

## *Staging Molière in Communist Romania. A Quantitative Diorama*

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**Abstract:** This paper accompanies a dataset containing information regarding the stagings of Molière's plays during the 42 years of the communist regime in Romania, from 1948 to 1989. It offers a quantitative overlook of 120 productions, through statistics and visualizations, in an attempt to make sense of the data and find trends and directions otherwise difficult to detect. The data was collected from a public repertory database, supplemented by information from the theaters' archives and reviews from period magazines and newspapers. We have strived to let the data 'speak,' minimizing speculative commentary to where we felt it was needed to add colour or emphasize certain possible patterns. For network graphing and analysis, we used Gephi 0.9 software, and for the analysis and visualization of geospatial data, QGIS 3. Data processing and graph generation were carried out using Microsoft Excel.

**Keywords:** Molière, communist Romania, data, quantitative survey, Romanian theatre system.

### **1. Introduction**

Determining with certainty the first Romanian staging of a play by French playwright, actor and director Jean-Baptiste Poquelin, better known by his pseudonym, Molière, is difficult, due to the intricate nature of Romanian

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theatrical history, mirroring the complexities of the nation's overall historical narrative. *Stricto sensu*, the first recorded<sup>1</sup> performance in modern Romania, after Transylvania joined the Kingdom of Romania in 1918, was a Cluj National Theatre staging of *The Doctor in Spite of Himself / Le Médecin malgré lui*, directed by Gogu Mihăescu, which premiered December 16, 1919. However, the French playwright's influence and presence on the present territory of the country amply predates this formal recording, both in the Danubian Principalities, and in Transylvania.

In Wallachia, for example, a performance of *The Miser / L'Avare* by amateurs, students at the Saint Sava College in Bucharest, is mentioned as soon as immediately after 1819<sup>2</sup>. In Moldova, foreign companies brought Molière's plays on tour as early as 1820<sup>3</sup> (*The School for Wives / L'école des femmes*, performed in Russian). The Iași National Theatre, founded in 1840, only two years after the inauguration, already featured two plays staged by its French troupe (*The Miser* and *The Bourgeois Gentleman*)<sup>4</sup>. In Transylvania, by 1791, the repertory of the German Theatre in Sibiu included *Tartuffe* and *The Miser*<sup>5</sup>, while in Braşov, by 1853, according to a report in *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, Romanian amateur troupes have staged *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* and *The School for Wives*<sup>6</sup>.

Since those beginnings and up to the present day, Molière has been a staple of Romanian theatre repertoires, withstanding major changes in political regimes, the advent of socialist realism, evolving aesthetics and means of production, and fluctuating audience preferences.

For this paper, we intend to quantitatively survey and visualize the stagings of plays by Molière in professional theatres on the present-day territory of Romania during the communist era, beginning with the coup

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<sup>1</sup> According to the Romanian Ministry of Culture STAR Database of theatre repertoires.

<sup>2</sup> Simion Alterescu et al., *Istoria teatrului în România. Vol. I. De la începuturi până la 1848 [The History of Theatre in Romania. Vol. 1. From the Beginnings Until 1948]* (Bucharest: Editura Academiei Republicii Socialiste România, 1965), 148.

<sup>3</sup> Alterescu et al., 167.

<sup>4</sup> Alterescu et al., 148.

<sup>5</sup> Alterescu et al., 194.

<sup>6</sup> Iacob Mureşianu, "Diletanţii teatrului românesc [The Dilletants of Romanian Theatre]," *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, 1853, 2.

d'état and the abdication of King Michael at the beginning of 1948 and up to the fall of Ceaușescu's regime in December 1989. We have selected this timeframe due to available and mostly complete or completable data, and also because, being a period of relative stability framed by two violent political and social events, it can be singled out as exhibiting a sort of unitary wholeness from a centralized, institutional point of view.

We've segmented the 42 years long timeframe into four successive stages, based on the framework proposed by Romanian scholar and critic Miruna Runcan: "The ice age", between 1948 and 1955, marked by pure Stalinism and Zhdanovism, "The fluctuating thaw", between 1956 and 1964, an era of timid destalinization, bringing about ample press debates, but also persecutions and censorship, "The deceiving spring", between 1965 and 1977, a period of apparent cultural opening towards the West following Ceaușescu's inauguration, and "The blizzard", the last decade, between 1978 and 1989, marred by the dictator's personality cult, austerity and restrictive cultural policies<sup>7</sup>. We believe that this segmentation, based on the political, social, and cultural evolution of the Romanian theatre climate, captures best the changing zeitgeists and is the most appropriate for making sense of the seemingly chaotic data of the Romanian dramatic repertory.

## 2. The dataset

Most of the data comprising the data set has been manually collected from the STAR Database<sup>8</sup>, a database curated by the Romanian Ministry of

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<sup>7</sup> For an exhaustive analysis of each period, see Miruna Runcan, *Teatrul în diorame. Discursul criticii teatrale în comunism. Fluctuantul dezgheț 1956-1964 [Theatre in Dioramas. The Discourse of Dramatic Criticism Under Communism. The Fluctuating Thaw 1956-1964]* (Bucharest: Tracus Arte, 2019); Miruna Runcan, *Teatrul în diorame. Discursul criticii teatrale în comunism. Amăgitoarea primăvară 1965-1977 [Theatre in Dioramas. The Discourse of Dramatic Criticism Under Communism. The Deceiving Spring 1965-1977]* (Bucharest: Tracus Arte, 2020); Miruna Runcan, *Teatrul în diorame. Discursul criticii teatrale în comunism. Viscolul 1978-1989 [Theatre in Dioramas. The Discourse of Dramatic Criticism Under Communism. The Blizzard 1978-1989]* (Bucharest: Tracus Arte, 2021).

<sup>8</sup> See [www.star.cimec.ro](http://www.star.cimec.ro).

Culture through the National Institute for Heritage. Established in the early 1980's and mandatory for all Romanian drama theatres<sup>9</sup>, the database records historical information about each performance. For the communist period (1948-1989), at least<sup>10</sup>, when all theatres were state-owned, the data is reliable, albeit with certain gaps, mostly regarding the translators of the plays, gaps which we have had to fill by appealing to the theatres' archives or to reviews or press announcements. For 13 of the 120 stagings, the translator remains unknown.

Another relative shortcoming of the main data source revolves around the problem of institutional continuity. Along their history, before, during and after the communist era, Romanian theatres have suffered numerous changes in institutional identities, from minor ones such as adding a personality's name<sup>11</sup>, to full name changes<sup>12</sup>, and even relocations<sup>13</sup>, all the while retaining their identity. Using the theatre name as a reliable identifier is thus impossible. The designers of the Star Database have chosen to work around this by constantly updating and using the current name of the institution which took over the space, troupe, or administration of the old one. As such, a production credited as belonging to the Tudor Vianu Theatre in Giurgiu might as well have actually happened in Bucharest. Lacking a reliable historical repertoire of all these transformations, we have decided to use the names as they appear

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<sup>9</sup> The STAR database does not record information about musical theatres and puppet and marionettes theatres.

