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Theatre Inauguration Ceremony and Symbolic Representation

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Abstract: The inauguration of the theatre building in Farkas street can be considered as a landmark of the Hungarian theatre history of Transylvania. The ceremony from 1821 has become a canonical event of Hungarian acting. The study analyzes first how the National Hungarian Theatre was constituted in the frame of the inauguration ceremony referring also to the symbolics of it as a visual and event-like frame of theatre historical remembrance.

Then, will focus on two anniversary celebrations (from 1871 and 1892), in order to analyze how various elements of the anniversary celebrations relate to each other in the context of the institutionalization process.

Keywords: 19th century, Transylvania, theatre anniversary celebration, institutionalization, invented tradition

After 18 years of construction works,[2] the first Hungarian stone theatre, called also the Hungarian National Stage from Transylvania was opened on Belső-Farkas street in downtown Kolozsvár (Cluj) finally on March 12, 1821. The ground hall had twelve blue chandeliers decorated with silver, while the foreground and the corridors leading to the boxes were illuminated with 9 oil lamps. Two hundred candles were lit in the inner spaces of the theatre (the candlesticks in slat supports could be pull up and lower with the help of chains to illuminate the stage and the seats of the musicians, and also the fly loft) at the evening spectacle which started at 6 o'clock. The theatre entrance was also illuminated by two square oil lamps of great size.

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2. Lázár Káli Nagy, *Visszaemlékezései. Az erdélyi magyar színészet hőskora 1792–1821*, ed. János Lázok (Marosvásárhely: Mentor, 2009), 132–135.

Although the original building plan cannot be found, we have a few sources[3] on the basis of which some aspects of the building (i.e. its seating capacity, spatial design and image) may be reconstructed. According to Lázár Káli Nagy, the supervisor of the construction works, the stage was built on the basis of the stage of Theatre an der Wien (The Theatre on the Wien River). Completed in 1801, the Viennese theatre was described as the most lavishly equipped and one of the largest theatres of its age. The usual machinery for rapid changing of the scenery with wheel system was located below the stage. The height of the building made it possible to vertically raise the backdrops. The basic part of the scenic props (curtains, painted drops, sets of legs, and borders) were realized by the scene painter of Vienna's Burgtheater, and the chandelier of the auditorium had been manufactured also in Vienna. There has been made a front courtain, an act drop, stage backdrops that indicated three rooms (a saloon, a rustic room, a classic hall), a garden, a street and a gaol equiped with 40 legs and 11 borders. The costumes were brought by the company, and a few aristocrats also enriched the theatrical costume equipments and supplies.

Having a comfortable seating capacity of 1,200, but being able to stay up to 1,500 people, the auditorium consisted of the stall, then three tiers of boxes painted in blue (lower tier of boxes 15, the second tier 17, while the third had 18 boxes) which could seat between 340-500 people. The stalls seating area had 80 seats, and the first rows featured 32 benches suitable to seat 100 people. The space between the seats and benches of the stalls could pack up to 300 people. The orchestra pit was suitable for 19 musicians to seat around 9 music benches. The gallery provided 300 seats and additional standing room for up to 200 viewers.

According to the minutes of the National Theatre Committee responsible for the functioning of the institution, the 50 boxes within the auditorium were distributed among the aristocrats who supported the construction of the theatre building;[4] from among these 24 were given for good to aristocrats (both men and women) and their families who gave substantial sums to the cause.[5]

3. Ibid.; Minute Book of the National Theatre from Transylvania, 1820–1835, Reg 4, Fonds of Hungarian Theatre from Cluj, No. 313, Cluj Branch of the National Romanian Archives, Cluj-Napoca; Zoltán Ferenczi, *A kolozsvári színészet és színház története* (Kolozsvár: Ajtai K. Albert press, 1897), 268–270.

4. Minute Book of the National Theatre from Transylvania, ff. 67-68.

5. See the list of the families that supported the theatre: Ibid., 67-68, Ferenczi, *A kolozsvári színészet és színház története*, 272-273; Káli Nagy, *Visszaemlékezései*, 140-143.

The inauguration ceremony is well-suitable to study aspects related to the construction of historical rememberance. Since the event didn't have any precedents (at least not in Hungarian language), it can be considered as a 19th century invention, and more specifically, from a historian's position, we can view it as an 'invented tradition' in the sense of Eric Hobswbawm's and Terence Ranger's terms.[6] Its organization served as a model for following theatrical celebrations, while the event as a whole was an opportunity for the active participants to review, on the one hand, the past of Hungarian acting, while on the other hand, to look into its future and face challenges related to the inevitable cultural and social changes which would occur. Especially if we take the two theatre celebrations of the nineteenth century following the 1821 opening ceremony, both practices (that is looking back and looking ahead) are visible not only in the organization and performance of the events but also in the specific mixture/blend of institutional legitimisation and symbolic presentation of cultural expectations of the era.

In what follows, I will examine the program of the two-day festivities organized for the opening of the theatre in Farkas street with the purpose to explore how the Hungarian National Theatre was constituted in the frame of the celebrations. I will also focus on the significances attached to the function and role of the institution through the language of the celebration (by analyzing, besides the Prologue, the verses of the song sung by the choir, and other related sources), and also on the function(s) of the plays performed during the celebrations. Further more, I will refer to the symbolics of the ceremony as a visual and event-like frame of theatre historical remembrance.

On examining the previously mentioned two anniversary celebrations (the fiftieth anniversary of the theatre opening at the beginning of April 1871 and the centenary of Hungarian acting in Transylvania as celebrated on November 10 and 11, 1892) I will consider the degrees to which the old models set by the inauguration ceremony could be adapted to the new contexts of the anniversaries.

How Was the Festivity Constructed?

The Hungarian Theatre from Cluj had an aristocratic character not only in terms of its sponsorship or funding,[7] but also in terms of membership in

6. Eric Hobsbawm, "Invented traditions," in *The invention of tradition* 2008, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1–14.
7. See the list of the donators: *Az erdélyi országgyűlések színházpolitikai vitái és iratai (1791–1847)*, ed. Miklós Bényei (Budapest: Magyar Színházi Intézet, 1990), 95–101.

the National Theatre Committee which was responsible for the management of the company;[8] moreover, the Committee employed the members of the company as well.

They also organized the inauguration ceremony so its schedule can be found in the official documents of the Committee. However, certain decisions (which were taken after semi-official or private talks) cannot be revealed. During the meeting held on February 11, 1821 the Committee appointed its members who became responsible for organizing the ceremony; accordingly, the organizing committee was chaired by P. Horváth Dániel, while its members were the following: count Dénes Bánffy, count László Lázár, baron József Naláczi, count József Csáky and baron Miklós Kemény.[9] Then, during the meeting held on March 14 to debate and eventually adopt the new theatre regulation. They defined the competences for the theatre managers who would lead the company and manage the institution.[10] The new theatre regulation contained three parts: 1. the basic regulation which described the functioning of the company; 2. the obligations of the stage directors (regiseurs), and 3. the instructions for the censors and the managers of the theatre.[11] According to the regulation, the Committee exercised leadership in every aspect. Moreover, a sub-committee chaired by the (general) manager had the right to impose penalties.

Baron Dániel Petrichevich Horváth, the Commission chair, fully supported the establishing and functioning of the theatre. He was also member of the construction commission, and paid 1,000 forints to own a theatre box. Previously, between December 1813 – March 1814, he had been the manager of the theatre company which had been performing in the ex-stable (owned by count Wesselényi Miklós) transformed into theatre building. In his period,

8. The list of the Committee was as follows: Head of Committe: baron Ignác Kemény, lord lieutenant of Kolozs county. Members: count Farkas Bethlen jr., Ferenc Fricsi Fekete, count Ádám Rhédei, count Dénes Bánffy, count László Lázár, Antal Hollaki, baron Miklós Kemény, baron József Naláczy, count József Csáky, Dániel Petrichevich Horváth, Lázár Káli Nagy, István Ágoston, judge of royal free Kolozsvár town, Mózes Ferenczi, town counsellor. Notary: Mihály Szenykirályi, royal judge of royal free Kolozsvár town.

