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The Evolution of Broadway Musical Entertainment, 1850-2009:
Interlingual and Intermedial Interference

by

DJ Kaiser

A dissertation presented to the
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
of Washington University in
partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory (1978, revised 1990) postulates that translated literature occupies a central location in a young literature and serves an "innovative" function until the literature matures, at which time translated literature is pushed to the periphery and is "conservative" (approximating the native repertoire). Using a "distant reading" approach (Moretti 2005), this project explores the position of both translated and adapted literature in the evolution of Broadway musical entertainment. Using an original database of more than four thousand productions of musical entertainment from professional New York playhouses associated with the history of Broadway from 1850 through 2009, various waves of interlingual and intermedial interference are graphed and discussed. This project calls for a return to analyzing literary transfer between systems to compare and contrast interference between various cultural-linguistic systems and media systems.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The “Original” Musical

Cecil Smith in his conclusion to *Musical Comedy in America: From the Black Crook to South Pacific* (1987) remarks that “*Musical Comedy* has often been called the only unique American contribution to the theatre” (201). Raymond Knapp defines the “American Musical” as a distinctly American art form, along with “jazz and American film” (2004, 3). Scott Miller also describes musical theater as “one of the few indigenous American art forms” along with “comic books, the murder mystery, and jazz” (4). While some historians of musical theatre perpetuate this myth, Smith notes that “[t]his claim is not merely oversimplified; it is false” (201). Larry Stempel also counters this myth noting that “[t]here was nothing particularly American about musical comedy at the start” (2010, 134). The development of the “musical comedy”—or simply, “the musical”—has been the topic of numerous books. The influence of musical entertainment from Europe on the evolution of the Broadway musical has been discussed in many of these histories (Smith 1987; Mates 1987; Bordman 1981; Bordman 1982; Kislán 1995; Jones 2003; Knapp 2004; Koegel 2009; Kenrick 2010; Stempel 2010; Bordman 2012).

This dissertation fully acknowledges the European antecedents that played a major role on professional stages in New York City to create what today is known as “musical theatre,” “the American musical,” or “the Broadway musical.” Defining “musical theatre,” though, is no easy task. Scholars and enthusiasts alike will employ the term with varying concepts of what musical theatre does and does not include. Raymond Knapp defines the “American musical” as a form

that has “developed out of the intermingling of a number of musical-theatrical traditions of the late nineteenth century that achieved commercial success and shared the practice of staging popular songs” (2004, 67). Julian Mates quotes Earl Bargainnier to define musical theatre as “a large popular genre with many sub-genres, each with its own formulas and conventions and each reflecting American values, tastes and characters” (3). Richard Kislán focuses on the *American* musical theatre by excluding “European models” to focus on “the emergence of minstrelsy, vaudeville, burlesque, spectacle, and extravaganza” (19). John Bush Jones simplifies the category of “musical” to only include “book shows” and “revues,” excluding most operas and imports (2-3). Contemporary definitions of musical theatre may focus on the “Americanness” of the genre, but this form’s debt to European musical and stage performances cannot be ignored.

The term “musical theatre” or “musical” is most often used to discuss the kind of stage (and now film or television) entertainment that always uses songs, most often incorporates spoken dialogue, and frequently includes dance. Even this broad definition fails to account for the diversity of entertainment presented on Broadway stages that included musical accompaniment. To appropriately account for this diversity and to trace these early antecedents, the broader term “musical entertainment” will be used to include many forms of professional entertainment with musical accompaniment that may not fit traditional or historical definitions of “the musical.” Mid nineteenth century New York City was host to a diversity of forms of musical entertainment.

Nancy Reich notes that “[b]y the 1840s, the New York musical scene included presentations of opera in English, Italian, French, and German; English musical theater; sacred and secular oratorios; song recitals; chamber music; symphony orchestra concerts; and open-air band concerts, as well as beer gardens with popular entertainment” (10-11), attesting to this

musical diversity. Whereas contemporary musicians are more apt to specialize in one form of musical entertainment, Katherine Preston in her article on “Music Management and the Interconnections of Musical Culture in the United States, 1876-1883” (2006) explains that during the 1860s through the 1880s musicians were “comfortable wearing a variety of musical and musical/theatrical caps,” often crossing genres and switching between them comfortably over their careers (289-290).

To trace the development of these diverse antecedents, I have created a database that catalogues more than 4700 productions in theatre venues historically known as “Broadway” houses from 1850 through 2009. My data for this sixteen-decade period confirms that the “American” musical is indebted not only to many “indigenous” forms such as vaudeville and minstrelsy, but also to several earlier European forms, most notably the operetta—a form that accounts for more than one fifth of the collected data.¹ My database allows productions to be tagged and sorted to track numerous historical trends in Broadway musical history.

My data show two major trends that I will explore and discuss in more detail in the following chapters. One trend is the number of foreign-language works that have entered the Broadway system primarily through translation (most often—but not always—translated into English), and numerous cases also in their original language. The importation of foreign-language works—most often operettas from France, Germany, and Austria—is most prevalent in the decades leading up to World War I. My data will also show that in addition to importing operettas through translation, that many foreign-language operettas entered the Broadway system through adaptation. In addition to translation and adaptation, many of these foreign-language operettas premiered in their original language and several French works premiered in New York

¹ Note that by “operetta” I also include comic operas and other forms of “light opera” that scholars have most often associated with operetta. This generic distinction will be discussed in more detail in this project.

professional theatres in German translation. Chapter 3 will examine the various methods and trends used to import middle European operettas into the Broadway system. It is only with an extensive database that these importation trends can be traced.

The other major trend I will use my data to track is the composition of new musicals based on prior existing materials. These adapted works account for more than one quarter of all new musical productions during these sixteen decades (and account for more than one third to one half of all new musicals since the 1950s). One may argue that the Broadway musical has evolved into an original, indigenous artistic form that is recognizably “American” today. The role of translated foreign works and works adapted from prior material, however, is significant. According to my data, more than one third of all premiering musical productions on Broadway² have been adaptations, translations, or presented in a language other than English. To date there is no comprehensive study on Broadway musical entertainment to investigate the role of translations, adaptations, and foreign-language works imported in their original language. This dissertation will focus on this one third of the premiering pieces of musical entertainment presented on Broadway stages between 1850 and 2009.

In this dissertation I will argue that traditional histories of musical theatre that focus primarily on the longest-running and best-known works fail to acknowledge other important historical trends. In this chapter I will review more than a dozen published histories of and resources on American musical theatre (usually focusing on Broadway). I will also discuss my methodological approach for this project. I use Franco Moretti’s (2005) concept of “distant reading” as a starting point for this database approach. Moretti is most concerned with literary “cycles”—particularly of genres—but not on literature’s relationship to its source material (as in

² Note that this excludes revivals and return engagements.

translation and adaptation). For this reason my theoretical approach and angle for analysis will focus on Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory (1978, revised in 1990) and his concepts of "interference" and literary "transfer."

Chapter 2 describes the database. First I discuss the data collection process used to create the database used for this project. This chapter also discusses the discrete categories used for cataloguing and the problems that arise from selecting these particular categories. Chapter 3 focuses on operettas, tracing their waves of importation from untranslated to translated to adapted. This project appears to be the first to use polysystem theory (from translation studies) to discuss trends in musical theatre. This also appears to be the first project to broaden polysystem theory to also include the importation of untranslated works and of adapted works.³ Chapter 4 will trace the trends found in musicals that have been adapted from prior existing material. Major trends of adaptation will be discussed up through the current day when the adaptation of popular films comes to be a dominant mode for the creation of a new musical.

Chapter 5 will examine the theoretical implications for each of these trends and this approach to research. While other histories focus primarily on the development of musical theatre as a genre (tracing generic influences, major composers, modes of musical composition, influential works, major themes, etc.) I will take a *functional* approach to this history. As I will discuss later in this chapter, polysystem theory is interested in the *function* of translated works in a system of literature. Using data from my database, I will discuss the function of untranslated, translated, and adapted works in the Broadway musical system. Although Even-Zohar is less

³ Patrick Cattrysse has argued for the application of polysystem theory for adaptation studies to discuss film adaptation. Cattrysse does so by expanding the concept of translation to include adaptation (1992, 53-54). In doing so, Cattrysse blurs the lines between translation and adaptation. My intention is to maintain a division between translation and adaptation (and works that are imported and performed without having been translated or adapted). Rather than broaden the already overly pliable terms of "translation" and "adaptation," I will introduce more specific terms from Even-Zohar's polysystem theory to allow the appropriate distinctions to be made.

concerned with transfer *processes* (i.e., translation and adaptation practices), I will also use my data to describe potential links between these functions and processes. This project has major implications not only for theatre historians interested in musical theatre, but also for translation studies and adaptation studies specialists. This project will not only reveal some trends ignored by other musical theatre scholars, but will also shed light on how the functions of translations and of adaptations are interconnected during some historical periods while vastly different during other periods. Furthermore, the connections I draw between function and process in translation and adaptation studies suggests that Even-Zohar's polysystem theory has wider applications than previously explored.

The Scope of this Project

This project limits itself to musical entertainment in professional New York playhouses associated with the evolution of Broadway musical theatre beginning in 1850. Broadway makes for an easier system of literature to analyze for “distant reading” purposes because it is easier to delimit what to include or not based on geography, theatrical venues, contracts, and scholarly interpretation of what constitutes Broadway. The very term “Broadway,” however, has long been disputed by many theatre historians. Hirschak starts his Broadway listings with 1919 “because it was a turning point for Broadway” and “[m]ost of the theatre activity was finally centered in the Times Square area” (2009, 1). Mary Henderson divides her book *The City and the Theatre* on New York playhouses into five time periods. Her third time period (with which I begin my project) is “Lower Broadway” (1850-1870) followed by “Union Square and Beyond” (1870-1899) and ends with “Times Square: the First Hundred Years” (1900-2000) (1, emphasis added).

The 1910s is a significant decade for Broadway with the creation of Actor's Equity Association, the labor union for New York theatre performers, in 1913. After the Equity strike of twelve Broadway shows in 1919, Actor's Equity Association gained official recognition on September 6 of that same year making Broadway theatre a fully legitimate professional trade (Kenrick 153-4; Stempel 139). The American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers (ASCAP) was also formed the same decade in 1914, granting legal protections and recognition to Broadway's songwriters. Although some scholars use these landmark legal advances of the 1910s to demarcate the emergence of Broadway, this project extends the concept of "Broadway" back to the 1850s to include the important professional antecedents in the evolution of the Broadway musical. For this reason, references to "Broadway" in this project include musical productions in these earlier professional New York playhouses from lower Broadway up through today's heart of Broadway around Times Square. This broader historical concept of "Broadway" is consistent with several noted histories and resources, including those by Bordman, Hirschak, Norton, and in the Internet Broadway Database, all of which acknowledge the importance of these earlier professional musical productions in New York playhouses. By broadening the historical period for the Broadway musical, I can account for more historical trends of importation, translation, and adaptation to paint a fuller picture of the history and evolution of the Broadway musical.

For the earlier decades of this project, all professional musical entertainment is included in this evolution of the Broadway musical. Clear divisions are made in this evolution in 1883 and 1949 with the foundation of the Metropolitan Opera House and the offshoot of the Off-Broadway system, respectively. The Metropolitan Opera House opened in 1883 and has historically been differentiated from Broadway and musical theatre, despite the long history of

operas being presented on early Broadway stages. Larry Stempel discusses this strict division noting that the Met was opened to perform opera as “an expression of high culture” and took “its position as an institution at the acme of cultural prestige” (275). Koegel also notes “a rather strict division between opera and other forms of musical theatre” with the opening of the Metropolitan Opera House (2009, 12). Because musical theatre has traditionally been characterized as popular entertainment (Mates 3; Kenrick 13-14; Kislan 5), the high art opera productions performed at the Met are excluded from this study.

This project, however, does include operas that have been produced on stages that have historically been categorized as part of the evolution of Broadway theatre (i.e., those lower Broadway and Union Square playhouses). For this study, opera refers to the traditional high art productions characterized by a focus on music and typically sung throughout (i.e., no spoken dialogue). This category of “opera” excludes lighter forms of opera, including comic opera, *opéra comique*, *opéra bouffe*, and operetta (which typically do include spoken dialogue between songs). These lighter forms of opera will be treated together as operettas and will be the focus of Chapter 3.

Although not the focus of this project, it is important to note that more than two hundred productions of operas are listed in my database (accounting for 5.2% of the collected data). Numerous professional theatres associated with the history of Broadway featured opera, most notably the Academy of Music, which opened in 1854.⁴ Operatic offerings on these early Broadway stages included works by Puccini, Donizetti, Mozart, Bizet, and Debussy. Although the Metropolitan Opera House may have opened their doors in 1883 with an Italian production of

⁴ The Fifth Avenue Theatre, the Park Theatre, Niblo’s Garden, the Olympic Theatre, the Hippodrome, and the Manhattan Opera House also featured opera with some frequency. The last was built by Oscar Hammerstein in 1892 in an attempt to draw opera audiences back to Broadway while the Metropolitan Opera House was closed after a fire in August of that same year (Henderson 137).

Charles Gounod's French opera *Faust*, this work premiered at the Academy of Music (also in Italian) two decades earlier. *Faust* would receive at least two dozen revivals on early Broadway stages through the 1880s. This brief history of Gounod's *Faust* helps illustrate that certain operas were frequently produced on early Broadway stages until the Met came to specialize in and dominate the opera scene.

Another reason to include opera in any history of musical entertainment on Broadway is that operas often served as the source material for burlesques (in addition to other musical works). Knapp notes that the many European operatic imports were "readily accessible as both model and satirical object" (2004, 49). For example, more than a dozen of the burlesques presented on early Broadway stages between the 1860s and 1880s have an opera as their primary source text (see Chapter 4). Not surprisingly, three of these burlesques appear to have been based on Gounod's opera: *Faust or, The Demon, the Doctor and the Devil's Draught* (1867), *Faust or, The Vicissitudes of a "Girl of the Period"* (1870), and *Faust up to Date* (1889). Many variety shows also included scenes that parodied operas that had recently been presented. My database does not include the source material for individual scenes in variety shows, vaudevilles, or revues, so the full extent of opera's influence as a source of parody cannot be fully explored on this basis (not to mention that there are few records of individual scenes from variety shows).

While other histories concerned with musical theatre most often exclude opera, I have included as many references to operas produced on Broadway stages as were encountered during research (in the sources discussed in Chapter 2). Many of these opera productions, though, were one-night engagements and there appears to be no source that attempts to comprehensively list these short engagements. One could exhaustively consult every day's edition of *The New York Times* to catalogue as many of these shows as possible. Scholars of musical theatre, however,

appear to concur that lighter forms of opera (the operetta) have served as a stronger influence on musical theatre (and based on my data, I would also concur). Acknowledging that the data for opera is perhaps the most incomplete in this database, few claims about opera will be made and focus will remain on genres and trends for which there is significant data.⁵

Off-Broadway productions are also excluded from this study due to a 1949 agreement that was reached to allow actors who were not member of Actors' Equity to appear with equity members. Since then, there has been a legal division between "Broadway" and "Off-Broadway" productions that remains today (Stempel 481). The Metropolitan Opera House also uses different contracts from Broadway houses. Today, the type of contracts used for a production clearly distinguishes a production as being "Broadway" or not. As we reach back to the 1850s, a Broadway production of musical entertainment refers to a production performed in one of the professional theatres in Manhattan. The meaning of "professional" has changed over the decades, but there is little disputing that there is a long continuous history of professional musical productions that have been produced in theatres that either today are officially recognized as Broadway houses or historically have been identified as pertaining to the direct history of the official conglomerate of professional Manhattan theatres.

The middle of the nineteenth century is significant for the development of professional musical theatre in New York City. By 1850, the population of New York City had surpassed half a million and by 1860 it passed 800,000 (Graziano 2006a, 2). Mary Henderson in her history of New York theatre houses notes that the city "was in the midst of another period of prosperity" by 1850 after the depression of the prior decade (84). The 1850s also marks a decade of increased immigration from non-English speakers into New York City including

⁵ While opera is not central to my analysis in this project, it is a perfect example for the need for this kind of database to record and track trends traditionally ignored by musical theatre scholars.

approximately 100,000 German immigrants, which would account for nearly 15% of the city's population by 1860 (Reich 12). Larry Stempel notes that in 1848, "the well-known actor-manager William Burton began shifting his base of operations from Philadelphia to New York [...] symbolically confirm[ing] New York's emergence as the undisputed capital of the nation's theatrical life" (28). By the 1850s, many notable lower Broadway theatres were in regular operation, including Niblo's Garden, Wallack's Theatre, Brougham's Lyceum Theatre, and the Academy of Music. Economic growth, increased population, and rising immigration made building an infrastructure for professional musical entertainment viable in New York City.

In terms of important works in musical theatre history, the 1850s marks the premiere of George L. Aiken's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852. Although both Thomas Hischak in his 2009 *Broadway Plays and Musicals* and the Internet Broadway Database categorize Aiken's adaptation as a play, Larry Stempel makes a compelling argument to classify this landmark work as a musical. Placing Aiken's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in the category melodrama, which was usually performed "without singing" and "called for instrumental 'action music' from time to time to underscore what characters were saying as they spoke" (40), Stempel highlights the musical elements of this work beyond incidental music.

In addition to the nondiegetic music typical to the melodrama, Stempel notes the use of "*diegetic* or *source* music" in the work (40). He cites examples of Tom singing a familiar hymn and singing "Stephen Foster's popular 'Old Folks at Home' to himself" (40). Perhaps more important is the third category Stempel describes, which includes songs written by the acting company manager, George C. Howard, specifically for the drama (41). Stempel describes these original songs as

[...] exist[ing] in a kind of limbo, neither quite “inside” nor “outside” the play. While sung onstage by characters in the play, they were not necessarily audible to anyone onstage, perhaps not even to the characters singing them. Consider “Uncle Tom’s Religion,” for example. It did not function as an independent song so much as an internal monologue that somehow took the shape of a song as Tom externalized it. It behaved more like an operatic aria, then, though written in the manner of a parlor tune of the day, and performed as part of a spoken play rather than a fundamentally musical one. (41)

Music is serving more than to simply underscore the action as found in the traditional melodrama. In accordance with Stempel’s analysis (which begins his sixteen-decade study of Broadway musical theatre), *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* will be treated as a piece of musical entertainment for the purposes of this project. This work is, consequently, one of the first adaptations to appear in the database, chronologically. It only seems fitting to begin the research period with the beginning of this decade.

In addition to *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*’s integral use of music as part of storytelling, Stempel notes how this production “ostensibly started the practice of ‘one-play entertainments’”—that is, evenings where only one long piece was presented, rather than multiple (often unrelated) pieces (39). The early history of performance on New York stages involved variety. There may have been a main piece for the night’s entertainment, but these were often followed by afterpieces. Stempel notes how with “no fewer than six acts, eight tableaux, and thirty scenes to adapt Stowe’s novel to the stage” it “required doing away with an afterpiece” (39). This new practice of “one-play entertainment” also helps set the stage for full-length works with a single plot. As Broadway entertainment evolves from variety productions to single-piece entertainment, adaptations of longer works (like Stowe’s novel) can become more common on the stage.

History will show that the adaptation of prior existing material will become a normal practice to the point of accounting for one third to one half of all musical pieces premiering on Broadway from the 1950s and on. Aiken's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is an important piece of this history of musical entertainment *and* adaptation on Broadway.

The 1850s is also the decade when operettas begin to take full shape in Europe and is the same decade that Jacques Offenbach—often “considered the father of French operetta” (Traubner 19)—is introduced to New York audiences with his French operetta *Les Deux Aveugles* in 1857. Some scholars look at the 1867 production of Offenbach's *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* at the Theatre Français in New York as the beginning of Offenbach's legacy on Broadway (Stempel 106; Mates 71). According to my data (in this case consulting Koegel 2009 and Gänzl 1994), five other works by Offenbach had already premiered in New York before *La Grande-Duchesse* in 1867.⁶ My data show that some scholars have missed important productions—in this case five premiering productions and three revivals before the premiere of *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein*. This further justifies beginning with the 1850s—when Offenbach was first introduced on early Broadway stages—and also shows how important foreign-language premieres were. Offenbach is also a clear case for looking at the role that German played in the importation of European works because so many of his works were performed in German.⁷

⁶ *Les Deux Aveugles* in 1857 (in French at Metropolitan Hall), *Le Mariage aux Lanternes* in 1860 (in German translation at the Stadt Theatre), *Orphée aux enfers* in 1861 (in German translation at the Stadt Theatre), *Tromb-al-ca-zar* in 1864 (in French at the Theatre Français), and *La Chanson de Fortunio* in 1867 (in German translation as *Fortunioslied* at the Stadt Theatre). *Les Deux Aveugles* would go on to be presented in English versions both titled *Going Blind* in 1858 and 1859 at Wallack's Theatre and *Le Mariage aux Lanternes* received a production in its original French in 1864 at the Theatre Français. Chapter 3 discusses in more detail the introduction of Offenbach's works on Broadway through productions in various languages.

⁷ Not only did *Le Mariage aux Lanternes*, *Orphée aux enfers*, and *La Chanson de Fortunio* all premiere in America first in German, but shortly after the grand premiere of *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* in 1867 *Les Bavards* had its U.S. premiere as *Der Schwätzer von Saragossa* at the Stadt Theatre and *La Belle Hélène* received its

Offenbach would go on to be the second most produced composer of operettas on the Broadway stage, bested only by Arthur Sullivan (almost exclusively with W.S. Gilbert as his librettist).⁸ The introduction of French operettas by Offenbach and other French composers would set in motion an American craving for middle European operettas that would soon turn to works emanating from Germany and Austria well into the twentieth century. The 1867 premiere of *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* may have sparked a “nationwide craze for the genre” of operetta (Stempel 106), but earlier productions of his work demonstrate an existing tradition in presenting European works in their original language or translated into German.

As seen from the data on Offenbach’s premieres in America, the contributions of German immigrants involved in professional musical performances were also taking shape by the 1850s. John Koegel, a specialist in German American musical stage history in New York city notes that “at least one resident, professional German company offered regular performances at any one time between 1853 and 1918” with two or more German companies from 1879 until 1918 (2006, 149).⁹ Most histories of musical theatre on Broadway exclude the productions of these professional German theatres in what Koegel describes as a “vanished tradition” (2009, xxiii). My database and this project include this vanished tradition and any other productions of musical entertainment from professional stages in Manhattan.¹⁰ As I will continue to argue throughout

first U.S. performance as *Die schöne Helena* at the Stadt Theatre, both in 1867.

⁸ When considering only premieres, Offenbach ranks fourth as composer with 32 new productions being credited to him (after Victor Herbert with 46, Richard Rogers with 40, and Jerome Kern with 35).

⁹ These professional theatres include two theatres named the Stadt Theatre (1854-1864; 1864-1878), two theatres named the Thalia Theater (1866-1867; 1879-1888), three theatres named the Germania Theatre (1872-1881; 1881-1883; 1893-1902), the Amberg Theatre (1888-1893), and the Irving Place Theatre (1893-1918) (Koegel 2009, 385-397).

¹⁰ In the first appendix to Koegel’s book, he includes a list of all “Ethnic Theatres in the United States, ca. 1840-1940” by state and city. For New York City (including Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, and the Bronx) he lists the following theatres: Chinese, Cuban, Czech, Finnish, French/Franco-American, German/Pennsylvania Dutch, Italian, Mexican, Polish, Portuguese, Puerto Rican, Swedish, Spanish, and Yiddish (2009, 381, 383). My project focuses on professional musical theatre in Manhattan. Records of professional musical theatrical activity for

this project, it is only by seeking to be as comprehensive as possible that we can more fully explore and explain historical trends in musical entertainment on Broadway.

While records for the 1850s are less complete than later decades, they are still significantly more complete than records from any prior decade. Chapter 2 will discuss the data collection process in more depth. Not only does this project limit its scope to 1850 through 2009, but most discussions of the data focus on “premiering” productions. “Premiering” for the purposes of Broadway and this project means that it is the first time that a particular work has been presented on a stage associated with this Broadway history.¹¹ In other words, a transfer from Off-Broadway, London, Chicago, Boston, and other regional theaters qualifies as a “premiering” production if it is the first time presented on Broadway. By focusing only on premiering productions, this project can track the new trends in musical theatre history.

The terms “premiere” and “revival,” however, are not unproblematic as demonstrated by Sondheim’s musical *Assassins*. *Assassins* premiered in an Off-Broadway venue in 1990 and did not receive a Broadway production until 2004. Due to the changed definition of “revival” in Broadway theatre, Sondheim’s musical was nominated for a Tony Award in the Best Musical Revival category and won the award. Stempel notes how according to the “Tony eligibility rules” that *Assassins* was “a stagework already deemed a ‘classic or in the historical or popular repertoire’” (544). For this reason it is necessary to historicize the terms “premiere” and “revival.” While *Assassins* appears to be a Broadway premiere (because it had never been presented on Broadway before), for the purposes of this project it will be treated as a revival.

German and French were found, but not for the other twelve listed ethnicities. This could mean that musical entertainment from these groups was not professional (i.e., amateur) or that there is a lacuna for these ethnic groups in the consulted sources.

¹¹ The term “premiering” or “premiere” will be used in this project as opposed to “original” production—another term often used. Because this project is concerned primarily with translations and adaptations, the term “original” is often synonymous with “source text” and may cause significant problems to the reader.

Any shows billed as a “revival”—albeit its first production on Broadway—will be excluded from the subset of data to be analyzed.¹²

The reason for excluding a show like *Assassins* (and true revivals and return engagements) from the data subset is that the Broadway producers have already determined that the work is not new, but rather is being presented because it is already known to be a marketable work. This project through its historical approach is also focused on canon formation (another topic often discussed in the polysystem theory literature, often using the term “repertoire”). In order to track the development of the Broadway canon, only those works that are considered new and have the potential of being innovative (i.e., the ability to make changes to what works enter the canon) will be accounted for. Tracking revivals would show which particular shows (that had already been tested in front of audiences) producers had deemed popular enough to be financially viable to merit revival. The selection of shows to revive is significantly different from the *functional* trends of importing new work into the Broadway polysystem.¹³ The particular focus of this project (from a polysystem theory approach) is how Broadway (as a literary system) creates and maintains its repertoire using various transfer methods (e.g., translation, adaptation). While many histories of musical theatre are most interested in the “popular” and successful shows, this project takes more interest in these functional trends, as seen through new works entering the Broadway repertoire.

¹² The issue also works in the opposite direction. The Gershwins’ *Crazy for You* (1992) was a reworking of their 1930 *Girl Crazy*. Although numerous shows have undergone similar reworking and been presented as revivals, *Crazy for You* was presented as a new work, and subsequently won the Tony Award for Best New Musical. For this reason, productions have been categorized as “premieres” or “revivals” based on how producers presented them on Broadway.

¹³ This project focuses on the *selection* of texts outside of the repertoire that are imported through modes of interference (e.g., translation and adaptation). Revivals, by definition, have already been imported and are then part of the existing repertoire (of possible pieces eligible for revival).

Literature Review

Numerous scholars have written histories of musical theatre, each with their own focus. In this section I present a chronological look at more than a dozen different histories, chronologies, and resources that focus on the Broadway musical. This comprehensive overview demonstrates the various approaches to and biases in describing the American musical. This review also shows that there is no unified perspective on what musical theatre is or how to tell its history. More importantly for this particular project, this scholarly survey shows a lack of critical research and discussion on the roles of translation and adaptation in musical entertainment on Broadway stages.

According to Larry Stempel, Lehman Engel's 1967 *The American Musical Theater: A Consideration* is the earliest history of American musical theatre (xv). Having been both a composer and a conductor for Broadway musicals, Engel focuses on the composers and their compositions as he traces Broadway musical theatre history from its combined roots of indigenous forms (such as minstrelsy and ragtime) and European forms (such as pantomime, extravaganza, and operetta). Engel draws particular focus on the revue in breaking with the European operetta tradition and how it served as a testing ground for rehearsal pianists to compose one or two songs at a time that could be incorporated into these variety shows with little risk (73). His treatment of the contemporary musical focuses on eleven musicals from 1940 through 1957. Engel also includes chapters on Broadway Opera (examining the intersection between opera and Broadway) and a chapter on the pit orchestra. Perhaps of greater interest to scholars and musical theatre enthusiasts today is the more than 60 pages of photographs from Broadway musical theatre history. Though it is one of the earliest histories of American musical theatre (if not the first) and even though Engel provides no sources for his history, his vast

knowledge of specific composers and how they entered the Broadway system stands the test of time, providing a perspective often ignored.

Cecil Smith's 1987 (but originally published in 1950) *Musical Comedy in America: From The Black Crook to South Pacific* is one of the earlier histories of musical comedy and one of the more frequently cited in the literature (far more than Engel's). Part one of a two-part book, Smith's section covers 1864-1950. Excluding *Uncle Tom's Cabin* from the category of musical (10), Smith begins his history with *The Black Crook*. He excludes opera from his history outright. Focusing on musical comedy, he makes a sharp distinction between musical entertainment organized with a plot and the less structured musical revue beginning in 1894 with *The Passing Show*. Smith helps dispel the myth that musical comedy is the United States' one contribution to theatrical history. With a fairly thorough treatment of European comic operas (a term he prefers to operetta), Smith tells a story of first breaking European domination on the Broadway stage to then swapping out European themes for more American ones beginning in 1915 (2, 202).

Glenn Litton's 1987 *Musical Comedy in America: From The King and I to Sweeney Todd* was added to Cecil Smith's book in the 1981 edition to pick up where Smith left off, covering through the end of the 1970s. Litton covers three decades (the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s) and highlights key works in the latter half of the twentieth century. His approach is strictly chronological, dedicating one chapter to each decade and covering the more successful Broadway musicals presented each decade.

While other histories of musical theatre most often treat operetta as a no-longer-existing antecedent to the musical, Gerald Bordman in his 1981 *American Operetta: From H.M.S. Pinafore to Sweeney Todd* approaches history from the opposing point of view. Bordman

contends that the operetta never died out, but rather that “it is as alive today as it was a century ago” but “no one calls it operetta anymore” (1981, 3). With the title “American Operetta,” Bordman more properly covers operetta in America by chronicling a long list of European imports and then taking the reader through the development of an American operetta tradition that evolves into what is commonly called “musical comedy” (or simply “musical”) today. With his noted focus on this particular musical genre, there is hardly any discussion of other musical forms that have helped in the development of American musical theatre (vaudeville, minstrelsy, burlesque, or a topic to which he dedicates an entire book: the revue¹⁴). Bordman takes into account actual statistics during the height of operettas in New York, but with no footnotes, endnotes, or bibliography it is difficult to ascertain how he gathered these statistics. As Bordman moves into the contemporary age of musical theatre, his selection of musicals is limited to those with closer links to the operetta heritage of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Gerald Bordman in his 1982 *American Musical Comedy: From Adonis to Dreamgirls* highlights various pieces, topics, and themes that tell the history of musical comedy. While his 1981 book focuses on operetta, he contrasts that genre in this next book with a focus on the comedy side of musical entertainment in New York. Similar to his book on operetta, he focuses more heavily on the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. The book reads (and is organized) more like a collection of short essays on various disconnected topics associated with musical comedy that happen to have been placed in chronological order.

Julian Mates’ 1987 *America’s Musical Stage: Two Hundred Years of Musical Theatre* seeks to “demonstrate the interrelationship of musical stage forms, and to do so in a context which is both historical and analytical” (4). While authors such as Smith and Stempel focus

¹⁴ Bordman, Gerald M. *American Musical Revue: From the Passing Show to Sugar Babies*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

attention on foreign influences earlier in Broadway history, Mates argues that “our musical theatre is both indigenous and our oldest theatrical tradition” (4). Other histories begin with the mid nineteenth century or later, but Mates starts his history with the first theatrical imports from Britain in the mid eighteenth century. Because Mates’s primary argument is that the Broadway musical is an indigenous form, he focuses primarily on earlier types of musical performance in America and purposely downplays the book musical, which is the focus of more histories (see his Epilogue).

John Bush Jones’ 2003 *Our Musicals, Ourselves: A Social History of the American Musical* focuses not only on the social aspects of musical theatre history, but also on the political aspects. Jones focuses primarily on major historical events such as world wars, the Depression, and other political conflicts. Jones almost takes the genre of the “musical” for granted, glossing over the form’s antecedents (with only brief coverage of minstrelsy and operetta). He also intentionally excludes imported shows, with the most notable exception being *H.M.S. Pinafore*. As he covers major American musicals, Jones discusses the sources of many of the adapted musicals. He makes a few connections between some of these adaptations (e.g., Disney films and popular movies that have been adapted), but he makes no broader claims about the role of adaptation on the Broadway stage.

Kislan’s 1995 new, revised, and expanded *The Musical: A Look at the American Musical Theater* highlights various antecedents of the modern musical, discussing these forms, major productions, and their eventual decline. Kislan then focuses on major composers of the “Mature Musical,” yet he only focuses on Jerome Kern, Rodgers and Hammerstein, and then Stephen Sondheim. Kislan then turns to the elements of musical theatre, focusing on its composite parts (book, lyrics, score, dance, and design). In this brief overview of musical theatre, Kislan paints

broad strokes with little attention to historical events or cultural situations affecting the development of the Broadway musical. While Kislán covers both comic opera and operetta, he makes no mention of the effects of World War I on the eventual demise of operettas, blaming instead the Great Depression for this decline (109). Kislán's book demonstrates some of the major topics of concern to musical theatre specialists (its musical antecedents, major composers, and its component parts), but tends to overgeneralize.

Raymond Knapp conceived his 2004 *The American Musical and the Formation of National Identity* as a textbook (xv). Knapp focuses on the American aspect of the musical. While "this present volume deals with historical antecedents to the American musical" (283), he notes how the American musical "has managed to grow largely independent of its European roots" (4). He is clear about not following a chronological approach in his study, focusing instead on topics that he argues are culturally relevant (such as the centrality to gay men in musical theatre history) (6). For Knapp, the central theme of the American musical is defining America (8). Covering musical theatre history from the mid-nineteenth century through the beginning of the twenty-first century, Knapp selects the shows that most support his narrative of the American musical being about the formation of a nation.

Scott Miller's 2007 *Strike Up the Band: A New History of Musical Theatre* seeks a new respect for musical theatre by focusing less on the commercial aspects and discussing more of the political and innovative aspects of musical theatre. Miller begins his history with the beginning of the twentieth century, virtually ignoring its antecedents (operetta receives a single sentence [19]). Taking a chronological approach, Miller casts a wider net as he brings Off-Broadway and other musicals outside of the Broadway market into his history. Through his

history he highlights both the conventions of Broadway and the legacy of those who have broken the rules.

Knapp conceived his 2009 *The American Musical and the Performance of Personal Identity* as the second volume to his 2004 book focusing on national identity. In this second book he thematizes personal genres and personal themes. While his first book focuses almost exclusively on stage musicals, this second volume adds in film and television musicals to cover such themes as fairy tales, idealism, gender, and sexuality. Knapp's two books together show two major methods that most scholars have used to study musical theatre: from a historical perspective (focusing on historical antecedents and/or the development of the American musical genre) and from a topical or thematic perspective.

John Koegel's 2009 *Music in German Immigrant Theater: New York City 1840-1940* brings to center stage some of the primary influences on Broadway musical history that have long been ignored by scholars. While most histories of musical theatre assume that Broadway has been a monolingual enterprise, Koegel chronicles the extensive and extremely significant contributions of German speakers in the New York Theatre scene. Koegel's book will factor in heavily in Chapter 3 in my discussion of translated works on Broadway stages and of German-language operettas being imported to New York City.

John Kenrick, the author of the website Musicals101.com, in his 2010 *Musical Theatre: A History* places his study of "a few hundred essential works" (14) into the greater history of theatrical performance. By briefly covering lyric drama in Ancient Greece up through the nineteenth century, Kenrick establishes a longer history of musicals than other scholars. His text (and accompanying website) mirror many of the historical periods of non-musical Western Drama, suggesting that this book was written particularly with the students of New York

University's Steinhardt School (where he teaches) in mind. This is especially exhibited in his attempt to outline various "formulas" of musicals. While focusing primarily on major musical works and their composers, Kenrick also highlights major events in world history—most notably the role of World War I in the demise of the Viennese operetta. This book demonstrates the common historical problem of "overlapping periods" seeking to treat genres and topics separately. Kenrick ends with Broadway in the twenty-first century, with data from 2005. Kenrick covers the longest time period of any of the consulted research, though his book focuses primarily on musical theatre from the mid-nineteenth century through contemporary times. In addition to his own research, Kenrick provides a long annotated bibliography of "Suggested Reading" (383ff). This list demonstrates how most studies and books on musical theatre have tended to focus on one person or one genre.

At the writing of this project, Stempel's 2010 *Showtime: A History of the Broadway Musical Theater* is not only the newest history of musical theatre, but also the most extensive.¹⁵ Stempel notes that his study takes "a more scholarly approach" (xv) and he focuses on both the aesthetic developments of the form and the cultural conditions in which it evolved (7). Not only does he account for major historical changes in the canon of musical theatre, but he also addresses economic factors and changes to professional theatre (for example, the transition from stock companies to combination companies, the role of unions, etc.). While other studies tend to ignore or gloss over its contribution, Stempel accounts for the role of opera (especially the foundation of the Metropolitan Opera House) in the history of the Broadway musical. His early treatment of Broadway history provides in-depth coverage of earlier forms of entertainment (vaudeville, burlesque, minstrelsy, burlesque, travesty, revues, and other forms of variety) on the

¹⁵ Stempel's *Showtime* was quickly released in a new paperback "College Edition" in 2011. All references in this project refer to the original 2010 hardback edition.

evolution of the Broadway musical. He also provides extensive coverage on the influence of light opera and operetta on Broadway's evolving canon of works. Throughout this history, Stempel highlights key artists and trends that have shaped musical history on professional New York stages. With more than 800 pages, Stempel provides more depth and detail for a longer period of musical theatre history than any other author.

In addition to these histories of musical theatre, numerous encyclopedias and resource guides have been published on musical theatre. Kurt Gänzl's *The Encyclopedia of the Musical Theater* (first published in 1994 with a second edition published in 2001) provides detailed encyclopedic entries for composers, performers, and musical works from both stage and screen and from both Europe and America. His entries on composers are often accompanied with lists of works and their premieres (including premieres in other countries). Gänzl pays particular attention to foreign-language premieres (especially in the United States), which is vastly ignored in other sources. His coverage of operettas is quite extensive, though he ignores opera outright (for example, there are no entries for Wagner or Mozart).

Perhaps one of the most detailed resources on Broadway musical theatre is Richard Norton's 2002 three-volume resource *A Chronology of American Musical Theater*. Norton begins with 1750 but primarily focuses on "the popular American Musical Theatre as presented on first-class stages in New York City, from 1850 through the present [2001]" (vii). His resource provides encyclopedia-type entries in chronological order by theatre season focused on information from the playbill or program for the production. This chronology also lists all of the songs (when available) with who sings them in the show in addition to information on the songs' composition.¹⁶

¹⁶ At the writing of this project, Norton's three-volume chronology was not used for creating the database. In the introduction Norton notes that he and Bordman (2001) include most of the same shows, albeit with a few

Thomas's Hischak's 2008 *The Oxford Companion to the American Musical: Theatre, Film, and Television* provides short entries on the composers, performers, and other artists associated with the stage, screen, and televised musicals presented in the United States. Hischak is selective as to which shows he includes. Beginning in the 1920s, he chooses approximately ten to thirty shows per year and also includes other historically important shows from earlier Broadway history.¹⁷ His appendices also list Academy Awards granted to movie musicals and a list of recordings from musical productions.

Hischak's *Oxford Companion* appears more geared (and priced) for a general reading audience, while his 2009 *Broadway Musical and Plays: Descriptions and Essential Facts of More Than 14,000 Shows through 2007* has a more scholarly focus (along with a hefty price tag). Rather than include only popular or well-known shows as done in his *Oxford Companion*, in this reference book Hischak includes a short listing for 6184 different shows, including every play and musical presented on Broadway between 1919 and 2007 (with other "notable productions before 1919" [525ff]). This book includes listings only for shows, not for artists associated with them. Information on premiere and revival productions is also included.

Stanley Green's 1980 *Encyclopedia of the Musical Theatre* includes short encyclopedia entries on Broadway, Off-Broadway, and London stage musicals. He excludes some categories, such as vaudeville and Gilbert and Sullivan (v). Green's encyclopedia is perhaps the only reference to include listings for song titles, making it easy for the musical theatre enthusiast to find out from what show a particular song originated.

differences, notably in revivals and return engagements. Norton refers to the 2001 edition of Bordman's chronicle. The 2010 edition that I consulted for this project, however, was updated by Norton himself. Norton's listings are not without their own problems for a project such as mine. For example, in volume 3 Norton includes *Dirty Blonde* (2000), even though the IBDB classifies this as a play and the show was nominated in the Best New Play category at the Tony Awards (639).

¹⁷ Before the 1920s, Hischak includes a smattering of professional musical productions beginning with the New York premiere of *The Beggar's Opera* in 1750.

Stanley Green's 2008 *Broadway Musicals: Show by Show*, revised and updated by Kay Green, provides short entries on various famous Broadway shows in chronological order. These entries also include information on the producers and opening night cast, a list of songs, a plot summary, and information on any released recordings.

The Internet Broadway Database (ibdb.com) "is the official database for Broadway theatre information" and claims to "provide[] records of productions from the beginnings of New York theatre until today" (n.p.). The IBDB includes the most current data on shows currently running on Broadway but also includes extensive data on shows going back to the nineteenth century.

One last resource is not quite a history or a resource. Gerald Bordman's *American Musical Theatre* (first published in 1986 and now in its fourth edition with updates by Richard Norton and published in 2010) is described as a "chronicle." Beginning with the 18th century but focusing more heavily on every theatre season from 1866 through 2010, Bordman describes as many shows and theatre artists from each theatre season for which he has been able to find information. While histories organize their studies into themes, genres, or overlapping time periods, Bordman maintains a fairly rigid chronological approach (though within the same theatre season he will organize similar or related productions). For the more serious scholars of musical theatre, Bordman presents a more comprehensive coverage of American musical theatre. While his information is not as accessible as an encyclopedia, numerous indices of show titles, the source texts for shows, and theatre artists will help scholars locate particular pieces of information.

This list of histories and resources on musical theatre demonstrates a great interest in trying to describe musical theatre, especially from a historical perspective. With the exception of

Hischak's *Broadway Plays and Musicals* and Bordman's *American Musical Theatre*, these histories and references are selective in what works they cover and discuss. In many cases, authors appear to select only the works that will best support the historical narrative they are trying to paint. For example, Scott Miller highlights the shows that demonstrate the conventional musical and then those shows that most challenge that tradition. Gerald Bordman in his *American Operetta* selects those shows that most fit the model of the operetta to make his claim that what we call musical theatre today is still the operetta.

While most histories of literature (musical theatre included) focus on the “masterpieces,” this project will focus on translated and adapted theatrical works to examine the *function* of translation and adaptation within the system of Broadway theatre. Many operettas entered the American musical repertory through English translations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Additionally, adapting prior material to the musical stage has long been a tradition that has since come to dominate Broadway stages in the last several decades. While many histories of musical theatre treat translation and adaptation as ancillary information on these works, this project will bring the trends of translation and adaptation in the history of New York professional musical entertainment to the center stage.

Theoretical Approach

Because this topic spans such a long period of theatre history, quantitative research will be the primary method of analysis. Franco Moretti describes this approach as “distant reading” where the focus is not on “concrete, individual works,” but rather “the reality of the text undergoes a process of deliberate reduction and abstraction” (1). In other words, the primary “text” for this project will be a data set of the musical works produced on Broadway during these

sixteen decades. In place of reading all of the texts (which would be impossible due to time factors and because scripts no longer exist for many of these earlier works), I will be tagging each of these titles in the data set and performing various analyses that will be graphed to visually represent significant trends over the selected historical period. These visual graphs will serve as the starting point for further research to describe the trends that these graphs reveal.

Quantitative research using scientific methodology is by no means the norm in the Humanities, especially in the study of literature. Douwe Fokkema and Elrud Ibsch acknowledge this at the beginning of their 2000 book *Knowledge and Commitment: A Problem-Oriented Approach to Literary Studies*, in which they defend the use of scientific methodology for the study of literature. In their second chapter “Interpretation and Explanation,” the authors discuss the problem with the traditional hermeneutic approach of literary study, noting that “[h]ermeneutics is a normative enterprise, interested in maintaining cultural values and adapting them to various historical situations” (15). They further identify certain functions of “interpretation” in literary studies, for example the “preserv[ation of] a canonized text for a certain community” or the placement of works into subgroups of literature “as happens with certain feminist interpretations of classical texts” (17). In any case, Fokkema and Ibsch view interpretation through the hermeneutic method as being more indicative of the researcher’s personal perspective or a particular *Zeitgeist* rather than holding truth for other time periods and contexts.

The literature review earlier in this chapter demonstrates that most histories of musical theatre fall into this hermeneutic trap. Certain landmark productions such as *The Black Crook* (1866) and *Evangeline* (1874) are often discussed and remain historically important works, but to the exclusion of other works. My earlier discussion of Offenbach demonstrates how histories

tend to focus on the 1867 premiere of *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* to the exclusion of earlier Offenbach works presented in New York, and most often ignore the German translations used to introduce several of these works to professional theatre companies in America. The Offenbach example alone demonstrates a need for a new approach to musical theatre history.

Fokkema and Ibsch propose a problem-solving approach to literary study where the objects of scientific study are not the texts themselves, but rather the *problems*. For my project, the problem to be analyzed is the historical *function* of translated and adapted literature on Broadway. While quantitative research through data collection and explanation will be my primary method of investigation, this project will be placed into the theoretical framework of polysystem theory.

Itamar Even-Zohar first introduced the term “polysystem” in articles written in the 1970s.¹⁸ Even-Zohar’s concept of the polysystem stems from Russian formalism and systems theory, which he credits to Jurij Tynjanov. For Even-Zohar, the term polysystem emphasizes “the multiplicity of intersections, and hence the greater complexity of structuredness involved” (1979, 291). The concept of the polysystem will be central to my project because Broadway is not an autonomous system, but rather dependent on not only foreign influences, but influences from other genres (music, dance, film, art, etc.) and diverse immigrant cultures of New York City making it what Even-Zohar describes as a “heterogeneous, open structure” (1990, 11).

In addition to acknowledging the extra-systemic influences on a (poly)system, Even-Zohar also draws attention to the *dynamic* nature of a polysystem. Rather than view literature as

¹⁸ These early articles from the 1970s were published together in 1978 under the title *Papers in Historical Poetics*. This was followed by another article titled “Polysystem Theory” published in *Poetics Today* in 1979 and then revised and expanded under the title “Polysystem Studies,” which was published in a special issue of *Poetics Today* in 1990. A revised and significantly shorter article on the theory was published in 1997 in *Papers in Culture Research*, though this version is not cited quite as frequently. Translation scholars most often reference the 1990 version, because it is the most complete version of his theory.

a solely static, unchanging system (as did Saussure with language), Even-Zohar draws attention to the *historical* changes that occur in a polysystem (1990, 11). Not only will my research focus on the extra-systemic influences (which Even-Zohar terms “interference”) on Broadway, but also on how these interferences develop and change over time. This is why it is necessary to cover such a long period of time, which further necessitates a “distant reading” approach through quantitative analysis.

Most literary research, especially of dramatic literature or performance, focuses on the masterpieces. Even-Zohar is adamant that a polysystem theory approach “cannot confine itself to the so-called ‘masterpieces,’ even if some would consider them the only *raison d’être* of literary studies in the first place” because “[n]o field of study can select its object according to norms of taste without losing its status as an intersubjective discipline” (1979, 292). Phillippe Codde further notes that “[f]ailure to include noncanonized strata in the analysis of the literary polysystem can obfuscate the dynamics behind interference” (113). By using my database, I will be able to move away from this focus on masterpieces and examine more comprehensively the dynamics behind interference in Broadway’s musical polysystem.

The main research question for my study comes from Even-Zohar’s 1990 article “The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem.” In this article Even-Zohar focuses not only on the *position* that translated literature takes in a polysystem (Even-Zohar contrasts two positions: the “center” or the “periphery”), but also its *function* (1990, 46). Even-Zohar notes how translated literature is often responsible for introducing new models into a polysystem (1990, 47). He further describes that this phenomenon tends to happen when a literature is “young” (1990, 47). Using quantitative data (most often graphed out visually for the

reader), I will argue that Even-Zohar's hypothesis about the function of translated literature also holds true for the Broadway musical polysystem.

My data and others' research show that during the second half of the nineteenth century many operettas from France, Germany, and Austria were imported to Broadway in translated form (Smith 53ff; Stempel 105). In the late nineteenth century, Broadway was still a "young" system, leaving itself open to interference from other systems. Even-Zohar also uses the term "weak" to describe systems that are relatively weaker than stronger, more established systems (such as the French and German literary systems in the nineteenth century). Broadway in the mid to late nineteenth century appears to have been both "young" and "weak," with no major genre of musical entertainment dominating Broadway stages. The term "musical" was not yet a fixed category and Broadway stages saw vaudeville, spectacles, extravaganzas, pantomimes, burlesque, operettas, operas, revues, and ballets (along with non-musical entertainment) all running simultaneously in Broadway venues, competing for the same audience. My argument is that with this variety of multiple musical genres that Broadway—as a system—was still "weak," having no strong central musical genre (such as the "musical" today) to set major trends. The operetta would become the first musical genre to take a stronger and more central position in the Broadway polysystem, thus paving the way for the musical comedy (later called the "musical") to dominate.¹⁹

Using data collected in my database I will argue that operettas, especially French- and German-language operettas, were allowed to enter this weaker, younger Broadway literary system in greater numbers. The importation of more works from this musical genre would help

¹⁹ In Chapter 4 I discuss the high percentage of burlesques performed on Broadway stages from the 1850s through 1870s. The great difference here is that most of the burlesques were ephemeral productions. According to my data, burlesques were never revived to the same degree as operettas in the nineteenth century and musicals in the twentieth century (even operas were revived more frequently than burlesques from the 1850s through 1870s). This is why data on revivals is useful even when focusing only on premiering works.

make plot-driven, single-piece entertainment the primary mode of musical entertainment that we see today. Raymond Knapp already contends that “[o]peretta traditions were the principal European sources for models and topics as the American musical took shape” (2004, 19). John Bush Jones looks specifically to Gilbert and Sullivan—most notably *H.M.S. Pinafore*—as “providing a model for integrated musicals and demonstrating that musicals can address contemporary social and political issues without sacrificing entertainment value” (11). While Gilbert and Sullivan played a significant role in the popularity of operetta in America, I would argue that non-English language works also played a significant role. Translated operettas served to both introduce and popularize a new model for musical entertainment on the Broadway stage that would prove instrumental in tracing the development of the “Broadway musical” now recognized today.²⁰

Both Cecil Smith and Larry Stempel in their histories of the American musical note that with the onset of World War I, anti-German sentiment effectively created a cultural embargo against Germany and Austria, ending the importation of German-language musical entertainment (Smith 95-6; Stempel 180). My data will show that the importation of German-language musicals did not completely stop during this time period, though the numbers do decrease significantly (see Chapter 3). This dramatic decrease in German-language musical imports is coupled with the rise of original entertainment using American life as an acceptable theme (Smith 55). In his article “Laws of Literary Interference,” Even-Zohar notes how “[s]ometimes, highly nationalistic societies reject any interference, because it is felt to be a threat to national

²⁰ It must also be noted that numerous European operas were also entering this Broadway system along side these operettas. Operas, unlike operettas, tended to be segregated into their own music houses: Academy of Music (1854-1926), the Casino Theatre (at 39th Street, 1882-1930), and then the Metropolitan Opera House (1883-today). Operettas, with their mixture of spoken dialogue, song, and plot, directly influenced the Broadway musical, while opera, with its focus on orchestration and vocal prowess, became segregated from other forms of musical entertainment on the Broadway stage to the point of the Metropolitan Opera House using different contracts than Broadway theatres, making this professional distinction a legal one.

integrity” (1990, 64). It is not surprising that during times of war a country might shut itself off from importing cultural goods (especially from the enemy) and focus attention on producing original domestic works. While the rejection of interference from German-language countries was not complete during World War I on Broadway, my data does support that the steep decrease in German interference correlates with the First World War and scholarly commentary supports that nationalism played a role (see Chapter 3).

Even-Zohar along with most literary scholars using polysystem theory focus on the function of translated literature. When analyzing the role of translated literature on a polysystem, such as Broadway musical theatre, this suggests one wave involving a rise and then a decline in translated literature. With this database approach, however, another wave of literary influence has appeared in this analysis. The work of translation scholars using polysystem theory assumes that works enter the polysystem almost exclusively through translation into the target literary system.

As already discussed with the importation of Offenbach’s works, many works premiered in their original language and others in German translation. The number of works that were translated into a non-English language is small, so I will exclude that group from this present discussion. A significant number of works, though, entered the Broadway system in their original language. This means that when using polysystem theory to analyze how one system imports works from another (here a middle-European system) we must look beyond translated texts. What I am arguing is that there was a preliminary wave of *untranslated* musical works that entered the Broadway polysystem. Of the reviewed literature on polysystem theory, no scholar appears to have addressed the influence of untranslated works on a polysystem. With this project and my data I intend to expand polysystem theory to account for this phenomenon.

In addition to arguing that translated operettas (and before that, untranslated operettas) function to make plot-driven musical entertainment the primary mode of musical composition on Broadway stages, I will also discuss the potential functional role of adapted works in the Broadway system. Patrick Cattrysse proposes using polysystem theory and the functional approach to the study of film adaptation to focus on the historical aspect of culture (1992, 50). In his conclusion, he advocates using “scientific analysis” to observe these trends (1992, 54). My data show that in addition to waves of untranslated and translated operettas that there was a third (albeit smaller) wave of adapted operettas.

Numerous scholars have discussed the adaptation of individual or groups of European operettas. Some scholars argue that German and Austrian works were adapted during World War I because of rising anti-German sentiment (Stempel 181-4; Jones 49; Kenrick 140). Legal issues also play into this because many producers purchased the rights to German and Austrian works before the war. Producers found themselves stuck with works that they had paid for but could not produce so they hired composers to adapt them to remove any German or Austrian elements (Kenrick 191; Bordman 1981, 108). With my database I can show the number of these German and Austrian works that were adapted during this time period. These works will account for this third wave of “interference.” All three of these waves will be discussed more fully in Chapter 3 along with the other data for operettas.

Even-Zohar’s concept of “interference” (mentioned earlier) is central to my analysis. For Even-Zohar, the field of Comparative Literature has been content “with the vague notion of ‘influence’ and confin[ed] itself to uncritical comparisons of isolated cases” (1990, 53). Interference, as opposed to influence, requires analysis at the systemic level (Even-Zohar notes “cultural system”) and requires incorporating a historical approach (1990, 54). Even-Zohar

defines interference as “a relation(ship) between literatures, whereby a certain literature A (a source literature) may become a source of direct or indirect loans from another literature B (a target literature)” where this interference may be *unilateral* (in one direction) or *bilateral* (in both directions) (1990, 54-55). Chapter 3 will focus on an analysis of interference from middle European operettas on the Broadway musical polysystem.

Even-Zohar is most concerned with interference in terms of *translated* literature across cultural-linguistic boundaries (most famously in his article “The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem,” which I discussed earlier). This is also obvious from his discussion of interference and how it relates to dependent and independent systems, whereby younger (more dependent) literatures undergo more interference until they become more established (independent) literatures (1990, 55). This narrow cultural-linguistic view ignores the potential interference from other media (for example in the instance of Broadway musical entertainment, interference from plays, novels, film, etc.). My data will show that when accounting for forms of interference beyond the cultural-linguistic interference from translation that the concepts of “dependent” and “independent” literatures are far more complex (and, subsequently, there may be no such thing as an “independent” literary system).

What my research also reveals is that the very terms “translation” and “adaptation” can be quite problematic when attempting to discuss historical systemic trends. Numerous scholars have debated the meanings, differences, and overlap of these terms. My contention is that the terms “translation” and “adaptation” are best suited to discuss *processes of literary transfer* but that these terms at times may be misleading for the researchers concerned with the *functions of literary interference*.

For the purposes of analysis (especially my data analysis in Chapter 3 and 4), I will introduce new terms based on Even-Zohar's terminology, but also inspired by Roman Jakobson's types of "translation." Even-Zohar contrasts two types of interference: *direct* and *indirect*:

In the case of direct interference, a source literature is available to, and accessed by, agents of the target literature without intermediaries. They know the language of the source literature and may have better access to its resources than in the case of the second type. In this second type, interference is intermediated through some channel, such as translation. (1990, 57)

"Direct interference" will be used to refer to those works that I have previously described as being "untranslated," those works that were premiered on Broadway in their original (most often continental European) language. As discussed in my literature review of musical theatre history, this direct interference from primarily German- and French-language works has long been ignored in histories of Broadway. With data from sources such as Koegel and Gänzl, I will be able to discuss in more depth the systemic direct influence from German- and French-language musical works.

The term "indirect interference," however, is broad—in fact, broader than the terms "translation" and "adaptation." I would argue that Even-Zohar's "indirect interference" conflates translation and adaptation, in addition to falling into the "process" trap ("interference is intermediated through some *channel*, such as translation" [1990, 57]). I would maintain that "indirect interference" is more aptly a *functional* term, yet it needs more specificity to be useful to the researcher.

Roman Jakobson in 1959 article “On Linguistic Aspects of Translation” differentiated translation types into three kinds:

1. Intralingual translation or *rewording* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language.
2. Interlingual translation or *translation proper* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language.
3. Intersemiotic translation or *transmutation* is an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems. (145, emphasis in original)

Most translation scholars have focused on Jakobson’s second type, as will I. Works that premiered on Broadway and have primarily the same musical composition as its source text, but featured a libretto and/or lyrics in a language other than its source will be defined as “indirect interlingual interference.” This covers “translation proper” (as Jakobson also notes).

