures of these theatrical functions, which can be methodically standardised.

It is a self-evident fact of theatre history that the fashioning of a repertory, that is, which writers are staged and in what way (Kindermann 1955) and the construction of the building, that is the sort of architecture, the part of the city it is situated in, etc.<sup>40</sup>, are important manifestations of the social forces influencing the urban culture of the city in its broader sense (for Greece, Φεσσά-Εμμανουήλ 1994). Taking into consideration the relatively late appearance of theatrical life in large parts of South-East Europe, court and nobility festive representation is not especially evident (actually it is restricted to Hungary, Staud 1977). It is overlapped almost from the beginning by urban education and teaching in the framework of the Enlightenment and even earlier. (The Phanariot Bucharest court is a typical example). The picture of South-Eastern European cities is also marked by the spectacles of popular theatre, the panorama-players and the puppeteers (Belitska-Scholz 1975), from the Carpathians to Saronic Gulf. In the cities of Muslim culture, there is also the shadow-puppet theatre (Πούγχερ 1985, Puchner 1997).

In the Venetian Mediterranean dominions from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, no court theatre can be detected. The chivalric events, the tournaments and the nailing of the ring (correr all' anello) (Puchner 1979, 1998) concerned only the noble families, those recorded in the "libri d' oro" (Lunzi 1858: 483 et seq.). The amateur companies which staged Marin Držić's comedies and pastorals in Renaissance Ragusa (Rešetar 1922: 100) consisted of young members of the "good" families of the city, that is, of the "nobili" and "cittadini" (Francev 1931: 10 et seq.). Only the baroque performances, organised by the Jesuit fathers, in which Junije Palmotić's mythological

<sup>40</sup> P. Pougnaud, *Théâtres. 4 siècles d'architecture et d'histoire*, Paris 1980; W. Unruh, "Theaterbau und Bühnentechnik", M. Hürlimann (ed.), *Das Atlantisbuch des Theaters*, Zürich 1966, p. 114-122; V. Glasstone, *Victorian and Edwardian theatres*, London 1975; A. Behr/A. Hoffmann, *Das Schauspielhaus in Berlin*, Berlin 1984; H. Chr. Hoffmann, *Die Theaterbauten von Fellner und Helmer*, München 1966, etc.

<sup>41</sup> N. Beritić, "Iz povijesti kazališne i muzičke umjestosti u Dubrovniku", *Analitički historijski institut JAZU u Dubrovniku* 1953, p. 329-356, esp. p. 330. The stage

demands seem to have increased essentially during the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Ragusa, compared to Držić's time (W. Cole, "Scenografija u doba Marina Držića", *Forum* 9-10, Zagreb 1967, p. 582-597; Dr. Pavlović, "Melodrama i počeci opere u staro Dubrovnik", *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta II*, Beograd 1962, p. 243-254). This has been made evident by the extant contracts with the Italian stage-designers (M. Pantić, "Arhivske vesti o dubrovačkom pozorištu u doba Gundulića i Palmotića", *Pitanja Književnosti i jezika* 4, Sarajevo 1958, p. 65-75).



plays were staged, seem to have a more exclusive character<sup>41</sup>. This cannot be said about the Jesuit performances on the islands of the Aegean Sea (Puchner 1999), in which the actors were offsprings of the Latin ruling noble families (Παναγιωτάκης/Πούχνερ 1999), but the stage facilities were very restricted. The performances of religious plays, possibly following the medieval didactic-pastoral tradition, were always more open to the low classes (this is implied by the sources coming from the Dalmatian coast and the Croatian hinterland, Perillo 1975, Batušić 1978: 1-25, Kumbatović 1959, Kindermann 1959: 385 et seq., 421 et seq., 1967: 609 et seq., 657 et seq.). The theatre building in the shipyard of Lesina island (today called Hvar) is considered the first permanent theatre building in the Balkans and one of the first in the Mediterranean. It was transformed into a theatre by Pietro Semitecolo with the performance hall on the first floor in 1612<sup>42</sup>. This theatre played the repertory of the early Croatian drama<sup>43</sup>, not yet serving the national ideology prestige. It was a typical stage of the upper class, connected with the ruling class culture, according to the ideology of the Italian-type Western feudal social scale, which had been assimilated by the lower classes as well. Something of the sort can be seen in Crete (Παναγιωτάκης 1988, 1990, 1990b). Here they staged tragedies and pastoral comedies in the literary academies, perhaps in the loggia or in the ruler's palace, certainly in the houses of "nobili", whereas the comedies were performed publicly in the squares (Puchner 1983β, Παναγιωτάκης 1998). On the occasion of a noble wedding evidence has been found for the performance of an Italian comedy in a house (Antonio Pandimo's *L' amorosa fede*, 26 September 1618 in Chania, Σάθας 1879 μ' et seq., Αποσκήτη 1991). A real theatrical stage was constructed for the first time by transforming the loggia in Corfu into a theatre building (1720), functioning as San Giacomo Theatre from 1733 and becoming the centre of cultivation of the Italian opera on the Ionian Islands, especially during the last decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Βροκίνης 1901, Μανρομούστακος 1995). In this case too, one cannot speak of a court but rather of a municipal theatre (on its management see also Κατάδοχος 1991). In the theatrical life of Corfu, Cefalonia and Zante the "cittadini" participated substantively. The melodies and arias of the Italian opera performances, organised by a specifically employed impressario (Ντεμπόνος 1979: 260 et seq.) were whistled by the people in the street.

There is evidence for a similarly mixed social representation and impact in the function of the theatre in Slovenia, the Dalmatian coast in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the Croatian hinterland in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Puchner 1994: 23 et seq.). Only in the palaces of the Hungarian landowners, away from centres and courts, there was a court-like theatre (Horányi 1959, 1967), which still existed until the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Staud 1977). The court theatre of the Serb prince Miloš Obrenović in Kragujevac 1834-36 ("Knjaževski srpski teatar") was of very short duration. It played German and Hungarian dramas of the Trivialliteratur in Serbian adaptations (Popović 1899). The theatrical life in the Phanariot courts of Jasy and Bucharest show a complicated picture as well: in the courts of Michael Soutsos and Ioannis Karatzas (Caragea) there was a shadow-puppet theatre and improvised comedies by Armenian sergeants, rope-walkers, conjurers, clowns and wizards, Italian monkey-trainers, German weight-lifters and Turkish

<sup>41</sup>This hall is described in a Latin poem by Antun Matijašević Kamaraneo (see G. Novak, "Naše najstarije kazalište", *Scena* [Zagreb] 1950, p. 99 et seq.). Photo in Kindermann 1959: 422.

<sup>42</sup>Hanibal Lucić's *Robinja* was performed in 1530 at a square next to the church of the island or perhaps in a private house (Batušić 1978: 42 et seq.).

<sup>43</sup>F.A. Costa, "Spectacole de divertissement la curțile domnești și boierești in epoca feudală", *Studii și cercetări ist. artei* 5 (1958) 2, p. 137-333; K. Berlogea, "Manifestations théâtral à la court voivodale et et moldave au Moyen Age", *Revue roumaine d'histoire del' art. Série théâtre, musique, cinéma* 19 (1982), p. 29-35; A.M. Popescu, "Începuturile teatrului cult in Țara Românească",

fire-walkers, displaying their skills in the court and the houses of the Boyars<sup>44</sup>. On the theatre stage, however, the Italian opera troupes held sway, together with German and French companies<sup>45</sup>. There is evidence of an Italian pantomime company, a Polish itinerant company, a panorama with city pictures, battles, coronations, etc.<sup>46</sup>. This international variety of theatrical life acquired a "national" tone only when Rallou Karatzas, the prince's daughter, took on the organisation of school performances, in 1817. The amateur company, Theodoros Alkeos and Konstantinos Kyriakos Aristias (Costache Aristia in the Romanian language, as he became later one of the founders of the Romanian national theatre) among its members, performed scenes from ancient Greek tragedies, Voltaire's *Brutus* and Alfieri's *Orestes*. In the Red Fountain (Cismeaua roșie) the students found an "elegantă sala di spectacole"<sup>47</sup>, J. Văcărescu directed the theatre and promoted the Greek amateurs: Aristias was sent to Paris to study with the great actor of the French Revolution J. Talma high rhetorical style and tragic acting. In 1818, Rallou brought to Bucharest the Viennese Gerger company in order to provide her amateurs with a standard of high aesthetic specifications (inter alia, they played Mozart, Schiller, Rossini and Alfieri)<sup>48</sup>. In November of 1818 the princely family had to flee the country in order to escape the revenge of the Sublime Porte. The theatre had already become a national (even revolutionary) stage (Σιδέρης 1971, Puchner 1975), under the influence of the teachers of the Greek "academy", most of whom were members of "Philiki Eteria" (Σιδέρης 1971, Camariano-Cioran 1974).

This overlapping of functions took place especially in urban areas during the late Enlightenment era. The aristocratic theatre (in Hungary) and the popular theatre with the improvised shows long retained their international character, orientated as they were to the German and Italian comic tradition (on Hungary, Belitska-Scholtz 1975 and Belitska-Scholtz-Somorjai 1988). In the urban culture of the regeneration cities at the time of the growth of nationalism, this double nature of the theatre, that is, the popular commercial one of international origin and the urban national one with educational objective, appears in various manifestations and mixtures and each case can be analysed only separately. The popular and

*Studii și cercetări ist. artei* 5 (1958), p. 41-57.

<sup>45</sup> In 1784, in the court of Bucharest, they performed an Italian comedy (N. Iorga, *Istoria literaturii române în secolul al XVIII-lea*, București 1901, vol. 2, p. 27). In 1792 some Austrian actors were denied licence to perform (N. Iorga, "Alte lămuriri despre veacul al XVIII-lea după izvoare apusene", *Analele Acad. Rom., Mem. Sect. Ist. Ille Seria*, t. XXXIII (1911), p. 153 et seq., esp. p. 194.). In 29 May 1798 a princely order is issued for the mayors of Vlachia, to support and protect the French tragedians and wrestlers (Ollanescu 1899: 4 et seq.).

<sup>46</sup> This results from the letters of the Russian General Kutusov, published in *Revue de Paris* in April 1835 (Camariano 1943: 382 et seq.). On the pianist Roberg's concerts, from Saint Petrograd, see *Ελληνικός Τηλέγραφος* 1, Vienna, 1812, p. 89. On Mathias Brody's panoramas, see Ollanescu 1899: 30.

<sup>47</sup> M. Florea, *Scurta istorie a teatrului românesc*, București 1970, p. 17 et seq. In 1818, they expanded the performing

hall (I. Aneștin, *Schiță pentru istoria teatrului românesc*, București 1938, p. 13 et seq.). For a description of the auditorium see Ollanescu 1899: 34 et seq., and H. Φιλίμων, *Δοκίμιον ιστορικόν περί της Φιλικής Εταιρείας*, Ναύπλιον 1834, p. 200 et seq.

<sup>48</sup> We are rather quite well informed on the activity of this troupe, as there are sufficient first-hand sources: Φιλίμων, *ibid.* p. 167 et seq., Αλέξανδρος Ρίζος Ραγκαβής, *Απομνημονεύματα*, 4 vol., Αθήναι 1893-1930, vol. I, p. 80, F. Recordon, *Lettres sur la Valachie ou observations sur cette province et ses habitants écrites de 1815 à 1821...* Paris 1821, p. 91, K. Καρράκης, *Τοπογραφία της Βλαχίας...* București 1830, p. 19, F.G. Laureçon, *Nouvelles observations sur la Valachie, sur ses productions, son commerce, les mœurs et coutumes des habitants et sur son gouvernement*, Paris 1822, p. 36, W. Wilkinson, *An account of the principalities of Walachia and Moldavia*, London 1820, p. 140 et seq.

commercial theatre may have intense local features, as in the case of the Slovenian farmer and dramatist Drabosnjak<sup>49</sup> or the Hungarian commercial plays with the enthralling gipsy music about the electoral rigging and social inequality of the years before 1848. It is the same with the Croatian plays of "homeland" of the mid-War years or the Greek Karagöz during its heyday. On the other hand, the bourgeois and the intellectuals were pleased by the declamatory acting style of the French itinerant troupes and the enchanting singing of mediocre Italian prima-donnas, though they were conscious of their patriotic duties and believed in the moralistic and educational mission of the theatre. These tours of the companies in the countries of the two-headed eagle took place because of the network of theatres in the cities of the Monarchy and the German-speaking theatres, which cultivated the Italian, German and local opera and operetta (Puchner 1994: 23 et seq.) in a somewhat different way from the half-moon countries, especially in Romania (Rădulescu 1965), in Greece (Μπακουνάκης 1991) and Constantinople itself (And 1971, 1972, 1973, Σταματοπούλου-Βασιλάκου 1994/96). In those countries, French prose and Italian melodrama troupes (Armenian in Turkey) competed with the local amateur companies for the public's favour. There were controversial confrontations in the Press about the role of the theatre in society (Σταματοπούλου-Βασιλάκου 1994/96: I 75 et seq.), because governments usually subsidised foreign troupes at the expense of the evolution of the local national theatre (on Athens under Bavarian rule, see Γεωργακάκη 1998). Serbs, because of their late entry into the history of South-East European theatre (and partly because of the emphasis on the repertory of Illyricism<sup>50</sup>), and the Bulgarians to some degree (Despotowa 1974, Greisenegger 1966), have remained outside this speculation. In Turkey the whole situation was different, because of the different religion and the narrow-minded intellectual climate under Abdül Hamit II's regime (Horn 1902: 29). There were similar ideological conflicts about the role and function of the theatre in theatrically decentralised Hungary<sup>51</sup>, and in Croatia during the Illyricist movement of 1840 (Stančić 1985: 107-131). In Slovenia the debate was pursued only slowly and tentatively<sup>52</sup>; because of the strict censorship, police surveillance and secret reports (Dietrich 1967) as well as the domination of the Imperial authorities, in more indirect and reserved ways than in the East and the South of the Balkans. The existence of the German theatres in the countries of Austria-Hungary monarchy coincided with the symbolic function of the expression of the two-headed eagle's power, that is, the self-presentation of the consciousness of supremacy and the festive presentation of the sovereign culture (Mályusz-Császár 1968). Public contests

<sup>49</sup> Andrej Šuster Drabosnjak (1768-1825). His plays have often religious subjects, but they are also critical and satirical towards the feudal lords. On this writer see J. Weilen, *Die Theater Wiens*, vol. 1, Wien 1899, p. 137 et seq.

