

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

ENRICA JEMMA GLICKMAN

### II

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#### Celestina Paladini

Ernesto Rossi never returned to Lima; however, some members of his company did. Prompted by pleasant memories of personal recognition during the 1872 season and by the hope of new financial successes—this time for their own exclusive benefit—they joined with other actors and, headed by Celestina Paladini, made their debut at the Teatro Principal on January 31, 1874.

The case of a group of actors separating from a large, well-known company to form a new one was quite frequent both in Europe and in South America. In Peru this practice mainly involved Spanish and Peruvian actors; speaking the same language, they could, and did, freely regroup themselves almost at every new season. Moreover, they seemed to be versatile enough to be able to pass from drama to zarzuela—although less frequently from zarzuela to drama—which makes it rather difficult to follow their movements over a number of years. In Italy, the multiplication of companies by secession of members was also very common. In his autobiographical work *Quaran'anni di vita artistica*, written towards the end of his long career, Ernesto Rossi expressed his concern for the Italian dramatic art which, in his opinion, was then in a critical condition. Among the principal causes of its decadence, Rossi identified the enormous increase in the number of dramatic companies which had risen from about twenty in the "good times" to thirty and eventually to one hundred and thirty, because "No hay actor mediano—y actor no quiere decir siempre artista—que no se sienta capaz de ser primer actor, primer cómico, director y administrador de una com-

pañía."<sup>16</sup> As for the "passion" with which these new companies would undertake *tournées* abroad, both Rossi and Ristori indicated in their memoirs that it stemmed primarily from the hope of fast and substantial financial gain: "No hay satisfacción de amor propio que no hayan experimentado allí donde obtenían grandes resultados, ganando en un mes lo que penosamente habrían ganado en Italia en cinco años."<sup>17</sup>

Rossi's criticism concerning the professional ability of the founders of new companies, however, does not seem to apply to the head of the troupe that visited Lima in 1874. Celeste de' Paladini, better known in South America as Celestina Paladini, had been playing leading roles since the age of seventeen. By the time she was twenty-four, in 1869, she had formed her own company, which she successfully headed for some time; then she had joined Rossi and toured through South America as his leading lady. While in the early years of her career she had made her name especially for her interpretations of comic characters, later she had shown equal ability in dramatic and tragic roles. The company that she formed in 1874, after separating from Rossi, was smaller than his but not without distinction. The former members of Rossi's company were: Panizzoni, excellent in character parts; Ercole Cavara, a first class comic actor, highly praised for never overstepping the boundaries of good taste; and Flavio Andò, Celestina Paladini's husband, who at only twenty-three had attained a solid reputation as juvenile lead with Rossi and was later to be associated with Eleonora Duse. Of the new members, Gustavo Bianchi, who was the company's leading man, had been with Rossi in 1857 as juvenile lead, and with Adelaide Ristori in 1860.

From the record of the activities of Paladini's company we learn some interesting facts. On the one hand, its stay in Lima—from January 31 to May 3, 1874—was much longer than that of any other Italian dramatic company that visited Peru in the following thirty years. On the other hand, it fell in the period that corresponded to the "low" theatrical season, when the best-known European companies were engaged in Europe, and only those with less prestige, or the local ones, appeared in the Peruvian theatres. While the *timing* of Celestina Paladini's visit reflects upon the size and importance of her company, its *duration* shows that the public's response was favorable and the undertaking was financially profitable. The causes of the company's success are to be found not only in the quality of its production, which the critics considered more than satisfactory, but also and especially in the nature of its repertory. Celestina Paladini's choice shows that, besides being a good actress, she was an intelligent woman, well aware of both her strong points and her limitations, and with a very good sense of business. Although during her association with Rossi she had more than adequately interpreted Shakespeare's heroines, she had only a limited aptitude for high tragedy. In contrast, she was at her very best in dramatic situations of contemporary life:

Con menos aptitudes para la tragedia, la señora Paladini era inimitable en las grandes escenas de la vida contemporánea. Sus líneas rápidas y angulosas se prestaban maravillosamente a las contracciones del dolor. Su voz, desapacible en un principio, adquiría poco a poco modulaciones indefinibles que de los ojos del espectador hacían brotar las lágrimas a torrentes. . . . En el drama sus escenas se lloraban, se sentían, se vivían. En *Los dos sargentos*,

en *La dama de las camelias*, en *Un vicio de educación*, en *El suplicio de una mujer* se asistía a las tristes realidades de la existencia y el público tenía que apartar su vista de la escena para enjugar sus ojos humedecidos.<sup>18</sup>