Figuring in “adaptation” into a functional analysis is more complex, and it was only after reviewing the data that this complexity became more apparent. When an operetta (or any other musical work) has been reworked (lyrical content, musical score, *and* narrative content) it is typically referred to as an “adaptation.” When a non-musical text (e.g., a novel, a play, or a movie) has been reworked into a piece of musical entertainment, it is also typically referred to as an “adaptation.” My research will show, however, that these two categories of “adaptation” function differently. For this reason I will introduce the terms “indirect intramedial interference” (primarily for those foreign operettas that have been “Americanized” linguistically, musically, and thematically through an adaptation process) and “indirect intermedial interference” (to describe those musicals with source texts from a medium other than musical entertainment).²¹

²¹ To further complicate things, it is possible for these two categories to overlap. Chapter 4 will address this issue more fully.

The very need for these terms shows the historical preoccupation with process to the exclusion of function. The term “adaptation” has been used widely as a “looser” version of translation (that is when the very term translation has not been broadened so that it becomes effectively synonymous with adaptation). The focus on forms of literary interference will allow us to explore and understand how particular groups of texts have been selected, undergone some process of transfer (mediated or not), and *functioned together* in a historical inter-systemic exchange. This is where the polysystem truly becomes a *polysystem*—when we account for more than linguistic transfers of meaning, but also account for the systemic interference from analogous literary media (most notably, novels, plays, and film).

The Position of this Project in the Polysystem of Research

While this project will be of great interest to theatre historians, musicologists, and musical theatre specialists, this research is especially of interest to both translation studies and adaptation studies specialists. Translation studies has already matured into its own field of academic study with several dozen academic publications, numerous scholarly journals, and many academic programs being offered at universities. With the publication of Linda Hutcheon’s *A Theory of Adaptation* (2006), adaptation studies is one of the newer academic fields gaining ground in the Humanities. With the relative paucity of theory on adaptation studies, many researchers rely on the more fully developed theory, practice, and research from translation studies. The problem with this approach is that the adaptation process is often compared to the translation process by merely opening up the concept of translation to include adaptation.

While many aspects of translation theory are easily applicable to adaptation studies (e.g., the fidelity issue, cultural appropriation, source-based vs. target-based analysis), my research will look at both the similarities and differences between translation and adaptation by focusing on their *functions*. With a focus on *function* and how these works relate at a systemic level, translation and adaptation can no longer be reduced to the transfer of a text from a source to a target system. This project is designed to analyze the roles that translated and adapted works play in a polysystem by focusing on *relations* (between translated and non-translated works, translated and adapted works, etc.).

To my knowledge, this is the first historical look at the role of either translation or adaptation in musical theatre performance history. Of the reviewed literature, discussions of translated drama are primarily limited to the *process* of translating drama (most often focusing on the dichotomy between translating drama as literature and translating it for performance). Only André Lefevere has focused on drama translation from a *historical* perspective. Lefevere's 1997 article "Acculturating Bertolt Brecht" examines three English translations of Brecht's *Mütter Courage*. His article focuses primarily on the ideological changes made over time to the play through each of these translations, but this article is limited to one specific play. In another article, "Translation and Canon Formation: Nine Decades of Drama in the United States" (1998), Lefevere focuses on the history of drama anthologies used in U.S. high schools and universities. Here he reveals the influences of publishers and the market in the formation of the dramatic canon of literature (141). My project is significantly different in that it will focus on *productions* of plays (original, translated, and adapted), regardless of their publication history.

Manuela Perteghella in an article from 2004 focuses on the *functions* of translated drama. Her article is based in the framework of descriptive translation studies (to which polysystem

theory also pertains). While making the common distinction between the “reader-oriented tradition” and the “stage-oriented tradition,” she goes a step further to outline “four social functions of theatre translation”: dissemination, propagandist/protest, introduction of alien or new dramaturgy, and introduction of alien theatre practices (6-7). From these four categories, her third category appears to be the most relevant for musical theatre’s history on Broadway.

The “introduction of alien or new dramaturgy” fits with Even-Zohar’s theory that translation can be used to introduce new models (Perteghella lists “development of native/new dramaturgy” under this function). It is also quite possible that her fourth function of introducing alien theatrical practices may play a role in the historical development of Broadway. This would be most noticeable with the introduction of Method acting to the New York stages by the Group Theatre and Lee Strassberg in the 1930s and 1940s, stemming from Constantin Stanislavski’s approaches to acting with the Moscow Art Theatre at the beginning of the twentieth century. Considering this, Even-Zohar’s concept of the “polysystem” is necessary for this project because it is pliable enough to include not only the texts themselves (and their literary models), but also performance practices. My project focuses on musical works more in the terms of their score, libretto, and lyrics, which are easier to quantify and are the features most often altered through the processes of translation and adaptation. Even-Zohar and other proponents of polysystem theory focus more on the texts and models in their research. Perteghella’s focus on production practices, though, may offer a useful extension to this project, but at this present time is not the focus.

While several scholars have used descriptive translation studies, polysystem theory, and a functional approach in their study of theatrical texts, none of the consulted literature used these theories to look at musical entertainment. As I mentioned earlier, this project differs from prior

studies and histories of the Broadway musical not only in its focus on translated and adapted works, but also in the focus on the *function* of musical genres in the development and evolution of what has now been conceived of as the “musical comedy,” the “Broadway musical,” or simply put: the musical.

While my data show that adaptations can serve a function in a literary system (as described earlier with the adaptation of European operettas), in this project I will argue that translated and adapted works often behave (or *function*) in different ways. The implications of this research is to differentiate adaptation studies from translation studies by focusing more on how these texts relate to other texts in the same literary system rather than focus on their individual relationships with their corresponding source texts.

An additional advantage to using polysystem theory to track waves of interference is that data can help predict the very translation strategies used during these transfer processes. In Chapter 3 I will argue that the combined analysis of interference from untranslated, translated, and adapted works may help predict the translation strategies used (i.e., target-oriented or source-oriented strategies). These source-oriented translation strategies, I will argue, correlate with Even-Zohar’s concept of “innovativeness” (as he described for cases of interference into “young” or “weak” systems). In Chapter 4 I will argue that data analyzed using polysystem theory may also help describe the process used in adapting musical (specifically musicals adapted from films) by investigating the function of these adaptations. The implications for this research are that it suggests a stronger relationship between the *function* of literary interference (the focus of polysystem theory) and the *processes* used during transfer (the focus of descriptive translation studies).

Finally, while translated operettas can be said to have “interfered” in a “young” literary system, the same argument cannot be made for most adapted works. Although there is a group of adapted operettas that appear to function similarly to the translated operettas, the majority of adapted musical pieces of entertainment do not fall into this same category. Polysystem theory argues that translated literature occupies a place more central in a polysystem during periods of greater interference and is then pushed to the periphery once the polysystem has matured and can generate enough of its own indigenous works. Adapted musicals have played a significant role in the history of musical entertainment to varying degrees at different times. Unlike translated musical pieces, though, adapted works have come to dominate the polysystem and currently hold a central position. This data will force us to reexamine the similarities between translated and adapted literature and the application of polysystem theory to both translated and adapted works. The conclusions of Chapters 3 and 4 will challenge some of these broader notions of interference by presenting historical data that demonstrates how much more complex the very questions Even-Zohar asks are. Chapter 5 will then discuss the implications these conclusions have on future research in musical theatre, translation studies, adaptation studies, and polysystem theory.

Chapter 2

The Methods, Problems, and Possibilities of Cataloguing Musical Entertainment

Generic Concerns

In chapter 1 I introduced the need for a new approach to study and described the history of musical theatre, focusing more on its multiple antecedents with a particular focus on the roles of translations and adaptations. Because numerous forms of musical entertainment shared theatres and competed for audience ticket sales, it is arguably advantageous to include more than just “musicals” (which alone is difficult to define). I have also advocated for a distant reading approach, which will allow a new perspective and reveal trends that the traditional focus on the “famous” or longest-running shows may overlook. It is only by looking at as many productions as possible that we may gain a more accurate picture of these historical trends. In order to tell this story, a more complete database is needed.

This new database will serve as the primary text for this research project. By using one comprehensive database, it is possible to sort productions by musical genres (e.g., operetta, revue, burlesque), by composer, by decade, and by other features—particularly for this project, those works that are translations and adaptations. In addition to sorting by musical genre and importation strategies, it is also possible to sort by source material (including their language, country, medium, and year of first publication or production). The data graphs presented in Chapters 3 and 4 are only possible with a more extensive database that includes multiple data fields that can be sorted. This data has allowed me to track literary interference (primarily through translation and adaptation) on Broadway musical entertainment stages over this sixteen-decade period.

This chapter describes the methods used to collect data for this project's database. The collection process itself (especially the sources available and also what and how data is organized in those sources) reveals the kinds of information that have been maintained and used to describe musical works presented on Broadway stages. This database seeks to present data on thousands of works in a *consistent* manner (i.e., using the same terms) that can easily be sorted and graphed to analyze historical trends of interlingual and intermedial interference in professional musical entertainment on Broadway stages. Historical sources on musical theatre, however, are less than consistent in the information that they present. For example, many discussions of earlier musical works—notably those before the 1920s—lack information on their authors (composer, librettist, etc.). Even more inconsistent is how sources report information on translated and adapted pieces of musical entertainment. For this reason, it was important to consult multiple, overlapping sources in attempts to fill in as much data as possible.

Collecting information into one central database has proven essential to be able to investigate trends, especially concerning the use of source material for translations and adaptations. Not only does a database make information easier to search and sort, but sorting also helps reveal missing data. In collecting this data, I found that even some of the most comprehensive sources (such as Thomas Hischak's *Broadway Plays and Musicals: Descriptions and Essential Facts of More Than 14,000 Shows through 2007* [2009] and the Internet Broadway Data Base [IBDB]) are incomplete in their records of Broadway musical history. When including research as far back as the mid nineteenth century, available records become less reliable.

Once I had collected enough data for this database, further complications emerged. In order to make the data uniform (for the purposes of sorting and tracking trends) discrete

categories were necessary. The categories for various genres of musical entertainment have always been quite fluid (for example, extravaganza, spectacle, fantasy, pantomime, and vaudeville). Sources and reviewers often disagreed on these generic categories. Similarly, while the category of some shows is debatable, many shows were not described as belonging to any specific category.

Numerous scholars have discussed the difficulty of genres. Cecil Smith highlights this confusion by enumerating several cases:

And so some pieces were described as burlesque and others, not greatly unlike them, as extravaganzas and comic operas. Moreover, the more elaborate farce-comedies of the early 1890s were often hard to tell from comic operas on the one hand and from burlesques on the other. To make matters worse, the term ‘musical comedy’ began to appear in print with some regularity. If the reader is confused about these descriptive terms, so is the author; and so were the producers and critics of the day. (61)

According to Kenrick, many early producers cared little about generic terms noting that “[t]heatre companies paid little attention to genre definitions, so musical stage works were indiscriminately publicized as ‘masques,’ ‘burlettas,’ or ‘parlor operas’” (51). Kenrick also suggests that the selection of a genre may have been more for advertising purposes. He points out that *The Magic Deer* (1852) was advertised “as ‘A Serio Comico Tragico Operatical Historical Extravaganzical Burletical Tale of Enchantment,’ just to make sure that potential ticket buyers understood that it was a play with songs” (61).

Despite many of these inconsistencies and disagreements, musical genres such as operetta, opera, and farce have been recorded in the database, even though some of these genres may not be clearly distinguished. Such categories help describe some trends as will be shown

later in this research project. When genres are more central to an argument, I will be more specific in how these generic lines were drawn and what sources and processes were used to make these distinctions. This is particularly important for operettas, which is the primary focus of Chapter 3.

One of the greatest problems in categorizing the works in this database is accurately identifying the source material for translations and adaptations. As mentioned earlier, information to fill in some fields could not be found. With adaptations, though, a different problem presented itself. Numerous works are based upon two or more sources. Additionally, the relationships that musical works have to their source texts vary greatly (and this is the case for both translations and adaptations). These issues will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter. Despite the problems that surface in a research project of this kind, the information in this database does help verify trends previous researchers have discussed, but more importantly it reveals new trends.

The final section of this chapter will present some data from my database in graph format. These graphs will show just how many musical works presented on Broadway were based on an identifiable source (i.e., translations and adaptations). By covering sixteen decades, it is easier to see when trends are stronger or weaker historically. For example, Chapter 3 will focus on the role of operettas (especially translated but also adapted operettas). My data shows that operettas cease to play a significant role on Broadway by the mid twentieth century. This and other trends will be discussed in more detail throughout this project.

Creating the Database

A single source of data was needed for this data-driven project for the sake of consistency. The goal of data collection was to create a comprehensive database that includes all pieces of musical entertainment—for which records could be found—that were presented on Broadway stages from 1850 through 2009 (sixteen complete decades). The broad term “musical entertainment” has been chosen so that it may include not only “musicals” and “musical comedies” but also other forms of professional stage entertainment that included a musical score or for which music was central to the piece: operettas, operas, vaudevilles, spectacles, extravaganzas, revues, ballets, pantomimes, plays with music, and burlesques. Plays with incidental music are not included in this category of musical entertainment because music is not as central to the production; however, works that have been described by sources as “plays with music” have been included due to the emphasis on music in its categorization.²²

A work, however, does not need a single composer to qualify as a piece of musical entertainment. Most revues and vaudevilles included musical pieces by multiple composers and/or adapted existing songs or musical pieces into new musical numbers (which is consequently still a practice today in musicals such as *Footloose* [1998], *Rock of Ages* [2009], and *Priscilla Queen of the Desert* [2011]). Burlesques also culled their scores from popular or well-known songs to parody them, similar to what contemporary audiences may see from the music of Weird Al Yankovic or in a *Saturday Night Live* sketch. While the contemporary concept of a musical most often involves a composer, many of these earlier pieces of musical entertainment had an arranger (often the conductor). For example, the Internet Broadway Data

²² Today the distinction between “play” and “musical” is a legal distinction based on union contracts. If a show includes sung music in excess of twenty-four minutes it must be listed as a “musical” according to contracts from the Musicians’ Union (Clurman qtd. in Lefevere 1997, 115).

Base (IBDB) lists W.T. Peterschen as having arranged the music for *Sadak and Kalasrade! or, The Waters of Oblivion* (1862) and George Odell notes that *The Pupil of Magic* (1890) had “music selected and arranged by Carl Josef” (1949, 90). Additionally, for many works we have no record of their composer or their arranger. Early reports on these musical works often focused more on the starring performer(s) and/or the producer of the show. Early musical entertainment focused far more on the production than it did on authorship.²³ For this reason, many of these early shows have no data for the composer or librettist.

The selection is limited to shows produced in professional theatres in New York City that have historically been considered “Broadway” venues. Today this is limited to “forty theatres in midtown Manhattan designated by the various unions for a ‘Broadway contract’” (Hischak 2009, 1). As discussed in Chapter 1, “Off Broadway” (and subsequently “Off-Off-Broadway”) shows have been excluded from this study. The Off Broadway Theatre League, which formed in 1949, allowed for non-Equity [union] actors to appear with Equity²⁴ actors and was limited to theatres with between 100 and 299 seats (this number of seats was raised to 499 in 1959)²⁵ (Stempel 481). The definition of “professional” and “Broadway” theatre has varied over the past sixteen decades. Pieces of musical entertainment prior to 1949 that have been described as “professional” (in Manhattan) or “Broadway” productions have been included in this study,

²³ Julia Walker in her chapter “Words: Copyright and the Creation of the Performance ‘Text’” discusses the lack of a “notion of intellectual property” (87) in regards to stage performances (because they were not seen as traditional “texts” that could reserve the right copy; i.e., copyright). She argues that performance rights of live productions (and subsequently their written scripts) were not fully recognized legally until 1909 when mechanical reproductions (performance recordings) of musical compositions gained protection, thus retroactively granting rights to live performance, through the process of analogy (108-9). The issue of international copyright and performance rights of musical productions (especially of operas and operettas) was much debated through the beginning of the twentieth century. The issue of copyright is addressed more in Chapter 4 of this project.

²⁴ Actors Equity Association (AEA) was founded in 1913 by a group of 112 actors seeking payment for rehearsal periods, for producers to pay for their costumes, and to battle threats from producers to agree to reduced salaries or being replaced by another actor (Kenrick 153).

²⁵ Consequently all “Broadway” theatres today have more than 500 seats, the Helen Hayes Theatre currently being the smallest with only approximately 597 seats (IBDB).

regardless of the size of the theatre. Although technically a professional theatre in New York City that features musical entertainment, the Metropolitan Opera House is excluded.²⁶

Several databases and sources exist that list, compile, or discuss Broadway productions. Thomas Hischak's *Broadway Plays and Musicals: Descriptions and Essential Facts of More Than 14,000 Shows through 2007* (2009) presents one of the most comprehensive lists of Broadway productions. Hischak notes that "[t]oo often theatre books are selective, choosing only musicals, or only plays, or only famous productions" (2009, 1). In this book, Hischak seeks to "describe every Broadway production [...] over the past eighty-eight years" (2009, 1). He notes that his book focuses on "describing" as opposed to providing "data," which may be found in internet databases (namely, the Internet Broadway Database) (2009, 1).

The first 520 pages of Hischak's book serve as an encyclopedia with short descriptions of 6184 Broadway productions (musical and non-musical), listed in alphabetical order. The next 43 pages provide a Chronology of Productions. While Hischak attests that his book "describes" and does not necessarily provide "data," this final section does list pertinent data on these 6184 productions in chronological order. Part one of this chronology is an incomplete list of "Notable Productions Before 1919" (2009, 525ff). Part two includes "All Productions 1919 to 2007" (2009, 528ff). Hischak's lists are comprised of data and descriptions from twenty-six different

²⁶ As discussed in Chapter 1, the "Met" has historically been excluded by most scholars from their studies of Broadway theatre. One may assume that this has been excluded because it is an opera house, but both the Academy of Music (1854-1926) and the Casino Theatre (at 39th Street, 1882-1930) specialized in presenting operas during their tenure as professional theatres. Mary Henderson in her history of New York Playhouses notes that The Casino theatre "opened with a resident light opera company managed by Rudolph Aronson" (142). Larry Stempel in his history of Broadway musical theatre contrasts the Casino from the Met, which opened diagonally across the street one year later (1883). Stempel notes that the Casino Theatre "served as a comic opera house for broad middle-class patronage," while "the Metropolitan served as a grand opera house and a kind of private club for fashionable society" (115). Musical theatre has generally been considered a popular form of entertainment (Mates 3; Kenrick 14; Knapp 2004, 67; Kislán 5), while opera has been viewed as "high art" (Stempel 97). As Stempel suggests, "opera" was viewed in broader terms by late nineteenth century audiences in New York. For this reason, operas performed in playhouses that fit into the historical category of Broadway theatres have been included in this database.

sources (listed in his bibliography [2009, 569]). My database includes all of the works that Hischak has categorized as musicals, musical revivals, and revues in this comprehensive source.

The next major source used for compiling data is the Internet Broadway Database (IBDB). Managed by the Broadway League, this database includes perhaps the most detailed information on Broadway shows. The Broadway League describes this database on their website as follows:

Information found in IBDB is derived primarily from theatre programs (in most cases from a production's opening night). Supplemental information was taken from newspaper and magazine reports, theatrical text books, interviews with theatre professionals, and League archives. For consistency's sake, information in the IBDB is not necessarily presented in the exact format as in the original theatrical program, but best efforts have been used not to alter the meaning of any function or billing. (IBDB)

When creating this project's database, I searched the IBDB for every musical production from 1850 through 1918 to fill in the musical pieces that are not covered by Hischak. I also used the IBDB to supplement and verify information found in Hischak (for productions from 1919 through 2009). For the most part these two sources were quite consistent, suggesting that both had been well researched and were based on the same available resources. In the rare case that there was a discrepancy (which most often occurred in the number of performances), Hischak's data was used.²⁷

The third major source consulted to collect the primary data for this database was Gerald Bordman's *American Musical Theatre: A Chronicle (Expanded Edition)* (1986). Bordman's

²⁷ The IBDB also lists the number of preview performances separate from the number of performances after the official opening (Hischak excludes previews outright). My database only includes the number of performances after a show officially opened. Consequently, shows that closed during their previews (before an official opening night) have been excluded from this database (though the IBDB includes these shows).

book was used primarily to verify and supplement the data from 1850 through 1918 (the years prior to Hischak's more exhaustive compilation). The newer fourth edition of Gerald Bordman's *American Musical Theatre: A Chronicle* (2010) divides its index of show titles into two separate indices, the first listing show titles for musicals presented on professional U.S. stages,²⁸ the second lists the title of sources upon which these shows have been based. I used these two lists of shows and sources (with their corresponding descriptions in Bordman's book) to fill in more data in this database and also to verify that each qualifying musical title and source title was represented in the database.²⁹

While both Hischak and the IBDB are fairly consistent in providing complete information (for example, opening date, composer, etc.), Bordman often mentions a show title and a month, sometimes with no other information. Bordman's book (all editions) is written in prose format rather than providing lists, database entry fields, or encyclopedic entries (the indices only include titles and page numbers). In many cases, approximate dates have been used in the database (when a month but no date was available in Bordman) in place of a question mark. Approximate dates (and all data entries that are uncertain throughout the database) have been placed in italics to differentiate those data from the data with verifiable sources.

By consulting these three sources, I created a new database using Microsoft Excel. Similar to the IBDB and "for consistency's sake," information is not presented in the same format in which it was listed in the consulted source. For each listing or mention of a piece of

²⁸ Bordman does not limit himself to Broadway theatre in this book. For most seasons he includes a few paragraphs on other professional musical productions in the United States, most notably in Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston. Only those productions that occurred in Broadway theatres have been included in my database.

²⁹ After comparing information on dozens of shows in both the 1986 and 2010 editions, information on shows included in the database was found to be consistent. The 2010 edition has simply added additional sections (most obviously for the last few decades). One of the final passes made to verify data was using the index's lists of musical titles and sources in the 2010 edition to ensure that the most current research was reflected in the database. All references to Bordman's chronicle in this project are from the 2010 edition.

musical entertainment presented on a Broadway stage the following data were recorded: title of production, date of opening (month and date), year of opening, number of performances (when available), the theatre where the production started,³⁰ the book writer, the composer, the lyricist, and whether the show was a premiering production, revival, or a return engagement. Other generic categories (for example, revue, operetta, etc.) were recorded when available in addition to any other notes.

As mentioned earlier, this final generic category (e.g., operetta, vaudeville, spectacle) proved to be one of the least reliable. In numerous cases, different sources would list the same production as pertaining to different categories (for example, *The Rose of Panama* (1912) is categorized as an opera in the IBDB³¹ but categorized as an operetta by Kurt Gänzl [1994]). Several productions were listed as pertaining to multiple categories (for example, *Life in New York (or, Tom and Jerry on a Visit)* [1856]) is listed in the IBDB as being an opera, a pantomime, and a drama). For this reason, less focus was placed on these subcategories because this data field is one of the more difficult to determine or verify. As discussed earlier, many of these categories were disputed and debated at the time of their production. When my research focuses on the genre of works, I will provide more information on how these determinations were made.

Data were not available for all categories, but this did not exclude a piece from the database. Inclusion in the database required that a work have a title, a year of production, and

³⁰ Many productions started in one theatre, but the same production would move to another theatre. In all of these cases, only the theatre in which the production originated was recorded in the database.

³¹ The IBDB specifically lists *The Rose of Panama* as “Musical, Comedy, Opera.” The IBDB categorizes each work first as either “Musical,” “Play,” or “Special” (the latter category, primarily for concerts). The IBDB appears to have consistently used “Comedy, Opera” to classify works that other scholars have classified as “Comic Operas.” Consequently, I have tagged all comic operas (and those listed as “Comedy, Opera” in the IBDB) as “operettas.” The point remains, however, that *The Rose of Panama* has been classified as both an “operetta” and a “comic opera,” suggesting that there is perhaps only a fine distinction between these categories.

that it be a piece of musical entertainment.³² Every title in the database has an opening date, or an approximate date (marked in italics). Every title has a year for its opening. Through my research, I could not identify the theatre for 166 of the 4714 titles in the database (all of these shows, however, were associated with a professional New York theatre in the consulted sources, thus meriting their inclusion). The venue category was marked “venue unknown” for these 166 entries.³³

For many works, there was no information on the libretto (or book) writer, composer, or lyricist. Because this database focuses on musical entertainment, additional research was done to attempt to find the name of the composer for each work. No composer could be identified for 816 of the works (17.3%) in the database. For many of these works, the information is incomplete (especially for earlier works, when less information was recorded about productions). Many revues, ballets, and other works incorporated multiple musical pieces from multiple composers. In many cases, the composer for these works was not listed in the consulted sources.

Focus on Translations and Adaptations

This project focuses on the role of translation and adaptation in musical entertainment on the Broadway stage. To limit the scope of this study, only premiering productions were further researched to ascertain if they were works that had been translated from another language or if they were adaptations based on prior material. Of the titles in the database, 3325 titles are premiering productions (70.5%). Further research found that several works premiered on

³² As mentioned earlier, plays and plays with incidental music were excluded from the database (productions described as “plays with music,” however, were included due to the centrality of music in its generic category).

³³ I use the venue category very little in this project. I will show how this information can be helpful in Chapter 3 when looking at foreign-language operetta imports.

Broadway untranslated (i.e., in a language other than English—most often French and German). A few other works were presented in translation; however, they were translated from one non-English language into another non-English language (most often from French into German). Data on these categories will be presented later in this chapter.

Of this subset of 3325 premiering works, 1041 titles (31.3%) were found to have an identifiable source. These works are primarily adaptations (886 titles) and translations (170 titles). Of these translations, 157 of these works were translated into English. The remaining 13 titles were translated from one non-English language into another non-English language.³⁴

For each work found to have a source, I conducted additional research on the medium, source title, source author(s), source language, source country, and year of publication or premiere to record in the database. Research to fill in these data involved consulting several other sources. ProQuest Historical Newspaper's online database for *The New York Times* (NYT) covers articles published from 1851 through 2008 making it easier to look up, discover, and verify whether a work had a source text upon which it was based (preview articles and reviews published in the *Times* often discussed the sources of these works). Alexander Street Press's North American Theatre Online (NATO) database also served as a useful source especially due to its inclusion of all fifteen volumes of George Odell's *Annals of the New York Stage* (published 1927-1949), which cover theatre in New York up through 1894.

To identify the sources of many of these works, additional research was required. Numerous searches in the NYT, NATO, and other online sources (most notably Google Books) helped identify and verify source information. A great number of these identifiable sources are operettas and operas. Two sources were used to categorize and verify the information on these

³⁴ These thirteen cases are as follows: 9 from French into German, 2 from French into Italian, 1 from German into Italian, and 1 from French into Russian.

musical sources. The first was Grove Music Online (GMO), which is a digitized database of the long-respected Oxford Dictionary of Music. Musical works were categorized based on how GMO defined the work (e.g., operetta, *opéra bouffe*, *opéra comique*, etc.).

Kurt Gänzl's *The Encyclopedia of the Musical Theatre* (1994) was also consulted. While Gänzl excludes operas, his encyclopedia covers the majority of operettas that appear in this project's database. His entry for each operetta ends with a list of all international premiere productions and notes the language in which it was premiered in each country. I consulted Gänzl's encyclopedia near the end of data collection and in many cases his encyclopedia was the only source to provide information on foreign-language premieres on Broadway.

Information provided by Gänzl and some of the aforementioned sources necessitated an additional category in the database. Eighty-four of the premiering works (2.5% of the premiering productions) in the database premiered on Broadway stages in their original foreign language. Rather than search for whether these works had an identifiable source (many of these works were based on prior material), these titles were categorized as "untranslated" works in the database. While the source of English-language productions (whether foreign or domestic) is of great interest in this project, non-English language productions form their own category necessitating special consideration. For these works, the "source" listed in the database is similar to the data of the Broadway premiere (though the source includes information on its language and country of origin, in addition to the year it premiered overseas³⁵).

³⁵ Not every non-English language production had a foreign premiere. Ludwig Engländer's comic opera *Der Prinz Gemahl* had its world premiere in German on Broadway in 1883, though it was performed under the English title *The Prince Consort* (Bordman 2010, 78). A few other special shows appear to have been created and/or compiled (often of prior existing songs and numbers) specifically for Broadway and then premiered under that title on Broadway: *Gilbert Bécaud on Broadway* (1966 in French), *Mandy Patinkin in Concert: "Mamaloshen"* (1998 in Yiddish), and *Siamsa* (1976 in Gaelic). These works have all been categorized as "untranslated," but it would not be accurate to describe these shows as having been imported from another country in the same way that so many French, German, and Viennese operettas were imported to the USA in their original language after their

The number of foreign-language works to premiere in their original language is significant when compared to those works first presented in English translation. Of these foreign-language musical works to premiere on a Broadway stage (254 titles), only one in three (84 titles) premiered in its original language of composition. The information that Gänzl provides demonstrates how foreign-language premieres of operettas appear to have been ignored or overlooked by numerous other researchers of and sources on Broadway musical theatre (in many of these cases Gänzl was the only source for these foreign-language premieres). This project seeks to combine the strengths of numerous sources into one central and more easily searchable database to paint a fuller picture of the history of musical entertainment on Broadway stages. These “untranslated” works show that Broadway productions have not been exclusively in English. The significant number of German-language operetta premieres, in addition to other non-English language premieres, will be covered in more detail in Chapter 3.

A handful of titles did not fit any of the previously mentioned categories. Four musical works were identified as being presented in English and a second language (German, Yiddish, or French) with a fifth work presented in three languages (Yiddish, Hebrew, and English). These five works are listed in Appendix B. Two of these works (*The Merry Tramps* [1896] and *The Fair in Midgettown* [1897]) were presented by the Liliputians [sic.]. John Koegel (2009) describes the Liliputians as “the German troupe of ‘little people’ led by the singing actors Franz Ebert and Adolf Zink” (119). John Koegel in his 2009 book *Music in German Immigrant Theater: New York City 1840-1940* lists eight musical works that the Liliputians toured on the east coast beginning in 1890 for eight seasons. Koegel notes that the Roesenfelds [their managers] “sold bilingual programs with complete song texts in order to encourage both German

European premieres. These and similar cases will be discussed in more detail in Chapters 3 and 4.

and American attendance” (119). Perhaps the presentation of these two bilingual productions was another technique to bridge a potential linguistic gap.

The Grand Music Hall of Israel (1968), a revue in English, Yiddish, and Hebrew, and *Those Were the Days* (1990), a revue in English and Yiddish, appear significantly later in Broadway history than the Liliputians’ bilingual works. It is not surprising that these works appear on Broadway after the great success of *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964), a musical that showed that productions with Jewish themes could be financially viable. The last show tagged as bilingual in the database is *Aznavour on Broadway* (1998). In this show starring French singer Charles Aznavour, he “sang his program, much of which he had written himself, half in his native language and half in English” (Bordman 2010, 823). While the Liliputians’ productions appealing to German-speaking audiences and the two aforementioned revues appealing to Jewish audiences make sense in Broadway history when considering U.S. immigration patterns, *Aznavour on Broadway* stands out as an exceptional bilingual production.

These few bilingual productions (and one trilingual) show how difficult it can be to catalogue shows based on their language of production. For this reason, these works will be treated as exceptions in the database. The use of more than one language in a production, of course, is not unusual. The Pulitzer prize-winning musical *South Pacific* (1949) begins with the children singing the French song “Dites-moi,” in addition to there being some dialogue in French. *West Side Story* (1957) includes some dialogue in Spanish. The 2009 Broadway revival of *West Side Story* featured revised lyrics and dialogue translated by Lin-Manuel Miranda, which translated portions spoken and sung by the Puerto Rican characters into Spanish. The song “I Feel Pretty” became “Me Siento Hermosa” and “A Boy Like That” became “Un Hombre Así.” Lin-Manuel Miranda’s Tony award-winning musical *In the Heights* (2008) on the twenty-first

century issues facing Spanish-speaking immigrants in New York similarly includes some dialogue and lyrics in Spanish. The British musical *Chess* (1986), which appears to evade the use of Russian in its original form (the show is about a chess match between “The American” and “The Russian”), curiously added two new songs in Hungarian when the musical was imported to Broadway in 1988 (“Hungarian Folk Song” and “Lullaby (Apukád erős kezén)”). Despite several shows that incorporate one or more songs or that include dialogue in other languages, works in the database are treated as primarily monolingual unless research suggests that the use of two or more languages is central to the presentation of the work (such as in the five aforementioned works).³⁶ The primary language used in performance is the language recorded in the database.³⁷

The Need for a Database

Compiling multiple sources into one database, however, was not enough to fill in all of the data presented in this database. Once enough data populated the fields, multiple sortings of the data revealed missing fields of information. For example, sorting the data by composer showed that most works composed by Jacques Offenbach were either translated or presented in the language in which they premiered (most often French³⁸). After having consulted multiple

³⁶ Examples such as *South Pacific* and *Chess* show that musical entertainment often incorporates more than one language. To adequately catalogue every instance of a second (or additional) language being used in a stage production would require consulting the librettos and scripts for all of these shows. Such evidence is not available, nor would it be feasible to review every available script. This would also lead to quantifying how much of a work was in another language, which would similarly be extremely difficult—if not impossible—to do.

³⁷ With relatively few productions falling into this category, no conclusions on bi- or tri-lingual shows are made in this project. These examples merely demonstrate the difficulty categorizing shows even by their language of production.

³⁸ Kurt Gänzl notes that *Les Bavards* “was actually seen in Vienna before its first Parisian performance [...] under the title *Die Schwärzterin von Saragossa*” (1994, 89). This operetta first premiered in New York at the Stadt Theatre in 1867 in German (Gänzl 1994, 90). Although *Les Bavards* premiered in German in Treumann’s translation, this work is listed in the database as a German translation (not an untranslated work) because the Viennese premiere was a translation of the original French libretto. Chapter 3 will examine special cases such as

sources, though, several Offenbach productions had not been identified by any of the consulted sources as being translations or presented in a foreign language. Additional research was done and all of Offenbach's premieres on Broadway were found to be translations, foreign language productions, or adaptations (in other words, the New York premiere of Offenbach's works was never an English translation).

Multiple passes of sorting the data and looking for trends that may require additional research to fill in gaps proved rewarding. While Jacques Offenbach may appear a more "obvious" case, sorting the data revealed several other works by composers from the European continent that "comprehensive" sources I had previously consulted failed to indicate were translations.³⁹ This demonstrates the need for a database that can be sorted in order to fill in as much data as can be found on these works.

Gänzl's encyclopedia and Grove Music Online were two helpful sources for filling in gaps and adding more entries. Even so, none of the consulted sources appear to have been comprehensive in listing operas presented on Broadway stages. Some sources listed or merely mentioned particular operas that were presented in Broadway theatres. I also searched *The New York Times* for production information on any operas mentioned in the research as having been presented on Broadway stages (the exclusion of the Metropolitan Opera House from this study has already been discussed). An additional (though not primary) outcome of this study is the revelation of how often operas were produced on Broadway stages. A total of 244 productions (premieres and revivals) of operas have been catalogued in this database, accounting for 5.2% of the database.

these and suggest alternate ways to account for this data.

³⁹ Examples include Edmond Audran's *The Grand Mogul* (1881) and *Uncle Celestin* (1892), Vincenzo Bellini's *There's a Silver Lining to Every Cloud* (1859), Adrien Boieldieu's *First Come-First Served* (1853), Gustave Charpentier's *Louise* (1908), Francis Chassaigne's *Falka* (1884), and Viktor Jacobi's *Rambler Rose* (1917).

Operas were presented frequently on Broadway stages through the beginning of the twentieth century,⁴⁰ most often in repertory and frequently by traveling troupes. The records of these productions in studies of Broadway history, however, are much less consistent than for operettas and other musical entertainment. Bordman (2010) mentions numerous performances of operas, which have been catalogued in this database. Premieres of these operas are often not highlighted in any of these sources. To fill in the opera gaps, each opera title that appeared in other sources was searched for in *The New York Times* and each mentioned production was added to the database. Many operas appear to have been performed frequently and often only for one performance at a time. Mentions of these productions (especially of revivals) are often quite brief.

Figure 2.1 charts the number of operas per decade (with a break down of premiering and revival productions). The dramatic decrease in operas in Broadway stages in the 1890s may be due to the opening of the Met in 1883. It is reasonable to assume that many operas were produced more frequently than reflected in the database, but that we have few if any records of these performances. This means that the number of times that operas were performed on Broadway stages is probably underreported in this database (as is in the consulted sources) due to the lack of comprehensive production histories.⁴¹

⁴⁰ The frequent production of operas at the Academy of Music and the Casino Theatre has already been mentioned. According to my data the Academy of Music presented 69 productions of operas (including 4 premiere productions) between 1854 and 1909 (with a long break between 1888 and 1908), the Manhattan Opera House presented 23 opera productions (including 2 premiere productions) between 1907 and 1935, and the Hippodrome presented 11 opera revivals between 1934 and 1938. More than fifty other theatres presented at least one production that has been categorized as an opera (not operetta). This makes it obvious that the history of professional opera in New York City is not limited to productions at the Metropolitan Opera House.

⁴¹ Another genre which may also be underrepresented in the consulted sources and consequently this database is ballet. Thirty-four ballets are recorded in the database (only 0.7% of the titles). Additionally, ballets only account for three source texts for pieces of musical entertainment (between 1889 and 1903). No additional research was done to fill in potential omissions of ballets performed on Broadway stages because they do not appear to have played as significant a role as operettas and operas (neither as productions or source texts).

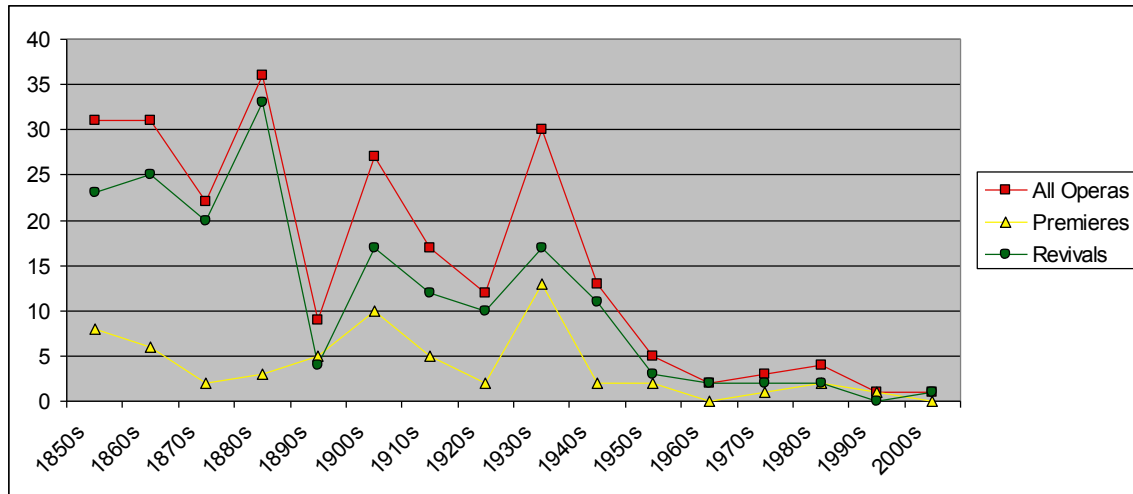


Fig. 2.1. Total number of operas presented on Broadway stages each decade according to this database.

Operettas, like opera, appear to have received numerous revivals on Broadway stages. As with operas, it is probable that records are lacking for many of these short (often one-night) revivals. Many theatre companies had a repertory of shows that they could easily revive. Additionally, many foreign troupes traveled the United States with their own company's repertory. Kurt Gänzl lists thirty-one different operettas in the American repertoire of Marie Aimée (1852-1887), the famous French singer of the stage (1994, 14). Additional research suggests that the majority of these (if not all) productions were sung in French. Many of these one-night productions probably received little attention in the newspapers and in the research of Broadway historians because they were so brief and perhaps too frequent to keep consistent records of them. Consequently, the revivals of operettas are probably underrepresented in the database.⁴²

By focusing on premiering productions on Broadway, conclusions may be drawn on the newer trends entering Broadway as a literary system. As I argue in Chapter 1, the study of

⁴² Revivals, in general, appear to be underreported. Broadway historians appear to have paid more attention to the premieres of works on Broadway stages. For this reason, research based on this database will focus primarily on the premiering productions.

revivals is more likely to reveal which individual shows or composers were more popular and viewed by producers as financially more successful. For example, of the 634 revival productions categorized as operettas 248 of those revivals were of Gilbert and Sullivan shows (more than one third). These data do not necessarily show that operettas as a genre were popular, but rather that Gilbert and Sullivan's shows were viewed as sure-fire hits.⁴³

Focusing on premiering productions instead of revivals, therefore, allows us to see trends concerning categories and genres of works acting within a system. This allows us a broader picture of the development of "musical theatre" as a performance genre and as canon formation through Broadway productions. Chapter 3 will focus on the importation of continental European operettas, primarily through translation, but also in their language of original premiere and in adapted form. Chapter 4 will turn our attention to the kinds of source materials used when adapting texts into a piece of musical entertainment. While the translation of operettas draws one's attention to specific languages and countries of origin for works, adaptations will show how the genres from which materials are chosen (folklore, novels, play, film, etc.) have changed over time.

Creating Descriptive Database Categories

The creation of a database such as this requires that discrete categories be used in order to make the data useful and sortable. The issue with subcategories such as opera and operetta has already been discussed, but the distinction between translation and adaptation is also

⁴³ It should be noted that many of these revivals (especially of Gilbert and Sullivan shows) were short runs of multiple Gilbert and Sullivan shows. In many of these cases, a particular Gilbert and Sullivan show would only receive one night on stage being performed in repertory with several other pieces by this musical duo. Many operas were also revived in a similar manner when a particular opera troupe would visit New York and perform their repertoire of operas or operettas. Most of these works had already premiered with perhaps one new title for New York audiences.

problematic. For the purposes of this database, a work is considered a translation when the records of the Broadway production show that it has an identifiable source with a libretto originally written in another language but with music by the same composer. This distinction is important because the terms “translation” and “adaptation” appear to have been used interchangeably throughout many of the consulted sources. Many scholars appear to use the term “adaptation” to refer to the libretto being adapted into another language.

The term “translation” connotes an analogous source text that has—to some degree—been transposed in its entirety from one language (and culture) to another language (and culture). The lyrics often had to be “adapted” in order to fit the music. This does not necessarily make a work an adaptation in which new authors are transforming one text (or more) into what will be considered a new literary work because it is being presented in a new medium or has significantly altered the characters, setting, and plot of the source text. Every translation will require some form of adaptation, just as any adaptation could be said to employ some form of translation.

For the purposes of this research project, a work is categorized as an adaptation if any one of the following is true: 1) the source material was of a medium other than a piece of musical entertainment for the stage (i.e., a novel, a film, a play), 2) the composer of the source material was different from the composer for the Broadway production, 3) the Broadway production incorporated a *significant* amount of additional music by a new composer in the score (often called “interpolations”) that it was called an adaptation,⁴⁴ 4) sources discuss that the story has been altered significantly from its source material, even though the same score is used (e.g., *Carmen Jones* [1943], which uses Bizet’s music from the opera *Carmen* yet significantly

⁴⁴ Chapter 3 addresses the issue of works billed as “translations” that include interpolated songs by American composers.

changes the characters, setting, and plot), 5) the Broadway show is described as being a burlesque, or 6) sources note that the Broadway production is based on two or more sources.⁴⁵

Many musicals are based on published stories. For example, the 1855 musical *Rip Van Winkle* was based on Washington Irving's 1819 story *Rip Van Winkle* and the 1954 musical *House of Flowers* was based on Truman Capote's 1952 story "House of Flowers." While conducting research for this database, many works were described as being "based on a story." In many of these cases an author was attributed to this source story, but no name for the story was given. This required additional research on these stories. When no published story could be found, these musical works were not categorized as adaptations because it was assumed that the musical was based on an unpublished story (that may or may not have been fully written or of publishable quality). In other words, this "story" may have been more similar to a treatment for a film. The author of this story may claim some copyright ownership of the plot, but the resulting musical does not really qualify as an adaptation based on a prior text because the story in question was not circulated as a literary text and was probably not intended to be an autonomous work, rather to be an outline for a subsequent literary work.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Note that here "translation" and "adaptation" are being defined for the purposes of categorizing works in the database (which makes these entries sortable). As discussed in Chapter 1 (and to be discussed again in future chapters), terms specific to interference will be used in many of my analyses. The terms "translation" and "adaptation" remain the easiest to use until more specific terms are necessary.

⁴⁶ It should be noted that a work did not have to be published to qualify as a source text in this database. *Strike Up the Band* (1903) is "[b]ased on a libretto by George S. Kaufman" (IBDB). *Song of Norway* (1944) is based not only on Edvard Grieg's music, but is "[b]ased on the play by Homer Curran" (IBDB) and a *New York Times* article officially notes "that Milton Lazarus is the author of the libretto, derived from an unproduced play by Mr. Curran" (Zolotow). *Gay Divorce* (1932) is "[b]ased on an unproduced play by J. Hartley Manners" (IBDB). These three works are included in the database and categorized as adaptations because they are based on prior existing material that was completed by a different author (and two of them in a different medium). The following musicals, however, were excluded from the adaptation category even though the IBDB lists them as being based on a story because these stories appear to be treatments (and no further information on the title or publications of these stories could be found): *Mr. Strauss Goes to Boston* (1945, Geza Herczeg and Alfred Gruenwald), *Nellie Bly* (1946, Jack Emmanuel), *Rhapsody* (1944, A. N. Nagler), *Wild and Wonderful* (1971, Bob Brotherton and Bob Miller), *The New Yorkers; A Sociological Musical Satire* (1930, E. Ray Goetz and Peter Arno), *Adrienne* (1923, Frances Bryant and William Stone), *The Oyster Man* (1907, James Halleck Reid), *Knights of Song* (1938, Glendon Allvine and

Musical works with two identifiable sources presented an additional problem for data collection purposes. Fifty-three of the adapted works (6% of the adaptations) have multiple source texts. Whereas translations have a primarily one-to-one relationship with their source text, fifty-three of these adapted works do not fit into a one-to-one correlation with a single source text. This makes listing the source title, author, and dates difficult. In some cases a musical piece has two identifiable sources where it appears that the authors have combined the two pieces into one new work. For example, Bordman describes *Life* (1876) as “Augustin Daly’s adaptation and combination of two French plays, *Le Procès Veauradieux* and *Loulou*” (2010, 43). In these cases, both identifiable sources have been included in the database. When the author, language, and/or country were the same, that information was also added to the database in the same way as for works with single source texts. If this information was different, “multiple” was listed for that category. In cases where the year of the source texts differed (which was most frequent) only the most recent year was recorded.⁴⁷

In some cases research revealed that one source was more central to the adaptation process than the other. A New York Times article notes how in *Simply Heavenly* (1957) “[n]early the entire plot emanates from Mr. [Langston] Hughes’ prize-winning novel ‘Simple Takes a Wife,’ with a soupçon borrowed from another book of his, ‘Simple Speaks His Mind’” (“Play by Hughes to Open in May”). This database is not set up to account for which source may have been used more heavily in the adaptation process (which would also be extremely difficult to determine and quantify). In the case of *Cinderella e la Comare* or, *The Lover*, *The Lackey*, and *the Little Glass Slipper* (1866), only Luigi Ricci and Federico Ricci’s Italian opera

Adele Gutman Nathan), and *Hot-Cha!*; *Laid in Mexico* (1932, H. S. Kraft).

⁴⁷ These data are important when tracking broader influence from various countries or the “spans” for works. “Span” refers the number of years it takes for the premiere or publication of a source text to premiere on Broadway as a musical. See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discusses of this feature.

1850 *Crispino e la Comare*, “being then all the rage at the Academy of Music,” is suggested as a source for this burlesque (Odell 1936, 779), yet the title strongly suggests the Cinderella story as an additional source text.⁴⁸ With relatively few works having more than one identifiable source, all identifiable sources for a particular work are treated equally in the database. Appendix A includes a list of the thirteen pieces of musical entertainment in this database that have two identifiable sources.

While *Simply Heavenly* drew on two works by Langston Hughes, other musicals have taken source material from multiple (more than two) works by the same author. Research for this database has identified nineteen musical pieces that have been based on multiple works by the same author. For example, in *Seussical* (2000), “[t]he Cat in the Hat (David Shiner) served as narrator and several different stories by Dr. Seuss (AKA Theodore Geisel) were enacted as well” (Hischak 2009, 410-411). Hischak notes that *A Thurber Carnival* (1960) “[c]elebrated Thurber short stories, such as ‘The Secret Life of Walter Mitty,’ comic essays, and satiric fables were dramatized and performed” (2009, 467).

Similar to the aforementioned works based on two identifiable sources, these works have been catalogued as adaptations and multiple sources have been recorded. The source author, language, and country have been recorded for each, with the exception of the artist “Thurman” for the ballet *The Race of Life* (1939), which the IBDB lists as being “based on drawings by Thurman.” With no additional information available on this artist, those fields have been left blank. The year for the last work in the identifiable corpus of the author has been used for the source date. For the musicals *Mamma Mia!* (2001), *Movin’ Out* (2002) and *Good Vibrations* (2005), works with scores pulled from songs of ABBA, Billy Joel, and The Beach Boys,

⁴⁸ See later in this chapter for a more detailed discussion of musical works categorized as having Cinderella as their source text.

respectively, the release date of each song included in the show was researched and the latest song release date was used in the database.

Research found that two works in the database are based on multiple works by two different authors. *Words and Music* (1917) purportedly used “the words [of] William Shakespeare and the music by Ludwig Beethoven (no “von”) [...] [i]f anyone believed the program”⁴⁹ (Bordman 2010, 379). While Hischak describes *The Golden Age* (1963) as a piece of “entertainment in the words and music of the Elizabethan Age” (2009, 170), the IBDB notes that this work is “[b]ased on writings of William Shakespeare and Thomas Dekker.” These two works along with the nineteen based on multiple works by one author have been listed together and annotated in Appendix A.

Works such as *Words and Music* and *Natja* (1925)—which was “[a]dapted from melodies of Peter Ilyich Tchaikovsky” (IBDB)—made use of multiple pieces by the same well-known composer. Another series of adapted works became apparent from additional research. Twelve musicals are described as being biographical (albeit often fictional) representations of composers that use a musical score composed of the works by the principle character(s) being portrayed. I will call these works “biomusicals.” The degree to which these composers’ or musicians’ music were used in these pieces varies. For example, in *George Gershwin Alone* (2001), “composer George Gershwin [...] sits at the piano [and] reminisces about the past and accompanies himself as he sings a selection of his songs” (Hischak 2009, 161). From this description it appears that all of the songs in the show are by George Gershwin. In *Mr. Strauss Goes to Boston* (1945), however, Hischak notes that “[t]he operetta only used a few actual [Johann] Strauss melodies

⁴⁹ This particular work poses an additional problem in that Bordman questions whether these are the source texts used. Because *Words and Music* presented itself to audiences as an adaptation by listing its sources in its program, it has been included in this database as an adaptation of the words of Shakespeare and the music of Beethoven.

[and that] most of the music was original and, according to the critics, not very memorable” (2009, 305). An annotated list of all twelve biomusicals is included in Appendix A.

In comparing the musicals based on multiple works by the same author with the biomusicals (that use multiple musical pieces by the same composer or musician as its source), only the biomusicals use the composers or musicians as characters central to the plot.⁵⁰ None of the musicals based on multiple non-musical works incorporate the authors into the adapted work as characters. Although four of the musicals that use multiple musical pieces by the same composer or musician (*Natja*, *Words and Music*, *Movin’ Out*, and *Mamma Mia!*) do not incorporate the musicians into their plot as characters, the data show that it is far more likely that musicians and composers (rather than other creative artists) become characters in works derived from their material than of others. This is perhaps the case because other source material (short stories, children’s books, films, poems, and novel) already have characters and plots from which to cultivate a plot, series of scenes, and—most importantly—characters.

Multiple musical pieces by the same composer or musician, however, do not appear to lend themselves as well to a new narrative work. A *New York Times* article on *Natja* lauds Karl Hajos for his “excellent interpretation of the score” but pans Harry B. Smith for “[w]hat must be called the plot of the piece” (“‘Natja’ Has Good Music But Old-Style Book”). Anna Kisselgoff describes the plot of *Movin’ Out* as a “thin-soup plot about coming of age in the Vietnam era,” which appears to not rely on the lyrical content of Billy Joel’s songs. As mentioned earlier,

⁵⁰ I have excluded from the category of biomusicals and adaptations revues that are made up songs by one composer, group, or artist. *Beatlemania!* (1977) and *Side by Side by Sondheim* (1977), for example, are both revues. Hirschak describes *Beatlemania!* as a “pseudo-concert” that “inspired dozens of ‘tribute’ bands over the years” (2009, 36) and *Side by Side by Sondheim* as a revue with “droll commentary” from director Ned Sherrin (2009, 419). I have, however, categorized *Jacques Brel is Alive and Well and Living in Paris* (1972) as an adaptation because—though still billed as a revue—this show appears to have adapted Brel’s lyrics into theatrical vignettes: “A small-scale ‘cabaret revue,’ with just four performers, devoted entirely to the songs and commentary of one man [Jacques Brel]” (Bordman 2010, 722) and “Since the songs were often character driven, the evening was surprisingly theatrical (Hirschak 2009, 226). In any case, *Jacques Brel* is not a biomusical because Jacques Brel is not the protagonist of the show.

sources dispute if the score of *Words and Music* was actually made from Beethoven's music (Bordman 2010, 379; IBDB). It appears that only *Mamma Mia!* made significant use of the lyrical content of its musical source. Ben Brantley notes that "[t]he show's writer, Catherine Johnson, has devised a plot expressly to string together more than 20 Abba [sic.] songs [...] most of which are used with lyrics unaltered" (Brantley).

Research revealed a final category, in which fourteen works have been listed. These adapted works are based on multiple sources by various authors. The first title in the database to appear in this category is G. L. Fox's *Hicory Dicory Dock or, Harlequin Jack of the Beanstalk* (1869), which combines nursery rhymes and *commedia dell'arte* (Bordman 2010, 28). The 1899 burlesque *Helter Skelter* is described as a combination of spoofs of several of the town's straight-play hits: [R.C. Carton's] *Lord and Lady* [1899], *Zaza* [1899], [Cecil Raleigh and Henry Hamilton's] *The Great Ruby* [1899], and *The King's Musketeers* [1899]" (Bordman 2010, 192).

This last category is perhaps the most problematic, but illustrates how adaptation occurs to various degrees in these musical works. In *Hicory Dicory Dock or, Harlequin Jack of the Beanstalk* (1869), *Jack and the Beanstalk* (1896), and *Gulliver's Travels* (1904), the adapters have combined multiple fairy tales and nursery rhymes with another story: in these three cases *commedia dell'arte*, Sinbad the Sailor,⁵¹ and Gulliver,⁵² respectively (Bordman 2010, 28, 171, 234). These works are similar to three other titles catalogued as having one source: the Mother Goose nursery rhymes. These works are *Wee Willie Winkie* (1870), *Mother Goose* (1899), and *The Babes and the Baron* (1905). Bordman describes G. L. Fox's pantomime *Wee Willie Winkie*

⁵¹ Bordman notes in *Jack and the Beanstalk* (1896) that "R. A. Barnet's fable found Jack, Old Mother Hubbard's son (Madge Lessing), selling his cow with the crumpled horn to buy a beanstalk. He climbs it with Sinbad the Sailor (E. Gerard) and together they visit Cloudland, where King Cole (H. V. Donnelly), Miss Moffett (Merri Osborne), and Puss 'n Boots (Marie Godoy) live" (2010, 171).

⁵² Bordman notes that *Gulliver's Travels* (1904) "paid little heed to Swift's story or satire. Rather, Gulliver and his tiny friends journey to meet Mother Goose, Humpty Dumpty, and other nursery figures" (2010, 234).

as “[a] happy-go-lucky mélange of Mother Goose, classical legend, and wild imagination” (2010, 31). *Mother Goose* (1899), originally titled *Bo-Peep* during the touring production, used both Bo-Peep and Mother Goose in its plot (Bordman 2010, 193). The last of these shows, *The Babes and the Baron* (1905), Bordman describes as “[a]nother jumble of fairy tales” (2010, 253). An annotated list of all these fourteen works based on multiple sources by multiple authors is also included in Appendix A.

It is important to note that many of these fairy tale themed shows have been categorized as “extravaganzas” (*Mother Goose*, *The Babes and the Baron*, and *Jack and the Beanstalk*) or as “pantomimes” (*Wee Willie Winkie* and *Hicory Diccory Dock or, Harlequin Jack of the Beanstalk*). *Gulliver’s Travels* probably was composed in a similar way and would have been described as an extravaganza, pantomime, or spectacle. While these shows appear to pull from multiple nursery rhymes and fairy tales, another fairy tale appears to have served as the primary “plot” device for more than a dozen pieces of musical entertainment. The relationship between these musicals and their source material differs significantly. In this next section I present a case study of *Cinderella* on Broadway to demonstrate how complicated the issue of source texts can be.

Cinderella on Broadway: A Case Study

According to my research, *Cinderella* is the source for thirteen different musical productions on Broadway. *Cinderella e la Comare or, The Lover, The Lackey, and the Little Glass Slipper* (1866), a burlesque of the Italian opera *Crispino e la Comare* and this fairy tale, has already been discussed. The other twelve works are listed as only having *Cinderella* as their

source text. The first of these, *Cinderella (or, The Little Glass Slipper)* (1855), was an opera, but a *New York Times* review felt that “spectacle” was a better category for this piece:

The story of the little glass slipper is sufficiently familiar—as indeed is the opera—to render any detailed reference to it unnecessary. With pieces of this kind success is achieved by liberal expenditure on the *mise en scene*. Taste, tact and expenditure are the three essentials, and these have been supplied by the Broadway management with perfect prodigality. (“Amusements” June 16, 1855)

As the reviewer suggests, the source material is so familiar that it becomes secondary, while the elements of spectacle are the true draw of the show. The 1861 *Cinderella* was described as having made “a great many curtailments [...] [i]n the literary part of the work,” with the production’s success “owing, in a great measure, to the admirable way in which it has been placed upon the stage” (“Amusements” September 30, 1861).