<sup>10</sup> After 1989, some theatres ignored the requirement to upload production data to the database. For more on the topic see, in Romanian, Miruna Runcan, "Ochiul de Albină (II) [The Bee's Eye (II)]," *Observator Cultural*, no. 1118 (2022).

<sup>11</sup> As is the case of "The National Theatre in Cluj-Napoca", which became "The Lucian Blaga National Theatre in Cluj-Napoca".

<sup>12</sup> As in the case of the "Teatrul Muncitoresc C.F.R. [Railroad Workers' Theatre]" becoming "Teatrul Giulești [Giulești Theatre]" and then, after 1989, "Teatrul Odeon [Odeon Theatre]". Sometimes, the names were switched, such as when "Studioul Actorului de film Constantin Nottara [Constantin Nottara Film Actor's Studio]" became "Teatrul pentru tineret și copii [Youth and Children's Theatre]", then "Teatrul Mic [Small Theatre]", while "Teatrul Armatei [The Army Theatre]" was renamed "Teatrul Constantin Nottara [Constantin Nottara Theatre]".

<sup>13</sup> As in the case of "Ion Vasilescu Theatre" in Bucharest, relocated in 1983 65 kilometers away, to the newly organized county of Giurgiu, and later renamed to "Tudor Vianu Theatre".

in the Star Database, but in order to be able to properly geoposition the productions, we've added precise decimal degrees coordinates of the place of staging, with five digits, offering an accuracy of 1.11 meters.

The dataset includes both the specific Romanian title for each performance and the French title of the play. Since the plays' titles differ between translations (Romanian and English) and the title of the stagings based on the same play can vary, we have decided to use the unique, original French titles when referring to a specific play.

The dataset is, to the best extent of our knowledge, correct and complete and is made available under a Creative Commons "Attribution / Share alike" license.

### 3. The plays

Out of Molière's 33 plays<sup>14</sup>, 17 have been staged in Romania during the communist regime, representing 51.51%. The table below shows, in alphabetical order, the number of times each play has been produced.

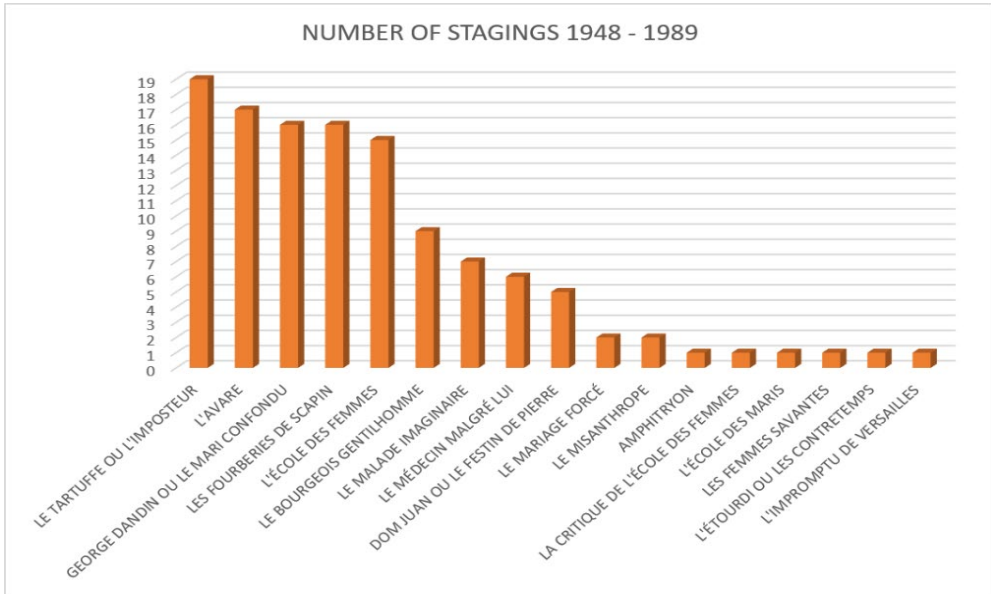
PLAY	STAGINGS	PLAY	STAGINGS
Amphitryon	1	Le Mariage forcé	2
Dom Garcie de Navarre ou le prince jaloux	0	Le Médecin malgré lui	6
Dom Juan ou le festin de pierre	5	Le Médecin volant	0
George Dandin ou le mari confondu	16	Le Misanthrope ou l'atrabilaire amoureux	2
L'Amour médecin	0	Le Sicilien ou l'amour peintre	0
L'Avare ou l'école du mensonge	17	Le Tartuffe ou l'imposteur	19
L'École des femmes	15	Les Amants magnifiques	0
L'École des maris	1	Les Fâcheux	0
L'Étourdi ou les contretemps	1	Les Femmes savantes	1
L'Impromptu de Versailles	1	Les Fourberies de Scapin	16
La Comtesse d'Escarbagnas	0	Les Précieuses ridicules	0

<sup>14</sup> Sources vary between 31 and 33. For a recent, extensive selection, see Molière, *Œuvres Complètes I*, ed. Georges Forestier (Paris: Gallimard, 2010); Molière, *Œuvres Complètes II*, ed. Georges Forestier (Paris: Gallimard, 2010).

PLAY	STAGINGS	PLAY	STAGINGS
La Critique de l'école des femmes	1	Mélicerte	0
La Jalousie du Barbouillé	0	Monsieur de Pourceaugnac	0
La Princesse d'Élide	0	Pastorale comique	0
Le Bourgeois gentilhomme	9	Psyché	0
Le Dépit amoureux	0	Sganarelle ou le cocu imaginaire	0
Le Malade imaginaire	7		

**Table 1.** Number of stagings for each play

The graphs below show the number of productions for the whole studied period, as well as for each of the four stages:



**Fig. 1.** Number of productions 1948 – 1989

Based on the data above, we can identify three categories of plays, according to the number of stagings: The first category includes plays most often performed, with more than 15 stagings (*Tartuffe*, *L'Avare*, *George Dandin*, *Les Fourberies de Scapin*, and *L'École des femmes*). The second, plays often performed, includes plays with between 5 and 14 stagings (*Le Bourgeois*

*gentilhomme*, *Le Malade imaginaire*, *Le Médecin malgré lui*, and *Dom Juan ou le festin de pierre*). The third category, of plays occasionally performed, includes those with under five stagings (*Le Mariage forcé*, *Le Misanthrope*, *Amphitryon*, *La Critique de L'École des femmes*, *L'École des maris*, *Les Femmes savantes*, *L'Étourdi ou les contretemps*, and *L'Impromptu de Versailles*).