Paladini's repertory in South America was based on her experience as head of a company in 1869, as well as on her accurate evaluation of her own talent and of that of her companions. For one thing, Paladini very wisely avoided staging any of Shakespeare's plays: apart from revealing her own limitations, they would certainly have invited a comparison between her leading man and the great Rossi, whose matchless interpretations were still too vividly present in the memory of the audiences. At the same time, she included a large number of contemporary plays built around the kind of highly dramatic situations in which she excelled. She also relied on novelty as the most attractive feature of her repertory: of the thirty-four plays staged in the course of the season, only two had been produced in Peru by Carolina Civili, and seven by Ernesto Rossi.<sup>19</sup> Of the remaining twenty-five works, the few that were already known to the public had never failed to draw large audiences, while the others were entirely new for Lima. Finally, she addressed herself to a wider and perhaps less sophisticated group of potential theatre-goers than her predecessors. This can be seen not only from the kind of works that were produced, but also from the manner in which they were announced in newspapers and play-bills, which made the most of the use of expanded titles. These consisted of a "primary" title, supplemented by an explanatory appendage that gave a further indication of the subject and tone of the play and that was meant to stimulate the interest of the public. Some playwrights used them only occasionally, while others were so fond of this device that they made a practice of using it; for example, Eugène Scribe supplied almost every one of his titles, especially those of vaudevilles, with a descriptive, witty, or intriguing addition. As a play came to be well known to the public, however, the appendage was often considered unnecessary and was, therefore, suppressed. A mere glance at Celestina Paladini's repertory will show that, far from dropping the explanatory part in already existing expanded titles, she added one to those that did not have it originally. This characteristic, which is notably absent from the repertories of both Rossi and Ristori, seems to reflect a greater effort on the part of Paladini to reach a large section of the population; at the same time, the wording of the supplementary titles which she added gives an indication of what was believed to meet the taste of the potential audiences. For example, such titles as *Un cajero sin caja y un ecónomo sin economía o El hábito no hace al monje*, *María Juana o La mujer del pueblo*, *Susana Lambert o La mujer culpable*, and *Magdalena, la supuesta infanticida* were obviously expected to draw large numbers of patrons. Along the same lines, Paolo Ferrari's *Cause ed effetti* was announced as *Causas y efectos o El martirio del alma*; Cicconi's *La statua di carne* as *La estatua de carne o Cuerpo y alma*; and Schiller's *Die Räuber*, in a mixture of Italian and Spanish, as *I masnadieri o El hijo asesino de su padre*.

The touch of sensationalism that can be detected in these expanded titles, however, does not detract from the artistic level of the company's repertory which, in its substance, was remarkably good. Along with works by Schiller, Mélesville, Legouvé, Dennery, and the two Dumas, it included plays by no less

than thirteen different Italian dramatists. Among these were Niccolini's and Pellico's tragedies, and Marenco's *Pia de' Tolomei*, which were already known to that public. The company also staged two plays by Paolo Giacometti: *Elisabetta Regina d'Inghilterra* (1853), a five act drama which had become a regular feature in Ristori's repertory and is still considered by some critics as Giacometti's masterpiece; and *Figlia e madre o Le storie intime* (1865), whose premiere in Florence had been a resounding success for Adelaide Ristori. In addition, Paladini introduced the Peruvian audience to some authors that already enjoyed an excellent and well-deserved reputation in Italy. Among them were Leopoldo Marenco who, like his father, Carlo, had a predilection for Medieval themes but dealt with other subjects as well; Francesco Dall'Ongaro, who drew inspiration from the contemporary struggle for Italian independence and, with *Il fornaretto di Venezia*, obtained one of the greatest and most lasting successes in the whole nineteenth century; Teobaldo Cicconi, whose *La statua di carne*, with its romantic theme of a prostitute redeemed by love, was perhaps the best of his numerous sentimental and patriotic dramas; Paolo Ferrari who, with his thesis plays, such as *Cause ed effetti*, was hailed as the long-awaited renovator of the Italian theatre; Luigi Camoletti, whose *Suor Teresa*, interpreted by Adelaide Ristori, was given a triumphal reception in Italy and abroad, was translated into several languages, and later, with the advent of cinema, was adapted for the screen. As was stated above, Celestina Paladini's company was not equal to Rossi's either in size, excellence, or prestige. It was, however, the kind of company that, while maintaining high professional standards, would appeal to a fairly educated—although not too sophisticated—middle-class public by satisfying its basic need for entertainment and for some measure of intellectual stimulation. For this reason, it fully deserved the warm reception of the *limeños*, and the favorable reviews of the critics.