Bordman’s description of an “elaborate pantomime” of *Cinderella* (1891) supports the idea that a well-known story such as this fairy tale was often used as a device to present anything the producers deemed entertaining: “Romping with Cinderella and her young-lady-in-trousers prince were such unusual characters as The Insect Queen and Baron Stone Broke. Naturally, since this was pantomime, Clown, Pantaloon, Harlequin, and Columbine [all *commedia dell’arte* characters] were also present” (2010, 131). A review of a new British imported *Cinderella* in 1894 disputed not only the use of the term “pantomime” but its use of source material: “The story from which the spectacle takes its name is not followed in any particular. All you see to remind you of the supposed original is a character labeled ‘Dick Whittington,’ say, but no effort is made to tell the story which the name suggests to every English child” (“The Pantomime in England”). Based on this review it may not seem appropriate to categorize this as an adaptation,

but a preview article discusses the actress playing Cinderella and her “wicked step-sister,” suggesting that at least two of the characters come from the fairy tale (“‘Cinderella’ at Abbey’s”).

Cinderella on Broadway (1920) also supports the use of a familiar story as a conveniently open plot upon which nearly any random series of scenes, characters, and set pieces can be draped. This Shuberts-produced revue was originally intended to be *The Passing Show of 1920*, their ninth annual revue, but they opted for a more attractive title to distinguish it from their prior and touring shows (Bordman 2010, 401). A *New York Times* review describes quite succinctly how the Cinderella story has been used as a “motif” or “excuse” for a spectacle:

It is, to be sure, more Broadway than Cinderella, for despite the pretense of story suggested by the title there is not even a thread to hang the many scenes together. This, however, is a merit rather than a defect in production of this kind, for the Winter Garden had always been at its best when it was left free to go in for spectacle, and spectacle regardless. In the present show the Cinderella motif provides an excuse for a truly striking setting at the close of the first act—Cinderella’s ball, with a great silken slipper metamorphosed into a staircase, down which parade the beauties of the Winter Garden. (“Bounteous Revue at Winter Garden”)

Seeing as this show originated as an annual revue in the same tradition as *Ziegfeld’s Follies* and *Artists and Models*, it appears that many of the variety shows “based” on Cinderella and other fairy tales or nursery rhymes used these sources for the ease with which their familiar stories could be manipulated to fit the production’s needs and often for their eponymous appeal with audiences.

Reviews were not available for two earlier shows titled *Cinderella* (1861 and 1867). The IBDB categorizes both of these as burlesques with the first also being categorized as an extravaganza. It is reasonable to believe that these earlier *Cinderella* shows fell more into the variety category (especially the 1861 extravaganza), in which case they probably did not follow the fairy tale's plot quite as closely. It is also possible that these were burlesques poking fun at a well-known version of *Cinderella* or a recent production of *Cinderella* (see Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of burlesques and their relationships to their sources).

While many of these musical “interpretations” of *Cinderella* appear to have used their source material liberally, some of the categorized works appear to be more properly “adaptations.” *The Magic Slipper* (1879) appears to be more properly an adaptation of the plot of the *Cinderella* story: “The story recounted how the Baron de Boulevard’s stepdaughters—especially the wicked Clorinda—humiliated his own daughter, *Cinderella de Boulevard*” (Bordman 2012, 53). Similarly, *The Crystal Slipper* (1888) is described as a “version of the *Cinderella* tale” imported from Chicago (Bordman 2010, 110). Purportedly in *Catch of the Season* (1905), “a modernized *Cinderella*,” “the main points of the *Cinderella* story are capitally handled” (“Show Girlhood’s Zenith in New Musical Play”). And the last *Cinderella* story in the database, *If the Shoe Fits* (1946), sets the story “during the Middle Ages” in “The Kingdom of Nicely” (“‘If the Shoe Fits’ Arrives Tonight”), though reviewer Brooks Atkinson took it as “[a] precocious vulgarization of the *Cinderella* legend” (Atkinson).

Cecil Smith describes two operettas composed by Victor Herbert that take their source from the *Cinderella* story. The first was *The Lady of the Slipper* in 1912, “a variant on the *Cinderella* story” (97). Bordman notes that producer Dillinger gave *The Lady of the Slipper* “a sumptuous mounting that included a chariot with six ponies to race *Cinderella* to the palace”

(2010, 328). The second Cinderella musical that Smith discusses is the 1913 *Sweethearts*, “a Cinderella sequel to *The Lady of the Slipper*” (97).

Julian Mates discusses Gioachino Rossini’s opera *Cinderella* (*La Cenerentola, ossia La bontà in trionfo*, 1817), noting that it served as the source for many burlesques (136). This suggests that some of the above-mentioned adaptation may have been based on Rossini’s opera rather than the fairy tale, or perhaps that the opera had popularized the story on musical stages making it a frequently used source text. This further shows the difficulty in naming the source text for adaptations. Other adaptations of Cinderella are discussed in histories of musical theatre but did not have enough data to be included in the database. Cecil Smith mentions a travesty entitled *Cinderella Up-Too-Late* (the title being a parody of other titles such as *Carmen Up-to-Date*) (65). Hischak describes a 1949 show entitled *Touch and Go*, which included one musical number “*Cinderella* as Tennessee Williams might have written it” (2009, 474). Because this is only a scene in a larger work, this has not been included in the database as an adaptation.

These thirteen “adaptations” of Cinderella demonstrate that the very categorization of a show as an adaptation is more complex than that of “translation.” This database (and consequently this research project) is not equipped to differentiate the degree to which adapters “faithfully” used their chosen source materials. Not only would such gradations be difficult to quantify, but without access to all of the source materials and adapted scripts there would be no method to attempt to quantify such gradations for all of the titles listed in the database (such judgments—if possible—would be merely subjective). For this reason, adaptations are treated equally in the database. In other words, no distinctions are made between “faithful” or “free” adaptations. The interest of this project is in *what* source materials have been used throughout the sixteen decade period, not *how* they have been used.

This issue becomes even more complicated as we consider other works that have been described as “Cinderella musicals” (Jones 58). Kenrick identifies *Mlle. Modiste* (1905) as “a rather conventional Cinderella story about Fifi, a Parisian shop girl who rises to operative stardom, winning the love of a handsome young nobleman along the way” (115). This fairy tale formula became evermore present beginning in the 1920s. Both John Bush Jones and John Kenrick discuss three early twentieth-century musicals as “Cinderella shows” or “Cinderella stories.” Kenrick notes that “[t]his theme was particularly popular with Americans, who relished the idea of seemingly insurmountable class barriers collapsing in the face of love” (170). Both Jones and Kenrick list *Irene* (1919), *Mary* (1920), and *Sally* (1920) as Cinderella stories. None of these musicals have a character named Cinderella or a prince or a glass slipper, but they fit a certain similar formula.

Jones describes these “Cinderella musicals” of the early 1920s: they included “a working-class girl (almost always Irish-American!) [who] works as a maid, shop girl, or secretary. Through marriage and/or good business sense, she ultimately obtains not only the man of her dreams but wealth and elevated social status” (58). Jones then lists off other shows part of the “Cinderella cavalcade”: *The O’Brien Girl* (1921), *Good Morning, Dearie* (1921), *The Gingham Girl* (1922), *Little Nellie Kelly* (1922), *Glory* (1922), *Elsie* (1923), *Cinders* (1923), *Helen of Troy*, *New York* (1923), *Mary Jane McKane* (1923), *The Rise of Rosie O’Reilly* (1923), and *Plain Janes* (1924) (59-60).

Gerald Bordman dedicates an entire chapter of his 1982 *American Musical Comedy: From Adonis to Dreamgirls* to Cinderella. Similar to Jones and Kenrick, he identifies the trilogy of Cinderella musicals that sparked this new trend: *Irene*, *Sally*, and *Mary*. Bordman notes that

The Cinderella story was not new to the musical stage. Mother Goose's Cinderella had long since been taken up by burlesque and, especially by pantomime. In due course, the basic story—that of a poor, deprived waif who finds love and a home among the crust—was adapted in all sorts of guises. (1982, 107)

According to Bordman's statistics, of the fifty-eight musicals presented during the three theatre seasons from 1921-1924 "no fewer than twenty-one centered on a Cinderella figure" (1982, 107). Bordman also notes how these years were dubbed the "Cinderella era" (1982, 108). Just as Jones did in his section "Cinderella shows," Bordman lists off the Cinderella musicals that were presented on Broadway: *Miss Millions* (1919), *The Hotel Mouse* (1922), *Good Morning, Dearie* (1921), *The Chiffon Girl* (1924), *Plain Jane* (1924), *Just Because* (1922), *The Gingham Girl* (1922), *The Rise of Rosie O'Reilly* (1923), *Little Nellie Kelly* (1922), *Cinders* (1923), *Wildflower* (1923), *Lollipop* (1924), and *Mary Jones McKane* (1923) (1982, 111-115).

Combining the lists of Jones and Bordman, there are more than twenty musicals that have been described as "Cinderella stories" (excluding the thirteen musical pieces that I have classified as adaptations of Cinderella). This makes the Cinderella story one of the most influential stories on the Broadway musical. A line, though, must be drawn between adaptation and inspiration. The 1920s musicals described by Jones and Bordman more properly appear to be *inspired* by the Cinderella story (a story type) rather than adaptations of the fairy tale (a story with specific plot elements and characters).

This distinction is not without problems. As mentioned earlier, some critics often criticized productions that appeared to have advertised their show as being a Cinderella adaptation for not following the story. And even with these inspired Cinderella musicals, at

times that influence may be more than thematic. For example Jones discusses the plot of *Cinders*, in which

Cinders is a waif “who was discovered in an ash can and who has grown up dreaming of being a jazz-age Cinderella.” She is sent to deliver a gown to a wealthy woman but absconds with it so she can crash a charity ball, where she meets that very woman’s son; they fall in love and...you know the rest. (60)

Here the plot takes elements of the ashes, the dress, and the ball. One could make an argument that this is a very liberal adaptation of Cinderella (most notably by choosing the title *Cinders*, which certainly reminded audience members of Cinderella). Yet, sources suggest that *Cinders* is a more generalized “Cinderella musical” rather than an adaptation of Cinderella.

Not only does the Cinderella example demonstrate the difficulty in classifying whether a work is truly an “adaptation” or simply “inspired” by the story, but it also shows the difficulty in classifying the source material. Cinderella is a fairy tale that has existed in many different versions including famous versions in Italian, French, and German. The story also appears in *Grimm’s Fairy Tales* and in *Mother Goose Tales*. When categorizing this work, should Cinderella be classified by the first published version of the story? Or do we consider the version that was brought into English? Or do we consider the Mother Goose version because most English speakers probably came to know the story through this version? Or is a work based on an established adaptation of Cinderella, for example Rossini’s opera? Fairy tales and other stories and legend from folklore complicate the data selection process for a project like this.

To both avoid and simplify this issue, source material such as Cinderella has been categorized as “folklore” and without a year, country, or language of origin. Nursery rhymes,

fairy tales, fables, myths, and legends are treated similarly in the database. My database has 63 productions tagged as adaptations that are based on a source that falls into this category of “folklore,”⁵³ accounting for 7.1% of the premiering adaptations. The important aspect here is that numerous pieces of musical entertainment use prior existing material to create a plot or from which to pull characters or themes. Chapter 4 of this project will examine the source texts selected for adaptation in more depth. It is not surprising that so many musical pieces would be based on texts from folklore because these are well-known stories. Sources such as fairy tales and legends not only have stories with which audiences are familiar, but most often have multiple versions allowing the adapters even more freedom when writing their new works. The topic of folklore as source texts will be revisited in Chapter 4 in a section on burlesques.

The Purpose for Cataloguing

The reason and purpose for cataloguing will affect the cataloguing process. As mentioned earlier, discrete categories are necessary for the purposes of tagging productions in the database. This project focuses on translation and adaptation. Translation is primarily a linguistic process from one language to another (though the cultural aspects of translation are also of great importance). This study does not make a distinction between American and British pieces of musical entertainment. Similarly, no distinctions are made between works that premiered on Broadway and those that premiered on other American stages (Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, etc.). The primary reason for not making this distinction is quite simple: there is no true translation occurring when importing a British show to an American

⁵³ Note that this number excludes works that are based on multiple sources, such as *Cinderella e la Comare* or, *The Lover, The Lackey, and the Little Glass Slipper* (1866), which is an adaptation of both the 1850 Italian opera *Crispino e la comare* and the fairy tale Cinderella.

stage. Certain words or phrases may be “translated” or adjusted (as was famously done in print—no less—for each Harry Potter book).⁵⁴

Musical pieces of entertainment are routinely modified when being presented in a new venue. A change of venue from Philadelphia to New York may result in more changes than a change from London to New York. There is no way to track these potential changes, especially with works from the nineteenth century (and it is doubtful that these data would reveal any significant trends). For example, when the musical *The Addams Family* premiered in Chicago in 2009, the show opened with a number called “Clandango” that was then replaced by a number called “When You’re an Addams” before premiering on Broadway. *Shrek the Musical* (2008) made some changes to the musical numbers before setting out for its national tour in 2010. *Spider-Man: Turn off the Dark* (2011) became a national mockery in the media as the show underwent numerous rewrites before the show was allowed to “officially” open (Shapiro). In chapter 1 I discussed the changes made to the London musical *Chess* when it premiered on Broadway, consequently adding songs in another language. The important point here is that pieces of musical entertainment routinely change (and at times significantly) even though they are historically viewed as one musical work.

For the purposes of this project, English-speaking entertainment presented on Broadway stages will be treated together. Julian Mates highlights that the earliest theatrical imports to the U.S. colonies were from England and were most often pieces with musical accompaniment (5). I would argue that the tradition of American musical entertainment was primarily of British influence until other European influences entered the scene in the mid nineteenth century.

⁵⁴ Perhaps more surprising is that the title of the first novel was even “translated” (the original British title is *Harry Potter and Philosopher’s Stone* [1997] while the U.S. title is *Harry Potter and Sorcerer’s Stone* [1998]).

Perhaps one of the most famous imported influences on musical entertainment on the American musical is the work of W.S. Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan. This duo hit fame in their native Britain in 1875 with the premiere of *Trial by Jury*, which premiered on Broadway at the Eagle Variety later that same year. The undisputed success of this duo was with their 1878 operetta *H.M.S. Pinafore*, which premiered in New York at the Standard Theatre in January of 1879. Bordman goes as far as to call *H.M.S. Pinafore* “the most important musical ever written [...] in the English-speaking theatre” (1981, 16). Concerning this same work, Jones credits Gilbert and Sullivan with providing America “a model for integrated musicals and demonstrating that musicals can address contemporary social and political issues without sacrificing entertainment value” thus “qualify[ing] Gilbert and Sullivan as the primary progenitors of the twentieth-century American musical” (11). Both Bordman and Jones suggest that the American musical is modeled on the work of Gilbert and Sullivan, which supports treating British imports as part of the same system.

While *H.M.S. Pinafore* is a British work, some scholars have contended that this piece was quite American, at least in terms of its audience reception. Both Jones and Knapp provide anti-British readings of *H.M.S. Pinafore* (8-9; 2004, 8). While Jones notes that “Gilbert’s main target of satire was the tradition of English classbound marriages,” he also notes that Gilbert was conservative in his approach and in the end upholds these class distinctions (8). According to Jones, “American audiences likely missed the irony” and viewed the piece as an attack on the British preservation of class distinction (9). An argument could be made that—based on audience reception—*H.M.S. Pinafore* was more so an American show than a British one.

As Gilbert and Sullivan’s popularity continued in both Britain and America, audiences on both sides of the Atlantic clamored to theatres to see their shows. Loose copyright in the late

nineteenth century made pirated productions of Gilbert and Sullivan's shows common. When their next operetta, *The Pirates of Penzance*, was set to premiere they premiered the show almost simultaneously in both countries in attempts to curtail copyright infringement (the British premiere was on December 30, 1879 at the Bijou Theatre in Paignton, England while the U.S. premiere was the following evening at the Fifth Avenue Theatre in New York) (Gänzl 1994, 1150). Because Gilbert and Sullivan's shows required no translation or adaptation, they could premiere their shows almost instantaneously in both countries. This further supports treating British and American works equally in the Broadway system.

Even in the twentieth century, the distinction between American and British musicals is often mutable. Noël Coward's *Sail Away* (1961) first opened in the United States, but this would not necessarily make Noël Coward an American composer. In the past several decades there have been significant exchanges between London's West End and Broadway beginning with the "British invasion" of West End shows beginning in the 1980s⁵⁵ (Stempel 607). Today, shows that succeed in one country are often brought over to the other (quite often using the same production, though using a different cast due to union contracts and visas). This is not to say that the cultural exchange between the United States and Great Britain with musical entertainment is not of scholarly interest; in fact, it is. What I am arguing is that when the scholarly and theoretical focus is on translations and adaptations that the distinctions between an American and British show are not nearly as significant as the distinction between English-language musical productions and those originally written in another language.

⁵⁵ Consequently, the top three longest-running Broadway productions all originated in London: *The Phantom of the Opera* (1986 West End, 1988 Broadway), *Cats* (1981 West End, 1982 Broadway), and *Les Misérables* (1985 West End, 1987 Broadway). As discussed earlier, the complex exchange between Broadway and the West End would best be addressed in a different project.

The treatment of all English-language musical pieces presented on Broadway stages as one system allows the focus to remain on translation when it comes to importing musical pieces without changes being made to the musical composition or plot. It would be possible to add an additional column to the database and to research where each of these shows premiered (whether it be London, Philadelphia, Chicago, or some Off-Broadway venue), but I will leave that task for future scholars because that data will not help illustrate the history that this project sets out to tell.

Musical Entertainment: The Big Picture

Despite any limitations or difficulties cataloguing particular fields for specific shows, the fields in my database are quite uniform and adhere to categories commonly used by other scholars and researchers. Some scholars will use statistics in their articles, but these statistics are typically limited to short periods of time or only for a couple of seasons. Earlier I discussed the statistics that Bordman presented in the Cinderella shows (1982, 107). Julian Mates in his *America's Musical Stage* includes several disparate statistics on random theatre seasons from 1899 through 1980. For these seasons he lists the number of productions but includes no description of how these productions were counted (34). Mates attempts some broader statistics listing the number of new musicals presented in the 1920s (444), the 1960s (144), and the 1970s (132) (35). My database helps verify or correct such statistics as those that Mates presents (according to my data these decades had 360, 157, and 170 premiering musical productions, respectively).

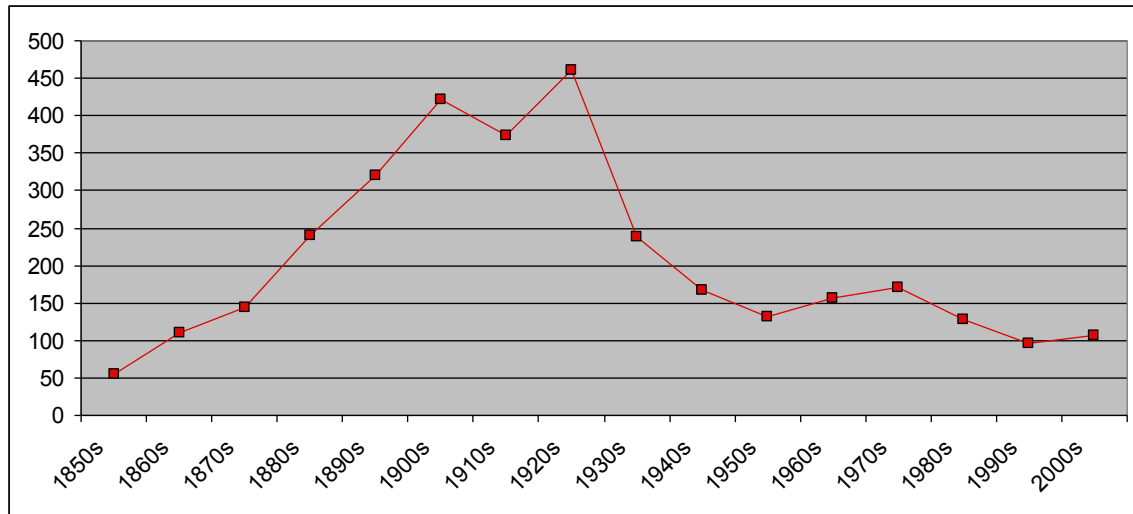


Fig. 2.2. Total number of premiering musicals per decade on Broadway.

Mates is trying to show a rise and then fall in the number of musicals presented on Broadway. The problem with random statistics from particular seasons or decades is that they may not show as many of the trends that can be shown. While my database is designed to account for translations and adaptations, the data can be used to provide general graphs on the history of musical entertainment. Figure 2.2 graphs out my data on the total number of premiering pieces of musical entertainment presented on Broadway stages from the 1850s through the 2000s. This graph shows the rise and fall of new productions presented, but it also shows a slight dip in the number of productions in the 1910s and a slight spike in the 1970s.

Mates only presents one set of statistics—that of premiering musical productions. With my data I can graph out multiple pieces of data to show other trends on Broadway. Figure 2.3 combines my data on premiering musicals per decade along with the number of revivals and return engagements. This graph shows that return engagements account for a very small number of productions per decade. This graph also shows that after a peak in revival productions in the

1880s (the only decade when revivals outnumber premiering productions), the number of revivals falls to approximately half that number and is usually less than 100 per decade.⁵⁶

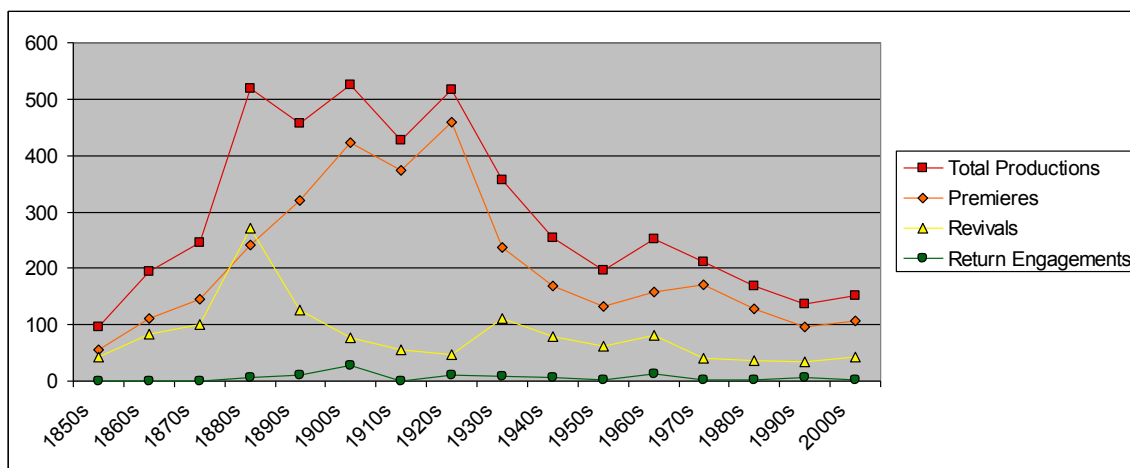


Fig. 2.3. Comparison of premieres, revivals, and return engagements per decade.

Numbers alone do not tell the entire story. A comprehensive database allows scholars to examine and explain cases as seen in Figure 2.3 with the spike in revivals. According to my data, of those 272 revivals in the 1880s 149 were operettas (54.8%) and 33 were operas (12.1%). This is not surprising as operettas and operas were regularly revived by theatre companies and touring troupes coming through New York.⁵⁷ By comparing Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.3 we can see that productions of operas are at a height on Broadway in the 1880s with 33 revival productions of operas. The helps explain this spike in revivals during the 1880s.

⁵⁶ Note the number of return engagements is significantly small. In most cases in this project, revivals will also include return engagements to contrast this one category from premiering productions.

⁵⁷ Dominating the decade was Edmond Audran with 27 revival production and 2 return engagements (primarily of *La Mascotte* [1881] and *Olivette* [1880]). Gilbert and Sullivan (who original gained popularity at the end of the 1870s) had 21 revivals and one return engagement according to my data. Franz von Suppé also had 21 revivals that same decade, primarily of *Boccaccio* [1880] and *Fatinitza* [1879]. Other composers with at least 10 revivals accounted for in the 1880s are Jacques Offenbach (16), Carl Millöcker (13), David Braham (13), Charles Gounod (11), Gaetano Donizetti (11) and Charles Lecocq (10). That means that 146 of the revivals and return engagements during the 1880s (53.6% or more than half) were by composers who had quickly come to dominate Broadway stages.

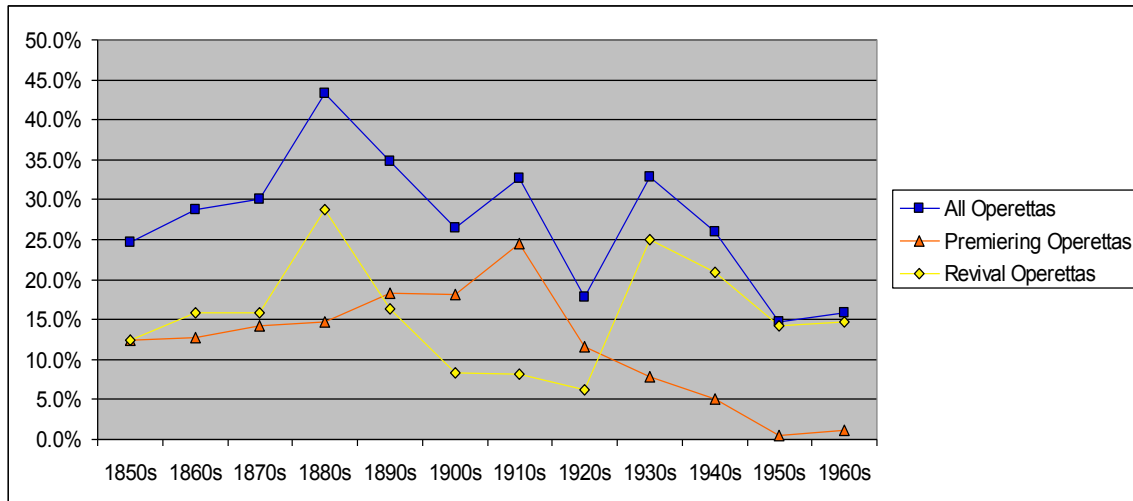


Fig. 2.4. Percentage of premiering and revival productions of operettas by decade.

Figure 2.4 also helps explain this trend. This figure shows the number of premiering and revival productions of operettas on Broadway per decade. The production of operettas also hit an all-time high in the 1880s with revivals outnumbering premiering productions two to one. Comparing these data shows that straight numbers of productions alone do not tell the entire story. By appropriately tagging productions in the database, I am able to sort, graph, describe, and explain trends that have been virtually invisible to previous scholars. More importantly, this database allows the possibility to compare multiple trends (see Figure 2.4).

Additional data fields allow for other ways to interpret and explain the data. For productions in the database, I have included the theatre when that information was available. Several theatres routinely presented revival productions and return engagements during the 1880s. Most of these theatres appear to have focused primarily on revivals of operettas: the Casino Theatre (22), the Standard Theatre (19), the Bijou Theatre (17), Booth's Theatre (14), and Wallack's Theatre (12). The Academy of Music appears to have focused on revivals of operas this decade (with 24 revival productions) and the Fifth Avenue Theatre included both opera and

operetta revivals (with 34 total revival productions). Meanwhile Niblo's Garden is recorded as having presented 23 revival productions but without a particular focus on opera or operettas.

This shows numerous ways to interpret data. One way is to look at the whole number of productions (as Julian Mates does); another is to break down the data into specific categories (for example, comparing premieres to revivals). Looking at composers is another way, but analyzing the theatres where these works are presented gives us another view. Particular producers running theatres may have preferred to present certain kinds of works (such as operas or operettas), had troupes that were specialized for one particular genre, or found that their audience had a certain predilection for one type of show or another. In Chapter 3 we will find that this is the case with many foreign-language operettas. The point is that historical trends often require that we analyze multiple factors to be able to explain and to understand them better. My database is a tool that allows the possibility to test out and explore different methods to explain historical trends.

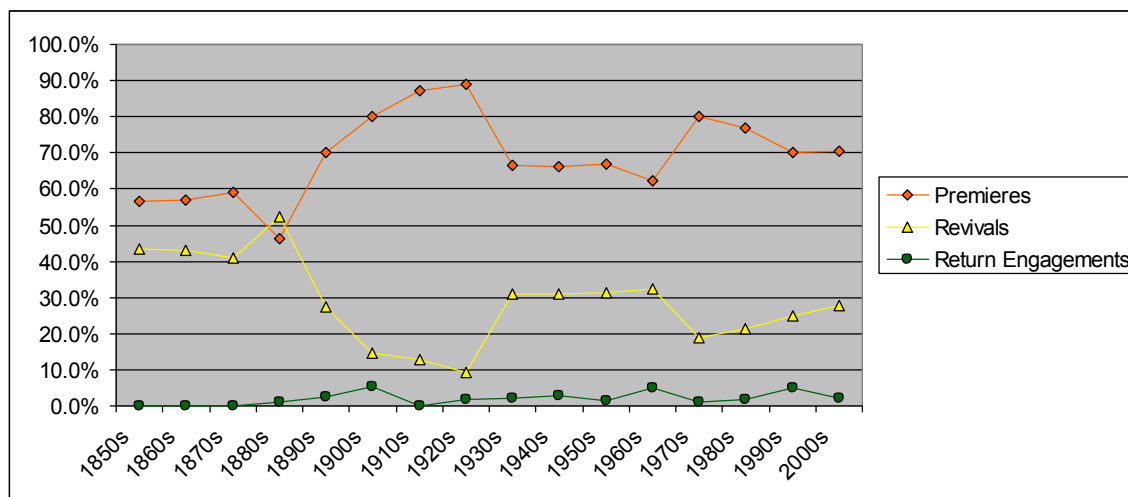


Fig. 2.5. Percentage of premiering, revival, and return engagement productions per decade.

In addition to looking at the straight numbers of productions, my database allows numbers to be converted into percentages. Whereas Figure 2.3 compares the total number of premiering, revival, and return engagement productions per decade, Figure 2.5 presents the same data as percentages. This graph shows that the majority of musical productions have been

premieres (with the 1880s being the only decade when revivals outnumber premiering productions, which I have already discussed). Figure 2.3 shows that between the 1880s and 1920s there was a significant increase in the number of productions on Broadway stages (exceeding 400 productions each decade). Figure 2.5 shows that the percentage of premiering and revival productions is fairly close between the 1850s and 1880s and that the percentage of revivals increases to more the 30% between the 1930s and 1960s. Because the number of productions per decade varies so significantly (from 97 in the 1850s to 526 in the 1900s) percentages are often more helpful in tracking some trends.

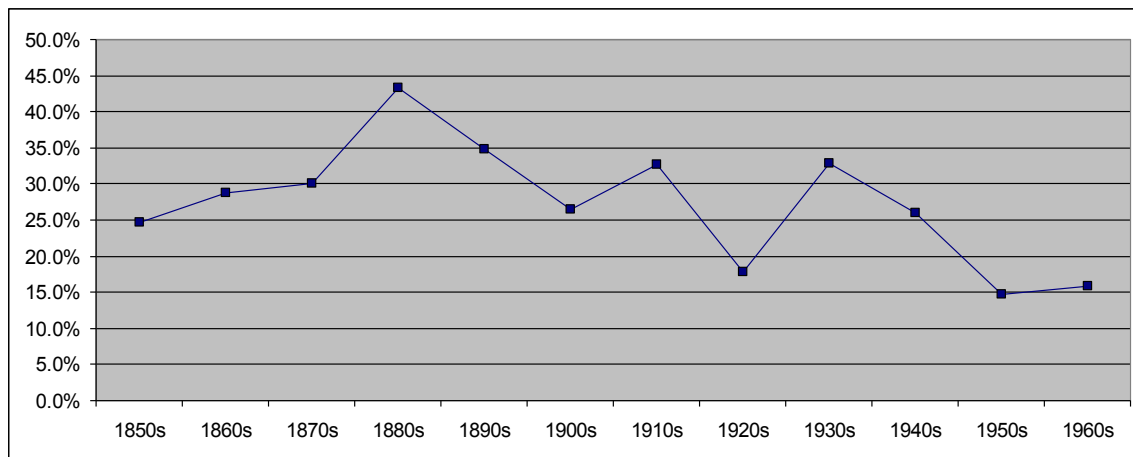


Fig. 2.6. Percentage of operetta productions (premieres and revivals) per decade.

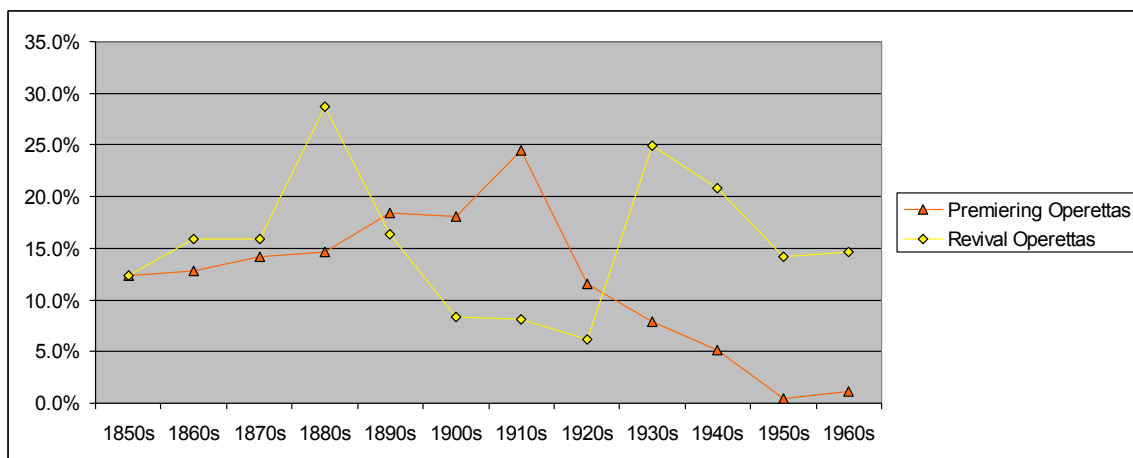


Fig. 2.7. Percentage of premiering and revival productions of operettas compared to all productions.

Figures 2.6 and 2.7 graph the percentages of operettas performed on Broadway stages relative to all productions. Figure 2.6 shows that operettas account for more than a quarter of all musical productions up through the 1940s, with the exception of the 1920s. While overall data from this sixteen-decade period shows that premiering productions almost always outnumber revivals, Figure 2.7 makes clear that the relationship between premieres and revivals of operettas is more complex with revivals typically outnumbering premiering productions, with the exception of the 1890s through the 1920s. Chapter 3 of this project will explore the data on operettas in more detail to account for this irregularity.

Translations and Adaptations on Musical Stages

As discussed earlier, this project focuses on translated and adapted works on Broadway stages, with a particular focus on premiering works. By examining these trends in musical premieres we can analyze how musical pieces from non-English speaking countries and non-musical works have shaped and influenced the Broadway musical over the past sixteen decades. Figure 2.8 shows the total number of premiering adaptations and translations presented on Broadway stages relative to all premiering productions and all productions together. The number of translations appears small, though there is a peak in the 1910s (with 49 translations). Adaptations also appear to be small in number, never breaking above 100 in any decade.

Figure 2.9 presents the same data on translations and adaptations but as percentages of all the premiering musical works presented each decade. By looking at the percentages, the data appears more significant. Adaptations still outnumber translations, but translations account for as much as 13.1% of premiering productions in the 1910s and nearly 10% in the 1880s. These percentages will be shown to be more significant in Chapter 3 in the discussion of the translation

of middle European operettas into English. Regardless, this graph shows that translations comprise a noticeable percentage of work produced for nearly a century of the research period.

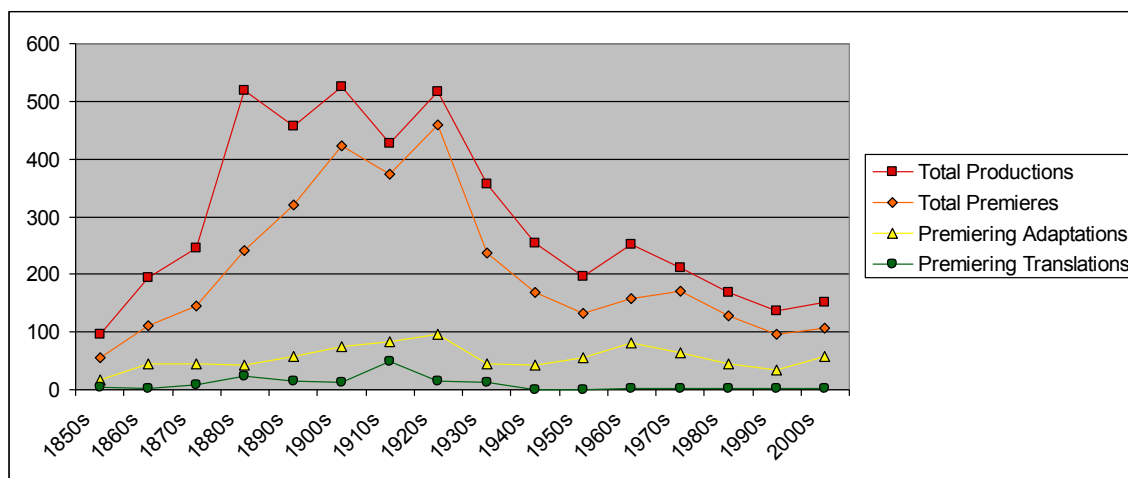


Fig. 2.8. Number of premiering adaptations and translations compared to premieres and total productions.

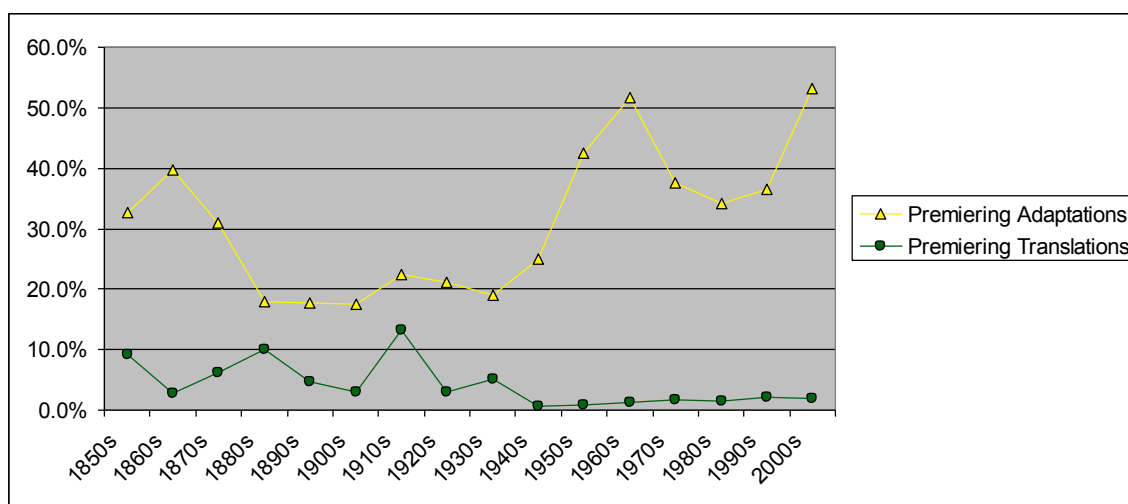


Fig. 2.9. Percentage of premiering adaptations and translations relative to premiering productions.

Adaptations appear more significant when looking at percentages. As mentioned in Chapter 1, from the 1950s through today, adapted musical pieces account for more than one third of all musical productions and at times exceed 50%. Figure 2.9 shows this data. While numerous scholars and historians discuss musical adaptations and their sources, none of the consulted literature takes a comprehensive look at the role that adaptations have played on

Broadway. With this data, what may be one of the most important trends on Broadway may now be explored more fully.

Throughout this project I will use my database to track and reveal historical trends. In this chapter I have shown how this database can be used to track historical trends over a long period of time and also how smaller portions of the data may be analyzed to help explain some of these trends. With a combination of raw numbers, percentages, graphs, sortable data, and traditional research I will focus on the role of translations and adaptations in musical entertainment on the Broadway stage. Figures 2.8 and 2.9 show that translations and especially adaptations are significant enough to merit special focus when telling the history of musical entertainment on Broadway stages. It is only with a comprehensive database—such as the one I created to write this project—that we may avoid the hermeneutic trap that maintains the “masterpieces” of musical history as the protagonists of this story. Now the hidden histories of translation and adaptation in professional New York theatre can take center stage.

Chapter 3

Interlingual Interference during the Operetta Century: 1850-1949

Translations on the Broadway Musical Stage

None of the consulted histories on musical theatre engage in any critical discussion of translation's role or function in Broadway history. On the other side, none of the consulted articles from translation studies address the role of translation in musical entertainment. Any mention of musical translations is ancillary, anecdotal, or limited to small groups of works. In Chapter 1, I made an argument for using more quantitative methods for studying musical entertainment on the Broadway stage. One of the main purposes of studying a larger corpus of works through distant reading—as opposed to providing new close readings of a few selected (most often well-known) texts—is that data may reveal trends otherwise not visible.

As discussed in Chapter 1, many histories of musical theatre focus on a more contemporary concept of “musical theatre” that took shape in the 1940s and has blossomed into the multi-billion dollar enterprise that now goes beyond Broadway and London's West End to include blockbuster films and a new generation of television entertainment (including Disney's *High School Musical* movies, and newer television shows such as *Glee*, *Smash*, and *Nashville*). Other histories also account for other earlier forms of musical entertainment including minstrelsy, burlesque, revues, spectacles, and operettas. These histories, however, focus more on these particular genres and the historical evidence we have on notable productions, performers, and producers.

When compiling this database, my intention was to focus attention on translations and adaptations that appeared in the data. While the discussion of intentions for research may appear

immaterial, this discussion is important because the issue of methodology is at stake here.

Researchers often begin a project with a working hypothesis that they wish to test or a research question that they are asking. Quantitative data can help in testing such hypotheses. For this project, my particular research question was whether Even-Zohar's argument that translated literature takes a central role in a younger literature's polysystem (only to be pushed to the periphery once the literature matures) would hold true for Broadway musical entertainment.

I created a database consulting those sources discussed in Chapter 2 with the specific goal to tag those musical works that sources identified as having been translated from a foreign language into English. Following this methodological approach, though, showed that my original question was too narrow and far too simplistic. As discussed in the earlier chapters, numerous pieces of entertainment fell into other categories I had not originally anticipated. John Koegel's 2009 *Music in German Immigrant Theater: New York City 1840-1940* drew attention to numerous musical pieces that premiered on Broadway stages in German (in addition to other languages). Kurt Gänzl's *The Encyclopedia of Musical Theatre* also helped in making my data more comprehensive with his thorough records of foreign-language premieres in the United States. This data broadened the scope of my research question to also include "untranslated" works—those foreign-language musical works that premiered on Broadway stages in their original middle-European languages.

Another twelve works fit neither the category of English translation or "untranslated." Nine French operettas (five of them by Jacques Offenbach) and one German operetta that actually had its world premiere in Hungarian—*Wo Die Lerche Singt (A pacsirta)* (Gänzl 1994, 1570), premiered on Broadway stages in German.⁵⁸ Two other operettas (one French, one

⁵⁸ Gänzl notes that "[t]he Budapest première [in Hungarian] was quickly followed by a Viennese one [...] Brought back occasionally thereafter in repertoire, it ultimately played over 400 performances at the Theater an der

Austrian) premiered on Broadway in Italian translation. Two other exceptional cases appeared in the data. One was the Italian-language premiere of Gounod's opera *Faust* in 1863 at the Academy of Music.⁵⁹ Another exceptional case was when Broadway premiered a new Russian production of Bizet's *Carmen* (performed on Broadway in Russian) in 1926 at Jolson's 59th Street Theatre under the English title *Carmencita and the Soldier* (Downes). This short list demonstrates the importance of consulting multiple sources (in this case Koegel's book, Gänzl's encyclopedia, Bordman's chronicle, *The New York Times*, and the Internet Broadway Database). Only by combining a few seemingly random references to exceptional cases does it become feasible to track possible trends.

By using a more comprehensive set of data it is possible to broaden narrow research questions when needed. This is the advantage to using a distant reading approach and to the collection and interpretation of quantifiable data. With my research question broadened to now also incorporate several dozen works performed in foreign languages, it became necessary to narrow the scope of analysis. At this point I will use specific data to justify focusing on operettas alone.

In my database, 158 of the 3325 premiering musical productions have been tagged as English translations, accounting for only 4.8% of these premiering productions. This small percentage may be enough to qualify as a minor trend over this sixteen-decade period, but by being more selective with the data a stronger trend appears. Of these 158 translations, 128 are

Wien and, in consequence, it has become accepted as a Viennese Operette – its Hungarian origins (like Lehár's, often) quite forgotten" (1994, 1571).

⁵⁹ Gustave Kobbé notes that Gounod's *Faust* premiered in "New York [at the] Academy of Music [on] November 26, 1863, in Italian." The Italian premiere was probably due to the Italian-language premiere of this opera in London on July 2 of the same year at Covent Garden under the title *Faust e Margherita* (562).

translations of works that have been categorized as operettas.⁶⁰ Of the 3325 premiering works in my database, 534 of those (16.1%) are operettas. By narrowing the research question to operettas, English translations now account for 24.0% of operettas. 2.2% of operettas premiering on Broadway were translations into a foreign language (German and Italian). This means that 26.2% of premiering operettas (more than a quarter) in my database are translations.

In this chapter I will describe the historical trends of these modes of interference, compare these trends to each other, and describe them relative to the overall production of operettas on the Broadway stage from 1850 through 1949, what I will call the “operetta century.” These ten decades were chosen because the production of new operettas drops to one in the 1950s with three in the 1960s and no new operettas afterwards. The four operettas premiering in the 1950s and 1960s all fit in the sixth category of *no interference* (discussed below); in other words, there are no trends of interference to track beyond the 1940s.

Not only will this research be of interest to those concerned with the history of musical entertainment on Broadway (most importantly of operettas), but also to the translation scholar. My data analysis may be the most extensive concerning Even-Zohar’s polysystem theory, especially in terms of the position of translated literature. My analysis will show, however, that even with these six nuanced categories of interference that more research is necessary to understand these waves of importation more fully.

⁶⁰ The reader is reminded that the term “operetta” is being used here for all lighter forms of opera including operettas, comic operas, *opéra comiques*, *opera bouffes*, and other musicals works that have historically been attributed to composers of this particular historical genre. See Chapter 2 for a more complete discussion of this.

Categories of Interference

A total of 82 musical productions premiered on Broadway in their original non-English language (2.5% of all premiering productions). Of these “untranslated” works, however, 54 are operettas accounting for 10.1% of operettas premiering on Broadway stages. Combining these foreign-language premieres with those premiering in a non-English translation, we find that 12.4% of operettas on Broadway stages premiered in a language other than English. By limiting our discussion to operettas, these trends of foreign importation now appear more significant. With this subset of data it is now more possible to look for the kinds of historical trends that Franco Moretti has discussed with his distant reading approach. Moretti, however, was more interested in genres and their historical trends⁶¹—not the *modes* of importing works or genres (i.e., through translation or adaptation). Even-Zohar and other polysystem theory scholars, though, are concerned with *how* groups of works enter a system (namely through translation). None of the consulted resources on polysystem theory, however, appear to rely on a corpus of data or represent any hypothesized or observed trends with statistics, percentages, or graphs. This project will combine these approaches to strengthen our knowledge of the history of musical entertainment on the Broadway stage.

One other trend, however, is of significant importance to this subset of operetta data. These are the adaptations. Again I return to a discussion of research methodology. The original intention of this project was to examine separately translated musical works and adapted musical works (for the entire sixteen-decade period) and then to compare and contrast these categories in

⁶¹ Moretti cites and discusses numerous studies that graph out historical trends in literature such as the rise of the novel, the fall of the novel, and various genres of the novels (5ff). In his section “Graphs” (which is more pertinent to my research), he is most interested in graphing and explaining literary cycles, which he sees as “the hidden thread of literary history” (26). Beyond graphing the rise and fall of particular forms or genres, my research is focused on tracking the waves of interference between systems as theorized by Even-Zohar. While Moretti advocates for the use of graphs to track trends, his methods are far too generalized for the description and interpretation of my data on waves of interference from translated and adapted works.

functional terms. By taking a functional approach, however, the category of “adaptations” now appears too broad and needs to be made more specific. In Chapter 1, I discuss how the terms “translation” and “adaptation” are problematic and how they tend to “bleed” into each other. Initial examination of the data shows that different kinds of adaptations exhibit different patterns and appear to function differently in the Broadway polysystem.

Of the premiering works in my database, 885 of them have been categorized as adaptations. This accounts for 26.5% of all premiering musical works on the Broadway stage. Because adaptations account for more than a quarter of the data, there is an obvious need to explore and examine these data. Of these adaptations, 128 of these are operettas (accounting for 14.5% of adapted works on Broadway). Not all of the target texts that are (adapted) operettas are of particular interest for the study of interference from foreign literatures, but rather only those adapted operettas with foreign-language operettas as their source texts (43 total works, or 8.0% of premiering operettas).

The issue of research methodology is of great importance here. Rather than examine the role of translation in the importation of operettas, the question is now to examine how operettas entered the Broadway polysystem. Now six categories emerge: (1) foreign-language operettas that premiered in their original foreign language, (2) foreign-language operettas that premiered translated into another foreign language, (3) foreign-language operettas that premiered in English translation, (4) foreign-language operettas that have been adapted into new operettas and premiered in English, (5) operettas that premiered in English that were based on another source text (excluding category 4), and (6) operettas written originally in English that were not based on a source text.

In Chapter 1 I introduced a series of terms that I would use to help specify the kinds of adaptations being analyzed, but also to help make clear the distinction between translation and adaptation (as these terms are used interchangeably by some). The first category (foreign-language operettas that premiered in their original foreign language) fits the term *direct interference* because these foreign-language works enter the Broadway system with no mediation through translation. For the second category (foreign-language operettas that premiered translated into another foreign language) I will use the term *semidirect interference*. These works are harder to classify because they have undergone the process of translation, yet I would argue that these works *function* more like the first category because they are simply being imported into the primarily English-language Broadway system in a foreign language (and—like those works entering through direct interference—would have a limited viewership).

Another possibility would be to combine the first two categories, but I argue that maintaining this distinction is important for many of our discussions. While descriptive translation studies is a target-based approach to research, for the study of interference the origin of source texts is also of importance. I will use Offenbach as an example (since many of the second category's works pertain to this group). Though Offenbach was born in Germany, he moved to Paris at the age of fourteen in the 1830s. Offenbach's career was made in Paris through French-language works, and it was the 1855 Paris Exhibition that helped launch his international career (Gänzl 1994, 1074). Offenbach's works are French texts, though the vehicle by which several of these first arrived in the United States was the German language (no doubt through German-language theatres in Europe, from which other operettas with librettos in German were being imported to the United States).

By creating two categories we can separate out the data and group works entering Broadway through semidirect interference with direct interference when the language of production is the same. In other words, German-language operettas premiering in German could be treated along with French-language operettas that premiered in German on Broadway. In other cases, though, I will distinguish these French-language operettas performed in German from native-German works. Again Offenbach is a key case because while several of his works premiered on Broadway in German, most would go on to be presented in their original French and then subsequently in English translation. Regardless of whether an Offenbach operetta premieres on Broadway in German, French, or English, his works remain French cultural imports, originating in the French language.⁶²

The third category (foreign-language operettas that premiered in English translation) fits the term *indirect interlingual interference*, or translation proper. In these cases the interference is indirect (undergoing a process) and that process is done interlingually (between languages). The fourth category (foreign-language operettas that have been adapted into new operettas and premiered in English) requires a little more specificity and will be described as *indirect interlingual and intramedial interference*. While this term is quite long, it is necessary to accurately describe the nature of these works in that the interference is indirect (undergoing a process) and that the process includes translation *between* languages (interlingual) and adaptation *within the same* medium (intramedial).⁶³

⁶² It is important to note that—according to my data—many of the Offenbach operettas that premiered on Broadway in German, later were performed in their original French, and then again later in English translation.

⁶³ Any case of interlingual interference (translation) is also a case of intramedial interference, but this term (indirect interlingual and intramedial interference) highlights the dual process of modifying the form and the content (albeit in the same medium).

The fifth category (operettas that premiered in English that were based on another source text) is perhaps the most difficult to define because this category includes works that may or may not undergo an interlingual process and whose adaptation process may be intramedial (from operetta to operetta) or intermedial (from a different medium to operetta). For this reason I will call this category *indirect variable interference*. In the analysis of operettas there is a subgroup in this category of *indirect intramedial interference* (within the same language). These are English-language operettas that were adapted into new operettas (spoofs, revisions, etc.). Rather than create a seventh category, this fifth “variable” category will suffice for this particular research question.

As discussed earlier, I make no distinction between British and American musical works. This is not to say that this distinction is not important, but it is not the focus of this project. The long and complex exchange between New York and London for musical works is a topic best suited for another full-length project. This current project will continue to focus on interference across cultural-linguistic lines and across media.

The sixth and final category (operettas written originally in English that were not based on a source text) will be described using the term *no interference*. These are the English-language works that were not originally composed in a foreign language and also do not have an identifiable source. These six categories will allow for a more nuanced discussion of interference across cultural-linguistic boundaries. The simplification of investigation to “translation proper” fails to account for multiple modes by which foreign-language works may enter a system: in their original form, translated into another language (not the target-language), translated into the target language, and adapted (both language and content).

Operetta on Broadway

In 1981 in his book *American Operetta*, Gerald Bordman wrote that “[o]peretta is as alive today as it was a century ago, still being written, still being produced, and still being hailed by critics and playgoers. Only no one calls it operetta anymore” (1981, 3). The tradition of operetta on American stages is a long one, but its roots are clearly European. Larry Stempel points to Paris, London, and Vienna as the centers of operetta but notes how “[o]peretta first flowered in Paris in the 1850s and 1860s” (99). As mentioned earlier, the 1850s was the decade when Jacques Offenbach was on the rise in Paris and received special attention during the 1855 Paris World Expo (Kenrick 38).

Many scholars point to the 1867 premiere in New York of Offenbach’s *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* as the landmark for operetta in the United States (Mates 71; Stempel 106; Graziano 2006b, 259), though performances of operetta on Broadway preceded this. Stempel notes the importance of new immigrant audiences for supporting this European artform:

Even before the Civil War, audiences of mostly French- and German-speaking immigrants enjoyed European light operas on a steady basis in the foreign-language theaters of New York. But the nationwide craze for the genre did not begin until 1867, when a company imported from France first presented *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* in New York, and performances in English soon followed with a sensational effect. (106)

While the nationwide craze may not have started until after *La Grande-Duchesse* premiered in 1867, French and German audiences were already familiar with Offenbach as much as a decade earlier.

Les Deux Aveugles which Offenbach premiered during the 1855 Paris Expo was premiered only two years later in New York's Metropolitan Hall in its original French (Gänzl 1994, 355 & 1075). The next two Offenbach operettas to premiere in New York could be enjoyed by German-speaking audiences at the Stadt Theatre with German versions of the 1857 *La Mariage aux Lanternes* in 1860 and the 1858 *Orphée aux Enfers* in 1861 (Koegel 2009, 398). Two more Offenbach operettas would premiere (*Tromb-al-ca-zar* in 1864 in French and *La Chanson de Fortunio* in 1867 as *Fortunioslied* in German) before the famed premiere of *La Grande-Duchesse de Gérolstein* (Gänzl 1994, 249 & 1472). These examples alone show the importance of French- and German-language theatre in New York City and support the need to analyze direct interference, semidirect interference, and indirect interlingual interference.

Operetta was not exclusively a French and German enterprise. After Offenbach had sparked the nationwide operetta craze in the late 1860s, one British duo made their mark the following decade. W. S. Gilbert and Arthur Sullivan premiered their short operetta *Trial by Jury* in 1875 at the Eagle Variety in New York City. But it was the American premiere of *H.M.S. Pinafore* in 1879 at the Standard Theatre that sparked a true operetta craze. Bordman characterizes it as “the most important musical ever written [...] in the English-speaking world” (1981, 16). The musical was so popular that within the same calendar year it was revived three different times (at three different theatres), was the source of a parody (*T.P.S. Canal Boat Pinafore*), and presented in German at the Germania Theatre as *IMS Pinafore* (Kattwinkel 177; Gänzl 1994, 664). While this one work served to introduce a duo that would dominate Broadway stages for decades to come, Cecil Smith notes that they “won an audience not only for their own works in America, but for transatlantic light music generally” (52).

Whether Offenbach or Gilbert and Sullivan played a more significant role in introducing light opera to American audiences is not the question here. This chapter focuses on the interference from foreign-language musical polysystems on the Broadway musical polysystem. My data will show that French interference was strong earlier in the operetta period with French operettas premiering in French and in English translation. My data will also show that German interference was strong later in the period, though not to the same degree as French, with translations and adaptations of German-language operettas. A small handful of Hungarian operettas made their way onto Broadway stages also primarily through translation, but never close to the same degree as French or German.

Foreign-Language Operettas on the Broadway Stage: 1850-1949

Using my data—primarily in graph format—I will describe various trends in the interference of French- and German-language operettas on the Broadway stage from 1850 through 1949. Historical accounts from various scholars will help describe these trends, but the primary goal is to present a more comprehensive picture and to present a comparative look at these two major cultural-linguistic sources and the varying modes of importation. This data approach requires that productions be reduced to a number of quantifiable elements that may be counted and contrasted. Chapter 2 describes in more detail the data collection process and the categories being used. Only by reducing these works to quantifiable data is it possible to visually represent historical literary trends of interference. For simplicity's sake and for consistency, all data is presented by decades. Both raw numbers (of productions) and percentages will be used. Because the number of operettas per decade (along with the total

number of productions of musical entertainment) vary greatly, it is necessary to consider percentages to track these trends relative to other operettas during the same time period.

