

Italian Dramatic Companies and the Peruvian Stage in the 1870's

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The contribution of Italians to the development of the theatre in Peru is perhaps one of the least studied areas in the history of the Peruvian stage. This undeserved neglect is to be attributed primarily to the difficulty of gathering and organizing the relevant information. This information is to be found not only in works dealing specifically with the theatre,¹ but also, and especially, in scores of literary journals and daily newspapers, in the form of day-to-day theatre notes, programs, reviews, and commentaries. While containing a wealth of valuable material, journals and newspapers also constitute an endless source of frustration for the researcher seeking precise data. Among their most frequent shortcomings are: the customary failure to use the first names of persons; the reviewers' habit of referring to the author of some obscure work as "the famous author" of another work now equally obscure or totally forgotten, so that identification becomes almost impossible; and the use, in the same article and for the same foreign play, of two or three different titles, each of them a more or less fanciful translation of the original, which thus remains utterly beyond recognition. Indeed, in order to condone the nonchalance with which important data are generally presented, as well as the numerous errors and omissions, one has to keep reminding oneself that these are not documents compiled for the benefit of the scholar, but journalists' notes, often written in haste at the end of a performance and addressed to a public that was familiar with the stars and the productions reviewed.

In spite of the above drawbacks and limitations, however, newspapers and journals provide a lively, varied, and generally perceptive record of the life of the theatre in Peru. Written by critics who were often writers and adapters of plays themselves, as well as witnesses to many of the performances, this record shows that from the very beginning of the nineteenth century the participation of Italians in every activity connected with the stage was amply acknowledged

and greatly appreciated. It was an Italian, Andrea Bolognesi, who in 1814 formed, trained, and directed the first Italian opera company ever to perform in Lima. This was a remarkable feat, if we consider that only the tenor, Pietro Angelini, and the soprano, Carolina Grigioni, were professional singers, while the others were dramatic actors, were Spanish-speaking, and were totally inexperienced as far as opera was concerned. According to Ricardo Palma,² neither Angelini nor Grigioni performed satisfactorily. Andrea Bolognesi, on the contrary, was highly praised by the playwright and critic "Cloamón" for his dedication and professional ability which, despite such adverse circumstances, allowed the production of several operas.³ Even though this company left much to be desired from the artistic point of view, it had the merit of opening up a new horizon for Italian artists. Following in the wake of Carolina Grigioni and Pietro Angelini, singers, musicians, ballerinas, and conductors found their way to Lima, some staying for only one season, others returning several times or establishing themselves permanently in the country. This was made possible by the fact that, upon attaining independence, the newly formed republic of Peru lifted the existing restrictions on immigration from countries other than Spain. These artists were a welcome addition to the small Italian colony which, notwithstanding those restrictions, had been allowed to settle in the capital and in the nearby port of Callao during the Spanish domination. In time, whole companies, sometimes carrying with them their own equipment, scenery, and costumes, arrived from Italy and were received with favor by the Peruvian public, whose taste for opera they helped to shape. Italians were also to be found in capacities other than performers, from stage-hands, carpenters, and flymen to designers, architects, and owners of theatres; they were especially active as impresarios and, in addition to bringing to Lima an endless stream of opera companies, they brought acrobats, magicians, dancers, puppeteers, and circuses that added life and variety to the world of entertainment. In the last third of the nineteenth century, the Italian impresarios extended their already wide sphere of action to include operetta and drama.

Drama Before 1870

The production of dramas was a well-established tradition in Peru. Ever since the opening of the first theatre in Lima, in 1604, dramatic companies from Spain had been visiting the capital, delighting the audiences with masterpieces of the Spanish Golden Age and with works by later playwrights, both Spanish and foreign. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, local companies had also come into existence. They consisted mainly of Peruvian actors, and occasionally included a few members from Chile, Argentina, or Cuba. These companies, whose artistic accomplishments were often remarkable, contributed to the development of the national theatre in two ways: on the one hand, they filled the gaps between the *tournées* of the Spanish companies, and thus kept the public interested in drama in spite of the increasing popularity of opera; on the other hand, they included in their repertoires original works by Peruvian authors which the Spanish companies were at times reluctant to perform. Such reluctance was attributed by Peruvian commentators to several factors: a conceited attitude on the part of the Spanish companies towards Peruvian play-

wrights, whose works, with a few exceptions, they considered inferior to those produced in France or Spain; the absence of copyright agreements between Spain and other countries, which allowed the Spanish companies to have a large foreign repertory at little or no cost; and the laziness of the actors, who were unwilling to memorize and rehearse new parts. Another deterrent was the fact that, when Peruvian plays were indeed performed by Spanish actors, the latter were generally found unsatisfactory in their interpretations of typically Peruvian situations and characters, either from lack of interest in the rôle or from inability to perceive and reproduce the unique flavor of Peruvian culture; as a consequence, and understandably enough, they preferred not to expose themselves to the pointed attacks of the critics.