Although dead for too long to be ideologically relevant himself and too ambiguously subversive and non-schematic<sup>15</sup> to be fully included in the list of redeemed critical realists<sup>16</sup>, it is worth noting that Molière's plays in the first and second categories all deal with themes consonant to the main ideological discourses of the era, be it the class struggle, the greediness, decadence, and arrivisme of the bourgeois and aristocratic classes, or simply the critique of old gender and power relationships.

We can see that each stage had different dominant plays, with the '65-'77 period of cultural opening having the most diverse offering, 15 different ones, while the last decade of Ceaușescu's regime had the least diverse, with only 9.

When charting, as above, the number of representations with the most performed plays for the whole studied period, we can see that most of them cluster in peaks, with many performances grouped in one year followed by a pause. *George Dandin*, in this regard, peaks the highest. The only significant exceptions to this distribution are *Tartuffe* and *L'École des femmes*, which plateau, showing a sort of continuity of interest. While for both plays, *Tartuffe*, with its poignant anticlericalism, and *L'École...* with its critique of the ways capital tries to keep people subservient through ignorance, a political or ideological explanation is easy to devise, as their themes are consonant with the mainstream discourse of the time, both also can be read as subversive metaphors for the communist regime itself. Leaving its "Rex ex machina" ending aside, *Tartuffe's* seductive insinuation, followed by his brutal takeover of Orgon's household mirrors the emergence of Romanian communism. In the same way, *Arnolphe's* endeavour could mirror the party's attempt to create the "New man" by means of geographic and intellectual isolation.

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<sup>15</sup> Molière's workers are almost always just as exploitative as their exploiters.

<sup>16</sup> See Georg Lukács, *Writer and Critic and Other Essays* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1970).

Such an interpretation would also explain why *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* is the dominant play of the nineteen eighties, when the imposture of the Ceaușescus, especially of Elena, became visible in full force.

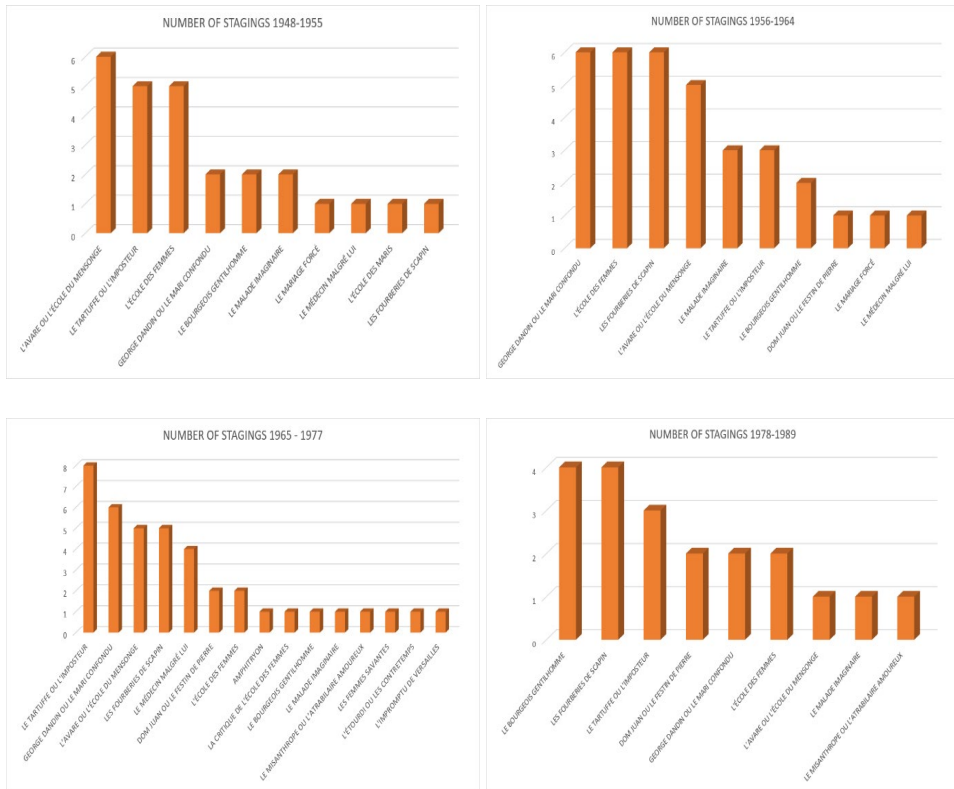
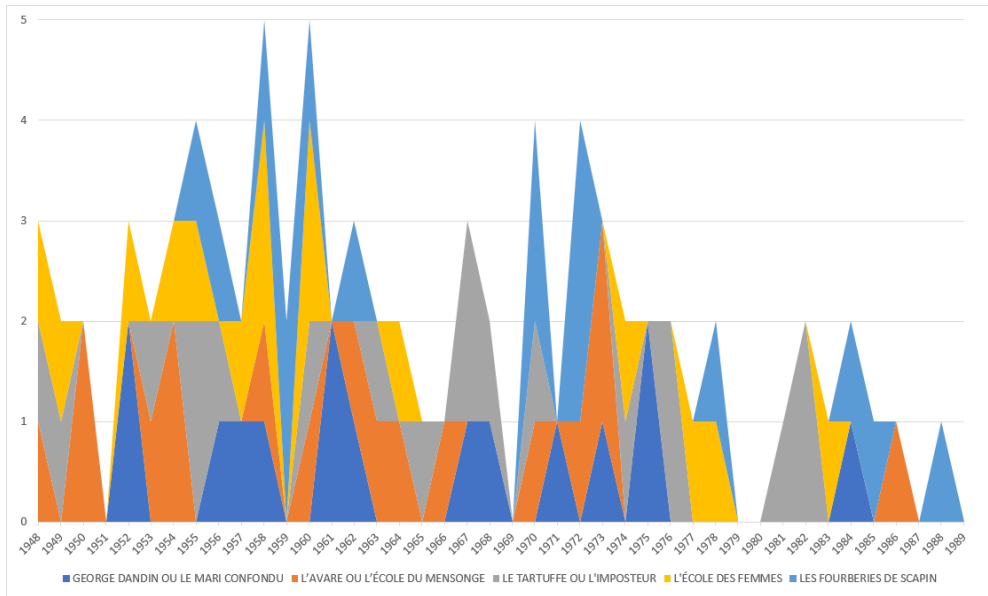


