

〈ウィーナー・ミュージカル〉の諸展開  
-ウィーンと日本におけるミュージカルのグローカリ  
ゼーション史-

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**Wiener Musicals and their Developments:  
Glocalization History of Musicals between Vienna and Japan**

Global Japanese Studies program

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## List of Abbreviations

BthOG.....	Bundestheaterorganisationsgesetz (Federal Theater Organization Law)
BMUK.....	Bundesministerium für Unterricht und kulturelle Angelegenheiten (Federal Ministry for Education and Cultural Affairs)
Don Camillo.....	Don Camillo und Peppone (Don Camillo and Peppone)
Der Besuch.....	Der Besuch der alten Dame (The Visit of the Old Lady)
Fiddler.....	Fiddler on the Roof
La Mancha.....	The Man of La Mancha
Volksoper.....	Volksoper Wien
United Stages.....	Vereinigte Bühnen Wien (United Stages Vienna, VBW)

# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1. 1. Background: The “Wiener Musical” Phenomenon

Since the end of the World War II, theater productions with the label of “musical” have stretched out from Broadway in the United States to venues all over the world. In Vienna, the capital city of the Republic of Austria, original German-speaking musicals have been produced and launched to the international market since the 1990s, displaying their distinctive *Wiener* (Viennese) accent in various ways for audiences both inside and outside of Vienna.

In the past three decades, the Viennese theater company, Vereinigte Bühnen Wien (hereafter “United Stages Vienna”),<sup>1</sup> has launched eleven Wiener musicals, which has been performed in 21 countries and in 12 languages. Among all their partner countries and regions—especially concentrated in Continental Europe and East Asia—Japan ranks as the oldest and largest. Indeed, seven Wiener musicals, from *Elisabeth*<sup>2</sup> (1992) to *I Am From Austria* (2017), have attracted large and enthusiastic Japanese audiences—the largest audiences of any of the venues as of 2016 (VBW 2016).

Although Wiener musicals have had significantly less impact than the Broadway-style musical, which has inflected the world view on musical theater in the era of globalization, the phenomenon of Wiener musicals and their diverse developments—here, I shall use the plural form to emphasize the individual progresses—casts an instructive light on the musical as *Gesamtkunstwerk* (literally

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<sup>1</sup> In the dissertation, I shall use “United Stages (Vienna)” to highlight that this organization is a conglomerate of theaters in Vienna.

<sup>2</sup> Generally, each production is hereafter called by its title in the original language, except on special occasions when highlighting regional versions of one production, and when one production appears as a subcontext in other productions.

translated as “total work of art”). In the studies on the musical, this term referred to stage components on the inner-theatrical level as McMillin (2006: 3–5) discussed in adapting this Wagnerian concept to the integrated musical that harmonizes song, dance, and drama.<sup>3</sup> However, this dissertation additionally highlights a sociohistorical perspective of Gesamtkunstwerk—that views the genre musical as a social product in a complex of local and global contexts, and owing to such intersectionality, can never be fully evaluable.

How, then, can we describe a landscape that is shaped and changed by conflict and negotiation as a result of transfer and conversion between localization and globalization? And what are the historical and actual conditions and communications that have surrounded Wiener musicals and determined their impact? Attempting to answer these complex questions drives the discussion that follows.

### **1. 1. 1. The First Gear: Localization of the Genre Musical in Vienna**

From a historical perspective, the term “musical” has become more ubiquitous and varied in meaning. The genre was initially established during the 1920s and 1930s as “an art that arises out of American roots, out of our [American] speech, our tempo, our moral attitudes, our way of moving” (Bernstein 1959: 174–179); it was essentially the result of hybridizing diverse styles and forms of European and US-American popular musical theater at that time. In addition, the economic, cultural, political, and technological Americanization that occurred worldwide in the second half of the twentieth century further aligned up this genre with the United States. Even after the

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<sup>3</sup> More detailed discussion is needed, but the application of “Gesamtkunstwerk” is not only corroborate to link between European music theater and the US-American musical (as McMillin undertook) but also is advantageous to justifying the package license business and the guest performance of the original production, in which all the elements ought to be carefully and integratedly composed, and therefore, unreplaceable.



rise of West End musicals in London, Broadway built and fostered its brand credibility by revitalizing Times Square in New York with entertainment conglomerates in the 1990s (cf. Wollman 2002). As a result, the Broadway style has been de-territorialized and proliferated all over the world—as Savran (2014: 319–20) pointed out, the Broadway-style musical is not necessarily created on Broadway—while retaining the international privilege of the “Broadway” label.

In parallel with the standardization of the Broadway style in the global sphere, exported musicals have inevitably been adapted to suit the specific environment of popular musical theater at each site and have been contextualized themselves for the local supplier, distributor, and audience. Considering the cultural history of musical theater in Vienna, Wiener musicals emerged from the friction between *traditional* music theater (especially the kind that has been staged since the eighteenth century, from the old Wiener folk comedies through Singspiel to the operetta) and the *foreign* musical. The genre musical was initially introduced to Vienna as an occupying culture—the musical had been offered for the entertainment of the Allied Forces in the American division of the city until 1955.<sup>4</sup> It was used as part of the economic restoration and development of the city following the post-war era and became part of cultural politics, while assimilating divergent themes and contexts from the modern and contemporary history of Vienna.