In spite of some friction between Peruvian and Spanish dramatic companies during the first half of the nineteenth century, drama continued to prosper as the favorite form of entertainment of the better educated and more affluent section of the population. The advent of Italian opera on the Peruvian stage, however, posed a serious threat to the privileged position of dramatic productions. The rivalry between opera and drama manifested itself quite early: not only were the respective companies engaged in a fierce competition stemming from both idealistic and economic motives, but the public itself was divided into equally ardent and militant factions that in the heat of their passion would not hesitate to come to blows. An outstanding example of such occurrences is related by "Cloamón" in connection with the famous Spanish dramatic actor Mateo O'Loghlin and the equally acclaimed Italian soprano Clotilde Barilli. During the season of 1852, their respective companies performed alternately in the Teatro Principal and almost every night the "ologhlinistas" and the "barillistas" engaged in a lively exchange of insults and bodily attacks, at times even with swords and firearms, causing such a disturbance that the army had to be called out in full force to reestablish order:

Jamás hubo en el Teatro competencia más ruidosa, ni que trajera mayores disturbios: los comunicados de los periódicos se llenaban diariamente de diatribas; los palos, pedradas y tiros se repetían casi todas las noches; se denunciaron artículos, hubo lances personales, y rara era la función en que no intervenía, como acabamos de ver, no sólo la guardia del teatro, sino batallones enteros de línea.⁴

Another competitor against which drama had to defend its position was the zarzuela, which since the seventeenth century had been a favorite form of spectacle in Spain. In October of 1856 the first zarzuela company, directed by the baritone Hernán Cortez, arrived in Lima and immediately drew a large number of enthusiastic patrons. The popularity of this genre continued unabated throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth, as more and more zarzuela companies came from Spain and others were formed with Spanish-American artists. The competition for the favor of the public became even sharper in 1870, when a French company brought to the Peruvian stage the first comic opera.⁵ More than ever the audiences were divided in their fanatical admiration for the various actors, singers, and ballerinas and in their boisterous support of their favorite form of spectacle. Under the impact of

operas, comic operas, and zarzuelas, drama might well have been left with only a marginal rôle to play. Instead, it succeeded in holding its ground and during the last third of the century enjoyed periods of great vitality which resulted, in part, from the concurrence of two important factors: the building of new theatres and the arrival of Italian dramatic companies.

Until 1850 there had been in Lima only one theatre worthy of that name. Established in 1604, it had been moved to various locations, and in 1662 had found a permanent home in the buildings known as "antiguas casas de D. Diego Núñez Campo Verde."⁶ After a disastrous earthquake in 1746, it had been rebuilt on the same site, with all the facilities and comforts deemed appropriate for a major theatre, and with a capacity of approximately 1500 spectators. Extensive modifications had made it suitable for the production of Italian opera, and since 1814 it had housed both opera and drama. It was only in 1850 that a second theatre, called "Salón lírico-dramático" or "Sala de Artes" was built in Calle de Espaderos. Originally destined to be a concert hall with a capacity of 900 people, it was soon used for dramatic productions. In 1851 it changed its name to "Teatro de Variedades" and for a few years it was engaged in a fierce competition with the older theatre, which from that time onward was known as "Teatro Principal." Eventually, however, the two theatres came under the same management and shortly after, in 1860, the Teatro de Variedades ceased its activities.⁷ Once more Lima was left with only one theatre. While its successive impresarios naturally benefited from that situation, the various companies found it increasingly difficult to secure the use of the theatre for the period that suited them best. After a decade of intense theatrical life there was evidence that the Teatro Principal alone could not fulfill the needs of the public. In 1870, for example, it housed Marietta Mollo's Italian opera company, which had been performing there since December of the previous year; two zarzuela companies—that of Rafael Villalonga and that of Matilde Montañés—which were both from Spain and which occupied the theatre in succession during the high season; immediately following and still in high season, the French comic opera company headed by Mme. Geraldine; and once again, at the end of the year, Matilde Montañés' company, jointly with Courtney and Sanford's International Circus. As for drama, only one company visited Lima in the whole year: that of the Cuban actor Germán MacKay who, with a small group of Spanish artists, made his debut on January 15 and stayed on for about a month, that is, just at that time of the year when affluent *limeños* used to leave the city for their summer residences and the theatre season was at a low point. Under the circumstances, it is little wonder that growing numbers of theatre-lovers expressed their resentment at not being able to choose, at any given time, among the different forms of spectacle and at having to see a zarzuela when they were in the mood for opera or drama, or vice versa. It thus became clear that, in terms of patronage, the capital of Peru could well support not one but several theatres.