<sup>50</sup> This concerns the amateur troupe of Novi Sad, which performed in Zagreb in 1840 and was invited to Belgrade in 1842. Its repertory contained 52 plays in all (Breyer 1938: 129).

<sup>51</sup> The degree of this decentralisation can be estimated judging by the theatre buildings: in 1769 in Ödenburg/Sopron, in 1774 the Rondelle-Theater in Peste, in 1776 in Preßburg/Bratislava, in 1796 in Temeschwar, in 1897 in Raab/Győr, etc. (Pukánsky-Kádár 1933, p. 111

et seq.). There were theatre companies also in Debrecen, Großwardein and Koloszar/Klausenburg. In Voivodina Serbian, Hungarian and German itinerant troupes crossed paths in their itineraries throughout the country (A. Ujes, "Das Publikum der wandernden Schauspieler in der Vojvodina im 19. Jahrhundert", *Das Theater und sein Publikum*, Wien 1977, p. 206-218).

<sup>52</sup> On the theatrical evenings and recitations of the Slovenian Reading Society "Narodna Čitalnica" 1861-1867, see F.K. Kumbatovič, "Spiel im Spiel. Erinnerungsversuch von Aufführungen der slowenischen Lesevereine", *Maske und Kothurn* 16 (1970), p. 72-84. Also N. Gostiševa et al. (eds.), *Repertoar slovenskih gledališč 1768-1967*, Ljubljana 1967.



and directed spectacles had a similar function in the Mediterranean Venetian dominions, as well as the French performances in Levant in the Sun-King era: in Smyrna, Corneille's *Nicomède* was performed in the French embassy, only six years after its première in Paris (Πούχνης 1995a: 325 et seq.), and in the French embassy in Constantinople Molière's comedies were performed in 1673 (Galland 1881: 5-31, Τζαμάκη 1988: 29 et seq.).

The symbolic expression of the function of cultural dominance of the national theatre is not only the repertory in the national language for the above mentioned cultivation of the national myth and criticism aimed at correcting contemporary social conditions. It is also the theatre building, which must have a representative architectural construction and a central position in the city (Φεσσά-Εμμανουήλ 1994). Taken into account in the construction are much less the practical, technological-scenical or audience aspects, than the symbolic representation of the community in the first stage of the country. This usually led to an emphasis on arabesques and decorations of the auditorium and the boxes, as was common in the theatre buildings of the "Italian" type during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Φεσσά-Εμμανουήλ 1994: 111-141). A good example is the huge German theatre of Peste, which was inaugurated in 1812 with Kotzebue's allegorical play *The Ruins of Athens*, set to music by Ludwig van Beethoven<sup>53</sup>. Ofen and Peste had four German and Hungarian theatres at the same time then (Mályusz- Császár 1968). However, the distance from the itinerant troupes and their provisional stages to the representative building of the national theatre is a long one. It leads first into the rented halls and the adapted buildings originally destined for other purposes. In Zagreb, the first theatre in Markov trg opened in 1834<sup>54</sup>. Previously they performed in Baron Kulmer's palais. In Belgrade they used the custom-house as a theatre in 1842<sup>55</sup>. In 1861, Novi Sad acquired its own permanent theatre, etc.<sup>56</sup>

Especially striking are the difficulties encountered establishing and erecting the national theatre, with its representative building, in the case of Greece. Athens was the last European capital designed and built anew<sup>57</sup>. The neo-Classical plan of the city by Leo von Klenze and his successors, aimed at the symbolic union of the ancient with the new city, archaeology with contemporary life, ancient and modern Greece, allowed for a theatrical building, as was proper

<sup>53</sup> It existed from 1812 up to 1847. Before the staging of *Ruinen von Athen*, they characteristically produced Kotzebue's play *König Stefan, Ungarns erster Wohltäter*, set also into music by Beethoven (K.M. Kertbeny, "Zur Theatergeschichte von Budapest", *Ungarische Revue* 1881, p. 636 et seq., 945 et seq., 1882, p. 404 et seq., and esp. 853 et seq.).

<sup>54</sup> The inauguration ceremony was made with the patriotic drama *Niklas Graf von Zriny*, by Theodor Körner, still in the German language, but with a theme from the Croatian history. On this performance, Batušić 1978: 222 et seq.

<sup>55</sup> "Pozorište na Čumruku" (Kindermann 1965: 402 et seq.). See also M. Grol, *Iz pozorišta predratne Srbije*, Beograd 1952.

<sup>56</sup> On its repertory see S.K. Kostić, "Deutschsprachige Dramatiker auf der Bühne des Serbischen Nationaltheaters in Novi Sad", *Maske und Kothurn* 8

(1962), p. 247-282; by the same author "Österreichische Dramatiker auf der Bühne des serbischen Nationaltheaters in Novi Sad", *ibid.* 12 (1966), p. 196-202; by the same author "Nemački klasici na sceni Srpskog narodnog pozorišta u Novom Sadu", *Spomenica 1861-1961*, Novi Sad 1961, p. 198-228; N. Gavrilović, "Francuski repertoar Srpskog narodnog pozorišta u Novom Sadu 1861-1961", *ibid.* p. 161-197. See also P. Marjanović, *Umetnički razvoj Srpskog narodnog pozorišta 1861-1868*, Novi Sad 1974.

<sup>57</sup> After Helsingfors (1812) and Christiania (1814, today's Oslo). See now A. Papageorgiou-Venetas, *Athen. Ein Stadtgedanke des Klassizismus*, München, Berlin 1994.

<sup>58</sup> According to Christian Hansen's plans (I. Haugsted, "The Architect Christian Hansen and Greek Neoclassicism", *Scandinavian Studies in Modern Greek* 4 (1980), p. 71-81). This plan can be found in Φεσσά-Εμμανουήλ 1994: 275, pic. 381. In Kleantes' and Schaubert's

for a European court<sup>58</sup>. One year after the assumption of the government by the Bavarians, the existing foundations of this building changed place, because a large section of public opinion held that there were more important and urgent things to be done in the newly established nation (Σπάθης 1986: 216 et seq.). The Regency made efforts, as early as 1834, to build a theatre, even if a wooden one, for the Italian opera and to appoint an impresario to organise performances (Hering 1994: 268 et seq.). These plans came to nothing. In the new capital of the miniature state, court life mixed closely with the urban life, even with country life<sup>59</sup>, therefore it was impossible to separate the court from the municipal theatre (on the repertory, Σπάθης 1986: 219 et seq. and Πούγγεο 1995a: 311-324). The first known theatres are those of Athanassios Skontzopoulos<sup>60</sup> and Gaetano Meli (a wooden booth) in 1836/37. The latter was the first to bring an Italian troupe from Zakynthos to Athens. These buildings were sordid, without a roof and with bare soil for a floor, but they had a royal box<sup>61</sup>. The remarkable amateur troupe of 1836 and 1837 had to share the building, and even the public, with touring rope-dancers (Σπάθης 1986: 219 et seq., 232 et seq., 238 et seq., Πούγγεο 1995a: 311-324)<sup>62</sup>. The Italian opera had a triumphant success in these early years (Τσαουσόπουλος 1923, Nordenflycht 1845). The grandeur of the appearance of the Bavarian court and the foreign diplomats was hardly responsible for the enthusiastic reactions of the audiences: the rural population of the city saw for the first time in its life a real performance of Italian opera. In the era of Bavarian rule (1833-1862) the Ottoman phallic Karagöz was still performed in the coffee houses (Puchner

city plans the theatre building was scheduled to be built in the same place on Klatthmonos Square (K. Μπίρης, *Τα πρώτα θέατρα των Αθηνών*, Αθήνα 1933, p. 10 et seq., 20 et seq.). On Hansen's neo-Classical buildings in Athens see also I. Haugsted, "Ο αρχιτέκτων Χριστιανός Χάνσεν και η Αθήνα", *Σύγχρονα Θέματα* 9 (1980), p. 43-46.

<sup>59</sup> An interesting source about everyday life in the court and the city is Christiana Lüth's humoristic diary. She was the Dane wife of the German minister of the court, A.H.F. Lüth, who lived in Athens from 1839 to 1852. See Chr. Lüth, *Memoir of Breve – XLVIII – Frau Fredensborg til Athen*, Kopenhagen 1929 (and 1974); by the same author, *Breve fra Graekenland, Smyrna, Phokaea, Mytilene, Chios, Tschesmé, Ephesus og Patmos* 1846. Ed. V. X.J. Schultz, Kopenhagen 1884; in Greek *Μια Δανέζα στην αυλή του Όθωνα*, Αθήνα 1981 and *Στην Αθήνα του 1847-1848. Ένα ανέκδοτο ημερολόγιο*, Αθήνα 1991.

<sup>60</sup> "Some actors and actresses have arrived from Zante and they have constructed a wooden theatre, without covering, on a spot marked out for a square... The actors were, a man, his wife, and their two children; and the performances were merely those of a strolling company of the most limited class" (G. Cochrane, *Wanderings in Greece*, 2 vol. London 1837, vol. A', p. 202 et seq.).

<sup>61</sup> The hall had very poor acoustics. Descriptions see in Cochrane ("The interior of the theatre is prettily fitted up. It contains about sixty boxes, and the King's box is

in the centre; and the pit is large enough to contain one thousand people"), *ibid.* vol. 2, p. 103; Σπάθης 1986: 232 et seq.; also Fürst Pückler-Muskau, *Südöstlicher Bildersaal*, vol. 3: *Griechische Leiden*. Zweiter Theil, Stuttgart 1840, p. 67 et seq. and K. Schönwälder, *Erinnerungen an Griechenland*, Breig 1838, p. 59 et seq. (in Greek translation Βένης 1938: 1590 et seq.).

<sup>62</sup> Cochrane watched such an acrobatic show in 5 (17) April 1836: "The performance this evening was rope dancing, which was very well executed, with tumbling of all kinds, after the manner of our Astley's: with this difference, however, that the feats of agility were executed by the female, the daughter of the Entrepreneur" (Cochrane, *ibid.* vol. II, p. 103). There is another description: "Heute stellt die Gesellschaft der Seiltänzer verschiedene neue Stücke vor, und sie hofft, daß die edelgesinnten Einwohner dieser Stadt mit ihrer gewohnten Freigebigkeit ihre geringen Gaben belohnen werden. Um 4 Uhr fängt man an, sich zu versammeln, und um 5 Uhr zu spielen. Athen, den 8ten April 1836. Vorstellungen: Tanz auf dem gespannten Seile, Pyramidalische Puppenspiele, Pyramiden, ein großer schwerer Sprung einer papiernen Puppe, verschiedene Kunststücke auf dem schlaffen Seil und eine mimische Vorstellung, genannt: die drei belebten Fässer" (C.O.I. von Armin, *Flüchtige Bemerkungen eines Flüchtling-Reisenden*, Berlin 1837, p. 48 et seq.).

1975: 61 et seq., Πούγγεο 1985: 30 et seq.). At court balls or on the King's birthday, "tableaux vivants" and pantomimes were performed (in 1837 they played Evanthia Kairi's *Nikiratos*, Πούγγεο 1995a: 332 et seq.). Otto I was sceptical about Greek amateur performances, as he had diagnosed in them the expression of suppressed nationalism (Δημαράς 1982a), which eventually coerced him into accepting constitutional monarchy. The voices against Italian opera (and the Karagöz "Oriental Theatre" as well) became loud during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Πούγγεο 1992: 359 et seq.). The Italian troupes came only occasionally and they were of less than average quality (Nordenflycht 1845: 285 et seq., 269, 297 et. seq., 305). Athens cannot be compared in this phase with Corfu or Zante, Patra or Ermoupolis as far as Italian opera is concerned (Καπάδοχος 1991, Μπακουνάκης 1991). The first stone-built theatre, called "Boukoura" was built in 1840. Almost only foreign troupes played in it (Φεσσά-Εμμανουήλ 1994: 287-280). Grigorios Kambouroglou's plan of 1856 for erecting a national theatre failed completely<sup>63</sup>. The "Dimotikon" (municipal) theatre was built in 1888 (to Ernst Ziller's designs). The "Vassilikon" (royal) theatre, designed by the same architect, started functioning in 1901 as a national theatre (Φεσσά-Εμμανουήλ 1994: 280-302 and 302-317).

In this way, Greece was one of the last Balkan countries to acquire a representative building for a national theatre. This delay reflects, of course, the troubled relation with the royal house and Bavarian rule in general, as other cities erected municipal theatres as expressions of representation of the prosperous commercial bourgeoisie (Μπακουνάκης 1991: 42 et seq., 111 et seq.,) (on the Ionian Islands of the aristocracy too) much earlier: 1720/33 the San Giacomo Theatre in Corfu (extensions 1815, 1831 and 1888; since 1903 it has been the Town Hall, Φεσσά-Εμμανουήλ 1994: 152 et seq.), 1805 Spyridon Berettas' theatre in Cefalonia (Ευαγγελάτος 1973), in 1836 the wooden "Apollon" theatre in Zante and the first wooden theatre in Ermoupolis (Φεσσά-Εμμανουήλ 1994: 179 et seq., 207 et seq.), in 1838 Alexandros Solomos' theatre in Cefalonia<sup>64</sup> and in 1857 the "Kefalos" theatre on the same island (Φεσσά-Εμμανουήλ 1994: 194-199), in 1863/64 the municipal theatre "Apollon" in Ermoupolis, Syros<sup>65</sup>, in 1871/72 the municipal theatre of Piraeus, in 1875 the "Foskolos" theatre in Zakynthos (the two last buildings were designed by Ziller, Φεσσά-Εμμανουήλ 1994: 181-186). In the same period, the prosperous Greeks of Constantinople had more than one stage (Σταματοπούλου-Βασιλάκου 1994/96: Α' 363-389). The erection of "Dimotikon" theatre in Athens started in 1872 (it was finished in 1888, designed by Ziller, pulled down in 1940); in 1882 the municipal theatre of Piraeus (designed by Ioannis Lazarimos, Φεσσά-Εμμανουήλ 1994: 322-345); in 1893 the municipal theatre in

<sup>63</sup> The subsidies Queen Amalia demanded were rejected by the Parliament; Kambouroglou himself went bankrupt (Δ. Καμπούρογλου, *Απομνημονεύματα μιας μακράς ζωής*, ανατύπωση Αθήνα 1985, p. 321ff.; Hering 1994: p. 270 et seq.). The architectural designs of the French Fr. Boulanger have survived (Φεσσά-Εμμανουήλ 1994: p. 274 et seq., p. 413, note 1192, together with unpublished material from Otto's archives). See also N. Λάσκαρη, "Διατί δεν ιδρύθη το Εθνικόν Θέατρον επί 'Οθωνος", *Παναθήναια*, 15.4.1904, p. 39-46.