From a practical perspective, the musical in Vienna has been performed

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<sup>4</sup> The American Forces occupied Districts 7, 8, 9, 17, 18, and 19 of Vienna City from 1945 to 1955. The Kosmos-Theater (District 7; since 1954, District 8) was under the control of the United States Information Service for the purpose of disseminating American propaganda to the citizens. Marcel Prawy (1911–2003), who returned to Vienna as an US-American cultural officer, began *Musicalabend* (Evening of Musical) in 1952. Named after *Musikabend* (Evening of Music), its aim was to stage concerts, films, and cultural events that would introduce American musicals and folk music to Vienna. Prawy also began working as a dramaturge of the Volksoper (District 9) in 1955 in order to promote such musicals (Brandtner 2012; Prawy 1989: 18).

principally in cultural institutions with the support of public subsidies. For that reason, the genre has been enacted as part of the municipal cultural politics and the corresponding economic, political, and tourist development of the city and nation. Against this background, the United Stages Vienna were established in 1987 as a limited liability company for integrating artistic and commercial management of three theaters, the Theater an der Wien, the Ronacher, and the Raimund Theater, with a considerable amount of the municipal subsidies. These three theaters were about to be forced out of the private theater business amid the wave of electronic mass media in the 1950s and 1960s, but were ultimately restored as profitable cultural institutions aiming at independent management and de-politicization with a combination of private and public economies (see also Paya 2010). Despite the unfinished debate regarding the efficient and proper operation of theaters presenting the musical, the public benefit of Wiener musicals has been highlighted in political and academic discourse since the second half of the 2000s, especially in contrast to German private companies (Maslo 2000; Schmittner 2005). Faced with a variety of expectations, the United Stages finally declared their three primary responsibilities: “for the audience with its very special expectations,” “for regional and nationwide business,” and “for the cultural identity of Vienna and its message to the outside world.”<sup>5</sup>

### **1. 1. 2. The Second Gear: Japan**

While transforming the performances to conform with changing social and political circumstances in Vienna, Wiener musicals have confronted the matter of re-localization in each of their performing sites ever since their initial export to Japan in 1996.

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<sup>5</sup> As stated in the company profile on the United Stages’ website (VBW 2018).

The United Stages sought to adopt the megamusical system in which productions typically originated on Broadway or the West End and were then copied in franchise productions elsewhere in the world. Rather than following the common precedent whereby the importer *indigenizes* the production—with local human resources but strict accordance with the contract between the copyright holder and the importer—Wiener musicals offered a far different option outside of Vienna: drastic, flexible adaptation in each regional theater for the local audiences.<sup>6</sup>

Wiener musicals were transmogrified in their first foreign station, Japan. Each production was interpreted in the local contexts: from a historical recognition of the genre musical to the actual demand in the local market.

In Japan, the musical has survived in the tension between the traditional popular musical theater form and the incomplete interpretation of two influencers: the divergent styles of European popular musical theater up to the 1930s and the Broadway-style musical since the 1950s. Furthermore, although this genre has been commercialized by theater companies, the performances are not as completely profit-oriented as those on Broadway. This is particularly the case for *Takarazuka Kageki-dan*<sup>7</sup> (“Takarazuka Girl’s Opera” in 1914–1940; “Takarazuka Revue” since 1940) and *Tōhō* (“Tokyo Takarazuka Gekijō” in 1932–1943; “Tōhō” since 1943), as both are parts of the large corporation, Hankyu Hanshin Tōhō Group, and the synergy effect of theater business is considered to be a component of profit<sup>8</sup> (see also: Wetmore 2017). The founder,

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<sup>6</sup> See the statement of Peter Back-Vega, the chief dramaturg of the United Stages (Gruber 2010: 316); *Asahi*, April 21, 2007. As Suzuki (2012: 61) notes, flexible adaptation is not unique to Wiener musicals but has been practiced in some original musicals in Continental Europe.

<sup>7</sup> Hereafter, Japanese words are generally written in the Hepburn style.

<sup>8</sup> Another business style is applied for the Gekidan Shiki Company (est. 1953, hereafter referred as to “Shiki”), which developed from the Broadway-style show business system and adopted the sponsor system for the musicals in the 1970s.

Kobayashi Ichizō<sup>9</sup> (1873–1957), launched all-young-female musical theater in 1914. The initial purpose was to establish a modern, hybrid form of *shin kokumin-geki* (new people’s theater),<sup>10</sup> combining Western music with Japanese pre-modern popular musical theater *kabuki*. The performances underwent repeated adaptations in form for appealing to the contemporary audience (cf. Ichikawa 2010; Yamanashi 2012). Hence, the form was not stable but has been changing over time for the audience of each time.