The first to be constructed was the "Odeón," which could accommodate 1300 spectators; it was built in 1871-1872, on the initiative of the Peruvian poet José Arnaldo Márquez. Then, in 1878, came the "Politeama," with a capacity of 1900. And finally, in 1886, the "Olimpo" was erected; it had a capacity of

1300 and soon replaced the "Odeón." In addition, smaller theatres came into existence at different times. The "Alhambra" (1872) and the "Aguila" (1883) were both of the *café chantant* type, and both were soon closed by the authorities on moral grounds. The "Teatro de la Aurora" and the "Teatro de la Exposición" during the seventies were primarily used by amateur dramatic companies such as the Club Talía, and disappeared with the War of the Pacific. The "Teatro de Variedades" was also short-lived: it was the second theatre by this name in Lima, and was opened in January 1886 with a zarzuela production, but went out of business only a few months later upon the opening of the larger and better appointed "Olimpo." Without taking into account the smaller houses, we can see that from 1872 onward there were in Lima at least two major theatres constantly in operation. As a result, the city was in a position to attract the best companies and to satisfy the public's demands for both excellence and variety.

Carolina Civili's Company

The new situation was particularly beneficial to drama: being no longer hampered by problems of logistics, drama intensified its activities. At the same time, its artistic level was enhanced by the *tournées* of famous Italian actors. These were preceded, in 1871, by a company that in some respects may be considered as their forerunner: that of Carolina Civili. Italian by birth, and coming from a family of actors, Carolina Civili was the niece of the renowned Carolina Santoni, under whose guidance she started her career. In 1844, at the age of fourteen, she was a member of the company headed by Luigi Dominiconi, and in a short time was entrusted with important rôles. In 1860 she was leading lady and, in partnership with Gaetano Voller, became head of her own company, the Voller-Civili, which enjoyed considerable success in various Italian cities. A few years later, in 1864, she accepted an invitation from her aunt, Carolina Santoni, to join her in Spain, where her company was having an enthusiastic reception. In Spain, Carolina Civili married the Spanish actor Juan Manuel Palau and, having learned the language to perfection, in a short time was able to perform in flawless Spanish as well as in Italian. After winning respect and admiration from Spanish critics and audiences, in 1871 she set out on a *tournee* in South America, accompanied by a troupe of experienced Spanish and Italian actors: her husband, who was the leading man, was well known in his own right; Andrés Cordero was an excellent artist who a few years later was to form his own company and tour Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay; and Agostino Molinari and his wife, Geltrude Arceo, both Italians, had acquired a good professional reputation in Italy before joining Civili's company.

According to "Cloamón," Carolina Civili herself was endowed with a striking physical appearance and with a personal charm that immediately conquered the audiences; as a performer, she won the critics' approval both in tragic and in comic rôles. In 1871, while the Principal was still the only theatre operating in Lima, she succeeded in securing it for her company for a good portion of the winter months. Her ability to secure the theatre from July 17 to August 30—the height of the season—is a clear indication of her prestige.⁸ The public was certainly not disappointed in its expectations, as Civili's repertory

included some old favorites as well as some new plays. On opening night, in *Maria Stuart*, she gave an excellent interpretation of the queen's character, which in Schiller's famous tragedy had received for the first time a romantic treatment. Historical drama was also represented by some of the most acclaimed Spanish works of the early part of the nineteenth century. First among them was *Los amantes de Teruel*. This legend of unfortunate love—which had been a source of inspiration for playwrights ever since 1581, when Rey de Artieda's *Los amantes* had started its fortune on the stage—had become in the hands of Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch one of the most beautiful expressions of Spanish romanticism, and never failed to move the public. *Isabel la Católica*, by Tomás Rodríguez Rubí, *Sofronia*, by José Zorrilla, and *Locura de amor*, by Manuel Tamayo y Baus were also staged. The latter, in particular, with its theme of passionate love and with the unforgettable character of Doña Juana la Loca, was well suited to please the taste of a middle-class audience. The company also produced *Lo positivo*, in which Tamayo y Baus skillfully presented the theme of virtue triumphing over riches, and the famous *Adrienne Lecouvreur*, which owed its lasting popularity to its marked sentimentalism no less than to Scribe's ability as a playwright. As was the custom of the time, these powerful dramas were often followed, in the course of the same performance, by a zarzuela or by a one-act play in a lighter vein. For example, on opening night *Maria Stuart* was followed by *La casa de campo*, a "graciosa piececita" which was represented for the first time in Lima and won Carolina Civili a great personal success. In the next performance, Feuillet's *Rédemption* was followed by *La mujer de Ulises*, an excellent example of the *género bufo*, which its author, Eugenio Blasco, had created. Among the premieres was that of an allegorical piece by a Peruvian author: Acisclo Villarán's *La corona de laureles*, which was favorably received—and soon forgotten.