9. Minute Book of the National Theatre from Transylvania, f. 79,

10. Count Dénes Bánffy and count László Lázár were chosen to be responsible for the repertoire and censorship. Dániel Petrichevich-Horváth and count József Csáky were appointed as stage directors, Antal Hollaky (secretary at Transylvanian Gubernia) as music director and Lázár Nagy appointed as economic director.

11. Minute Book of the National Theatre from Transylvania, ff. 98-113. See also in Ferenczi, *A kolozsvári színészet és színház története*, 276-277.

the library of the theatre acquired several new drama-texts. During the winter of 1814 Petrichevich organized an amateur company of aristocrats (*Uri Játtzó Társaság* in Hungarian*)* which performed German, French and Hungarian plays mainly in the governor's saloon.[12] He also had an essential role in shaping the program of the inauguration celebration.

On March 12 the new theatre building was opened at six o'clock in the evening. Baron Petrichevich was the first to appear on the stage: he recited the *Prologue* (*Előszó*) written by himself. Next, the students of the Musical Association of Cluj („kolozsvári muzsikai egyesület") performed the choir song written for the occasion (entitled *A nemzet innepe az erdélyi magyar játékszín kinyitásakor* [*The Nation's Celebration on the Opening of the Hungarian Theatre from Transylvania*]). The highlight of the first evening was the performance of the 5-act herioc bourgeois tragedy *Zrínyi* by the aforementioned amateur acting company. Showing heavy influences of Schiller, the play had been written by the German playwright Theodor Körner; its Hungarian translation was provided by Petrichevich-Horváth himself, who also assumed the title role. (Otherwise the play had already been performed twice in 1819, on the birthday of the governor, count Bánffy György and the following day.)[13]

The professional acting company came on stage only the following day (on March 13); they performed *King Mathias/Mathias Corvinus*, an original Hungarian sentimental drama written by László Szentjóbi Szabó.

The *Prologue* for the Occassion

The text written and presented by Petrichevich Horváth Dániel was published first in the book entitled *Játékszíni Koszorú* [*Stage Wreath*][14] by Könyves Máté in 1834, then it appeared in the publication *Emléklap* [*Commemorative Card*][15]

12. See: Ferenczi, *A kolozsvári színészet és színház története*, 175, 232–233, 240–241, 251–252, 267. Imre Sándor, *A széplaki Petrichevich-Horváth család* (Kolozsvár: Gámán János Press, 1908), 26–27; Dániel Petrichevich Horváth, Introduction to *Zrinyi, vitézi szomoru játék öt felvonásban, by Theodor Körner,* trans. Dániel Petrichevich Horváth (Kolozsvár: Ref. Koll. betűi, 1819), a2–a4.
13. Dániel Petrichevich Horváth, Introduction to *Zrinyi, vitézi szomoru játék öt felvonásban, by Theodor Körner,* trans. Dániel Petrichevich Horváth (Kolozsvár: Ref. Koll. betűi, 1819), a4.
14. Máté Könyves, *Játékszíni koszorú*, ed. Eszter György (Budapest: Magyar Színházi Intézet, n.d.).
15. *Emléklapok a Kolozsvári Országos Nemzeti Színház megnyitásának félszázados örömünnepére*, (Kolozsvár: Rom. Kath. Lyceum nyomdája, 1871).

issued for the 1871 comemmoration of the theatre opening. The newspapers of the era republished it as well, along the choir song's text and the playbill of the *Zrínyi* tragedy.

The *Prologue* may be read as both a theatre-opening official speech and an argument for the staging of the tragedy. The emphasis was on the national and autohtone features as key elements for the symbolic occupation of both the building space and the local theatre culture.

The beginning of the prologue describes the Hungarian acting stage as being without a property of its own; in this sense, it is evoking the theatrical initiatives from the end of the 18th century which would finally have a building of its own.

The construction of the building holds out the promise of revival for Hungarian acting, while the acting is defined as heart stirring, luring and beatiful craft/profession:

Úgy is tudjuk, mi a sorsa
A legkedvesebb Actornak.
Tudjuk azt, hogy nem terjedhet
Kellemeinek érzése
Századokra, mint Apelles
Ecsettyének vonásai. (...)
Bájoló szép mestersége
Ereje tsak addig terjed;
Míg szavai elhangzottak,
És a visszhang megszüntével,
Borostyánja el is alszik.
We know anyway the fate
Of the dearest Actor.
[We know that the feeling
Of his good features cannot
Encompass centuries like
The strokes of Apelles' brush (...)
The power of his luring and beautiful profession
Lasts only until his words,
And the echo ceases
Together with the light
Of its amber.][16]

16. All the translations from Hungarian belong to the author of the article.

According to the *Prologue*, the company of aristocrats, by daring to open the national theatre, made not only an act of celebrating the theatre, is a sanctifier gesture animated by patriotic feelings and giving it honour and rank (i.e. since they belong to the first estate).

The choice for the *Zrínyi* tragedy is motivated by evoking the great Hungarian nobleman and general in service of Habsburg Monarchy, ban of Croatia. In 1566, from August 5 to September 7 his small force (2,300 soldiers) heroically defended the little fortress of Szigetvár against the whole Ottoman host (102,000 soldiers), led by Suleiman the Magnificent in person. The Battle of Szigetvár ended with Zrínyi perishing with every member of the garrison and his family, thus blocking Suleiman's line of advance towards Wienna. Zrínyi's heroic gesture is motivated by patriotic feeling, love and loyalty to his Habsburg Monarch.

The martyrdom of Zrínyi resonates with the sacrifice brought for the theatre. The *Prologue* finally called for cheering:

Víg trombiták harsogjatok!!!/ [*Loudly let the trumpets bray!*]

The cheer and vivat were meant for Francis I, the last Holy Roman Emperor, who was also the Apostolic King of Hungary as *I. Ferenc*.[17] The praise and gratitude went to the local representatives of political power, who were of course present at the inaguration (for e.g., count György Bánffy, the cheaf of the Gubernium was viewing the show from the central box located in the second tier of boxes). The theatre was completed thanks to the support received from the governor as well. Count Bánffy claimed a separate box also for his family.[18] The glorification of the monarch, and his representatives (the government and governor) were not just courtesy gestures, but acts of obedience and pledges of loyalty.

The Choir Song

The choir song entitled *A nemzet innepe az erdélyi magyar játékszín kinyitásakor* [*The Nation's Celebration on the Opening of the Hungarian Theatre from Transylvania*] was composed by young Zsigmond Szentkirályi (1804–1870, the son of Miklós

17. However, according to article 6 of the law from 1791 - which stipulated that Transylvania was part of the Hungarian Kingdom so that the House of Habsburg had the same right to command over it, - also stated that Transylvania had its own constitution which should serve for governing the territory according to its subsequent laws and rules. Bényei ed., *Az erdélyi országgyűlések*, 196.