The Takarazuka Revue has offered the widest range of popular musical theater inside and outside Japan. Although the musical was once recognized as a product of enemy culture during the World War II, and the Broadway-style musical was brought to post-war Japan under the occupation’s Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, the genre was soon accepted and settled down in relatively quickly. Notably, the Broadway-style musical not only innovated the conventional style of Japanese popular musical theater but was utilized to support its diversified and hybrid forms, proven by the first false—but creative—interpretation because the Japanese language lacks plurals in the normal English or German sense. As a result, the Tōhō mistakenly used the plural form of “musical” for its musical section, *teigeki*<sup>11</sup> *myūjīkarusu* (Imperial Theater Musicals). Nevertheless, even after the Broadway-style musical was properly introduced through guest performances and invited artists who had had experience in Broadway productions, the performances with the label of “musical” in Japan have included not only Broadway-style musicals but revues, operettas, Singspiel-style theater,

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<sup>9</sup> Japanese names appear in usual Japanese order, with the family name first.

<sup>10</sup> There are other translations: “new national drama” (Berlin 1988); “new citizens’ theatre” (Robertson 1998); “new people’s drama” (Yamanashi 2011). Although the concept of *geki* was initially a translation from Western drama in the Meiji period (1868–1912), here I use “theater” to empathize *kokumin-geki* as musical theater, not as drama or spoken theater.

<sup>11</sup> *Teigeki*, a.k.a. *Teikoku Gekijō* (Imperial Theater), was established in 1911 as the first Western-styled theater in Japan to provide both Western and Japanese theater. It has been owned by the Tokyo Takarazuka Gekijō (as Tōhō since 1945) since 1937.

applied theater and their compounds (see also Hibino 2017).

The encounter between Vienna and Japan via Wiener musicals was mutually beneficial. The success of their adaptations in Japan—the largest Asian market for Austria in the 1990s—served to improve the reputation of Wiener musicals in their birthplace, where it had been suspected whether the musical could (and should) have both cultural and economic values in the context of Western musical theater history.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, flexible adaptation of Wiener musicals allowed the Takarazuka Revue and the Tōhō to interpret each production in the Japanized style of *myūjīkaru* (“musical” in Japanese) and boost further localization of the musical for the Japanese audiences.

The minimal license trade caused interactive development between venues: one regional adaptation influenced other regions, including those in Vienna. Additionally, the network established in the adaptation process led to collaborative productions between Vienna and other cities and nations, as well as original productions from the third country (such as Japan). In other words, the expansion of the Wiener musical prompted *re-localization of the localized musical*.

However, since 2006, re-localization has followed different directions in Vienna and Japan. Wiener musicals in Vienna have more strongly reflected social and political circumstances, especially the municipal budget politics surrounding a public benefit, whereas Wiener musicals in Japan became completely incorporated into the domestic market, more specifically, for the local, ardent fans. This led to the further diversification and developments of the musical in the two venues.

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<sup>12</sup> In German-speaking countries, the musical has been categorized as *Unterhaltungsmusik* (light or popular music, especially for commercial use) against *ernste Musik* (serious or art music that is often the officially supported object) and therefore performed more often in commercial theater than public theater. For example, the musicals in Germany have been performed mostly in the commercial sphere. Except for *Linie 1* (Line 1, Berlin 1986) and a few other examples, German original musicals developed primarily after the impact of Wiener musicals on Germany in 2001 (see also: Rommel 2007: 15; Schmittner 2005: 26–44).

## 1. 2. Hypothesis

Given the historical and actual path of the genre musical from Broadway to Vienna and Japan, it is hypothesized that Wiener musicals and their developments display an intentionality “to be local” inherent in the musical itself in the era of globalization.

This has been generated from the interrelationships on three different levels: ( $\alpha$ ) the inner-theatrical level (“What inheres in the performance?”), ( $\beta$ ) the micro-theatrical level (“In which kind of organizational and institutional structure is the performance operated?”), and ( $\gamma$ ) the macro-theatrical level (“Which environmental factors affect Level  $\alpha$  and Level  $\beta$ ?”). The interrelationships of the three levels are represented in Figure 1.<sup>13</sup>

Each performing site has its constellation of the three levels under the influence of the correlative environmental factors as seen in Figure 2 (on next page), with the transfer and (dis-)communication of two site-specific inner-relations. Accordingly, the hypothesis gives a focus on how the intentionality expresses itself at the locales that are interconnected in the global world today, under the strong impact of megamusicals from the 1980s.