The list of Carolina Civili's productions shows that her repertory consisted primarily of works by Spanish authors. However, it also included two plays by Italian dramatists with whom the Peruvian audiences were not familiar: Carlo Marengo (1800-1846) and Paolo Giacometti (1816-1882). Carlo Marengo was among the most prolific and successful playwrights of the romantic period in Italy. Although his artistic level was modest, he showed a remarkable ability in constructing situations and dialogues with pathetic effect and great dramatic impact. Being in part still under the influence of classicism, he steered a middle course between the tendencies represented by Alfieri and Pellico on one side, and Hugo and Delavigne on the other. The themes of his dramas were generally drawn from Medieval events and personages that he often treated in a patriotic or allegorical vein. *Pia de' Tolomei*, a tragedy in five acts and in verse, was performed for the first time in Italy in 1837. Interpreted by such great actresses as Marchionni and Ristori, it was perhaps the most successful of his plays and the one that enjoyed the longest fortune. The subject derives from a famous episode in Dante's *Divine Comedy* ("Purgatorio," V, 130-136) and the plot is based, with some variants, on a long romantic poem published in 1822 by Bartolomeo Sestini. In giving the story dramatic form, Carlo Marengo presented the gentle and noble character of Pia with true poetic inspiration. As for Paolo Giacometti, he had started his career as a playwright

at the age of twenty; at times he had worked in close association with specific companies, such as the Compagnia Reale Sarda, which paid him a fixed salary for writing four plays a year. His works—ultimately totaling more than eighty—were constantly present on the Italian stage from 1836 until the end of the century. Considering a dramatist's calling as a mission, Giacometti was strongly opposed to the indiscriminate introduction in Italy of French comedies and, while he was not totally unaffected by them, tried to counteract their influence by contributing to the development of a national theatre which propounded high moral and civic ideals. Occasionally, the cause that he espoused got the upper hand: both plot and characterization were harnessed in support of his thesis, and the validity of the play was consequently affected. But, normally, his social dramas and comedies went to the heart of the matter without the exigencies of the stage being sacrificed in the least, and his characters elicited a response of deep sympathy and human compassion. *Giuditta*, which Carolina Civili staged in the course of the 1871 season, was one of Giacometti's many historical and biblical dramas which drew inspiration from both classic and romantic models and which, by the middle of the century, had given him European stature. Although *Giuditta* was not one of the best plays in this group, it was often produced because of the fine characterization of Judith who, ever since Friedrich Hebbel's famous tragedy *Judith* (1839), had joined the number of great romantic heroines.

In both *Giuditta* and *Pia de' Tolomei* Carolina Civili played the title rôle. Her interpretation showed a deep understanding of the authors' art and intentions, owing in part to the fact that the plays were written in her native language, whose nuances she could fully appreciate. In both cases, the response of the public and of the critics indicates that the deep affinity existing between the actress and the authors was perceived and was considered as an additional point in her favor. It was generally acknowledged that Carolina Civili's training in Italy during her formative years had had a lasting influence on her art and that, despite her prolonged absence, she was still very much in tune with Italian culture. As proof, we find in the records of her activities in Lima that on her benefit night, after performing *Adrienne Lecouvreur*, Carolina Civili recited, in Italian, the last canto of the *Divine Comedy*. This event was apparently something new for the audience. The daily newspaper *El Comercio* had announced it as the expected highlight of the evening and on the following day commented: "En la declamación de los versos de Dante, lució por completo sus facultades artísticas, pues estaba en su terreno porque pronunciaba el dulce idioma de su patria."⁹ As was stated above, both the members and the repertory of Carolina Civili's company were mainly Spanish. However, since the nationality and background of the leading lady were reflected in the company's productions, one could claim for it the rôle of harbinger of the Italian companies that appeared on the Peruvian stage in the 1870's.

Carolina Civili's activities in Lima bring up the question of the presence of Italians among the audience. Obviously, there must have been in Lima enough theatre-goers who were familiar with Italian if Carolina Civili was able to include Dante in her repertory and was given an ovation for her performance. In fact, there lived at that time in Lima and in Callao a relatively

large number of Italian immigrants who were well established both financially and socially as respected members of the community. Unlike Brazil, Uruguay, and Argentina which, facing the Atlantic, were closer to Europe and therefore were more accessible, Peru was normally reached after a long and difficult voyage which involved either the crossing of the Isthmus of Panama or, less frequently, the rounding of Cape Horn. This fact influenced both the quantity and the quality of European immigration: while keeping it relatively small it operated a kind of selection, attracting only the most enterprising and energetic elements. Italian immigrants to Peru came mostly from the sea-faring city of Genoa and its surrounding areas; they settled preferably in urban centres and were artisans, shopkeepers, or small industrialists rather than farmers. Among them also were scientists, professors, lawyers, physicians, artists, and men of letters who had been prompted to leave their native country either by an adventurous spirit or by political events. By 1842, their numbers were large enough to warrant the presence of a Consul General representing the State of Sardinia and the Vatican; and in 1861, the newly formed Kingdom of Italy established in Lima a Legation headed by a resident minister.¹⁰ To the Italian immigrants proper must be added the second and third generation descendants of earlier Italian settlers who, though Peruvians by birth and nationality, had maintained a keen interest in the culture and language of their forefathers. Moreover, as the country was intellectually oriented towards Europe, the study of Italian language and literature was considered necessary for the attainment of a well-rounded education. These very circumstances, which enabled Carolina Civili to recite Dante in Italian on a Peruvian stage, also contributed to the enormous and continued success of the Italian dramatic companies that visited Lima. In any case, even for that portion of the public that did not know Italian, the language barrier was not to prove an insurmountable obstacle, owing not so much to the similarity between Italian and Spanish—which is generally over-estimated—as to the universality of human emotions and to the effectiveness of the performers' interpretations.