18. Minute Book of the National Theatre from Transylvania, f. 65.

Szentkirályi (1772-1836), the royal judge of the town, and performed by the students of the musical association of Cluj („kolozsvári muzsikai egyesület") which was in fact the music academy of the town.[19] Although in his monography about the Hungarian musical theatre of Cluj the author István Lakatos only refers to the fact that the choir of the music school collaborated in the event, the documents of the Musical Association reveal much more about the organization of the festivities.[20]

According to the minutes of the association, the music director Antal Hollaki invited the Commission of the association to his house to discuss the choir song which would be performed at the ceremony. The invitation had been sent to 16 persons but only 9 showed up, among them the conductors József Grosspeter and Antal Polz clavier master. The latter was instructed to gather the singers and also to select beautiful and soothing musical pieces for the orchestra to play in between the acts of *Zrínyi* tragedy, so that *'we could show our respect which is appropriate for the Hungarian nation*'. However, the music pieces selected for the orchestra weren't recorded in the minutes of the meeting, we also learn from the minutes that costs were supported by the Theatre Committee.[21]

With a few exceptions, the verses of the song by Zsigmond Szentkirályi much resemble the festive language of the *Prologue*. Having biblical vocabulary, the song contains references to antique texts, to the history of Hungary, as well as to Hungarian ancestors. The song calls metaphorically the lack of a theatre building as 'ideas trembling on sad remains of Fate', while the completion of the stone theatre a dream coming true: „beatiful dream rocking on the

19. See the text of the *Choir Song* in the Minute Book of the National Theatre from Transylvania, ff. 77-78.

20. István Lakatos, *A kolozsvári magyar zenés színpad* (Bukarest: Kriterion Kiadó, 1977), 26. On the cooperation between the National Thratre of Kolozsvár and the Local Conservatory of Music see: Emese Sófalvi "Zeneoktatás a kolozsvári Muzsikai Conservatoriumban 1819-1869 között" (PhD thesis, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, 2016.); E., Sófalvi, "*Szolgáltatott a szintársulatoknak mindenféle segélyt, hogy operát tarthassanak*... (Adatok a kolozsvári Nemzeti Színház és a helyi Muzsikai Conservatorium együttműködésének történetéhez. 1821-1849)" in *Képes beszéd. Színház- és filmművészeti tanulmányok 2*, 2014, ed. Emese Egyed (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2014), 60-79.; E., Sófalvi, "Az intézményes zeneoktatás kezdetei Kolozsváron," in *A VII. Nemzetközi Hungarológia Kongresszus Zenetudományi Szekciójának előadásai*, ed. István Angi and Csilla Csákány (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2013), 166-185.

21. Records and Corrensponderces of the Musical Association from Kolozsvár (Cluj), 1821, Act 3, ff. 2-5, Fonds of Music Conservatory, Cluj, No. 1188, Cluj Branch of the National Romanian Archives, Cluj-Napoca.

blooming Olympos". The figure of the governor appears as a power protecting the newly established institution („Csak Nagy Bánfy' szárnyainak / Terjedjen rá oltalma").

According to the song, the day of joy is marked by the Hungarian sky shining beyond the sun, the moon and the eagle. These symbols were visible also in the space of the theatre, as they were carved onto the golden board above the stage. In the *crest of Transylvania*, the eagle represents the counties, the sun and the moon the Szeklers, since the theatre building could be completed thanks to the donations from these two estates.

Praise, respect and gratitude were put into rhyme and the verses repeated in refrain (*Jöjjetek hát, jöjjetek már / A' tisztelet itt régen vár; A háladás' sas' szárnyain / Lebegjen mejjünk' árnyain. Come, oh come already/ The honour is waiting for a long while for you; The Eagle fan of gratitude/Let be float on our bosom shade*) were in fact equivalent with ritualized and formalised gestures. The last strophe sounds much like a prayer for God's blessing, for the undisturbed rule of the king, and for peace in both Hungary and Transylvania.

The choir song was conducted by the previously mentioned conductor, Antal Polcz, who was also the music master at the court of the chief governor.[22]

The Zrínyi tragedy

The role of the h*ero of Szigetvár* was played by Dániel Petrichevich-Horváth himself, who, according to the memoirs of the famous actress Déryné, could have become a good professional actor. [23] Other important characters were played by the governors son in law, count József Csáky (as Szolimán) and the governor's daughter, countess Csáky (as Éva, the heroine, wife of Zrínyi). Other roles were distributed also mainly to aristocrats: the young count Pál Bethlen acted as Mechmet Szokolovits; baron József Bornemisza as Ibrahim; baron Miklós Bánffy as Ali portuk; Gergely Barcsay as Mustafa; baroness Mária Inczédi as Ilona, the daughter of Zrínyi; count

22. "A Jókai pár fogadtatása és a jubileumi banquette," *Magyar Polgár* (Kolozsvár/Cluj), Apr. 2, 1871.

23. Daniel Petrichevich Horváth had also written a few original plays and translated plays. (See Déryné, *Naplója*, Vol. 2, ed. József Bayer (Budapest, [1900]), 175. For his writings see: the 'Horváth Dániel (széplaki Petrichevich)' entry in József Szinnyei, *Magyar írók élete és munkái* I–XIV (Budapest: Hornyánszky, 1891–1914) http://mek.oszk.hu/03600/03630/html/

János Rhédei played the character of Gáspár Alapi; count János Teleki as Farkas Paprutovits; the elderly count Pál Bethlen was Péter Újlaki, and the role of the youg hero and Ilona's suitor, Lőrinc Juranics was played by count János Bethlen (the father of the young count Miklós Bethlen, who, performing under the stage name Bolnai, became a professional actor at the middle of the 19th century.)[24] A few bourgeois person were given smaller roles: for e.g. a military ambassador (played by Menasági); a Turkish military leader (aga, played by Miklós Iszlai); the servant of Zrínyi (played by Sámuel Deáky); a peasant (played by Incze); a Hungarian captain (by Végheli). According to the playbill, the scenes took place „either in Belgrád or in Sziget; depicting the places where the story happened in 1566". Otherwise the display and spectacle of the locations hasn't been emphasized on the playbill.

The visuality of the performance was provided by the diversity of the costumes and various props (guns, armors, flags and torches) and much less by the spectacle of scenic design. We may note that the staging practice of the era used neither period dress nor period sets.[25] The noble amateurs actors obviously put an emphasis on both the Hungarian and Turkish dresses, thus we can say that the costumes were more important in conveying theatrical illusion, although historical accuracy wasn't elemental in this regard either. At the end of the performance the amateur actors donated the costumes to the wardrobe of the professional acting company.[26]

Although it is hard to believe, there hasn't been any report about this significant series of theatre events, [27] so any conclusion to be taken will be based on sporadic data. In terms of scenical possibilities, the spectacle of the

24. About Bolnai see: Katalin Ágnes Bartha, *Shakespeare and the Prestige of Hungarian Acting Profession in Mid-19th Century (The Case of Count Miklos Bethlen)* to be published at University of Bucharest Publishing House, edited by Madalina Nicolaescu, Alis Zaharia.

25. Ferenc Kerényi, "*A Pesti Magyar Színháztól a Nemzeti Színházig*," in *Magyar színháztörténet (1790–1873)* 1990, ed. Ferenc Kerényi (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1990), 274.

26. Enchanted by the pomp and spectacle of the dresses a member of the audince, namely count Lajos Bethlen also donated a few items of his own garnments *„his beatifully made armour, helm and gauntlet.*" for the theatre company's costume collection. Minute Book of the National Theatre from Transylvania, f. 98.