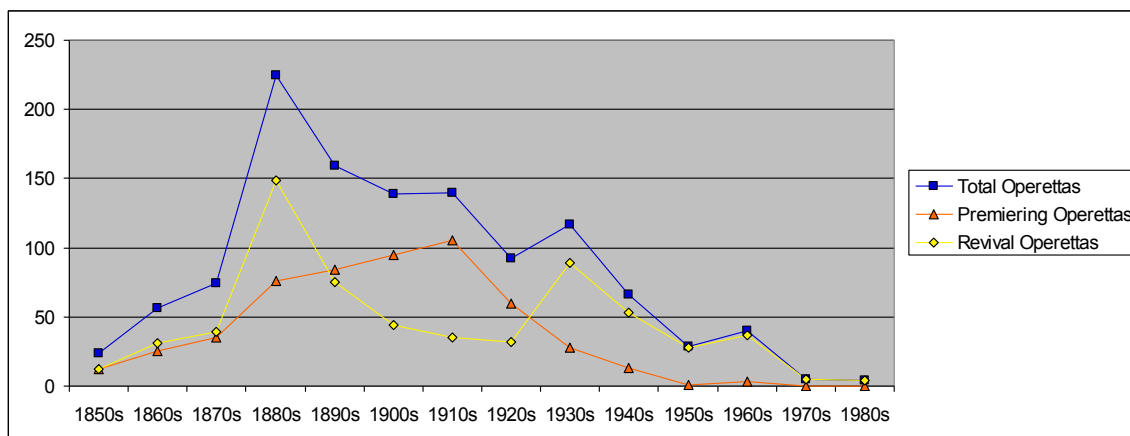


Fig. 3.1. Total number of operettas performed on Broadway (with a break out of premiering and revival productions).

To start with, we must first look at the total numbers of operettas presented per decade on Broadway stages. Figure 3.1 does so with a break down of premiering operettas, contrasted with those revival productions.⁶⁴ The data show a steady rise in the number of operettas premiering on Broadway stages up through the second decade of the twentieth century, followed by a quick decrease in the number of premiering operettas until the mid century when hardly any new operettas premiered on Broadway. It is worth mentioning again that “operetta”—while describing these lighter varieties of opera—is a historical term that was at times used invariably with musical comedy (a genre and term that would overtake Broadway musical entertainment). Despite this—at times confusing—overlap, databases such as the IBDB and Grove Music

⁶⁴ Return engagements have been placed into the same category as revivals. Only 26 productions (2.2% of operetta productions) fall into the category of return engagement. Because this project focuses on original productions, the distinction between revival and return engagement is not important. While some of these graphs or similar graphs were presented in Chapter 2, these data are presented again to discuss more pertinent trends.

Online, in addition to historians like Hishak and Bordman, have made distinctions that classify particular works as operettas.⁶⁵

Figure 3.1 also shows two spikes in the revival of operettas. The 1880s shows a dramatic increase in revival productions. In addition to multiple revivals of works composed by Jacques Offenbach, there were multiple revivals of Edmond Audran, Charles Lecocq, Carl Millöcker, Johann Strauss, Franz von Suppé, and Arthur Sullivan.⁶⁶ The 1880s was truly a decade of diversity in terms of revivals. The second spike in the 1930s marks a several-decade period during which there were multiple revivals of works by Gilbert and Sullivan done in repertory. One to as many as eleven of Gilbert and Sullivan's operettas would be revived at the same time for short runs. I have listed each of these show titles separately in my database for these repertory runs. Consequently, Gilbert and Sullivan account for more than half of the revival productions of operettas between the 1930s and 1970s. This means that the trend of reviving operettas as a genre is actually less significant for this time period and is more dependent on the popularity of Gilbert and Sullivan's works.

It must be noted that the data for revivals (especially before the 1920s⁶⁷) is probably less complete than for other decades. Records from the mid to late nineteenth century, especially, do not appear to be as complete (based on numerous productions found in other sources). Histories of musical theatre that go back to the mid-nineteenth century focus more on premiering

⁶⁵ Particular attention was paid to the composers of works and Grove Music Online was the primary indicator of whether a composer and his works fit the category of operetta.

⁶⁶ See Chapter 2 for more specific data on this.

⁶⁷ In his *Broadway Plays and Musicals*, Hishak begins his comprehensive list of Broadway productions (premieres, revivals, and return engagements) with 1919, though he still misses some productions. The IBDB includes very thorough records for the same time period that Hishak covers and fairly complete records for the decades leading up to the 1920s. Other resources, most notably Bordman's *American Musical Theatre: A Chronicle* was used to fill in more data for these earlier decades. Chapter 2 of this project discusses the data collection process in more detail.

productions, so it is quite possible that our records for revivals of operettas (and consequently other pieces of musical entertainment) for the first few decades of my research period are less complete than later decades, especially for revivals.

This is yet another reason why this project focuses more on premiering productions—because the data for premiering productions is believed to be more complete than those for revivals and return engagements. Regardless, the data collected do show revivals outnumbering premieres in the 1880s and then overtaking premieres again in the 1930s (due mostly to the Gilbert and Sullivan revivals discussed earlier). Cecil Smith notes that the 1880s marked an increase in comic opera (the term he uses for operetta) from London, Paris, and Vienna, and that it “reached its climax” with Edward Jakobowski’s *Erminie*, which premiered in 1886 (42, 53). The ability to discuss the relationship between premiering and revival productions is an additional benefit of properly cataloguing production data (even though that is not the primary purpose of this project).

As Figure 3.1 shows, the numbers of operettas performed each decade vary greatly, as do the number of musical productions per decade (differing due to population growth, theatre capacities, and variables in production runs and ticket prices). Figure 3.2 shows the number of operettas performed relative to all musical productions. These percentages confirm Cecil Smith’s assessment that “comic opera” reached its climax in the 1880s, shown here to account for 43.4% of all musical productions that decade—a height that operetta would never regain as other musical genres (burlesques, extravaganzas, revues, and musical comedies) would compete for audience attention.

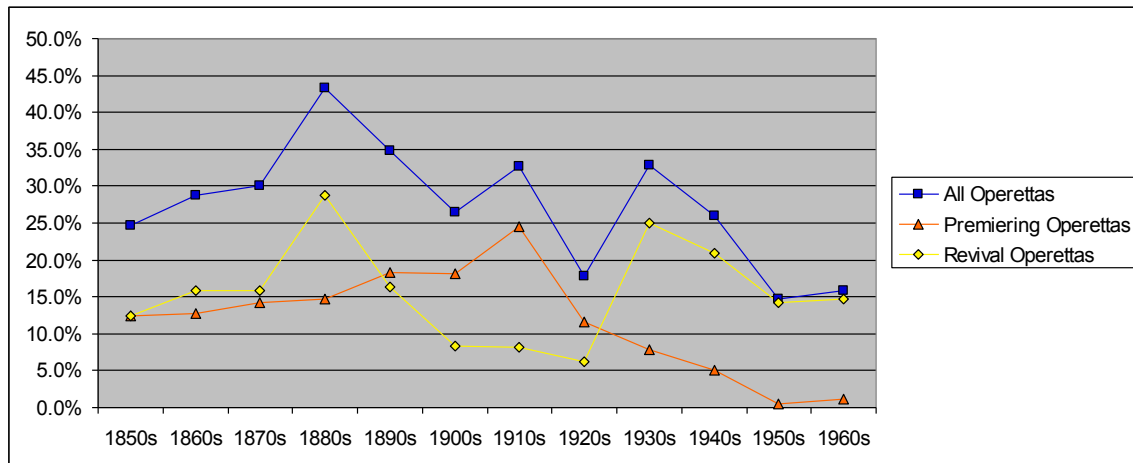


Fig. 3.2. Percentage of operettas performed on Broadway relative to all musical productions (with a break out of premiering and revival productions).

Focusing now on the premiering operettas, we can explore the various trends of middle European interference on the Broadway operetta polysystem. Figure 3.3 graphs out the six categories of interference discussed earlier in this chapter. This figure shows that direct interference (operettas premiering in their original language on Broadway) occurred almost exclusively in the mid to late nineteenth century (with the exception of a few operettas in the first several decades of the twentieth century. Semidirect interference is the least significant trend with only ten total operettas (five French operettas performed in German in the 1860s and then another five around the turn of the century⁶⁸). Despite the low numbers in this second category, it is important to note again that not all operettas premiered in their original language or in English translation.

⁶⁸ These five semidirect works are slightly more diverse: the 1890s and 1900s each had one French operetta that premiered in German, the 1910s had one French and one German operetta that premiered in Italian, and the 1920s had one Hungarian operetta that premiered in German. As I discussed earlier with *Wo Die Lerche Singt* (*A pacsirta*), this one Lehár operetta premiered in Hungarian and has long been considered a German-language operetta (Gänzl 1994, 1571).

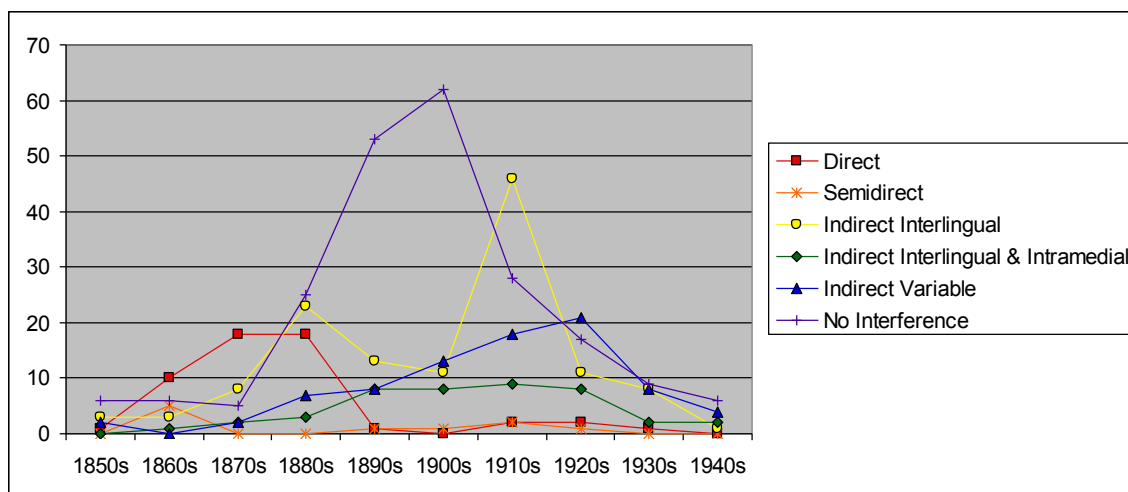


Fig. 3.3. Categories of interference for operettas on the Broadway stage.

| | Premiere in Paris | Premiere in Berlin | Premiere in Vienna | Premiere at the Stadt Theatre |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>Le Mariage aux Lanternes</i> | 1857 | 1858 (in German) | 1858 | 1860 |
| <i>Orphée aux Enfers</i> | 1858 | 1860 | 1860 (in German) | 1861 |
| <i>La Chanson de Fortunio</i> | 1861 | 1861 | 1861 (in German) | 1867 |
| <i>Les Bavards</i> | 1862 | 1863 | 1862 (in German) | 1867 |
| <i>La Belle Hélène</i> | 1864 | 1865 (in German) | 1865 (in German) | 1867 |

Table 3.1. Offenbach operettas that premiered on Broadway in German translation.⁶⁹

All five of these French operettas premiering in German in the 1860s were of operettas by Offenbach. All five of these Offenbach premieres were produced at the Stadt Theatre,⁷⁰ which was one of the professional German-language theatres in New York City. According to Gänzl's entries on each of these operettas (see Table 3.1), all five of these works had been performed in German in Europe before they were presented on Broadway. This is of particular

⁶⁹ Premiere dates and language of premiere are based on Gänzl (1994). Gänzl lists the translated title for those productions that have been translated to help distinguish the language of production.

⁷⁰ Note that the first Stadt Theatre was closed in June 1864 and a second theatre by the same name opened in September of that year (Koegel 2009, 44, 46). Koegel notes that "the same audience returned to the space after it was transformed into the second Stadttheater" (2009, 45).

interest because Offenbach is most often described as a French export and associated with his rise to fame at the 1885 Paris Expo. Offenbach's fame also expanded into Germany and Austria, two countries from which producers at New York's German-language theatre still had ties.

It is also important to note that many middle European works made their way to Broadway through London stages (as the linguistic, cultural, and artistic ties between the United States and England continued). My data does not track these trends, though it would be a possibility for future research. What these data show is that not only did musical works come to the United States via London or the country of origin for a show, but also through countries with which New York theatre producers had ties, namely Germany and Austria.

This analysis is limited to only the premieres of operettas. Many subsequent revivals of French- and English-language operettas and operas appeared in German translations and even Italian translations. John Koegel lists more than one hundred operas and operettas that received productions in New York in German and other languages between 1842 and 1893 (2009, 395-401). This means that semidirect interference may be a stronger trend when also considering revivals, but that this mode of literary transfer is not as significant for *introducing* works into the Broadway polysystem.

Even considering the percentage of operettas entering the Broadway polysystem through semidirect interference, this trend is still the least significant for most of this century. While it accounts for 20% of operettas in the 1860s, this decade has only 25 operettas catalogued in the database. Indirect interlingual inference (translation proper, into English), however, accounts for a significant number and percentage of operettas entering Broadway stages. Figures 3.3 and 3.4

show increases in the number and percentage of English translations of foreign-language operettas in the 1880s⁷¹ and 1910s.

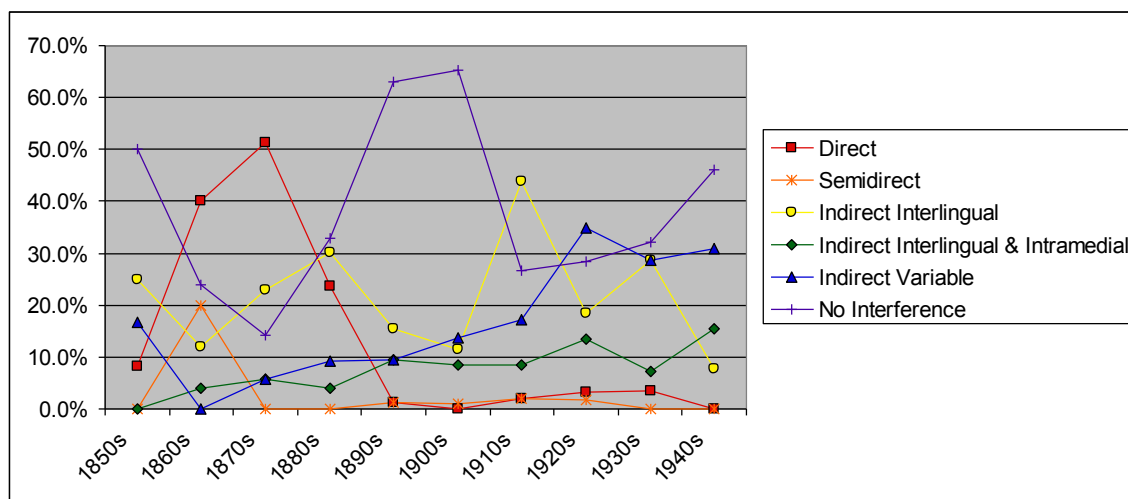


Fig. 3.4. Percentages of categories of inferences in operettas on Broadway

The 1910s was the height of operetta premieres on Broadway, and the largest group of these operettas was those entering the United States through indirect interlingual inference. Nearly half (44.8%) of all premiering operettas were translated operettas, with 36 of the 47 translated operettas (76.6%) being from the German language. This quick middle European operetta boom is unanimously credited by scholars to the 1907 Broadway premiere of Franz Lehár's *The Merry Widow* (which premiered at the New Amsterdam Theatre on October 21st in English translation). Stempel notes that *The Merry Widow*'s "phenomenal success unleashed a national mania for German-language operetta (in English translation) comparable to what had

⁷¹ The dramatic increase in all operetta productions in the 1880s was discussed earlier in the chapter. During this decade several French and Austrian composers had their works premiere on Broadway stages in English translation: Edmond Audran (4 works), Francis Chassaigne (2 works), Alphons Czibulka (2 works), Rudolf Dellinger (2 works), Hervé (1 work), Charles Lecocq (2 works), Carl Millöcker (2 works), Jacques Offenbach (1 work), Victor Roger (1 work), Johann Strauss II (3 works), and Franz von Suppé (3 works). The 1880s was truly the height of operettas not only in sheer numbers of premiering and revival productions, but also in variety with a great mix of premieres and revivals and of operettas being imported from England, France, and Austria. Of particular importance to this project, translated French and Austrian operettas enjoyed much success this decade.

happened a generation earlier with its French and British counterparts” (174). Jones also notes that 1907 marks a shift from English and French operettas to Viennese operettas (48).⁷²

Gerald Bordman also writes about the effect of *The Merry Widow*’s success on Broadway stages. For seven years after “Viennese-style waltz-operetta dominated the American lyric stage” (1981, 79) and that “Viennese operettas and their American imitations became the standards by which book musicals were judged” (1982, 79). Broadway producers (then called managers) bought the rights for as many German-language operettas as possible “in the vain hope of finding another ‘Merry Widow’” (Bordman 1981, 80). Kenrick describes the economic appeal for Viennese operettas:

Vienna-born operettas continued to flood Broadway and London’s West End, giving American and British producers a steady crop of pre-tested material. It would take two things to stem this musical tide: an American composer capable of synthesizing a new and sophisticated American sound, and a nightmarish war that was both unnecessary and unavoidable. (133)

Kenrick is referring to the rise of early American composers such as Jerome Kern and Irving Berlin, but the issue here is the importation of German-language operettas.

The downturn for German-language operettas corresponds with the outbreak of World War I in 1914 and then Austrian operetta’s fate is sealed with the United States’ entrance in the war in 1917. According to Jones, “by winter 1917, Broadway entirely banished European operetta from its musical stages until nearly a year after the Armistice” (48). Consulting my data, “banished” may be too strong a term. Figure 3.5 includes a break down of German, French, and Hungarian operettas premiering on Broadway in English translation. Jones claims that the

⁷² *The Merry Widow* definitely starts a new trend with the last German-language operetta to be translated and premiering on Broadway being Johann Straus II’s *Weiner Blut (Vienna Life)* in 1901.

1913-14 season was the height of European operettas being imported to Broadway (49).

Considering only premiering productions, though, it would be the 1911-12 season that led this trend (with 11 operettas out of 16 being translations of European operettas).⁷³ My data shows that 1912 leads with 9 new German operettas translated into English.⁷⁴

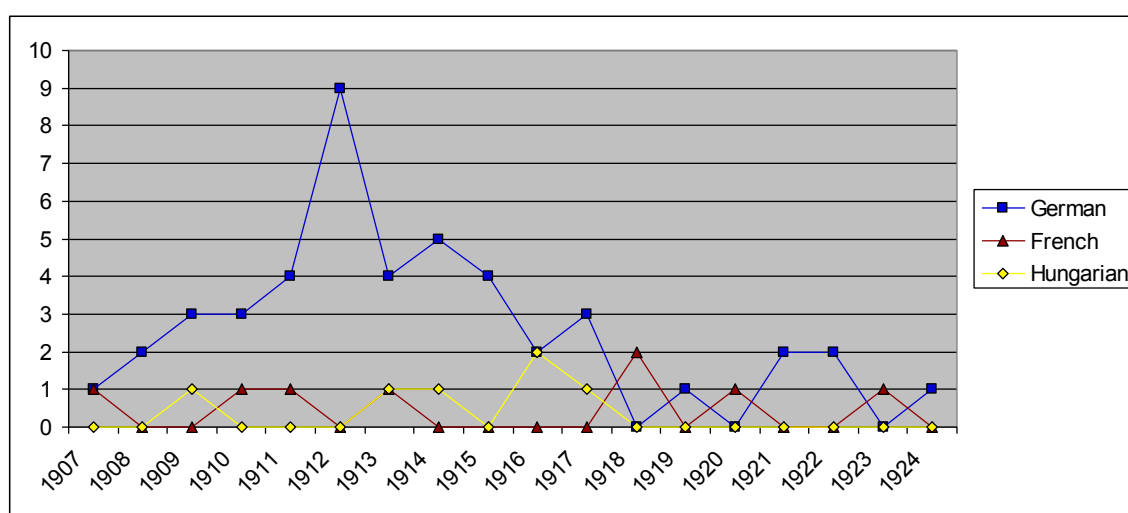


Fig. 3.5. Number of middle-European operettas premiering on Broadway in English translation.

Figure 3.5 does show that the number of German-language works being imported decreases, but by the middle of the decade, the number of German works per year was already low. Historians often use the rise of anti-German sentiment creating a cultural embargo as the most plausible explanation for the demise of European operettas and the new rise of original

⁷³ The 1912-13 featured only 5 translated operettas of 16 new operettas (but also included 3 German operettas that had been adapted into American operettas). The 1913-14 season featured 8 translated European operettas of 13 total new operetta productions.

⁷⁴ Note that most theatre historians discuss theatre in terms of theatre seasons, rather than calendar years. Hirschak begins the theatre season with June 15th every year (2009, 525-568). Hauser et al. highlight the difficulty with using theatre seasons for longitudinal data purposes: “The 2010-2011 Season consisted of 53 weeks. Due to the fact that the Broadway season revolves around the Tony Awards, and not the calendar year, usually Broadway seasons are 52 weeks long, but every seven years, the season must be 53 weeks long, to compensate for one lost day each year. For the purposes of this report, we adjusted the length of the season to 52 weeks, to keep it consistent with previous analyses” (17n3). Due to the nature of this expansive database, I have opted to use the calendar year. This also makes it easier to discuss historical trends in terms of calendar decades rather than in sets of ten theatre seasons.

American musical material. Bordman, however, provides another explanation for the decrease in European musical imports:

But it was more than America's refusal to put dollars into enemy pockets that sent operetta into a momentary retreat. The warring European nations had called up many of their younger writers for military service. Their older writers either had peaked or were thrown off balance by the turmoil around them. In truth, few operettas of real merit premiered on German or Austrian boards during the war. For the first time in many years, American writers and producers found they had the field virtually to themselves. They took brilliant advantage of the opening. (1981, 102-3)

While the playing field was significantly better for American composers come the 1920s, European operettas continued to be translated and adapted through the 1940s (even if to a lesser degree).

The fourth category of interference (interlingual and intramedial) are those French, German, and Hungarian operettas that were not translated, but rather have been adapted to the point that the original score has been altered entirely or enough for historians to classify them as adaptations rather than translations. Sometimes these are referred to as "reworkings" or "Americanizations" (in cases where there is a significant cultural adaptation). It is necessary to specify interlingual and intramedial interference because this category of adaptation is closer to the category of translation than those works that are adaptations of source texts that are not operettas, but also different from those adapted from English-language operettas. The issue at hand is how non-English-language operettas enter the Broadway polysystem. Here, interlingual and intramedial interference lies along a spectrum of importation modes with direct, semidirect,

and indirect interlingual (while operettas composed in English, adapted from English-language operettas, or other media fall outside this spectrum).

This trend of indirect interlingual and intramedial interference (similar to semidirect interference) has only played a minor role in the history of operettas on Broadway. Figures 3.3 and 3.4 show that no more than 8 operettas per decade enter the Broadway polysystem through this form of interference. Figure 3.4 shows that in terms of percentages that interlingual and intramedial interference has always operated to a lesser degree than indirect interlingual interference until the 1940s (the last decade for which operettas could be described as being premiered with any regularity). Only 13 operettas, though, premiered in the 1940s according to the date, and only three of those were of foreign-language operettas that entered the Broadway polysystem through some form of interlingual interference.

Our fifth category, indirect variable interference, shows a steady increase up through the 1920s. While the total number of operettas premiering decreased significantly in the 1930s and 1940s, this variable category of adaptation still accounts for approximately 30% of operettas premiering on Broadway. This category, however, is not significant when discussing the importation of foreign-language operettas and fits more properly with our sixth category: no interference.

The no interference category includes all of those works originally composed and premiered in English (in the United States and England) that do not have an identifiable source. Figures 3.3 and 3.4 show that this category was very significant in the 1890s and 1900s, meaning that during these two particular decades that new English-language operettas enjoyed great

success. These were the decades during which American composers Julian Edwards,⁷⁵ Reginald De Koven, Victor Herbert,⁷⁶ Gustav Luders,⁷⁷ Gustave Kerker,⁷⁸ A. Baldwin Sloane, John Philip Sousa, and one British composer—Arthur Sullivan—had great success. Figures 3.3 and 3.4 give the appearance that this period of English language operetta composition was the strongest trend in operetta history on Broadway, but this is not the case.

Figures 3.6 and 3.7 combine categories one through four (all those foreign-language operettas imported through some form of interference. These foreign-language imports are contrasted from other adaptations (category five) and the final category (no interference), featuring those new English compositions without a source for adaptation.⁷⁹ From the 1860s to the 1890s (decades for which there is more data) we see that the premiere of operettas on Broadway is primarily dependent on the importation of foreign-language operettas. In fact, in the 1870s, 80% of the operettas that premiered on Broadway were French- or German-language imports. English-language compositions come to dominate at the turn of the century, only to be overtaken again by foreign-language operettas (primarily Austrian operettas in English translation, discussed earlier).

⁷⁵ Julian Edwards was born in Manchester, England, immigrated to the United States in 1888, and became a U.S. citizen in 1890 (see Grove Music Online).

⁷⁶ Victor Herbert was born in Ireland and immigrated to the United States in 1886 (see Grove Music Online).

⁷⁷ Gustav Luders from born in Germany and immigrated to the United States in 1888 (see Grove Music Online).

⁷⁸ Gustave Kerker was born in German and immigrated to the United States in 1867 (see Grove Music Online).

⁷⁹ The 1850s and 1940s only have 12 and 13 operettas in the decade, respectively. The trends shown in this first and last decade may not be trends at all, but rather the randomness of a handful of operettas performed over a decade.

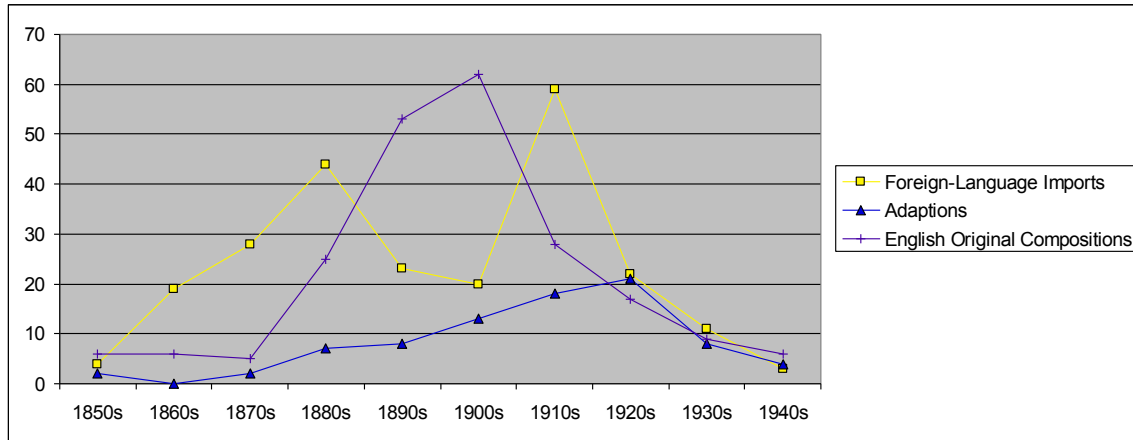


Fig. 3.6. Number of foreign-language operettas imported compared to other adapted and English original compositions.

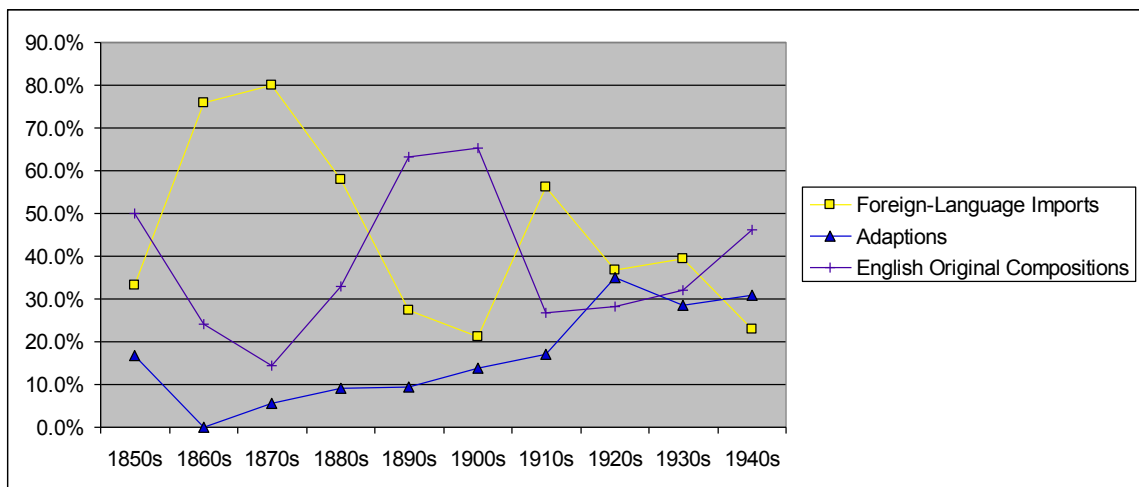


Fig. 3.7. Percentages of foreign-language operettas imported compared to other adapted and English original compositions.

Adaptations (excluding the adaptation of foreign-language operettas) are shown to be on a steady increase each decade until the 1920s, after which all operettas decline on Broadway. These adaptations only count for as many as 35% of operettas in the 1920s. Trends in intermedial interference (adaptation from one medium to musical entertainment) will be addressed more fully in Chapter 4. All of these operetta adaptations, though, are English-language compositions and can be combined with the English original compositions. Figures 3.8 and 3.9 show this comparison.

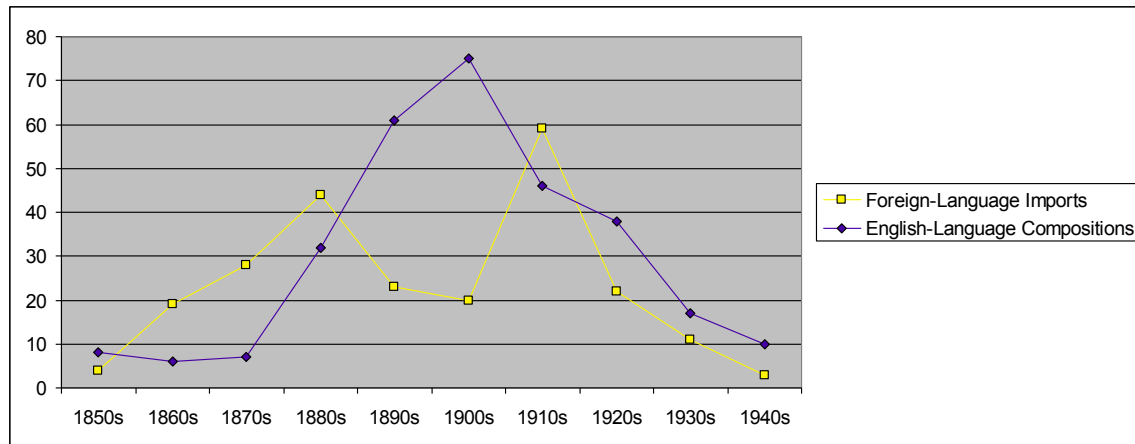


Fig. 3.8. Number of foreign-language operettas imported compared to English-language operettas.

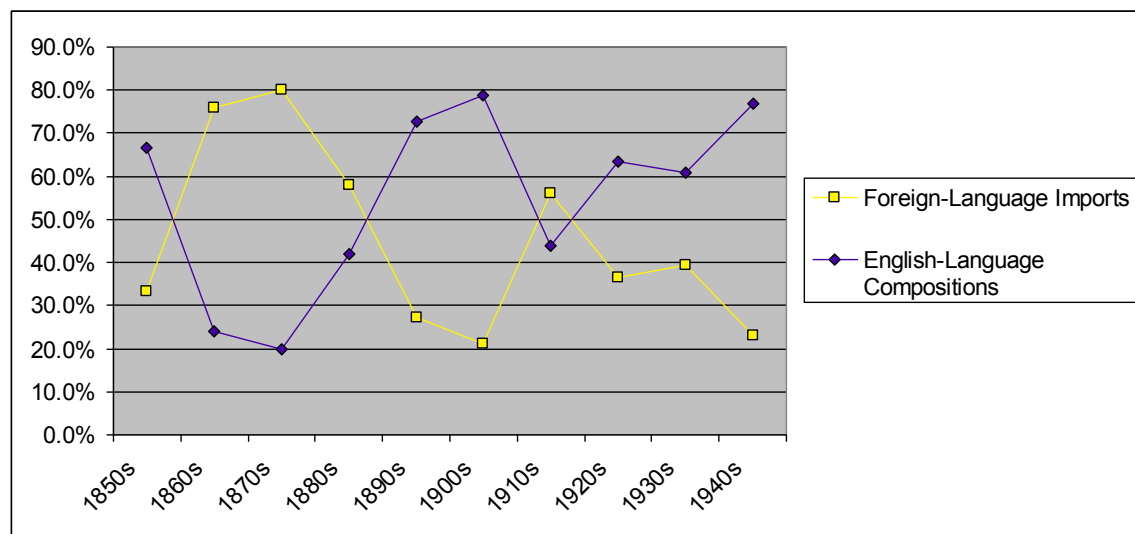


Fig. 3.9. Percentage of foreign-language operettas imported compared to English-language operettas.

Contrasting only foreign-language imports and English-language compositions (regardless of the mode of interference or composition) we see that both categories reached peaks around 80%, but the number of English-language compositions was greater at the turn of the century. The major spike in foreign-language imports seen in the 1910s in Figures 3.6 and 3.7 is less significant in Figures 3.8 and 3.9 (because the variable adaptations have been added to the English-language compositions). This graph questions the extent to which Austrian operettas (along with other middle European operettas) *dominated* the Broadway stages. Considering the

data this way, foreign-language operettas only account for 56.2% of premiering operettas for the decade. While this is a majority, it shows that enough American composers had staked their claim on Broadway. Austrian operettas were no doubt imported with increased vigor, but I would contend that historians have exaggerated this trend by ignoring other trends, such as adapted operettas.

Broadway Operetta and Polysystem Theory

What these multiple figures show is the need to graph out data in numerous ways to uncover, explore, and describe major and minor trends. Figures 3.3 through 3.9 (with the exception of Figure 3.5) focus on the interlingual interference. These graphs combine all foreign-language operettas into one category (though Figure 3.5 shows a break out for 1907 through 1924). In Itamar Even-Zohar's article "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem," he focuses on the function of translation, which for him is the primary mode of "intermediation" in indirect interference. According to Even-Zohar, a literature will import more translated texts when the literature is young because it "cannot immediately create texts in all types known to its producers, [and therefore] it benefits from the experience of other literatures" (1990, 47).

Even-Zohar lists "three major cases" when a literature is more likely to import translated literature:

- (a) when a poly-system has not yet been crystallized, that is to say, when a literature is "young," in the process of being established; (b) when a literature is either "peripheral" (within a large group of correlated literatures) or "weak," or both; and (c) when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a literature. (1990, 47)

I would argue that in the 1850s and 1860s that Broadway was still a “young literature,” and perhaps even “weak.” Available performance venues were still in flux as managers opened new performance spaces and as theatres burned down and were quickly rebuilt. Theatre managers scrambled to put together variety shows of multiple acts just to create a full night of entertainment. Additionally, no dominant native form of musical entertainment had matured to the point of being a feature genre (as would the operetta and later the musical comedy). Because variety shows, vaudeville, burlesques, and extravaganzas relied primarily on quickly creating and combining pieces to form a night’s entertainment, the conditions for translation (or any other form of interference other than adaptation—as was found in burlesques⁸⁰) did not yet exist. Operetta offered one of the first opportunities for Broadway to import foreign-language musical entertainment through an organized trend of interference.

The lack of one dominating native genre, I would argue, would also create a “literary vacuum.” Broadway venues staged so many different kinds of entertainment that the contemporary notion of the “Broadway musical” would have been far from uniform to anyone’s standards. Considering Figures 3.8 and 3.9, Even-Zohar’s concept that translated literature is only imported when a literature falls into one of his three categories does not hold true. In the 1890s and 1900s American writers come to dominate the Broadway stages in terms of operettas (with the highest output of any decades). The 1910s, though, shows another wave of importation of translated works that slightly overtakes the two decades of prolific American contributions to light opera on the Broadway stage.

⁸⁰ Chapter 4 discusses the particular case of burlesque and adaptation. Burlesques were frequently presented in the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s. While burlesques were revived, operas and operettas (primarily foreign ones) were revived far more frequently than burlesques. This suggests that foreign operas and operettas played a stronger role in the Broadway polysystem than native burlesques during this time period.

As I discussed earlier, this trend in the 1910s was not quite as strong as some scholars may suggest, but there is no doubt that the importation of Austrian operettas after 1907 was quite significant and deserves scholarly attention. The problem with using Even-Zohar's Polysystem Theory is that it is perhaps too simplistic in its discussion of interference for intermedial texts. As noted earlier, he focuses primarily on translation (though other scholars have expanded this to include adaptation). I have made these modes of interference more specific and graphed those earlier in this chapter. The other issue is that when considering this theory in the abstract, a native (target) system appears to rely on a uniform (source) system. To fully discuss these trends with operettas on Broadway, though, it will be necessary to discuss the various cultural-linguistic source systems differently. In this case, this would be the French and the German-Austrian systems.

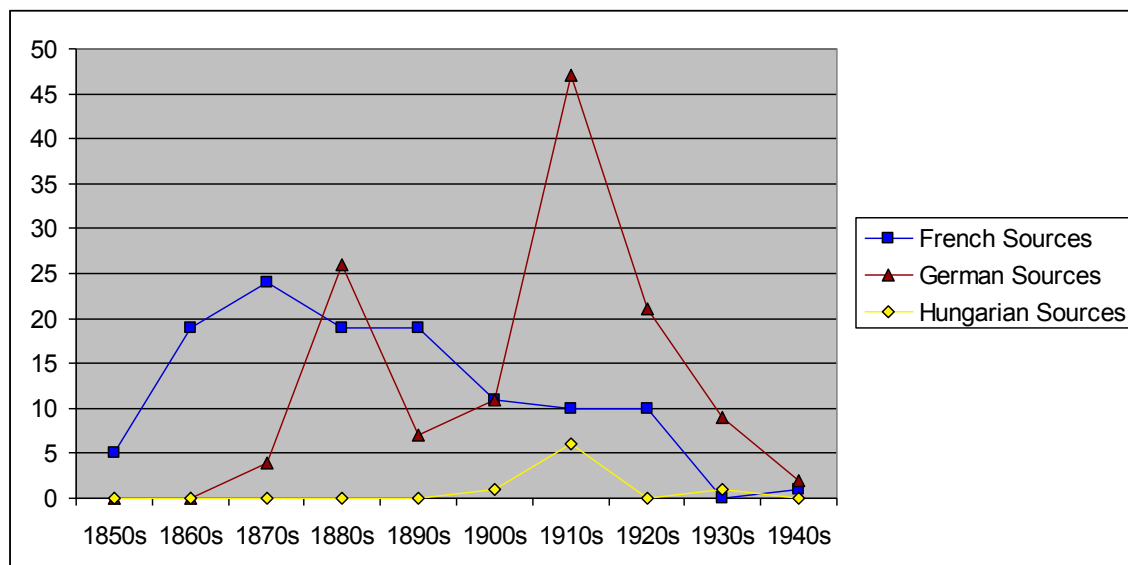


Fig. 3.10. Number of foreign-language sources (operettas and other source material) entering the Broadway polysystem as operettas (including untranslated, translated, and adapted works).

Figure 3.10 shows the cultural-linguistic influences on operettas performed on Broadway. The difference with these statistics is that they are source-based regardless of their medium. In other words, a French play that serves as the source material for an operetta (for example, A.

Decourcelles and L. Thibaut's 1856 play *Je dine chez ma Mère*, which was adapted into the 1918 Victor Herbert operetta *Madeleine*) would be treated the same as an Offenbach operetta that is imported in French, German, or English. The point here is to track how many foreign-language source texts helped form and shape operettas on the Broadway stage. As seen in this graph, French sources form the first wave, overtaken by German briefly in the 1880s. As German sources decline in the 1890s, French works outnumber the German again, but German works then account for a record 47 source texts in the 1910s (corresponding with the post-*Merry Widow* translation boom). French and German texts dominate this century period with a handful of Hungarian sources primarily in the 1910s.⁸¹

Figure 3.10 includes data for operettas that were performed in their original language, translated, and adapted. Figure 3.11 includes the data for those operettas that were adapted from English language sources (operettas, plays, and novels). Figures 3.6 and 3.7 showed a steady increase in operetta adaptations (indirect variable interference). The data for English-language sources in Figure 3.11 correlates strongly with these adaptations tracked in Figures 3.6 and 3.7. The important point here is that French and German sources dominated as source material (if we exclude those operettas composed in English).

Percentages again show the domination of French language sources (see Figure 3.12). This graph includes the percentage for all other operettas (English original compositions and those seven other operettas with other sources discussed earlier). Although the number of German-language sources appears extremely high in the 1910s compared to other foreign-

⁸¹ My database also includes a few other language sources for operettas. Edward Solomon's 1888 *Penelope* is based on Homer's *The Odyssey* (Bordman 2010, 109). Virgilio Ranzato's 1935 *Land of Bells* "was performed in Italian by the Permanent Italian Theatre Company" (Hischak 249). Carl Woess's 1916 *Molly O'* was based on a story from Boccaccio's *Decameron* (IBDB). Karl Hajos's 1925 *Natja* is listed as an operetta based on music by Tchaikovsky (IBDB). Three other operettas (*Wonderland* [1905], *The Merry Widow and the Devil* [1908], and *Song of Norway* [1944]) have multiple sources. Excluding these seven operettas, all other operettas have a French, German, Hungarian, or English source.

language sources across these ten decades (see Figure 3.10 or 3.11), Figure 3.12 shows that operettas based on German-language sources (translations and adaptations) only account for 44.8% of operettas in that decade. The combination of French, English, and Hungarian sources along with English-language compositions made for a little more diversity than some theatre historians may suggest.

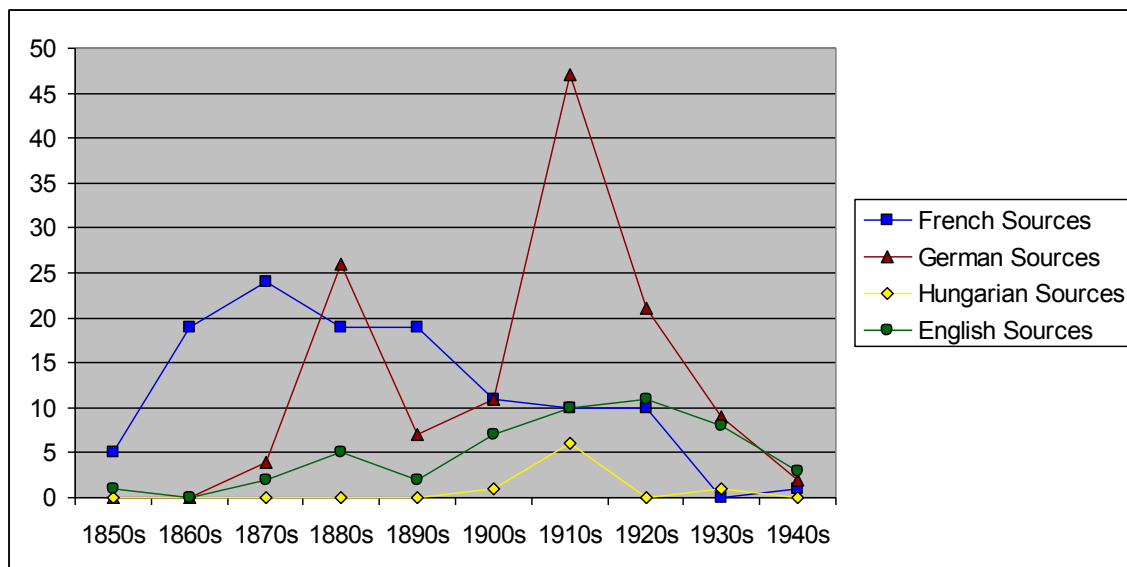


Fig. 3.11. Number of foreign-language sources (operettas and other source material) entering the Broadway polysystem as operettas (including untranslated, translated, and adapted works) compared to English-language sources for operetta.

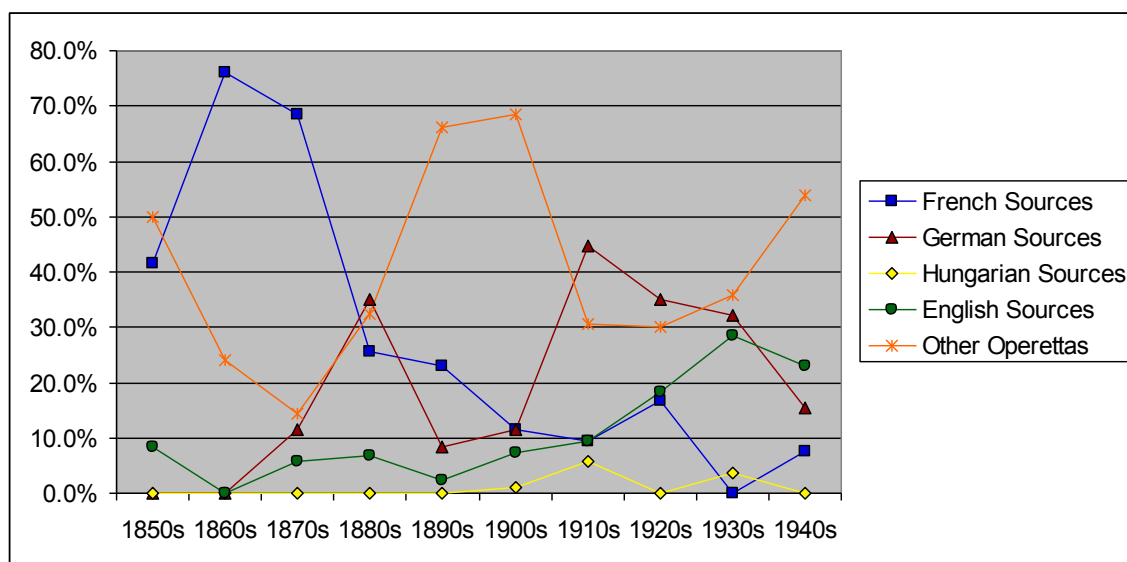


Fig. 3.12. Percentage of foreign-language sources (operettas and other source material) entering the Broadway polysystem as operettas (including untranslated, translated, and adapted works) compared to English-language sources and other operettas.

Figures 3.10, 3.11, and 3.12 combine untranslated, translated, and adapted texts, focusing only on the cultural-linguistic source literature. When these data are separated out into different kinds of interference and further compared, the trends of the intersection of cultural-linguistic source literature and mode of interference become more complex. Figure 3.13 shows only the indirect interlingual interference of French-, German-, and Hungarian-language works. A total of 119 French works entered the Broadway operetta polysystem through forms of interference, compared to 127 German works.

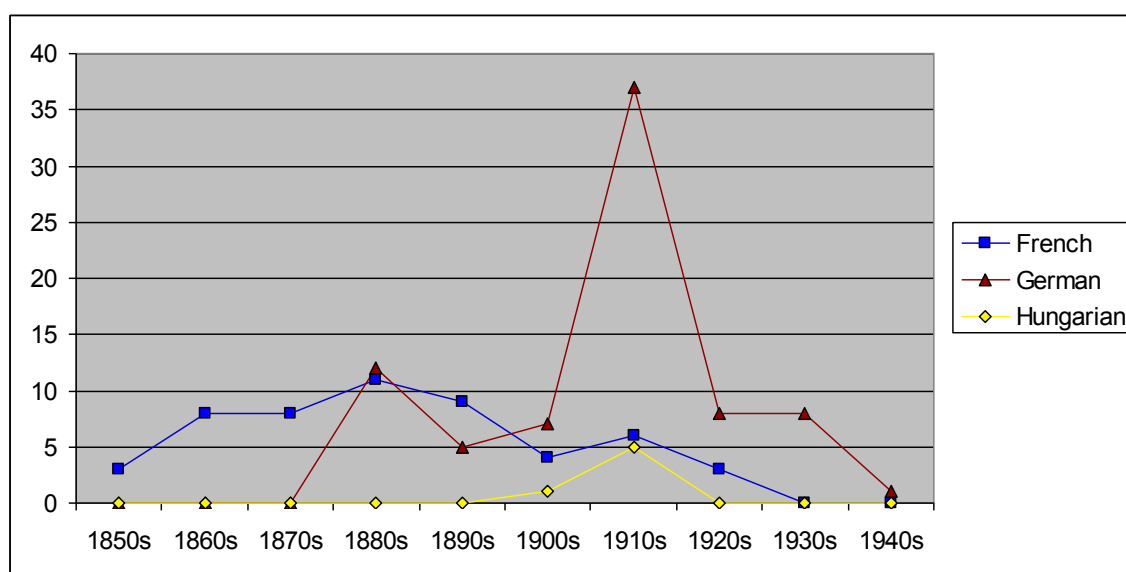


Fig. 3.13. Number of foreign-language operettas entering the Broadway polysystem through indirect interlingual interference (translation proper).

Figure 3.13 shows that the number of French operettas translated into English remained relatively low and somewhat consistent over a long period of several decades. The importation of German works through translation, though, was delayed a few decades after the French and after the success of *The Merry Widow* reached a height that French never came close to. The

importation of Hungarian-language operettas corresponds with the height of German-language operettas.

This small number of Hungarian-language operettas is curious. One possibility would be that these Hungarian works made their way to the United States via German-language productions (as was seen with some of the earlier Offenbach operettas when the Stadt Theatre was at its height of German-language productions).⁸² Table 3.2, however, shows that the importation of Hungarian works is slightly more complex.

| | Premiere in Hungary | Premiere in Germany | Premiere in Vienna | Premiere on Broadway |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>Tüskerosza</i> (Jacobi) | 1907 | - | - | 1917 |
| <i>Tatárjárás</i> (Kálmán) | 1908 | 1909 | 1909 | 1909 |
| <i>A Kis Gróf</i> (Rényi) | 1911 | 1913 | 1912 | 1914 |
| <i>Leányvásár</i> (Jacobi) | 1911 | 1912 | 1913 (Hun.) 1915 (German) | 1913 |
| <i>Szibill</i> (Jacobi) | 1914 | 1919 | 1919 | 1916 |
| <i>Zsuzsi kisasszony</i> (Kálmán) | 1915 | - | - | 1916 |

Table 3.2. Hungarian operettas that premiered on Broadway in English translation.

Three of these Hungarian works (*Tatárjárás*, *A Kis Gróf*, and *Leányvásár*) had their German-language premieres before they appeared in English on Broadway.⁸³ It is very likely that these three Hungarian operettas entered the Broadway operetta polysystem through the German-language operetta polysystem. Two other Hungarian operettas composed by Victor Jacobi (*Tüskerosza* and *Szibill*) did not premiere on Broadway in English until after Jacobi had moved to the United States and obtained American citizenship.⁸⁴ These works had not

⁸² It is also possible that interference was from the Austro-Hungarian Empire (with capitals in Vienna and Budapest, which served as a secondary capital) rather than from German-speaking Austria alone.

⁸³ Note that Kálmán's 1908 *Tatárjárás* premiered in Vienna in January of 1909, then in Hamburg in March of 1909 (both in German), before premiering in English at the Knickerbocker Theater as *The Gay Hussars* in July of 1909.

⁸⁴ Jacobi moved in London in 1914 during the British run of his *Leányvásár* (under its English title *The Marriage Market*) and then moved to the United States shortly after the war broke out, and received American

premiered in German yet, so it is more likely that Jacobi had a personal hand in these premieres.⁸⁵ Kurt Gänzl discusses the curious history of Kálmán's *Zsuzsi kisasszony*, which outside of Hungary was only presented in the United States (as *Miss Springtime*) (1994, 1607).

To further complicate our discussion of modes of interference, Gänzl notes that in *Miss Springtime*, "Susy had become Rosita [and] Kálmán's score had been infiltrated by three numbers by Jerome Kern" (1994, 1607). This work is catalogued in my database as a translation because the majority of the score and the plot is still that of Kálmán's Hungarian operetta. As I have discussed earlier, there was a strong practice of interpolating new musical numbers (often by new up-and-coming American composers, such as Kern) in these translations of European operettas. For the sake of simplicity and consistency, I will maintain two separate categories for indirect interlingual interference ("translation proper") and indirect interlingual and intramedial interference (adaptation of a foreign-language operetta into English) for this project. Research into these liminal cases of "adapted translations" and the degree to which new musical numbers were interpolated through modes of indirect interference I will leave for a future time or to other scholars to pursue.

The case of these Hungarian works entering the Broadway polysystem demonstrates the complexity of interference. The history of these works suggests that Hungary was not independently a source of interference. These particular works appear to have entered Broadway via the Viennese tradition (either directly from Vienna or due to Hungary's close cultural and political ties to Austria) or from a Hungarian composer's direct involvement in Broadway (as

citizenship soon after (Gänzl 1994, 713; Grove Music Online).

⁸⁵ Jacobi would go on to premiere works on Broadway with librettos in English in 1920 with *Half Moon* and 1921 with *The Love Letter*. The latter was adapted from Ferenc Molnár's 1912 play *A Farkas*. Earlier that year on Broadway Molnár's play *Liliom* also premiered on Broadway (and was then revived in 1932 and 1940), which would later serve as the source material for *Carousel* (1945). Jacobi and Molnár appear to be two key artists in the history of Hungarian source material on the Broadway stage.

seen with Victor Jacobi). Further research would be needed to determine the degree to which these Hungarian imports were influenced by Austrian and American operetta practices.

Returning to our two major European sources, the data on the number of operettas entering the Broadway polysystem through some form of adaptation show that the peaks for French- and German-language sources lag slightly behind the peaks for importation through translation (for both of these cultural-linguistic literatures). Figure 3.14 shows the peak in French operettas being adapted into English occurring in the 1890s (just as translations from French slowly start to decrease after their height in the 1880s). Adaptations of German operettas into English reach their peak in the 1910s (the same decade when translations from German operettas hit their peak), but adaptations from German hold the same level for another decade. These numbers, however, are not relative to the number of translated operettas.

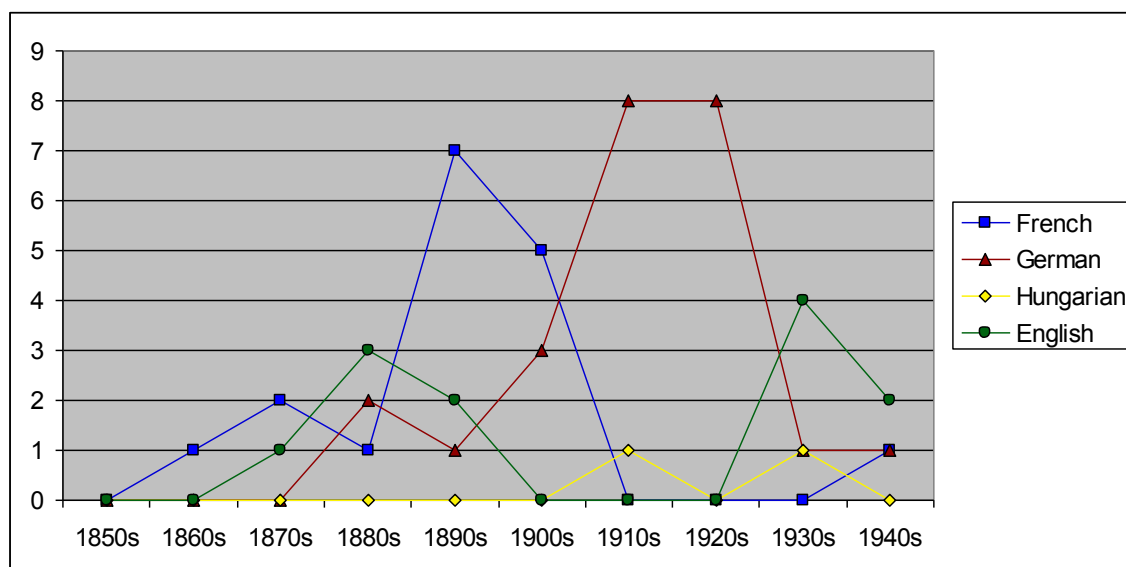


Fig. 3.14. Number of operettas entering the Broadway polysystem through indirect intramedial interference.

Figure 3.15 compares the importation of French- and German-language operettas through both translation and adaptation (only intramedial). This graph shows that the trend of importing operettas through adaptation from each literature is delayed relative to the importation through

translation and that interference from adaptation is rarely, if ever, more significant than through translation. This means that Even-Zohar was correct to focus on translated literature as a primary mode of interference from another literature, but I would maintain that the study of interference through other means—albeit minor—is of interest to the literary scholar (and the polysystem theorist).

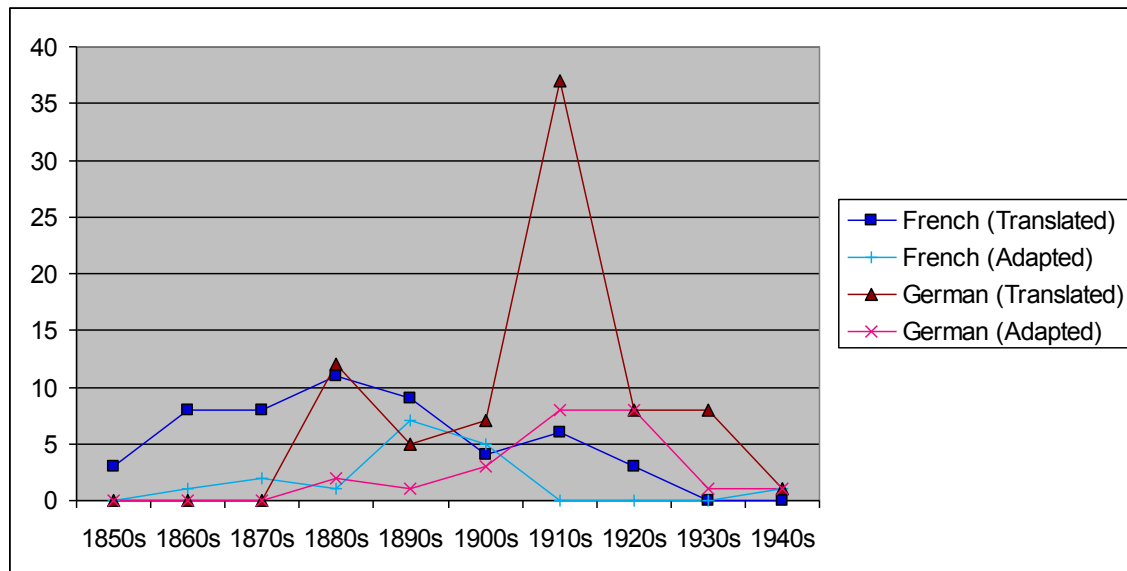


Fig. 3.15. Comparison of French and German operettas entering the Broadway polysystem through translation and adaptation.