Fig. 2. Number of productions for the four stages

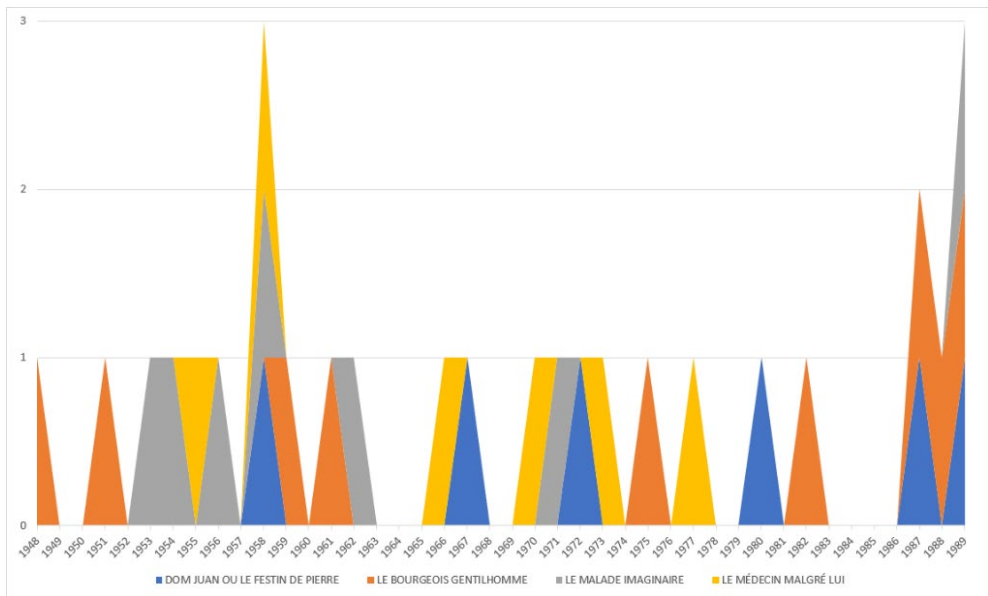
With the notable exception of *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* in the nineteen eighties, for this category of plays the distribution is more even, both in intensity and in scope.



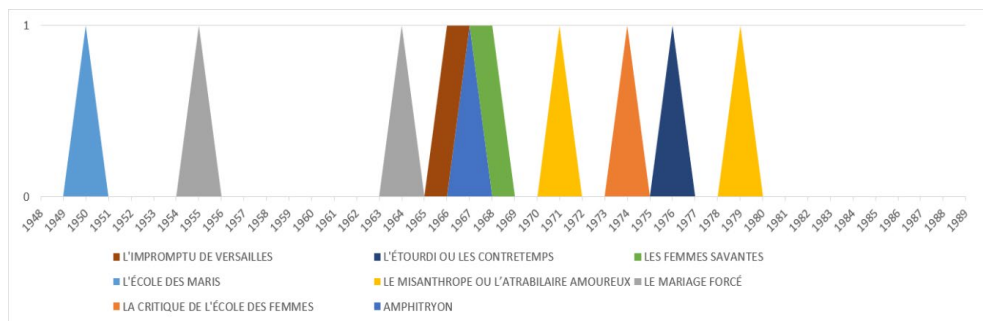
STAGING MOLIÈRE IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA. A QUANTITATIVE DIORAMA



**Fig. 3.** Temporal evolution of the number of stagings for the “most often staged” plays.



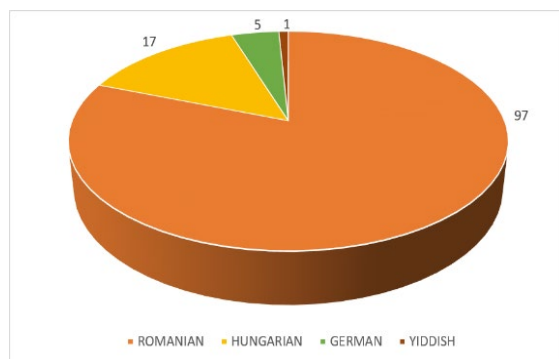
**Fig. 4.** Temporal evolution of the number of stagings for the “often staged” plays.



**Fig. 5.** Temporal evolution of the number of stagings for the “occasionally performed” plays.

For the category of “occasionally performed” plays, the distribution shows a clustering in the “deceiving spring” period between 1964 and the beginning of the nineteen eighties, followed by an abrupt pause for a whole decade. Most of them will return to the Romanian stage after 1990. We believe this lack may be explained by the austerity of the last decade, forcing the theatres to stick to a well-known repertory, expanding resources only for productions with plays which have proven successful.

In the studied period, Molière’s plays have been staged in four languages, corresponding to the national Romanian language and the languages of the main ethnic minorities in Romania: Hungarian, German, and Yiddish. By number of productions in each language, the distribution is as follows:



**Fig. 6.** The distribution of productions by language.

STAGING MOLIÈRE IN COMMUNIST ROMANIA. A QUANTITATIVE DIORAMA

In the charts below, we show the distribution of the translations for the “most often performed” plays:

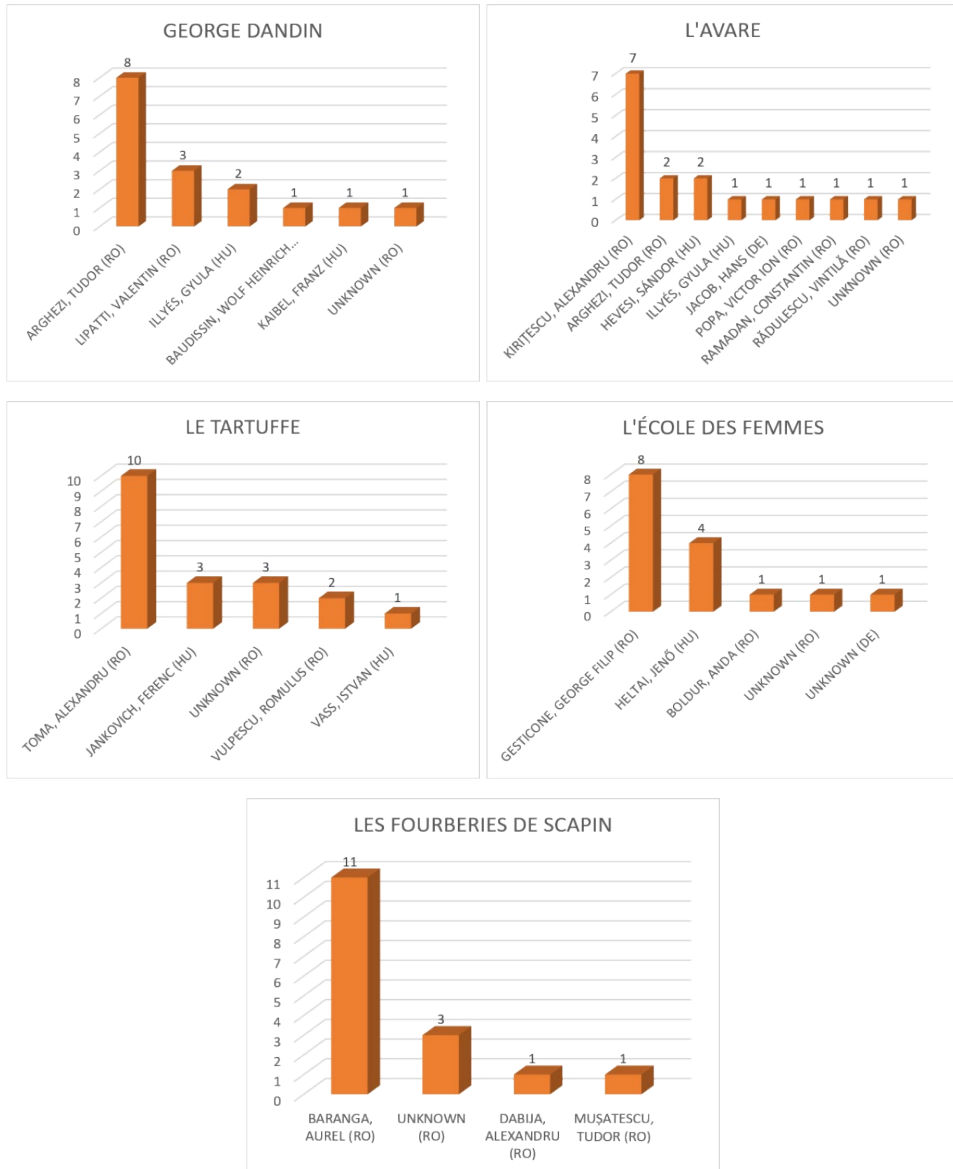


Fig. 7-11. Most used translators for the “most often performed” plays.

As can be seen, each play from this category, regardless of the chronology of its stagings, has a different dominant translator. What all these have in common is either their close ties with, if not outright belonging to the communist nomenklatura, as in the case of social-realist playwright and member of the Central Party Committee Aurel Baranga, propagandist academician Alexandru Toma, the rehabilitated poet and academician Tudor Arghezi, and the obedient playwright Alexandru Kirițescu, or their strong socialist sympathies, predating the instauration of the regime, as in the case of George Filip Gesticone<sup>17</sup>, whose version of *L'École des femmes* dates from 1922. Thusly, Molière's access to the stage seems mostly filtered through a network of politically vetted translators.

Also, three directors have also authored translations for their stagings: Sică Alexandrescu for *Le Malade imaginaire*, *Le Mariage forcé*, and *Le Médecin malgré lui*, Alexandru Dabija for *Les Fourberies de Scapin*, and Ion Lucian for *L'Étourdi ou les contretemps*.

#### 4. The stagings

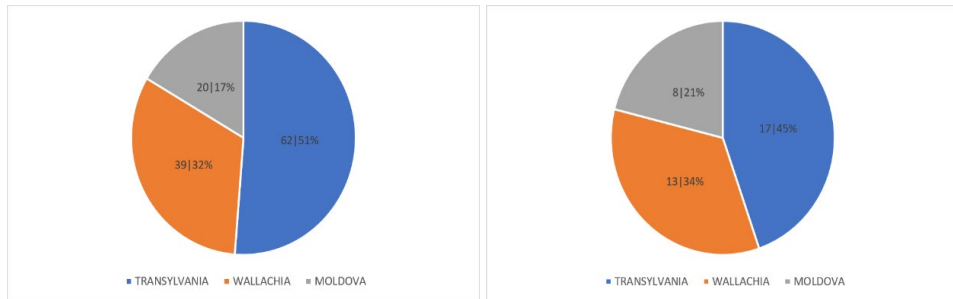
The 120 productions in the reference period, an average of 4.28 productions per year, involve 38 theatres from across Romania. For purposes of simplicity, we have considered the historical Romanian provinces in their broadest meaning. Thusly, Transylvania includes Banat, Crișana and Maramureș, while Wallachia also includes Dobruja.

Transylvania holds the majority for both number of theatres and performances. If we were to separate Bucharest from Wallachia, due to it being The Capital, focal point of the Romanian theatre scene, and concentrating a large number of theatres in a very small geographical area, the proportions change significantly: Bucharest alone accounts for as many theatres and productions as Wallachia and Moldavia, while Transylvania retains a decisive

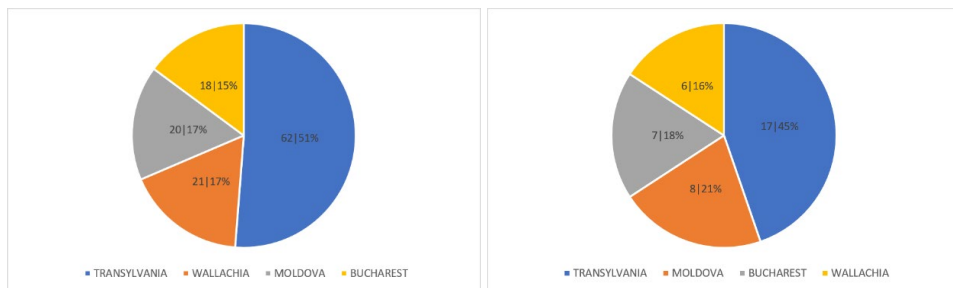
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<sup>17</sup> See Adi Dohotaru, *Socialiștii. O Moștenire (1835-1921) [The Socialists. A Heritage (1835-1921)]* (Chișinău: Editura Cartier, 2019), 353.

lead. This might be explained by the greater ethnic and linguistic diversity of the region, hosting, in addition to its Romanian language productions, all those in German and Hungarian.



**Fig. 12.** Number of productions per region and number of theatres involved per region.



**Fig. 13.** Number of productions and theatres involved per region, with Bucharest singled out.

Upon mapping the theatrical productions across the country, a distinct heatmap unfolds, reaffirming the prominence of Bucharest as the theatrical epicentre. Following closely are the Transylvanian cities of Cluj, Sibiu, Petroșani, Timișoara, and Oradea in the west, while in the east, the Galați-Brăila conurbation also commands attention. In terms of geographical coverage, most of the urban landscape on the map is represented, showcasing a widespread influence. However, when gauging intensity, Moldavia emerges as a notable exception, remaining conspicuously underrepresented in the vibrant tapestry of theatrical engagements.

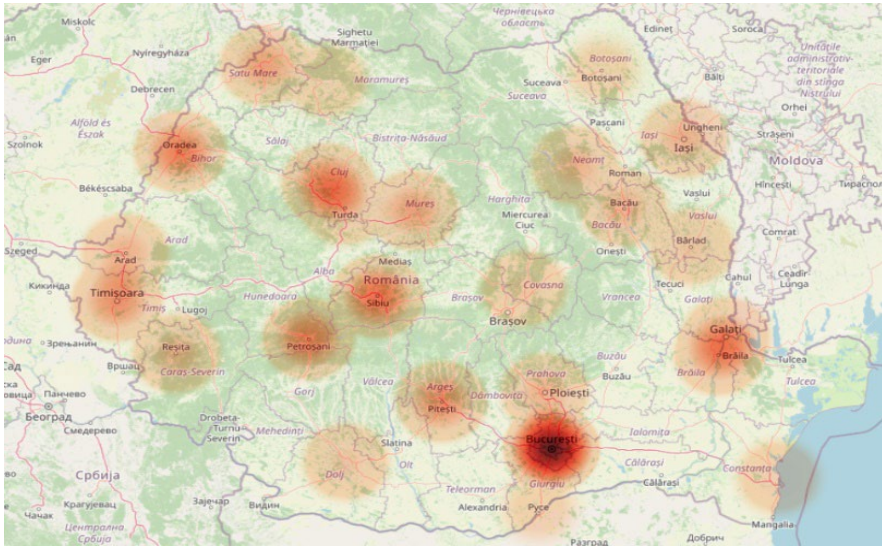


Fig. 14. Heatmap of productions for the whole period.