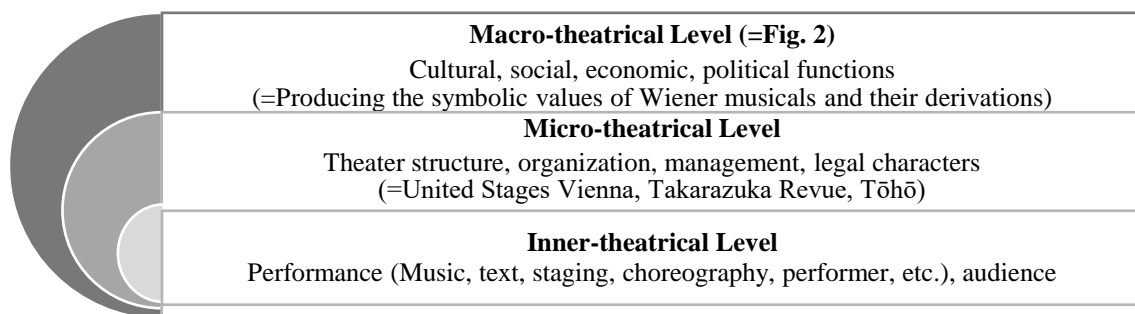


Figure 1. Three Levels of Wiener Musicals and Their Developments

<sup>13</sup> The concept of micro- and macro-theatrical levels was developed from “micro-sociological” and “macro-sociological” perspectives for *Kulturbetrieb* (lit. “cultural organization/operation,” see Zembylas 2004). Figure 2 was modeled after the constellation of four research objects (“professional sphere,” “cultural politics,” “cultural economics,” and “publicity”) to investigate how specific cultural properties and activities attain symbolic and economic value, as well as multiple—symbolic, economic, social and political—functions (Zembylas/Tschmuck 2006: 9).

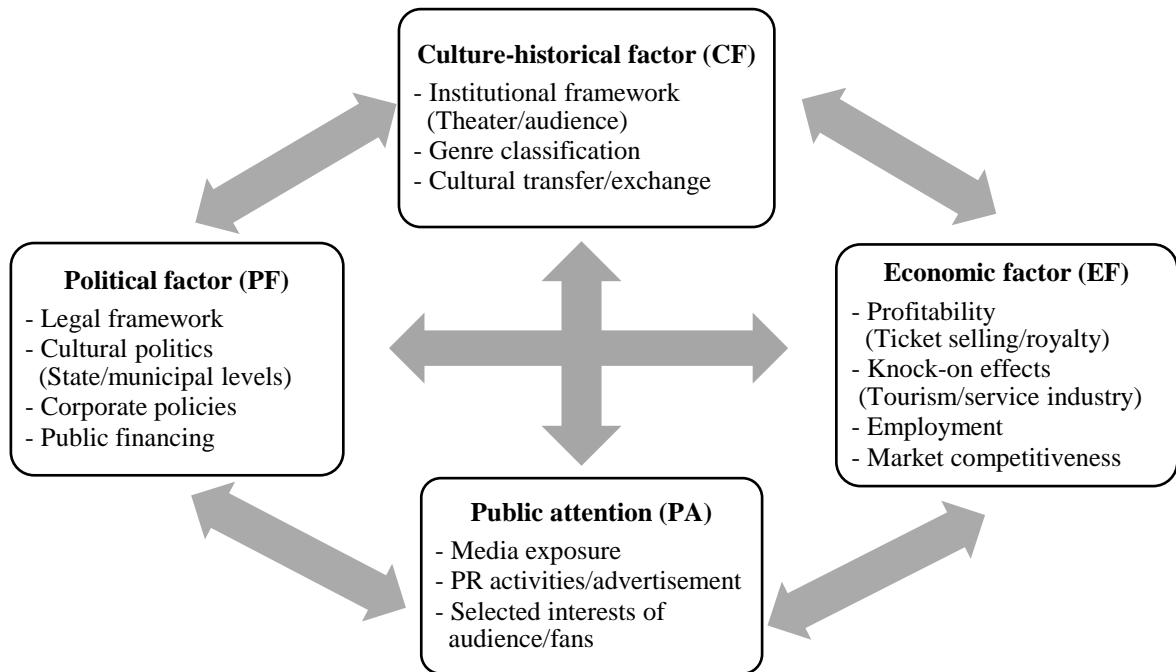


Figure 2. Correlation of Four Factors on the Macro-Theatrical Level

### 1. 3. Methodology

#### 1. 3. 1. Theoretical Frameworks

The hypothesis is formulated from an interdisciplinary perspective of theater studies, art sociology, and comparative cultural studies.<sup>14</sup> The methodological setting derives from German theater studies that conceptualize theater as distinct from literary studies. Based on Max Herrmann's focus on the performance, Fischer-Lichte (2004) developed an aesthetic theory for capturing the characteristics of art practices, especially focusing on the artistic experience of events and sensations in the synchronic, one-time-only production process of the performance between performers and audiences on site.