This suggests that indirect interlingual interference is a major trend that is coupled by a minor trend of indirect interlingual and intramedial interference that is delayed in starting and/or slower to develop as a trend. The important issue here is that these modes of interference must be analyzed separately by their cultural-linguistic polysystem of origin.⁸⁶ Figures 3.3 and 3.4 show waves of interference regardless of where the interference comes from. The anomalous dual peaks of indirect interlingual interference in the 1880s and 1910s shown in those two figures are better understood considering Figure 3.15. The combination of French- and German-

⁸⁶ In other words, tracking indirect interlingual interference (translation) and indirect interlingual and intramedial interference (adaptation) from a target-based perspective (i.e., with no regard for from where works come) may not reveal the same trends found from a source-based perspective (i.e., accounting for each source system separately; here, French and Austro-German).

language imports in the 1880s followed by the peak in German operettas translated into English (in addition to French translated and German adapted operettas) makes more sense considering scholarly research on these waves of interference.

Adding in those operettas imported through direct interference (those foreign-language operettas premiering in their original language) shows a similar phenomenon, though here it is on the front end and actually preceding other trends. Figure 3.16 shows that more French operettas entered Broadway in French in the 1860s and 1870s before the heightened foreign interference in the 1880s.⁸⁷ German-language operettas show a somewhat similar trend. The 1870s brings in four operettas in their original German. In the 1880s, this number increases to twelve, but there are also twelve German operettas that premiere in English translation (with another two adapted). German operettas in German drop off again to only one or two a decade while those translated into English become more significant (with numerous ones adapted).

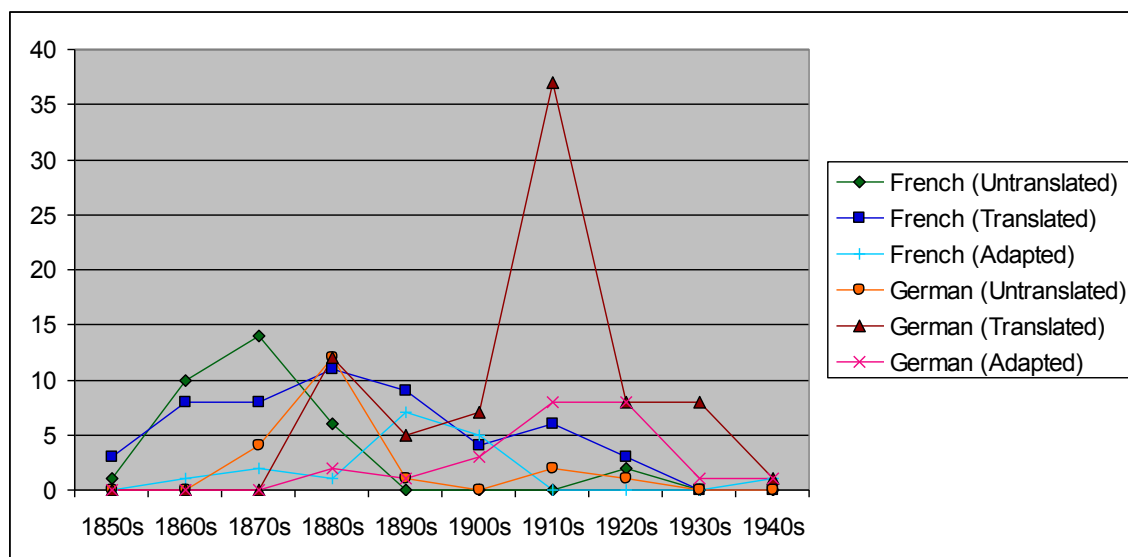


Fig. 3.16. Comparison of French and German operettas entering the Broadway polysystem through no translation, translation, and adaptation.

⁸⁷ Data for the 1850s show that there were four French operettas imported to Broadway (three in translation and only one in French). With only twelve total new operettas for the decade, these data may not be as significant as later decades for which there are more data.

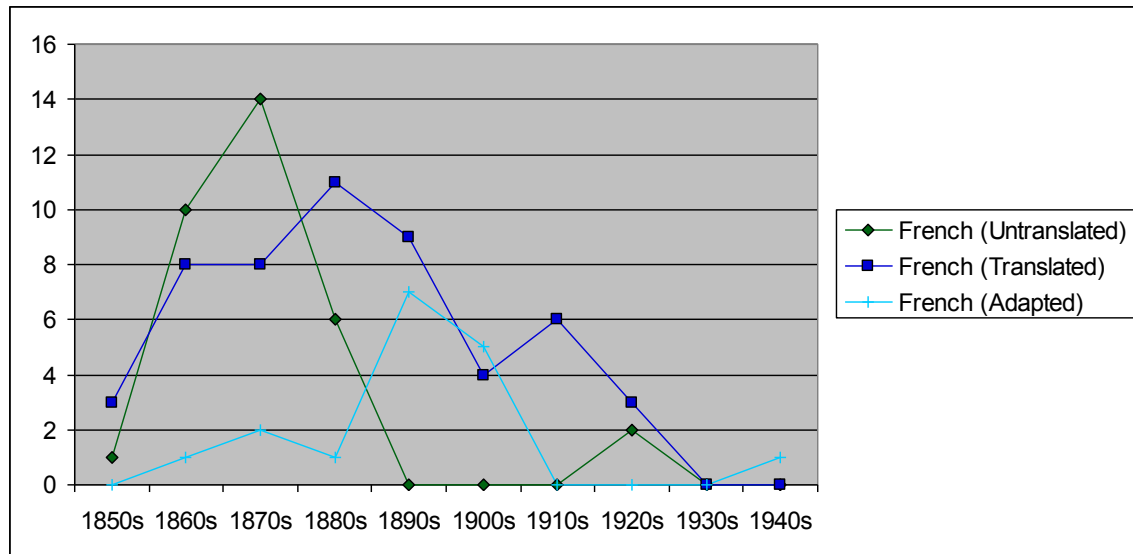


Fig. 3.17. Comparison of French operettas entering the Broadway polysystem through no translation, translation, and adaptation.

When seen together it may be difficult to see the trends for French and German separately. Figures 3.17 and 3.18 provide break outs for each European literature. Figure 3.16 shows that there were twice as many German-language imports in the 1910s than of French in any other decade. Figure 3.17 makes it easier to see a first wave of direct interference. More works per decade enter through this mode, but it is very short lived (only three decades, if we exclude the 1850s and two operettas premiering in French in the 1920s). The second wave for indirect interlingual interference is longer than direct interference, and at least twice as long. As discussed earlier, the trend of indirect interlingual and intramedial interference is of a lesser degree, beginning later and ending with indirect interlingual interference.

The importation of German-language works is similar to the trends of the French; however, those entering through direct interference are not quite as significant as they were for the French, though similarly as short. Figures 3.16, 3.17, and 3.18 make it appear that German has been more significant than French in terms of imported foreign-language operettas. Percentages show the opposite. Figure 3.19 shows the same data as Figure 3.16, but as

percentages. This graph shows that French imports were very significant in the 1860s and 1870s, accounting for more than two thirds of all premiering operettas. German influence peaked in two waves, though never to the same degree as French (in terms of percentage). In the 1880s the combination of primary German-language and English-translation premieres totaled 34.2%. In the 1910s, at the height of German influence, German-language operettas only accounted for 44.8%.

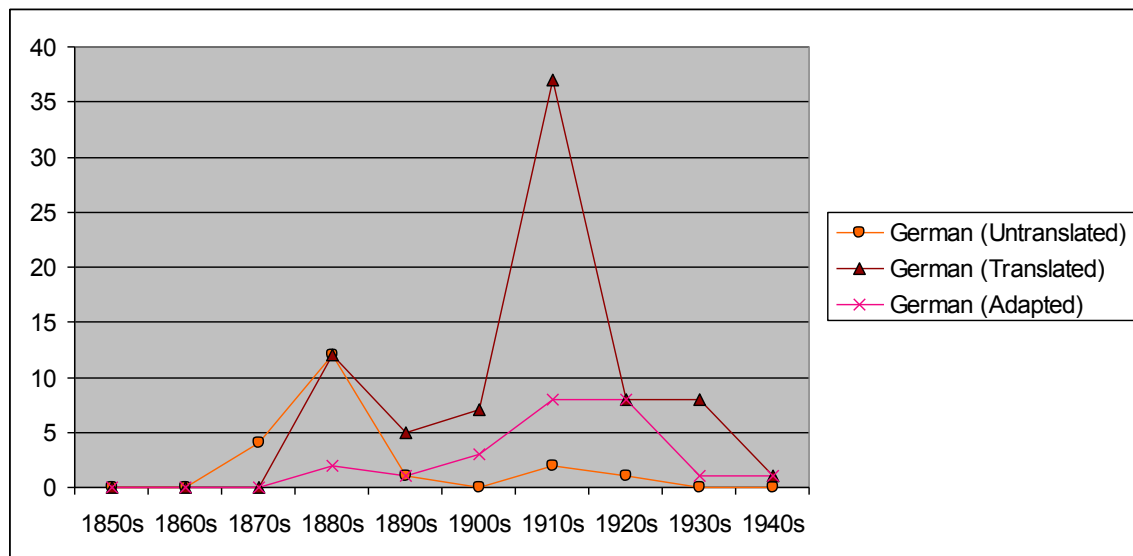


Fig. 3.18. Comparison of German operettas entering the Broadway polysystem through no translation, translation, and adaptation.

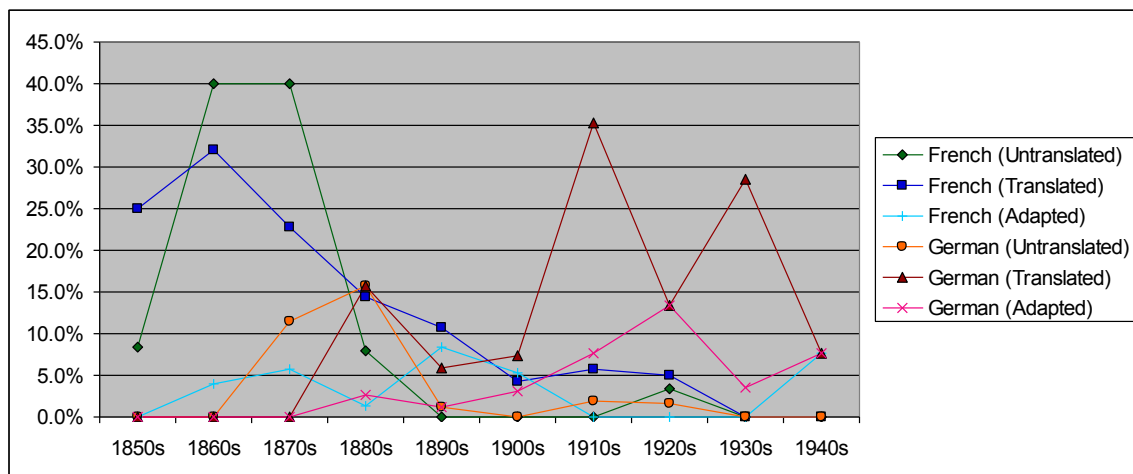


Fig. 3.19. Comparison of percentages of French and German operettas entering the Broadway polysystem through no translation, translation, and adaptation.

Figures 3.20 and 3.21 separate out each foreign literature so that these trends can be seen more easily. Figure 3.20 shows that French played a significant role in the introduction of operetta on Broadway, but this influence was short lived. Offenbach's influence here is significant, but it is important to note that during these early decades of the operetta on Broadway that there was less competition from English- and German-language works that fit this musical genre.

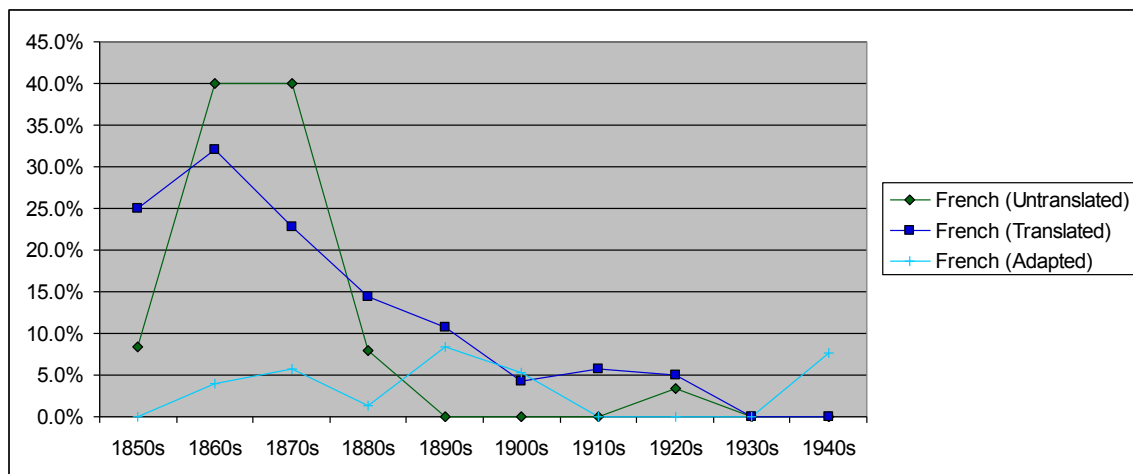


Fig. 3.20. Comparison of percentages of French operettas entering the Broadway polysystem through no translation, translation, and adaptation.

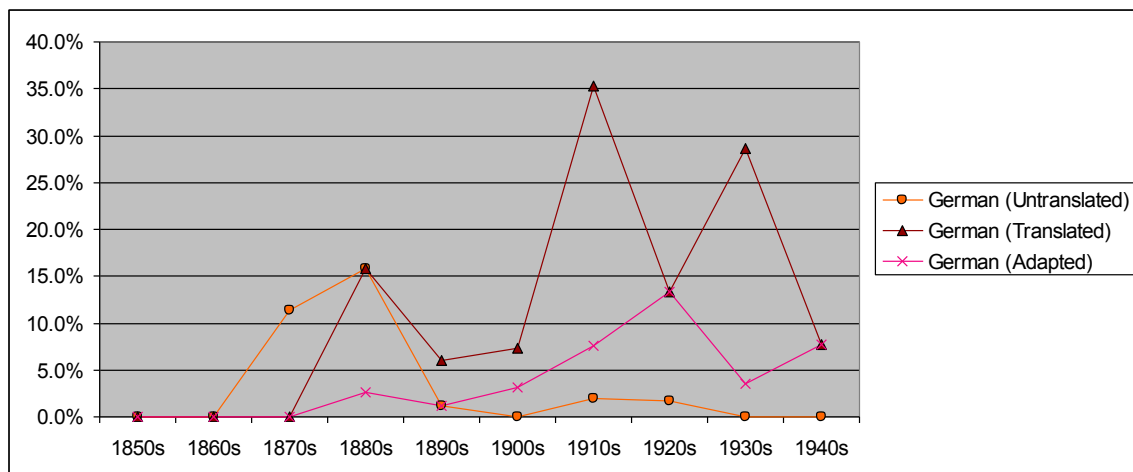


Fig. 3.21. Comparison of percentages of German operettas entering the Broadway polysystem through no translation, translation, and adaptation.

By the time that German-language operettas begin to enter Broadway in the 1870s, the genre had tripled its offerings from two decades earlier and was well on its way to become one of the most important and influential genres on Broadway, accounting for nearly a quarter of all Broadway productions for the sixteen-decade period covered in this project. As shown in Figures 3.8 and 3.9, English-language compositions dominated in the 1890s and 1910s, accounting for more than 70% of new operettas presented on Broadway. Considering Even-Zohar's concept of a "young" or "weak" literature, it would appear that the Broadway operetta polysystem had matured enough by the turn of the century that a major wave of foreign interference would no longer be necessary. The data on German-language operettas after *The Merry Widow* show that this is not the case.

Waves of Interferences

Even-Zohar contends that "[i]nterference normally occurs when a target system does not possess a sufficient repertoire for newly needed functions, or is prevented from using an extant, even a variegated, repertoire because of the latter's inadequacy (to fulfill the said functions)" (1990, 93). In other words, according to polysystem theory Broadway would be more likely to import foreign-language operettas if there were not enough English-language operettas or if the existing English-language operettas were not satisfying the needs of Broadway audiences and managers. As Figure 3.8 shows, the number of new English-language operettas dropped from 75 in the 1900s to 46 in the 1910s. The question is whether there was a "crisis" in English-language operettas to *necessitate* a new wave of foreign importation beginning with Lehár's *The Merry Widow*.

Tables 3.3 and 3.4 show the average run and median run for operettas on Broadway in the 1900s and 1910s (statistics for the 1890s are incomplete). Table 3.3 shows that German-language operettas imported to Broadway ran longer than English-language operettas in the 1900s. The standard deviation for German-language operettas is more than double that of English-language operettas, showing that the range of performance runs for these operettas was significantly greater than for English-language operettas. Three shows in particular skew the data for the German operettas: Lehár's *The Merry Widow* (1907) with 416 performance, Straus's *The Chocolate Soldier* (1909) with 295 performances, and Fall's *The Dollar Princess* (1909) with 250 performances.

| | German-Language Operettas | English Original Compositions | English Adaptations | All English-Language Operettas |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| # of Premiering Operettas | 11 | 62 | 7 | 69 |
| Average Perf. Run | 147 | 79 | 70 | 78 |
| Median Perf. Run | 102 | 59 | 48 | 58 |
| Standard Deviation | 123.9 | 56.7 | 50.0 | 55.8 |

Table 3.3. Performance run statistics for the 1900s.

| | German-Language Operettas | English Original Compositions | English Adaptations | All English-Language Operettas |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| # of Premiering Operettas | 47 ⁸⁸ | 38 | 16 | 54 |
| Average Perf. Run | 99 | 115 | 111 | 114 |
| Median Perf. Run | 78 | 88 | 112 | 92 |
| Standard Deviation | 92.8 | 100.7 | 76.1 | 95.3 |

Table 3.4. Performance run statistics for the 1910s.

⁸⁸ Performance run statistics were only available for 45 of the 47 German-language operettas imported during this decade.

While *The Merry Widow* was the clear leader in the 1900s, Victor Herbert's operettas continued to experience great success that same decade: *The Red Mill* (1906) with 274 productions, *It Happened in Norland* (1904) with 254 productions, *Mlle. Modiste* (1905) with 202 productions, *Babes in Toyland* (1903) with 192 productions, and several other shows with modest runs. It is of note that each of these long-running Herbert shows premiered before *The Merry Widow*. While imported German operettas may have outperformed the English ones in the 1900s, I would argue that native American operetta was not in a crisis.⁸⁹

Cecil Smith argues that the doors for importing German-language operettas after the turn of the century had already closed, as polysystem theory and my data graphs would suggest. Smith notes, however, that:

Public interest in Viennese comic opera had declined to so low an ebb in the early years of the twentieth century that Henry W. Savage watched the inordinate success of *The Merry Widow* in Vienna and Berlin and London for two years before risking an American production of it, even though he had obtained the rights many months before. (87)

This almost supports the theory that Broadway would be resistant to interference once enough native stock was available in the repertoire and the appeal for foreign works had faded—as was the case after the turn of the century. At this point, it becomes an issue of economics. *The Merry Widow* had been successful in Hamburg, Berlin, and Budapest, and the English-language productions in London (1907) ran for 779 performances (Kenrick 131).

⁸⁹ Ironically (as shown in Figure 3.4), German operettas had a poorer track record than did their English-language counterparts in the 1910s. Performance runs of German operettas were by no means poor, but it is doubtful that they brought the expected revenue producers had banked on after the successes of *The Merry Widow*, *The Chocolate Soldier*, and *The Dollar Princess*. Subsequently in the 1920s the number of German operetta imports dropped from 47 (in the 1910s) to 17 total for the decade. These data suggest that the sudden importation of German-language works was a short-lived fad that did not pay off at the box office as well as producers had anticipated.

Of interest here for our discussion of polysystem theory is that one anomalous foreign import in effect re-opens the doors for a new wave of interference despite the Broadway operetta polysystem having matured and therefore being somewhat resistant to foreign interference. This possibility appears to be lacking in Even-Zohar's theory. At issue here is Even-Zohar's distinction between the "primary" and the "secondary," or as Even-Zohar specifies "innovativeness vs. conservatism in the repertoire" (1990, 21). This opposition is central to polysystem theory and to the function of transfer processes based on the relative state of the repertoire:

When a repertoire is established and all derivative models pertaining to it are constructed in full accordance with what it allows, we are faced with a conservative repertoire (and system). Every individual product (utterance, text) of it will then be highly predictable, and any deviation will be considered outrageous. Products of such a state I label "secondary." On the other hand, the augmentation and restructuration of a repertoire by the introduction of new elements, as a result of which each product is less predictable, are expressions of an innovatory repertoire (and system). (Even-Zohar 1990, 21)

Edwin Gentzler takes issue with Even-Zohar's distinction between the "primary" and the "secondary," especially in terms of "weak" and "strong" cultures (1996, 120). Using evidence from Robert Bly and the poetry journal *The Fifties*, he cites examples of translations of Spanish poetry in a "strong" literature (the United States in the 1950s and 1960s) for the purposes of innovation and introducing new forms (the "primary" in Even-Zohar's terminology). Because these translations of Spanish poetry are entering an already matured literature but are being imported for the purposes of innovation, Gentzler questions Even-Zohar's strong/weak and innovative/conservative oppositions. Gentzler, however, is concerned with translators who

translate *specifically* for the purpose of innovation, not as part of the natural historic process of forming a new literary system, which *is* what Even-Zohar was concerned with when postulating his polysystem theory. Gentzler also cites research from Annie Brisset on translation for the purposes of “forming identities and subverting established institutions,” specifically among “feminist translation scholars in Montreal” (1996, 118).

None of my data or the supporting research suggests that any translations or even adaptations for musical entertainment on the Broadway stage after the initial wave of operettas in the late nineteenth century were part of a political plan or for the specific purposes of introducing foreign elements to innovate a system in crisis or that had become stagnant. This in no way discredits Gentzler’s contention that polysystem theory fails to account for some of these innovative translation practices occurring in strong literary systems, but I would argue that polysystem theory is not an appropriate model to use to discuss Gentzler’s research. My argument is that though polysystem theory does not account for all waves of translational practices in history, this theory is appropriate for discussing these waves of foreign literary interference for Broadway musical entertainment, though the theory requires some revision.

For the case of operettas on Broadway, the first wave (1860s-1880s) of French and then German operettas definitely fits this primary, innovative function. Even-Zohar notes that it is difficult to differentiate “original” and “translated” works when translation is central and primary because both are serving to introduce, create, and codify these new models in the literary system (1990, 46-47). These middle-European operetta imports were helping introduce a new genre (along with the British imports and subsequent original American operettas) and would create the original repertoire of operettas from which producers could choose to present (note that the 1880s produced more revivals of operettas than any other decade, attesting to a strong operetta

repertoire). The second wave of Viennese operettas after the 1907 premiere of *The Merry Widow*, however, does not appear to fit this same primary, innovative function.

Operetta on Broadway was already a full-fledged genre by 1907. The selection of *The Merry Widow* and subsequent Viennese operettas was not because these works were innovative or because the American operetta was in crisis. As cited earlier, Smith discussed the great reluctance that Henry Savage had in premiering *The Merry Widow* despite its popularity overseas. I would argue that *The Merry Widow* and this second wave of imported operettas are—at least to a certain degree—secondary and conservative in nature, in accordance with Even-Zohar’s theories. Savage’s reluctance suggests that selection strategies were based more on selecting operettas that would already meet the needs of his audience (primarily in terms of selling tickets). This is a conservative strategy because the producers do not wish to “rock the boat” or “shake things up,” but rather only select works that showed true promise of being successful in the current literary system.

Even-Zohar does address the issue of translation after it has played a primary role and served an innovative function. One of the basic tenets of polysystem theory is that after translated works have occupied a *central* position in a polysystem (and played an innovative role) that translation is then relegated to the *periphery* and “in this case becomes a major factor of conservatism” (1990, 48). Even-Zohar goes on to note that “[w]hile the contemporary original literature might go on developing new norms and models, translated literature adheres to norms which have been rejected either recently or long before by the (newly) established center” and “no longer maintains positive correlations with original writing” (1990, 49).

Here is where Even-Zohar’s theory becomes confusing and—I would argue—inconsistent. Even-Zohar argues that when translated literature occupies the periphery and is

secondary in function that it, in essence, uses older literary forms and models. He then associates this secondary function with conservatism. This particular quote and the connotation of “conservative” leads one to believe that translations will be received by audiences as antiquated models or “dated” works. Translations may—indeed—be received or interpreted by contemporary audiences as antiquated relative to contemporary models and works, but this does not appear to be what Even-Zohar is arguing overall with his polysystem theory, and I would argue that his term “conservative” is misleading.

In the fifth and final section of his article “The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem,” Even-Zohar notes that *primary* translations are more *adequate*.⁹⁰ In contrast, Even-Zohar describes *secondary* translations as being “non-adequate.”⁹¹ This term “adequate” is picked up by José Lambert and Henrik van Gorp in their 1985 article “On Describing Translations.”⁹² Lambert and van Gorp contrast “adequate” translation from the “acceptable” (“non-adequate” in Even-Zohar’s terms) translation; to them, an *adequate* translation is “source-oriented,” while an *acceptable* translation is “target-oriented” (44). A source-oriented translation is more faithful (to the source text), while a target-oriented translation adheres more to the norms and models of the target (receiving) literature (some might call this a “free” translation in contrast to a “faithful” translation).

⁹⁰ “Under such conditions [when translation is central and primary] the chances that the translation will be close to the original in terms of adequacy (in other words, a reproduction of the dominant textual relations of the original) are greater than otherwise” (Even-Zohar 1990, 50).

⁹¹ “Here, the translator’s main effort is to concentrate upon finding the best ready-made secondary models for the foreign text, and the result often turns out to be a non-adequate translation of (as I would prefer to put it) a greater discrepancy between the equivalence achieved and the adequacy postulated” (Even-Zohar 1990, 51).

⁹² Note that Even-Zohar uses the term “adequacy” in his original 1978 version of his paper “The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem” (see pages 25 and 26), so this reference does predate Lambert and van Gorp’s 1985 article. As noted earlier, translation specialists most commonly reference Even-Zohar’s 1990 edition of his writing on Polysystem Theory. Mark Shuttleworth’s entry on “Polysystem Theory” the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (1998, 2008 reprint) adheres to this convention (see pages 176-178).

It seems more advantageous to trade some of Even-Zohar's terminology for the terms defined by Lambert and van Gorp. In essence, Even-Zohar is arguing that *primary* (or *central*) translations (which are more "adequate") are source-oriented translations. Translators use more features of the source text (faithfully) and through this process, the translations transfer not only the literary content of the works, but also the formal features and models associated with these works. This allows these source-oriented translations to function in an innovative manner in the polysystem. Translation (as a historical mode of interference—but only under the conditions specified earlier) imports features and models from the source system that do not already exist in the target system.

In contrast to these translations, the *secondary* (or *peripheral*) translations (which tend to be "non-adequate") are target-oriented translations. These translations import texts from a source literature into the existing target literature through translational practices that help the source-text better "fit" into the target system. As a result, target models and features are imposed onto this source text so that it is received by new consumers as less "foreign," or were only selected because they *already* fit the models of the target system. This appears to be what Even-Zohar is referring to when he discusses the "conservative" nature of these secondary translations that hold a peripheral position in the polysystem. In essence, these later translations are target-oriented and no longer have the primary function of transferring new literary models or features into the target literature. I introduce these terms from Lambert and van Gorp (source-oriented and target-oriented) because they are terms that are perhaps more familiar to translation scholars today, and I would argue that these terms are less confusing than Even-Zohar's.

Returning to our analysis of interference with operettas on Broadway, musical theatre scholar John Bush Jones presents his own analysis of the increase in operetta output on

Broadway after 1907 citing a higher ratio of “Central European imports to American-written shows (including imitations of the mittel-European operetta) increased each season, peaking in the theatrical year of 1913-14” (47). Here Jones combines domestic operettas copying the style of new Austrian operettas. This greatly complicates the analysis of German-language operettas. In one sense they appear to be part of a wave of conservatism or target-oriented translation (only selecting works that fit the current needs and “translating” them according to current standards) while also creating new models (innovative or source-oriented translation). The latter is true if we trust Jones’ assessment that American composers were copying these new imports, thereby using these Austrian works as models; more research would be needed to see if this was indeed the case. It is also important to remember that during the 1910s, the percentage of operettas premiering on Broadway (relative to all musical productions) reached its height. As I discussed earlier, this decade was more diverse in the output of operettas than some scholars may suggest.

Another issue that Even-Zohar and other polysystem theorists appear to ignore is foreign waves of interference for economic reasons. Savage certainly had an eye on the marketability of *The Merry Widow* and I would argue that subsequent producers were not acquiring the rights to Viennese operettas to strengthen operettas on Broadway, but rather because they saw the potential to ride the coattails of this one show’s success to strengthen their bank accounts. Even the most resistant of literatures (most notably Anglo-American literature) will import new waves of foreign works if producers and agents see the potential for economic gains. Venuti in his book *The Scandals of Translation* (1998) discusses the wave of translations of foreign historical novels after the great commercial success of Umberto Eco’s *The Name of the Rose* (1983) in English translation (1998, 48).

Venuti contends that polysystem theory and descriptive translation studies (with their focus on empirical research) are too steeped in Russian formalism and ignore the cultural impact of newer literary theories (1998, 29). He advocates for study of the “remainder,” which he defines as “the textual effects that work only in the target language, the domestic linguistic forms that are added to the foreign text in the translating process and run athwart to the translator’s effort to communicate that text” (1998, 29, 95). Gentzler and Venuti, though, approach translation as an *active* process. Gentzler highlights transgressive translation practices and Venuti advocates for “foreignizing” translation practices.

Despite contention from these noted translation scholars, I would argue that the translators and adaptors involved in the transfer processes of these foreign-language operettas for Broadway are not playing such an active role so as to be transgressive, to be purposefully innovative, or to highlight the foreignness of the works being imported. Based on scholarly commentary, producers with economic incentives and risks appear to have played a far more active role in the importation of these operettas (see the discussion below on the Shuberts’ role as producers hiring composers to rework the score of these later middle-European operettas). Considering this, system-based theories that downplay the agency of translators are appropriate. My argument is that polysystem theory can help describe data on the importation of foreign-language operettas into Broadway theatres. (Later I will advocate for additional research into specific translation and adaptation strategies to further support these claims.) The issue remains how to account for this second wave of operettas being imported using polysystem theory.

The transfer strategies used for these Viennese operettas suggest even more that this second wave of importation was secondary and conservative. Consulted sources used for the creation of my database list the majority of these Viennese operettas presented on Broadway as

translations with a score by their original German composer. It is most likely that most of these works were presented as translations of their German counterpart until political strife caused by World War I necessitated newer strategies.⁹³ While the onset of World War I may have required that German-language works be heavily adapted before being presented on Broadway stages, the process of adaptation and appropriation was already occurring under the guise of “translation” years before the outbreak of the First World War.

In fact, many of America’s greatest composers and lyricists of the era played a role in this process, including Sigmund Romberg (see Kenrick 191 and Jones 50), Lorenz Hart (see Stempel 276), and Jerome Kern (see Gänzl 1994, 365). Producers such as the Shuberts would hire young composers to serve as script doctors or to replace less desirable tunes from foreign works with fresher compositions (Stempel 276; Jones 50). In Kurt Gänzl’s *The Encyclopedia of the Musical Theatre* he discusses the importation strategies for numerous shows demonstrating a regular practice of adapting pieces that have historically been described as translations because the composer for the American production is the same as for the German-language premiere: Jean Gilbert’s *Die Keusche Susanne* (1910) presented on Broadway as *Modest Suzanne* (1912),⁹⁴ Edmund Eysler’s *Die Frauenfresser* (1911) presented on Broadway as *The Woman Haters* (1912),⁹⁵ Leo Fall’s *Der Liebe Augustin* (1912) on Broadway as *Miss Caprice* (1913),⁹⁶ Felix

⁹³ Bordman discusses the need to hide the German roots of *Maytime* in the wake of anti-German sentiment: “Far and away the biggest American operetta success during the months in which we joined the war was *Maytime*, which opened August 16, 1917. The adjective ‘American’ has to be employed advisedly. The Shuberts had optioned Walter Kollo’s Berlin success *Wie einst im Mai*. But shortly before the show went into rehearsal, their production of Oscar Straus’s *My Lady’s Glove* was assailed as much for its Austrian origins as for its inherent weaknesses. Even switching the locale of the show’s action to France and distributing free chocolates at each performance could not lure playgoers. [...] So in the end the Shuberts dropped all mention of *Wie einst im Mai*’s German beginnings in their announcements and set about to totally ‘Americanize’ the show” (1981, 107-108).

⁹⁴ “A couple of Jean Schwartz numbers, ‘The Tangolango Tap’ and ‘I Would Like to See the Peaches,’ were tacked into the score” (Gänzl 1994, 767).

⁹⁵ “Hobart altered the plot so that Major von Essenburg was again jilted by Marie in the final act, but Camillo was allowed to keep his Tillay, now upgraded to being the daughter of baroness” (Gänzl 1994, 491).

Albini's *Baron Trenck* (1908) on Broadway as *Baron Trenck* (1912),⁹⁷ and Leo Fall's *Die Geschiedene Frau* (1908) on Broadway as *The Girl in the Train* (1910).⁹⁸ This practice happened even as early as 1909—short on the coattails of *The Merry Widow*'s success with the also successful *The Dollar Princess*.⁹⁹

Based on the description of many of these “translations,” viewing the interaction of literary systems through interference (understood through quantitative analysis) must be matched with research into the *processes* and *norms* used for these waves of interference. In his conclusion to his article on translated literature in the polysystem, Even-Zohar cautions against using any *a priori* definition of “translation,” because “it must be determined on the grounds of the operations governing the polysystem” (1990, 51). This does complicate a distant reading and database approach to research that almost necessitates certain “fixed” definitions of “translation” and “adaptation” or even “indirect interlingual interference.” This does not render this approach ineffective, but rather requires additional research into these varying forms of transfer through interference. Even-Zohar made specific the fluidity of such a concept as “translation” noting that “most products of inter-lingual transfer are considered out of bounds for translation theory” (1990, 75). As such, he refines one of his research questions to exploring “*under what circumstances*, and in what particular way, a target utterance/text *b* relates (or is relatable) to a

⁹⁶ “What was allegedly another English version (ad Edgar Smith, but including the character of Clementine and, inevitably, musically botched) was produced in American by the Shuberts” (Gänzl 1994, 855).

⁹⁷ “Whitney [who owned the English-language rights and premiered the work in London] took his show to New York, and produced it at the Casino Theater. The book had been redone by Henry Blossom, and Albini's score had been further chopped up, pushed around and infiltrated by a trio, a chorus of ‘Bold, Bad Bandits’, and a waltz song for the heroine, all composed by Alfred Robyn” (Gänzl 1994, 82).

⁹⁸ “One of these was in America, where Charles Dillingham had the piece readapted, under – give or take a preposition – the London title, by Harry B Smith, with songs by Clare Kummer and Carter de Haven added” (Gänzl 1994, 535).

⁹⁹ “Broadway's *The Dollar Princess* ran to 288 performances, even though Charles Frohman's production decorated Fall's score with a wave of interpolated numbers by Jerome Kern” (Gänzl 1994, 365).

source utterance/text *a*” (1990, 75). Recast this way it is possible to discuss waves of interference for interlingual interference. In order to do so more effectively, though, we must account for both the *functions* of the imported texts themselves and the translational *practices* employed by those agents of transfer (producers, translators, adapters, composers, arrangers, etc.)

It appears that many Austrian operettas were imported after the turn of the century through transfer processes that were more target-oriented (relative to the source-oriented transfer processes of the French and earlier German-language operettas), thus serving a more “conservative” function to preserve an “established center.” Although imported using processes to preserve this center (most notably translation that is more closely approaching adaptation), these German-language imports are allowed to affect the center and also serve as models for new, domestic operettas (though these German-language operettas serve as models only through their already modified versions that have undergone a conservative transfer process).

This means that if German-language operettas were domesticated according to the turn-of-the-century “established center” norms that it may have been “watered down” (target-oriented) versions of these works that became these central, innovative models. Put simply, *domesticated* German-language operettas (not German-language operettas themselves) served as (innovative) models for operetta’s last hurrah. It may be ironic, though, that despite these works being appropriated and domesticated through a more target-oriented transfer process (lending evidence to a strong native literature), that the entire genre’s association with Germany probably played a role in the entire genre’s demise. This paved the way for the development of a new genre to become the “established center”: the musical comedy.

Conclusions

This research calls into question the very category of “translation” or even “indirect interlingual interference,” because many of these works straddle translation and adaptation (an issue that has been the source of much debate and causes problems with precise definitions in this very kind of research). With this knowledge, it then suggests the need to research and describe the translation strategies used during these two waves of foreign importation. My approach here has been one of distant reading in order to use polysystem theory to describe waves of foreign cultural-linguistic interference over a greater period of time and accounting for hundreds of works. Additional research using the methodologies outlined by Raymond van den Broeck in his 1985 article “Second Thoughts on Translation Criticism: A Model of its Analytic Function” and Gideon Toury’s 1995 book *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* would be needed to confirm my hypotheses here. Such a project would require a systematic method for comparing each foreign-language operetta (score and libretto) and its English “translated” counterpart to determine the translation strategies used for importing these works.

Perhaps the most complete study of this kind is Raquel Merino’s 2001 paper “Drama Translation Strategies: English-Spanish (1950-1990).” She presents research using a corpus of 150 published translations from English into Spanish. After line-by-line comparisons using a unit that she calls *replicas* (358) she identifies strategies that help classify translations as either being “acting” (i.e., target-oriented) or “reading” (i.e., source-oriented) editions. All of the operettas categorized in my database have been translated for production purposes, but Merino’s methodology could be useful to help differentiate translation strategies used during these two different waves of interference. Based on my data, Even-Zohar’s theories of the primary and secondary functions of translation in a polysystem, and additional research I would hypothesize

that the first wave of interlingual interference (1850s through 1880s) is a more source-oriented translational process to import a new genre to Broadway. This second wave of interlingual interference (after 1907), however, I would hypothesize, employed more strategies closer to target-oriented translation (often closer to adaptation) to assure that these imported works fit better into an already established repertoire. As discussed earlier, these terms match up with Even-Zohar's *innovative* (source oriented) and *conservative* (target oriented).

This brings up the issue of *function*, which is at the heart of polysystem theory. My argument is that the first wave of foreign interference is the type described by Even-Zohar in which foreign interference helps to create a young or weak polysystem that has not yet developed enough of its own native stock. This second wave of foreign interference, however, functions for the same capitalistic reasons we see for so many other trends in the arts: managers, producers, and publishers want to make money. The Viennese operetta was viewed as a secure investment. Cecil Smith discusses the explicit role that producers had in this Viennese craze: “[n]aturally central European comic opera came to be highly esteemed by producers, and in the next five years the Shuberts, Klaw and Erlanger, Henry W. Savage, Charles Frohman, and even A. H. Woods, the bedroom-farce king, placed a number of their chips on it” (95). The selection and translation strategies for these shows appear to be secondary and conservative as they are chosen for properties that meet current audience needs and are increasingly translated to meet the expectations of this audience.

One of the advantages to this kind of quantitative research on operettas is that it allows a system within another system that is heavily influenced by foreign systems to be viewed and discussed in great detail. The operetta is also ideal in that its reign on the Broadway stage is primarily confined to a single century of time, making it manageable for a research project, yet

expansive enough to allow sufficient data for analysis. In this particular chapter I have taken a subset of data (those productions tagged as operettas) to analyze trends only within the subset. My database allows for both a broader and more narrow scope for research, depending on the researcher's needs.

For research purposes related to polysystem theory, a clear distinction needs to be made between *modes* of literary interference (e.g., indirect interlingual interference and indirect interlingual and intramedial interference) and the *strategies* that are used during these transfer processes (e.g., maintaining the integral score, interpolating songs, and/or modifying the plot). The former is in the realm of polysystem theory, which is most concerned with the role that foreign literatures play in the formation of another literature and subsequently in the maintenance of those, then, dominant forms and genres. The latter approach fits into the field of descriptive translation studies and the work of Gideon Toury, Hendrik van Gorp, José Lambert, and Raymond van den Broeck. These descriptive translation specialists are most interested in describing the *norms* by which sets of translations are made.

I would argue that by combining these two research approaches we may better understand how the translation strategies used by groups of “translators” and “adaptors” are more predictable based on their *function* in a particular literature. Gentzler argues that polysystem theory is excessively overgeneralized. With additional research and data, the combination of the more (abstract) theoretical side of polysystem theory and the more (concrete) descriptive side of descriptive translation studies may help account for translation's role in the formation of a new literary polysystem, the appropriation of foreign novelties for the literature's maintenance, and the transgressive methods used by those who view the literature as oppressive or stagnant.

Of additional importance to the use of polysystem theory for research in interference is the inclusion of direct inference and forms of indirect interference that are closer to adaptation than translation. Figure 3.16 shows that direct interference was significantly stronger before the turn of the twentieth century. Based on the logic of Even-Zohar's polysystem theory (in terms of conservatism and innovation) I would conjecture that waves of indirect interference that follow closely after waves of direct interference involved translation strategies that are relatively more source oriented. His theory might also suggest that waves of indirect interference that act independent of direct interference involve translation and adaptation strategies that are more target oriented. This effectively broadens Even-Zohar's polysystem theory, which appears to limit itself to translation¹⁰⁰—even if he concedes that translation functions may be different. The links between the *functions* and *processes* of translation and other forms of interference appear to be strong and may be predictable when analyzing data from other literary systems. Additional research into these operettas and other similar literary systems is needed to explore this relationship further.

¹⁰⁰ I must note that Even-Zohar does address the issue of what to cover in research. In "Translation and Transfer," he states: "On the other hand, there is always the danger that by making generalizations too gross, and if transfer theory is to fully replace translation theory, the relatively solid body of questions already in existence will be lost. Maybe it would be better then to stick to our reduced theory, knowing it is not adequate; the alternative might be worse" (1990, 74). Specifically Even-Zohar is grappling with the issue of broadening the concept of translation to encompass too many forms of transfer (adaptation, influence, etc.). In the end he does limit his scope to translation, though he admits that this concept is broader than many may think.

Chapter 4

Intermedial Interference in Broadway Musical Entertainment

Adaptations on Broadway

Chapter 3 focuses on *interlingual* interference from foreign-language operettas (primarily those with librettos originally in French and German). I examined the multiple waves of importation of these middle-European operettas and hypothesized that data could help predict the importation strategies (or more specifically, the translation strategies) used. In this chapter I turn the focus to *intermedial* interference—when a work from one medium is adapted into a piece of musical entertainment for the Broadway stage. These adaptations comprise a significant percentage of musicals presented on Broadway.

A quick survey of the Tony Award-winning musicals on Broadway since the 1950s shows that the majority of these lauded musicals is based on prior existing material.¹⁰¹ According to my data, more than a quarter of all pieces of musical entertainment from 1850 through 2009 have an identifiable source. This number is staggering when we consider that information for hundreds of earlier works (especially before the 1920s) is incomplete, meaning that more of these works may also be adaptations. When also accounting for works that were translated or presented in another language, only 65.7% of works on Broadway according to the existing data were composed in English without being based on a prior source.¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ 1950s: 8 out of 10. 1960s: 7 out of 11 (note that *Sound of Music* and *Fiorello!* tied for the award in 1960). 1970s: 7 out of 10. 1980s: 9 out of 10. 1990s: 6 out of 10. 2000s: 7 out of 10.

¹⁰² This is both a legal and historical enterprise. The Broadway League keeps detailed records on the official source material of Broadway shows in their Internet Broadway Database because of the legal implications (most notably for royalties and credit to copyright holders). For earlier works (before the Broadway League began keeping more complete records), I consulted other sources to collect these data. When scholars, historians, and reviewers identified source material for a musical work, I record this source in the database.

Figure 4.1 shows the number of premiering works for which a source has been identified during this sixteen-decade period. While the number of adaptations premiering in a decade never exceeds one hundred, the total number of productions varies greatly from decade to decade. The 1880s through 1930s was a period of great activity on Broadway. In Chapter 3 I discussed operettas on Broadway, which reached their height during this period. Revues also hit their peak in the 1920s (see Figures 4.9 and 4.10 and the discussion of revues later in this chapter).

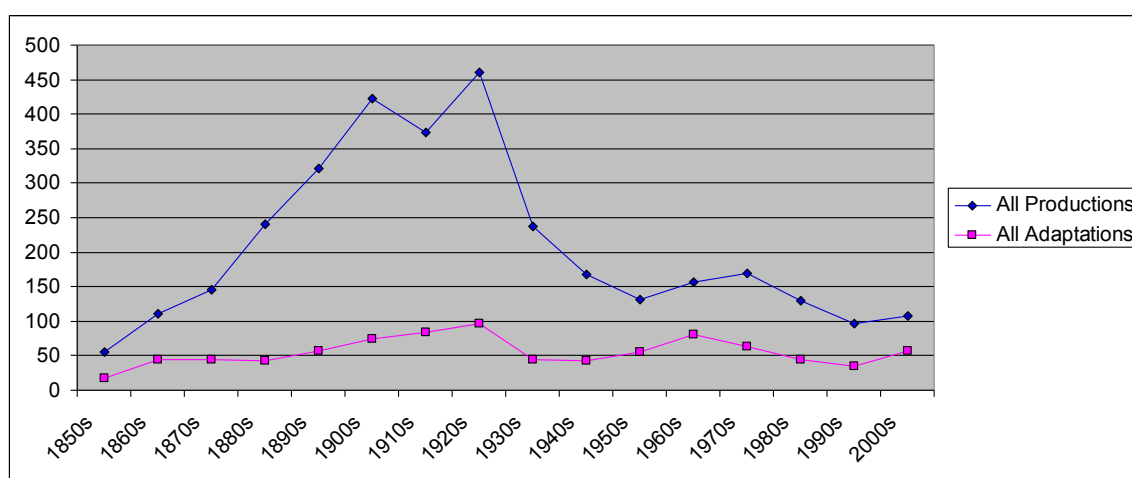


Fig. 4.1. Number of adaptations relative to all productions (premieres only).

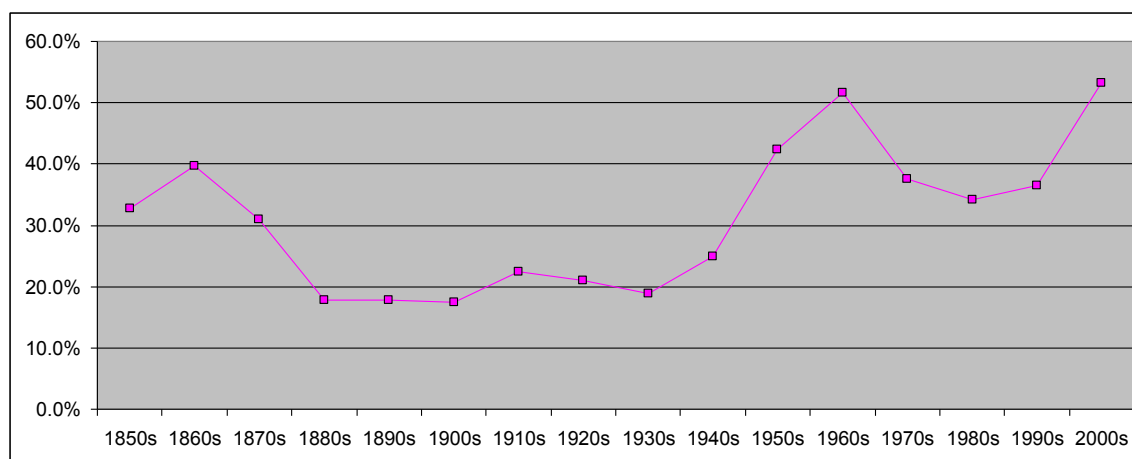


Fig. 4.2. Percentage of adaptations relative to all productions (premieres only).

Figure 4.2 helps interpret the data in Figure 4.1 better by looking at the percentage of premiering musical works with an identifiable source. Two periods emerge for further

exploration based on these percentages. Figure 4.2 shows that more than 30% of the catalogued productions are adaptations during the 1850s through 1870s. This percentage drops in the 1880s and certainly corresponds with the increase in operettas over the next several decades, most of which are not adaptations (see Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of operettas on Broadway).

The second period begins in the 1950s when adaptations come to account for at least one third and sometimes more than half of all new musical productions on Broadway. This period is of particular interest to contemporary scholars of musical theatre history. For many specialists in musical theatre, the genre came into its own as an American form in the 1940s marked with the premiere of *Oklahoma!* in 1943 (which was an adaptation, based on Lynn Rigg's 1931 play *Green Grow the Lilacs*). Stempel notes that with the combination of developed characters, dance, dialogue, and song all unified into one story that "*Oklahoma!* became the point of reference for a major shift in the relationship between musical and theatrical values in Broadway entertainments" (309).

Of additional importance is that musicals had become viable commercial vehicles as *Oklahoma!* "grossed a then staggering \$40 million from an unprecedented five-year run on Broadway and ten-year national tour" and its subsequent Decca recording release "turned the 'original cast album' into a mass cultural phenomenon" (Stempel 311). As the importance of a unified plot becomes increasingly important for the success of a Broadway musical, my data show that the selection of existing and often well-known source material played a significant role in the evolution of the musical (and data will also show in the success of many musicals). This issue of commercialization and marketability would prove even more important in later decades of the Broadway musical.

Chapter 3 presented a slightly more traditional approach to polysystem theory in which Broadway musical entertainment was analyzed as a “young” or “weak” literature that was receiving operettas through a spectrum of modes of “interference” (from direct to various modes of indirect interference). In Even-Zohar’s article “Translation and Transfer,” he postulates that “translational procedures between two systems (languages/literatures) are in principle analogous, even homologous, with transfers within the borders of the system” (1990, 73). In essence, Even-Zohar limits his concept of interference to that between two cultural-linguistic systems. This inevitably limits the scope of his theories to translation (even if these theories can be and have been expanded to include other forms of transfer). My analysis of the repertoire of operettas on Broadway focused on this more limited *interlingual* interference (between two cultural-linguistic systems), even though it also included some adaptations (which I termed “indirect interlingual and intramedial interference”). But essentially *all* of the forms of interference discussed in Chapter 3 were *intramedial* interference (transfer within the same genre; i.e., from operetta to operetta).

Even-Zohar’s “The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem” essentially limits his theories to potentially analogous systems. What I mean by potentially analogous systems are literatures from two or more cultural-linguistic groups (i.e., French novels’ interference on English novels, English drama’s interference on German drama, or Russian poetry *and* prose’s interference on Hebrew poetry *and* prose). I specify that these are *potentially* analogous, because the function, prestige, and cultural capital of different genres and types of literature vary from culture to culture (and in different time periods). I would argue that this is why polysystem theory has primarily focused on translation, because it discusses the transfer of texts within the same medium (novels, poetry, drama, etc.).

Patrick Cattrysse in his article “Film (Adaptation) as Translation: Some Methodological Proposals” (1992) argues for the application of polysystem theory to film adaptation (53). Cattrysse achieves this by expanding the notion of translation beyond that of an “interlinguistic relationship,” and viewing it instead as a “semiotic phenomenon of a general nature” (1992, 54). Of particular interest to Cattrysse is finding a systematic approach to the study of film adaptation (1992, 54). Cattrysse argues that “translation studies and film adaptation studies are both concerned with the transformation of source into target texts under some condition of ‘invariance’, or equivalence” (1992, 54). Focused on the study of *film noir*, Cattrysse saw polysystem theory as a systematic way to approach the study of film adaptation.

As I argued earlier, it is dangerous to simply expand “translation” to envelope any transfer of source text into a target system. By doing so, we lose sight of important modes of interference, namely the distinction between varying transfer processes between cultural-linguistic systems and between different media (which may also occur in combination). Cattrysse’s research focuses on a selection of 250 films (from a total of 600 films from 1940 through 1960) from the *film noir* genre. With his research, he asks a series of questions, the first of which (“selection policy”) deals with the issue of (indirect intermedial) interference. From his corpus he identifies that 34% of these films were based on novels, 33% on short stories, and only 22% on original screenplays. Cattrysse, however, appears less concerned in the systemic properties behind historical trends of transfer and more on the “the literary prestige of the source text” (1992, 56). My argument is that “literary prestige” is harder to determine (especially when working with a large corpus) and even more difficult when doing historical research.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ It is important to note that Cattrysse’s research only covers two decades with a selection of 250 films, and that these films are from a period from which we have significantly more information. My research covers sixteen decades beginning in 1850 with every production for which I could find records (totaling 4714 productions) and even with a subset of 868 productions categorized as adaptations from a smaller corpus of 2719 it would be

This returns us to the issue of research methodology. It is not possible to accurately and consistently quantify “literary prestige” of source texts. It is possible, however, to quantify how long it took for a source text to be adapted into a musical production relative to its premiere on a Broadway stage. It is also possible to quantify the percentage of source texts used from various media. Cattryse presents some of this data for his entire corpus (see above), but with only two decades covered there is no historical sense to this data (e.g., are there changes in what media are used as source materials?, is there a change in the number of source works adapted over a period of time?).

My intention with this chapter is to pick up where Cattryse left off but with musical entertainment, rather than film adaptation. I will not focus on aspects such as adaptation policies (additions and simplifications), nor on whether the adaptation *functions* as an adaptation (which would require an analysis of paratextual elements, such as programs and advertisements), nor the relation between policies and functions (all of which Cattryse addresses in his article) (1992, 56-59). Such analyses would require focusing on a significantly shorter time span and a different kind of research methodology, which lie outside the focus of interference. In order to combine a distant reading approach with polysystem theory, it is necessary to reduce works to quantifiable elements.

My argument is that with a polysystem approach to musical entertainment we can view various systems within the same cultural-linguistic system *and* outside the cultural-linguistic system as being the origin of interference. In other words, musical entertainment on the Broadway stage is a system that can experience interference from foreign systems (e.g., the French and German-Austrian system, as detailed in Chapter 3), from other domestic media

nearly impossible to systematically rank source texts on their “literary prestige.” For this reason, I limit my research methods to those that can more easily (and reliably) be quantified.

systems (e.g., English-language novels, plays, and films), and even from other foreign media systems (e.g., Italian film or French novels). The issue is not whether individual musical works *function* as “translations,” “adaptations,” or “original” works (which could vary for individual audience members), but rather how historical trends of transfer function in the creation, maintenance, and sustenance of a polysystem.

In this chapter I will first discuss the early musical adaptations, with a focus on the burlesque. Nineteenth-century burlesques, by nature, adapted familiar material for comedic—and often satiric—purposes. I will then focus on the historical trends of media from which the composers and producers of musical entertainment have chosen their source material. In order to discuss the latter, I will briefly discuss the revue and a few other genres that tend to not be based on prior existing material. By excluding those genres that traditionally are not driven by a plot I will show that adaptation has been an even stronger trend in the traditional Broadway musical.

Broadway Burlesque

The term “burlesque” today has become nearly synonymous with the kind of flirtatious dancing of entertainers such as Gypsy Rose Lee as staged in the eponymous musical *Gypsy* (1959). The early burlesques of Broadway, though, did not have such a strong sexual connotation. Kenrick defines burlesque on Broadway as meaning “to make fun of something,” noting that “this intent was true of the various theatrical formats described by the term” (68). Mates specifies that “[f]or most of the nineteenth century, ‘burlesque’ referred to a travesty, a satire, a parody of something” (135). Both burlesque and travesty were common performance genres during the early period of American-written musical entertainment.

These early adaptations were an important part of Broadway musical entertainment, competing with European imports, such as operettas and operas—which they often parodied. Knapp explains that burlesque and travesty “presented a variety of parodistic versions of other, generally more serious entertainments” (2004, 61). Mates highlights this new domestic genre describing how “[m]any Americans wrote these travesties, burlesques, early in the nineteenth century, satirizing history and grand opera” (136). The issue of composing music was secondary because many of these burlesques used music culled from the pieces they parodied or “stolen from any available source” (Mates 140).

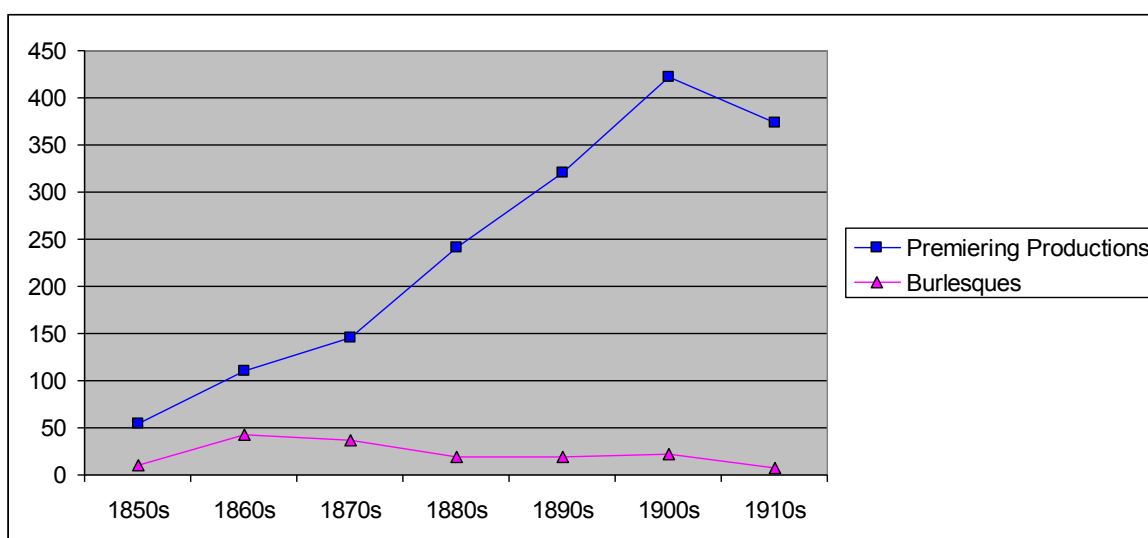


Fig. 4.3. Number of burlesques compared to the total number of premiering musical productions.