Ernesto Rossi

The arrival of the first all-Italian company—that of Ernesto Rossi—in 1872, was surrounded by an atmosphere of general excitement and great expectation. On the one hand, the company would make its debut at the new Odeón theatre, which would be inaugurated on that occasion; on the other, Ernesto Rossi was preceded by the fame of his extraordinary talent and of his superb performances on the stages of many European capitals. Born in Leghorn in 1827, he had started his professional activity at the age of nineteen, when he had been engaged as juvenile lead in the company headed by Calloud, Fusarini, and Marchi. In Rossi's own estimation, the most important event of those early years, and one that was to have an enormous influence on his development as an artist, was his association with the famous Gustavo Modena who had also joined the company in 1846. Under the guidance of that great master, Rossi had learned to use his exceptional gifts to best advantage, and, in the pursuit of the highest professional standards, had fashioned for himself a very personal and inimitable style. The second momentous event in Rossi's career had occurred

in 1852, when he became the leading man in the Compagnia Reale Sarda, which was perhaps the most important Italian company at that time. Less than a year later, the company had acquired Adelaide Ristori as leading lady. Like Rossi, Adelaide Ristori came from the school of a true artist, Carlotta Marchionni, and while still in her teens had obtained ample recognition as a great actress herself. Together, Rossi and Ristori had raised the productions of the Compagnia Reale Sarda to an unprecedented level of excellence. They had won the favor of the audiences first in Italy and then in Paris, in the spring of 1855. Having parted company with Ristori shortly thereafter, Ernesto Rossi had continued to enjoy an unflagging success: in Italy, in Paris again, then in Lisbon and Madrid, he had been recognized as one of the best tragic actors that had ever appeared on the European stage. In 1871, following the example set two years earlier by Adelaide Ristori, he had crossed the ocean and had been enthusiastically received at the Teatro de la Alegría and at the Teatro Colón of Buenos Aires. At the time of his visit to Peru, in 1872, he was at the peak of his career. The people of Lima considered it an honor for their city to be included in his South American tour and were anxious to avail themselves of the unique opportunity to see and hear the great artist. It was a splendid beginning for the Odeón: from May 2 to August 13 the company gave a total of thirty-five performances. Needless to say, for every one of them the theatre was filled to capacity.

Ernesto Rossi's repertory, like that of Carolina Civili, included tragedy, comedy, and some one-act plays, but was much wider in scope. The company opened in Lima with *I due sergenti*, a drama which, in the adaptation made by Carlo Roti, had enjoyed great popularity first in Italy and later in Buenos Aires. Then followed an imposing number of works drawn from different countries and different periods, varied in tone, structure, and technique, and dealing with almost every situation and problem pertaining to the human condition. In the course of the season, major works were performed twice and even three times; occasionally two shorter plays were given on the same night. In total, thirty-eight different works were produced. The custom of performing a humorous piece after a tragedy or a drama was still followed, although more sparingly than by Civili. This concession to the taste of the public must have cost a great deal to Rossi who had a very high and almost exclusive regard for tragedy, a sublime form of art not to be contaminated by proximity to lower genres: "Como director, Rossi se inclinaba de una manera irresistible a la tragedia de alto coturno, y miraba con escrúpulos y casi con repugnancia el moderno teatro francés cuya expresión más viciada veía en las producciones de Alejandro Dumas hijo."¹¹ Whatever his personal preference might be, however, he included in his repertory a wide range of authors, from Shakespeare and Corneille to Dumas (both father and son), Mélesville, Delavigne, Bayard, and Tamayo y Baus. The Italian theatre was represented by such classics as Pellico's *Francesca da Rimini*, Niccolini's *Antonio Foscari*, and Alfieri's *Filippo*, as well as by Giacometti's *La forza della coscienza* (a new play which would not survive the test of time), Tommaso Gherardi Del Testa's *Con gli uomini non si scherza*, and a few works by less prominent authors.

Rossi's productions of Shakespeare, which in Lima included *Hamlet*, *Othello*,

and *Romeo and Juliet*, were an important aspect of his activity and, as such, deserve special mention. Together with Adelaide Ristori and Tommaso Salvini, Ernesto Rossi had been instrumental in restoring the English dramatist to his proper position on the European stage. Writing in *La Ilustración del Plata* in November 1887, S. Estrada commented on the controversies that had arisen in Europe in connection with Shakespeare's works, and on their reception in Spain and Italy; he then praised the three Italian actors for their labors in Shakespeare's behalf both in Europe and in South America:

Dividida en Francia la opinión, que por una parte aceptaba ciegamente las tradiciones de Racine, y que por otra, con Letourneur, el primer traductor de Shakespeare, apoyado por escritores de valía, aceptaba las tendencias románticas del maestro inglés, el escarnio irreflexivo de los primeros y la alabanza inmoderada de los segundos, pasaron a España e Italia. Moratín desprestigió en los pueblos de nuestra habla, con su traducción de enemigo, el *Hamlet*, y la primera ciudad italiana (Milán), empapada en el espíritu de Alfieri, en que se puso en escena *Otello*, obligó a Módena a bajar el telón, después de las primeras palabras al pie del balcón de Bravancio. Pero España e Italia, para honor suyo más que de Shakespeare, reaccionaron cuando la Ristori, Salvini y Rossi insistieron en levantar del polvo la fama del poeta esparcida en las naciones septentrionales de Europa. . . . por la vía directa del Atlántico los artistas italianos han conducido triunfalmente el nombre de Shakespeare a las playas del Uruguay, a las riberas del Plata, a las márgenes del Mapocho, a las orillas del Rímac, como ya hemos tenido ocasión de decirlo en pro suyo y en honor de su patria también.¹²

Rossi's predilection for Shakespeare took the form of a constant and profound study of his works, which resulted in masterful interpretations of his characters. In the words of a Chilean critic, "había estudiado a Shakespeare como estudia la Biblia un ministro protestante. En *Hamlet* sobre todo cada escena, cada palabra, cada exclamación eran objeto de severas e inteligentes meditaciones. La plástica de Rossi no tenía la espontaneidad del sentimiento, pero era el resultado de una serie de silogismos que la hacían irreprochable."¹³ In connection with Rossi's company the same critic affirmed: "Nos han iniciado en los más nobles misterios de la escena, y han vibrado en nuestro corazón y en nuestro espíritu cuerdas que antes de ellos nadie había alcanzado a sospechar."¹⁴ In Lima, no less than in Santiago de Chile, Rio de Janeiro, or Buenos Aires, the audiences did not fail to show their appreciation for the whole company. To Rossi, in particular, they gave enthusiastic applause and, on his benefit night, they honored him with a medal that testified to their admiration and sincere gratitude.

To say that for Lima the *tournée* of Ernesto Rossi was an epoch-making event is hardly an exaggeration: his choice repertory, with its truly international flavor, had made the *limeños* acutely aware of the provincialism of the Spanish and Peruvian companies, while his style of acting and his range of expression had set new standards of excellence. In fact, for many years to come his in-

terpretations were to be the touchstone for evaluating the accomplishments of other artists. As late as 1892, in reviewing the performance of Giovanni Emanuel in the rôle of Hamlet, the playwright and critic Pedro Paz-Soldán y Unanue compared him to Rossi, and found him wanting on more than one count:

La actitud magistral de Rossi, que estaba en toda su virilidad, se destaca sin embargo, tenaz en nuestra memoria: sin duda el Ernesto se preocupaba con los afeites teatrales algo más que el Emanuel, y poseía una musculatura menos rudamente acentuada que la de nuestro Hércules farnesio.

El aspecto de Rossi era mórbido, y tiraba algo a las estatuas clásicas de "Baco adolescente."¹⁵

The critic not only considered Rossi superior to Emanuel, who obviously failed to please him, but also ranked him above other actors such as Luigi Roncoroni and Daniel Latham, whose interpretations of Hamlet, in Italian and in English respectively, had won his admiration in the twenty years since Rossi's visit.

After visiting Peru and Chile in 1872, Ernesto Rossi returned to Argentina. In 1873 he appeared once more at the Teatro Colón in Buenos Aires, where he produced the same works as in Lima and Santiago, the only notable addition being *Nerone* by Pietro Cossa. In 1879 he was again in Buenos Aires, to inaugurate the magnificent Teatro Politeama. But at that time, with the outbreak of the War of the Pacific (1879-1883), a *tournee* in Peru was out of question.

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Notes

1. To this day, the basic works on the Peruvian theatre before 1909 are Manuel Moncloa y Covarrubias' *Diccionario teatral del Perú* (Lima: Badiola y Berrio, 1905) and *El teatro de Lima: Apuntes históricos* (Lima: Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1909). Manuel Moncloa y Covarrubias is better known by his pseudonym "Cloamón," which will be used throughout this study for the sake of brevity.

2. Quoted by "Cloamón" in *Diccionario*, pp. 11 and 78.

3. The following titles are given: *Il matrimonio segreto*, by Cimarosa; *La serva padrona*, by Pergolesi; *La pazza per amore, il barbiere di Siviglia*, and *La pupilla*, by Paisiello (*Diccionario*, pp. 33-34).

4. "Cloamón," *Diccionario*, p. 25. In all quotations spelling, capitalization, and interior punctuation have been modified to conform with modern usage.

5. Three years after opening in Paris, *La Grande Duchesse de Gérolstein*, by Henry Meilhac and Ludovic Halevi, music by Jacques Offenbach, was performed for the first time in Lima on August 29, 1870, with the soprano Mme. Geraldine in the title role.