This theory is applicable to analyzing the semiotic and performative dimension of

<sup>14</sup> The early model for an interweaving of the three disciplines was used in Rina Tanaka's paper "Die Grundlagen zur Diskussion um die Musicals aus Wien," presented at the Workshop "The Time They Are A-Changin': Reflexionen zu Musikgeschichtsschreibung(en)," co-hosted by Universität für Musik und Darstellende Kunst Wien (Institut für Musiksoziologie; Institut für Populärmusik; Institut für Musikwissenschaft und Interpretationsforschung) and the Österreichische Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft (ÖGMW), on January 11–12, 2018, in Vienna, Austria.

the performance based on the premise that the aesthetic experience of an artistic performance should be as an autonomous subject. However, as Fischer-Lichte (2008: 202) also suggested, sociological backgrounds are never separable from the performance since “art’s autonomy is guaranteed by its institution.” In other words, aesthetic and non-aesthetic performances are indistinguishable from one another without an organizational and institutional framework related to the site-specific, sociocultural group.

The fundamental relationship between the aesthetic experience of the performance in a specific society is also concerned with the perspective of art sociology, i.e., aesthetics is also socio-historically formed and transformed, reflecting a complex of sociocultural, political and economic factors in the actual setting—as well as through the dominant media of the time.<sup>15</sup> From this viewpoint, theater practice does not spontaneously produce its aesthetic experience since it is involved in the production of symbolic and economic values, and thereby attains multiple functions in the social framework. In other words, theater practice is not only micro-sociologically described as an operation by “a legally defined form of organization consisted of human and financial resources, with which the specific goals can be fulfilled in the most efficient way” but also macro-sociologically understood as a complex of “conception, production, distribution, mediation, reception, i.e. consumption, preservation and maintenance” (Zembylas/Tschmuck 2006: 8).<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> This perspective is based on Austrian art sociology that Kurt Blaukopf established and Alfred Smudits developed. Blaukopf (1989a; 1989b) focused on the discourse of music sociology, especially the transition of musical practices through electronic media in the twentieth century. Smudits developed this theory toward a cultural historiography from the invention of notation to digitalization, which changed the process of cultural production, distribution, and reception through the dominant media of the time (Smudits 2002; 2006: 67).

<sup>16</sup> Kamiyama (2018) gives the similar perspective for Japanese theater studies, pointing out that theater emerges in the intercomplementary and cross-sectional relations of various players in the



Regarding the attempt to create a historiography of the musical from the intersectional perspective discussed above, it is notable that the musical is a distinctively collective process of aesthetic and industrialized forms resulting from the socialization of diverse popular musical theater styles in the US-American society in the early twentieth century and the transition to a globalized institution and in non-US-American local settings elsewhere in the world.

Nevertheless, the acute conflict between the fundamental and transitional natures of the musical is more serious than early popular musical theater in the modern era, representing the difficulty of examining the musical not only from economic and legal viewpoints but from the transnational perspective across the Atlantic Ocean. On the one hand, “many historians, especially outside the U.S., too often assume that the scholarly analysis of elite cultural practices should remain distinct from the analysis of popular, commercial genres” (Savran 2017: 27). On the other hand, it has been observed that “the musical has a high cultural status, often closely connected to the formation of national identities” in the United States, where popular culture was traditionally more accepted than Europe (Platt et al. 2014: 13). In this respect, it is not often mentioned that there should be another viewpoint regarding cultural practices that have consisted of multiple imported and adapted cultures that are neither European nor American.

However, it has been recently proposed that (dis-)communication between the cosmopolitan practices of the early popular musical theater and the demand of globalization in the contemporary world shaped the transnational and transregional historiography of popular musical theater—not only in the Western world but in Asian countries as well—in the early twentieth century. This gives us a clue to understanding

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theatrical, business and political worlds that not only reflect the site-specific context in various cities, but also have been changing in Japanese society in the modernization and thereafter.

the global and local situations of the musical today.

### **1. 3. 2. The Musical in Fluidity: Connecting to Early Popular Musical Theater**

Early popular musical theater formulated comforting narratives in a cosmopolitan context at the turn of the twentieth century, displaying itself as a product in various metropolitan areas, including London, Paris, Berlin, and Vienna (Platt et al. 2014: 16)—and even some in Japan (Nakano 2015). Respective local contexts are crucial when dealing with cultural transfer in popular musical theater—the process can be generalized as “interweaving cultures in performance” (Fischer-Lichte)<sup>17</sup>—as the development and diversification of operettas were determined by actual conditions in the host city. Moreover, one localization affected other theater capitals, though the influence of Paris and Vienna on Berlin was stronger than that of Berlin on either of the other two cities (Linhardt 2014: 51).

It is also striking that each local context is an aggregation of divergent factors surrounding theater practice. Linhardt (2006: 3) highlighted in his empirical survey of the Viennese operetta, in which type of context the Viennese operetta had developed and functioned:

The appearance and function of the operetta define itself less concerning its historical development of music and theater, which shows the operetta as a derived product of the Viennese dance music or the much invoked old Viennese folk comedy, but rather regarding the institution- and accepting-historical

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<sup>17</sup> Fischer-Lichte (2010: 17) defines the nature of performance as being “particularly suitable as sites for different cultures to meet and negotiate their relationships through various processes of interweaving that result in something completely new and beyond the scope of any single participating culture.”

frameworks that are based on the specially political, economic and population-structural conditions in the million-resident city Vienna since the second half of the nineteenth century.