27. Ferenczi, *A kolozsvári színészet és színház története*, 278. Only one article on bulilding-constructions appeared in two series: "A' Kolozsvári Nemzeti Játkszín építésének történetei, 's ennek mostani állapotja," *Magyar Kurir* (Vienna), Dec. 25, Dec 28, 1821. Without naming its author the article is identical with the text of Káli Nagy, and does not give any detail about the ceremony. Káli Nagy, *Visszaemlékezései*, 140-143.

performance couldn't have departed from the usual patterns of scenery (though the stage director György Simonfy enriched the scene by adding a few scenic elements) used in heroic play (*helden spiele* in German/ *vitézi játék* in Hungarian) a very popular type of play in the 1810's in Hungary.[28] In any case, they must have used the already mentioned sceneries at disposal, and namely the classic hall and the salloon painted backdrop with their side-drops (legs) and borders to represent the various inner spaces: *the room within the palace in Belgrad / belgrádi palotában való szoba* (I. 1-7.),/; the palace from Szigetvár / *szigetvári nagy szoba* (I. 7-11.– II.1-9.), *Szigetvári palota* [nyilván szoba] (III. 6-10.)/; the tent of the Turkish emperor near Sziget / *Török császár sátora Sziget alatt* (III. 1-5; IV. 1-7.) /; the vault from Sziget / Szigetb*e pintze boltozat* (IV. 8-9 – V. 1-6.)/. Outside scenes like the court of the castle from Sziget / a *Szigeti vár udvara* (II. fv. 10-14.; V. 7-8.)/ could be easily arranged by using the curtain representing the garden, while for the final big scene they must have painted a backdrop representing the fortress of Szigetvár and must have provided smoke and torches to symbolize the castle in flames; however, we found no evidence in this regard among the payments of the theatre registered for 1821.[29] But we found payments in sum of 8 ft. for timber-work suggesting that quite a few stage/scene elements (or even a fortress) had been built for staging the Zrínyi Miklós tragedy. Further sum (2 ft) paid for the trumpeter suggests that they must have made use of musical instruments to emphasize the battle scene.[30]

King Mathias

Although the drama piece was taken in inventory, its textbook is missing from the library of the Hungarian National Theatre from Cluj. Moreover, its playbill is also missing. In 1871 some newspaper articles dealt with the 1821 theatre inauguration, reediting some documents of it, even if it was achievable then, no information was communicated about the playbill cast or any other information related to this performance.

28. The helden spiele or heroic play had various thematic types which ranged from middle-ages' knight stories to robber, bandit and highwayman themes, also have sources from the Hungarian history and contemporary themes. On heroic play in Hungary see: Ferenc Kerényi, *A régi magyar színpadon (1790-1849)* (Budapest: Magvető, 1981), 114-133.

29. National Theatre Expenditure, 1821, Act 15, Fonds of Hungarian Theatre from Cluj, No. 313, Cluj Branch of the National Romanian Archives, Cluj-Napoca.

30. Ibid., f. 26.

However, from the memoirs of the actor Göde István we learned that he was the actor to speak first in the play (he played the palatine of Gara).[31] On the basis of theatrical lines of the era we can only suspect that Celesztin Pergő must have played the leading role, while the actress Anna Ungár must have been Pogyebrád Katalin, Borbára Simény was Erzsébet, and the elderly József Székely must have played the character of Mihály Szilágyi. The actress Mária Néb was also playing, only we don't know which character.

The 1871 Celebration

The fifty-year celebration of the theatre opening took place under the theatre manager and entrepreneur Antal Fehérváry. First, the comemmoration was postponed due to lack of concordance. Then, the professional acting company held a preliminary celebration on March 11 which was considered the day the stone theatre was opened. However, the commission supervising the theatre the National Theatre Committee (consisting of members of the local political elite, high-ranking officials and the intellectual elite)[32] decided that a greater celebration should be organized. Therefore, apart from local performers, they invited famos actors from the National Theatre from Pest and also two old actors who participated in the opening ceremony from 12 March 1821. As the organizing process was longer than expected, the festivities finally took place on April 1 and 2.

The program of the celebration organized by the professional acting company had three parts: first, the whole theatre personnel sang the '*Hymn*' of Kölcsey; then, the actress Laura Sz. Mátray recited a *Prologue* written by Gerő Szász (1831-1904), a priest and archbishop and well-known local poet,

31. [István Göde], "A magyar színészet történetéhez," *Történeti Lapok* 2, (1875): no 4:896.

32. Head of the Committee : count Imre Mikó. Members of Committee: count János Mikes, vice-president, Gusztáv Groisz, Hungarian-Royal Minister Counselor, Elek Káli Nagy, Hungarian-Royal Minister Counselor, count Miklós Lázár, count Kálmán Eszterházy, lord lieutenant of Kolozs county, baron Sándor Huszár, vice-president of National Hungarian Economic Association, Sándor Halmágyi, chief judge of Urbarial Court, Lugosi József, secretary at Royal Hungarian Ministry, Tauffer Ferenc, head of Kolozsvár Credit Institution, József László, retired actor of the National Theatre from Pest, Sámuel Filep, mayor of free royal town of Kolozsvár. Secretary: József Sándor, editor of *Kolozsvári Közlöny* newspaper. Lawyer: Miklós Ferenczi, Treasurer: Bogdán Korbuly, head of 'Zálogkölcsön' Financial Institute from Kolozsvár. See Katalin Ágnes Bartha, "Színházi professzió és presztízs Kolozsváron a 19. század utolsó harmadában," *Erdélyi Múzeum*, 77, no. 3 (2015): 46–78.

which was followed by the *Allegóriai kép* [*Allegorical tableau vivant*] accompanied with coloures illumination directed by the theatre director Fehérváry himself. The second part consisted of a performance of an original one-act comedy called *Becsületszó* [*Honour*] written by József Szigeti, actor and playwright of the National Theatre from Pest. The third part of the festive program consisted of the first act of the famous Hungarian opera *Bánk bán* (by Ferenc Erkel) with the *Magyar tánc* [*Hungarian Dance*] as performed by the dance group of the theatre.

The two-day festive program of the National Theatre Committee was organized for the benefit of the theatre's pension fund. Among the personalities invited we can mention the actors and actresses of the National Theatre from Pest: Róza Laborfalvi Jókainé, Kornélia Prielle, Kálmán Szerdahelyi, Miklós Feleki, and also Krisztina Bogdanovics, a promising young actress. The authors of the two plays (Ede Szigligeti and Mór Jókai) which were performed at the festivities were also present at the performances.

The festive program on April 1 was the following:

First, the whole staff of the theatre went on stage to perform the *Magyar nemzeti himnusz* [*Hungarian National Hymn*] written by Sándor Berta and arranged by Jakab Jákobi, the conductor of the theatre. The already mentioned priest and poet Gerő Szász wrote another *Prologue* the central idea of which was the gratitude felt toward the *predecessor actors. The verses resembled Árpád ébredése* [*The Awakening of Árpád*], an allegorical play written by the famous Hungarian poet Mihály Vörösmarty for the opening performance of the Hungarian Theatre from Pest in 22 august 1837. (for e.g. the syntagms of 'Árpád nemzetének édes szava' [The sweet words of Árpád's clan] and 'Sírjuk feltárul'[Their grave are opening up].[33] The prologue was recited by Gyula E. Kovács, the leading actor of the company. This was followed by the Tableau vivant entitled *Apotheosis* as directed by the theatre manager Antal Fehérváry in three parts: 1. *A harcok kora* [*The time of battles*]; 2 *A nemzeti irodalom felvirágzása* [*The revival of national literature*]; 3. *A magyar Thaliának emelt első oltár 1821 március 11-én* [*The first altar erected on March 11,1821 for the Hungarian Thalia]. The last part involved also the actors* Mária Néb and István Göde, who participated at the inaguration ceremony in 1821. The tableau

33. On the multi-layered theatrical and social connotations of the Prologue *Árpád ébredése* [*The Awakening of Árpád*] see: Emese Egyed, "Ki vagy te? Az Árpád ébredése című embléma," in *Vörösmarty és kora. Tanulmányok Vörösmarty Mihályról és Kőrösi Csoma Sándorról*, ed. Piroska Madácsy and Kálmán Bene (Szeged: Bába és Társai, 2001), 11–32.

vivant arranged for the event represented the respect for the past of the theatre and was meant to induce the cultural memory of the theatregoers. The cultic attitude toward the old actors on the stage, was, according to the press, blenched the cold spectacle of the greek fire „elhalványították a görögtűz hideg csillogását".[34] The imposing episodes (the revival of national literature and the first altar *erected* for the *Hungarian Thalia) effected a kind of sacred space. The Apotheosis* was followed by *a veneration expressed for the king and his wife, who were presented as the highest patrons of the theatre (Hódolat, ő cs. Kir. Apostoli felségeik dicsőségesen uralkodó királyunk és királynénknak ezen színház legm. Pártfogóinak). The enwreathed picture of the monarch's and his wife was met with much applaude. The second part of the program consisted of the performance of an original comedy written by the well-known Hungarian playwright Ede* Szigligeti (*A bajusz).*