My database catalogues those pieces of musical entertainment that the consulted sources have labeled or described as burlesques.¹⁰⁴ I have catalogued a total of 162 burlesques in the subset of premiering musical productions, which accounts for 4.9% of the premiering pieces of musical entertainment. The majority of the works (116 total) in this genre have an identifiable source placing them into the category of adaptation. Adaptations account for 71.6% of all

¹⁰⁴ For simplicity, the term “burlesque” will be used to also describe “travesties.” The term “burlesque” is used far more in describing these pieces than “travesty,” yet both are musical parodies.

burlesques according to my data. Figure 4.3 shows the number of burlesques that premiered on Broadway stages peaked in the 1860s (with 42 total productions). Perhaps more telling is Figure 4.4, which shows that in the 1860s burlesques accounted for close to 40% of all premiering musical productions. Both of these figures show that burlesques were a significant contribution to the American musical stage in the first three decades of this research period.

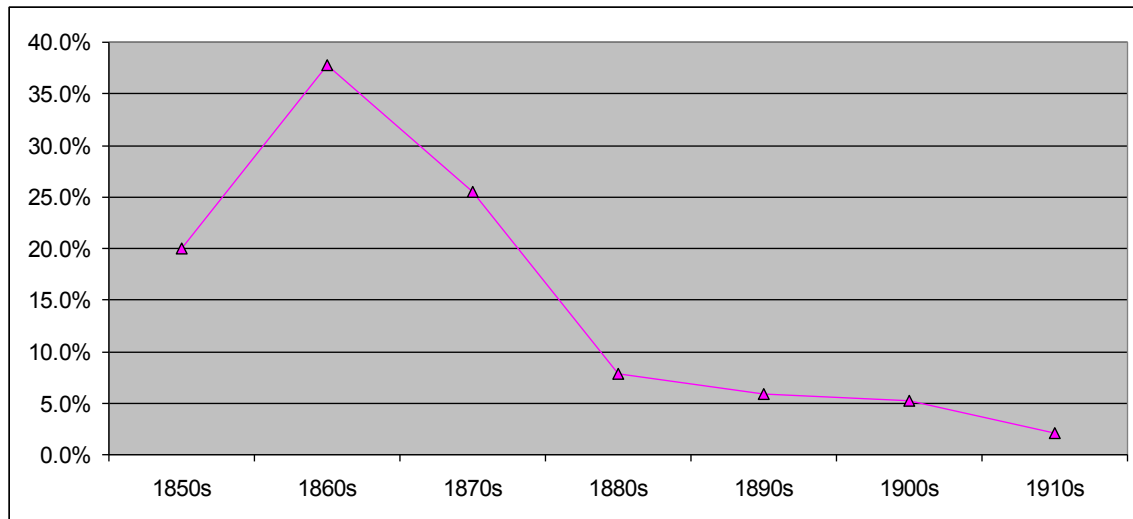


Fig. 4.4. Percentage of burlesques relative to the total number of premiering musical productions.

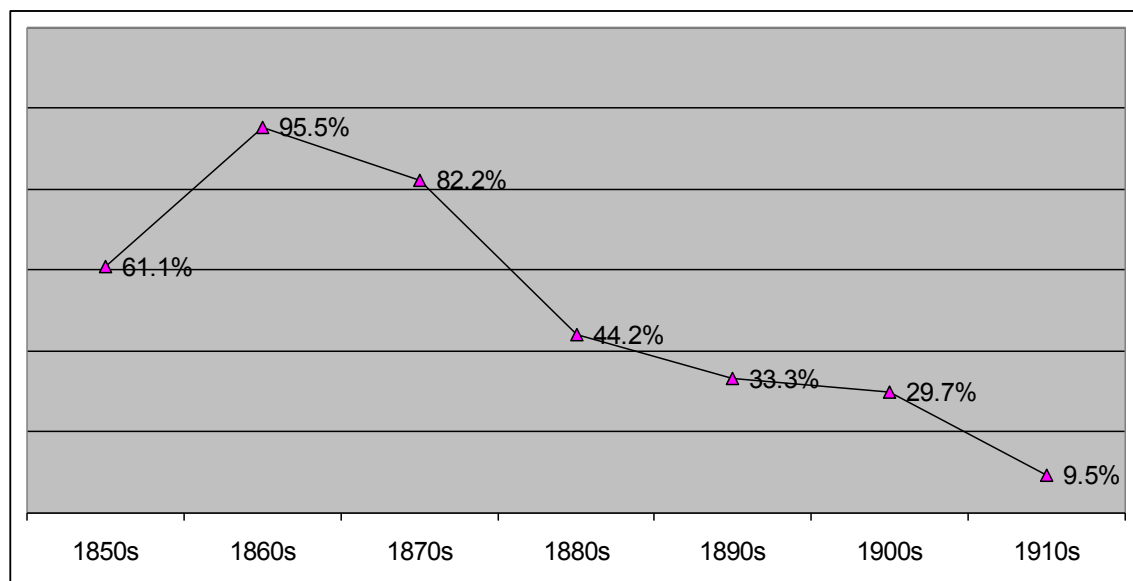


Fig. 4.5. Percentage of burlesques relative to all adaptations in the database.

Not only are burlesques significant on the Broadway stage in these early decades, but they also account for the majority of adaptations during this same time period. Figure 4.5 shows that burlesques account for as many as 95.5% of the catalogued adaptations in the 1860s, while accounting for more than half in the decades before and after. It might be safe to say that burlesque was the primary mode of adaptation in the early decades of the Broadway musical.

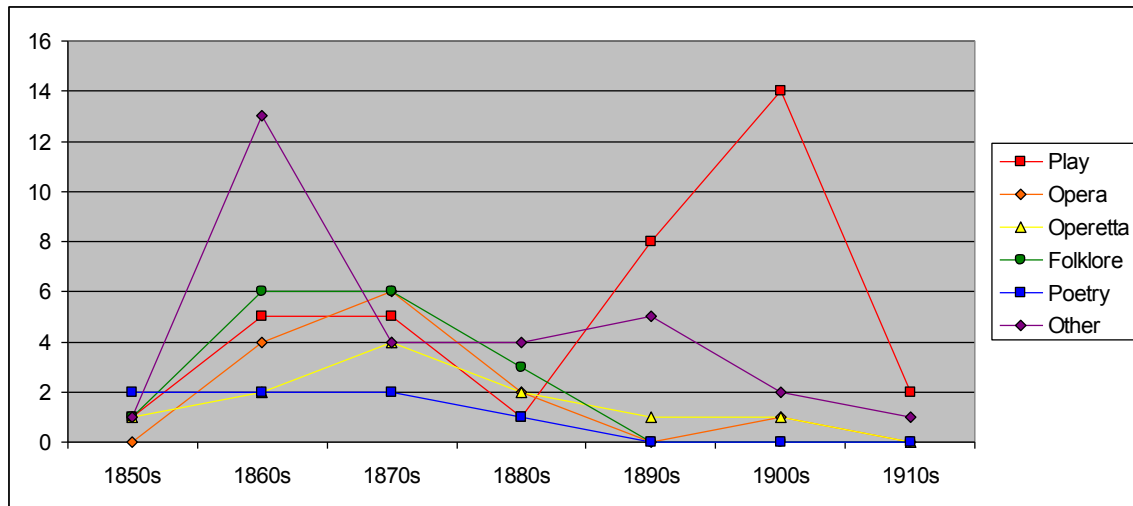


Fig. 4.6. Media used as the source for these burlesques.

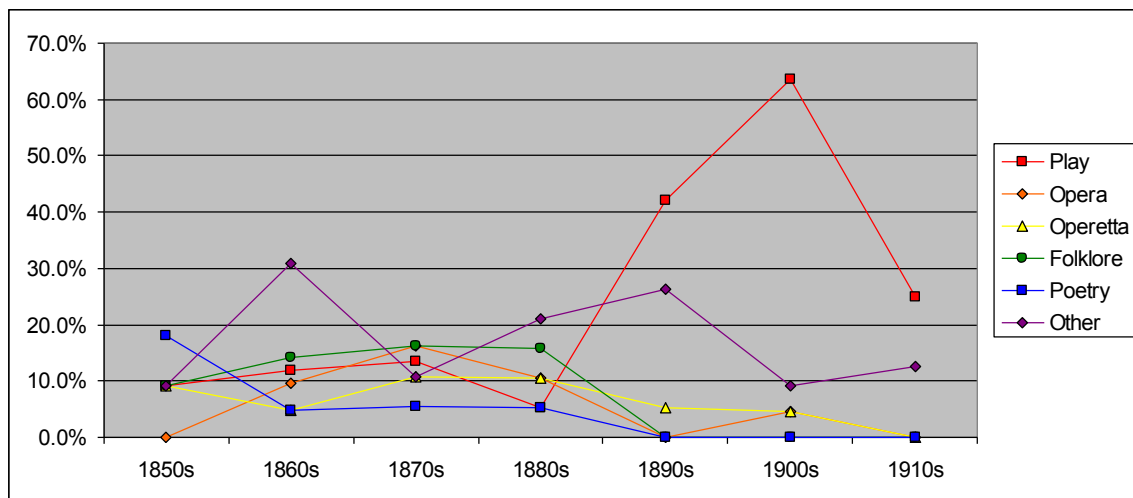


Fig. 4.7. Percentage of media used as the source for these burlesques.

This project, however, is interested not in adaptation itself, but how Broadway as a literary polysystem creates and maintains its repertoire through modes of interference.

Burlesques parodied a variety of genres and types of source texts from opera to nursery rhymes. Figures 4.6 and 4.7 show a break out of media from which burlesque took its source material. These graphs show that burlesques took their source material from diverse media from the 1850s through the 1880s. In the 1890s and 1900s, however, burlesques of plays came to dominate.

There is a noted change, though, in the plays that were parodied or “lampooned.” The 1850s included one burlesque of Shakespeare: *The Merchant of Venice*. The 1860s included more parodies of Shakespeare (of *The Winter’s Tale*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Tempest*) and “an older German work translated as *The Seven Daughters of Satan*” (Bordman 2010, 15). Shakespeare continued to be a popular source of parody, but it may not have been Shakespeare’s plays that were being parodied.

In 1870, G. L. Fox appeared in back-to-back burlesques of *Hamlet* (opening February 14) and *Macbeth* (opening March 18). Bordman explains that “Edwin Booth had opened in his great *Hamlet* on 5 January and was still playing to packed houses when Fox romped onto the stage” (2010, 29). Fox’s *Macbeth* was also “a mock mounting of Booth’s version of *Macbeth*,” even if not as successful as his first parody (Bordman 2010, 29). The following year, Fox with his *Richelieu of the Period!* attempted to mock another Edwin Booth performance in Edward Bulwer-Lytton’s 1839 play *Richelieu* (Bordman 2010, 32). It is quite possible that many of these early burlesques of plays, opera, and other performed works were as much parodies of the “legitimate” performances of these works as they were of the works themselves.

In the 1890s, burlesques of plays seemed to turn their attention to contemporary plays. Seven of the eight burlesques based on plays were of plays that had premiered that same year or the year before. The 1897 burlesque *The Glad Hand, or Secret Servants* combined a parody of William Gillette’s 1896 play *Secret Service* with jokes about “the Yukon Gold Rush, then at its

height” (Bordman 2010, 177). While many of these later burlesques were full-length parodies of the day’s stage hits, others combined multiple works. The 1899 *Helter Skelter* “combined spoofs of several of the town’s straight-play hits: *Lord and Lady Algy*, *Zaza*, *The Great Ruby*, and *The King’s Musketeers*” (Bordman 2010, 192). In most cases, these latter burlesques were parodies of either recent works or recent productions of older (often well-known) works.

Data on these burlesques is at best incomplete. Record keeping was not as consistent as later decades and Kenrick notes that the “scripts from many of these early burlesques were not published [to] discourage unauthorized productions” or because the material might change frequently during the run of the show (70). It is quite possible that more of these catalogued burlesques were based on prior existing material, meaning that an even higher percentage of these works may have been adaptations. Additional research into other sources (especially those held in archives) may help fill in more productions in my database. This may show that burlesques were more prevalent on stage and that this early form of American musical adaptation was an even stronger creative current.

Despite any weaknesses in trying to be comprehensive in cataloguing a period of performance history for which records are incomplete, it is clear that the burlesque was a major genre on the Broadway stage. In a world without television or the Internet, these burlesques served a similar function to *Saturday Night Live*, *South Park*, and the newest YouTube videos to go “viral” on the Internet today. In the 1950s when adaptation would become a stronger force on stage again, it would never come to recycle and adapt material as quickly as burlesque did in the nineteenth century.

The Plot Thickens

Adaptation has played such a significant role on Broadway musical stages because plot and story have been at the center of many of these productions. Much of early Broadway musical entertainment had little focus on plot. Stempel lists “minstrel shows, burlesque, variety, vaudeville, and revues” as “some of the major types of musicals without stories” noting that “they differ[ed] from each other in structure, style, where they [were] performed, and what kind of audiences they attract[ed]” (4). My data shows Stempel to be incorrect on burlesque being a “storiless” genre (as discussed in the previous section).

Raymond Knapp discusses how even “many extravaganzas began to rely on at least some semblance of an embracing narrative as a means to sustain its parade of song, dance, procession, and scenic ‘special effects’” (2004, 59). He further argues that the extravaganza *The Black Crook* (1866) helped increase the narrative element in musical entertainment on the Broadway stage (2004, 62).¹⁰⁵ Julian Mates credits Edward Harrigan and Anthony Hart’s Mulligan Guard series (1878-1881) with helping the multiple sketches of variety evolve into full-length musical

¹⁰⁵ *The Black Crook* is a curious case. Knapp and Kenrick both discuss how *The Black Crook* was crafted from German elements (2004, 20; 63). Knapp identifies “a performance of Carl Maria von Weber’s *Der Freischütz*” as the *inspiration* for this show (2004, 20). According to Knapp’s description, author Charles Barras saw a production of this German *Singspiele* a half decade earlier in Cincinnati, but it appears that he did not have access to this source. Smith describes *The Black Crook* as “the swan song of early nineteenth-century Romanticism. Half German melodrama and half French ballet-extravaganza-*féerie*, both its content and its manner of presentation continued the fashions and traditions of European stagecraft of the 1840s and 1850s” (12). In essence, *The Black Crook*, as it was seen on Broadway in 1866, was the combination of two shows: a melodrama inspired by a performance of a German work and a French ballet, Hervé’s 1865 *La Biche au Bois* (Knapp 2004, 21). Engel details the conditions that led to combining these two works: “The production of *The Black Crook* achieved an unprecedented success, as it were by accident. Two producers, Henry Jarrett and Harry Palmer, had imported a ballet company from Paris, but before the show’s opening, the theater it was to occupy burned down. In the meantime another producer, William Wheatley, had announced ‘*The Black Crook*—a melodrama without music.’ The ballet producers—with a company of dancers and minus a theater—conceived the idea of joining forces with the play producer and converting his melodrama into a musical spectacle” (4). It is significant that this work that many describe as the first American musical combined French and German elements, which have been two of the most influential cultures on Broadway. Despite the identification of a German work that *inspired* part of the show and the French ballet being inserted into this production, I have not categorized this work as an adaptation. *The Black Crook* is one of those curious cases that incorporates inspiration and combination. It is a liminal case of adaptation, but not categorized in the same way as other adaptations that appear to have stronger connections with their source text(s).

pieces with a story-line (172). Gerald Bordman, who has numerous books on musical theatre, specifies that “[m]usical comedy, from the oldest to the latest, has always told something of a story, even when that story was unlikely or flimsy or sometimes got lost in a welter of other attractions” (1982, 3).

In the vast majority of cases, story—along with character—is at the heart of most adaptations. An overview of the source material used on Broadway during this sixteen-decade period shows that media with a focus on plot and character dominate the selection. Figure 4.8 shows the percentages of the twenty-five different categories of source types catalogued in my database. In fact, the top eight media (play, novel, film, folklore, operetta, story, musical, and opera)—which all typically include story and character—comprise 89.1% of all source material used for these musicals.

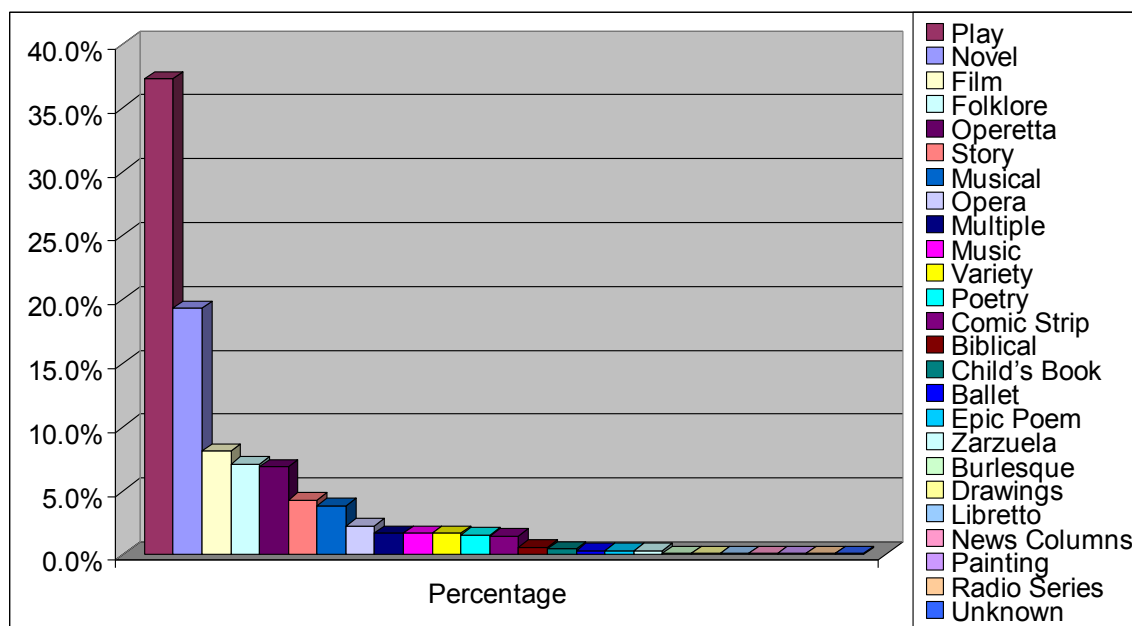


Fig. 4.8. Percent of various media used as source material for adaptations on Broadway.

My database includes all pieces of musical entertainment (for which there were records), yet certain genres of musical entertainment seem to resist adaptation more than others. Included in Stempel’s list of genres that generally do not have plots he includes revues (4). Julian Mates

cites the origins of the revue in France in the mid nineteenth century (146). Most scholars cite *The Passing Show* in 1894 as the first American revue (Bordman 2010, 150; Smith 70; Kenrick 123; Engel 46; Stempel 83).¹⁰⁶ Not only did most of these shows not have a unified plot or designated characters, but they often “used from one to half a dozen or more composers” (Mates 150). Revues also allowed for variety and quick changes over the run as performers and songs could be switched in and out (Mates 151).

According to my data, few revues have source texts. Of the 547 premiering revues catalogued in my database, eighteen have identifiable sources (only 3.3% of revues). Many of these revues used source material that is not a unified work with a plot. *Words and Music* (1917), *The Golden Age* (1963), and *Shakespeare’s Cabaret* (1981) were all revues pulling material from various Shakespeare sources. Other revues pulled from sources that were already a collection of stories or poems: *A Thurber Carnival* (1960) was based on stories by James Thurber, *The Beats in Me* (1963) was based on Thurber’s 1940 *Fables for Our Time and Famous Poems Illustrated* (more short stories), *Inner City* (1971) was based on Eve Merriam’s 1969 *The Inner City Mother Goose*, and Stephen Schwartz’s *Working* (1978) was based on Studs Terkel’s 1974 book *Working: People Talk About What They Do All Day and How They Feel About What They Do*. None of these source texts lend themselves toward a unified plot.

¹⁰⁶ My research identified two earlier works that have been described as revues, if not “proto-revues.” Bordman writes about *The Dramatic Review for 1868* (1869): “Of course, [John] Brougham could have no inkling of the dated annuals called revues that would flood Broadway half a century later. Nonetheless, in a small way this short collection of skits had something of the feel of the later spectacles” (2010, 27). Bordman cites a *New York Times* review of Predigam’s *Roughing It* (1873): “[The evening] resembles more closely the order of plays known in Paris as revues [...] In a revue a story as slender as that of a fairy-tale, but having for personages mortals only, binds together a number of varied situations” (2010, 36). Both of these works have been marked as revues in my database, though the historical time period for the revue on the Broadway stage is marked with the premiere of *The Passing Show* in 1894.

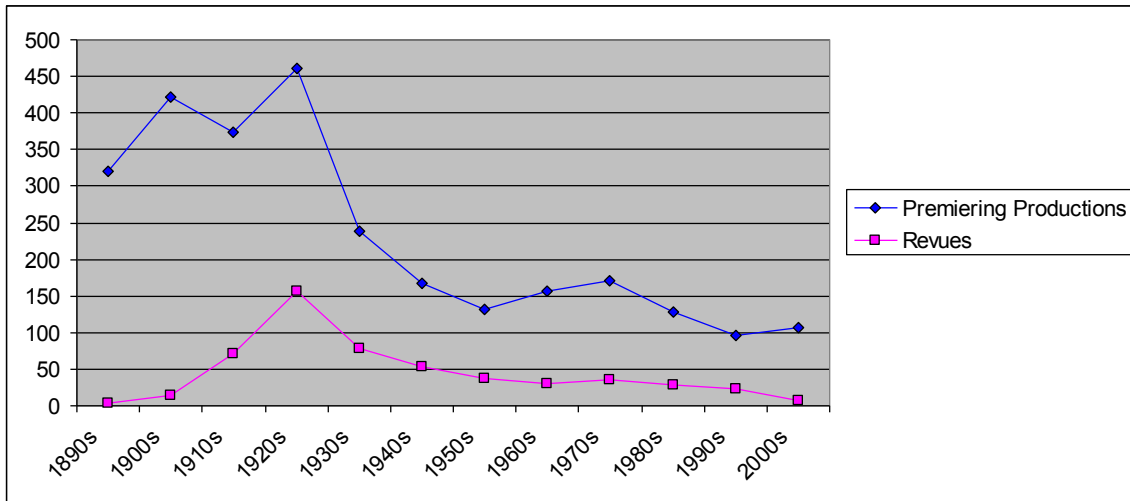


Fig. 4.9. Number of revues per decade compared to all premiering musical productions.

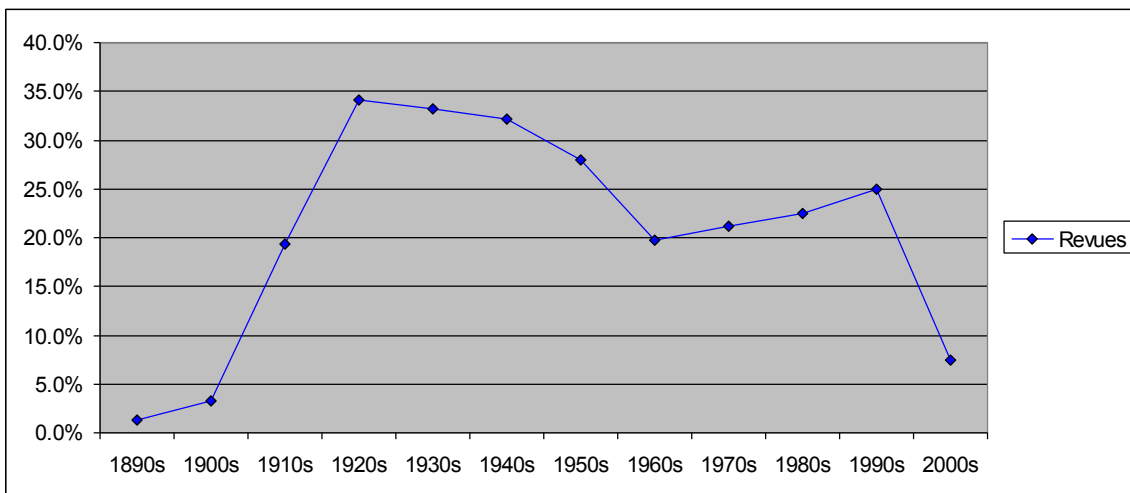


Fig. 4.10. Percentage of revues per decade of all premiering musical productions.

Both Hirschak and the Internet Broadway Database classify productions as revues when they fit this category. Beginning in the 1910s, revues begin to account for more than 19% of all premiering musical productions each decade (with the exception of the 2000s when this percentage drops to 7.5%). Figures 4.9 and 4.10 show the total number and the percentages of revues premiering on Broadway. For several decades, revues account for a quarter to a third of

all new musical productions. Because revues are statistically less likely to be adaptations, I have chosen to exclude them from the rest of my analysis of adaptations.¹⁰⁷

Figure 4.11 shows a new line of premiering productions excluding revues, concerts, solo, and special shows beneath all premiering productions. If we assume that particular categories are less likely to be adaptations and will skew the data, their exclusion will help make patterns easier to deduce. Figure 4.12 shows similar data but as percentages. When focusing on “musical theatre”—the genres that tend to have a story—we find that adaptations now account for close to half (if not more) of all premiering musicals. The rest of this chapter will focus on this subset of data. Through the rest of the chapter I will use the term “premiering musicals” to refer to all those premiering pieces of musical entertainment that are part of this subset of data.

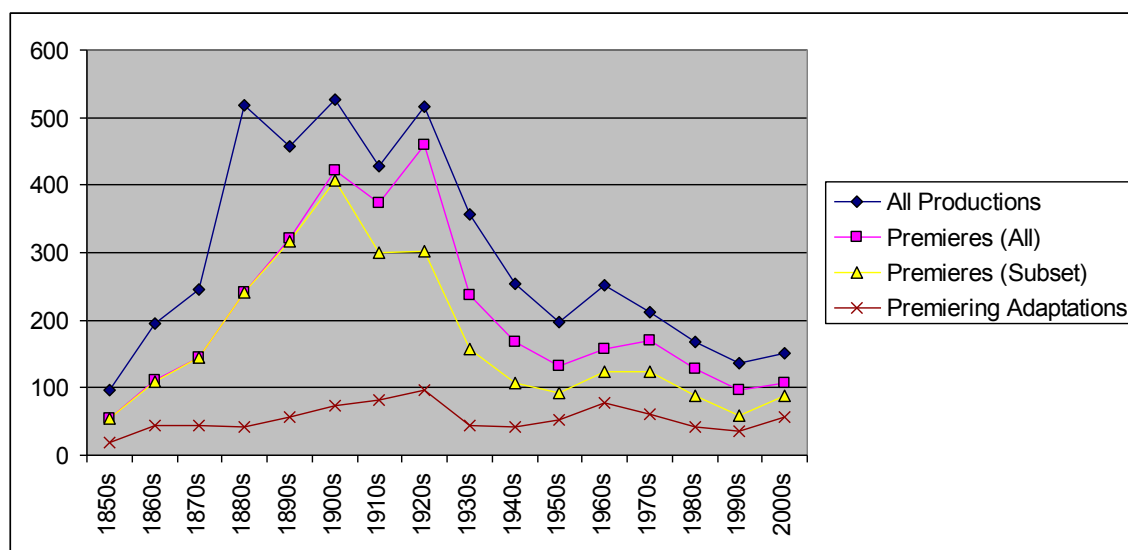


Fig. 4.11. Total number of premiering productions per decade.

¹⁰⁷ Additionally I will exclude the five musical productions that have been categorized as solo (one-person) shows, none of which are adaptations. The productions that the Broadway League has categorized as concerts (27 premiering productions) or special shows (another 27 premiering productions) will also be excluded from my analysis of musical productions with identifiable sources. None of these concerts or special shows have been identified as adaptations. Many of these special shows are Broadway shows on ice, special famous performers with shows written around them, or variety-type shows, such as Cirque du Soleil’s foray onto Broadway in 2008 with *Cirque Dreams: Jungle Fantasy*. By excluding revues, solo shows, concerts, and special productions, I can focus on those musical productions that are most likely to center on a plot and characters. The premiering productions in this subset are the primary candidates for being adaptations.

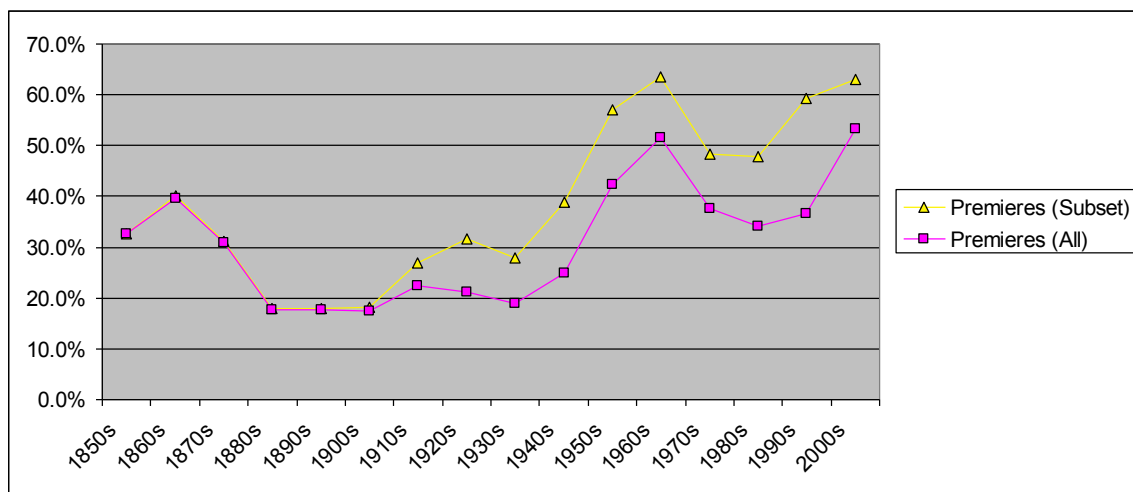


Fig. 4.12. Percent of adaptations per decade (subset comparison to premieres).

Interference in the Broadway Musical

Earlier in this chapter I discussed the predominance of burlesques that adapted fairly contemporary material for the purposes of parodying familiar material. Beginning in the twentieth century and increasing significantly in the middle of the century, a new major wave of adaptation emerged on the Broadway musical stage. Once operettas lost their popularity on stage, the trend of literary interference through translation also dropped off to the point of being insignificant by the 1940s. With the decline of operetta and the rising demand for the musical comedy, adaptations form a stronger trend.

The direct interference from foreign-language operettas would drop to a smattering of foreign imports presented by foreign companies. These would include a pair of Spanish zarzuelas in 1919 and a group of five French musicals in 1929. The Permanent Italian Theatre Company performed Virgilio Ranzato's 1923 operetta *Il paese dei campanelli* in Italian as *The Land of Bells* in 1935 (Hischak 249). Another Italian musical was presented in 1964 on Broadway and two Italian operas in 1985 (Hischak 398; Bordman 2010, 787). As recently as

1997, Tchaikovsky's opera *Eugene Onegin* was produced at the Martin Beck Theatre for a paltry seven performances.

Outside of operettas and operas, relatively few foreign-language musicals have been translated into English and premiered on Broadway stages. Up through the 1940s, musical works translated into English fell into the genres of opera or operetta with few exceptions. Robert Katscher's 1930 *Die Wunder-Bar: Ein Spiel im Nachtleben* (essentially a play with music) was presented as *The Wonder Bar* in 1931. The Internet Broadway Database classifies Kurt Weill and Bertolt Brecht's 1928 *Die Dreigroschenoper* as an operetta. The English translation *The Threepenny Opera*, which premiered on Broadway in 1933, would become one of the most revived translations after the "operetta century" (with Broadway revivals in 1954, 1961, 1966, 1977, 1989, and 2006).

Beginning in the 1960s, decades after operetta had had its run on Broadway, only nine foreign-language musical works would be translated into English and premiere on Broadway. Appendix C lists these nine works. Seven of these translations had relatively short runs, with Almagor's (librettist) 1968 Israeli musical presented as *Only Fools Are Sad* in 1971 running for 144 performances (less than four months). Marguerite Monnot's 1956 musical *Irma la Douce* ran for longer than a year after its premiere in 1960. *Irma la Douce*'s 524-performance run bested *The Merry Widow*'s record run of 416. It took more than half of a century for a translated musical work to outperform *The Merry Widow*.¹⁰⁸ One translated musical, though, would outperform not only all translated musicals, but most musicals throughout Broadway history.

This show was *Les Misérables*.

¹⁰⁸ When considering the average and median run for musical productions in each of these decades, *Irma la Douce*'s run is less impressive. The average run for a musical in the 1900s was 80 performances (with a median of only 53 performances, and a standard deviation of 84). By the 1960s, the average run of a musical was 274 performances (with a median of 87 performances and a standard deviation of 492). This means that the average musical ran longer in the 1960s and that comparatively speaking, *The Merry Widow* was a greater success.

Les Misérables—as it is known to audiences today—premiered in London’s West End in 1985 and then two years later on Broadway where it would run for a record 6680 performances, outperformed by only two other musicals: *Cats* and *The Phantom of the Opera*.¹⁰⁹ Stempel details the peculiar history of this “mega-musical.” After the success of *Jesus Christ Superstar* (released first as a concept album in 1970 and then premiering on Broadway in 1971), composer Claude-Michel Schönberg and lyricist Alain Boublil set out to create a French musical sensation of their own. They began with *La Révolution Française* (1973) and followed with *Les Misérables* (1980), the latter based on Victor Hugo’s 1862 novel of the same name (622-623). Stempel details that “[t]hey produced each as a concept record album first, then staged it as a spectacle (in the French sense of the word) in Paris’s Palais des Sports” (623). British producer Cameron Mackintosh, who would be responsible for producing the top three running musicals in Broadway history, acquired the rights to this French musical work.

Stempel notes that they “had to do more than translate *Les Misérables* into English.” They also “had to transform a particularly Gallic form of entertainment into something closer to an Anglo-American musical” (623). The issue of adaptation and audience knowledge is at the heart of this translation. Stempel notes how French audiences were already familiar with the plot of Hugo’s novel, while English-speaking audiences were not. Consequently, new narrative elements had to be added to help audiences outside of France follow the storyline of this famous novel (623). This type of adaptation of musical works is quite common even within the same language. Producers often add and remove entire songs and scenes during previews, when moving a production to a new country, or before setting it out on the road. The majority of the

¹⁰⁹ *Cats* (1982) ran for a total of 7485 performances. *The Phantom of the Opera* (1988) had achieved a record 10,359 performances by December 23, 2012 and at the writing of this project is still running on Broadway in its original production. The fourth longest running musical at the time of this project was *The Lion King* (1997), which had achieved 6273 performances by December 23, 2012 but was still running and could surpass *Les Misérables*.

score and libretto found on the 1980 original French concept album appeared in the 1985 West End version. The Original London Cast Recording marks a total of twelve songs as having been newly composed by Claude-Michel Schönberg (credited to Alain Boublil Music Ltd.), while the twenty-two other songs are all marked as pertaining to the 1980 edition (Schönberg, et al.).

Les Misérables demonstrates the difficulty of classifying a work as a “translation” or an “adaptation.” The source text was a French musical piece and the original composer and lyricist worked on the London version (which consequently became the version to be produced globally).¹¹⁰ In my database I have categorized this work as a translation because the majority of the musical composition is from the original French concept album and subsequent presentation at the Palais des Sports. My argument is that to classify this musical as an adaptation would require that nearly every musical that added or removed material before transferring the show to Broadway from London or any pre-Broadway run *also* be categorized as an adaptation. My project is focused on those musicals that are created using prior existing source material, not on the creation process of a musical work itself, which almost necessitates the continual retooling of material in the musical based on feedback from producers, critics, and audiences.¹¹¹

Les Misérables is the only translated musical in the last several decades to find any success on Broadway. I would argue that two things contributed to its success. First, the musical is based on a famous classic novel. While English-speaking audiences may not have

¹¹⁰ Stempel notes that even the 1991 Paris premiere of *Les Misérables* was a French translation of the British version. Stempel further notes that, ironically, the Paris production of this new re-translated version flopped (623).

¹¹¹ I caution the overuse of the term “adaptation” to mean the reworking of any prior material. In this sense, every revival on Broadway would be an adaptation of the original production. Because this project is focused on the concept of “interference” from other cultural-linguistic systems, other media, and sometimes the same medium I will maintain a more rigid definition of “adaptation” and *Les Misérables* will be categorized as a translation, albeit a special case. But if we revisit many of the German-language operettas (covered in Chapter 3) that have historically been classified as translations despite American composers interpolating new musical compositions, then we find that categorizing *Les Misérables* as a translation for research purposes is not as problematic.

read the novel (similar to *The Phantom of the Opera*), the mere name recognition helps promote this work. In this sense, the transfer process of this work is interlingual intramedial interference (translation proper) but it is *received* by audiences more as a piece of intermedial interference (i.e., a musical adapted from a novel).¹¹² Secondly, when this French musical was further developed (as would be any musical that is workshopped for professional production) Cameron Mackintosh and his team of producers tailored this work for the tastes and needs of an English-speaking audience already familiar with the “musical” as a particular genre.¹¹³ Their work paid off with twelve Tony nominations in 1987 and eight Tony awards, including best musical, best book, and best original score.

The selection and use of pre-existing, often well-known material (as Boublil and Schönberg did with *Les Misérables*) has become a common practice for musicals premiering on Broadway. Of the 2719 premiering productions from 1850 through 2009 in the subset described earlier in this chapter, 868 of these productions have an identifiable source that categorizes them as adaptations (accounting for 31.9% of these productions).¹¹⁴ For the polysystem theorist, the issue of interest is the *intermedial interference*, or the media of the source texts upon which these

¹¹² Cattrysse addresses this issue in his article “Film (Adaptation) as Translation” (1992) in his section “The Function of Adaptations.” He notes that “the way film adaptations are perceived by the public and critics [...] is not always a simple matter” (58). He goes on to discuss how the same film may be received as an adaptation by French audiences but not as an adaptation by American audiences (based on knowledge of the source material). This is an issue of audience reception that lies outside my research, which is more narrowly focused on historical interference at a systemic level.

¹¹³ Stempel also argues that marketing played a significant role in the success of *Les Misérables* and other mega-musicals including *Cats*, *The Phantom of the Opera*, and *Miss Saigon* (627-629). The issue of marketing lies outside the focus of this project.

¹¹⁴ Note that translations also have an “identifiable source.” Of this subset, there are 155 translations (5.7%), 13 translations into other languages (0.5%), and 78 works premiering in a language other than English (2.9%). This leaves 1605 (or 59.0%) of the remaining works to be English-language premieres that do not have an identifiable source. If 246 works that entered the Broadway system in a foreign language or translated into English are excluded, then adaptations account for 35.1%. Regardless how the numbers are divided, adaptations account for around a third of musical works on Broadway.

musical adaptations have been based.¹¹⁵ Tracking these data historically helps illuminate which media sources adapters and producers selected and to which audiences were exposed.

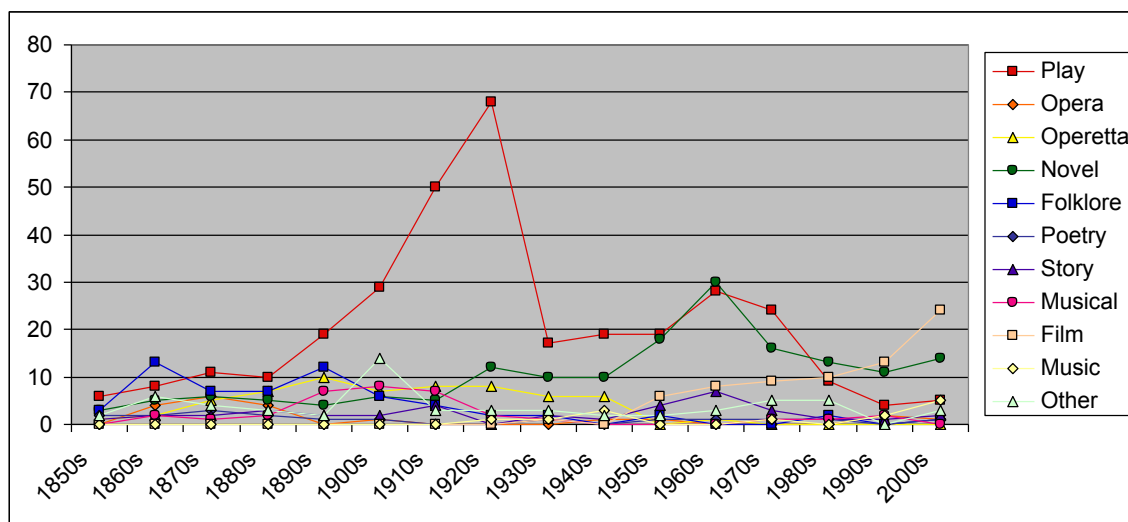


Fig. 4.13. Number of source texts per medium from which musicals have been adapted.

Figure 4.13 traces the number of source texts used as source material for adapted musicals each decade. There is a notable increase in the number of (non-musical) plays used as source texts in the 1900s through the 1920s, after which time the number drops yet remains one of the most popular media from which to select source material. Plays account for 37.2% of the source texts catalogued in my database. The ready-made linear plots, existing dialogue, characters, and a running time already designed for a live audience no doubt made plays an easier source text with which to work. Novels, accounting for nearly one fifth (19.3%) of the

¹¹⁵ Here the term “intermedial interference” becomes slightly problematic. Numerous musicals have been adapted from prior existing musical works (operas, operettas, and other musicals). These works would be cases of *intramedial* interference. For this particular project, I am contrasting *intermedial interference* (“adaptation proper”) from *direct interlingual interference* (“untranslated” works), *indirect interlingual interference* (“translation proper”), and *indirect interlingual and intralingual interference* (those translated and adapted middle European operettas). For simplicity sake, I will use the term *intermedial interference* to be inclusive of those adaptations from other pieces of musical entertainment. The primary reason for this is that in the case of operas and other musicals, these musical source texts are merely other choices for source texts analogous to other potential sources (such as novels, plays, and films). Operettas, though, do form a special class because so many entered the Broadway polysystem through transfer processes along the spectrum of interlingual interference. Operettas are a special case because they have been adapted as burlesques, as a “looser form of translation,” and as part of “adaptation proper.” Additional research combining my analyses from Chapters 3 and 4, along with additional research comparing source and target texts would be necessary to adequately discuss the role that operettas have played as source texts historically in intersystemic interference.

source texts, increase in the 1920s and reach their height in the 1960s. Novels would certainly require more adaptation (to make it playable on stage), but their accessibility to the general public certainly made them viable sources from which to select. While plays and novels have dominated Broadway as source texts (accounting for 56.5% of all source texts), film overtook these media to the point of domination after the turn of the millennium.

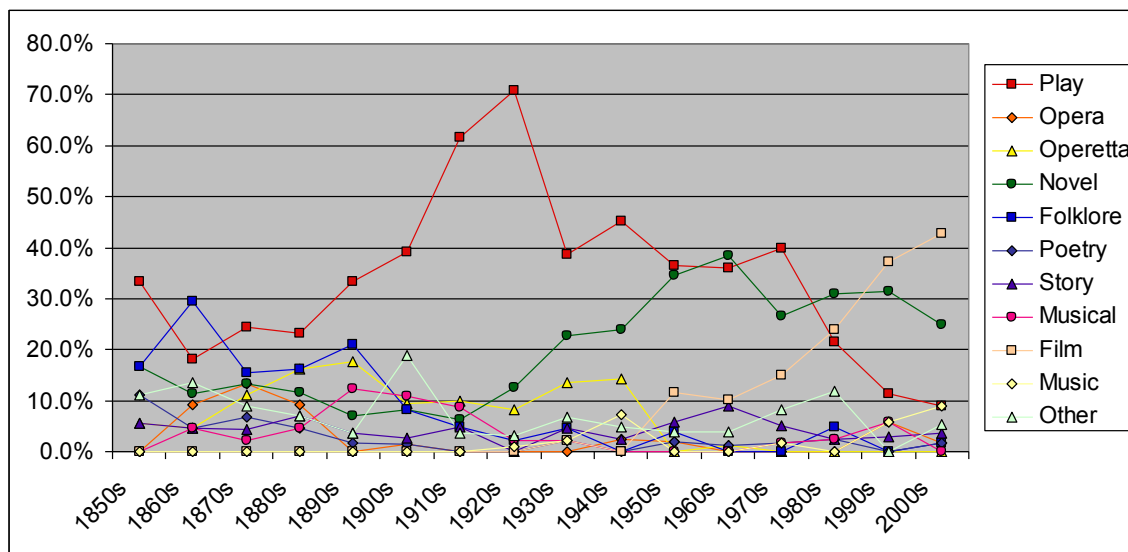


Fig. 4.14. Percent of source texts per medium from which musicals have been adapted.¹¹⁶

Because the number of productions varies significantly each decade, percentages may help us see trends a little better. Figure 4.14 shows the percentage that each medium accounts for of all source texts used for the purposes of adaptation. This figure makes it a little easier to see that folklore (legends, myths, nursery rhymes, fairy tales, and other common popular stories) accounted for a higher percentage of source texts than most other media (with the exception of plays) in these early decades. In fact, folklore accounts for 7.1% of all source text material represented in the database, ranking fourth after film.

¹¹⁶ Percentages are based the total number of musical adaptations. In other words, in the 1920s plays account for 70.8% all texts used as source material for musical productions (not 70.8% of all premiering musicals).

Julie Sanders in her book *Adaptation and Appropriation* (2006) quotes Roland Barthes's assertion in *Mythologies* that "the fundamental character of mythical concept is to be appropriated" (Sanders 63). It is not surprising that these highly malleable texts would so often be used as source material for adaptation. Barthes sees this openness to these texts noting that "there is no fixity in mythical concepts: they can come into being, alter, disintegrate, disappear completely" (Barthes 120). It is not surprising that in the earlier years of Broadway when spectacles and extravaganzas were some of the hottest tickets in town that theatre managers would choose myths, legends, and fairy tales. Sanders identifies these kinds of texts as being "particularly available for continuous re-creation and rewriting [...] because of their essential abstraction from a specific context" (84).

While many of these early adaptations of folklore were burlesques (covered earlier in this chapter), many others fell into the categories of extravaganzas, spectacles, pantomimes, and fantasies. G. L. Fox authored several of these pantomimes at the Olympic Theatre: *Humpty Dumpty* (1868), *Hicory Diccory Dock or, Harlequin Jack of the Beanstalk* (1869), and *Wee Willie Winkie* (1870). In Chapter 2 I discussed a series of earlier musical shows all based faithfully or less so on the Cinderella story. Perhaps this is why Barthes described myth as "speech *stolen and restored*" (125), because these nursery rhymes, legends, and tales are simply stories that have been stolen repeatedly and restored in some new form.

Despite their popularity in the nineteenth century, folklore drops off in the twentieth century supplying significantly few source texts for musical entertainment on Broadway. It is not surprising that folklore would be a more common genre of source text before full-length, plot-based musical entertainment would become more common with the rise of the operetta, then leading into the "book" musicals of the twentieth century. Folklore provided a loose structure

around which any series of sketches and scenes could be arranged, while media with a stronger focus on narrative and character (namely, plays, novels, and films) would later come to dominate as musical entertainment focused on the narrative elements, thus relegating those “plot-less” shows to the category of revue. My argument here is that the kinds of source material chosen for adaptation help elucidate the trajectory of musical entertainment from numerous open, free-form nights of entertainment to the dominance of controlled, story-driven productions. Graphing the interference patterns from different media can help describe the historical creation and maintenance of Broadway’s repertoire or musical entertainment.

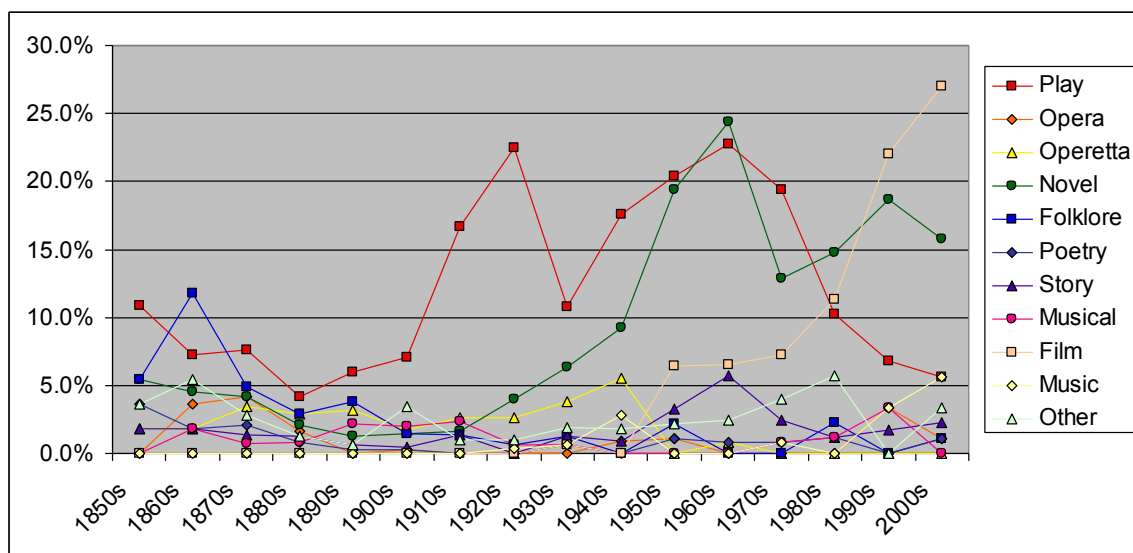


Fig. 4.15. Percent of premiering musical adaptations based on particular media.

While Figure 4.14 shows the percentages of source media relative to each other, Figure 4.15 shows what percentages of premiering musicals (in the subset) pertain to each of the catalogued media (by their source material). During the twentieth century, three media sources dominate the musical scene: plays, novels, and films. It is not surprising that plays and novels would be the two most adapted media. John Desmond and Peter Hawkes in their book on film

adaptation comment on plays' and novels' availability (along with short stories¹¹⁷) as source texts because of their "ready-made scenes, plots, and characters" and because "[i]t was easier to adapt existing stories and plays than to invent new scenarios" (14).

Desmond and Hawkes's book focuses on film's relationship to literature. For them, the film is always the target text often using some piece of pre-existing literature as its source text. Stempel notes how the tables have turned from Hollywood adapting musicals into films from the 1920s to 1970s to Broadway now adapting films to stage (636). Beginning in the 1950s, film became an increasingly more common source text for the musical stage. As Figure 4.15 shows, by the first decade of the twenty-first century, more than one in four new musicals were based on a film. No other medium has accounted for a higher percentage of premiering musicals in any of the preceding fifteen decades.

John Bush Jones says that "[o]ne reason such shows [e.g., *The Producers* and *The Full Monty*] have become so popular is that audiences have become attuned to 'seeing what is familiar' rather than engaging in the challenges of a truly innovative theatrical event" (355). Stempel notes that Broadway producers once "looked to film as simply one of several sources of material, and not the more important" (634-5). In recent years, Broadway musicals based on films have become some of the most important and profitable musicals on stage.

Here is where a database approach to Broadway musical entertainment can help better explain such a quick and dramatic change in musical theatre. Both Hischak and the Internet Broadway Database list the number of performances for productions on Broadway. In some cases, performance-run data is missing. Beginning with the 1900s, at least 88% of all

¹¹⁷ According to my data, stories account for less than 5% of selected source material and will, therefore, not be addressed in this project.

catalogued musical productions had records for their performance runs.¹¹⁸ Figure 4.16 shows the average and the median performance runs for all Broadway productions from the 1900s through the 2000s. The graph shows that while the number of productions per year has decreased over time, the average run for musical productions has increased steadily.

I have also graphed the standard deviation for these data, which is extremely important when working with this kind of data. Beginning with the 1940s, the standard deviation has risen significantly up through the 1980s, only to decrease. For the reader who may be less familiar with statistics, the standard deviation represents the relative dispersion of the data from the average. The higher the standard deviation is, the wider the range of data points are.

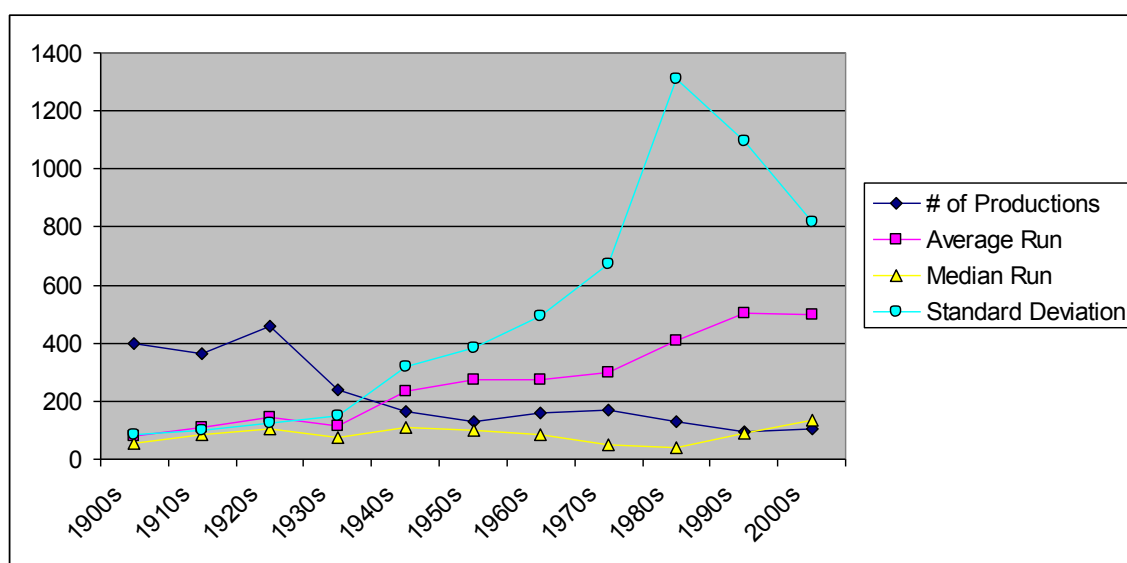


Fig. 4.16. Performance run statistics for musical productions on Broadway by decade: 1900s through 2000s.¹¹⁹

For these data this means that in the 1980s there was a greater variance in the length of performance runs than in any other decade. This is not surprising since the three longest running

¹¹⁸ I could locate records for 89% of the productions in the 1900s and 88.2% in the 1930s. Other decades had performance run data for at least 95% of the productions. By the 1940s, at least 96.9% of catalogued productions had performance run data. With such a high percentage of data I will use the existing data to represent the population with the assumption that the calculated data are statistically representative for each decade.

¹¹⁹ Note that these data include revues, concerts, solo performances, and special productions.

musicals all opened in the 1980s: *The Phantom of the Opera* (1988) with more than 10,000 performances to date, *Cats* (1982) with 7485 performances, and *Les Misérables* (1987) with 6680 performances. This is why the average run for a musical is not a statistically helpful number because a few long-running musicals will significantly skew the data. For this reason, I will use the median performance run.

Again, for those with less familiarity with statistics, the median represents the data entry in the middle of the data points when listed in numeric order (or the average of the middle two figures). For example, if we were looking at data for five performances with a set of {1, 1, 3, 7, 128}, the average run would be 28 with a standard deviation of 55.96. Twenty-eight is high for an average when four of the five productions had performance runs less than the average. The median, however, is 3 showing that half of the shows ran for 3 performances or less, while the other half ran for 3 performances or more. For this reason, the median performance run will be used. Figure 4.16 shows that the median performance run for a Broadway musical has ranged between 40 performances (in the 1980s) and 137 (for the 2000s).

Figure 4.17 compares the median run of musicals that are adaptations and ones that are not based on prior material. These data show that beginning with the 1940s (except for the 1960s) that the median run for adaptations is longer than that of non-adaptations. For the last two decades in the graph, it is clear that musicals based on prior material are a better investment for producers than would be a new musical with an original book and score. It is now less surprising to see that more than one third of all new musicals on Broadway since the 1950s have been adaptations. Having such an extensive database with productions properly tagged allows for additional research into the success of adapted musicals.

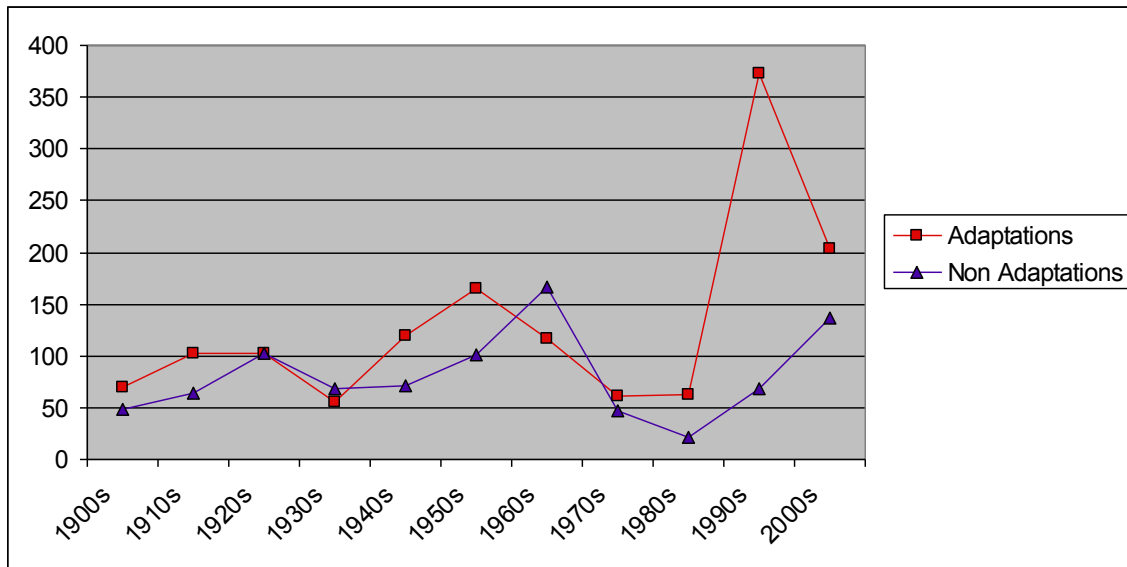


Fig. 4.17. Median performance runs for adaptations and non-adaptations.¹²⁰

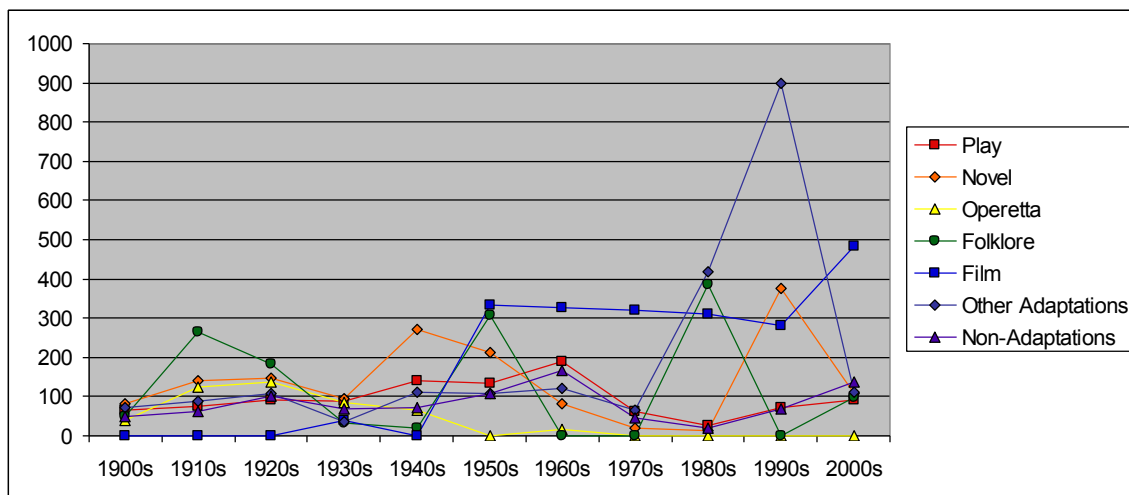


Fig. 4.18. Median performance run for adaptations based on source material compared to musicals that are not adaptations.