### Adelaide Ristori

In the same year, 1874, Lima was visited by another Italian company which, like Ernesto Rossi's, was to be remembered for many years to come: that of Adelaide Ristori. Her fame as the greatest dramatic artist of the time had spread far and wide on both sides of the Atlantic and rested on almost forty years of theatrical activity. Born in 1822 into a family of actors of modest means and accomplishments, Adelaide Ristori had been on the stage practically her whole life. At the age of three, she had appeared in the drama *Bianca e Fernando*, one of the innumerable plays by Francesco Antonio Avelloni, and in the following years had taken part in several productions of comedies and farces. At the age of twelve she had already been given leading roles in the Meneghino Moncalvo company; but her official debut had taken place at the age of fourteen, when she had obtained her first great success as the protagonist of Pellico's *Francesca da Rimini*. In 1837 she had entered the Compagnia Reale Sarda, where she had greatly profited by her association with first-class actors such as Vestri, Romagnoli, and Righetti, and above all by the teachings of Carlotta Marchionni. From this outstanding actress, Adelaide Ristori had learned to complement her natural gifts with hard work, self-criticism, and self-discipline as well as to regard her

profession as worthy of the greatest respect and utmost dedication. In 1840, upon Carlotta Marchionni's retirement, she had replaced her as leading lady; then she had enjoyed a series of successes that had become more and more impressive as she achieved an ever deeper and wider range of expression. In 1847, following her marriage with the marquis Giuliano Capranica del Grillo, she had decided to abandon the stage. However, after a short time she had been invited to return to the Compagnia Reale Sarda, and in 1853 had finally accepted, not without imposing some heavy and rather unusual conditions. These included a high yearly salary to be paid exclusively in gold napoleons, in addition to a share in the company's profits; twenty days' leave in case of serious illness of her husband's parents; and, more important, the right to reject roles that she would consider incompatible with her dignity and with her high social position: for example, she specifically excluded roles that would require her to wear men's clothing, and later refused to play *La dame aux camélias* on the ground of immorality.<sup>20</sup>

The Compagnia Reale Sarda had benefited considerably by the presence of Adelaide Ristori who, together with Ernesto Rossi, had won international recognition for the whole troupe. In 1855, at Ristori's insistence, the company had undertaken its first *tournée* to Paris and had been enthusiastically received. Adelaide Ristori's motives for advocating this venture are stated in her memoirs. First of all, she firmly believed that it is good for actors to play in front of different audiences, because it widens the sphere of their reputation and at the same time it prevents them from falling into an unchallenging routine. Her main purpose, however, was to vindicate abroad the excellence of Italian artists—a noble ideal that had haunted her for years, even prior to her temporary withdrawal from the stage. The financial gains involved in such undertakings are also mentioned (although very discreetly) in her memoirs, and we realize that they were never a matter of indifference to her; actually, according to her associates and biographers, the great actress was far more interested in the financial aspect of her activity than she was ready to admit.<sup>21</sup> The triumphal success obtained in Paris, while confirming Adelaide Ristori in her views about working abroad, had contributed to shape the course of her career in the thirty years that followed. At the head of companies formed and directed by herself, she had been engaged in an endless series of *tournées*. In the capitals of Europe, audiences and critics had been unanimous in celebrating the rare combination of beauty, personality, natural talent, and professional excellence that made Adelaide Ristori an exquisite artist. She was honored and admired by kings and queens, statesmen, artists, and men of letters. Indeed, so great was her prestige that acclaimed dramatists would write plays especially for her, or would have them translated into Italian so that she might include them in her repertory. In 1866 she had crossed the Atlantic for the first time, taking her company to the United States, where she had obtained the same resounding success as everywhere in Europe. In 1869 she had gone to South America, where she had performed at the Teatro Argentino in Buenos Aires and at the Teatro Solís in Montevideo; and in 1874 she had set out on a world tour, visiting the United States for the second time; and then South America, Australia, New Zealand, and Hawaii.