<sup>64</sup> It is really a mansion transformed into a theatre; it functioned from 1838 until 1849 (Φεσσά-Εμμανουήλ 1994: p. 192 et seq.). See also Α.-Δ. Ντεμπόνος, "Στοι-

χεία για τη θεατρική στέγη στην Κεφάλονιά", *Κεφαλληνιακά Χρονικά* 2 (1977), p. 111-119 and Ευαγγελάτος 1970: 168-174.

<sup>65</sup> Built according to the Italian architect P. Sampo's designs, it still exists today. See Μπακουνάκης 1991: 28 et seq., Ι. Τραυλού/Α. Κόκκου, *Ερμούπολις*, Αθήνα 1980, p. 126-128, Λάσκαρης 1938/39: 129-150, Α.Θ. Δρακάκης, "Το ξεκίνημα του νεοελληνικού θεάτρου (Ερμούπολις-Σύρα 1826-1861), *Δελτίον της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος* 22 (1979), p. 23-81 and especially 70-77. Containing the whole relative material Φεσσά-Εμμανουήλ 1994: p. 208-217.



Corfu (in 1895 the "Phoenix" theatre still existing today); in 1894/96 the municipal theatre of Volos was inaugurated (still existing until 1960, Φεσσά-Εμμανουήλ 1994: 161 et seq., 170 et seq., 233 et seq.), and in 1901 the "Vassilikon" was built (Ziller's designs, Φεσσά-Εμμανουήλ 1994: 302-317). Greek theatre architecture at that time followed Central European models, chiefly Hellmer's and Fellner's neo-Classical type (Hoffmann 1966). However, the greatest part of theatrical life took place in the makeshift yards of the summer theatres on the banks of the Ilissos river or in Neon Faliron (Φεσσά-Εμμανουήλ 1994: 245-273 and 348-350). Here, they applied an improvised but local "architecture", contrasting with the prestigious stages, which imitated the foreign "Italian type" architecture. Those buildings were really designed for the Italian opera, which competed during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with the French opera and finally with the Greek (Χαμουδópουλος 1980). Music and singing played an important part in the prose theatre too, from 1870 onwards (Χατζηπανταζής 1981).

The need of the bourgeois merchants for festive representation immediately after liberation was expressed in the wish for regular opera performances (Μπακουνάκης 1991, Στιβανάκη 1997). For this purpose, enormous sums for the time were spent in Ermoupolis and Patra. The leaders of city financial life took part in the committees for the theatre. They signed a contract with an elected (by them) impresario, who had to be responsible for the next season's performances. He travelled for this purpose especially to Italy and visited the great opera agencies to form a troupe of singers and musicians. He was responsible and answerable for the quantity and quality of the repertory, for the musical execution and he had to give an itemised account of the total of expenses. Because of the frequency of the performances in Corfu, Syros and Patra, it was a demanding task and involved large sums of money (Μπακουνάκης 1991: 133 et seq., 141 et seq., 153 et. seq.). Compared to them, Athens was a theatrical province. Constantinople in particular during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and even later, surpassed Greece. Other cities with Greeks living abroad, that is, Alexandria (Καρυάτζος 1974), Cairo, Smyrna (Σολωμονίδης 1954), Odessa, Jasy and Bucharest (Οικονομίδης 1950, 1954) were important stops on the tours of the itinerant troupes, securing their survival, as the box-office in Athens could not provide sufficiently for them. Only when the "Vassilikon" theatre and its contemporaneous "Nea Skini" (New Stage) of Constantinos Christomanos (Σιδέρης 1990, Μαυρίκου-Αναγνώστου 1964, Πούγγεο 1997a) started functioning, did they bring out representative repertoires, approaching the objectives of a national theatre. They combined Classic and modern writers, Greek and foreign plays. The more intellectual theatre of Christomanos started with *Alcesteis*, in his own translation. The court theatre "Vassilikon" staged *Oresteia* in 1903 (in an one-night adaptation, following Reinhardt's model, Flashar 1991: 114-123), in a translation which led to the so-called "Oresteiaika" (events caused by *Oresteia*). This was a demonstration organised by some fanatical students who saw in this translation sacrilege against the dignity of the ancient theatre. In the same year, Georgios Mistriotis, a university teacher of Classics at the University of Athens, organised theatrical productions in the ancient Greek language (Σιδέρης 1976). On the one hand there was the linguistic problem (Hering 1987, Μαστροδημήτρης 1990: 43-60), and on the other there were the audiences' tastes (Πούγγεο 1995b: 193 et seq., 137 et seq.) pressing hard for a change in the repertory policy. Christomanos, working without subsidies, more and more had to produce boulevard plays, even with his own piquant additions (Πούγγεο 1997: 131-182), while he rejected the only substantive national drama of the time, Palamas' *Trisevgeni* (Noblest) (1903) because he thought it unsuitable to theatrical routine and the expectation horizon of the public. Palamas refused to adapt his Symbolist play about the magic of beauty to the spirit of a sentimental melodrama, according to the playwrighting

recipes of the day (Πούγγεο 1995b: 408-468). Christomanos held out until 1905. Thomas Ikonomou left the "Vassilikon" in 1906, and it was soon disbanded (Σπάθης 1983: 29 et seq., 34 et seq.). Only in 1932 was the "National Theatre" inaugurated in the same building, with Fotos Politis in charge. This time it was an institution which could really claim that it was fulfilling its national mission in the conditions of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

By the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the function of national theatres and drama gradually abandoned ideologically charged content and spectacle and shifted towards a theatrical aesthetics less committed literarily. It also moved towards a greater willingness for stylistic experiments. The smaller theatres, built more or less away from the city centre, added gradually their decisive contribution to future developments, which put the central theatres in a more conservative role. As in the rest of Europe, the Balkan national theatres have opened secondary or experimental stages, in order to keep up with the often startling progress of the avant-garde. The present and future of the theatre is really cultivated on those smaller stages. The abrupt and often uncontrollable development of the cities, together with the industrialisation of the country and the urbanisation of the whole of society have led theatre to decentralisation, expressed at two levels: 1) in creating a whole network of provincial theatres in towns and villages, supported by amateur companies, schools and cultural associations; the early examples of this phenomenon were Hungary and the Croatian hinterland (Batušić 1978: 299 et seq., 430 et seq.); in Greece these developments are noticable after 1880 (Πούγγεο 1992: 331-371); 2) in creating a multitude of suburb stages at which the lower classes sought recreation during the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Disher 1949, Booth 1965, Hüttner 1975); in the 20<sup>th</sup> century however, these theatres have developed into student or juvenile stages or avant-garde theatres producing experimental or committed plays (Budapest, Vienna, Constantinople, contemporary Athens which has exceeded Paris in number). In this phase, theatrical architecture is no longer a prominent point in the picture of the city, it is rather a scheduled monument in the history of architecture. Recently, large new theatre buildings, like the multi-function "Megaro Moussikis" (Concert Hall) in Athens, provide new points of reference in the post-modern architectural landscape of the urban centres and can satisfy the highest technical demands.

## Bibliography

- Αικατερινίδης 1969 - Γ. Ν. Αικατερινίδης, «Ο εορτασμός του Αγίου Γεωργίου εις Νέον Σούλι Σερρών», *Σερραϊκά Χρονικά* 5 (1969), p. 129-148.
- Αλεξίου 1979 - Στ. Αλεξίου, «Η συμβολή του Ρεθύμνου στην Κρητική Αναγέννηση και μια προσθήκη για τους Vini», *Αμύλλθεια* 39 (1979), p. 171-180.
- Αλεξίου/Αποσκήτη 1991 - Στ. Αλεξίου / Μ. Αποσκήτη, *Ζήνων, κρητοεπτανησιακή τραγωδία (17<sup>ος</sup> αιώνα)*, Αθήνα 1991.
- And 1963/64 - M. And, *History of Theater and Popular Entertainment in Turkey*, Ankara 1963/64.
- And 1965 - M. And, "Various species of shadow theatre and puppet theatre in Turkey", *Estratto degli Atti del secondo cegresso internaz. di arte Turca*, Napoli 1965.
- And 1970 - M. And, "Türkiyedü Italian Sahnesi", *İtalyan Filolojisi - Filologia Italian* 2 (1970) no1/2, p. 127-142.
- And 1971 - M. And, "Eski İstanbul'da Fransiz Sahnesi", *Tiyatro Arastırmaları Dergisi* 1971, p. 77-102.
- And 1972 - M. And, *Tanzimat ve İstidbat Döneminde Türk Tiyatrosu 1839-1908*, Ankara 1972.
- And 1975 - M. And, *Karagöz. Turkish Shadow Theatre*, Istanbul 1975.
- And 1977 - M. And, *Dünyada ve Bizde Gölge Oyunu*, Ankara 1977.
- And 1986 - M. And, "Aspects et fonctions du théâtre d'ombres turc", St.Damianakos (ed.), *Théâtre d'ombres. Tradition et Modernité*, Paris 1986, p. 109-118.
- Andreescu 1973 - M. Andreescu, "Max Reinhardts Bühnenkunst: Ihre Resonanz im rumänischen Theater", *Maske und Kothurn* 19 (1973), p. 189-201.
- Angelova 1960 - R. Angelova, "Lazaruvane v s.Bojanovo", *Ezikovedsko-etnografski izsledvanija v pamet na akademik Stojan Romanski*, Sofija 1960, p. 709-730, pl. 3-5.
- Antonijević 1984 - D. Antonijević, "Karadžoz", *Gradska kultura na Balkanu (XV-XIX vek)*, Beograd 1984 (Balkanološkog instituta SANU, 21), p. 385-412.
- Antonijević 1990 - D. Antonijević, *Ritualni trans*, Beograd 1990.
- Αποσκήτη 1991 - Μ. Αποσκήτη, «Το πρόβλημα του εθνικού χαρακτήρα της "Amorosa fede"». *Πεπραγμένα του ΣΤ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, vol. 2, Χανιά 1991, p. 35-40.
- Arnott 1956 - L. M. Arnott, «Σάββατο του Λαζάρου», *Νέα Εστία* 59 (1956), p. 262-266.
- Bachetarzi 1968 - M. Bachetarzi, *Mémoires (1919-1939)*. Algier 1968.
- Βακαλόπουλος 1973 - Α. Βακαλόπουλος, *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνισμού*, τόμ. 4, Θεσσαλονίκη 1973.
- Balassa/Ortutay 1982 - I. Balassa / G. Ortutay, *Ungarische Volkskunde*, München 1982.
- Βάλας 1995 - Μ. Βάλας, *Το νεοελληνικό θέατρο από το 1453 έως το 1800*. Εισαγωγή - μετάφραση Χαράς Μπακονικόλα-Γεωργοπούλου, Αθήνα 1994.
- Bancroft-Marcus 1978 - R. E. Bancroft-Marcus, *Georgios Chortatsis, 16<sup>th</sup>-century Cretan playwright. A critical study*, Ph.D. Thesis Oxford 1978.
- Bancroft-Marcus 1980 - R. E. Bancroft-Marcus, "Georgios Chortatsis and his works: a critical review", *Μαντατοφόρος* 16 (1980), p. 13-46.
- Barac 1977 - A. Barac, *Geschichte der jugoslawischen Literaturen von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart (unter Mitwirkung von Miodrag Vukic, aus dem Serbokroatischen übertragen, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Rolf-Dieter Kluge)*, Wiesbaden 1977.
- Batušić 1964 - S. Batušić, "Gastspiele Wiener Ensembles in Zagreb", *Maske und Kothurn* 10 (1964), p. 549-569.



- Batušić 1974 - S. Batušić, "Kroatien", H. Kindermann (ed.), *Theatergeschichte Europas*, vol. 10, Salzburg 1974, p. 242-262.
- Batušić 1978 - N. Batušić, *Povijest Hrvatskoga Kazališta*, Zagreb 1978.
- Batušić 1984 - N. Batušić, "Das Lachen bei Držić einst und heute", *Maske und Kothurn* 30 (1984), p. 63-71.
- Βαφειάδης 1993 - Ε. Βαφειάδης, Παντελής Χορν, *Τα Θεατρικά*, vol. I, Αθήνα 1993, p. 27-164.
- Βέης 1938 - Ν. Βέης, «Το πρώτον νεοαθηναϊκόν θέατρον και αι σχετικά προς τον Ρήγαν Φεραϊόν παραστάσεις αυτού», *Νέα Εστία* 24 (1938), p. 1516-1521, 1590-1599.
- Belitska-Scholtz 1975 - H. Belitska-Scholtz, "Gaukler und Wanderpuppenspieler in Ungarn", *Maske und Kothurn* 21 (1975), p. 106-122.
- Belitska-Scholtz / Somorjai 1988 - H. Belitska-Scholtz / O. Somorjai, *Das Kreutzer-Theater in Buda (1794-1804). Eine Dokumentation zur Bühnengeschichte der Kasperlfigur in Budapest*, Wien etc. 1988.
- Βελλιώτη 1979/80 - Μ. Βελλιώτη, «Οι κούκλες του Χριστού Κονιτσιώτη στη συλλογή του Πελοποννησιακού Λαογραφικού Ιδρύματος», *Εθνογραφικά* 2 (1979/80), p. 47-56.
- Βελουδής 1982 - Γ. Βελουδής, *O Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer και η γένεση του ελληνικού ιστορισμού*, Αθήνα 1982.
- Belitska-Scholtz 1975 - H. Belitska-Scholtz, "Gaukler und Wanderpuppenspieler aus Ungarn", *Maske und Kothurn* 21 (1975), p. 106-122.
- Benovska 1981 - M. Benovska, "Süštnost i estetički izmerenja na obreda German", *Obredi i obreden folklor*. Sofija 1981, p. 235-256.
- Berlogea 1974 - I. Berlogea, "Rumänien", H. Kindermann, *Theatergeschichte Europas*, vol. 10, Salzburg 1974, p. 326-357.
- Bernard 1887 - Bernard, *L'Algérie qui s'en va*. Paris 1887.
- Bernath 1972 - M. Bernath, *Habsburg und die Anfänge der rumänischen Nationsbildung*, Leiden 1972.
- Beza 1926 - M. Beza, *Paganism in Roumanian folklore*, London 1926.
- Bogišić 1968 - R. Bogišić, "Mitološka igra Mavra Vetranovića", *O hrvatskim starim pjesničima*, Zagreb 1968, p. 79-120.
- Bogišić 1971 - R. Bogišić, *Nikola Nalješković*. (Rad JAZU 357), Zagreb 1971.
- Bojović 1980 - Z. Bojović, *Barokni pesnik Petar Kanavelović*, Beograd 1980.
- Bombaci 1963 - A. Bombaci, "Rappresentazioni drammatiche di Anatolia", *Oriens* 16 (1963), p. 171-193.
- Bonifačić-Rožin 1962 - N. Bonifačić-Rožin, "Šante i Pante. Narodni ručne lutke u Hrvatskoj", *Slovenski Etnograf* 15 (1962), p. 135-156.
- Bonifačić-Rožin 1979 - N. Bonifačić-Rožin, "Tragom narodnih ručnih lutaka u Hrvatskoj, Bosni, Hercegovini i Srbiji", *Traditiones* 5-6 (1979), p. 19-30.
- Booth 1965 - M. R. Booth, *English Melodrama*, London 1965.
- Borcaklı / Koçer 1973 - A. Borcaklı / G. Koçer, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Bibliyografasi*, Ankara 1973.
- Breyer 1938 - B. Breyer, *Das deutsche Theater in Zagreb. 1780-1840*, Zagreb 1938.
- Βροκίνης 1901 - Σ. Α. Βροκίνης, *Περί της οικοδομής της εν των Κερκυραϊκῶ ἄστει στοάς -Loggia- και της εις θέατρον μετατροπῆς αὐτῆς, 1663-1799. Ιστορικὸν υπομνηματίον*, Κέρκυρα 1901.
- Burada 1880 - B. Burada, *O cālătorie in Dobrogea*, Iași 1880.
- Čale 1968 - Fr. Čale, *O književnim i kazališnim dodirima hrvatsko-talijanskim*, Dubrovnik 1968.