Linhardt's discussion concerned accustomization of popular musical theater in the environmental conditions of the individual theaters in Vienna. In this regard, the main audience group and its accustomed reaction also formed and developed this type of theater practice (Kamiyama 2014a: 20).

In addition, Platt (2014: 35) states that "transfer was often represented in terms of fluidity, at least before the First World War," because "once the protocols of buying copyright and performing rights had been observed, an absolute right to appropriate, assimilate and hybridise appeared to come into force." It is obvious that "the protocols of buying copyright and performing rights" imply the rise of the musical in the 1920s and 30s, as well as its globalization through the licensing business model.

Based on the transnational exchange and constant transformation of early popular musical theater, the concept of the "musical" underwent changes in the performing site. Hibino (2017: 10) defines the musical in Japan in terms of its variable nature:<sup>18</sup>

If man defines popular theater as crossing the genres, ignoring the rules, and keeping continually re-defining and expanding itself through its practices to create "entertaining" theater and attract as many audiences as possible, the

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<sup>18</sup> Many examples in Japan proved Hibino's argument: the Takarazukalization of *Oklahoma!* (1967), the Japonesque version of *Jesus Christ Super Star* (1987). Also, *Speakeasy: The Pure-Hearted Crook of Chicago, the Windy City* (Takarazuka 1998) as adapted from *The Beggar's Opera* (London 1728) and *The Three Penny Opera* (Berlin 1928).

musical, a subgenre of popular musical theater, will keep revising the forms and customs to meet the expectations of the audience and become free from a variety of actual limitations.

Hibino's definition of the musical in fluidity is supported by Linhardt's (2014: 47) insight into genre identification, which is "often a matter of promotion, theatre law or the broader terrain of theatre politics." Thus, it is a matter of why and how musicals in the performing site designated and promoted themselves as a "musical," observed from the perspective that popular musical theater practices are fluid in their nature, modifying themselves in their respective historical and social frameworks.

### **1. 3. 3. Literature Review**

Studies on Wiener musicals and their developments have been conducted in various fields, including sociology, political science, literature studies, musicology, theater studies, and German cultural studies. The topic and each of the divergent productions have been often mentioned and discussed in many reports and articles written in different types of media.

The earliest studies were found in the sociological and political areas around 1990 and focused on the sociocultural and political circumstances of the Theater an der Wien. Following the analysis of the cultural management of the theater by Mader (1986), Reim-Bruckmüller (1994) empirically studied the public relations of the United Stages Vienna. Meanwhile, Pelz (1995) provided a cultural historiography of the musical at the Volksoper Wien and the Theater an der Wien. Subsequently, several books were published on the historiography of the musical in the second half of the

twentieth century, including Lang (2001), Back-Vega (2008), and Jansen (2008). In this context, a study was also done in English: Arens (2006) provided a culture-historical analysis of the productions in the 1990s.

In the 2000s, when Wiener musicals underwent market expansion inside and outside Vienna, diverse approaches were taken to examining this multifaceted phenomenon, involving such aspects as media exposure (Maslo 2000), marketing strategy (Lindshalm 2001), musical structure (Lindner 2005), and theater studies (Müller/Stangl 2007). Additionally, transnational situations were analyzed in the study conducted by Schmittner (2005) on the tourist-industrial aspect of the musical in German-speaking countries and Rommel's (2007) survey of regional interpretations of *Elisabeth*, though those written in German have rarely been followed by those in Japanese, and vice versa.

More recently, the situation of Wiener musicals in Vienna until 2006 was examined in Gruber's (2010) musicological survey of the United Stages and their productions. Furthermore, MacDonald (2017) provided their performance history for English-speaking readers.

However, the lack of combining diachronic and synchronic examinations of organizational and environmental frameworks—which would shape the relevant aesthetic experience and symbolic values through the performance on site—meant that Wiener musicals and their variations were regarded as isolated cases that are respectively locked within one cultural (and often monolingual) context, apart from the global history of the musical. Accordingly, the common understanding of basic structures that promoted various developments of Wiener musicals at each performing venue—cultural politics in Vienna and the sociocultural contexts in Japan—is highly

required for Wiener musical studies, in order to interrelate the previous case studies and provide the comprehensive sight of the “Wiener musical” phenomenon.