In accordance with the decision of the organizing commission, on April 2 the theatre company performed a four-act tragedy written by the famous Hungarian novelist Mór Jókai. Entitled *Szigetvári vértanuk (The martyrs of Szigetvár)*, the play evoked the festive performance of *Zrínyi* at the 1821 theatre opening. Performed by guest actors from Pest, the play featured also new, for e.g. Miklós Feleky, the actor playing the leading role performed in costume tailored especially for the occassion, while Jókainé, the wife of the playwright was Anna. The play was directed by Gyula E. Kovács. The performance was a success; the audience reacted with ovation and followed the Jókai couple to their housing with torches. The playbill advertised also a brochure published for the occasion (sold for 20 krajcár/pennies). Moreover, even medallion of golden, silver and bronze had been minted; however, they were finished only after the celebration. [35]

Another significant event of the anniversary was the dinner (party) organized in the Redoute building on March 31; then, the following day, according to the newspaper *Magyar Polgár*, Manó Péchy, the royal commissioner invited the actors (both the guests from Pest and the members of the company from Cluj), important literary personalities and members of the Theatre Committe to join a toast.[36]

34. Szász Béla, "Színházi jubilaeum," *Kelet* (Kolozsvár/Cluj), Apr. 4, 1871.
35. *Emléklapok a Kolozsvári*, 17–18.
36. "A Jókai pár fogadtatása és a jubileumi banquette," *Magyar Polgár* (Kolozsvár/Cluj), Apr. 2, 1871.

The 1892 Celebration

On the hundred year anniversary of Hungarian acting in Cluj, the 1821 theatre opening was comemmorated as an important moment of the theatre institutionalization process; however, it constituted only a part of the country-wide celebrations. Serious preparations, meetings and consultations preceeded the events which celebrated the hundred year anniversary together with the birth day of József Katona, the great Hungarin playwright, whose natonal tragedy *Bánk bán* was banned from stages in the neo-absolutist period. We should add that research found that the two dates didn't coincide (the opening performance of the professional acting company from Cluj was on 14 December 1792).[37]

The preparatory consultations involved, beside the organising commission and a few members of the acting company, also the intellectual elite of the town.[38] In the end the local Literary Society celebrated the event on November 10 by performing *Bánk bán*; then, on November 11, a memorial plaque was unveiled at Rhédey palace (where the first Hungarian professional company started its performances, today at the corner of Napoca street), which was followed by a festive lunch and a gala performance. The street of the theatre was illuminated, and the audience was welcomed by a richly decorated and illuminated theatre building/auditorium. The event was met with much interest; among the invited guests were the royal couple. To sense the overwhelming dimensions of the event one should look at the number of invited guests: 52 delegates representing 16 judicial authorities sent; 37 delegates representing 17 scientific, literary, artistic and cultural societies; 12 delegates representing 8 theatres; and 17 journalists from 14 newspapers. Apart from the invited guests, various bodies from Cluj town (30 in total) reported to send 74 representatives.

The gala started with the festive overture (composed by Gyula Káldy); it was followed by the prologue of Mór Jókai, then by a dramatic description of the period entitled *Száz év előtt* [*Hundred Years Ago*], written by Zoltán Ferenczi. The festive program also included a medley of old Hungarian operas compiled by Ottó Müller, as well as the comedy *Jártas-költes vőlegény (A well-groomed groom)* by László Bartsai and tableaux vivants arranged on the basis of the *Zrínyi* play. The gala was repeated on November 12.

37. Sándor, Enyedi, "Mikor volt Kolozsvárt az első színházi előadás?", *A Hét*, June 18, 1982.
38. Hegyessy Vilmos ed. *Emlékkönyv az erdélyi magyar színészet száz éves jubileuma alkalmából*, (Kolozsvár, 1892), 80.

Conclusions

The theatre-opening play *Zrínyi* was met in 1821 with some discontent by the public because of, on the one hand, its atmosphere was not 'authentically' Hungarian, while on the other hand, its author was not Hungarian (see for e.g., the critical review of the play by Ferenc Kölcsey).[39] Then, the 1871 staging must have exerted a different effect, due to the fact that it was a different adaptation. On the hundred-year anniversary, they turned to the tradition set in 1821 by creating tableaux vivants on the basis of two dramatically important moments of Körner's play (this genre was very popular during the period). And the performers were selected from among the historical families whose members supported the building of the stone theatre; thus, the organizers provided a familial continuation for the participants.

The role and function of the theatre opened in 1821 was to become both a 'national property' and workshop for 'cultivating the language,'[40] and 'an instrument for enriching culture and promoting virtue'.[41] Further attributes of the new institution were 'to protect the national treasure' (see Minutes), and 'serve the pleasure/delight of the heart'.[42] These elements can be found also at 1871 celebration (for e.g., according to the prologues of Gerő Szász, 'the [theatre]house is a temple', while the event was the 'celebration of language, poetry and the arts). It is important to note that the abovementioned functions do not appear as evidence that needs to be provided because they were considered as having been fulfilled during the fifty-year functioning of the theatre. Although the aspect of entertainment within the texts written for the occasion is as a latent presence only, the staged comedies and the tableaux vivants have served this specific purpose. In terms of its language and agenda, the emphasis of the 1892 anniversary was transferred on the practical issue of having a continuous, uninterrupted theatre in town, on the need to fund the theatre similar to the National Theatre form Pest (the Theatre Commission attempted to solve this by political means). It is interesting in this regard that the prologue of Jókai featured some theatre historical elements – for e.g. the play entitled *Titkos ellenkezés* [*Secret resistence*], and the name of

39. See for e.g., the critical review of the play: Ferenc Kölcsey, *Körner Zrínyijéről*. http://mek.oszk.hu/06300/06367/html/01.htm#185
40. Minute Books of The Theatre Committee, f. 109.
41. Káli Nagy, *Visszaemlékezései*, 163.
42. Dániel Petrichevich Horváth, "Elő Szó"[Prologue], in *Máté Könyves, Játékszíni koszorú*, ed. Eszter György (Budapest: Magyar Színházi Intézet, n.d.) 109–110.

count Wesselényi – which only signal that the text was written for the festive occasion; otherwise, it is built on the opposition between Hungary and Transylvania where the latter plays the role of preserving the [Hungarian] language).

In 1821, the national theatre culture was much more linked to the theatrical activity of two rather different social groups; in other words, the picture of the heterogeneous society was well-represented by the two-day event.

The theatre was opened the first day with the active participation of the politically influent members of the local aristocracy (quite a few members of the Theatre Commission acted in the *Zrínyi* performance). This group of amateur aristocratic actors supported the acting company since the first theatrical performance in Cluj (1792) and the placement of the acting company under national supervision (1795), and took up financially the case of the constucting an independent theatre building (since 1805). It is worth mentioning that members of the amateur company had been acting for a few years before appearing the new theatre stage to perform the *Zrínyi* tragedy.

Among the performers of the second day, we find among the regular members of the newly established acting company significant actors of the era: József Székely (who became a member of the acting company from Cluj in 1802, Borbára Simény (she became a member in 1803), Anna Ungár (in 1806) and Czelesztin Pergő (in 1810). All of them remained actors of the Cluj stage. Although they had a say with regard to what to perform at the theatre opening, the final decision was taken by the Theatre Commission; therefore, we can conclude that the professional artists supported the taste of the aristocracy/ elite in power. The play *King Mathias* by László Szentjóbi had been part of the repertoire of the acting company from Cluj since 1804; being a sentimental play written for the crowning of I. Ferenc, it seemed like an appropriate choice to express the gratitude and loyalty, since both the local representatives of the ruling power and the king were specified/mentioned in the festive speech and in the verses of the choir song.