- Čale 1979 - Fr. Čale, "O života i djelu Marina Držića", *Djela*, Zagreb 1979.
- Camariano 1943 - A. Camariano, "Le théâtre grec à Bucarest au début du XIXe siècle", *Balkanica* 6 (1943), p. 381-416.
- Camariano-Cioran 1974 - A. Camariano-Cioran, *Les Academies princieres de Bucarest et de Jassy et leurs professeurs*, Thessanoliiki 1974 (Institute for Balkan Studies 142).
- Candrea 1900 - I. A. Candrea, "Caloianul", *Nouvă Revista Română* 2 (1900), p. 94-96.
- Canka 1981 - H. Canka, "Narodnijos mit v dramato na Petko Todorov 'Zidari'", *Bŭlgarski Folklor* VII/2 (1981), p. 39-43.
- Cantemir 1773 - Dimitrie Cantemir, *Beschreibung der Moldau*. Faksimiledruck der Originalausgabe von 1771, Bukarest 1973, p. 316 εξ.
- Castellan 1985 - G. Castellan, "Le romantisme historique: une des sources de l'idéologie des états balkaniques aux XIXeme-XXeme siècles", στον τόμο: *Société, Conscience Nationale et États dans les Balkans (XVIIIe-XIXe ss.)*, Sofija 1985, p. 147-164.
- Γεωργακάκη 1998 - K. Γεωργακάκη, «Το θέατρο των Αθηνών», *Παράβασις* 2 (1998), p. 143-180.
- Chisacof 1998 - Πήγας, *Ανέκδοτα έργα/ Rigas, Scrieri inedite*, έκδοση, μετάφραση και επίλογο L. B. Chisacof, Βουκουρέστι 1998.
- Cronia 1961 - A. Cronia, "Ascendenze della 'Tirena' di Marino Darsa nella 'Dubravka' di Giovanni Gondola", *Ricerche Slavistiche* 9 (1961), p. 39-66.
- Ćurčin 1907 - M. Ćurčin, "Konst. Popović als Kotzebue-Übersetzer", *Srpski Književni Glasnik* XVIII (1907), p. 101 seq., 187 seq., 281 seq., 363 seq.
- Ćurčin 1909 - M. Ćurčin, "Kotzebue im Serbokroatischen", *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 30 (1909), p. 422-444.
- Czigány 1984 - L. Czigány, *The Oxford History of Hungarian Literature*, Oxford 1984.
- Daskalakis 1969 - A. Daskalakis, "Le rôle de la civilisation grecque dans les Balkans", *Ier Congrès Intern. des Études Balkaniques et Sudest-Européennes*, vol. 3, Sofija 1969.
- Dawkins 1906 - R. M. Dawkins, "The modern Carnival in Thrace and the Cult of Dionysos", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 26 (1906), p. 191-206.
- Δελβερούδη 1997 - E. A. Δελβερούδη, *Ο Αλέξανδρος Σούτσος. Η πολιτική και το θέατρο*, Αθήνα 1997.
- Deliwanowa 1972 - B. Deliiwanowa, "Grillparzer in Bulgarien", H. Kindermann (ed.), *Das Grillparzer-Bild des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Wien 1972, p. 297-310.
- Demović 1981 - M. Demović, *Musik und Musiker in der Republik Dubrovnik (Ragusa) vom Anfang des XI. Jahrhunderts bis zur Mitte des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Regensburg 1981 (Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung vol. 114).
- Despotowa 1974 - A. Despotowa, "Bulgarien", H. Kindermann (ed.), *Theatergeschichte Europas*, vol. 10, Salzburg 1974, p. 284-304.
- Δημαράς 1982 - K. Θ. Δημαράς, «"Ρήγας Θεσσαλός". Αθησαύριστη έκδοση της τραγωδίας του Ιωάννου Ζαμπελίου», *Ελληνικός Ρωμαντισμός*, Αθήνα 1982, p. 157-164.
- Δημαράς 1983 - K. Θ. Δημαράς, «Ο J.-G. Herder και η παρουσία του στη διαμόρφωση του ελληνικού πνεύματος», *Νεοελληνικός Διαφωτισμός*, Αθήνα 1983, p. 283-299, 476-481.
- Dietrich 1961 - M. Dietrich, *Europäische Dramaturgie im 19. Jahrhundert*, Graz/Köln 1961.
- Dietrich 1967 - M. Dietrich, *Die Wiener Polizeiakten von 1854 bis 1867 als Quelle für die Theatergeschichte des österreichischen Kaiserstaates*, Wien 1967.
- Dietrich 1974 - M. Dietrich, *Das moderne Drama*, Stuttgart 1974 (3<sup>rd</sup> edition).
- Disher 1949 - W. M. Disher, *Blood and Thunder. Mid-Victorian Melodrama and its Origins*,

- London 1949.
- Djordjević 1970 - D. Djordjević, *Revolutions nationales des peuples balkaniques. 1804-1914*, Beograd 1970.
- Δρομάζος 1980 - Στ. Δρομάζος, *Το Κωμειδύλλιο*, Αθήνα 1980.
- Drouhet 1924 - Ch. Drouhet, *Vasile Alecsandri și scriitorii francezi*, București 1924.
- Držić 1958 - 450 godina od rođenja Marina Držića, Beograd 1958.
- Držić 1969 - Marin Držić, *Zbornik Radova*, Zagreb 1969.
- Dumitrescu-Bușulenga 1978 - Z. Dumitrescu-Bușulenga, "Les sources de l'Exotisme dans le Romantisme Sud-Est Européen", *Actes des IIème Congrès Int. des Études Sud-Est Européennes* vol. 1, Athènes 1978, p. 919-924.
- Duwan 1966 - L. Duwan, "Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Laibacher und dem Wiener Vorstadtheater zwischen 1790 und 1848", *Maske und Kothurn* 12 (1966), p. 220-227.
- Elvin 1962 - B. Elvin, *Camil Petrescu, studiu critic*, București 1962.
- Ευαγγελάτος 1968 - Σπ. Α. Ευαγγελάτος, «Χρονολόγηση, τόπος συγγραφής του Ζήνωνος και έρευνα για τον ποιητή του», *Θησαυρίσματα* 5 (1968), p. 177-203.
- Ευαγγελάτος 1970 - Σπ. Α. Ευαγγελάτος, *Ιστορία του Θέατρου εν Κεφαλληνία 1600-1900*, Αθήνα 1970.
- Ευαγγελάτος 1973 - Σπ. Α. Ευαγγελάτος, «Το Θέατρον του Σπυρίδωνος Μπερέττα (Κεφαλληνία 1805 - ci 1825)», *Αθηνά ΟΓ'-ΟΔ'* (1973), p. 458 seq.
- Ευαγγελάτος 1995 - Σπ. Α. Ευαγγελάτος, *Πέτρος Κατσαίτης, Ιφυγένεια [εν Αηξουρίω]*, Αθήνα 1995.
- Ζωίδης 1968 - Γ. Ζωίδης, «Το θέατρο της Φιλικής Εταιρείας», J.Irmscher/M.Mineemi (eds.), *Über Beziehungen des Griechentums zum Ausland in neuerer Zeit*, Berlin 1968, σσ. 397-436.
- Fagault 1887 - Fagault, *Tunis et Keimoran*, Paris 1887.
- Fischer 1908 - E. Fischer, "Paparuda und Scalojan", *Globus* XCIII (1908), p. 14 seq.
- Flashar 1991 - H. Flashar, *Inszenierung der Antike. Das griechische Drama auf der Bühne der Neuzeit*, München 1991.
- Földes 1958 - L. Földes, "A Budajen'öre telepített székelyek bethlehemezése", *Ethnographia* 69 (1958), p. 209-259.
- Frančev 1931 - Fr. Frančev, "Dvije dubrovačke pučanske družine iz kraja 17. stojeća" *Nastavni vjesnik* 39 (Zagreb 1931) no 5-8, separatum.
- Fuhrich-Leisler 1976 - E. Fuhrich-Leisler, *Max Reinhardt in Europa und Amerika*, Salzburg 1976.
- Galland 1881 - A. Galland, *Journale d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople*. Paris 1881, 2 τόμ.
- Gana 1967 - G. Gana, "Lucian Blaga, poet dramatic", *Teatru* 9 (1967).
- Gavella 1970 - B. Gavella, "Marin Držić - portrete skica", *Književnost i kazalište*, Zagreb 1970.
- Genčev 1973 - St. Genčev, "Običajet German v Dobrudža", *Vekove* 1973/2, p. 31-38.
- Gerçek 1942 - S. N. Gerçek, *Türk Temacasi - Meddah, Karagöz, Orta Oyunu*. Istanbul 1942.
- Giesemann 1971 - G. Giesemann, *Kotzebue in Rußland (Materialien zu einer Wirkungsgeschichte)*, Frankfurt/M. 1971.
- Giesemann, 1975 - G. Giesemann, *Zur Entwicklung des slovenischen Nationaltheaters. Versuch einer Darstellung typologischer Erscheinungen am Beispiel der Rezeption Kotzebues*, München 1975 (Geschichte, Kultur und Geisteswelt der Slowenen, Bd.13).
- Ginčev 1982 - C. Ginčev, "Narodni običai ot Besarabija", *Sbornik za Narodni Umotvorenija i Narodopis* VIII (1982), p. 276.



- Gitzā 1964 - L. Gitzā, "Le théâtre roumain de marionettes", *Revue roumaine d'histoire de l'art* I (1964), p. 119-138.
- Gladić 1973 - N. Gladić, *Das Wesen der Komik in den Werken Marin Držić's*, Diss. Münster 1973.
- Gligorić 1968 - V. Gligorić, *Srpski realisti*, Beograd 1968, σσ. 86-112.
- Goedeke 1893 - K. Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, vol.V part 2, Dresden 1893 (2nd ed.), σσ. 270-285 and vol. XV (1966), p. 151-278.
- Gombos 1933 - A. Gombos, *A magyar népszínmű története*, Mesökövesd 1933.
- Gragger 1925 - R. Gragger, "Deutsche Puppenspiele aus Ungarn", *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 148 (1925), p. 161-180.
- Grčević 1971 - F. Grčević, *Književni kritičar i teoretičar Bogdan Popović*. Zagreb 1971.
- Greisenegger 1966 - W. Greisenegger, "Das Theater in Bulgarien", *Atlantisbuch des Theaters*, Zürich 1966, p. 777 seq.
- Grothusen 1974 - K. D. Grothusen (ed.), *Ethnogenese und Staatsbildung in Südost-Europa*, Göttingen 1974.
- Hadrovics 1938 - L. Hadrovics, "Ungarische Helden in den Dramen von Junije Palmotić", *Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis* (Budapest 1938), p. 515-522.
- Hadrovics 1962 - L. Hadrovics, "Zur Deutung einiger Stellen bei Gundulić's 'Dubravka'", *Die Welt der Slaven* 7 (1962), p. 293-299.
- Hering 1987 - G. Hering, "Die Auseinandersetzungen über die griechische Schriftsprache. Sprachen und Nationen im Balkanraum", Chr. Hannick (ed.), *Die historischen Bedingungen der Entstehung der heutigen Nationalsprachen*, Wien/Köln 1987, p. 125-174 (also in G. Hering, *Nostos. Gesammelte Schriften zur südosteuropäischen Geschichte*, Ed. M.A.Stassinopoulou, Frankfurt/M. etc. 1995, p. 189-264).
- Hering 1994 - G. Hering, "Der Hof Ottos von Griechenland", R. Lauer/H.G.Majer (eds.), *Höfische Kultur in Südosteuropa. Bericht der Kolloquien der Südosteuropa-Kommission 1988 bis 1990*, Göttingen 1994, p. 253-281.
- Herrity 1980 - P. Herrity, "Emmanuil Janković: Serbian Dramatist and Scientist of the Eighteenth Century", *The Slavonic and East European Review* 58 (1980), p. 321-344.
- Hoenerbach 1959 - W. Hoenerbach, *Das nordafrikanische Schattentheater*, Mainz 1959.
- Hoffmann 1966 - H. Chr. Hoffmann, *Die Theaterbauten von Fellner und Helmer*, München 1966.
- Holton 1991 - D. Holton (ed.), *Literature and society in Renaissance Crete*. Cambridge 1991, p. 205-238.
- Holton 1997 - D. Holton (ed.), *Λογοτεχνία και κοινωνία στην Κρήτη της Αναγέννησης*, Ηράκλειο 1997.
- Horányi 1959 - M. Horányi, *Das Esterhazyische Feenreich*, Budapest 1959.
- Horányi 1967 - M. Horányi, *Teatro italiano del settecento in Ungheria*, Budapest 1967.
- Horn 1902 - P. Horn, *Geschichte der türkischen Moderne*, Leipzig 1902.
- Hortschansky 1978 - K. Hortschansky, "Die Wiener Dramen Metastasio in Italien", M.T. Murano (ed.), *Venezia e il melodramma nel settecento*, Firenze 1978, p. 407-423.
- Hüttner 1975 - J. Hüttner, "Sensationsstück und Alt-Wiener Volkstheater. Zum Melodrama in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts", *Maske und Kothurn* 21 (1975), p. 263-281.
- Huziak 1957 - W. Huziak, *Zeleni juraj*, Zagreb 1957.
- Ηρειώτης 1921-25 - Π. N. Ηρειώτης, "Ο Λειδινός εν Αιγίνη", *Λαογραφία* 8 (1921-25), p. 289-296.
- Ionesco 1865 - E. Ionesco, *Notes et contre-notes*, Paris 1965.