#### **1. 3. 4. Sources**

Primary sources for Wiener musicals are nowhere near as developed as in the cases of early musical theater in Europe, the musical in the United States, and any kind of popular musical theater form in Japan. Therefore, the analysis is based almost exclusively on librettos, scores and lyrics sheets, audial and visual recordings of the performances, programs/playbills, press releases, theater journals, official publications related to the performances, online communities for musical fans, media exposure (programs on local television, social networks, and advertisements), interviews, and topological considerations including observations of actual performances.<sup>19</sup>

#### **1. 4. Goal of the Dissertation**

This dissertation does not offer a synthetic argument involving all three levels (Fig. 1), from inner-theatrical factors to micro- and macro-theatrical functions (For that purpose, an international and interdisciplinary working group should be formed). Rather, the dissertation focuses on the micro- and macro-theatrical functions of Wiener musicals and their developments in Vienna and Japan and details how they have changed over the past three decades, with consideration given to their relevant historical and sociocultural backgrounds. Here, localization in the globalization era indicates the *glocalization*<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> This dissertation is supported by JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number 18J14294, Grant-in-Aid for JSPS Research Fellow. To facilitate access to materials only available in Vienna, this research is supported by the University Libraries of Vienna, the Austrian Theater Museum, the Archive of the United Stages Vienna, and the University for Music and Performing Arts Vienna.

<sup>20</sup> The term “glocalization” follows Robertson’s (1995: 27) reference to “ongoing, calculated attempts to combine homogeneity with heterogeneity and universalism with particularism.” Notably,

process: today's popular musical theater is operated in transnational resonances under a persistent desire to adjust the performances not only in fluid and susceptible situations on site, but also intrinsically in a global framework modeled after the Broadway-style musical.

The following chapters will help the reader understand conventionally marginalized factors surrounding the performances in Vienna and Japan—though these factors crucially affected the (inter-)socialization of the performance, i.e., the process of production, distribution, reception in each site and (dis-)communication across borders—rather than tackling the performance itself. From this problem setting, some questions of the performance cannot be attributed to its autonomous nature but rather are concerned with actual situations, including not completely positive feedback on Wiener musicals in Vienna, the long-lasting popularity of Wiener musicals in Japan with audience's repeated visiting, and how (Wiener) musicals and their variations have survived in both sites until today.

## **1. 5. Structure of this Dissertation**

The dissertation is chronologically divided into two parts, with 2006 serving as the dividing line. The nine chapters are numbered serially.

*Chapter 1* introduces the background and research questions of this study. The musical became ubiquitous not only through worldwide Americanization since the 1950s but also considering operational and/or institutional frameworks of on-site popular musical theater within changing sociocultural frameworks in each performing site. The fluidity of this genre's characteristics appears Wiener musicals and their

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this concept came from the economic keyword for the Japanese global marketing strategies in the 1980s: developing and distributing a product or service worldwide, with accommodating it to the need in a local market.

developments since the 1990s in Vienna and Japan. By analyzing the leading theater organizations and environmental factors in each performing site, the dissertation provides the historiography of the Wiener musical phenomenon as part of the history of the musical—popular musical theater in the global era.

*Chapter 2* illustrates from the acceptance of the genre musical in post-war Vienna to the establishment of Wiener musicals. The Republic of Austria promoted the “City of Music” discourse as part of cultural politics, reenergizing “classical” music theater. Meanwhile, the municipal government utilized the musical—the American Allied Force introduced this genre to Allied-occupied Vienna—for economic reconstruction, resulting in the establishment of a parastatal company, United Stages Vienna. In the 1990s, the United Stages launched *Freudiana* (1990) and *Elisabeth* (1992), which were prototypes of Wiener musicals.

*Chapter 3* describes the development of Wiener musicals in Vienna from the mid-1990s to 2006. Following the international success of *Elisabeth*, the United Stages boosted global-oriented *Tanz der Vampire* (1997) and *Mozart!* (1999), aspiring to “Middle-European” music theater against “Anglo-Saxon” musicals. However, the increase in market competition against Germany and the United States led to a new strategy for appealing to younger audience with local and contemporary contexts, exemplified by *F@lco* (2000), *Wake Up* (2002), and *Barbarella* (2004).

*Chapter 4* deals with adaptations of Wiener musicals in the first foreign station, Japan. The evergreen success of two Japanese versions of *Elisabeth*—drastically adapted by the Takarazuka Revue (1996) and Tōhō Company (2000)—established a mutually beneficial relationship between Vienna and Japan. Furthermore, it directed the United Stages to promote the “flexible adaptation” strategy, in which each regional



theater can adapt all the stage elements and the Vienneseness in the respective local contexts of performing venues.

*Chapter 5* focuses on the structural reform of the United Stages in 2006 and its impact on Wiener musicals in Vienna. After *Rebecca* (2006) and *Rudolf* (2008), planned before the reform for de-Viennization, the United Stages was obliged to convince the patrons that its public benefit deserved the municipal budget. In parallel with the ongoing, often heated arguments regarding the genre musical, *Der Besuch der alten Dame* (2013) and *Don Camillo und Peppone* (2016) were featured by high contextuality, based on the drama and novel that are known by the limited audience in Austria and its neighborhoods, and not by international audience.

*Chapter 6* handles further developments of Wiener musicals in Japan since 2006, especially with the performer-oriented principle. The long performance history of Wiener musicals in Japan led to less drastic adaptation; meanwhile, each version required a sympathetic performance featuring the branding image of the specific performers. Therefore, the performances of *Marī Antowanetto* (2006), *Redī Besu* (2014), and *Ouke no Monshou* (2016), which were produced as Japanese original musicals collaborated with the authors of Wiener musicals, finally stood on the designed familiarity between the specific performers and the accustomed audiences for the domestic success.