It was in the course of this tour, which lasted two years, that Adelaide Ristori went to Peru. Naturally, her fame had already reached Lima in the previous

years; but it was further enhanced by news of her recent triumphs in South America. In Buenos Aires she had elicited such passionate response that, in addition to giving her several ovations, the public one night had surrounded her carriage, unfastened the horses, and drawn the vehicle all the way to her hotel in a clamorous and unrestrained outburst of enthusiastic admiration.<sup>22</sup> In Chile, the audiences in the various cities had deserted every other form of entertainment to flock to her performances,<sup>23</sup> and had vied with one another in bestowing upon her praise, honors, and valuable gifts. Poems dedicated to her had appeared in newspapers and journals, fireworks had greeted her arrival, and musical bands had escorted her to her quarters. In Valparaíso, on her benefit night, colored leaflets with two acrostics in her honor had been thrown from the gallery of the Teatro de la Victoria at the end of the performance. On that occasion, the Italian colony had presented her with a diamond cross and necklace, while the local young men-about-town had given her a precious medallion adorned with eight diamonds.<sup>24</sup> As reports of these occurrences reached the *limeños*, their excitement and expectation rose higher and higher. Finally, Adelaide Ristori arrived, and on October 19 made her debut at the Teatro Principal. On opening night, and throughout the sixteen performances that followed, she held the public spellbound with her noble beauty, the dignity of her bearing, and, above all, her powerful acting.

In contrast with Celestina Paladini, Adelaide Ristori made few concessions to the taste of the less sophisticated theatre-goers. Although in the early stages of her career she had performed numerous comedies, with the passing of years she had limited her repertory almost exclusively to highly dramatic works and tragedies, where she was at her best. Knowing full well that her personal achievements, her international fame, and the intrinsic worth of her productions would draw large numbers of spectators wherever she went, she had no need to resort to expanded titles or other devices to attract the public. She was a great tragic actress, and would not taint the nobility of her art with any form of compromise or expediency. In Lima, Adelaide Ristori opened with Legouvé's famous *Medea*, whose world premiere she herself had given in Paris in 1856. Written originally for the French actress Rachel and refused by her, the tragedy had then been offered by Legouvé to Adelaide Ristori, who had agreed to interpret it on condition that the final scene be modified, so that the killing of her two children by Medea would not take place on the stage. The work had then been translated into Italian by the playwright Giuseppe Montanelli, and had since been one of the most successful pieces in her repertory. *Medea* was already known to Peruvian audiences, having been staged by Celestina Paladini; but, as was the case with any other classical or contemporary work, in the interpretation of the great Ristori the tragic figure of the protagonist acquired a new dimension. Not only Medea, but Phaedra, Lady Macbeth, Lucrecia Borgia, Mary Stuart, Elizabeth of England, Marie Antoinette, and other famous heroines were brought to life more vividly and with more passion and power than ever before on the Peruvian stage. The company also produced several works by Italian dramatists: Camoletti's *Suor Teresa*, which in Buenos Aires had won Adelaide Ristori the triumphal success related above and was equally acclaimed in Lima; Giacometti's *Elisabetta Regina d'Inghilterra* and *Giuditta*, both once more highly appreciated

by the audience, as well as *Maria Antonietta*, which had been written especially for her and gave full scope to her interpretative powers; Montanelli's *Camma, la sacerdotessa*, also written for her and new for that public; and two plays by Tommaso Gherardi Del Testa. A repertory that, within the limits imposed by the actress's preference and ideals, presented well-known works side by side with new plays, contemporary playwrights and masters such as Schiller, Shakespeare, and Racine could not fail to please even the most exacting public. Indeed, the Peruvians were no less enthusiastic than the Chileans or the Argentines in their admiration for Adelaide Ristori. From the chronicle of her brief stay in Lima, in the daily newspaper *El Comercio*, we can see that they were also no less generous in expressing their gratitude for the two memorable weeks she had given them: with flowers and music, with poems and gifts, with popular ovations and official ceremonies, the *limeños* paid full homage to the excellence of her art.