- Iorga 1924 - Nic. Iorga, "La pénétration des idées de l'Occident dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe aux XVII et XVIIIe siècles", *Revue Historique de Sud-Est Européen* 1 (1924), p. 1-36 (in the same volume also: "Le Romantisme dans le Sud-Est de l'Europe").
- Ivančan 1967 - I. Ivančan, *Narodnija običaj Korčulanskih Kumpanija*, Zagreb 1967.
- Ivănescu 1967 - G. Ivănescu, "O influența bizantină sau slavă în folclorul românesc și în limba românească. Caloianul", *Folclor Literar* 1 (1967), p. 13-23.
- Jacob 1919 - G. Jacob, "Das türkische Kukla ojunu. Aus den Briefen an Dr.Ritter", *Islam* 9 (1919), p. 248-250.
- Jacob 1925 - G. Jacob, *Geschichte des Schattentheaters im Morgen- und Abendland*, Berlin 1925.
- Jacobi 1963 - H. Jacobi, *Max Reinhardt in Europa*, Salzburg 1963.
- Janković 1902 - D. M. Janković, "'Kostana' B.Stankovića", *Srpske književnost glasnik* 4 (1902), p. 313-317.
- Jelavich/Jelavich 1963 - B. Jelavich / C. Jelavich (eds.), *The Balkans in Transition: Essays on the development of Balkan life and politics since the 18<sup>th</sup> century*, Berkeley, California U.P. 1963.
- Jordanova 1966 - L. Jordanova, "Za običaja lazaruwane v Bŭlgarija", *Izvestija na Etnografskija institut i muzej* 9 (1966), p. 107-162.
- Kacarova 1968 - R. Kacarova, "Naroden kuklen teatŭr", *Radovi XII kongresa saveza folklorista Jugoslavije (Celje 1965)*, Ljubljana 1968, p. 385-410.
- Kacarova 1976 - R. Kacarova, "Folk Puppet Theatre- Puppets made of plants", *The Folk Arts in Bulgaria. Papers from a Symposion*. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 1976, p. 55-75 (also in *Izvestija na Etnografskija insitut i muzej* 6, 1963, p. 409-424).
- Kacarova 1979 - R. Kacarova, "Za edin kuklar i negovite kukli čengii (About a puppeteer and his puppets)", *Etnografski i folkloristicni izsledvanija*, Sofija 1979, p. 292-305.
- Kahle 1909 - P. Kahle, *Zur Geschichte des arabischen Schattentheaters in Egypten*. Leipzig 1909 (Neuarabische Volksdichtung aus Egypten, Heft 1).
- Κακούρη 1946 - K. Κακούρη, *Προαισθητικές μορφές του θεάτρου*, Αθήνα 1946.
- Κακούρη 1951 - K. Κακούρη, "Ερώτημα λαογραφικό για το "Κάνναβο"", *Αρχαίον Πόντου* 16 (1951), p. 267.
- Κακούρη 1952 - K. Κακούρη, "Λαϊκά δρώμενα ευετηρίας", *Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 27 (1952), p. 216 seq.
- Κακούρη 1965 - K. Κακούρη, *Θάνατος - Ανάσταση*, Αθήνα 1965, p. 38 seq.
- Kakouri 1956 - K. Kakouri, "Dromena Champêtres. Le 'Leidinos'", *L'Hellénisme Contemporaine* 10 (1956), p. 188-212.
- Kann 1964 - R. A. Kann, *Das Nationalitätenproblem der Habsburger-Monarchie. Geschichte und Ideengehalt der nationalen Bestrebungen vom Vormärz bis zur Auflösung des Reiches im Jahre 1918*, 2 vol., Graz/Köln 1964.
- Καπάδοχος 1991 - Δ. Καπάδοχος, *Το θέατρο της Κέρκυρας στα μέσα του ΙΘ' αιώνα*, Αθήνα 1991.
- Καριμάτζος 1974 - Π. Καριμάτζος, *Αλεξανδρινά. Θεατρικά και φιλολογικά*, Αθήνα 1974.
- Kaufman 1969 - K. Kaufman, "Oplakvaneto na 'German' u kapancite. Ot plač kŭm pesen", *Izvestija na Instituta za muzika* 13 (1969), p. 155-175.
- Keresztury 1996 - D. Keresztury, "Josef Kátonas Schicksal auf der ungarischen Bühne", *Maske und Kothurn* 12 (1966), p. 157-160.
- Kiadó 1982 - C. Kiadó, *A History of Hungarian Literature*, Budapest 1982.

- Kindermann 1955 - H. Kindermann, "Notwendigkeit und Aufgaben der Spielplanforschung", *Maske und Kothurn* 1 (1955), p. 156-166.
- Kindermann 1959 - H. Kindermann, *Theatergeschichte Europas*, vol. 2, Salzburg 1959.
- Kindermann 1961 - H. Kindermann, *Theatergeschichte Europas*, vol. 4, Salzburg 1961.
- Kindermann 1962 - H. Kindermann, *Theatergeschichte Europas*, vol. 5, Salzburg 1962.
- Kindermann 1967 - H. Kindermann, *Theatergeschichte Europas*, vol. 3, Salzburg 1967 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.).
- Κιτρομυλίδης 1990 - Π. Κιτρομυλίδης, *Η Γαλλική επανάσταση και η νοτιοανατολική Ευρώπη*, Αθήνα 1990.
- Kitromilides 1983 - P. Kitromilides, "The Enlightenment East and West: A Comparative Perspective on the Ideological Origins of the Balkan Political Traditions", *Revue Canadienne des Études sur le Nationalisme* X/1 (1983), p. 51-68.
- Klaniczay 1964 - T. Klaniczay, *A magyar irodalom története 1660-ig*, Budapest 1964.
- Kligman 1981 - G. Kligman, *Căluș. Symbolic Transformation in Romanian Ritual*. With a Foreword by Mircea Eliade, Chicago 1981.
- Knös 1962 - B. Knös, *L'histoire de la littérature néo-grecque*, Göteborg/Uppsala 1962.
- Kolendić 1909 - P. Kolendić, "Vetranovićev Orfeo", *Nastavni vjesnik* 17 (Zagreb 1909) p. 81-89.
- Kombol 1961 - M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, Zagreb 1961.
- Kont 1906 - I. Kont, *Geschichte der ungarischen Literatur*, Leipzig 1906.
- Kostov 1913 - St. L. Kostov, "Kultūt na Germane u bŭlgarite", *Izvestija na Bŭlgarskoto archeologičesko družestvo v Sofija* 3 (1913), p. 108-124.
- Kretzenbacher 1963 - L. Kretzenbacher, "Ritterspiel und Ringreiten im europäischen Südosten", *Südost-Forschungen* 22 (1963) p. 437 seq.
- Kretzenbacher 1965 - L. Kretzenbacher, "'Rusa' und 'Gambela' als Equiden-Masken der Slowenen", *Lares* 1965, p. 49-74.
- Kretzenbacher 1966 - L. Kretzenbacher, *Ringreiten, Rolandspiel und Kufenstechen. Sportliches Reiterbrauchtum von heute als Erbe aus abendländischer Kulturgeschichte*, Klagenfurt 1966.
- Kretzenbacher 1968 - L. Kretzenbacher, "Romanisches Agonalbrauchtum im slavischen Südosten" *Das romanische Element am Balkan. III. Grazer Balkanologien-Tagung 1968*, München 1968, p. 16-32.
- Kretzenbacher 1977 - L. Kretzenbacher, "Alt-Venedig's Sport und Schau-Brauchtum als Propaganda der Republik Venedig zwischen Friaul und Byzanz", *Venezia centro di Mediazione tra Oriente e Occidente (Secoli XV-XVI). Aspetti i problemi. Atti del II Convegno Internazionale di Storia della Civiltà Veneziana, 3-6 ottobre 1973*, vol.1, Firenze 1977, p. 249-277.
- Κριαράς 1950 - Ε. Κριαράς, *Κατσαίτης, Ιφργένεια - Θυνέσης - Κλαυθμός Πελοποννήσου. Ανέκδοτα έργα. Κριτική έκδοση με Εισαγωγή, Σημειώσεις και Γλωσσάρια*, Αθήνες 1950 (Collection de l'Institut français d'Athènes 43).
- Kumbatović 1959 - F. F. Kumbatović, "Das Theater der Renaissance in Dalmatien", *Maske und Kothurn* 5 (1959), p. 60-73.
- Kumbatović 1961 - F. F. Kumbatović, "Die Barockkultur Mitteleuropas und die Ursprünge des slowenischen Theaters", *Maske und Kothurn* 7 (1961), p. 248-273.
- Kumbatović 1966 - F. F. Kumbatović, "Das Slowenische Theater als mitteleuropäisches Problem", *Maske und Kothurn* 12 (1966), p. 228-235.
- Kuret 1957 - N. Kuret, "Zanimiva oblika ljudskega lutkarstva na Slovenskem", *Slovenski*



- Etnograf* 10 (1957), p. 113-124;
- Kuret 1962 - N. Kuret, "Novo o 'naši' tradicionalni lutki", *Slovenski Etnograf* 15 (1962), p. 157-166.
- Kuret 1963 - N. Kuret, *Žiljsko stečvanije in njegov evropski okvir*, Ljubljana 1963.
- Kuret 1967 - N. Kuret, "Masken aus Slowenien", *Schweizer. Archiv für Volkskunde* 63 (1967), p. 203 seq.
- Kuret 1979 - N. Kuret, "Die 'Alten' in den Maskenumzügen Südosteuropas", *Etnografski i folkloristični izsledvanija. FS Chr. Vakarelski*, Sofija 1979, p. 215-225.
- Λαδογιάννη 1996 - Γ. Λαδογιάννη, *Αρχές του νεοελληνικού θεάτρου. Βιβλιογραφία των έντυπων εκδόσεων 1637-1879*, Αθήνα 1996 (Δρώμενα, παράρτημα 2).
- Λάσκαρης 1938/39 - Ν. Λάσκαρης, *Ιστορία του νεοελληνικού θεάτρου*, 2 vols., Αθήνα 1938/39.
- Lauinger 1964 - N. Lauinger, *Untersuchungen über die Kontaktstörungen in der romanischen Komödie (Kontakt und Wirklichkeit als Bauelemente des Dramas)*, Baden-Baden 1964.
- Λιγνάδης 1986 - Τ. Λιγνάδης, *Ο Χουρμούζης. Ιστορία - θέατρο*. Αθήνα 1986.
- Littmann 1901 - E. Littmann, *Arabische Schattenspiele*, Berlin 1901.
- Littmann 1919 - E. Littmann, *Das Malerspiel. Schattenspiel aus Aleppo nach einer armenisch-türkischen Handschrift*, Heidelberg 1919.
- Luciani 1994 - Gian Carlo Persio, *La nobilissima barriera della Canea*, poeta cretese del 1594. Introduzione, testo critico e commento a cura di Cristiano Luciani, Venezia 1994 (Oriens Graecolatinus 2).
- Lunzi 1858 - E. Lunzi, *Della conditione politica dell isole Jonie sotto il dominio veneto*, Venezia 1858, p. 483 seq.
- Lux 1882 - J. Lux, *Trois mois en Tunisie*. Paris 1882.
- Maass 1951-61 - F. Maass, *Der Josephinismus. Quellen aus seiner Geschichte in Österreich. 1760-1850*, vols. 1-5. Wien/München 1951-61.
- Mackridge 1981 - P. Mackridge, "The Greek Intelligentsia 1780-1830: a balkan perspective", R. Clogg (ed.), *Balkan Society in the Age of Greek Independence*. London 1981, p. 63-84.
- Μαθιοπούλου-Τορναρίτου 1995 - Ε. Μαθιοπούλου-Τορναρίτου, «Σκηνές μάχης και "δοκιμασίες" από το δεύτερο μέρος του Ερωτόκριτου», *Πεπραγμένα του Ζ' Διεθνούς Κοητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, vol.2 (Πέθυμο 1995), p. 493-536.
- Majestić 1962 - M. Majestić, "Antička drama na zagrebačkim pozornicama", *Rad JAZU* 326 (1962), p. 519-533.
- Μακρυμύχαλος 1941 - Στ. Ι. Μακρυμύχαλος, «Υπολείμματα της λατρείας του Αδώνιδος εν Μυκόνω. Ο Κραντωνέλλος», *Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 16 (1941), p. 229-232.
- Maltzan 1863 - H. von Maltzan, *Drei Jahre im Nordwesten von Afrika. Reise in Algerien und Marokko*, Leipzig 1863, p. 58-61.
- Maltzan 1870 - H. von Maltzan, *Reisen in den Regentschaften Tunis und Tripolis*. vol. 1, Leipzig 1870.
- Mályusz-Császár 1968 - E. Mályusz-Császár, "Theater in der zweisprachigen Hauptstadt Ofen-Pest, 1790-1815" *Maske und Kothurn* 14 (1968), p. 239-259.
- Mangini 1964 - N. Mangini, "Lineamenti per una storia della fortuna del teatro Goldoniano nel Mondo", *Maske und Kothurn* 10 (1964), p. 408-421.
- Μανούσας 1989 - Μ. Ι. Μανούσας, «Πέντε άγνωστα στιχουργήματα του ορθόδοξου θρησκευτικού θεάτρου από τη Χίο (17<sup>ο</sup> αι.), ξαναφεριμένα στο φως από αφανισμένο χειρόγραφο», *Πρακτικά της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών* 64 (1989), p. 316-334.