Beside the hierarchical organization of the theatre functioning, at least the same importance should be given to the community-building aspect of participating in theatre building (which aspect I believe is stronger than the belonging to certain social groups). In this regard, I only mention the fact that Gábor Döbrentei, the famous Hugarian critic of the era, established the democratic context of the theatre as an important centre of social life at the

beginning of 19th century Cluj, by emphasizing the presence in a common space which entailed the possibility to dissolve differences between theatregoers of different social ranks or confessional groups.[43]

The 1871 anniversary was held in the theatre building transformed according to the professional needs of the era.[44] The renovated theatre-interior of the institution by the significant removal of the governor's box (1865) anticipated the political constitutional frame that was to be established by the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867. By this time, the politics of the Theatre Committee was not so much involved into the professional management of the theatre. The reason for this was the advanced stage of professionalization and institutionalization, which meant that decisions concerning membership, personnel and staging were now taken by theatre professionals, while the Committee acted as supervising and approving board, and supported the functioning of the theatre through the political and social relations of its members. As a result, the 1871 anniversary consisted of two separate events: the first organized by the professional acting company, and the second by the National Hungarian Theatre Committee.

However, we should observe that the 1821 opening constructed a tradition which was strongly emphasized at the 1871 anniversary, the key components of which were the prologue and the historical theme of Zrínyi's martyrdom. The 1871 anniversary saw an adaptation to a different social and theatrical context, which can be revealed by the use of various forms of communication enabled by both technical progress and dissemination possibilities. As opposed to the lack of media coverage of the opening ceremony, the fifty-year anniversary was extensively dealt with by the local press, thus it became a major cultural event for the literate social groups.

The 1892 celebration became much more professional in this sense; the event enjoyed popularity across historical Hungary and Transylvania and was extensively reported in the national press. The various components of the ceremony (such as unveiling a comemmorative plaque on Rhedey palace, the festive lunch with their ceremonial toasts, the procession on the streets of

43. Döbrentei Gábor, "Az első füzetbeli jutalom kihirdetésére béküldetett szomorújátékokról." *Erdélyi Muzéum* 10, (1818): 117.

44. In1865-ben theatre was renovated, and partly rebuilt by Kagerbauer Antal builder master from Kolozsvár. See the plan of the construction work: KÁL, Fond 313, Act 38, ff. 6-12. On the construction see: Orsolya Tőkés, "A kolozsvári, Farkas utcai színház 1865. évi átépítése mint színháztörténeti esemény,"in *Képes beszéd. Színház és filmművészeti tanulmányok (2)*, edited by Emese Egyed (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum, 2014), 90-99.

Cluj decorated with flags and banners, and the participation of various cultural associations and students wearing rosettes as a symbol of national pride and support) prove the symbolic importance of the entire event. And, as of worthy publications related to the anniversary, we can list the commemmorative book edited by Vilmos Hegyesy[45] and also the history of acting and theatre in Cluj, written by Zoltán Ferenczi (*Kolozsvári színészet és színház története* [*The History of Acting and Theatre from Kolozsvár*]. 1897).

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45. Hegyesi ed, *Emlékkönyv az erdélyi.*

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Appendix

Fig. 1: The Hungarian National Theatre in Cluj (1821-1906)

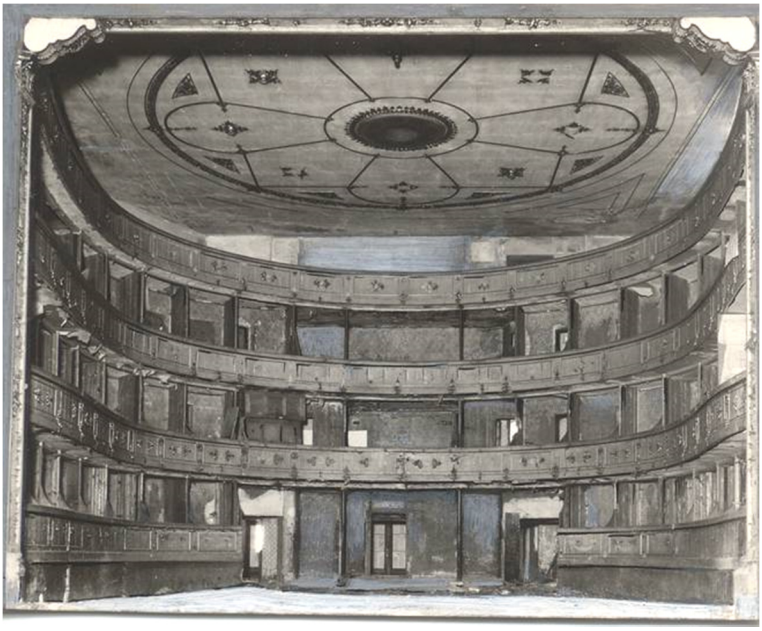


Fig. 2: The interior of the National Theatre of Cluj
(The photo was taken just before its demolition.)

Kolo'svártt.

Hétfön Martius' 12-dik napján 1821.

HAZAFIAKBÓL ÖSZVE-ÁLLOTT TÁRSASÁG ÁLTAL

fog elö-adódni

A' HAZÁNKBAN LEG ELÖBBSZÖR KI NYITANDÓ

NEMZETI JÁTÉKSZÍN' INNEPÉRE

EGY VITÉZI SZOMORU JÁTÉK

V. Fel-vonásokban,

ezen nevezet alatt:

ZRINYI

Irta Körner Teodor, forditotta Petrichevich Horváth Dániel.

Játszó Személyek.

Nagy Szolimán, Török Császár – Gr. Csáky Jósef.
Mechmet Szokolovits, Nagy Vezér Ifi. Gr. Bethlen Pál.
Ibrahim, Natoliai Beglerbeg. – – B. Bornemisza Jósef
Ali Portuk, az ágyuzó Serog' Vezére – B. Bánffi Miklos.
Mustafa, Bosniai Basa – – – Bartsai Gergely.
Lévi, Szolimánnak elsö udvari Orvossa. – Lészai Lajos.
Egy Hadi Követ – – – Menesági.
Egy Aga – – – – – Iszlai Miklos.
Gróf Zrinyi Miklós, Croatia', Dalmatia', Sclavonia' Banussa, Ország' Tavernicussa, és Szigeth Várának Fô Kapitánnya. – P. Horváth Dániel.

Éva, Született Gróf Rosenberg Kis Aszszony, ennek Felesége – – – Gr. Csáky Jósefné.
Ilona, ezeknek Leánya – – B. Intzédi Mária.
Alapi Gáspár, Magyar Kapitányok Gr. Rhedei János.
Paprutrovits Farkas, Magyar Kapitányok Gr. Teleki János.
Ujlaki Péter, Magyar Kapitányok Id. Gr. Bethlen Pál.
Juranits Lörintz, Magyar Kapitányok Gr. Bethlen János.
Serenk Ferentz, Zrinyi Komornyikja – Deáky Sámuel.
Egy Paraszt. – – – – – Intze.
Egy Magyar Kapitány – – – Végheli.
Magyar Kapitányok, Magyar és Török Katonák, Testörzök, Kamarások.