6. "Cloamón," *El teatro de Lima*, p. 6.

7. In 1860, the Teatro de Variedades was bought by Clemente de Iburgüen and Hernán Cortez, and moved to the port town of Callao. For a detailed history and description of theatres in Lima, see "Cloamón," *El teatro de Lima*, pp. 31ff., and *Diccionario*, pp. 38, 120-122, 167-168 and *passim*.

8. The significance of this fact can be better appreciated if one considers the importance of the other companies which were competing for the use of the theatre. Earlier in the season,

the Principal was reserved for the renowned soprano Marietta Bulli-Paoli, whose Italian opera productions were regarded as the highlight of the whole year. This places Civili on the same level as Bulli-Paoli. In contrast, Carlotta Patti, who was the sister of the famous sopranos Adelina Patti and Clotilde Barilli, and was herself a singer of high repute, performed at the Principal in March, when the season was hardly under way. In the same year the Principal also hosted two zarzuela companies: that of Matilde Montañés, which was a carry-over from 1870, and that of Elisa Zamacois, which opened on December 16, 1871, and continued its performances well into 1872.

9. *El Comercio* (12 Aug. 1871), p. 4, col. 5. See also *El Comercio* (5 Aug. 1871), p. 4, col. 6.

10. In the year 1900, Lima had a population of 117,307 including 13,787 foreigners; of these, 5,638 were Italians, representing 41 per cent of the foreign colony. See *L'Italia al Perú: Rassegna della vita e dell' opera italiana nel Perú* (Lima: Litografía e Tipografía Carlo Fabbri, 1905-1906), pp. 18, 23-28, and 36-39.

11. Fanor Velasco, "Revista de la quincena," *Revista de Santiago* (1 Jan. 1873), p. 62.

12. S. Estrada, "Hamlet," *La Ilustración del Plata*, Año 1, No. 33 (Nov. 1887), n. pag.

13. Velasco, p. 61.

14. Loc. cit.

15. Giovanni Senza Terra, "Teatro: Principal," *El Chispazo*, Año II, No. 43 (6 Aug. 1892), p. 154. "Giovanni Senza Terra" was one of the many pseudonyms of Pedro Paz-Soldán y Unanue. He was best known, however, as "Juan de Arona."

Appendix

PERSONNEL AND REPERTORY OF COMPANIES

The following lists represent an attempt at reconstructing the composition and repertory of the four companies studied in this paper. They are based on information found in the works of Manuel Moncloa y Covarrubias and through a systematic examination of the following newspapers and journals: PERU: *El Comercio*, *El Correo del Perú*, *El Chispazo*, *La Ilustración Americana*, *Varietades*; CHILE: *Instantáneas*, *La Lectura*, *El Pueblo*, *Revista de Santiago*, *Revista de Valparaíso*, *La Revista Nueva*, *La Semana*; ARGENTINA: *La Ilustración del Plata*; URUGUAY: *La Alborada*, *La Ilustración Sud-Americana*, *Rojo y Blanco*.

Titles of plays are listed in alphabetical order and are given as found in the sources. Alternative titles, if any, are given in parenthesis. When known, original titles and full names of authors and of actors are supplied.

CAROLINA CIVILI'S COMPANY

1871, July 17 to August 30. Teatro Principal.

ACTORS: Arana, Andrés Cordero, Adolfo Friona, Rafael Garcé, Enrique Gaytán, Juan Luiz, Juan Marín, Francisco Miranda, Agostino Molinari, Juan Manuel Palau.

ACTRESSES: Geltrude Arceo de Molinari, Carolina Civili de Palau, Enriqueta Guerra de Castell, María Rodríguez, Gabriela Romeral, Carmen Romeral, Angela Quintana de Marín.

REPERTORY

TITLE, AS FOUND IN SOURCES	ORIGINAL TITLE	AUTHOR
<i>Adriana Lecouvreur</i>	<i>Adrienne Lecouvreur</i>	Augustin-Eugène Scribe/ Ernest Legouvé Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch
<i>Los amantes de Teruel</i>	<i>Los amantes de Teruel</i>	
<i>Amor de madre</i>		
<i>La casa de campo</i>		
<i>Como el pez en el agua</i>		
<i>La corona de laureles</i>	<i>La corona de laureles</i>	Aciselo Villarán
<i>La cruz del matrimonio</i>	<i>La cruz del matrimonio</i>	Luis Martínez Eguilaz y Eguilaz
<i>Isabel la Católica</i>	<i>Isabel la Católica</i>	Tomás Rodríguez Rubí
<i>Judith</i>	<i>Giuditta</i>	Paolo Giacometti
<i>Locura de amor</i>	<i>Locura de amor</i>	Manuel Tamayo y Baus
<i>(Doña Juana la Loca)</i>		
<i>Lo positivo</i>	<i>Lo positivo</i>	Manuel Tamayo y Baus
<i>María Estuardo</i>	<i>Maria Stuart</i>	Johann Christoph Friedrich Schiller
<i>La mujer de Ulises</i>	<i>La mujer de Ulises</i>	Eusebio Blasco
<i>Norma</i>	<i>Norma</i>	Alexandre Soumet
<i>El paraíso perdido</i>	<i>El paraíso perdido</i>	Nicolás Augusto González (?)
<i>Las pesquisas de mi suegro</i>		
<i>Pia de' Tolomei</i>	<i>Pia de' Tolomei</i>	Carlo Marengo
<i>La piedra de toque</i>	<i>La piedra de toque</i>	Manuel Zamora y Caballero (?)
<i>Redención (Redenzione)</i>	<i>Rédemption</i>	Octave Feuillet
<i>Sofronia</i>	<i>Sofronia</i>	José Zorrilla
<i>Traidor, inconfeso y mártir</i>	<i>Traidor, inconfeso y mártir</i>	José Zorrilla