- Maquoi 1984 - A. Maquoi, "Karakouz i el culte a la negativitat", *El teatre d'ombres arreu del món*. Barcelona 1984, p. 125-131.
- Marinov 1914 - D. Marinov, "Narodna vjara i religiozni narodni obicai", *Sbornik za Narodni Umotvorenija i Narodopis* 28 (1914), p. 553 εξ.
- Maslev 1968 - St. Maslev, "Die Rolle der griechischen Schulen und der griechischen Literatur für die Aufklärung des bulgarischen Volkes zur Zeit seiner Wiedergeburt", in: J. Irmischer / M. Mineemi (eds.), *Über die Beziehungen des Griechentums zum Ausland in neuerer Zeit*. Berlin 1968, σσ. 339-396.
- Μαστροδημήτρης 1990 - Δ. Π. Μαστροδημήτρης, *Εισαγωγή στη νεοελληνική φιλολογία*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed., Αθήνα 1990.
- Matl 1965 - J. Matl, "Romantik und Realismus in den südslawischen Literaturen des 19. Jahrhunderts", *Südslawische Studien*, München 1965, p. 310-325.
- Μαυρίκου-Αναγνώστου 1964 - Μ. Μαυρίκου-Αναγνώστου, *Ο Κωνσταντίνος Χρηστομάνος και η Νέα Σκηνή*, Αθήνα 1964.
- Μαυρομούστακος 1995 - Πλ. Μαυρομούστακος, «Το ιταλικό μελόδραμα στο θέατρο Σαν Τζιάκομο της Κέρκυρας (1733-1798)», *Παράβασις* 1 (1995), σσ. 147-192.
- Μέγας 1956 - Γ. Α. Μέγας, *Ελληνικά εορταί και έθιμα της λαϊκής λατρείας*, Αθήνα 1956, p. 236 seq.
- Menzel 1941 - Th. Menzel, *Meddah, Schattentheater und Orta Oyunu*, Prag 1941.
- Micu 1958 - D. Micu, *Istoria literaturii române (1900-1918)*, București 1958.
- Minea 1977 - S. Minea, *Das Drama des Alltags bei Caragiale und Ionesco*, Diss. Wien 1977.
- Μισσηλίδης 1960 - Δ. Μισσηλίδης, «Διά το "Κανναβούριν"». *Ποντιακή Εστία* 6 (1960), p. 3092.
- Mladenov 1965 - M. Mladenov, *Meisterwerke der Komödiendichtung von J.L. Caragiale, B. Nušić und L. Kostov*, Diss. Wien 1965.
- Moser 1986 - D.-R. Moser, *Fastnacht - Fasching - Karneval. Das Fest der "verkehrten Welt"*, Graz/Köln/Wien 1986.
- Moullas 1989 - Pan. Moullas, *Les concours poétiques de l'université d'Athènes 1851-1877*, Athènes 1989.
- Μπακουνάκης 1991 - Ν. Μπακουνάκης, *Το φάντασμα της Νόρμα: Η υποδοχή του μελοδράματος στον ελληνικό χώρο το 19<sup>ο</sup> αιώνα*, Αθήνα 1991.
- Myrsiades 1983 - L. S. Myrsiades, «Καραγκιόζης. A Bibliograph of Primary Materials», *Μαντατοφόρος* 1983, p. 14-42.
- Myrsiades 1985 - L. Myrsiades, "Oral Traditional Form in the Karagiozis Performance", *Ελληνικά* 36 (1985), p. 116-152.
- Nadejda 1960 - L. Nadejda, "Teatrul popular de papuși în secolul al XIX-lea", *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei* 7/1 (1960), p. 203-215.
- Najdenova-Stoilova 1962 - G. Najdenova-Stoilova, *P.K.Javorov*, 2 vols., Sofija 1962.
- Nehring 1983 - K. Nehring, *Adam Freiherr zu Herbersteins Gesandtschaftsreise nach Konstantinopel*, München 1983.
- Nikolić 1955 - M. Nikolić, *Le Théâtre en Yougoslavie*, Belgrad 1955.
- Nikolić 1964 - C. Nikolić, "Beitrag zum Studium des Ritterspiels von Sinj", *Narodno stvaralaštvo Folklor* 3 (1964), p. 807-813.
- Nordenflycht 1845 - J. von Nordenflycht, *Briefe einer Hofdame in Athen an eine Freundin in Deutschland*, Leipzig 1845.
- Novak 1984 - Sl. P. Novak, *Planeta Držić*, Zagreb 1984.
- Ντεμπόνος 1979 - Α. Δ. Ντεμπόνος, *Το Αργουσόλι διασκεδάζει*, Αργουσόλι 1979.

- Ohnefalsch-Richter 1913 - M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Griechische Sitten und Gebräuche auf Cypern*, Berlin 1913, p. 86 seq.
- Οικονομίδης 1950 - Δ. Β. Οικονομίδης, «Ο Κ. Κυριακός-Αριστίας μέχρι της αφίξεώς του εις Αθήνας», *Ελληνική Δημιουργία* 4 (1950), p. 43 seq.
- Οικονομίδης 1950 - Δ. Β. Οικονομίδης, «Το εν Βουκουρεστίω ελληνικόν θέατρον και οι μαθηταί του Κωνσταντινοπολίτου Κωνσταντίνου Κυριακού Αριστίας», *Αρχαίον του Θρακικού Γλωσσικού και Λαογραφικού Θησαυρού* 19 (1954), p. 161-192.
- Ollanescu 1899 - D. C. Ollanescu, *Teatrul la Români*, τόμ. 2, Bucuresti 1899.
- Oprisan 1978 - H. B. Oprisan, "Das volkstümliche rumänische Theater", *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 81 (1978), p. 178-201.
- Oprisan 1981 - H. B. Oprisan, "Das rumänische Volks-Puppenspiel", *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 30/84 (1981), p. 84-106.
- Ósvath 1959 - B. Ósvath, *Szigligeti Ede*, Budapest 1959.
- Özgü 1974 - M. Özgü, "Türkei", H. Kindermann, *Theatergeschichte Europas*, τόμ. 10, Salzburg 1974, p. 521-573.
- Paleologu 1966 - A. Paleologu, "Teatru lui Lucian Blaga", *Studii și cercetări de istoria artei, seria teatru* 15 (1966).
- Παναγιωτάκης 1988 - Ν. Μ. Παναγιωτάκης (επιμ.), *Κρήτη, Ιστορία και πολιτισμός*, vol. 2, Ηράκλειον 1988.
- Παναγιωτάκης 1990 - Ν. Μ. Παναγιωτάκης, «Η κρητική περίοδος της ζωής του Δομηνίκου Θεοδοκοπούλου», *Αφιέρωμα στον Νίκο Σβορώνο*, vol. 2, Ρέθυμνο 1986, p. 1-121 and separatum.
- Παναγιωτάκης 1990 - Ν. Μ. Παναγιωτάκης, *Φραγκίσκος Λεονταρίτης. Κρητικός μουσικοσυνθέτης του δέκατου έκτου αιώνα. Μαρτυρίες για τη ζωή και το έργο του*, Βενετία 1990.
- Παναγιωτάκης 1990a - Ν. Μ. Παναγιωτάκης, «Μαρτυρίες για τη μουσική στην Κρήτη κατά τη Βενετοκρατία», *Θησαυρίσματα* 20 (1990), p. 9-169.
- Παναγιωτάκης 1998 - Ν. Μ. Παναγιωτάκης, «Νέες ειδήσεις για το Κρητικό θέατρο», *Κρητικό θέατρο. Μελέτες*, Αθήνα 1998, p. 141-158.
- Παναγιωτάκης/Πούχνερ - *Τραγέδια του Αγίου Δημητρίου. Θρησκευτικό δράμα με κωμικά ιντερμέδια άγνωστου ποιητή που παραστάθηκε στις 29 Δεκεμβρίου 1723 στη Ναξία. Κριτική έκδοση με εισαγωγή, σημειώσεις και γλωσσάριο Νικ. Μ. Παναγιωτάκης / Β. Πούχνερ*, Ηράκλειο 1999.
- Pantić 1952 - M. Pantić, "Arhivske vesti o dubrovačkom pozorištu druge polovine XVII. veka", *Zbornik radova Instituta za proučavanje književnost SAN* 7/2 (1952), p. 39-60.
- Pantić 1958 - M. Pantić, *Marina Držića*, Beograd 1958.
- Pantić 1958a - M. Pantić, "Arhivske vesti o dubrovačkom pozorištu u doba Gundulića i Palmotića", *Pitanja književnosti i jezika* 4 (Sarajevo 1958), p. 65-75.
- Panzer 1969 - B. Panzer, "Die Bearbeitung antiker Stoffe in den Dramen des Ragusaners J. Palmotic", *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* CXX, vol. 205 (1969), p. 23-41.
- Papacostea-Danielopolu 1969 - L. Papacostea-Danielopolu, *Intellectualii români di Principate și cultura greacă 1821-1859*, București 1969.
- Papacostea-Danielopolu 1977 - C. Papacostea-Danielopolu, "La satire sociale-politique dans la littérature dramatique en langue grecque des Principautés (1774-1830)", *Revue des Études Sud-Est Européennes* 15 (1977), p. 75-92.



- Παπαδόπουλος 1938-40 - Δ. Κ. Παπαδόπουλος, «Το Σταυρί», *Ποντιακά Φύλλα* 3 (1938-40), p. 258-262.
- Παπαδόπουλος 1979 - *Αγνώστου Χίου Ποιητή, Δαβίδ*. Ανέκδοτο διαλογικό στιχούργημα. Ανεύρεση - κριτική έκδοση Θωμά Ι. Παπαδοπούλου, Αθήνα 1979.
- Παπαϊωάννου 1983 - Μ. Ν. Παπαϊωάννου, *Το Κωμειδύλλιο*, Αθήνα 1983.
- Παπαϊωάννου 1991 - Μ. Ν. Παπαϊωάννου, *Ο Μιχαήλ Χουρμούζης και η νεοελληνική κωμωδία (1801-1882)*, Αθήνα 1991.
- Pavić 1883/84 - A. Pavić, "Junije Palmotić", *Rad JAZU* 68 (Zagreb 1883), p. 69-176, 70 (1884), p. 1-88.
- Perillo 1975 - F. S. Perillo, *Le Sacre rappresentazioni Croate*, Bari 1975.
- Petek-Salom 1986 - G. Petek-Salom, "Karagöz en Turquie aujourd'hui: inventaire et bilan", St. Damianakos (ed.), *Théâtres d'ombres*, Paris 1986, p. 217-228.
- Peterson 1934 - D. P. Peterson, *Schiller in Rußland 1795-1805*, New York [1934].
- Πετράκου 1999 - Κ. Πετράκου, *Οι θεατρικοί διαγωνισμοί (1870-1925)*, Αθήνα 1999.
- Petrović 1962 - D. Petrović, "Das türkische Turnierspiel 'džilitanje' in der Vergangenheit Serbiens und Bosniens", *Vernik Vojung muzeja Jug. narodne armije* 6/7 (Beograd 1962), p. 135-144.
- Piese 1882 - L. Piese, *Itinéraire de Algérie*, Paris 1882.
- Plaschka 1985 - *Nationalismus - Staatsgewalt - Widerstand*. Festgabe für R. G. Plaschka, Wien 1985.
- Πλωρίτης 1999 - Μ. Πλωρίτης, *Το θέατρο στο Βυζάντιο*, Αθήνα 1999.
- Pollo 1985 - St. Pollo, "Les contradictions dans la formation de la conscience nationale du peuples de Sud-Est européen", in: *Société, Conscience Nationale et États dans les Balkans (XVIIIe-XIXss)*. Sofija 1985, p. 116-146.
- Πολυμέρου-Καμηλάκη 1998 - Αικ. Πολυμέρου-Καμηλάκη, *Θεατρολογικά μελετήματα για το λαϊκό θέατρο. Από το κρητικό θέατρο στα δρώμενα της νεοελληνικής αποικιάς*, Αθήνα 1998.
- Popescu-Judetiz 1967 - L. Popescu-Judetiz, "L'influence des spectacles populaires turcs dans les Pays Roumaines", *Studia et acta orientalia* 5-6 (1967), p. 337-355.
- Popović 1899 - P. Popović, *Nacionalni repertoar Kraljevskog srpskog narodnog pozoriste*, Beograd 1899.
- Popović 1902 - P. Popović, "Srpska drama u XIX veku.", *Srpski književni glasnik C* (1902), p. 934-938.
- Póth 1963 - I. Póth, "Gergely Csikys Dramen auf den serbischen Bühnen", *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 9 (1963), p. 283-309.
- Potthoff 1973 - W. Potthoff, *Die Dramen des Junije Palmotić. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Theaters in Dubrovnik im 17. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1973.
- Πούχγερ 1976-78 - Β. Πούχγερ, «Σύντομη αναλυτική βιβλιογραφία του Θεάτρου Σκιών στην Ελλάδα», *Λαογραφία* 31 (1976-78), p. 294-324 και 32 (1979-81), p. 370-378;
- Πούχγερ 1983 - Β. Πούχγερ, «Το παραδοσιακό λαϊκό θέατρο του Πόντου στον εθνολογικό του συσχετισμό», *Αρχαίον Πόντου* 38 (1983), p. 291-305.
- Πούχγερ 1984 - Β. Πούχγερ, *Ιστορικά νεοελληνικού θεάτρου*, Αθήνα 1984.
- Πούχγερ 1985 - Β. Πούχγερ, *Οι βαλκανικές διαστάσεις του Καραγκιόζη*, Αθήνα 1985.
- Πούχγερ 1988 - Β. Πούχγερ, *Ελληνικά Θεατρολογία*, Αθήνα 1988.
- Πούχγερ 1989 - Β. Πούχγερ, *Λαϊκό θέατρο στην Ελλάδα και στα Βαλκάνια. Συγκριτική μελέτη*, Αθήνα 1989.