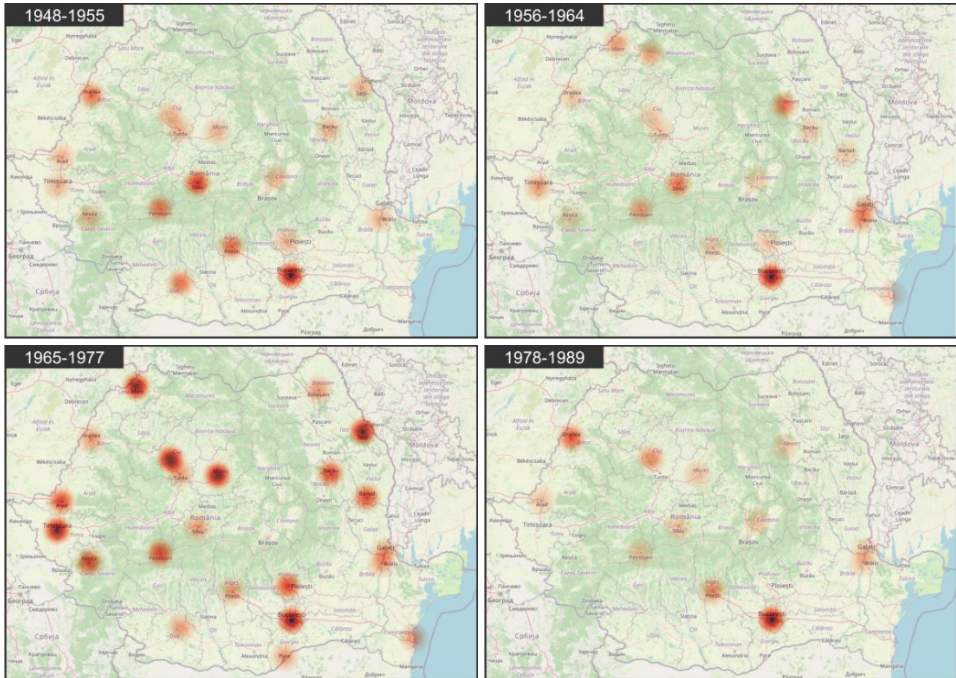


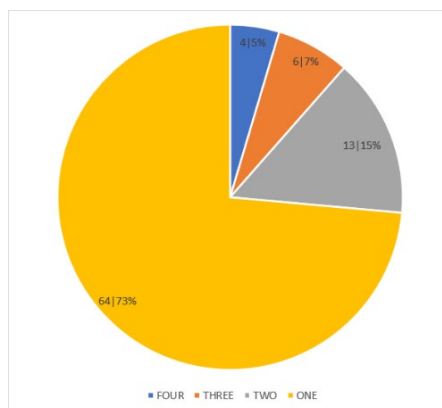
Fig. 15. Heatmaps of productions for each stage.

As depicted by the maps, the period spanning 1965-1977 emerges as the pinnacle of theatrical productions, boasting unparalleled richness both in terms of quantity and widespread geographic influence. Throughout each distinct period under consideration, Bucharest stands out as the sole city maintaining a consistent frequency of stagings. While it is unsurprising that Moldavia appears underrepresented in each era, as we have seen above, what puzzles is the notable scarcity of stagings in Iași. This city, hailed as the birthplace of Romania's first national theatre and a historic venue for early Molière performances, continues to exhibit an unexpected dearth of theatrical presentations.

## 5. The artists

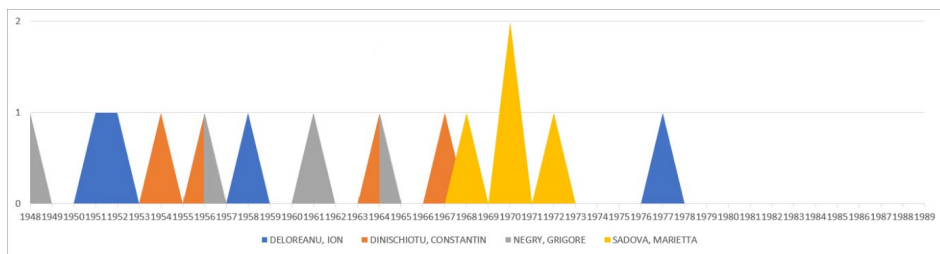
During the reference period, 87 Romanian directors have staged plays by Molière, most of them alone, but also in teams: Sică Alexandrescu and Radu Beligan for *L'Avare* and *Le Mariage forcé*, Szabo Ernő and Tompa Miklós for *Tartuffe*, and Traian Aelenei and Aurel Gheorghiu for *Le Médecin malgré lui*.

The average number of stagings per director is rather small, as is the number of directors with multiple stagings:

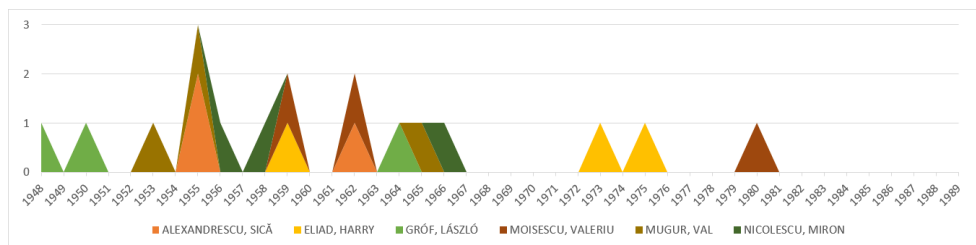


**Fig. 16.** Number (and percentage) of directors according to their number of stagings.

It is interesting to note that from the four directors with 4 stagings, Marietta Sadova, Constantin Dinischiotu, Grigore Negry and Ion Deloreanu, only Sadova and Negry had any formal training in the field of theatre, and that as actors. Also, Sadova is the only director to stage two plays twice, *L'Avare* and *Tartuffe*.



**Fig. 17.** Temporal evolution of the number of stagings for the directors with four stagings.



**Fig. 18.** Temporal evolution of the number of stagings for the directors with three stagings.

For all but Marietta Sadova, there is usually a large gap between clusters of stagings, or between a cluster and a lone production, ranging from 6 years in the case of Sică Alexandrescu, up to 17 for Valeriu Moiescu or 19 for Ion Deloreanu. This pattern, do to it being unevenly distributed from a chronological standpoint, cannot be explained only by theatrical fashions or fads.