Adelaide Ristori's was the third and last of the Italian dramatic companies that performed in Lima in the seventies. It may be interesting to note that their visits occurred during the presidency of Manuel Pardo (1872-1876), the first civilian president of Peru and the founder of the Partido Civilista. His term of office was marked by an easing of the tension that had followed Ramón Castilla's retirement from the political scene in 1862. Economically, despite widespread corruption among politicians and businessmen, the country still maintained the appearance of its former prosperity—a prosperity which derived in part from the exploitation of deposits of guano and sodium nitrate, and in part from large loans floated in Europe. In the second half of the decade, however, the political situation once more became unstable; moreover, the deposits of guano were rapidly being depleted, and the possession of the territories rich in sodium nitrate was giving rise to a contest with Chile, whose borders with Peru had never been defined. Under those circumstances, a *tournee* in Peru would naturally seem a less attractive venture than in the previous years, and for this reason only four foreign companies visited Lima after the departure of Adelaide Ristori. Two of them came from Spain in 1875, that is, while Manuel Pardo was still in office and the country still enjoyed some measure of stability. They were led respectively by José Valero, who appeared for a short time at the Odeón, and by Amalia Pérez, a Peruvian who, after a successful season in Madrid, returned to Lima with a troupe of Spanish actors. Valero and Pérez were followed by two other Spaniards: in 1876-1877, Leopoldo Burón, who was very well known and headed a large company; and, in 1878, Vicente R. Jordán, who was less well known and headed a small company. Aside from these troupes, the presence of drama on the Peruvian stage rested on the activities of Spanish and Peruvian actors who joined in small groups, generally for short periods of time. Among the local companies, particularly interesting are the ones whose nucleus was formed by Gonzalo Duclós and his sisters, Carolina and Matilde. Having first arrived from Spain in 1864 with the group headed by José Ortiz, they settled permanently in Peru, where they formed various companies, which they alternated in directing. They performed with considerable success both in the capital and in the provinces. A good reputation was also attained by Andrés Cordero, who had arrived in Peru in 1871 with Carolina Civilí. Together with his brother Timoteo, the Spanish actress Filomena Vega, and a few Peruvian artists, Cordero produced several

plays in Lima in 1876 and later went on tour in Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. All of these companies, the Spanish as well as the local ones, had little to offer that was new. Some, such as those of José Valero and Amalia Pérez, staged mostly time-hallowed works by Spanish authors; others, such as Leopoldo Burón's, occasionally added a couple of plays by Shakespeare or by a French or Italian contemporary dramatist. For example, Burón's company made its debut in Lima on November 29, 1876, with Giacometti's *La morte civile*. It should be noted, however, that while this play was new for Peru, its world premiere had taken place in Italy no less than fifteen years earlier. During this period when hardly anything seemed to arrive from Europe to relieve the sameness of the repertoires, Peruvian playwrights had greater opportunities to have their works staged: in 1877, Burón gave the first performance of *Antioco*, by Clemente Althaus, and *Pizarro*, by Carolina Freyre de Jaimes, whose *Maria de Bellido* and *Blanca da Silva* were also produced, in 1877 and 1879 respectively. Beside the contribution of the professional companies, the activities of the Club Talía, a group of dedicated amateurs, deserve particular mention. During the four years of its existence (1876-1880), the Club Talía kept a busy schedule, staging a relatively large number of dramas and comedies, as well as a few zarzuelas, at the Teatro de la Aurora, at the Teatro de la Exposición, and even at the Teatro Principal. Apparently, the Club reached a respectable artistic level, as several of its members eventually were able to join professional companies. Indeed, it was thanks to the efforts of the Club Talía that drama did not suffer a complete and irremediable setback at the end of the decade.

The above names, dates, and titles may at first give the impression that from 1875 to 1880 drama enjoyed a much greater vitality than was actually the case. On closer examination, we realize that the good companies were few, that the repertoires were somewhat stale, that the new plays were not to survive as "theatre," and that the artistic level of dramatic productions was not comparable to that of any of the Italian companies that had visited Peru in the early part of the decade. A careful examination of the records will lead to the conclusion that, after 1875, the Peruvian stage began to slide back into the provincialism from which the Italian dramatic companies had rescued it for a brief period of time. This conclusion is supported by the testimony of a cultured Italian nobleman who arrived in Lima in November of 1878 and was Secretary of the Italian Legation for several years.<sup>25</sup> According to Pietro Perolari-Malmigliati, at that time Lima was a rather dull and provincial city, especially for someone who had savored the cultural and social life of European capitals: no cafés, no open-air theatres, no great sporting events except for bullfights (which he found extremely distasteful), and only few promenade concerts at which, however, it was not proper for ladies to be present. In the field of entertainment, he regarded as a worthwhile experience his visit to the Chinese theatre—dark, dirty, and foul-smelling, but interesting and different from anything he had ever seen. As for the regular theatres, he did not mention the Odeón or the smaller ones existing at the time, but spoke only of the old Teatro Principal and the Politeama, which had been recently inaugurated. Performances took place two or three times a week. To his great annoyance, however, both theatres gave them on the same nights, so that one night two different shows would be offered to the public, and the next none at all.