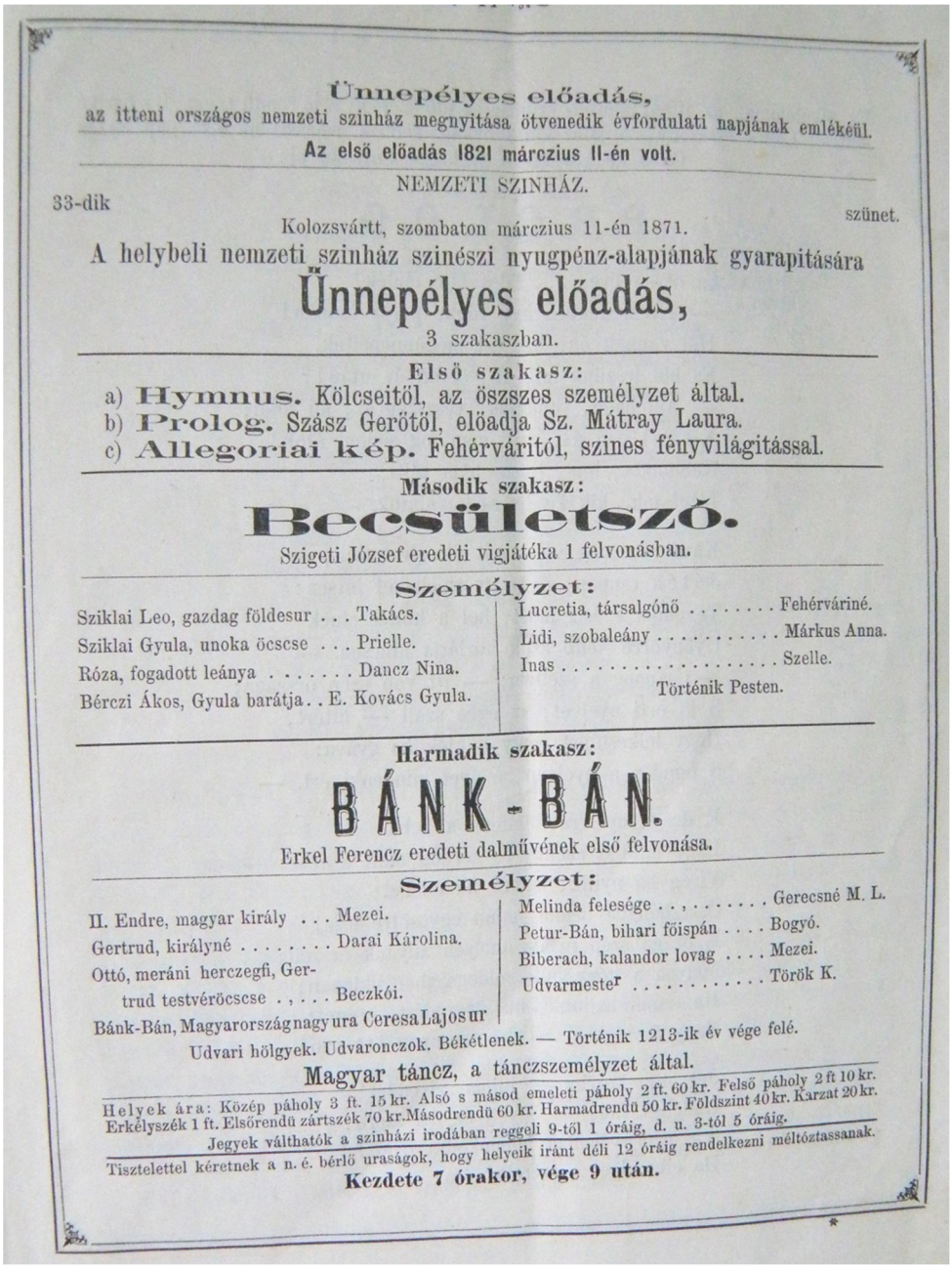
A' Játszó hely hol Belgrádon, hol Szigethen az 1566-ba esett történet' hellyeit ábrázólja.

A' Lógéknak árra, közepsö Emelet – – – – 6 Rf.
alsó és leg felsö Emeleten – – – – 5 Rf.
Zárt-Szék – – – – – – 1 Rf.
Parterre – – – – – – – – 40 xr.
Galleria – – – – – – – – 20 xr.

Billéták találtatnak a' Piatzi Lábos házná! Tekintetes Nagy Lázár U' szállásán dél utánni 3 óráig. 5 órán túl a' Teátrum' Kassájánál.

A' Játék kezdödik pontba 6 órakor, egy ezen alkalmatosságra irott Elö-Szo' Declamatiojával, ezt követi egy ugyan ezen Czélra készült nagy Var Ének. Vége leszen 10 után.

Fig. 3: The playbill of the Zrinyi tragedy, 11 March 1821 (By permission of the Theatre History Collection of the Hungarian National Széchényi Library, Budapest)



Ünnepélyes előadás,

az itteni országos nemzeti szinház megnyitása ötvenedik évfordulati napjának emlékéül.

Az első előadás 1821 márczius 11-én volt.

NEMZETI SZINHÁZ.

33-dik szünet.

Kolozsvártt, szombaton márczius 11-én 1871.

A helybeli nemzeti szinház szinészi nyugpénz-alapjának gyarapitására

Ünnepélyes előadás,

3 szakaszban.

Első szakasz:

a) Hymnus. Kölcseitől, az összes személyzet által.
b) Prolog. Szász Gerőtől, előadja Sz. Mátray Laura.
c) Allegoriai kép. Fehérváritól, szines fényvilágitással.

Második szakasz:

Becsületszó.

Szigeti József eredeti vigjátéka 1 felvonásban.

Személyzet:

Sziklai Leo, gazdag földesur . . . Takács.
Sziklai Gyula, unoka öcscse . . . Prielle.
Róza, fogadott leánya . . . . . Dancz Nina.
Bérczi Ákos, Gyula barátja . . E. Kovács Gyula.
Lucretia, társalgónő . . . . . Fehérváriné.
Lidi, szobaleány . . . . . Márkus Anna.
Inas . . . . . Szelle.

Történik Pesten.

Harmadik szakasz:

BÁNK-BÁN.

Erkel Ferencz eredeti dalművének első felvonása.

Személyzet:

II. Endre, magyar király . . . Mezei.
Gertrud, királyné . . . . . Darai Károlina.
Ottó, meráni herczegfi, Gertrud testvéröcscse . . . . . Beczkói.
Bánk-Bán, Magyarország nagyura Ceresa Lajos ur
Melinda felesége . . . . . Gerecsné M. L.
Petur-Bán, bihari főispán . . . . Bogyó.
Biberach, kalandor lovag . . . . Mezei.
Udvarmester . . . . . Török K.

Udvari hölgyek. Udvaronczok. Békétlenek. — Történik 1213-ik év vége felé.

Magyar táncz, a tánczszemélyzet által.

Helyek ára: Közép páholy 3 ft. 15 kr. Alsó s másod emeleti páholy 2 ft. 60 kr. Felső páholy 2 ft 10 kr. Erkélyszék 1 ft. Elsőrendü zártszék 70 kr. Másodrendü 60 kr. Harmadrendü 50 kr. Földszint 40 kr. Karzat 20 kr.

Jegyek válthatók a szinházi irodában reggeli 9-től 1 óráig, d. u. 3-tól 5 óráig.

Tisztelettel kéretnek a n. é. bérlő uraságok, hogy helyeik iránt déli 12 óráig rendelkezni méltóztassanak.

Kezdete 7 órakor, vége 9 után.

Fig. 4: The playbill of the preliminary celebration organised by the professional acting company on 11 March 1871

Ünnepélyes előadás a kolozsvári nemzeti színház megnyitásának örömünnepére

Első nap.

Szerdahelyiné Prielle Cornélia asszony, Szerdahelyi Kálmán, Feleki Miklós urak, és Bogdanovics Kristina k. a. a pesti országos nemzeti színház tagjai mint vendégek.

NEMZETI SZINHÁZ.

Páros szám.

Rendkivüli szünet

Kolozsvárt, szombat, április 1-n 1871.

Az itteni nemzeti színház színész-nyugdijintézete alaptőkéjének gyarapitására.