- Πούχγκερ 1991 - Β. Πούχγκερ, *Μελετήματα θεάτρου. Το Κρητικό θέατρο*, Αθήνα 1991.
- Πούχγκερ 1992 - Β. Πούχγκερ, *Το θέατρο στην Ελλάδα. Μορφολογικές επισημάνσεις*, Αθήνα 1992.
- Πούχγκερ 1993 - Β. Πούχγκερ, *Η ιδέα του Εθνικού Θεάτρου στα Βαλκάνια του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα. Ιστορική τραγωδία και κοινωνικοκριτική κωμωδία στις εθνικές λογοτεχνίες της Νοτιοανατολικής Ευρώπης. Συγκριτική μελέτη*, Αθήνα 1993.
- Πούχγκερ 1994 - Β. Πούχγκερ, *Βαλκανική Θεατρολογία. Δέκα μελετήματα για το θέατρο στην Ελλάδα και τις γειτονικές της χώρες*, Athens 1994.
- Πούχγκερ 1994a - Β. Πούχγκερ, *Βυζαντινά θέματα της Ελληνικής Λαογραφίας*, Αθήνα 1994 (Λαογραφία, παράρτημα 11).
- Πούχγκερ 1994b - Β. Πούχγκερ, «Η “γκιόστρα” στην ελληνική παράδοση», *Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά* 31 (1994), σσ. 107-162.
- Πούχγκερ 1994c - Β. Πούχγκερ, «Ο Καραγκιόζης και η παιδευτική του διάσταση», *Απόψεις* παράρτημα 19, Αθήνα 1994, σσ. 67-73.
- Πούχγκερ 1995 - Β. Πούχγκερ, *Ανιχνεύοντας τη θεατρική παράδοση. Δέκα μελετήματα*, Αθήνα 1995.
- Πούχγκερ 1995a - Β. Πούχγκερ, *Δραματουργικές αναζητήσεις. Πέντε μελετήματα*, Αθήνα 1995.
- Πούχγκερ 1995b - Β. Πούχγκερ, *Ο Παλαμάς και το θέατρο*, Αθήνα 1995.
- Πούχγκερ 1996 - Β. Πούχγκερ, «Οι ιδεολογικές βάσεις της επιστημονικής ενασχόλησης με τον ελληνικό λαϊκό πολιτισμό τον 19<sup>ο</sup> αιώνα», στον τόμο: Ε.Χρυσός (επιμ.), *Ένας κόσμος γεννιέται. Η εικόνα του ελληνικού πολιτισμού στη γερμανική επιστήμη κατά τον 19<sup>ο</sup> αιώνα*, Αθήνα 1996, p. 247-267.
- Πούχγκερ 1997 - Β. Πούχγκερ, *Κείμενα και αντικείμενα. Δέκα θεατρολογικά μελετήματα*, Αθήνα 1997.
- Πούχγκερ 1997a - Β. Πούχγκερ, *Ο Κωνσταντίνος Χρηστομάνος ως δραματογράφος. Ο αισθητισμός και ο αισθησιασμός στο ελληνικό θέατρο των αρχών του αιώνα μας*, Αθήνα 1997.
- Πούχγκερ 1998 - Β. Πούχγκερ, «Το κονταροχτύπημα ως έκφραση εξουσίας και υπεροχής της Γαλινοτάτης στις βενετικές κτήσεις της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου. Τα βραβεία της γκιόστρας και οι περιορισμοί τους», *Χρ. Μαλτέζου (επιμ.), Πλούσιοι και φτωχοί στην κοινωνία της Ελληνολατινικής Ανατολής*, Βενετία 1998, p. 205-210.
- Πούχγκερ 1998a - *Ηρώδης ή Η σφαγή των νηπίων. Χριστογεννιάτικο θρησκευτικό δράμα αγνώστου ποιητή σε πεζό λόγο από το χώρο των Κυκλάδων την εποχή της Αντιμεταρρύθμισης. Κριτική έκδοση με εισαγωγή, σημειώσεις και γλωσσάριο* Βάλτερ Πούχγκερ, Αθήνα 1998 (Παράβασις, παράρτημα: κείμενα 1).
- Πούχγκερ 1999 - Β. Πούχγκερ, *Φαινόμενα και Νοούμενα. Δέκα θεατρολογικά μελετήματα*, Αθήνα 1999.
- Πούχγκερ 2000 - Β. Πούχγκερ, «Η επανάσταση του 1821 στην ελληνική δραματουργία», *Διάλογοι και διαλογισμοί. Δέκα θεατρολογικά μελετήματα*, Αθήνα 2000.
- Πούχγκερ 2001 - Β. Πούχγκερ, *Η γλωσσική σάτιρα στην ελληνική κωμωδία του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα. Γλωσσικοκεντρικές στρατηγικές του γέλιου από τα «Κορακιστικά» ως τον Καραγκιόζη*, Αθήνα 2001.
- Πρωτοπαπά-Μπουμπουλίδου 1970 - Ε. Πρωτοπαπά-Μπουμπουλίδου, *Σαβόγιας Ρούσμελης*, Αθήνα 1971, p. 39-94.
- Puchner 1975 - W. Puchner, *Das neugriechische Schattentheater Karagiozis*, München 1975 (Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 21).

- Puchner 1975a - W. Puchner, "Hof-, Schul- und Nationaltheater der griechischen Aufklärung im Europäischen Südosten", *Maske und Kothurn* 21 (1975), p. 235-262.
- Puchner 1977 - W. Puchner, *Brauchumserscheinungen im griechischen Jahreslauf und ihre Beziehungen zum Volkstheater. Theaterwissenschaftlich-volkskundliche Querschnittstudien zur balkan-mediterranen Volkskultur*, Wien 1977.
- Puchner 1977a - W. Puchner, "Die 'Rogatsiengesellschaften'. Theriomorphe Maskierung und adoleszenter Umzugsbrauch in den Kontinentalzonen Südosteuropas", *Südost-Forschungen* 36 (1977) p. 109-158.
- Puchner 1977ß - W. Puchner, "Forschungsnotiz zum Judasbrennen", *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 31/80 (1977), p. 229-232.
- Puchner 1978 - W. Puchner, "Lazarusbrauch in Südosteuropa", *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 32/81 (1978), p. 17-40.
- Puchner 1978α - W. Puchner, *Fasulis. Griechisches Puppentheater italienischen Ursprungs aus der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Bochum 1978.
- Puchner 1979 - W. Puchner, "Südosteuropäische Versionen des Liedes von 'Lazarus redivivus'", *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 24 (1979), p. 81-126.
- Puchner 1979a - W. Puchner, "Zur liturgischen Frühstufe der Höllenfahrtsszene Christi. Byzantinische Katabasis-Ikonographie und rezenter Osterbrauch", *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 15 (1979), p. 98-133.
- Puchner 1979b - W. Puchner, "Südost-Belege zur 'giostra': Reiterfeste und Lanzenturniere von der kolonialvenezianischen Adels- und Bürgerrenaissance bis zum rezenten heptanesischen Volksschauspiel", *Schweizer. Archiv für Volkskunde* 75 (1979), p. 1-27.
- Puchner 1980 - W. Puchner, "Romanische Renaissance- und Barockmotive in schriftlicher und mündlicher Tradition Südosteuropas. Volksbuch, Volksschauspiel, Volkslied und Märchen", *Europäische Volksliteratur. FS F. Karlinger*, Wien 1980, p. 119-150.
- Puchner 1982 - W. Puchner, "Zur Typologie des balkanischen Regenmädchens", *Schweizer. Archiv für Volkskunde* 78 (1982), p. 98-125.
- Puchner 1982a - W. Puchner, "Das Judasgericht auf Zypern", *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* 36/85 (1982), p. 402-405.
- Puchner 1982b - W. Puchner, "Beiträge zur thrakischen Feuerlauf (Anastenaria/Nestinari) und zur thrakischen Karnevalsszene (Kalogeros/Kuker/Köpek-Bey). Anmerkungen zur Forschungsgeschichte und analytische Bibliographie", *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 17/1 (1982), p. 47-75.
- Puchner 1983 - W. Puchner, "Byzantinischer Mimos, Pantomimos und Mummenschanz im Spiegel griechischer Patristik und ekklesiastischer Synodalverordnungen. Quellenkritische Anmerkungen aus theaterwissenschaftlicher Sicht", *Maske und Kothurn* 29 (1983), p. 311-317.
- Puchner 1983a - W. Puchner, "Die thrakische Karnevalsszene und die Ursprungstheorien zum altgriechischen Drama. Ein Beitrag zur wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Rezeptionsforschung", *Balkan Studies* 24/1 (1983), p. 107-122.
- Puchner 1983ß - W. Puchner, "Scenic space in Cretan theatre", *Μαγτατοφóρος* 21 (Amsterdam 1983), p. 43-57.
- Puchner 1984 - W. Puchner, "Liedtextstudien zur balkanischen Regenlitanei mit spezieller Berücksichtigung der bulgarischen und griechischen Varianten", *Jahrbuch für Volksliedforschung* 29 (1984), p. 100-111.
- Puchner 1986 - W. Puchner, "Greek Shadow Theatre and its Traditional Audience: a



- Contribution to the Research of Theatre Audience", St. Damianakos ed.), *Théâtres d'ombres*, Paris 1986, p. 199-216.
- Puchner 1986-88 - W. Puchner, "Primitivdole und Idolbestattung auf der Balkanhalbinsel (zur rituellen Frühgeschichte des Puppentheaters)", *Acta Ethnographica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 34 (1986-88), p. 229-244.
- Puchner 1987 - W. Puchner, "Zum Nachleben des Rosalienfestes auf der Balkanhalbinsel", *Südost-Forschungen* 46 (1987), p. 197-278.
- Puchner 1990 - W. Puchner, "Zum 'Theater' in Byzanz. Eine Zwischenbilanz", G. Prinzing / D. Simon (eds.), *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, München 1990, p. 11-16, 169-179.
- Puchner 1990α - W. Puchner, "Der Einfluß Österreichs auf die neugriechische Literatur", *Greek Letters* 5 (1990), p. 35-62.
- Puchner 1991 - W. Puchner, *Studien zum Kulturkontext der liturgischen Szene. Lazarus und Judas als religiöse Volksfiguren in Bild und Brauch, Lied und Legende Südosteuropas*. 2 vols. Wien 1991 (Österr. Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 216).
- Puchner 1993 - W. Puchner, "Europäische Einflüsse auf die griechische Dramatik des 19. Jahrhunderts. Im südosteuropäischen Kontext", G. Hering (ed.), *Dimensionen der griechischen Literatur und Geschichte. FS Pavlos Tzermias*, Frankfurt/M. etc. 1993, p. 53-82.
- Puchner 1994 - W. Puchner, *Historisches Drama und gesellschaftskritische Komödie in den Ländern Südosteuropas im 19. Jahrhundert. Vom Theater des Nationalismus zum Nationaltheater*. Frankfurt/M. etc. 1994.
- Puchner 1996 - W. Puchner, *Studien zum griechischen Volkslied*, Wien 1996.
- Puchner 1997 - W. Puchner, "Das osmanische Schattentheater auf der Balkanhalbinsel zur Zeit der Türkenherrschaft. Verbreitung, Funktion, Assimilation", *Südost-Forschungen* 56 (1997), p. 151-188.
- Puchner 1998 - W. Puchner, "Zum Ritterspiel in griechischer Tradition", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 91 (1998), p. 435-470.
- Puchner 1999 - W. Puchner, "Ideologische Dominanten in der wissenschaftlichen Beschäftigung mit der griechischen Volkskultur im 19. Jahrhundert", *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 35 (1999), p. 46-62.
- Puchner 1999a - W. Puchner, *Griechisches Schuldrama und religiöses Barocktheater im ägäischen Raum zur Zeit der Türkenherrschaft (1580-1750)*, Wien 1999 (Österr. Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften 277).
- Pukánsky-Kádár 1933 - J. Pukánsky-Kádár, *Geschichte der deutschen Theater in Ungarn*, vol.1, München 1933.
- Pukánsky-Kádár 1972 - J. Pukánsky-Kádár, *Geschichte der deutschsprachigen Theater in Budapest von den Anfängen bis zum Brand des Theaters in der Wollgasse (1889)*, Wien 1972.
- Quedenfeldt 1890 - M. Quedenfeldt, "Das türkische Schattenspiel in Magrib (Tunis)", *Das Ausland* 63 (Stuttgart 1890), p. 904-908, 921-924.
- Radics 1912 - P. v. Radics, *Die Entwicklung des Bühnenwesens in Laibach*, Laibach 1912.
- Radiot 1892 - P. Radiot, *Tripoli d'Occident et Tunis*, Paris 1892.
- Rădulescu 1965 - I. H. Rădulescu, *Le théâtre français dans les pays roumains (1826-1852)*, Paris 1965.
- Rădulescu 1978 - N. Rădulescu, "Musikalische Puppenspiele orientalischer Herkunft in der rumänischen Folklore", *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 14 (1978), p. 83-98.
- Rădulescu 1969 - N. Rădulescu, "Sulul - un obicei inedit din ciclul calendaristic", *Revista de Etnografie și Folclor* 14 (1969), p. 3-25.