Creating a network (104 nodes, corresponding to plays and directors and 124<sup>18</sup> nondirectional edges, corresponding to individual staging relationships)

<sup>18</sup> For the stagings with two different directors we've defined an edge for each of them.



that interconnects the performances and directors, using the Force Atlas algorithm, then partitioning it with the Modularity algorithm, we can see the formation of five major clusters (around *Tartuffe*, *L'Avare*, *Les Fourberies de Scapin*, *L'École des femmes*, and *George Dandin*), four medium clusters (around *Le Bourgeois...*, *Le Malade Imaginaire*, *Le Médecin malgré lui*, and *Dom Juan...*), and 4 minor ones (around *L'Impromptu de Versailles*, *La Critique de L'École des femmes*, *Les Femmes savantes*, and *Le Misanthrope*). Three plays (*L'École des maris*, *Amphytrion*, and *L'Étourdi...*) and their respective directors (Magda Borbath, Mircea Marosin, and Ion Lucian) rest well outside the network, unconnected, and are, thus, not represented.

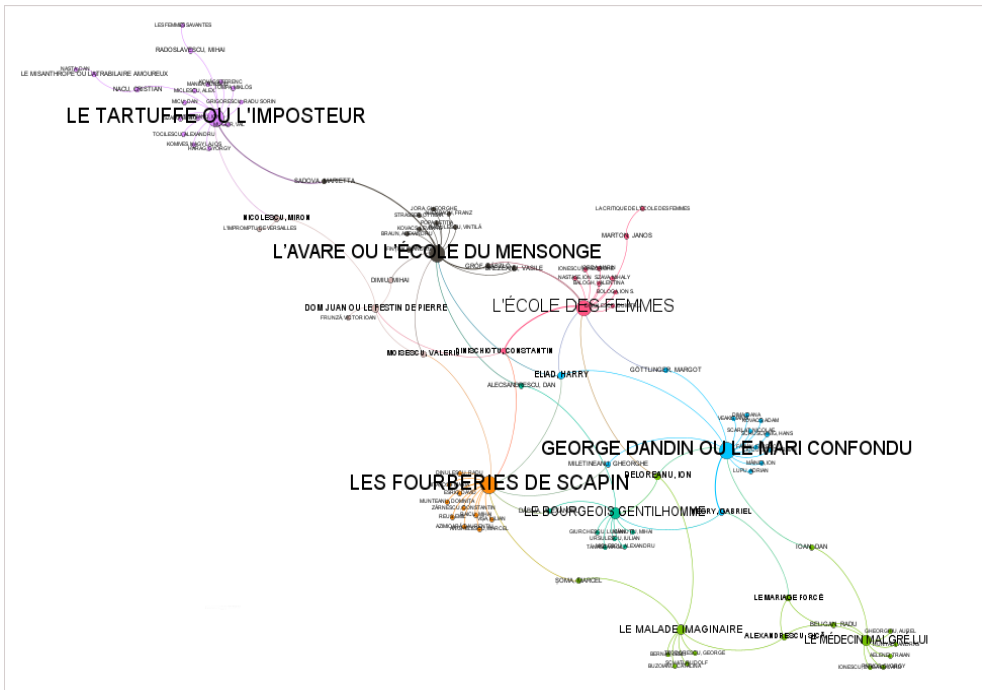
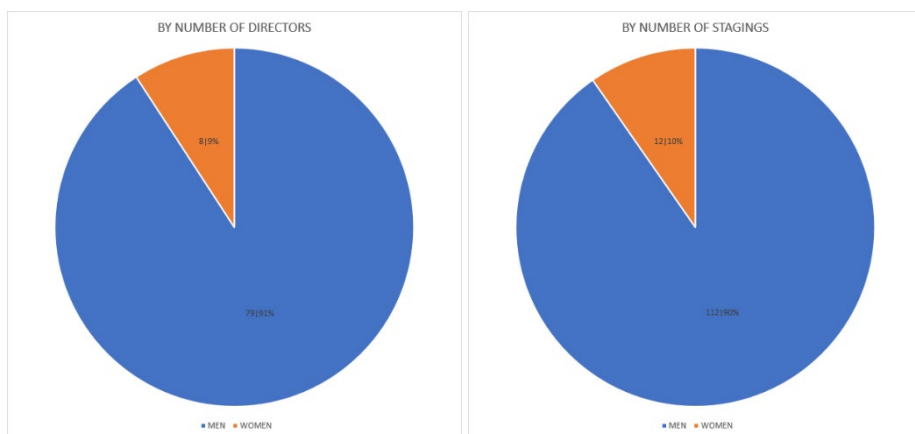


Fig. 19. A network graph of interconnected plays and directors.

As can be seen, in term of plays, the network does not display a clear center, but rather three major areas:

- **Area 1:** *Tartuffe...* and its close neighbors, *Le Misanthrope* and *Les Femmes Savantes*;
- **Area 2:** *L'Avare...*, *Dom Juan...*, and *L'École des femmes* with its *Critique...*;
- **Area 3:** *Scapin*, *George Dandin*, and *Le Bourgeois...*, including the marginal sub-area of *Le Malade...*, *Le Médecin...*, and *Le Mariage forcé*.

We can speculate that these “neighbourhoods” are thematic, describing four different propensities, or undercurrents. The plays in Area 1 all deal with the struggle between individuals and seductive/oppressive power systems, be those religious (*Tartuffe...*), academic (*Les Femmes...*), or social (*Le Misanthrope*). For Area 2, the common vein lies in the commodification of women, and for Area 3 in the problem of class, with its subareas focused on class tensions (*Scapin...*, *Dandin...*, *Le Bourgeois...*) and, respectively, on the problem of “people owning people” (*Le Malade...*, *Le Médecin...*, *Le Mariage...*). If this speculation holds true, and for this a quantitative study is certainly not sufficient, then we could classify the directors involved in three ideological categories: the anarchists, the (crypto)feminists, and the “true socialists”.



**Fig. 20.** Gender distribution by number of directors and stagings.

Not belonging to any specific cluster, but central and pivotal in maintaining the network cohesion are, chiefly, Harry Eliad, actor, director, and longtime manager of the Jewish State Theatre in Bucharest, then Dan Alecsandrescu, Constantin Dinischiotu, and Valeriu Moisescu. Marietta Sadova and Miron Nicolescu, while not central, are the only connectors between areas 1 and 2.

In terms of gender, most directors are male, predictably mirroring a common stereotype of the Romanian theatre world, that of directing being a “man’s job”.

As we can see, there is a marginal difference between the above graphs, of one percent, translated into an average of 1.5 productions per female director and 1.41 production per male director, that could indicate, in spite of the massively disproportionate gender distribution, a slight predilection of the women directors for Molière’s plays.