Ünnepélyes előadás.

Két szakaszban.

I-ső szakasz:

a) **Magyar nemzeti hymnus,** irta Berta Sándor, hangszerelte és betanitotta Jakobi Jakab, előadja zenekar-kiséretiel az összes színházi személyzet.
b) **Prolog,** irta Szász Gerő, szavalja E. Kovács Gyula.
c) **Apotheosis.** Fehérvárytól, 3 képben:
1-ső kép: **A harczok kora.**
2-ik kép: **A nemzeti irodalom felvirágzása.**
3-ik kép: **A magyar Thaliának emelt első oltár 1821 márczius 11-én.**

Ezen képlethen résztvesznek **Néh Mária** és **Göde István,** azon kolozsvári szintársulat még élő tagjai, kik 50 év előtt a megnyitáskor közreműködtek.

Ezt követi:

HODOLAT. Ő cs. kir. apostoli felségeik dicsőségesen uralkodó **királyunk** és **királynénknak** ezen színház legm. pártfogoinak.

II-ik szakasz:

A szerző jelenlétében:

A BAJUSZ.

100 arany pályadijt nyert eredeti vigjáték 3 felvonásban, irta: Szigligeti Ede. — Rendező Takács.

Személyzet:

Koltai István, alispán — — — **Szerdahelyi K. ur.**
Adelajd neje, született Thurmdreispicz bárónő — — Dancz Nina.
Thusnelda, Thurmdreispicz grófné, Adelajd unoka nénje — — — — **Prielle Cornelia,** asszony.
Erzsi, Koltai huga — — — — — — Kassainé J. M.
Hugolini Hugó, gróf — — — — — Mátray B. Béla.

Várközy, gróf — — — — **Feleky Miklós ur.**
Bandi, Koltai huszárja — — — — Lenkei.
Babel, szobaleány — — — — **Bogdanovics K.** k. a.
Inas — — — — — — Hevesy.

Történik Bécsben a mult században.

Prielle Cornélia asszony, Feleki Miklós és Szerdahelyi Kálmán urak, és Bogdanovics Krisztina k. a. a pesti országos nemzeti színház tagjai a korszakot alkotó ünnepély és kitüzött czél iránti érdekeltségből szivesked nek közreműködni.

Helyek ára: Közép páholy 10 frt. Alsó és felső közép páholy 8 frt. Felső páholy 6 frt. Erkélyszék 2 frt. Földszinti zártszék 1 frt. 50 kr. Földszinti állóhely 80 kr. Karzati számozott hely 1 frt. Karzati állóhely 60 kr.

Rendelkezhetni és jegyeket válthatni a színházi irodában. Ugyanott megrendelések fogadtatnak el az emlékérmekre, melyek közbejött akadályok miatt csak utólagosan készülnek el és adathatnak ki.

Az ünnepélyre vonatkozó alkalmi füzet kapható a pénztárnál és az előcsarnokban 20 krajczárjával o. é.

Tisztelettel kéretnek a páholy és zártszék bérlő urak és urnők, méltóztassanak helyeik meg- vagy megnem tartása iránt déli 12-óráig rendelkezni, hogy azontul mások megrendelései teljesíttethessenek.

A Tisztelet- és szabad zártszék és földszinti bemeneti jegyek érvénytelenek.

Kezdete 7 órakor, vége 9 után.

Holnap a pesti nemzeti szinház tagja **Jókainé** asszony vendégfellépteül **„Szigetvári vértanuk.“**

Fig. 5: The playbill of the festive program on 1 April 1871

Ünnepélyes előadás a kolozsvári nemzeti szinház megnyitásának félszázados öröm-ünnepére

Második nap.

Jókainé, Laborfalvi Róza asszony és Feleky Miklós ur a pesti országos nemzeti szinház elsőrendű tagjai mint vendégek.

A szerző jelenlétében.

NEMZETI SZINHÁZ.

Rendkivüli szünet **Páratlan szám.**

Kolozsvárt, vasárnap, április 2-n 1871.

Az itteni nemzeti szinház szinész-nyugdijintézete pénzalapjának gyarapitására.

Ünnepélyes előadás.

A SZIGETVÁRI

VÉRTANUK.

Eredeti szomorujáték 4 felvonásban, irta: Jókai Mór, az uj diszleti kellékeket festette, és a várterem léghe robbanását eszközölteti Beczkói János diszfestő. Zrinyi diszöltönyét készitette Varga János ruhatárnok, rendező: E. Kovács Gyula.

Személyzet:

Zrinyi	—	—	**Feleky Miklós ur.**	Szelém, kegyencz	—	—	E. Kovács Gula.
Juranics Lőrincz	—	—	Prielle.	Ali Portuk, Jancsár aga	—	—	Nagy.
Mária, Lőrincz neje	—	—	Sz. Mátrai Laura.	Mahmud	—	—	Váradi J.
Anna, Mária testvére	—	—	**Jókainé L. R.**	Amhát, basa	—	—	Szelle.
Csáky Bertalan, öreg nemes	—	—	Mátray B. Béla.	Nachém beylerbég	—	—	Kassai.
Szecsődy Péter	—	—	Váradi M.	Ferhad, csauss aga	—	—	Baróthi.
Patacsics	—	—	Leővei.	Imán	—	—	Ürményi.
Bajony János	—	—	Dancz Feri.	Lővész	—	—	Váradi A.
Istvány Pál	—	—	Lenkei.	Őr	—	—	Balogh.
Serének, Zrinyi pitvarnoka	—	—	Török K.	Orvos	—	—	Szabó M.
Szolejman, szultán	—	—	Takács.	Zuelma, bajadérok	—	—	Szezérbowka.
Szokoli nagyvezér	—	—	Szentkuti.	Anisz, bajadérok	—	—	Könczöl L.

Magyar vitézek. Urnők. Törökök.—Történethely: Szigatvár és környéke, Idő: 1566 augustus 4-kétől szeptembr 8-ikáig.

Jókainé, Laborfalvi Róza asszony, és Feleki Miklós ur, a pesti országos nemzeti szinház tagjai a korszakot alkotó ünnepély és kitüzött czél iránti érdekeltségből szivesked nek közreműködni.

Helyek ára: Közép páholy 10 frt Alsó és felső közép páholy 8 frt. Felső páholy 6 frt. Erkélyszék 2 frt. Földszinti zártszék 1 frt. 50 kr. Földszinti állóhely 80 kr. Karzati számozott hely 1 frt. Karzati állóhely 60 kr.

☞ Rendelkezhetni és jegyeket válthatni a szinházi irodában. Ugyanott megrendelések fogadtatnak el az emlékérmekre, melyek közbejött akadályok miatt csak utólagosan készülnek el és adathatnak ki. ☜

Az ünnepélyre vonatkozó alkalmi füzet kapható a pénztárnál és az előcsarnokban 20 krajczárjával o. é.

Tisztelettel kéretnek a páholy és zártszék bérlő urak és urnők, méltóztassanak helyeik meg- vagy megnem tartása iránt déli 12 óráig rendelkezni, hogy azontul mások megrendelései teljesithessenek.

☞ A Tisztelet- és szabad zártszék és földszinti bemeneti jegyek érvénytelenek. ☜

Kezdete 7 órakor, vége 10 után.

Fig. 6: The playbill of the festive program on 2 April 1871

Fig. 7: The playbill of the festive performance on 11 November 1892

Fig. 8: The tableau vivant of *Zrínyi's Oath* after the photo taken by Dunky fivérek [Dunky brothers] (11 November 1892).
On the center baron Béla Szentkereszthy as Zrínyi

Fig. 9: The tableau vivant of the *Sortie of Zrínyi* after the photo taken by Dunky fivérek [Dunky brothers] (11 November 1892)

Katalin Ágnes Bartha *is a postdoctoral fellow of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.*