When comparing the median performance runs for various kinds of adaptations based on their source material (as seen in Figure 4.18), it becomes clearer that the kind of source material chosen can impact the success of a musical on Broadway. I have selected the top five media to graph with an additional category for all other adaptations. These are contrasted with musicals

¹²⁰ Now that adaptations and non-adaptations are being compared, data is of the subset that excludes revues, concerts, solo shows, and special productions. The reader may note that by excluding these categories that the median run for shows does increase slightly. This shows that revues, concerts, solo shows, and special productions (which are primarily *not* adaptations) run shorter, which is consistent with my analysis.

that are not adaptations. The “other” category is less significant here because it is a “catch all” category, but it is of note that during most decades this category of “other” adaptations outperforms the non-adaptations.

The 1990s show a major peak for the “other” category. A total of seven shows fit into the category including *Rent* (1996) based on the opera *La Bohème* (5012 performances), *Miss Saigon* (1991) based on the opera *Madama Butterfly* (4097 performances), *Crazy for You* (1992) based on the 1930 musical *Girl Crazy* (1622 performances),¹²¹ and *The Who’s Tommy* (1993) based on their album of the same name (900 performances, and consequently the median). Because this “other” category skews the data, I have re-graphed the same data without this category in Figure 4.19.

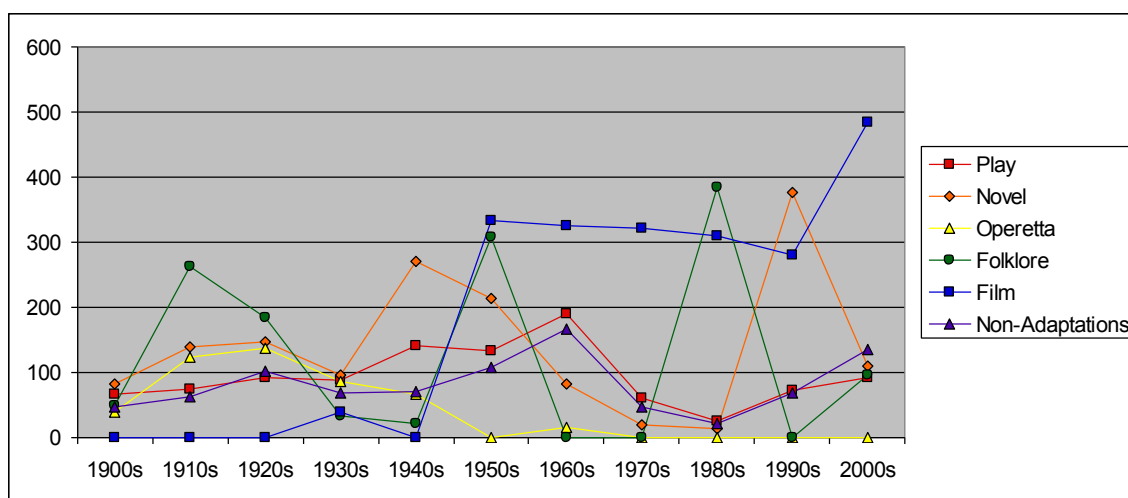


Fig. 4.19. Median performance run for adaptations based on source material compared to musicals that are not adaptations (excluding the “other” category).

Excluding this “other” category, it is easier to see patterns and trends. Musicals based on a play perform only slightly better than those non-adaptations. Musicals based on operettas performed slightly better than these two categories until the 1940s, after which time operettas

¹²¹ Gershwin and Gershwin’s *Crazy for You* is a special case. This is an adaptation of Gershwin and Gershwin’s 1920 musical *Girl Crazy*. The producers mounted this as a new production (“the new Gershwin musical comedy”) and it consequently won the Tony Award for Best New Musical. Because this was released as a new musical and not as a (reworked) revival, it is treated as a new musical adaptation for this project.

were rarely used as source texts. Folklore demonstrates a weakness with this kind of research and necessitates more explanation. Folklore appears to be a great source in the 1950s and the 1980s, but each decade features exactly two musicals based on folklore—one a success, the other less successful in each decade.¹²²

Novels have been a consistent source text for Broadway musicals, but they do not appear to be a certain investment for producers. Film, though, is the one medium that shows itself statistically to be a sound investment for a Broadway musical. Beginning in the 1950s, musicals based on film have a median run of at least 280 performances. In most decades this number has been above three hundred. In the first decade of the twenty-first century, the number and percent of musicals based on films rose quickly along with the median run (peaking at 485).

It would not be surprising to see this strong trend of producing new musicals based on films to continue. Musical purists may protest at the lack of “original” or “classic” musical entertainment, but at the end of the day, Broadway is a multi-billion dollar enterprise.¹²³ In a report published by the Broadway League in November 2012, they found that 63.4% of all Broadway tickets during the 2011-2012 season were purchased by tourists (Hausner 5). This report also showed that 18.4% of theatre attendees were foreign visitors (Hausner 9).

With more than a half of audiences being tourists and nearly a fifth from other countries, it is not surprising that producers would select works that would best appeal to tourists, including ones whose grasp of the English language is not as strong. A non-native English speaker would most likely feel more comfortable seeing *The Lion King* or *Mary Poppins* (which they may have

¹²² 1950s: *Out of This World* (1950) with 157 performances and *Once Upon a Mattress* (1959) with 460 performances. 1980s: *Into the Woods* (1987) with 765 performances and *Dangerous Games* (1989) with 4 performances. These four productions show that the production of musicals based on folklore was sporadic through the twentieth century and was perhaps no riskier or no more secure than any other particular source text.

¹²³ According to a report from the Broadway League during the 2010-2011 season, the Broadway industry had an economic impact on New York City totally \$11.2 billion and Broadway also supported 86,000 jobs (Hausner et al. 2).

seen dubbed into their own language) than original works such as *Next to Normal* or *Memphis* (which require understanding a new plot). According to a Broadway audience survey for the 2010-2011 season, Hauser lists seeing the movie as the third highest motivating factor for purchasing a ticket for a Broadway show (39).¹²⁴

Here is where the trends in adapting source material have changed over the years. In the days of burlesque, theatre managers quickly adapted the most recent and recognizable material. During the same time period, producers of spectacles and extravaganzas chose timeless source texts (legends, fairy tales, and myths) to allow for their adaptations. As the book musicals emerged and “musical comedy” evolved into its own genre, many composers and librettists sought out literary texts such as plays and novels perhaps in search of literary sources to lend more literary credibility to their work or for their marketability through the name recognition of the adapted source. Today, the primary issues seem to be marketability and *accessibility*.

Musicals adapted from films, especially popular films, make shows not only more appealing to tourists, but more accessible to them linguistically. Stempel notes a shift in adaptation methods. While earlier musical adaptations may have tried to hide their sources, often giving them different names, today Broadway producers not only use the same name for the musical but “place a greater emphasis on remaining faithful to the visual aspects, the performative qualities, indeed the whole aura of the original films in their adaptations” (635).¹²⁵

¹²⁴ “Saw the movie” accounted for 22.8% of those surveyed. The top two motivating factors were “Personal recommendation or Friend’s Facebook/Twitter/Myspace post” (48.1%) and “Like the music” (28.0%) (Hauser 39). Considering that having seen the movie accounts for one fifth of surveyed audience members’ motivation to buy tickets for a Broadway show (musical and non-musical) and further considering that musicals based on movies account for approximately a quarter of all musical productions (note that this excludes non-musical productions), 22.8% is a staggering percentage and helps explain why Broadway producers are increasingly adapting well-known movies into musicals—it translates directly into ticket sales.

¹²⁵ According to my data the use of titles for musicals based on film is as follows for each decade: 1950s: 3 with different, 2 foreign titles translated, 1 the same; 1960s: 5 with different, 2 foreign titles translated, 1 the same; 1970s: 5 with different, 3 foreign titles translated, 1 the same; 1980s: 2 foreign title translated, 8 the same (*The Rise and the Fall of Legs Diamond* was shortened to *Legs Diamond*); 1990s: 1 foreign title translated, 12 the same; and

The tourist with little knowledge of the “classic” Broadway musical can easily enjoy a stage version of a favorite movie. Similarly, the foreign tourist who would struggle to understand dialogue in English can comfortably enjoy a musical based on a film she has already seen dubbed or subtitled into her own language.

Linda Hutcheon in her book *A Theory of Adaptation* (2006) explains how “[f]or economic reasons, adapters often rely on selecting works to adapt that are well known and that have proved popular over time; for legal reasons, they often choose works that are no longer copyrighted” (29). The issue of copyright remains an important issue for adaptation, and film has played a significant role in this history. Julia Walker argues that individual performances and even the scripts used for these productions were not fully “recognized as [] original work[s] of art that deserved protection against unauthorized copies” until after copyright for performance had been fully recognized for filmed performance (i.e., film) in 1909 (90, 108-109).¹²⁶ This correlates to the same time period that drama increasingly becomes the source material for both musical entertainment and film.

Desmond and Hawkes describe a noticeable change in film’s relationship with storytelling in the first decade of the twentieth century. While storytelling was a “subordinate task” in 1904, focusing instead on “everyday life and of staged entertainments,” by 1908 they argue that it had become “a cinema that clearly focused on the development of characters and stories” (12). Figures 4.13 and 4.14 demonstrate that beginning in the 1890s and continuing

2000s: 1 with different, 23 the same. These data support Stempel’s claim and show a notable shift in the 1980s, when the musical title is almost always the same as the film (unless translated from another language, the one exception being *Never Gonna Dance* [2003], adapted from the film *Swing Time*).

¹²⁶ Walker further notes that “the play typically belonged to the acting company, not the playwright” and was therefore conceptualized as a “communal” or “collaborative” work and also that drama was “not a freestanding work of literature” and “function[ed] as a template for theatrical production” (88-89). This complicates the issue of “drama” serving as a source for adaptation if the idea of drama being a source text was contested in the nineteenth century. This project does not investigate the role of copyright or concepts of originality, but this topic would be a fruitful addition to this research topic.

through the 1920s that plays were increasingly used as the source material for musicals. It is not surprising that as musicals and films began to use stage plays more as source material that the rights of their originating artists would also come to be disputed. Additional research into adapted film and musicals, their source material, and the history of legal copyright around the beginning of the twentieth century would prove an interesting project. My database would serve as a starting point for such research.

Because my project is limited to Broadway musical entertainment, I have no data to corroborate Desmond and Hawkes's assertion of the dominance of narrative in cinema during the first decade of the twentieth century. With my data, though, I can examine the relationship between adapted musicals and their source texts by analyzing a feature that I will call "span." Span, for the purposes of my research, refers to the number of years that have passed since the publication or performance of a source text and the subsequent premiere on Broadway of a musical based on this source text.

For this analysis I will focus only on the spans for plays, novels, operettas, and films. Other adaptations have been put together into a separate category, though, as was seen with the median performance runs, these data are more sporadic. Folklore has been excluded from this analysis because the very character of these legends, myths, and fairy tales is that they very rarely had a fixed publication date. Data on the year of publication or first performance for source texts before 1900 are less reliable (many data are missing), so I will focus only on data from the 1900s through 2000s. These data consequently match up with the same time period during which copyright was a serious issue for adaptation. Similar to my analysis of performance runs, I will use the median value rather than the average (because one or two classic works in a decade can significantly skew the data).

Figure 4.20 shows that plays have varied the most in terms of span. Right after the turn of the twentieth century, the plays adapted into musicals tended to be contemporary.¹²⁷ In the first decade, the majority of plays used as source texts had been performed that same year or one year prior. For the next two decades, more than half of the musicals based on plays chose source material less than a decade old. The age of plays adapted into musicals increases for the majority of the century until the 1980s when the span increases to half a century or longer.¹²⁸

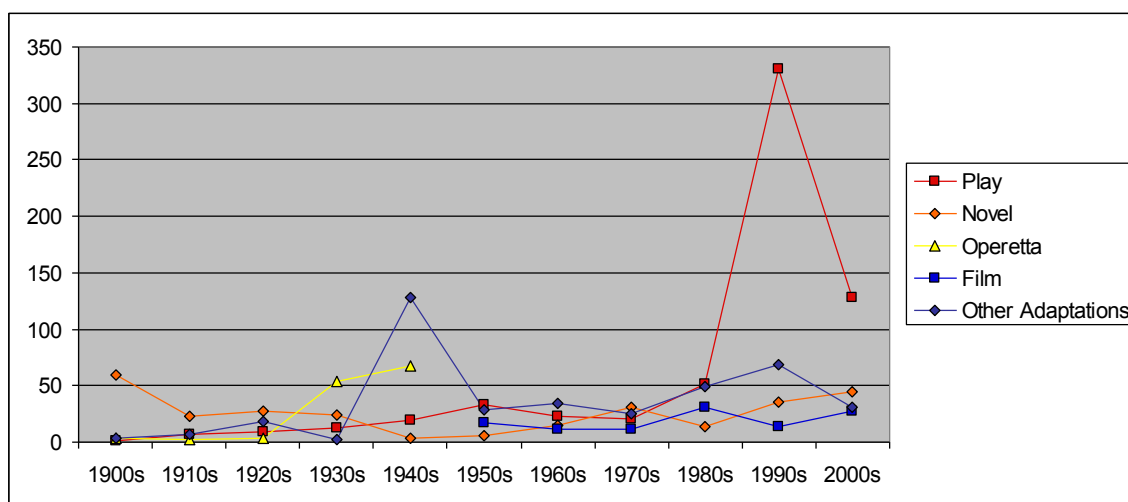


Fig. 4.20. The median age of source material (in years) when its musical adaptation premieres on Broadway.¹²⁹

The issue of intermedial interference is of interest here. Historically, earlier musical productions relied on more recent theatrical texts for their source material. The reliance on or desire for more contemporary pieces of drama decreases into the century as more older plays are

¹²⁷ The span data (median) for the first three decades are 1900s: 1 year, 1910s: 7 years, and 1920s: 9 years.

¹²⁸ It is important to note that by the 1990s, significantly few musicals are based on plays. The 1990s had only four musicals based on plays with spans of 96 (Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac*), 265 (Marivaux's *Le triomphe de l'amour*), 395 (Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*), and 2430 (Euripedes's *Medea*). The 2000s had only five musicals based on plays with spans of 3 (Feldman's *C-R-E-P-U-S-C-U-L-E*), 100 (Wedekind's *Frühlings Erwachen*), 128 (Zola's *Thérèse Raquin*), 235 (Gozzi's *L'augellino belverde*), and 2409 (Aristophanes's *The Frogs*). The data for these two decades, with the exception of Feldman's little-known play, show that contemporary musicals based on plays most often select classic works as their source material.

¹²⁹ Appendix D includes full data charts for each decade so that the number of productions in each category can be seen, in addition to the average, the median, and standard deviation for the span for each medium for each decade.

used as source material until the vast majority of plays selected would fall into the category of “classic.” By the time that the median span for plays exceeds one hundred years, the number becomes inconsequential. Producers and musical writers may be drawn to classic plays because they fall into the public domain and will not cost any money in terms of copyright for the source material, but Figures 4.18 and 4.19 show that these musicals perform poorly relative to other musicals, especially those based on film.

Figure 4.21 presents the same data but focuses only on the spans for musicals based on novels, operettas, and films. For the same three decades that the span for musicals based on plays was under a decade we find the same trend for operettas. Here our analysis overlaps with our discussions from Chapter 3. Up through the 1920s there were still new operettas being written, allowing some of the newest operettas to be adapted (in addition to being translated) alongside new plays. In the 1930s and 1940s, the half dozen musicals to be based on operettas each decade, though, were most often based on operettas at least a half century old.

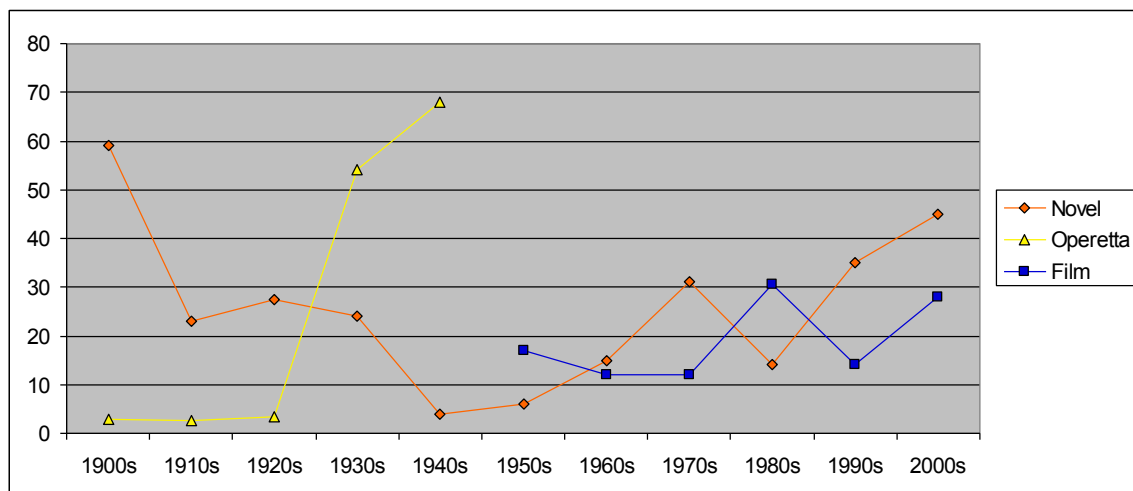


Fig. 4.21. The median age of source material (in years) when its musical adaptation premieres on Broadway (novels, operettas, and film only).

In terms of interference (here specifically intramedial), the data show that it takes relatively little time for operettas to enter the Broadway musical polysystem up through the

1920s, after which time, their entry is significantly delayed. Additional research is needed to compare these data with the spans for operettas entering through indirect interlingual interference (translation proper). This additional research, however, would require source text and target text comparisons to further categorize adaptation strategies. I would conjecture that the spans for these earlier adaptations of operettas are so low because their transfer process is more closely related to translation than the adaptations from the 1930s and 1940s. Such a project will be left for a future date.

Novels have been a fairly consistent source material for musicals over this research period. Their span data, however, shows that their patterns for selection vary significantly over time. Right after the turn of the century, few recent novels were being adapted into musicals. By the middle of the nineteenth century, though, more recent novels were selected for adaptations. After the 1950s, the novels being adapted were less often recent (though many recent novels have continued to be adapted). Additional research would be needed on the novels selected for adaptation to make stronger claims about their role in the creation and maintenance of Broadway's musical repertoire.

As we saw in Figure 4.15, films have come to dominate the Broadway stage through their musical adaptations over the course of a half century. While the median span for plays, novels, and operettas was less than a decade at various times during this eleven-decade period, this has not been the case for films. Only five movies made their way to the Broadway musical stage within three years of their cinematic release: *Queen of the Stardust Ballroom* (1975), *Dona Flor e Seus Dois Maridos* (1976), and *The Full Monty* (1997). The other two films were from Disney's animated movies: *Beauty and the Beast* (1991) and *The Lion King* (1994) both premiered on Broadway three years after their cinematic releases.

Disney's new enterprise into musical theatre paid off with *Beauty and the Beast* ranking as the eighth longest running show on Broadway and *The Lion King* is currently the fourth longest running (and will surpass *Les Misérables* if it runs a few more seasons). After these successes in the 1990s, Disney went back into the vaults and released their 1999 *Tarzan* as a musical in 2006 (7 years later) and their 1989 *The Little Mermaid* in 2008 (19 years later). One more animated film-to-musical adaptation was added to the boards in 2008, the 2001 anti-fairy tale *Shrek*, seeking to appeal to audiences young and old. And in January 2013, Disney producers announced that *Aladdin* will have its pre-Broadway trials in Toronto later in 2013 before its Broadway premiere in 2014 (22 years later) (Hetrick).

In most cases, though, producers choose older films, usually at least a decade old but that have some audience recognition in terms of plot and theme. Several of these films included music in them, making them even easier to adapt to the stage. Movies such as *42nd Street* (1933), *State Fair* (1933), *Meet Me in St. Louis* (1944), *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1949), *Singin' in the Rain* (1952), *White Christmas* (1954), *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers* (1954), *High Society* (1956), *Mary Poppins* (1964), *Thoroughly Modern Millie* (1967), *Chitty Chitty Bang Bang* (1968), *The Producers* (1968), *Young Frankenstein* (1974), *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* (1975), *Saturday Night Fever* (1977), *9 to 5* (1980), *Xanadu* (1980), *Victor/Victoria* (1982), *Footloose* (1984), *Hairspray* (1988), and *Cry-Baby* (1990) already included many musical—and often dance—numbers allowing Broadway producers to capitalize on these scenes. In fact, many of these were outright movie musicals making it even easier to adapt them into stage musicals because they had full scores and even fully choreographed numbers that could be recreated on stage.

As the trend to adapt films into musicals becomes stronger, it would be interesting to continue to track these trends. While classic movies and movies that were released when Broadway's target audience was younger will no doubt continue to be adapted, it is quite possible that more newer films will be adapted and that we will start to see more shorter spans. The Tony-award winning musical *Once* (2012) was based on the 2007 film, *Kinky Boots* (set to open on Broadway April 2013) is based on the 2005 film, and *Big Fish* (scheduled to open October 2013) is based on the 1998 novel by Daniel Wallace and its subsequent 2003 film¹³⁰ (IBDB). Each of these film-to-musical adaptations are using films a decade old or less, a trend that is likely to continue. Considering the present data, though, the relative age of films does not appear to be a significant factor for their selection as source material. What is significant is that cinema is not only the most popular source material for Broadway musicals today, but data show that musicals based on film since the 1950s consistently run longer than any other category of musical.

Data Conclusions

The purpose and function of adaptation at the beginning and the end of this research period appear to be quite different. The early burlesques of Broadway seemed to focus more on material that was as recent as possible in the minds of their audiences.¹³¹ These may have been recent works produced on professional stages or the well-publicized performances of classic

¹³⁰ Based on trends for adapted musicals, the 2003 Tim Burton film will no doubt be the audience draw for *Big Fish*, rather than the 1998 novel.

¹³¹ While it would be possible to graph the spans for burlesques as I did with adaptations after 1900 earlier in this chapter, this would be more difficult and less reliable. Many of the source texts for burlesques were older operas and plays. In many of these cases, the most recent production of these works served as the source for these parodies, not the actual libretto or play text (as would be the primary case beginning in the twentieth century when issues of copyright would become an increasing issue). This would require additional research on these performances in order to present more reliable data on spans for burlesques.

works—as was the case with Edwin Booth’s performances in Shakespeare and other classic dramas. The issue of interference as described by Even-Zohar does not appear to be at work here. This then classifies parody as a different type of adaptation, perhaps needing to be analyzed separated.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the purpose of adaptation in musical entertainment appears to have been to use available source material to meet the narrative needs and desires of this emerging form of entertainment. While many look to *Oklahoma!* (1943)—often argued to be the first integrated musical—as the beginning of this trend, story, character, and other forms of unity have proven to be important decades earlier. From the early variety shows of Harrigan and Hart with their Mulligan Guard shows to the operettas of the late nineteenth century, story and characters have long been at the center of musical entertainment. The centrality of storytelling in these musical pieces has made using prior existing material common, if not the norm.

What my data show is that the Broadway musical polysystem has long relied on other systems of literature (domestic and foreign), and that musical Broadway almost exclusively pulls from literature that already contains story and characters (especially plays, films, operettas, and operas). Not only do these source texts typically contain story and characters, but they are often broken down into a series of scenes and have already been developed to be presented in front of an audience for a single evening of entertainment (typically between ninety minutes and three hours). While novels most often possess story and characters presented in a series of scenes, they are not quite as “ready-made” for adaptation into musical entertainment compared to plays, films, operettas, and operas (relatively speaking). Novels, however, have long been accessible sources for producers and audiences alike. Additional research would be needed to compare

source texts with their musical adaptations to better understand these adaptation practices. My database and these findings could serve as the starting ground for such research.

Based on the major shift in adaptation practices beginning in the 1950s, the function of adaptation appears to be taking on a different role. In the 1930s the number of premiering musical productions on Broadway drop to nearly half the number that premiered in the 1920s. The number of new musical productions remains between 100 and 200 from the 1940s forward.¹³² The 1950s sees a significant increase in adaptation in musical theatre. The drop in the number of productions in the 1930s can best be explained by two major forces: the Great Depression (starting with the stock market crash in 1929) and the proliferation of movies with sound (after *The Jazz Singer* premiered in 1927 [Engel 71]).

Broadway was met with a new threat in the 1950s: television. Television first entered the U.S. market in 1948. Several scholars describe television (along with rising ticket prices) as a threat to theatre, particularly the revue (Engel 71; Jones 162; Mates 153). My data does show a decrease in the percentage of revues from 32.1% in the 1940s to 28.0% in the 1950s and down again to 19.7% in the 1960s. Engel explains that television, like film, resorted to producing variety-style entertainment in these early days, which competed directly with theatre, particularly revues (71). Kenrick notes that because early television was live, they often relied on the talents of theatre professionals who could handle live performance (265). And Jones describes how in the 1950s some television programs specialized in bringing the newest Broadway entertainment to audiences on their television at no cost, including musicals (162).

¹³² In the 1990s this number does drop to 96 premiering productions, but this is still quite close to the 100-200 production range.

Noting a significant increase in the percentage of adaptation in musical theatre beginning in the 1950s,¹³³ it is very possible that one reason for the increase in adapted works on Broadway musical stages was to compete with television and to provide a kind of entertainment that was more difficult to find on their television sets at home. It appears that scholars have focused little on the effects of television on the Broadway musical (other than that it impacted ticket sales and hurt the revue). It may be worthwhile to research the potential correlation of more narrative material being adapted during the decline of the revue (that is, before television could offer longer-form story-driven entertainment in people's homes).

Adaptation and the Polysystem

Polysystem theory is concerned with interference for the development and maintenance of a repertoire. Even-Zohar proposes that when a "culture is in its inception stage, its repertoire may be limited, which may render it more disposed to use other accessible cultures" (1997, 22). He goes on to say that that "[t]his is how *interference* becomes a strategy of a culture to adapt itself to changing circumstances" (1997, 22). What limits Even-Zohar's theories is his focus on interference being from "other accessible cultures." My data for the 1850s through the 1870s on adaptation show that theatre managers, arrangers, and performers chose not only from other cultures, but also from other accessible media and other accessible texts within the same medium.

Burlesques (and to a lesser degree variety) chose from any accessible source texts whether they be folklore, the newest play to premiere, the most recent performance of

¹³³ In the 1950s, the percentage rose from 25.0% to 42.4% for all premiering musicals and from 38.9% to 57.0% for those works in the subset (excluding primarily revues). For the 1960s these figures increase to 51.6% for all premiering musicals and 63.4% for the subset.

Shakespeare, or the latest opera in production. Of interest here is that this first wave of adaptation is larger and precedes the waves of interference through direct interference (untranslated works) and interlingual interference (translated works). This earliest wave of interference through random adaptations may be chaotic and lacking in particular patterns (other than its reliance on recent—if not immediate—texts), but I would argue that these early burlesques laid important groundwork for future waves of importation.

Burlesques opened the doors of Broadway to multiple source texts from multiple cultures. These popular shows were accessible to audiences through their commonplace humor. At the same time, these shows could present longer-form entertainment that focused on story, characters, and presenting a series of related scenes (rather than a collection of sketches). This history of interference on Broadway, whether it be through translation or adaptation, appears to focus primarily on building a performance culture that is dominated by storytelling. In this sense, the adaptations of the burlesque period are “primary” and “innovative” in the same way that the translation of French operettas and the early German and Austrian operettas are soon after.

The second wave of adaptation, which begins to increase again in the 1910s, I would argue is “secondary” and relatively “conservative” compared to the initial wave from burlesques. During the waves of direct interference (the 1860s and 1870s) and indirect interlingual interference (1870s and 1880s, then reinforced with the second wave in the 1910s), operetta helped make full-length narrative musical entertainment a significant genre on the Broadway stage. It is no coincidence that there has been overlap and often confusion on where the genre of operetta stops and musical comedy begins. Stempel notes how “[o]pening night critics variously referred to *Oklahoma!*, for instance, as a musical comedy, a musical play, an operetta, and a folk

opera” (3). Furthermore Bordman dedicates an entire book to the topic of operetta (*American Operetta* [1981]), arguing that the genre still exists years after many have declared its demise.

In many ways, “operetta” and “musical comedy” (today, simply “the musical”) are historical terms. My data on interference suggests that direct interference (foreign-language imports) and indirect interlingual interference (translation) are most associated with operettas while intermedial interference (adaptation) is more associated with the musical. Put another way, because operettas rely more on translation, this indicates that the genre is more reliant on foreign interference. The proliferation of adapted works (to the near exclusion of translations) further supports the proposition that the musical is a domestic, native genre. Viewed on a grander scale, translation has played a more innovative function in Broadway history (working to form a genre) while adaptation has played a more conservative function (maintaining an existent genre).¹³⁴ I will stipulate that the terms innovative and conservative are relative terms. For example, translation according to my data came in two waves for operettas. The first wave was relatively more innovative than the second (which was relatively more conservative). This second wave of translation of operettas, however, is *relatively* more innovative than the second major wave of adaptations of musicals.

This distinction between translation and adaptation, though, also holds for the most part when using the terms employed by Lambert and van Gorp (1985) (also discussed in Chapter 3). Translations, as a whole and by their very nature, tend to be more source oriented. Adaptations, on the other hand, tend to be more target oriented by necessity (as they most often enter a new medium). This dichotomy, though, is quite simplistic. As I argued in Chapter 3, the function of

¹³⁴ Here I exclude the first wave of adaptations, which I have argued are innovative function. This wave is shorter lived and less significant than the wave of adaptation that would slowly emerge in the twentieth century and come to dominate Broadway musical entertainment. More so, burlesque involves a purposeful appropriation of source material and would require a more complex analysis to compare and contrast its interference modes to those of operettas and other adapted musicals.

translation (or more broadly all forms of interlingual interference) is much more complex and spans practices ranging from more source oriented to more target oriented. The same argument could be made for adaptations.

On the surface it may seem that all cases of intermedial interference (adaptation) would be target-oriented cases of transfer (*secondary* or *conservative*, in Even-Zohar's terms). I would argue that we need to account for adaptations from film differently. In "The Position of Translated Literature in the Polysystem," Even-Zohar discusses the hierarchy of literatures in the Western Hemisphere. Even-Zohar argues that "[w]ithin this (macro-) polysystem some literatures have taken peripheral positions, which is only to say that they were modeled to a large extent upon on exterior literature" (1990, 48). Here he argues that many smaller, minority literatures—by nature—import from other more dominant literatures.

The issue of *dominance* is of importance to Even-Zohar's polysystem theory, especially when viewed on the macro level. In his "Law of Literary Interference," his sixth law is "a source literature is selected by dominance" (1990, 68). He addresses the obvious case of colonial powers, but also dominant literatures such as English and French. Again, Even-Zohar is primarily concerned with interference between cultural-linguistic systems, but I would argue that his theories also have implications for interference between different media.

Various media can also be theorized as literary systems between which there is interference. This chapter has tracked many of these trends of interference. For the most part, it appears that when source material is adapted into a piece of musical entertainment, that it is appropriated into this new medium. Songs are composed, dance numbers are choreographed, and a linear plot is simplified to allow time for these song and dance numbers so that the entire production has a running time less than a few hours. This is a very target-oriented approach to

adaptation, because the source material is made to fit the target medium. In Even-Zohar's terminology, these adaptations are secondary or conservative.

The adaptation of film, though, I would argue leans in the opposite direction. As I quoted earlier, film-to-musical adaptations "place a greater emphasis on remaining *faithful* to the visual aspects, the performative qualities, indeed the whole aura of the original films in their adaptations" (Stempel 635, emphasis added). I also listed numerous films that already included musical numbers and dance sequences that could be recreated on stage. Stempel also notes how the musical *Sunset Boulevard* (which won the Tony for best musical in 1995) "even staged the film's famous frontal shot of the hero's corpse as seen from the bottom of the pool in which it floated facedown" (635). The stage musical version of Mel Brooks 1968 film *The Producers* (2001), used a tilted mirror on stage during the number "Springtime for Hitler" to give the audience a similar overhead shot as was done in the original film.

Many of these musicals will also recreate the same costumes and hairstyles seen on the big screen (consider the styling of Tracy Turnblad in *Hairspray* [2002] or Elle Woods in *Legally Blonde* [2007]). New methods of staging may be created to better approximate the film's visual aspects (consider the various forms of puppetry used in *The Lion King* [1997] and *Little Shop of Horrors* [2003]). Stempel notes that older musicals based on films often changed the name, but that now "they tend to keep the same name—and thus to keep the synergy between the two in the public eye" (635). These newer strategies of adaptation for this one particular category appears to be far more source oriented than the traditional target-oriented musical adaptation from other media.

Even-Zohar limits primary or innovative interference to "young" literatures, "peripheral" (or "weak") literatures, or "when there are turning points, crises, or literary vacuums in a

literature” (1990, 47). Economic concerns will often create a sense of crisis and the need for new approaches. Just as Even-Zohar notes how literatures may import works from dominant literatures, it would seem to make sense that a medium in crisis would look to a dominant medium from which to import works in attempts to strengthen it. My data show that the Broadway musical polysystem started a steady trend of intermedial interference from film beginning in the 1950s that has proven to create longer-running musicals that appeal to audiences. Supporting scholarship comments that these adaptations are becoming increasingly source oriented. Based on this evidence, I would argue that this newer trend of film-to-musical adaptation is one of the most innovative trends in Broadway history.

The ironic history is that movies were originally adapted from musical theatre to help build their medium. Film came to dominate the media in the United States and has gone from being the target of adaptation in this exchange to being the source. Film, though, is still indebted to the musical and, in fact, many of the film sources selected as source texts for musicals are already (at least) partially musicals. But even though Broadway has borrowed significantly from film, Hollywood has started to borrow back at an increasing rate. Musical-to-movie adaptations have become common again especially after *Chicago* (2002) won the Academy Award for Best Picture leading to a series of new cinematic adaptations: *The Phantom of the Opera* (2004), *The Producers* (2005), *Rent* (2005), *Dreamgirls* (2006), *Hairspray* (2007), *Sweeney Todd* (2007), and *Les Misérables* (2012).

The adaptation of film into Broadway musicals is strongly felt by many traditionalists, which is further evidence that the trend of adaptation is innovative. This resistance is made quite explicit in one contemporary musical, *[title of show]* (2006 Off-Broadway, 2008 Broadway), that pokes fun at this convention in the song “Original Musical”:

BLANK PAPER: Shut up. You see, a lot of times musicals are based on books like the Scarlet Pimpernel or Lestat. And other times they're based on plays like Picnic, which became Hot September. But, more recently, musicals have been based on movies like My Favorite Year, Footloose, Dirty Rotten Scoundrels, Big, Saturday Night Fever, the Wedding Singer, the Full Monty, the Producers... (*inhales*) Thoroughly Modern Millie, Hairspray, Beauty and the Beast, Billy Elliot, Spamalot...

JEFF: Wow! So movies make good musicals?

BLANK PAPER: Well, they make musicals.

The premise of the song (and the entire musical) is that it is quite innovative (and risky) to write an original musical and try to produce it on Broadway. When viewed in light of polysystem theory, though, the original musical is conservative in nature and much to the dismay of "musical purists" one of the greatest hopes that Broadway has for its economic survival is to innovate the medium through the appropriation of not only well-known movies, but also as much of their cinematic allure than can be feasibly (and economically) staged in a small New York playhouse.

As I concluded in Chapter 3, more research is needed in *how* source material has been adapted into musicals. I would conjecture that earlier film-to-musical adaptations were more target oriented, but over time have become more source oriented, therefore making them more *innovative* in Even-Zohar's terms. This differs from the position of translated literature in the polysystem, where translated works first occupy a central position and later are pushed to the periphery. My evidence suggests that adaptation, overall, has played a secondary or conservative function in the polysystem (by assimilating other texts and media into the "musical" genre), but that a new wave of interference from a more dominant system (the multi-billion dollar film

industry) has become primary and innovative. Additional research using methodology from Cattrysse's study of *film noir* (1992) and descriptive methodologies of Toury and van den Broeck could help assess the degree to which film-to-musical adaptation has been or has become more source oriented than other forms of adaptation.

Just as I argued in Chapter 3 with my analysis of interlingual interference during the Broadway century, more (concrete) descriptive techniques on the *processes* of transfer need to be coupled with more (abstract) theoretical approaches on the *functions* that these waves of interference have on polysystems. My evidence strongly suggests that polysystem theory has stronger implications beyond transfer between two or more different cultural-linguistic systems. I contend that polysystem theory can also be a useful theoretical tool to discuss the interference between different media by accounting for historical periods of crisis, the relative dominance of various media, and the function that groups of adaptations play together within a particular polysystem. My database provides the first necessary tool to further explore these trends.

More importantly, this project demonstrates that translation theories can be expanded to explore trends in adaptation. However, my data show that translations and adaptations *function* differently even within the same polysystem. This is where the concept of translation cannot be broadened to include any "reformulation of a source utterance by means of a target utterance" (Even-Zohar 1990, 74-75). A clear division between the processes *and* functions of interlingual *and* intermedial interference coupled with a more complex analysis of the symbiotic relationship between process and function is needed to appropriately theorize "translation" and "adaptation," regardless of how we adapt these definitions to meet our research needs.

Chapter 5

Conclusions

Theorizing Waves of Interlingual Interference

While the “Broadway musical” may be viewed today as characteristically American, the genre owes its history to European forms, most importantly the operetta. For more than half of a century (1850-1909), operettas, comic operas, and other “light operas” accounted for more than one fifth of all new musical productions on Broadway stages. While Broadway musical’s debt to operetta and other European forms is well accounted for by scholars (Smith 1987; Mates 1987; Bordman 1981; Bordman 1982; Kislán 1995; Jones 2003; Knapp 2004; Koegel 2009; Kenrick 2010; Stempel 2010; Bordman 2012), translation’s integral role in this process has often been overlooked. Translation served as the primary mode of literary transfer to present European musical forms in English on Broadway stages.

My data analysis concurs with Even-Zohar’s polysystem theory in that translation served a “primary” function of innovation to introduce new forms into the Broadway musical literary system. I would argue, though, that the traditional application of polysystem theory has been too narrow in focus. As I discussed earlier, Even-Zohar admits that he is limiting himself, because broadening the concept of translation to include all forms of transfer may result in “the relatively solid body of questions already in existence [being] lost” (1990, 74). The issue that Even-Zohar raises is one that has caused problems in the field of translation studies, adaptation studies, and other studies of transfers. The concept of translation—I would argue because it is the concept that has been most theorized—has been broadened to incorporate other forms of transfer (namely

adaptation) to the point of losing most distinctions. My research shows that it is possible to expand our notion of translation while maintaining a distinction from other modes of transfer.

Translation is merely one of several modes of transfer that can be tracked when analyzing interference between different literary systems. Texts that enter a polysystem through modes of interlingual interference (between two different cultural-linguistic systems) are not limited to merely the transfer of linguistic codes from one language to another, even if it may be the strongest trend of transfer. The problem with limiting our research question (as Even-Zohar does) to translation alone is that we miss the waves of interferences that precede and follow this most significant wave. When translation (indirect interlingual interference) is involved, it is important to analyze three different waves of interference that may occur together.

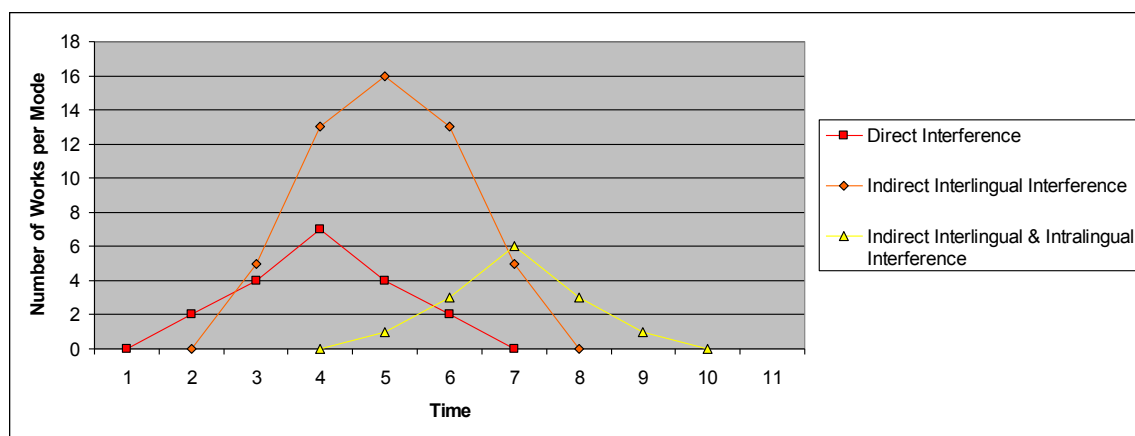


Fig. 5.1. Basic three-wave model of literary interference.

Figure 5.1 shows this basic three-wave model of literary interference that I am proposing. The first wave, which may never reach the same level as indirect interlingual interference, proceeds. A third wave, for those works closer to adaptation, then follows. All three of these waves are hypothetical in terms of their duration and their strength. My data suggests that this second wave for “translation proper” is the strongest, and perhaps the longest. This is consistent with the polysystem studies that have focused on translation alone. The relative time span,

strength, and overlap will differ from one case of interference to another. What my data show is that these three waves overlap to a great extent. The combination of these three waves together makes interlingual interference that much stronger than the interference that comes from only “translation proper.”

These three modes of transfer, though, are not discrete categories; in fact, it is quite difficult to draw lines between these modes. As I discussed in Chapter 3, there were many cases of indirect interlingual interference that were in many ways closer to adaptation than to translation (note the second wave of German-language operettas). Rather than create additional categories that would further complicate our categories, we need additional research on the *methods* used in these transfer processes (regardless of the categorical terms we use). As I argued in Chapter 3, the distinction between translation and adaptation (from foreign-language operetta to English-language operetta) is often difficult to determine. The terms “translator” and “adapter” have been used interchangeably by scholars, journalists, and compilers of history. In Chapter 3 I argued for more research that combines polysystem theory’s more discrete categories (which are needed to track waves of interference) with more descriptive methods that examine the specific methods used in the transfer of particular groups of works. Only this kind of research can reveal all the grey areas between “translation proper” and a “true adaptation.”

I would argue that the categories of “direct interference” and “indirect interference” are also not mutually exclusive. In Chapter 2 I mentioned two productions by the Liliputians [sic.] that were presented in both German and English in the 1890s (Bordman 2010, 170, 178). John Koegel discusses how the managers (the Rosenfeld brothers) sold programs with song texts in both German and English to help sell more tickets (2009, 119).¹³⁵ Bilingual shows are

¹³⁵ The Liliputians are a special case, because they were a U.S.-based theatre troupe that performed original works written for them in German and English (Koegel 2009, 119). Another special case is Adolf Philipp, who was

interesting cases that combine direct interference (untranslated foreign text) with native composition and cause difficulty in categorization (a topic I covered in Chapter 2). The sale or distribution of translated song lyrics for foreign language productions is another topic that would require additional research. The Rosenfelds' practice may have been more common, though I would conjecture that this practice would have been delayed until after the beginning of the wave of direct interference (i.e., later foreign-language premieres would have been more likely to be accompanied by English-language supplements). The distribution of English translations of foreign-language works may have been a more common practice. I would argue that this “mediated direct interference” lies in between direct interference and indirect interference, similar to the subtitling of foreign films or the supertitles for operas today.¹³⁶

Evidence suggests that many French- and German-language pieces premiered in specialized houses serving the needs of these immigrant populations (Teatre Français, the Stadt Theatre, the Amberg Theatre, the Thalia Theatre, etc.). After these works premiered in their middle-European language, they would move to other theatres to be produced in English translation. John Koegel describes how Heinrich Conried and Leo Goldmark controlled “the American performance rights of German and Austrian operettas and plays.” Conried was a stage

one of the most important figures of German professional theatre in New York City. His musical *Alma, Wo wohnst du?* He premiered it in 1909 at the Winter Garden Theatre in its original German, and later it appeared in English translation (Koegel 2009, 300). This further complicates the issues of interference from another cultural-linguistic system. In essence, this interference comes not from Germany or Austria, but from within the United States. From the view of a cultural-linguistic system, though, rather than a country of origin, the Liliputians and Adolf Phillip—when premiering works in the German language—are acting as agents of the German-language cultural-linguistic system.

¹³⁶ The issue here is that with true “direct interference” the audience or reader must have enough knowledge of the language of origin. (Even-Zohar notes that “[i]n the case of direct interference, a source literature is available to, and accessed by, agents of the target literature without intermediaries” [1990, 57]). I would argue that once linguistic assistance is provided—even if not embedded into the production itself—it is no longer truly direct interference. (Even-Zohar defines indirect interference as being “intermediated through some channel, such as translation” [1990, 57]. I would argue that translated programs or perhaps even placards would serve as intermediation.) More research would need to be done on this issue to explore how blurry the lines between direct and indirect interference may have been.

director at both the Thalia Theatre (which specialized in German-language productions) and at the Casino Theatre (which specialized in English-language productions). Koegel conjectures that Conried benefited financially from controlling both the German-language and subsequent English-language productions (2009, 129).

With knowledge that many foreign-language operettas premiered first in their European language and soon after in English translation, we must revisit the data I presented in Chapter 3. Figures 3.3 and 3.4 show a wave of direct interference beginning before the wave of indirect interlingual interference. As Figure 3.4 shows, the percentage of works that entered Broadway through direct interference was higher than for indirect interlingual interference. I maintain that indirect interlingual interference was a stronger trend, consistent with Even-Zohar's theories. As the story about Heinrich Conried demonstrates, many of these foreign-language works that premiered in the foreign-language theatres went on to be presented in English translation not long after.¹³⁷ Because my data only accounts for premieres, subsequent English-language translations of these works are not represented.¹³⁸

When a work is translated into English in the United States, it can receive a wider audience. Data from my research and scholarly evidence show that many foreign-language works entered the Broadway polysystem first in their original language and were soon after translated into English and produced for a wider audience. This means that in the Broadway polysystem that direct interference is closely linked to indirect interlingual interference, because

¹³⁷ I remind the reader of the importation of Offenbach's operettas. Many of his operettas that premiered in German were then presented in their original French and later in English translation (see Chapters 2 and 3). These works were categorized as "semidirect" interference in my analysis. Accounting for revivals, these works would increase the number of works from the direct interference category and subsequently indirect interlingual interference. Because this project took a more rigid approach—accounting only for how works *first* entered the Broadway polysystem—overall trends of interference are underrepresented.

¹³⁸ It is also important to remember that Figure 3.4 shows *percentages* and that the total *number* of operetta premieres was significantly lower during the decades that direct interference was higher (compare Figure 3.4 with Figures 3.1 and 3.3).

the former most often leads to the latter (though not the other way around). This further supports my conjecture in Chapter 3 that waves of indirect interlingual interference that occur concurrent with or shortly after direct interference will be relatively more source oriented in their process of translation. The reason for this is that the polysystem is importing sources directly and enough consumers of these texts have access to the “originals.” In such a situation, there would be a higher expectation that a translation be more “faithful.”¹³⁹ These more “faithful” translations along with the foreign-language texts themselves work together to serve an *innovative* function. This would further suggest that direct interference is positively correlated with innovation.

Polysystem theory is still a theory primarily concerned with theorizing the role of translation (its relative position in the polysystem and its function), yet I maintain that tracking other trends of interference help explain these functions better and may also help explain the translation strategies used. Figures 3.3 and 3.4 also track the trends of indirect interlingual and intramedial interference (adaptation). These numbers and percentages are significantly lower than our first two categories of interference, yet I would argue that they still hold important information.

Indirect interlingual and intramedial interference was relatively low from the 1850s through the 1880s. The 1870s is when direct interference peaked and indirect interlingual interference peaked¹⁴⁰ the following decade. This is the time period for indirect interlingual interference (translation proper) that I am arguing is more source oriented. Indirect interlingual interference decreases during the 1890s and 1900s until after 1907 when Lehar’s *The Merry Widow* premieres on Broadway. Translations of operettas increase again in the 1910s. The

¹³⁹ Scholarly commentary on these earlier translations lack the discussion of translation practices that interpolate songs, re-write the score, or make other significant alterations—as is found with many of the later translations.

¹⁴⁰ This was the first peak of indirect interlingual interference. The second peak will be discussed shortly.

number and percentage of works entering Broadway through direct interference is insignificant at this period, yet the number and percentage of adapted operettas (specifically indirect interlingual and intramedial interference) is at its highest in the 1910s and 1920s. This evidence further supports my conjecture in Chapter 3 that this second wave of indirect interlingual interference is more target oriented. During this time period, audiences have very little—if any—access to the original works (here, primarily German). At the same time, practices of adaptation have increased, which would further affect the translation practices being used.

| Direct Interference | Indirect Interlingual Interference | Indirect Interlingual and Intramedial Interference |
|----------------------------|---|---|
| Stronger | More Source-Oriented Translations | Weaker |
| Weaker | More Target-Oriented Translations | Stronger |

Table 5.1. Comparison of waves of interference relative to each other.

Simply put, translation practices would be more source oriented when more untranslated works are available and fewer adaptations of the same medium are being produced. If there are relatively fewer untranslated works in common circulation and more works from the same medium are being adapted, however, translations would be more target oriented. Table 5.1 outlines my hypothesis.¹⁴¹ As I argued in Chapter 3, more research would be needed using methods from descriptive translation studies (see van den Broeck [1985] and Toury [1995]) to provide stronger conclusions on this.

All of these waves of interferences are relative but they show a general order to these three trends that I would conjecture could be found in other polysystems. This is, perhaps, the advantage to using Broadway as an object of study. Records of theatrical productions on

¹⁴¹ This hypothesis, though, excludes those cases argued by Gentzler (1998) where a group of writers translate a series of foreign texts for the *explicit* purpose of innovating or counteracting a literary polysystem. See Chapter 3 for a longer explanation of this.

professional stages may be easier to quantify than the publication, circulation, and availability of books, stories, or poems, especially in the nineteenth century. Specialists in other forms of literature may need to find other methods to collect data in order to track the kinds of trends that I have tracked in this project. Theatrical productions (and this includes non-musical productions) lend themselves well to this kind of research because productions can be tracked fairly easily. Despite difficulties in the data collection process (discussed in Chapter 2), Broadway allows for a manageable set of data that can be classified using descriptive categories.

Data on production runs also help infer information about the relative popularity and economic viability of productions (because shows that run longer make more money due to continued ticket sales). What these data cannot show, is a fourth hypothesized wave of interference. Even-Zohar's theories of transfer deal with texts that leave one system and enter another. Because he purposefully limits the scope of his theory to translation, this necessitates a source text. Interference from foreign systems, though, may affect change in a target system through trends that do not involve specific source texts. I will call this fourth and final wave of interference "indirect influence" (see Figure 5.2).

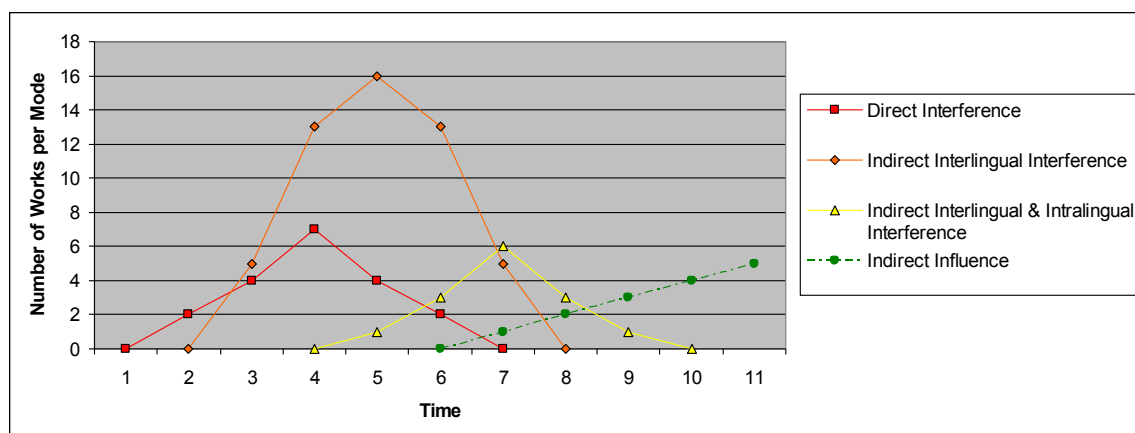


Fig. 5.2. Hypothesized four-wave model of literary interference.

Harold Bloom in his 1973 *The Anxiety of Influence* describes “influence” as referring to “having power over another.” Bloom details an earlier, lost meaning to the word “influence,” that of “inflow” or “an emanation of force coming in upon mankind from the stars” (26). If there has truly been a wave (or as I have shown waves) of interference from one or more other cultural-linguistic systems, their aggregate effect is certainly larger than the mere sum of those transferred texts. If Bordman is correct that during the height of Viennese operettas on Broadway that Americans were imitating this style (1982, 79), then the source system is still influencing the target system even in the absence of a text that is transferred from one system to another.

To quantify this fourth wave of indirect influence would be extremely difficult, if not impossible. In Figure 5.2 I have used a dotted line to show that this is hypothesized and not an actual trend with verifiable data. Though impossible to quantify, this influence affects the Broadway polysystem (and I would argue other polysystems). Bloom refers to William Blake to describe how this “poetic influence” acts like “a disease of self-consciousness” because writers are constantly comparing their texts to the texts of those written before them and find themselves “enslaved by any precursor’s system” (29). If Even-Zohar’s polysystem theory is truly a theory of how stronger literary systems play an innovative role in a weaker system’s evolution, then this broader concept of influence is central and should be included. In terms of innovative and conservative functions, this final wave (indirect influence) is relatively conservative because it involves an appropriation and domestication of the source elements and models for the purposes of maintaining the target repertoire.

What my data show is that the genre of operetta increases and decreases in popularity almost in coordination with these two major waves of foreign interference. For many theatre

historians, the fall of the operetta marks the rise of the musical comedy. As I discussed in my introduction to this project (see Chapter 1), scholars have long grappled with the antecedents to the “American” musical. While some fully acknowledge the genre’s European roots (such as Smith, Bordman, and Stempel), others downplay this foreign influence (such as Mates and Knapp). Bloom addresses this literary clash of wills in his description of influence:

Poetic Influence—when it involves two strong, authentic poets—always proceeds by a misreading of the prior poet, an act of creative correction that is actually and necessarily a misinterpretation. The history of fruitful poetic influence, which is to say the main tradition of Western poetry since the Renaissance, is a history of anxiety and self-saving caricature, of distortion, of perverse, willful revisionism without which modern poetry as such could not exist. (30)

Although Bloom describes this battle of creative wills in terms of two individual writers, I would argue that the same holds true for two systems of literature. Part of the formation of a Broadway musical repertoire is a process of “misreading the prior” and “willful revisionism.” In essence, Americans created their own form of musical entertainment by “distorting” the European form. Bloom quotes Lichtenberg to demonstrate that even resistance is a strong form of influence: “To do just the opposite is also a form of imitation, and the definition of imitation ought by rights to include both” (31). Viewed this way, the American musical is strongly influenced by the European operetta whether American writers followed, adapted, or resisted these earlier models.

If polysystem theory seeks to relate translation to other forms of transfer through the description of interference, we must broaden the scope of transfer beyond “translation proper” to include other waves of interference. As I have argued, the processes used in specific modes of

transfers may be predictable based on their relative function as indicated by how various waves of interference interact (namely, how indirect interlingual interference relates to direct interference and indirect interlingual and intramedial interference). But I would argue that interference from a foreign system may still function as model or anti-model through *influence* long after waves transferring specific source texts into a target system have ceased.

Adapting Polysystem Theory

Although Even-Zohar originally articulated polysystem theory to describe translations, the theory has wider applications. In Chapter 4 I discussed how Patrick Cattrysse has advocated for the expansion of polysystem theory to include the study of adaptations (specifically, in his case, film adaptation). In his 1992 study on *film noir*, though, Cattrysse appears to fall into the trap that Even-Zohar seeks to avoid—that of “extending the concept” of translation so that it is analogous to any related form of transfer (1992, 53). The greater problem with the application of polysystem theory appears not to be in the definition of “translation” or “transfer,” but rather in the very concept of “polysystem.” In a later article entitled “The Polysystem Theory and Cultural Studies” (1997), Cattrysse addresses the issue of culture.