Besides lamenting the inconvenience of this preposterous practice, Perolari-Malmigliati described the facilities of the two theatres as second-rate by Italian standards and made unfavorable comments about their productions as well. At the Principal, a French comic opera company was presenting the traditional repertory, which included *Le carnaval d'un merle blanc*, *La fille de Madame Angot*, *Les cloches de Corneville*, and Offenbach's most popular works, whose well-known tunes were sung and whistled everywhere in the city. At the Politeama, an Italian opera company came in for his pointed criticism for its lack of a good baritone and a good bass, as well as for staging *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *La sonnambula*, *Norma*, *Semiramide*, and so on—the very same operas that used to figure in any company's repertory forty years before.<sup>26</sup>

Perolari-Malmigliati's brief account of the theatre in Lima is rounded off by two significant remarks about the public. In connection with the productions of Italian opera, he states that everywhere in the theatre—in his box, in the foyer, at the bar—he was surrounded by so many Italians, and heard his native language spoken to such an extent, that he felt as if he were in Italy, and not in Peru. With regard to the audiences in general, he says: "L'opera italiana e l'operetta francese sembra piacciono al pubblico più delle commedie e dei drammi spagnuoli (italics added)."<sup>27</sup> The first comment supports the statement, made earlier in this study, that there were in Lima enough Italian-speaking theatre-lovers to welcome and appreciate Italian dramatic companies. The second comment, which refers only to *Spanish* dramatic productions, seems to warrant the inference that, towards the end of the 1870's, drama had lost the international character it had acquired with Rossi, Paladini, and Ristori and, concomitantly, its preeminent position on the Peruvian stage.

At the close of the decade, the territorial dispute with Chile turned into a conflict that was to prove disastrous for Peru. Shortly after the outbreak of the War of the Pacific, the Club Talía, which had contributed so greatly to the survival of drama, ceased to exist as all its Peruvian members enlisted in the army. Upon the occupation of Lima by the Chileans, the few small local companies that were still active also disbanded and, like so many other activities in the country, the theatrical life of Peru came to a halt.

*York University*

## Notes

16. Ernesto Rossi, *Quarant'anni di vita artistica* (Firenze: Niccolai, 1887-1889), paraphrased by Ugo Pesci in "Recuerdos artísticos: Ernesto Rossi y Adelaida Ristori," *La Ilustración del Plata*, Año 1, No. 40 (Jan. 1888), n. pag.

17. Loc. cit.

18. Velasco, p. 61.

19. Produced by Civili: *María Estuardo* and *Pia de' Tolomei*. Produced by Rossi: *Antonio Foscarini*, *Un casamiento bajo la república*, *La Dama de las camelias*, *Los dos sargentos*, *Franческа da Rimini*, *Jorge el armador* o *La Dama de Saint Tropez*, and *Sullivan*.

20. Silvio D'Amico, *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo*, VIII (Rome: Casa Editrice Le Maschere, 1961), 1016.

21. Adelaide Ristori, *Ricordi e studi artistici* (Torino: L. Roux, 1887); paraphrased by Ugo Pesci, in "Recuerdos Artísticos: Ernesto Rossi y Adelaida Ristori."

22. Francesco E. Marciandò, et al., *Influenza italiana nella cultura rioplatense (1853-1915)* (Montevideo: Talleres Gráficos de Lena, 1967), p. 183.

23. This fact was the cause of bitter disappointment and great financial loss for Celestina Paladini, whose *tournee* in Chile coincided with Adelaide Ristori's. In Valparaíso, during the two weeks of Ristori's stay, Paladini's company played practically to an empty theatre; nor did the situation improve after her departure, since the high cost of the subscription to the ten performances given by Ristori had left the public with little money to spend on entertainment, and even less inclination to spend it on another dramatic company. *La Semana* (Valparaíso), I, 12 (16 Aug. 1874), p. 94.

24. *La Semana*, I, 11 (9 Aug. 1874), p. 86. Under the heading "A Adelaida Ristori en la noche de su beneficio" this journal published the two acrostics. To give an idea of the fervid admiration inspired by the great actress, the second acrostic is reproduced here.