When looking at the stage designers involved, excluding the eight productions where the director acted also as the scenographer<sup>19</sup>, and splitting the four teams of two designers workings together for the same production<sup>20</sup>, the gender distribution is more even:

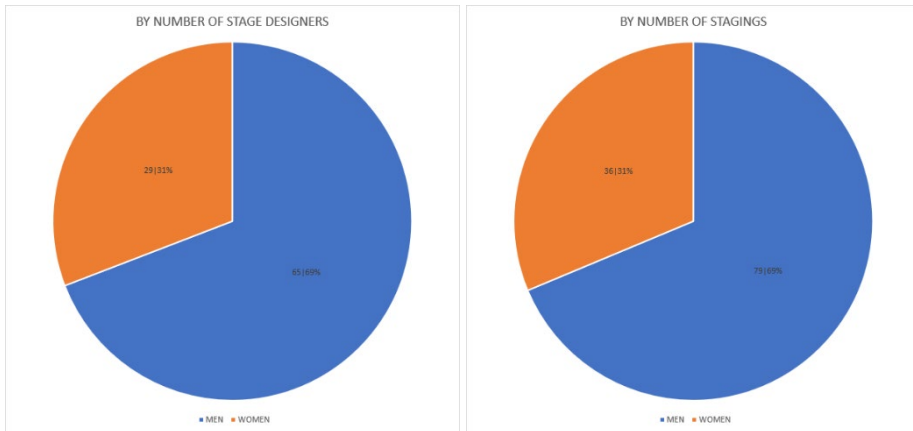


Fig. 21. Gender distribution by number of stage designers and stagings.

<sup>19</sup> Kovács Levente, Constantin Dinischiotu, Marin Iorda, Dan Nasta, Grigore Negry, and Miron Nicolaescu.

<sup>20</sup> Teodor Botoșescu / Paul Negru, Ofelia Popescu / Paula Brâncoveanu, and Vasile Păcurariu / Nikolaus Rasilier for *L'Avare...*, and Camelia Micu / Nadina Scriba for *Le Bourgeois...*

While the gender gap is narrowing, compared to the directors, the difference in average stagings per scenographer is negligible: 1.24 for women and 1.21 for men.

In terms of the number of contributions, the most prolific scenographer is Mihai Tofan, with 4 stagings, while a vast majority of 94 out of a total of 115 (representing 81.73%) having worked for just one Molière production in the reference period. By numbers, the top stage designers, with more than two stagings, are shown below:

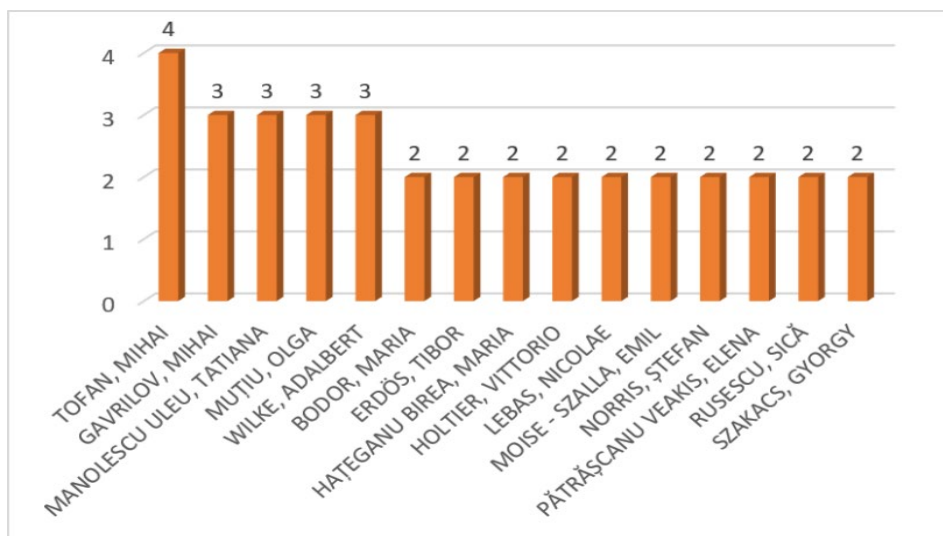


Fig. 22. Top stage designers during the studied period, by number of stagings.

Regarding the actors who have embodied the French playwright's characters, their number and variety is great, but their mobility between theatres and their agency in deciding the repertory was usually limited. While a thorough analysis of the casts lists falls outside the scope of this paper, we have selected for the dataset the actors for the main/titular characters in each play, with the exception of *Tartuffe*... where we included both *Tartuffe* and *Orgon*.

Out of all 139 actors, only two actors have starred in four productions: Vasile Brezeanu, acting in four different plays, and Alexandru Giugaru,

reprising his Orgon in an identical remake, after seven years, of Ion Finteșteanu's *Tartuffe*.... Only eight actors have ever reprised their part in a different production:

ACTOR	PART	PLAY	PRODUCTION 1 YEAR	PRODUCTION 2 YEAR	NOTES
Bradu, Iulian	Arnolphe	L'École des femmes	1954	1958	Different theatres
Gróf, László	Harpagon	L'Avare...	1950	1964	Same theatre
Finteșteanu, Ion	Tartuffe	Tartuffe...	1960	1967	Remake
Giugaru, Alexandru	Tartuffe	Tartuffe...	1960	1967	Remake
Kovács, György	Tartuffe	Tartuffe...	1949	1963	Different theatres
Niculescu Brună, Ion	Orgon	Tartuffe...	1955	1965	Same theatre
Varduca, Paul	Scapin	Les Fourberies de Scapin	1956	1961	Different theatres, same director

**Table 2.** Reprisals of the same part by the same actor.

## 6. Conclusions (and questions)

In the study of theatre, quantitative data can reveal trends and uncover subtle hints for further interpretation. However, it may raise questions that it alone cannot fully answer. Addressing these queries may necessitate employing different methodologies, including historical and biographical research, text analysis, and, certainly, expanding the data considerably.

While the information gleaned from our dataset may or may not be representative of the entire Romanian communist theatre system (we cannot ascertain this unless supplemented by similar endeavors focusing, at the

very least, on other major classics and the new dramaturgy), it allows us to formulate two hypotheses that we believe are worth testing:

1. There can be detected a certain zeitgeist, or “repertory superconsciousness”, that is reactive to the political and social spheres and subtly shapes and directs the work of theatre artists, beyond the confines of (self)censorship, currents or ideological diktats. If thoroughly analyzed, it can form the basis of both an explanatory and a predictive model for the system’s behaviour.
2. That the geospatial analysis of the theatre repertory, over a larger span of time, can be significant in profiling the deep ideological and aesthetical structures of groups, as theatre, as an industry, is constantly adapting (unknowingly, sometimes) to the needs and preferences of its audiences.

For both, way more data must be collected and processed for them to become anything more than speculations. What our survey shows, however, about the stagings of Molière’s plays in communist Romania are some numeric facts, presented below in the form of a word cloud:



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