Cattrysse defines the “[t]he notion of *culture* as a dynamic system [that] leads us to the concept of *cultural transfer*” (1997, 53, emphasis in original). He cites Turgeon who further defines “transfers of meaning” as a “passageway from the *culture of origin* toward integration in the *adoptive culture*” (1997, 53, emphasis in quoted passage). Cattrysse presents a longer description of cultural transfer that describes this process in terms of “societies of origin” and “societies of reception,” and denoting “the *country* of origin” and “*intercultural* exchange”

(1997, 53, emphasis added). In this article, Cattrysse is addressing the issue of culture that Even-Zohar revisits in an article published in the same volume.

Even-Zohar's 1997 revision of his theory, entitled "Factors and Dependencies in Culture: A Revised Outline for Polysystem Culture Research," focuses on this aspect of culture. He notes that "relational thinking, especially in connection with dynamic systems, has led almost everybody to study *culture* as an overall system, a heterogeneous set of parameters, with the help of which human beings organize their life" (1997, 17). Nam Fung Chang addresses this shift in Even-Zohar's research focus asserting that "in his 1997 version of 'Polysystem theory' he has turned the theory *explicitly* into a theory of culture by deleting specific references to language, literature and translation" (318, emphasis added). Chang further notes that Even-Zohar abandons the term "polysystem" altogether "in the second part of the article, where the revised scheme is presented" (319).¹⁴² In summary, Chang describes Even-Zohar's revised polysystem as "a general theory of culture" (319). There are problems with this overemphasis on culture if we wish to expand polysystem theory to address adaptation.

Despite this new focus on culture, Even-Zohar begins this article with a discussion of "system" (the basis of his polysystem theory), describing it in terms of "relational thinking" (1997, 15). He notes that "[b]y hypothesizing a relation as an explanation for an object (an entity, a process, etc.), relational thinking can arrive at assuming the 'existence' of some phenomena which have not been recognized before" (1997, 15). My argument is that rather than take another step *toward* culture, that we instead *return* to this very concept of system and relational thinking. From there we may re-broaden the scope of this theory.

¹⁴² Chang is referring to "A Scheme of the Literary System" in "The 'Literary System'" (see Even-Zohar 1990, 31-44).

The types of transfer I examined in Chapter 3 with middle-European operettas involve *intercultural* and *interlingual* exchange (note that I have been using the term “cultural-linguistic systems”). Chapter 4, however, focuses not on transfers between cultural-linguistic systems, but rather between different media (which may have been produced within the same culture or different cultures). When media and cultures are both conceptualized equally as *systems* that may interact separately or together, we are now truly viewing modes of transfer in terms of a *polysystem*. In fact, methodology is an issue that Even-Zohar addresses in this 1997 article in which he quotes Elian and Dunning at length:

It happens quite often in the development of a science, or of one of its branches, that a type of theory has dominated the direction of research for some time reaches a point where its limitations become apparent. One begins to see that a number of significant problems cannot be clearly formulated and cannot be solved with its help. The scientists who work in this field then begin to look [a]round for a wide theoretical framework, or perhaps for another type of theory altogether, which will allow them to come to grips with problems beyond the reach of the fashionable type of theory. (Quoted in Even-Zohar 1997, 18)

In essence, Even-Zohar is advocating that scholars interested in cultural studies consider polysystem theory. As Chang highlights, Even-Zohar effectively abandons translation in favor of culture. My reading of Elias and Dunning, however, is that polysystem theory needs some revision. My research in Chapter 4 shows a need to focus on the *system* aspect of polysystem theory, which may or may not include culture as the object of study. I would argue that the narrow focus on translation is the “limitation” that Even-Zohar seeks to highlight that plagues other “scientists.”

Fokkema and Ibsch note how Even-Zohar's definition of a system¹⁴³ was "evidently" inspired by structural phonology (114). Even-Zohar references structural phonology with the analogy of "hypothesizing *relations* between the sounds, [by which process] a new entity emerged, *the phoneme*" (1997, 15). He relates this phonemic concept¹⁴⁴ to the repertoire with the terms "repertoremes" or "culturemes" (1997, 22). Even-Zohar concedes that borders between phonemes in a language may be more perceptible than for the "culturemes" of a repertoire, but that these abstractions are generally acquired, produced, and understood vis-à-vis "the clusters in which they are embedded" (1997, 22). The research that I have presented in this project demonstrates the *emic* properties of Broadway musical entertainment.

First, using a database, I have compiled and collected specific categories of information on thousands of productions. These categories are based on *emic* properties that have been used historically by scholars to describe and differentiate various pieces of musical entertainment. Additional *emic* properties have been identified based on particular research questions. These *emic* elements go beyond culture (or "culturemes") to incorporate data on the media of their source materials. By returning to the concept of *system* in polysystem studies, it is possible to discuss more *relations* beyond those that are between cultures, regardless of how we define culture. The research I present in Chapter 4 would not be possible using polysystem theory if I limited its theoretical scope to that of cultural studies (as broad as that field may appear). The true object of study is the *relations* between these systemic properties (at an *emic* level).

¹⁴³ "If by 'system' one is prepared to understand both the idea of a closed net-of-relations, in which the members receive their values through their respective oppositions, and the idea of an open structure consisting of several such concurrent nets-of-relations, then the term 'system' is appropriate" (Even-Zohar 1979, 291).

¹⁴⁴ For the reader less versed in linguistics, the phonemes are the units that are organized within the linguistic system as opposed to the phones (sounds), which are arbitrary until organized into a system of relations.

The concept of the phoneme is of a greater advantage here. In the field of generative phonology groups of phonemes may form *natural classes* because they share properties together. The advantage to analyzing by natural classes is that particular phonemes may pertain to different natural classes dependent on the relations being analyzed. For example, the voiceless stop consonants /p/, /t/, and /k/ form a natural class because they share the same voicing (voiceless) and manner of articulation (stop). /p/ is also in a natural class with /b/ and /w/ because all three sounds share the same place of articulation (bilabial), yet /t/ and /k/ do not belong to this natural class, even though /p/ does.

Throughout this project, I have—in essence—reduced these thousands of productions to their *emic* properties. My argument is that such an approach allows the researcher to analyze historical data using many more tools. The overlaps that may occur may also be discussed in more detail. For example, in Chapter 3 I discussed the similarities and the differences between three categories: (1) foreign-language operettas adapted into English operettas, (2) English-language operettas adapted into new English operettas, and (3) English-language operettas that were adapted from source material that was not an operetta. The first category forms a natural class with direct interference (untranslated works) and indirect interlingual interference (translated works), yet the second and third categories do not pertain to this natural class for the particular relations I analyzed in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4 the first two of those categories formed a natural class along with any piece of musical entertainment (that was not an operetta) that was adapted from a source that was an operetta.

Generative phonology (which is a subfield of structural phonology) allows for phonemes to be categorized using binary features (+/-). In the example for Chapter 3, the natural class

being analyzed was {+operetta source, +non-English language source}.¹⁴⁵ For Chapter 4, however, the natural class in focus was {+operetta source}. This is where the use of a database for research allows more possibilities. Based on natural classes, various relations within and between systems may be examined.

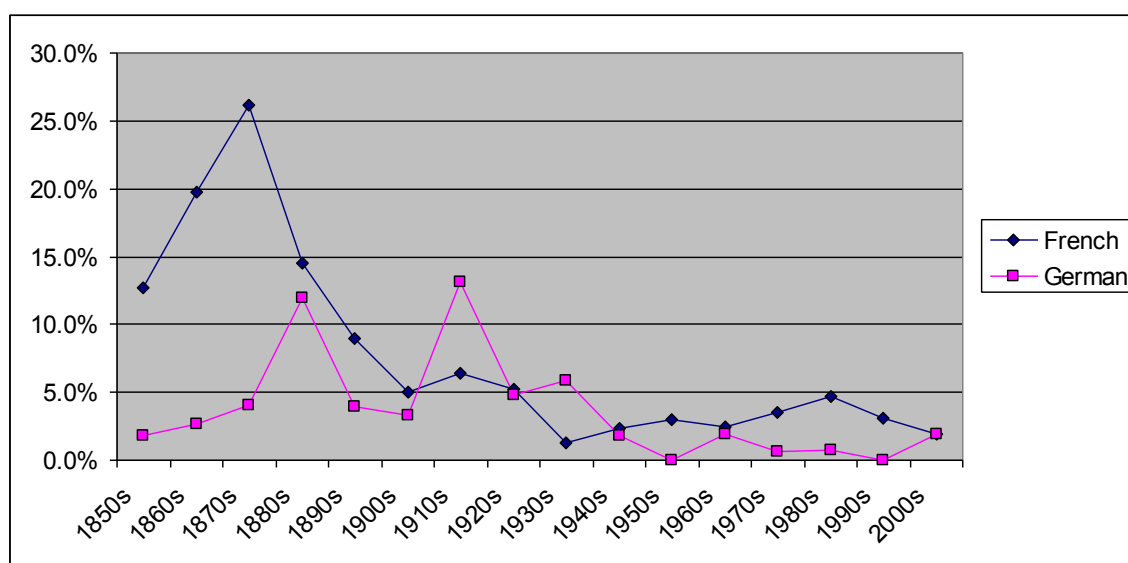


Fig. 5.3. Percentage of all French and German sources premiering on Broadway as musical entertainment.

Figure 5.3 uses all data from my database for premiering productions: {+premiere}. Two trends are tracked historically: {+French-language source} and {+German-language source}. Note this graph accounts for all target-system productions (operettas, burlesques, musicals, fantasies, etc.) in addition to accounting for all source materials from any medium for those productions (novel, play, operetta, film, etc.). By using these larger natural classes, the cumulative cultural-linguistic interference through all modes of transfer on all genres of musical

¹⁴⁵ Generative Phonology uses braces ({}) to designate natural classes and then creates a list of features that describe all phonemes that pertain to that natural class (to the exclusion of other phonemes that do not share all of the same features). The advantage in Generative Phonology is that rather than saying “/p/, /t/, and /k/ are aspirated before a stressed vowel,” you can say “Voiceless stops {-voicing, +occlusive} are aspirated before a stressed vowel.” I am not necessarily advocating for the use of binary features for descriptive purposes in research for an audience of literature specialists (as I have avoided until now), but this explication of the roots of polysystem theory in structural phonology for the purposes of studying the relations between systems is crucial to the expansion of polysystem theory to investigate all of the features I have explored throughout this project.

entertainment for this sixteen-decade period may be analyzed. The composite view shows that the French cultural-linguistic system has had stronger waves of interference than the German system every decade with the exception of the 1910s and 1930s. Data such as these provide direction for researchers to begin even more exhaustive (if not exhausting) methods, such as the descriptive methods that involve source text and target text comparisons.

Of particular importance to other scholars is how does one select what texts and time period to research? While portions of my research may appear somewhat hesitant or based on conjecture rather more detailed evidence, the broader approach I have taken has been able to identify with greater accuracy the time periods and specific waves of interference that will most probably lead to stronger conclusions. This project will allow other scholars to choose more narrow research projects that also account for the “big picture.” This project will also serve as a model for similar research into other polysystems in other cultural-linguistic systems and in other media. For example, a more distant approach to film adaptation may have prompted Cattrysse to choose a different period of time or perhaps even a different set of film adaptations to study (see Cattrysse 1992). Without a clearer picture of how his *film noir* study fits into the larger history of film, film adaptation, and film’s exchange with other media, it is difficult to assess.

Cattrysse’s research into *film noir* adaptations addresses the issue of adaptation policy. He found that “[w]hen comparing several novels with their *film noir* adaptation, one notices that actions which are repeated in the novel are generally deleted in the film” (1992, 56). Cattrysse also identifies patterns of narrative simplification and common practices of adding scenes (1992, 57). Again, my project focuses on the issues of interference from other systems, which is primarily concerned with the selection of source texts and the primary modes of interference (e.g., indirect interlingual interference, intermedial interference). My data findings, however,

open up the possibility to further investigation as Cattrysse conducts. My contention with Cattrysse's approach is his seemingly arbitrary selection process.¹⁴⁶ More information is needed on his selection process and I would argue that had he first taken a "distant reading" approach to graph out a few historic trends (especially incorporating a decade or two before and after his chosen research period), he may have been able to focus his research question more narrowly.

Despite these potential shortcomings, his research into the adaptation of *film noir* demonstrates how both polysystem theory and methods from descriptive translation studies can be applied to adaptation studies. Cattrysse also highlights the need for paratextual research (what he calls "*parafilmic* activities" [1992, 60]) and places the study of film adaptation into the larger scale of intertextuality (1992, 61ff). Analyzing these "new perspectives," Cattrysse notes the necessity when studying film to also account for photographic styles, music, "acting style and conventions of *mise en scène*" (1992, 61). While I would argue that Cattrysse misses some of the more basic intersystemic elements that polysystem theory makes possible, he demonstrates the great complexity of studying film adaptation. Cattrysse highlights perhaps the strongest weakness in using polysystem theory or any descriptive approach based in source text to target text comparison:

The story of such a book may have guided the film adaptation on the narratological level, but other aspects such as directing, staging, acting, setting, costume, lighting, photography, pictorial representation, music, etc. may well have been governed by other models and conventions which did not originate in the literary text and did not serve as a translation of any of its elements. As a consequence, film adaptation had better be

¹⁴⁶ Cattrysse notes that "[o]nly films made between 1940 and 1960 were taken into consideration, which led to a corpus of approximately 600 films recognized as *film noir* in the most important publications about the genre. Of those, I had some 250 at my disposal" (1992, 55). Cattrysse provides no further information or rationale for his selection of films (other than availability).

studied as a *set of discursive (or communicational, or semiotic) practices, the production of which has been determined by various previous discursive practices and by its general historical context.* (1992, 61-62, emphasis in original)

Musical adaptations are similar to film adaptations in that they are composed of more than just the narrative source elements. Broadway may adapt different styles of music, choreography styles, costuming choices, lighting techniques, etc. For example, the 1998 revue *Fosse*, in essence, adapted Fosse's choreography into a new night of entertainment. The 2003 Off-Broadway *The Musical of Musicals (The Musical!)* parodies other styles of musical composition by telling the same simple melodramatic story in five styles: Rodgers & Hammerstein, Stephen Sondheim, Jerry Herman, Andrew Lloyd Webber, and John Kander & Fred Ebb. In this parody, the plot of the melodrama being adapted several times is inconsequential; the true sources being adapted are the musical stylings of the greats of Broadway and London's West End.

For Broadway (and for film), though, the one-to-one correlation between source text and adapted text is important, most often for legal reasons (if not also for marketing). Broadway producers today must acquire the rights for any literary text they use to create a new musical (unless it is in the Public Domain). Hollywood studios must do the same and this practice is fully recognized by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences by maintaining separate Academy Awards for "Best Adapted Screenplay" and "Best Original Screenplay." This history of one-to-one correlation between source text and target text is truly the legacy of translation studies subsequently inherited by adaptation studies. While the adaptation process may be far more complex, this one theoretical reduction allows scholars to discuss these two modes of transfer together (as I have done throughout this project).

In both Chapters 3 and 4 I argue for additional research that compares source text to target text. This research would help combine our understanding of *processes* (through the norms used) with that of *functions*. I have already referenced the descriptive translation approaches from van den Broeck (1985) and Toury (1995). Such methods are useful when limiting our analysis to narrative elements as Cattrysse does in his section on adaptation policy for *film noir* (1992, 56-57).¹⁴⁷ Newer methods for analyzing media that incorporate more visual elements are being cultivated to meet the needs of these newer cultural texts.

O'Halloran in her article "Multimodal Discourse Analysis" (in press 2011) relates the development of this new field in the 1980s and 1990s with the work of Gunther Kress, Theo van Leeuwen, and Michael O'Toole, based on the work of Michael Halliday in "social semiotic approach[es] to language" (3). O'Halloran describes Multimodal Discourse Analysis (MDA) as "an emerging paradigm in discourse studies which extends the study of language per se to the study of language in combination with other resources, such as images, scientific symbolism, gesture, action, music and sound" (1). She highlights both the theoretical and analytic sides of MDA, which would lend this approach well to an extension of my research on Broadway musical adaptations.

The major drawback to MDA, which O'Halloran notes herself, is "managing the detail and complexity involved in annotating, analyzing, searching and retrieving multimodal semantic patterns within and across complex multimodal phenomena." She further points out that "different media may require different theoretical approaches" (25). She presents a short (five-line) exchange between three speakers discussing "leaked cabinet documents regarding a Government Cabinet decision in favour of a Fuel-Watch scheme to combat rising petrol prices"

¹⁴⁷ As mentioned earlier, while Cattrysse limits his initial analysis to narrative elements, he later discusses these limitations, though he provides no true methodological alternative.

that was televised in Australia (13-14). This short clip is analyzed using “gaze and kinetic action vectors,” “camera angle, camera movement, and visual frame,” a multi-frame analysis, Praat software (to analyze intonation), “gaze and gesture,” “body posture,” and a website on including a Q&A for the broadcast (in addition to other features) (15-24). With this level of detail, it would be impossible to conduct film-to-musical comparisons for even a quarter of the musicals adapted from films that are catalogued in my database.

Despite the complexity of MDA methods, there is no reason that this approach cannot be modified to analyze a discrete list of features. In Chapter 4 I suggested diachronic research on film-to-musical adaptations. This research could include an analysis of the preservation, insertion, deletion, or modification of the following features: scenes, dialogue, existing songs, movement (choreography, gestures, etc.), costumes (including hair, make up, and styling), sound (diegetic and non-diegetic), and visual perspective (i.e., recreating camera angles). The New York Public Library has their Theatre on Film and Tape Archive, which includes video recordings of Broadway productions and may allow scholars the opportunity to conduct this kind of research.¹⁴⁸ The selection of discrete categories that musical theatre and film share would allow for the testing of my hypothesis that more recent film-to-musical adaptations are relatively more source oriented than earlier adaptations.

As Broadway continues to purchase the rights to movies in attempts to recreate as much of that experience on the stage, I see a new trend on the horizon. Linda Hutcheon describes a new genre of adaptation that has expanded in multiple media:

Like sequels and prequels, “director’s cut” DVDs and spin-offs, videogame adaptations based on films are yet another way of taking one “property” in a “franchise” and reusing

¹⁴⁸ Note that this archive is limited to those productions recorded from the early 1980s through today.

it in another medium. Not only will audiences already familiar with the “franchise” be attracted to the new “repurposing,” but new consumers will also be created. The multinationals who own film studios today often already own the rights to stories in other media, so they can be recycled for videogames, for example, and then marketed by the television stations they also own.¹⁴⁹ (5)

The “franchise” is one of the newest—and perhaps one of the most important—sources for adaptation. Consider Batman. Batman originated from a comic book, was re-envisioned in graphic novels as the “Dark Knight,” has been included in numerous television series (animated and live action), and has created two series of blockbuster films.¹⁵⁰ When the newest “adaptation” from this franchise premieres it is difficult to locate its “true” source text.

These new franchises are the folklore of today. Early musical entertainment and other media adapted legends, fairy tales, and nursery rhymes because they were familiar to audiences and because they lent themselves well to constant retelling. Today, superheroes and cartoon characters comprise today’s folklore, spawning graphic novels, movies, cartoon series, video games, amusement park rides, and even Broadway musicals. The 2010-2011 Broadway season was marked by two franchise shows based not on any one particular source text, but rather on this modern mythology.

The Addams Family (2010) is billed by the Internet Broadway Database as being “[b]ased on characters created by Charles Addams.” Addams’s drawings of these characters first appeared in *The New Yorker* in the 1930s. The characters received a wider audience in 1964

¹⁴⁹ Ironically, Hutcheon prefaces this description of the “franchise” phenomenon with that of the musicalization of movies such as *The Lion King* and *The Producers* on Broadway (5). Here, Hutcheon is simply commenting on the economic viability of these particular well-known movies. She does not make the claim about franchises on Broadway that I make here in this conclusion.

¹⁵⁰ The first series includes *Batman* (1989), *Batman Returns* (1992), *Batman Forever* (1995), and *Batman and Robin* (1997). The second series includes *Batman Begins* (2005), *The Dark Knight* (2008), and *The Dark Knight Rises* (2012).

when ABC premiered the *The Addams Family* television show. The lasting popularity of these characters led to the movies *The Addams Family* (1991) and *Addams Family Values* (1993) (“Career Biography of Charles Samuel Addams”). The 2010 Broadway musical did not use any prior Addams story as the “source” text. In this sense, it would be difficult to categorize this musical as having been based on any particular text (the *New Yorker* cartoons, the television show, or the movies). *The Addams Family* musical is simply the newest text from this franchise.

For many, *Spiderman: Turn Off the Dark* (2011)¹⁵¹ is the first superhero musical. According to my data, the 1966 musical *It’s a Bird...It’s a Plane...It’s Superman*, albeit forgotten today, was the first superhero musical.¹⁵² The Internet Broadway Database lists no source text, but notes that *Spiderman: Turn Off the Dark* was presented “[b]y special arrangement with Marvel Entertainment.”¹⁵³ There is no doubt that this show adapts the superhero Spiderman to the musical stage, yet—as seen with *The Addams Family*—there is no specific source text. Spiderman, similar to my example of Batman, has enjoyed great success through multiple media over several decades. Spiderman is a perfect example of this modern mythology and this trend of the franchise that will no doubt spin its web into more Broadway venues.

Based on recent data, I predict that popular movies will continue to be adapted into musicals and several at a faster rate (relative to their cinematic release date) and that these stage

¹⁵¹ *Spiderman: Turn Off the Dark* had its first preview on November 28, 2010 and had a total of 182 previews before it had its official opening night on June 14, 2011 (IBDB). The musical was the source of much media attention on the exhaustively long preview period, numerous changes to the show, and technical difficulties.

¹⁵² According to the Internet Broadway Database, *It’s a Bird...It’s a Plan...It’s Superman* was “[b]ased on the comic strip ‘Superman’ by arrangement of National Periodic Publications, Inc.”

¹⁵³ The issue of media conglomerates’ involvement is important for Broadway history, though outside the scope of this present project. Of particular interest to the reader is that Marvel Entertainment was purchased by the Walt Disney Co. in 2009 (Fritz, n.p.). According to Fortune 500, Walt Disney Co. is now the largest media conglomerate with profits in excess of \$4.8 billion as of May 2012 (“Fortune 500”).

adaptations will become increasingly more cinematic and “faithful” so that Broadway can maintain its current audiences of tourists in New York City and also throughout the country with their subsequent Broadway tours. At the same time, these new adaptations will seek to cultivate a new generation of Broadway audience members. What may be alarming for many musical “purists” is that Broadway may not necessarily be creating new audiences for musical theatre, but simply expanding on multi-million dollar franchises owned by conglomerates, such as media mogul Disney, that are simply seeking new revenue in additional markets for their intellectual property, regardless of what the “original” source text may be.

Putting it Together

According to the Internet Broadway Database, Stephen Sondheim and James Lapine’s 1984 musical *Sunday in the Park with George* is “[s]uggested by the painting ‘A Sunday Afternoon on the Island of La Grand Jatte’ and the life of Georges Seurat.” Essentially, this Pulitzer prize-winning musical is an adaptation, and not merely “suggested” by this 1884 painting. As I have argued in earlier chapters, the primary trajectory of the development of the Broadway musical has been that of developing a genre of musical entertainment with plot and character at its heart (from its initial stages in variety performance). In Act I of the musical, the company of players recreate Seurat’s painting as a *tableau vivant*. Yet Sondheim and Lapine go a step further.

In this ekphrastic musical, Sondheim and Lapine narrativize not only the painting process of this *oeuvre*, but also the individual stories of those characters pixilated through thousands of tiny pointillistic brush strokes. Even though the majority of adapted musicals choose source texts from genres with strong plot and character elements (plays, novels, and films), Sondheim

and Lapine bring this static painting to life. Musical adaptations such as *Sunday in the Park with George* show that the *method* of adaptation of source material is as important as the *selection* of material to appropriate. I would argue, though, that a more expansive study on the selection of source material (as I have presented in this project) helps shed light on the methods used to adapt these materials.¹⁵⁴ While their selection of a painting as source text fits outside the historic norms, their methods fit the selected material into the narrative models expected on Broadway.

Because of the vast historical span of sixteen decades and thousands of works covered in this project, a “distant reading” approach has been necessary. Seurat’s technique allows the viewer to picture a fully painted scene created “dot by dot.” Using more quantitative methods of research I have painted a fuller picture of musical theatre history graphed out data point by data point to reveal trends that may have previously been overlooked. These graphs provide new ways to interpret musical theatre history.

To discuss adequately both historical trends of translation and adaptation in musical entertainment on the Broadway stage, a revision of polysystem theory is necessary. Neither the narrower approach of Even-Zohar nor the broadened approach of Catrysse suffices. My data show that works that have not been translated—yet were transferred into a target system—may hold important clues to waves of interference and even help predict the processes of translation used. Contrasting the importation strategies for operettas with the majority of other musical works, a new approach to polysystem theory is needed to appropriately contrast the transfer strategies involved in adaptation. This requires that we move away from a strict view of transfer being between two “cultures” (as broad as our concept of culture may be) to focusing (again) on *systems*.

¹⁵⁴ I remind the reader that the top eight media sources for Broadway musicals (play, novel, film, folklore, operetta, story, musical, and opera) comprise 89.1% of the source materials catalogued (see Figure 4.8).

A true systems approach allows enough abstraction (away from the socio-political notion of “culture”) to include other features, most importantly media. Few media—if any—can maintain a repertoire without interference from other media. Any theory of interference or transfer must be capable of addressing this. Cattrysse’s research on *film noir* shows film’s dependency on novels and short stories (1992, 55) and my research shows musical entertainment’s reliance on novels, plays, film, and several other media.

As part of Even-Zohar’s expansion of his polysystem in 1990, he includes a list of “laws of interference.”¹⁵⁵ His second law (of three) concerns the “[c]onditions for the emergence and occurrence of interference,” which is broken down into four sub-laws:

- 2.1. Contacts will sooner or later generate interference if no resisting conditions arise.
- 2.2. A source literature is selected by prestige.
- 2.3. A source literature is selected by dominance.
- 2.4. Interference occurs when a system is in need of items unavailable within itself.

(1990, 59)

To apply these laws more aptly to adaptation (intermedial interference), it may be more beneficial to abandon the term “literature” for “system.” The term “literature” appears to have evolved into a synonym for “culture,” which has seemingly limited polysystem theory to the notion of transfer between two cultural-linguistic systems (i.e., translation) or has necessitated the broadening of “translation” to subsume all forms of transfer.

For intermedial interference (adaptation proper), a particular system (here, medium) operates in a polysystem with other media. In the case of Broadway musical entertainment, it

¹⁵⁵ Even-Zohar notes that this list of laws is an updated version of “a number of hypotheses which [he] deliberately gave the presumptuous label of ‘universals’” (1990, 58). He is referring to his section “Universals of Literary Contacts” in his *Papers in Historical Poetics* (1978, 45ff).

must compete for attention against novels, plays, opera, film, and television. Today, this list grows and includes comic books, YouTube videos, magazines, websites, video games, and cell phone and tablet applications. This is why the term *polysystem* is essential to the discussion of any medium today. In terms of these laws, a media system (such as Broadway musical entertainment) is in constant contact with other media systems (novels, plays, films, etc.) and as my data have shown, there has been a long history of interference from other media (meaning there have not been resisting conditions on Broadway).

The next two sub-laws deal with issues of relative supremacy. The first is that of *prestige*, while the second is *dominance*. The data I presented in Chapter 4 show that there has been a long tradition of adapting plays and novels. Desmond and Hawkes in their books *Adaptation: Studying Film and Literature* list novels, plays, short stories, and non-fiction as primary media from which films are adapted. Among their reasons for film adapting they list “to borrow literature’s prestige for the new art form” (15). Although my data on performance runs (see Figures 4.18 and 4.19) show that musicals adapted from novels and plays statistically have not run significantly longer than non-adapted musicals, producers continue to adapt from these media. Similar to film adaptation, Broadway producers appear to be selecting works from these media based (at least partially) on their literary prestige.

The second relative sub-law deals with dominance. Even-Zohar explains that “[a] literature may be selected as a source literature when it is dominant due to extra-cultural conditions” (1990, 68). Specifically he is contrasting this kind of supremacy from the “cultural power of the source system” in terms of those (European) literatures¹⁵⁶ with the most “cultural

¹⁵⁶ Even-Zohar cites the examples of “Greek and Latin literatures for all European literatures, and later French, English, and German for almost all of the rest” (1990, 66).

capital” (1990, 66-67).¹⁵⁷ The “prestige” media (though “prestige” is difficult to quantify) of novels and plays, I would argue, fit this category of “cultural capital”; the same cannot be said for film, especially popular films. Here is where a return to the *system* aspect of polysystem theory is necessary. Film as a system that interacts with musical theatre (and any other media today) is dominant.

Considering my data from Chapter 4 (see Figure 4.15), I would argue that interference occurred from the systems of plays and novels partially due to their prestige (though one could make an argument for these systems being more dominant). Relatively speaking, though, film as a system has come to dominate media in a way that novels, plays, and musicals have not due to the basic issues of technology that make film ubiquitously available through movie theatres, rental outlets, televised syndication, and instant digital streaming (even on mobile devices now). Film as a media system has been selected as “a source literature” for interference for the Broadway polysystem due to its dominance—a dominance, I would argue that it is stronger than any other media system that has served as a source system for Broadway musical entertainment.

Even-Zohar’s fourth sub-law on the conditions for interference in a polysystem I will quote at length:

A “need” may arise when a new generation feels that the norms governing the system are no longer effective and therefore must be replaced. If the domestic repertoire does not offer any options in this direction, while an accessibly adjacent system seems to possess them, interference will very likely take place.

¹⁵⁷ Although Even-Zohar does not attribute “cultural capital” to Pierre Bourdieu, his polysystem theory is greatly informed by the writings of Bourdieu, and Even-Zohar cites several of Bourdieu’s pieces throughout his explication of his theory.

It might be asked whether such a “need” can indeed emerge not as a consequence of some internal development in a literature, but rather as a result of the existence of certain options in an accessibly adjacent literature. This must remain an open question at this stage. (1990, 69)

Economics play a significant role in this “need” that Even-Zohar describes. Larry Stempel details the economic recession of the mid-1970s and its effect on Broadway (603). He details how high the economic stakes are considering that since the 1960s “some 75 percent of all musicals have failed to return their investments during their Broadway runs” (604). It is no surprise that during this economic recession and musical theatre crisis¹⁵⁸ that Broadway would look to “an accessibly adjacent [dominant] system” because Broadway lacked the capacity for “internal development.”

By returning polysystem theory to its roots in *system* theory and by *not* limiting our critical discussions to “culture,” Even-Zohar’s theories have additional applications. My data findings have shown that inference occurs from other systems based on their prestige and dominance. This may be the prestigious and dominant cultures of France, Germany, and Austria in the nineteenth century; the prestigious media systems of novels and plays throughout Broadway’s history; or the dominant media system of film the past several decades. Recast as a *polysystem* theory, the intersection of translation and adaptation can more fully be explored.

At its heart, Even-Zohar’s polysystem theory describes the *function* of translated literature based on its relative *position* in a polysystem. My data show that polysystem theory can be used to discuss the function of *both* translated and adapted literature. Translated and

¹⁵⁸ See Figure 4.16, which demonstrates a steady decline in the median performance run for a musical from the 1940s through the 1980s. Note also the quickest and strongest growth in the median performance run for musicals in the 1990s and 2000s, which correlates with a steep increase in the percentage of musicals adapted from film (see Figure 4.15).

adapted literature have both been shown to serve an *innovative* function in the Broadway polysystem. From the early burlesques that adapted accessible material to the multiple waves of transfer from the prestigious middle-European operettas (primarily through translation), interference has helped make long-form narrative the primary mode of Broadway musical composition. Later in Broadway's history—when musical entertainment was undergoing a crisis—interference occurred from the most dominant system: film. This last innovative wave of interference has revived Broadway financially and is changing the very medium of musical theatre as it is infused with cinematic luster.

Adaptation studies has historically evolved from translation studies. As a result, the field has often fallen into the same trap that translation scholars have: grappling with the comparison between a source text and target text. This comparison approach—as descriptive as it may be—returns us to the *process* of translation and adaptation. With a proper revision of polysystem theory we can now more fully explore the similarities and the differences in the *functions* of translated and adapted works. This will require us to be more specific in our definitions of interference and modes of transfer and will also require that we refine our research questions to account for how these varying individual processes of transfer paint a fuller picture of intercultural, interlingual, and intermedial relations in the history of a literary system. New research questions will often require new or revised methodologies. But in the end—the researcher, like the artist George Seurat at the opening of *Sunday in the Park with George*—is left with the same challenge: “bring order to the whole” (Sondheim and Lapine 17).

Appendix A: Adapted Works with More than One Source Text

The following lists compile musical productions that did not fit conventional research categories (as discussed in Chapter 2). The following lists are based on information found in the consulted sources (also discussed in Chapter 2).

Works with Two Identifiable Sources

The following thirteen works have two identifiable source texts.

- *Cinderella e la Comare or, The Lover, The Lackey, and the Little Glass Slipper* (1866) – In describing this burlesque, George Odell comments that “Crispino e la Comare [(1850) Luigi Ricci and Federico Ricci (composer) and Francesco Maria Piave (libretto) was] then all the rage at the Academy of Music” (1936, 779); the mention of Cinderella in the title and “the Little Glass Slipper” in the secondary title suggests that this work mixes elements of this fairy tale into the burlesque of this opera.
- *Life* (1876) – “Augustin Daly’s adaptation and combination of two French plays, *Le Procès Veuradieux* [(1875) by Alfred Hennequin and Alfred Delacour] and *Loulou* [no year or author found]” (Bordman 2010, 43).
- *Wives* (1879) – “Bronson Howard’s merging of Molière’s *L’École des femmes* [1662] and *L’École des Maris* [1661]” (Bordman 2010, 54).
- *Cyranose de Bric-a-Brac* (1898) – “Weber and Fields rushed in their parody of Broadway’s newest hit, *Cyrano de Bergerac* [1897]” and “[f]or good measure he and Weber added a lampoon of Hall Caine’s [novel] *The Christian* [1897], [called] *The Heathen*” (Bordman 2010, 189).

- *Papa's Wife* (1899) – “combining plot elements from two Hervé works [operetta], *La Femme a Papa* [1879, Albert Millaud and Alfred Hennequin (libretto)] and *Mam 'zelle Nitouche* [1883, Henri Meilhac and Albert Millaud (libretto)]” (Bordman 2010, 195).
- *Humming Birds and Onions* (1902) – “[*Humming Birds and Onions*] embraced skits burlesquing Ethel Barrymore’s dainty play ‘Carrots’ [IBDB notes that Barrymore starred in this play in 1902 and that it was written by Jules Renard, which was probably based on the 1894 French novel *Poil de carotte* by Renard] and John Drew’s successful comedy, ‘The Mummy and the Humming Bird’ [IBDB notes the author as Isaac Henderson with a Broadway premiere in 1902]” (“Daniel Frohman to Revive Classic Drama at Lyceum”).
- *The Merry Widow and the Devil* (1908) – “Joe Weber’s Travesty Company, Incorporated in a Satire on ‘The Merry Widow’ [*Die lustige Witwe*, 1905, operetta by Franz Lehár (composer) and Viktor Léon and Leo Stein (libretto)] and ‘The Devil’ [1908 by Ferenc Molnár]” (IBDB).
- *Memphis Bound!* (1945) – “A musical in two acts. Drawn freely from ‘Trial By Jury’ [1875] and ‘H.M.S. Pinafore’ [1878, both operettas by Arthur Sullivan (composer) and W.S. Gilbert (libretto)]” (IBDB).
- *Livin’ The Life* (1957) – “Based on the ‘Mississippi River stories’ by Mark Twain,” which probably refers to the novels *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885) (IBDB).
- *Simply Heavenly* (1957) – “Nearly the entire plot emanates from Mr. [Langston] Hughes’ prize-winning novel ‘Simple Takes a Wife,’ [1953] with a soupçon borrowed from another book of his, ‘Simple Speaks His Mind’ [1950]” (“Play by Hughes to Open in May”).

- *Bajour* (1964) – “Based on ‘New Yorker’ stories by Joseph Mitchell” (IBDB); “Based on the ‘New Yorker’ Stories by Joseph Mitchell: ‘The Gypsy Women’ and ‘The King of the Gypsies’” (Marks 1964).
- *Falsettos* (1992) – “[The show] was created largely by combining two of William Finn’s earlier, off-Broadway musicals, *March of the Falsettos* (20 May 1981) and *Falsettoland* (28 June 1990)” (Bordman 2010, 802-803).
- *The Blonde in the Thunderbird* (2005) – “Based on [Suzanne Somers’s] books *Keeping Secrets* [1988] and *After the Fall* [1998]” (Hischak 2009, 48).

The above works have all been included in the database. In cases where both source texts were written in the same language and were from the same country, the language and country were recorded the same as other works with single sources. If these differed, “multiple” was entered into this field. If both of the works were of the same medium, that was recorded in the medium field. If these differed, “multiple” was entered into this field. For the year of the source text, the later date of the two was recorded.

One other work in the database appears to have two sources, though the one is an adaptation of the other. *Dr. Seuss’ How the Grinch Stole Christmas* (2006) is “based on Seuss’ beloved book [1957] and the popular 1966 television cartoon version” (Hischak 2009, 117).

Works Based on Multiple Works by the Same Author

The following nineteen works are based on multiple works by the same author.

- *Natja* (1925) – “The score was made up of Tchaikovsky melodies adapted into operetta songs” (Hischak 2009, 320).

- *Nikki* (1931) – “[B]ased on a character created by John Monk Saunders, who worked her way from his short stories [“Nikki and Her War Birds”] into a novel [*A Single Lady* (1931)] and then in a film [*The Last Flight* (1931)]” (Bordman 2010, 527).
- *The Race of Life* (1939) – This ballet was “based on drawings by Thurman” [no additional information found on Thurman] (IBDB).
- *Pal Joey* (1940) – “Based on a series of stories [John] O’Hara wrote for *The New Yorker*” [published together in 1940] (Hischak 2009, 350).
- *Polonaise* (1945) – “Bronislaw Kaper adapted the Chopin music into operetta numbers and used the classic polonaise for the ballet sequences” (Hischak 2009, 367).
- *Fanny* (1954) – “Few aisle-sitters thought the musical captured the warmth of [French director] Marcel Pagnol’s film trilogy *Marius* [1931], *Fanny* [1932], and *César* [1936], the source material for the musical” (Hischak 2009, 137).
- *A Thurber Carnival* (1960) – “Celebrated Thurber short stories, such as ‘The Secret Life of Walter Mitty,’ comic essays, and satiric fables were dramatized and performed” (Hischak 2009, 467).
- *Baker Street* (1965) – “Jerome Coopersmith used three of Conan Doyle’s stories—‘The Adventure of the Empty House’ [1903], ‘A Scandal in Bohemia’ [1891], and ‘The Final Problem’ [1893]” (Bordman 2010, 703).
- *The Education of H*Y*M*A*N K*A*P*L*A*N* (1968) – “A musical version of Leo Rosten’s collection of short stories” [originally published in *The New Yorker* in the 1930s, then published in two volumes in 1937 under the pseudonym Leonard Q. Ross] (Bordman 2010, 723).

- *Frank Merriwell, or Honor Challenged* (1971) – “Based on the popular book of stories *Frank Meriwell’s School Days* by Burt L. Standish [pseudonym for Gilbert Patten]” [published in 1971] (Hischak 2009, 154).
- *Gorey Stories* (1978) – “Characters and tales from writer-artist Edward Gorey’s illustrated books were dramatized with all the dark, funny, and sometimes horrid flavor of the originals” (Hischak 2009, 175).
- *Shakespeare’s Cabaret* (1981) – “The lyric work of the Bard was set to music” (Bordman 2009, 413); “a six-singer, ninety-minute-long, intermissionless potpourri of Bardic rhymes, not all of which were presented precisely as Shakespeare had written them” (Bordman 2010, 773)
- *Seussical* (2000) – “The Cat in the Hat (David Shiner) served as narrator and several different stories by Dr. Seuss (AKA Theodore Geisel) were enacted as well” [books published between 1954 and 1965] (Hischak 2009, 410-411).
- *By Jeeves* (2001) – “[A] pocket-sized musical from P. G. Wodehouse’s beloved Jeeves stories” [published between 1915 and 1974] (Bordman 2010, 836).
- *Mamma Mia!* (2001) – “Popular 1970s songs by the Swedish rock group ABBA were sandwiched into the contrived plot” [songs released between 1974 and 1982] (Hischak 2009, 281).
- *Movin’ Out* (2002) – “[T]wo dozen Billy Joel pop songs and a few classical pieces” [songs released between 1973 and 1993] (Hischak 2009, 311).
- *A Year with Frog and Toad* (2003) – “Arnold Lobel’s series of stories about the unlikely friendship between Frog and Toad were musicalized” [books published between 1970 and 1979] (Hischak 2009, 517).

- *Good Vibrations* (2005) – “Songs popularized by the Beach Boys were uncomfortably squeezed into the feeble plot and critics found the result one of the more inane juke box musicals yet offered on Broadway” (Hischak 2009, 174).
- *Lestat* (2006) – “Based on Anne Rice’s series of books *The Vampire Chronicles*” [ten novels published between 1976 and 2003] (Hischak 2009, 255).

The above works have all been included in the database. The last date of publication or release for works within the author’s corpus or specified list of works was used as the date in the database. In the cases of Tchaikovsky and Shakespeare, their years of death were used. No additional information could be found on the artist Thurman; several of those entries have been left blank.

Two other works in the database were based on multiple works by two different authors.

- *Words and Music* (1917) – “If anyone believed the program, the words were by William Shakespeare and the music by Ludwig Beethoven (no “von”)” (Bordman 2010, 379); “Words said to be by William Shakespeare; Music said to be by Ludwig van [sic.] Beethoven” (IBDB).
- *The Golden Age* (1963) – “[A piece of] entertainment in the words and music of the Elizabethan Age” (Hischak 2009, 170); “Based on writings of William Shakespeare and Thomas Dekker” (IBDB).

The above works have been included in the database. The year of death of the author who died later was used for the date of the work.

Biomusicals

The following twelve works use multiple pieces of music by the same composer in their score for a show in which the composer is also one of the primary characters. Titles with asterisks after them denote works that have an identifiable source for their plot or libretto.

- *The Love Song** (1925) – “[B]ased on Offenbach’s life and music, from the Hungarian and German of Eugene Ferago, Michael Nador, James Klein and Carl Bretschneider [...] music arrangement by Edward Kunneke”; “the work is to a large extent the work of Edward Kunneke, who also arranged the other tunes that appear in the score” (“‘The Love Song’ A Dazzling Operetta”); Kunneke “has arranged the score from music by Offenbach, introducing his more famous airs and as well as some of his hitherto unknown melodies” (“‘The Love Song’ Recalls Visit of Offenbach”). Note that this work is also purportedly based on a prior work from the Hungarian and German. Additional information on this source was not found during research.
- *The Great Waltz** (1934) – “The familiar [Johann] Strauss melodies turned into songs were also deemed effective” (Hischak 2009, 170); “In America, Moss Hart took his turn at the libretto (a revision of the London one [*Waltzes from Vienna*]) and Frank E Tours and Robert Russell Bennett put their hands into the score” (Gänzl, 1528).
- *Knights of Song* (1938) – “[C]ritics enjoyed the musical numbers taken from the Gilbert and Sullivan repertoire” (Hischak 2009, 243); “A musical excursion into the lives of Gilbert and Sullivan” (IBDB).

- *Song of Norway** (1944) – “[A] fictionalized, romanticized stage biography of Edvard Grieg using his music” (Bordman 2010, 603); “[with a libretto] derived from an unproduced play by Mr. [Homer] Curran” (Zolotow, 10).
- *Mr. Strauss Goes to Boston* (1945) – “The operetta only used a few actual [Johann] Strauss melodies; most of the music was original and, according to the critics, not very memorable” (Hischak 2009, 305).
- *Music in my Heart* (1947) – “Franz Steininger adapted the Russian composer’s music into an operetta score” (Hischak 2009, 315); “using Tchaikovsky melodies to embellish a story of his purported romance with the French singer Désirée Artot” (Bordman 2010, 619).
- *George M!* (1968) – “The life of showman George M. Cohan (Joel Grey) from his days in vaudeville until his retirement from the stage, was briefly sketched, leaving room for over thirty Cohan songs and plenty of production numbers” (Hischak 2009, 161).
- *Harrigan ‘n Hart** (1985) – “The lives and careers of the early musical comedy team of Edward Harrigan (Harry Groener) and and Tony Hart (Mark Hamill) were dramatized with both new songs and period pieces by Harrigan and Braham in a play that suggested there was a homosexual bond between the two men” (Hischak 2009, 189); “Based on “The Merry Partners” by E. J. Kahn, Jr.” (IBDB).
- *Buddy: The Buddy Holly Story* (1990) – “The life and music of early rocker Holly (Paul Hipp) was chronicled”; “The score consisted of songs written and/or performed by Buddy Holly” (Hischak 2009, 60-61).

- *George Gershwin Alone* (2001) – “As composer George Gershwin (Hershey Felder) sits at the piano, he reminisces about the past and accompanies himself as he sings a selection of his songs” (Hischak 2009, 161).
- *The Boy from Oz* (2003) – “Using [Peter] Allen’s pop tunes from the 1970s as its score, the musical biography was a disjointed affair that pleased none of the reviewers but there was nothing but raves for film and television actor Jackman who was deemed much more talented than the figure he was portraying on stage” (Hischak 2009, 54).
- *Jersey Boys* (2005) – “[*Jersey Boys*] told the story of Frank Valli and the Four Seasons, using their famous 1960s pop-song catalogue to chart their rise from obscurity to international fame” (Bordman 2010, 858).

Johann Strauss is the only composer to have two biographical musicals made from his compositions (two works use multiple pieces by Tchaikovsky [*Natja* and *Music in my Heart*], but only *Music in my Heart* is biographical).

Works with Multiple Source Texts by Various Authors

The following fourteen works are based on multiple works by more than one author.

- *Hicory Diccory Dock or, Harlequin Jack of the Beanstalk* (1869) – “[G. L.] Fox once again assumed the title role and as Hicory visited with Mrs. Jack Spratt (C. K. Fox), climbed the beanstalk with another Jack (F. Lacy), and romped with Little Red Riding Hood (Mile. A. Laurent). In the second half a transformation scene allowed Hicory to become Clown and his cohorts to change into Pantaloon, Harlequin, Columbine, and—a

rare addition—Sprite” [a combination of nursery rhymes and *commedia dell’arte*] (Bordman 2010, 28).

- *Adonis* (1884) – “A Disrespectful Perversion of [the 1883 play by W. S. Gilbert] ‘Pygmalion and Galatea,’ [the 1854 play by Charles R. Thorne] “[The] Marble House’ and Common Sense [probably Thomas Paine’s 1776 pamphlet]” (Bordman 1982, 201).
- *Jack and the Beanstalk* (1896) – “R. A. Barnet’s fable found Jack, Old Mother Hubbard’s son, selling his cow with the crumpled horn to buy a beanstalk. He climbs it with Sinbad the Sailor and together they visit Cloudland, where King Cole, Miss Moffett, and Puss ‘n Boots live” (Bordman 2010, 171).
- *Pousse Café* (1897) – “It’s subtitle, *The Worst Born*, poked fun at one of the season’s great straight play hits, [producer] David Belasco’s [play] *The First Born* [1897; author: Francis Powers], although the musical had fun at the expense of [Edmond Audran’s French operetta] *La Poupée* [1896] and J. M. Barrie’s *The Little Minister* [1897] as well” (Bordman 2010, 180).
- *Helter Skelter* (1899) – “It combined spoofs of several of the town’s straight-play hits: [R.C. Carton’s] *Lord and Lady* [1899], *Zaza* [1899], [Cecil Raleigh and Henry Hamilton’s] *The Great Ruby* [1899], and *The King’s Musketeers* [1899]” (Bordman 2010, 192).
- *Star and Garter* (1900) – “The first act featured travesties of [R. Hitchcock and M. W. Hitchcock’s play] *David Harum* [1900], [Arthur Wing Pinero’s play] *The Gay Lord Quex* [1900], and [Edward Everett Rose’s] *Richard Carvel* [1900]” (Bordman 2010, 201).
- *The King’s Carnival* (1901) – “[Sydney Rosenfeld] set out to mix up the personages and the incidents of [Paul Kester’s play] ‘When Knighthood was in Flower’ [1901], [Clyde

Fitch's play] 'The Climber' [1901], [Lorimer Stoddard's play] 'In the Palace of the King' [1900], [Paul M. Potter's play] 'Under Two Flags' [1901], and other popular favorites in a hotch-potch [sic.] of amusing nonsense" ("The Plays of Last Night").

- *Gulliver's Travels* (1904) – "[...] paid little heed to Swift's story or satire. Rather Gulliver and his tiny friends journey to meet Mother Goose, Humpty Dumpty, and other nursery figures" (Bordman 2010, 234).
- *Wonderland* (1905) – "MacDonough agreed to write a story combining *Alice in Wonderland* [1865], *Through the Looking Glass* [1871], and Grimms' 'The Twelve Dancing Princesses' [1812]. Initially it was called *Alice and the Eight Princesses*" (Bordman 2010, 251).
- *Adelante* (1939) – "Based on Spanish poems" (IBDB).
- *Bless You All* (1950) – "Among the topics spoofed were *Peter Pan*, Tennessee Williams, and politics" (Hischak 2009, 47); "It travesties *Peter Pan* and spoofed the Tennessee Williams-Carson McCullers school of writing in a sketch, 'Southern Fried Chekhov,' and in a song, 'Don't Wanna Write About the South'" (Bordman 2010, 638).
- *Only Fools Are Sad* (1971) – "Tales from the Hassidic movement in 18th-century Europe were enacted in English and Hebrew using traditional songs from the period" (Hischak 2009, 344).
- *Boccaccio* (1975) – "Sex tales from Giovanni Boccaccio's *The Decameron* were enacted by the refugees" (Hischak 2009, 51).
- *Into the Woods* (1987) – "[B]eloved fairy-tale characters come to life on stage" (Bordman 2010, 792); while sources do not specifically mention Grimms' Fairy Tales, the list of characters and tales woven into this musical come from this compendium of tales.

Appendix B: Works Presented in More than One Language

The following works have been described as being presented in two or more languages. Works presented primarily in one language with shorter portions (a song or two, some dialogue, etc.) have been excluded from this list.

- *The Merry Tramps* (1896) – English and German – “It was one more vehicle for the Liliputians [sic.], with the midgets performing in ‘colloquial German and American English’ and with the program boasting the scenery was painted in Germany” (Bordman 2010, 170).
- *The Fair in Midgettown* (1897) – English and German – “One critic recorded of the *Geisha* takeoff [an included travesty]: ‘The chorus sang in English, the midgets [the Liliputians] in German, and the band played in the Coney Island dialect’ (Bordman 2010, 178).
- *The Grand Music Hall of Israel* (1968) – English, Yiddish, and Hebrew – “Performing in English, Yiddish, and Hebrew, the troupe of young Israelis presented songs, dances, and vaudeville novelty acts” (Hischak 2009, 176).
- *Those Were the Days* (1990) – English and Yiddish – “It’s in Yiddish and English, practically a self-translating effusion of song and dance” (Shepard).
- *Aznavour on Broadway* (1998) – English and French – “Short, lean, and now silver-haired, the popular French singer [Charles Aznavour] sang his program, much of which he had written himself, half in his native language and half in English” (Bordman 2010, 823).

Appendix C: Translated Musicals 1960-2009

The following nine musicals were presented on Broadway translated from another language (according to the sources discussed in Chapter 2). Relatively few translated musicals premiered on Broadway after 1960, and there appear to be no patterns to these particular musicals.

| Title | Year | Perf. Run | Source Text | Source Authors | Source Year | Source Country | Source Lang. |
|---------------------------------|------|-----------|--------------------------|---|-------------|----------------|--------------|
| <i>Irma La Douce</i> | 1960 | 524 | <i>Irma La Douce</i> | Marguerite Monnot (composer) and Alexandre Breffort (libretto) | 1956 | France | French |
| <i>Only Fools Are Sad</i> | 1971 | 144 | [Hebrew title not known] | Dan Almagor (libretto) and Yohanan Zaral (arranger) [traditional music] | 1968 | Israel | Hebrew |
| <i>Happy End</i> | 1977 | 75 | <i>Happy End</i> | Kurt Weill (composer) and Bertolt Brecht (libretto) | 1929 | Germany | German |
| <i>Les Miserables</i> | 1987 | 6680 | <i>Les Miserables</i> | Claude-Michel Schönberg (composer) and Alain Boublil and Jean-Marc Natel (libretto) | 1980 | France | French |
| <i>Ghetto</i> | 1989 | 33 | "Ghetto" | Joshua Sobol | 1984 | Israel | Hebrew |
| <i>Junon and Avos: The Hope</i> | 1990 | 48 | <i>Junon and Avos</i> | Aleksei Ribnikov (composer) and Andrey Voznesensky (libretto) | 1981 | Russia | Russian |
| <i>Metro</i> | 1992 | 13 | <i>Metro</i> | Janusz Stoklosa (composer) and Agata and Maryna Miklaszewska (lyrics) | 1991 | Poland | Polish |
| <i>Amour</i> | 2002 | 17 | <i>Le Passe-Muraille</i> | Michel Legrand (composer) | 1997 | France | French |
| <i>Dance of the Vampires</i> | 2002 | 56 | <i>Tanz der Vampire</i> | Jim Steinman (composer) and Michael Kunze (book, lyrics) | 1997 | Austria | German |

Appendix D: Span Data for 1900s through 2000s

The following charts show the data for the spans for adapted works between 1900 and 2009 by decade. “n” shows the total number of adapted productions for which there was span data. I have also listed the number of productions from each category for which there is no span data.¹⁵⁹ The average, the median, and the standard deviation for all data points are given. See Chapter 4 for a discussion of these statistical terms (see Figure 4.20 and 4.21).

1900s

| | Play | Novel | Operetta | Film | Other Adapt |
|---------------|----------|-----------|----------|------|-------------|
| n = | 26 | 6 | 7 | 0 | 26 |
| missing | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Avg | 25 | 59 | 9 | | 23 |
| Median | 1 | 59 | 3 | | 3 |
| StDev | 67.06222 | 56.2447 | 13.82544 | | 49.13323 |

1910s

| | Play | Novel | Operetta | Film | Other Adapt |
|---------------|----------|-----------|----------|------|-------------|
| n = | 46 | 5 | 8 | 0 | 10 |
| missing | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Avg | 18 | 64 | 7 | | 63 |
| Median | 7 | 23 | 3 | | 7 |
| StDev | 42.67876 | 78.87775 | 12.64629 | | 175.7972 |

1920s

| | Play | Novel | Operetta | Film | Other Adapt |
|---------------|----------|-----------|----------|------|-------------|
| n = | 58 | 12 | 8 | 0 | 4 |
| missing | 10 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Avg | 11 | 32 | 10 | | 20 |
| Median | 9 | 28 | 4 | | 19 |
| StDev | 9.295267 | 30.28188 | 18.39206 | | 8.655441 |

¹⁵⁹ The absence of data for source texts is most common for plays. There tend to be better records for the publication of novels and the public performance of operettas. Plays, however, may have been used in manuscript form (and never have been published). The production records for older plays and for many foreign plays are often incomplete.

1930s

| | Play | Novel | Operetta | Film | Other Adapt |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------|-------------|
| n = | 14 | 9 | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| missing | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Avg | 78 | 80 | 44 | | 29 |
| Median | 13 | 24 | 54 | | 3 |
| StDev | 132.2832 | 110.6085 | 34.16236 | | 45.67129 |

1940s

| | Play | Novel | Operetta | Film | Other Adapt |
|---------------|-----------|----------|-----------|------|-------------|
| n = | 18 | 10 | 6 | 0 | 3 |
| missing | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Avg | 83 | 18 | 79 | | 147 |
| Median | 19 | 4 | 68 | | 128 |
| StDev | 161.1781 | 26.28815 | 23.40655 | | 63.25609 |

1950s

| | Play | Novel | Operetta | Film | Other Adapt |
|---------------|-----------|----------|----------|-----------|-------------|
| n = | 18 | 17 | 0 | 6 | 8 |
| missing | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Avg | 56 | 31 | | 16 | 368 |
| Median | 33 | 6 | | 17 | 29 |
| StDev | 86.69745 | 56.543 | | 5.357238 | 960.2776 |

1960s

| | Play | Novel | Operetta | Film | Other Adapt |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------------|
| n = | 28 | 30 | 1 | 8 | 10 |
| missing | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Avg | 194 | 35 | | 15 | 81 |
| Median | 23 | 15 | | 12 | 35 |
| StDev | 587.6168 | 69.12931 | | 9.576758 | 143.9384 |

1970s

| | Play | Novel | Operetta | Film | Other Adapt |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------------|
| n = | 24 | 16 | 0 | 9 | 9 |
| missing | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Avg | 177 | 44 | | 13 | 391 |
| Median | 21 | 31 | | 12 | 25 |
| StDev | 487.1845 | 41.92454 | | 7.382412 | 912.7431 |

1980s

| | Play | Novel | Operetta | Film | Other Adapt |
|---------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------------|
| n = | 9 | 13 | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| missing | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Avg | 349 | 42 | | 34 | 53 |
| Median | 52 | 14 | | 31 | 50 |
| StDev | 773.4391 | 46.60004 | | 13.76186 | 31.6949 |

1990s

| | Play | Novel | Operetta | Film | Other Adapt |
|---------------|------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------------|
| n = | 4 | 11 | 0 | 13 | 6 |
| missing | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Avg | 797 | 51 | | 23 | 59 |
| Median | 330 | 35 | | 14 | 69 |
| StDev | 1095.858 | 41.5795 | | 19.17096 | 38.04077 |

2000s

| | Play | Novel | Operetta | Film | Other Adapt |
|---------------|------------|-----------|----------|-----------|-------------|
| n = | 5 | 14 | | 24 | 10 |
| missing | 0 | 0 | | 0 | 2 |
| Avg | 575 | 70 | | 27 | 47 |
| Median | 128 | 45 | | 28 | 31 |
| StDev | 1028.564 | 61.64022 | | 17.02678 | 37.86951 |

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