- Reicherts-Schenk 1994 - S. Reicherts-Schenk, *Die Legende von Meister Manole in der rumänischen Dramatik. Aspekte eines kreativen Schaffensprozesses am Beispiel der Dramen von Adrian Maniu, Lucian Blaga, Horia Lovinescu und Marin Sorescu*, Frankfurt/M. etc. 1994 (Heidelberger Beiträge zur Romanistik 29).
- Rešetar 1893 - M. Rešetar, "Zur Textkritik von Palmotić's Dramen", *Archiv für Slavische Philologie* 15 (1893), σσ. 381-388.
- Rešetar 1922 - M. Rešetar, "Stari dubrovački teatar", *Narodna starina* I (Zagreb 1922), p. 97-106.
- Ritter 1924-53 - H. Ritter, *Karagözü. Türkische Schattenspiele*. 3 vols. Hannover, Istanbul 1924-53.
- Rommel 1952 - O. Rommel, *Die Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie*. Wien 1952.
- Săineanu 1900 - L. Săineanu, "Jocul papușilor și raporturile en farsa Karagöz". *Lui Titu Maiorescu omagiu*, București 1900, σσ.281-287 (also *Keleti Szemle* I, Budapest 1900, p. 140-144 and French in *Revue des traditions populaires* 16, 1901, p. 409-419).
- Σαμουηλίδης 1980 - Χρ. Σαμουηλίδης, *Το λαϊκό παραδοσιακό θέατρο του Πόντου*, Αθήνα 1980.
- Σάρρος 1900 - Δ. Μ. Σάρρος, «Λείψανα της λατρείας του Λίνου και Αδώνιδος εν Ηπείρῳ. Ο Ζαφείρης», *Δελτίον της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος* 5 (1900), p. 347-351.
- Σάθας 1879 - Κ. Σάθας, *Κρητικόν Θέατρον ήτοι συλλογή αγνώστων και ανεκδότων δραμάτων*, εν Βενετία 1879.
- Schmaus 1969 - A. Schmaus, "Skanderbeg in der serbischen Literatur", *Studia Albanica Monacensia*, München 1969, p. 146-176.
- Schmidt 1962 - L. Schmidt, *Das deutsche Volksschauspiel*, Berlin 1962, p. 330 seq., 337 seq.
- Schmidt 1965 - L. Schmidt (ed.), *Le théâtre populaire Européen*. Paris 1965.
- Schram 1964 - F. Schram, "Három történelmi bethlehemes játék", *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 1964, p. 497-520.
- Schuller 1859 - J. C. Schuller, *Herodes. Ein deutsches Weihnachtsspiel aus Siebenbürgen*, Hermannstadt 1859.
- Setschkareff 1952 - V. Setschkareff, *Die Dichtungen Gundulic's und ihr poetischer Stil*, Bonn 1952.
- Sevengil 1959-62 - R. A. Sevengil, *Türk Tiyatrosu Tarihi*, I-IV, Istanbul 1959-62.
- Σιδέρης 1971 - Γ. Σιδέρης, *Το 1821 και το θέατρο, ήτοι πώς γεννήθηκε η νέα ελληνική σκηνή (1741-1821)*, Αθήνα 1971.
- Σιδέρης 1973 - Γ. Σιδέρης, «Τα "Ορεστειακά"», *Θέατρο* 33 (1973), σσ.51-61 και 34/36 (1973), p. 89-99.
- Σιδέρης 1976 - Γ. Σιδέρης, *Το αρχαίο θέατρο στη νέα ελληνική σκηνή. 1817-1932*, Αθήνα 1976.
- Σιδέρης 1990 - Γ. Σιδέρης, *Ιστορία του Νέου Ελληνικού Θεάτρου 1794-1944*. Τόμ.Α' 1794-1908, Αθήνα 1990.
- Siyavusgil 1955 - S. E. Siyavusgil, *Karagöz. Its history, its characters, its mystic and satiric spirit*, Ankara 1955.
- Σκαλιόρας 1970 - Κ. Σκαλιόρας (ed.), *Κωνσταντίνος Οικονόμος, Ο Φιλάργυρος του Μολιέρου*, Αθήνα 1970.
- Slodnjak 1958 - A. Slodnjak, *Geschichte der slovenischen Literatur*, Berlin 1958.
- Σολομωνίδης 1954 - Χρ. Σολομωνίδης, *Το θέατρο στη Σμύρνη (1657-1922)*, Αθήνα 1954.

- Σπάθης 1983 - Δ. Σπάθης, «Το νεοελληνικό θέατρο», στον τόμο: *Ελλάδα - Ιστορία και Πολιτισμός*, vol. 10, Θεσσαλονίκη 1983, p. 12-67.
- Σπάθης 1986 - Δ. Σπάθης, *Ο Διαφωτισμός και το νεοελληνικό θέατρο*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1986.
- Σπάθης 1995 - Γεώργιος Ν. Σούτσος, «Αλεξανδροβόδας ο ασυνείδητος», κωμωδία συντεθείσα εν έτει «αψπ»: 1785. Σχολιασμένη έκδοση και συνοδευτική μελέτη «Φαναριώτικη κοινωνία και σάτιρα», Δημήτρης Σπάθης, Αθήνα 1995.
- Spies 1928 - O. Spies, "Tunesisches Schattentheater", *Festschrift W. Schmidt* 1928, σσ. 693-702.
- Spies 1959 - O. Spies, *Türkisches Puppentheater. Versuch einer Geschichte des Puppentheaters im Morgenland*, Emsdetten 1959 (Die Schaubühne 50).
- Spies 1963 - O. Spies, "Die moderne türkische Literatur", *Handbuch der Orientalistik* 1. Abt. Vol. V: *Altaistik*, 1. Abschnitt: *Turkologie*, Leiden/Köln 1963, p. 336-382.
- Spuler 1968 - Chr.-U. Spuler, *Das türkische Drama der Gegenwart*, Leiden 1968.
- Stadtmüller 1952 - G. Stadtmüller, "Aufklärung und 'Europäisierung' als Entwicklungsbruch bei den Völkern Südosteuropas", *Neues Abendland* 7 (1952), p. 434-439.
- Stadtmüller 1976 - G. Stadtmüller, *Geschichte Südosteuropas*, München/Wien 1976.
- Σταματοπούλου-Βασιλάκου 1994/96 - Χρ. Σταματοπούλου-Βασιλάκου, *Το ελληνικό θέατρο στην Κωνσταντινούπολη το 19<sup>ο</sup> αιώνα*, vol. I, *Ιστορία, δραματολόγιο, θίασοι, ηθοποιοί, θέατρα*, Αθήνα 1994, vol. II, *Παραστάσεις*, Αθήνα 1996.
- Stančić 1985 - N. Stančić, *Hrvatski narodni preporod 1790-1848*, Zagreb 1985.
- Staska 1935 - Staska, *Jezuitske školské drame v Ljubljani*, Mladika 1935.
- Staud 1962/63 - G. Staud, *A magyar színház történeti forrassai*. 3 vols., Budapest 1962-63.
- Staud 1965-67 - G. Staud, *Magyar színház történeti bibliografia*. 2 vols., Budapest 1965-67.
- Staud 1967 - G. Staud, "Bibliographie der deutschen Theater in Ungarn", *Maske und Kothurn* 13 (1967), p. 21 seq.
- Staud 1977 - G. Staud, *Adelstheater in Ungarn (18. und 19. Jahrhundert)*, Wien 1977 (Österr. Akad. d. Wiss., Kommission für Theatergeschichte Österreichs, Band X: Donaumonarchie Heft 2).
- Staud 1986 - G. Staud, "Ferdinand Raimund in Ungarn", *Maske und Kothurn* 14 (1986) p. 271-286.
- Stavrianos 1957 - E. Stavrianos, "Antecedents of the Balkan revolutions of the 19<sup>th</sup> century", *Journal of Modern History* 29 (1957), p. 333-348.
- Stavrianos 1958 - L.S. Stavrianos, *The Balkans since 1453*. New York/Chicago/London 1958.
- Stehenski 1959 - W. Stehenski, "Friedrich Schiller auf der russischen Bühne", *Maske und Kothurn* 5 (1959), p. 253-257.
- Σιβανάνκη 1997 - Ε. Σιβανάνκη, *Θεατρική ζωή και δραστηριότητα στην Πάτρα από την απελευθέρωση της πόλης (1828) έως το τέλος του 19<sup>ου</sup> αιώνα (1900)*, διδ. διατρ. Αθήνα 1997.
- Stipčević 1983 - S. Stipčević, "La Gerusalemme liberata e il dramma raguseo del primo Seicento", *Barocco in Italia e nei paesi del Sud*, Firenze 1983, σσ. 375-386.
- Süßheim 1909 - K. Süßheim, "Die moderne Gestalt des türkischen Schattenspiels (Qaragöz)", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 63 (1909), σσ. 739-773.
- Sulzer 1781 - F. J. Sulzer, *Geschichte des transalpinischen Daciens, das ist: der Walachey, Moldau und Bessarabiens, im Zusammenhang mit der Geschichte des übrigen Daciens als ein Versuch einer allgemeinen Geschichte mit kritischer Freyheit entworfen von...*, Zweeter Band, Wien 1781.
- Sundhaussen 1973 - H. Sundhaussen, *Der Einfluß der Herderschen Ideen auf die Nationsbildung bei den Völkern der Habsburger Monarchie*, München 1973.



- Švelec 1959/60 - F. Švelec, "Mavro Vetranović", *Radovi instituta JAZU u Zabru* 4-5 (1959), 6 (1960).
- Švelec 1968 - F. Švelec, *Komički teatar Marina Držića*, Zagreb 1968.
- Švelec 1973 - F. Švelec, "Robinja Hanibala Lucića", *Mogućnosti* 7 (Split 1973), p. 668-681.
- Švelec 1975 - F. Švelec, "Dubrovačka komedija XVII st.", *Dani hrvatskog kazališta - uvod*, Split 1975, p.95-110.
- Συνοδινός 1997 - Z. X. Συνοδινός, *Δημήτριος Γουξέλης, Χάσης (Το τζάκωμα και το φτιάσιμον)*. Κριτική έκδοση, Αθήνα 1997.
- Ταμπάκη 1988 - Α. Ταμπάκη, *Ο Μολιέρος στη φαναριώτικη παιδεία*, Αθήνα 1988.
- Ταμπάκη 1993 - Α. Ταμπάκη, *Η νεοελληνική δραματολογία και οι δυτικές της επιδράσεις (18<sup>ος</sup> - 19<sup>ος</sup> αι.)*, Αθήνα 1993.
- Teodorescu 1874 - G. T. Teodorescu, *Incertări critice asupra unor credințe, datine și moravuri ale poporului român*, București 1874.
- Teodorescu 1885 - G. T. Teodorescu, *Poezii populare române*. București 1885, p. 120-132.
- Thierfelder 1943 - F. Thierfelder, *Ursprung und Wirkung der französischen Kultureinflüsse in Südost-Europa*, Berlin 1943.
- Τσαουσόπουλος 1923 - Κ. Τσαουσόπουλος, «Επιστολαί κυρίας της τιμής εν Αθήναις προς φίλην της εν Γερμανία», *Δελτίον της Ιστορικής και Εθνολογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος* 8, 1923, p.383-555.
- Turczynski 1959 - E. Turczynski, *Die deutsch-griechischen Kulturbeziehungen bis zur Berufung Königs Ottos*, München 1959.
- Turczynski 1985 - E. Turczynski, *Von der Aufklärung zum Frühliberalismus. Politische Trägergruppen und deren Forderungskatalog in Rumänien*. München 1985.
- Vakarelski 1971 - Chr. Vakarelski, *Etnografija na Bŭlgarija*. Sofija 1971.
- Valjaveć 1953-70 - F. Valjaveć, *Geschichte der deutschen Kulturbeziehungen zu Südosteuropa*. 5 vols., München 1953-70 (ιδίως τόμ.3: *Aufklärung und Absolutismus*, München 1958).
- Valjaveć 1955 - F. Valjaveć, "Die politischen Wirkungen der Aufklärung", *Ostdeutsche Wissenschaft* 2 (1955), p. 276-296.
- Valjaveć 1961 - F. Valjaveć, *Geschichte der europäischen Aufklärung*, Wien/München 1961.
- Vargyas 1948 - L. Vargyas, "Mimos elemek a magyar bethlehemes játékban", *Antiquitas Hungariae*, Budapest 1948, p. 117 seq.
- Βελλιώτη 1979/80 - Μ. Βελλιώτη, «Οι κούκλες του Χρήστου Κονιτσιώτη στη συλλογή του Πελοποννησιακού λαογραφικού ιδρύματος», *Εθνογραφικά* 2 (1979/80), p. 47-56.
- Veloudis 1970 - G. Veloudis, "J.Ph.Fallmerayer und der neugriechische Historismus", *Südost-Forschungen* 29 (1970), p. 43-90.
- Veloudis 1983 - G. Veloudis, *Germanograecia. Deutsche Einflüsse auf die neugriechische Literatur 1750-1944*, 2 vols. Amsterdam 1983.
- Vincent 1994 - A. Vincent, «"Ολυμπράντος ο τρομερός" και οι γκιόστρες στη Βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη», *Ροδονιά. Τιμητικός τόμος Μ.Ι. Μανουσάκα*, Ρέθυμνο 1994, vol. 2, p. 621-632.
- Vitti/Spadaro 1995 - M. Vitti / G. Spadaro, *Τραγωδία ονομαζομένη EYTENA του Κυρ Θεοδώρου Μοντσελέζε, 1646*, Αθήνα 1995.
- Vulpescu 1926 - M. Vulpescu, *Revue d'ethnographie et des traditions populaires*, Paris 1926, p. 363-407.
- Vulpescu 1941 - M. Vulpescu, *Irozii. Papușile. Teatrul țărănesc al Vicleimului. Scaloianul și Păpărulele*, București 1941, p. 49-92.

- Wildhaber 1968 - R. Wildhaber (ed.), *Masken und Maskenbrauchtum aus Ost- und Südosteuropa*, Basel 1968.
- Wojat 1962 - O. Wojat, "Kajkavska drama i razvitak hrvatskog kazališta", *Rad JAZU* 326 (1962), p. 175-184.
- Φεσσά-Εμμανουήλ 1994 - Ε. Φεσσά-Εμμανουήλ, *Η Αρχιτεκτονική του Νεοελληνικού Θεάτρου 1720-1940*, 2 vols., Αθήνα 1994.
- Χαμουδόπουλος 1980 - Δ. Α. Χαμουδόπουλος, *Η ανατολή της έντεχνης μουσικής στην Ελλάδα και η δημιουργία της Εθνικής Σχολής*, Αθήνα 1980.
- Χατζάκης 1998 - Μ. Χατζάκης, *Το έντεχο θέατρο σκιών (θεωρία και πράξη)*, Αθήνα 1998.
- Χατζημυχάλη 1957 - Α. Χατζημυχάλη, *Σαρακατσάνοι*, Αθήνα 1957.
- Χατζηπανταζής 1981 - Θ. Χατζηπανταζής, *Το Κωμειδύλλιο*, Αθήνα 1981.
- Χατζηπανταζής 1984 - Θ. Χατζηπανταζής, *Η εισβολή του Καραγκιόζη στην Αθήνα του 1890*, Αθήνα 1984.
- Zarev 1967 - P. Zarev, *Panorama na bŭlgarskata literatura*, τόμ. 1-2, Sofija 1967, σσ. 98-181.
- Zečević 1969 - S. Zečević, "Vanbracno dete u narodnom verofanju istočne Srbije", *Glasnik Etnografskog instituta* XI-XV (1969), p. 133-135.
- Zečević 1973 - S. Zečević, "Germain (coutume printanière pour invoquer la pluie)", *Makedonski Folklor* VI/12 (1973), p. 255-257.
- Zečević 1976 - S. Zečević, "German", *Glasnik Etnografskog muzeja u Beograd* 1976, p. 39 seq.
- Zechmeister, 1971 - G. Zechmeister, *Die Wiener Theater nächst der Burg und nächst dem Kärntnerthor von 1747 bis 1776*, Wien 1971.
- Zelenčuk/Popović 1976 - V. S. Zelenčuk / J. V. Popović, "Antropomorfnye obrazy v obrjadach plodorodija u vostočnoromanskih narodov (XIX-načalo XX veka)", in: *Balkanske issledovanija. Problemi istorii i kulture*, Moskva 1976, p. 195-201.