A ti que el mundo extático venera,  
A ti que llamas llevas en la frente,  
Déjame que te ofrezca, actriz austera,  
El tributo de amor que mi alma siente.  
Lauros y palmas sin cesar quisiera  
Amontonar ante tu genio ardiente,  
I con voz arrogante y armoniosa  
Del arte mismo proclamarte diosa.  
A nadie como tú fue concedido  
Robar al cielo visos seductores,  
I del rayo imitando el estampido  
Sembrar la escena en confusión y horrores.  
Tú al yugo de tu genio has sometido  
Otras Reinas que exentas de loores,  
Reina te aclaman con amor profundo  
I para ti hacen pedestal del mundo.

25. Pietro Perolari-Malmigliati, *Il Perú e i suoi tremendi giorni (1878-1881): Pagine d'uno spettatore* (Milano: Treves, 1882). This work gives an eye-witness account of the events that led to the occupation of Lima by the Chilean army during the War of the Pacific. It also contains a wealth of information on a wide range of subjects regarding Peru and, in particular, Lima.

26. The two companies were that of the French soprano Leontine Minelli, who made her debut on 28 August 1878, and was the last comic opera singer to visit Peru in the nineteenth century; and that of the Italian tenor Giulio Ugolini, who inaugurated the Teatro Politeama on 17 September 1878 with *Il trovatore* ("Cloamón," *Diccionario*, pp. 99, 123).

27. Perolari-Malmigliati, pp. 232-233.

## Appendix

### CELESTINA PALADINI'S COMPANY

1874, January 31 to May 3. Teatro Principal.

ACTORS: Flavio Andò, Ballena, Gustavo Bianchi, Ercole Cavara, Rescalli, Panizoni, Schivi.

ACTRESSES: Bianchi, Chioldi, Celestina Paladini.

### REPERTORY

TITLE, AS FOUND IN SOURCES	ORIGINAL TITLE	AUTHOR
<i>Antonio Foscarini</i>	<i>Antonio Foscarini</i>	Giovanni Battista Niccolini
<i>Un cajero sin caja y un ecónomo sin economía o El hábito no hace al monje</i>		
<i>Un casamiento bajo la república</i>	<i>Un matrimonio sotto la repubblica</i>	Achille Montignani
<i>Causas y efectos o El martirio del alma</i>	<i>Cause ed effetti</i>	Paolo Ferrari
<i>La dama de las camelias o La traviata</i>	<i>La Dame aux camélias</i>	Alexandre Dumas (fils)
<i>Los dos sargentos</i>	<i>I due sergenti</i> from <i>Les Deux Sergents</i>	Carlo Roti A. Maillard/B. Daubigny

TITLE, AS FOUND IN SOURCES	ORIGINAL TITLE	AUTHOR
<i>Elisabetta Regina d'Inghilterra</i>	<i>Elisabetta Regina d'Inghilterra</i>	Paolo Giacometti
<i>Elisabetta Soares o Sor Teresa</i>	<i>Suor Teresa o Elisabetta Soares</i>	Luigi Camoletti
<i>La estatua de carne o</i> <i>Cuerpo y alma</i>	<i>La statua di carne</i>	Teobaldo Cicconi
<i>El fornaretto [sic] de Venecia</i> <i>(El pobre panadero)</i>	<i>Il fornaretto di Venezia</i>	Francesco Dall'Ongaro
<i>Francesca da Rimini</i>	<i>Francesca da Rimini</i>	Silvio Pellico
<i>La gioia [sic] de la familia</i>	<i>As jóias da familia (?)</i>	C. de Lacerda (?)
<i>La hechicera blanca y</i> <i>la hechicera negra</i>		
<i>Jorge el armador a</i> <i>La dama de Saint Tropez</i>	<i>La Dame de Saint Tropez</i>	Adolphe Dennery/Anicet Bourgeois
<i>Kean</i>	<i>Kean</i>	Alexandre Dumas (père)
<i>Linda de Chamounix</i>		
<i>La loca de Tolón</i>	<i>La Folle de Toulon (?)</i>	J. A. Saint-Amand Lacoste/ H. Lefèvre/H. Alix (?)
<i>Madre e hija</i>	<i>Figlia e madre o Le storie</i> <i>intime</i>	Paolo Giacometti
<i>Magdalena, la supuesta</i> <i>infanticida</i>	<i>Magdalena (?)</i>	Antonio García Gutiérrez (?)
<i>María Estuardo</i>	<i>Maria Stuart</i>	Johann Christoph Friedrich Schiller
<i>María Juana o La mujer</i> <i>del pueblo</i>	<i>Marie-Jeanne ou La Femme</i> <i>du peuple (?)</i>	Adolphe Dennery/A. Mallian (?)
<i>I masnadierei o El hijo</i> <i>asesino de su padre</i>	<i>La donna del popolo (?)</i> <i>Die Räuber</i>	David Chiossona (?) Johann Christoph Friedrich Schiller
<i>Medea</i>	<i>Médée</i>	Ernest Legouvé
<i>Mi mujer debe volar</i>		
<i>Un parlamento mujeril</i>		
<i>Pia de' Tolomei</i>	<i>Pia de' Tolomei</i>	Carlo Marengo
<i>Safo</i>	<i>Saffo</i>	Leopoldo Marengo
<i>Silvio Pellico en sus junciones</i>	<i>Silvio Pellico</i>	Luigi Gualtieri
<i>Sor Virginia Maria de Leyra</i>		
<i>Sullivan o El negociante y</i> <i>el artista</i>	<i>Sullivan</i>	"Mélesville" (Joseph-Anne- Honoré Duveyrier)
<i>Susana Lambert a La mujer</i> <i>culpable</i>		
<i>Una taxa de the [sic]</i>		
<i>El vagabundo y su familia</i>	<i>Un vagabondo e la sua famiglia</i>	Francesco Augusto Bon
<i>Una venganza por herencia</i>		