ERNESTO ROSSI'S COMPANY

1872, May 2 to August 13. Teatro Odeón.

ACTORS: Flavio Andò, Beffa, Brizzi, Canepa, Ercole Cavara, Mancini, Rigatti,
Ernesto Rossi, Panizzoni, Vezzosi.

ACTRESSES: Cavara, Della Setta, Celestina Paladini, Perrucchetti, Sartoris, Serafini.

REPERTORY

TITLE, AS FOUND IN SOURCES	ORIGINAL TITLE	AUTHOR
<i>El amigo Blanchard</i> <i>Antonio Foscarini</i> <i>Un apasionado al teatro</i> <i>La calle de la luna</i> <i>Un casamiento bajo la república</i> <i>El Cid Campeador</i> <i>El ciudadano de Gante</i>	<i>Antonio Foscarini</i>	Giovanni Battista Niccolini
<i>Con los hombres no se juega</i> <i>La dama de las camelias o La traviata</i> <i>Los dos distritos</i> <i>Los dos sargentos</i>	<i>Un matrimonio sotto la repubblica</i> <i>Le Cid</i> <i>Le Bourgeois de Gand ou Le Secrétaire du Duc d'Albe</i> <i>Con gli uomini non si scherza</i> <i>La Dame aux camélias</i>	Achille Montignani Pierre Corneille M. Romand Tommaso Gherardi Del Testa Alexandre Dumas (fils)
<i>Un drama nuevo</i> <i>Un dueto desarmónico</i> <i>Felipe II, rey de España</i> <i>Francesca da Rimini</i> <i>La fuerza de la conciencia</i> <i>Guillermo Shakespeare o La primera representación de la tragedia Romeo y Julieta</i> <i>Hamlet, príncipe de Dinamarca</i> <i>Jorge el armador o La dama de Saint Tropez (La signora di Saint Tropez)</i> <i>Jugar con juego</i> <i>La lotería</i> <i>Luis XI</i> <i>Margarita de Borgoña o La torre de Nesle</i> <i>Un marido en el campo</i> <i>Las memorias del diablo</i> <i>Los Metastasianos</i> <i>Otelo</i> <i>Las pequeñas desgracias de la vida</i> <i>Polka húngara</i> <i>La profesora de arpa</i> <i>El rey y el aventurero</i> <i>Romeo y Julieta</i> <i>Rossini en París</i>	<i>I due sergenti</i> from <i>Les Deux Sergents</i> <i>Un drama nuevo</i> <i>Filippo</i> <i>Francesca da Rimini</i> <i>La forza della coscienza</i> <i>Guglielmo Shakespeare</i> <i>Hamlet</i> <i>La Dame de Saint Tropez</i> <i>Jugar con juego</i> <i>Louis XI</i> <i>La Tour de Nesle</i> <i>Le Mari à la campagne</i> <i>Les Mémoires du diable</i> <i>Othello, The Moor of Venice</i> <i>Les Petites Misères de la vie humaine</i> <i>La suonatrice d'arpa</i> <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> <i>Le Grand Dîner ou Rossini à Paris</i> <i>Sullivan</i> <i>Le Supplice d'une femme</i>	Carlo Roti A. Maillard/B. Daubigny Manuel Tamayo y Baus Vittorio Alfieri Silvio Pellico Paolo Giacometti Luigi Gualtieri William Shakespeare Adolphe Dennery/Anicet Bourgeois Ventura de la Vega Casimir Delavigne Alexandre Dumas (père) J. F. A. Bayard E. Arago/P. Vermond William Shakespeare Augustin-Eugène Scribe/ Casimir Delavigne David Chiossonne William Shakespeare Augustin-Eugène Scribe/ Mazères "Mélesville" (Joseph-Anne-Honoré Duveyrier) E. de Girardin/Alexandre Dumas (fils)
<i>Una venganza en Córcega</i> <i>Un vicio de educación</i> <i>La viuda de las camelias (La vedova delle camelie)</i>	<i>Un vizio di educazione</i> <i>La Veuve aux camélias</i>	Marugnani P. Siraudin/L. Thiboust/ Delacour