ADELAIDE RISTORI'S COMPANY

1874, October 19 to November 27. Teatro Principal.

ACTORS: Adolfo Alioti, Billesi, Glech, O. Maieroni, Mozzidolfi, G. Scheggi, F. Verdi, Viscardi.

ACTRESSES: Maria Borgonzoni, Casati, Graziosa Glech, Adelaide Ristori, Stefani.

REPERTORY

TITLE, AS FOUND IN SOURCES	ORIGINAL TITLE	AUTHOR
<i>Adiós a Lima</i>	N.B.: Declamation at parting performance, after <i>María Estuardo</i> and <i>Los locos fingidos</i> .	
<i>Los adioses de Juana de Arco</i>	N.B.: Possibly not a play, but a monologue from a work such as <i>Jeanne d'Arc</i> by Alexandre Soumet, <i>Juana de Arco</i> by Manuel Tamayo y Baus, or <i>Jeanne d'Arc</i> by Joseph Fabre; performed after <i>Camma o La sacerdotisa céltica</i> and <i>Lo que quiere la primera actriz</i> .	
<i>Amor y misterio</i>	<i>Kabale und Liebe</i>	Johann Christoph Friedrich Schiller

TITLE, AS FOUND IN SOURCES	ORIGINAL TITLE	AUTHOR
<i>Angelo, tirano de Padua</i>	<i>Angelo, tyran de Padoue</i>	Victor Hugo
<i>Camma o La sacerdotisa céltica</i>	<i>Camma, la sacerdotessa</i>	Giuseppe Montanelli
<i>Un clavo en la chapa</i>		
<i>Fedra</i>	<i>Phèdre</i>	Jean Racine
<i>La fuerza del amor materno</i>		
<i>Giuditta</i>	<i>Giuditta</i>	Paolo Giacometti
<i>Isabel de Inglaterra</i>	<i>Elisabetta Regina d'Inghilterra</i>	Paolo Giacometti
<i>Los locos fingidos</i>		
<i>Lo que quiere la primera actriz</i>	<i>Ciò che piace alla prima attrice</i>	Tommaso Gherardi Del Testa
<i>Lucrecia Borgia</i>	<i>Lucrèce Borgia</i>	Victor Hugo
<i>Macbeth</i>	<i>Macbeth</i>	William Shakespeare
<i>María Antonieta</i>	<i>Maria Antonietta</i>	Paolo Giacometti
<i>María Estuardo</i>	<i>Maria Stuart</i>	Johann Christoph Friedrich Schiller
<i>Medea</i>	<i>Médée</i>	Ernest Legouvé
<i>Oro y oropel</i>	<i>Oro e orpello</i>	Tommaso Gherardi Del Testa
<i>Sor Teresa</i>	<i>Suor Teresa o Elisabetta Soares</i>	Luigi Camoletti
<i>Tisbe</i>		Victor Hugo (?)