*Chapter 7* examines re-Viennization of Wiener musicals, considering the United Stages' recent strategies. In order to demonstrate the Viennese locality in the sort of musical, the United Stages initially took a stylistic approach to incorporate the genre into European music theater for the international audience, as perfected in *Schikaneder* (2016). However, the actual audience group for the musical in Vienna basically

consisted of the Austrian people who are more familiar with the popular context in daily lives than the European music theater history. As a result, an interweaving of the genre with the Austrian contemporary musical context shaped the Vienneseness in implications and parodies thorough intertextual practices completed in the jukebox musical by and for the local people, *I am from Austria* (2017).

*Chapter 8* summarizes the analysis results of Wiener musicals and their developments in Vienna and Japan, observing two tendencies that emerged from the changes of the operational and/or institutional contexts with the correlation of culture-historical, political, and economic factors, as well as public attention in the respective two venues.

*Chapter 9* concludes the discussion regarding the Wiener musicals phenomenon. This is not only as a reaction of the musical as a global symbol but rather as developments of the intentionality “to be local” inherent in the genre musical, which branches out in the diversifying contexts of each performing site and transnationally communicates each other in the interconnected world in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

## **PART 1 BEFORE 2006: TOWARD SOMETHING GLOBAL**

### **2. ESTABLISHMENT OF WIENER MUSICALS IN VIENNA**

Wiener musicals were born and grew up out of the long acceptance and indigenization history of the genre musical in Vienna. The first encounter between the genre and allied-occupied Vienna occurred in 1946: Marcel Prawy (1911–2003), who came back to his hometown as a cultural officer of the United States Army, brought the US-American musical to this city (Bartosch 1997: 457).

The musical was gradually accepted and indigenized in Vienna, where federal and municipal cultural policies were crucially involved in theater activities and management, and when the city and nation worked out for economic restoration and development utilizing the tourist industry. Following the Austrian premiere of the Broadway musical *Kiss me Kate* in 1956 at the Volksoper Wien (hereafter “Volksoper”), musical hits were steadily imported and performed by the Volksoper, and since 1963, at the Theater an der Wien as well. Escalating the market size with intensifying concentration in the musical propelled the Theater an der Wien to the forefront as a Viennese theater for the musical. In order to offer large-scale musicals for international and national audiences, the United Stages Vienna was established in 1987. On that basis, the first Wiener musical—which was initially called an “Austrian musical”—was formed and launched in 1990.

The historical relationship between Vienna and the musical were discussed, especially in the local theater history (Bartosch 1991; Maslo 2000; Pelz 1995) and personal histories of producers and artistic directors (Brandtner 2012; Klingenbeck 1962; Weck 2010). In contrast, the political background was often associated with

substantial topics. Few studies focused on the structural system of the theater with public subsidies (Mader 1986) and Austrian identity politics in theater practice (Bruckmüller 1996; Nussbaumer 2007), especially the cases of federal theater (Moser 1998; Vieten 2016), while remaining the question about cultural-political orientation to the musical and its performances.<sup>21</sup>

This chapter sketches the historical and sociopolitical background of the United Stages Vienna (Chapter 2.1) and examines two Wiener musicals in the early 1990s that reinterpreted and redefined the genre musical as to be recognized as “Austrian” (Chapter 2.2).

## **2. 1. Before 1990: The Situation of Musical Theater in Post-War Vienna**

### **2. 1. 1. Rebuilding the “City of Music”**

Musical theater played an important role in reconstructing the damaged state of Austria and regaining the power of “cultural nation.” This process started with the occupation of the Allied Forces (1945–1955) before Austria was accorded full independence with an enactment of the Constitutional Law on the Neutrality of Austria on October 26, 1955.<sup>22</sup> The first federal chancellor, Leopold Figl (the Austrian People’s Party, in office: 1945–1953), clarified the concept in a government statement issued in 1945:

Our new Austria is a small nation, but it stays loyal to that great tradition, which meant above all a cultural tradition, as a bulwark of peace in the center of

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<sup>21</sup> A survey written in Japanese by Tanaka (2017b; 2017c) discussed the acceptance history of the musical in Vienna and its influence on the establishment of Wiener musicals.

<sup>22</sup> The National Day for October 26 has been a national holiday since 1967. Among all the special events in Vienna, the Wiener Sicherheitsfest (Viennese Safety Festival) since 2006 is one of the largest. The festival offers complementary openair concerts, including the special musical performance by the United Stages Vienna (see also Chapter 5.2.2.1 and 7).

Europe (Gottschlich et al. 1989: 100).

Figl's announcement above underlines cultural continuance from the Habsburg Empire to post-war Austria, instead of the link to the annexation of Austria into Germany under the National Socialism (1933–1943); indeed, Austrian identity politics were formed and have been maintained by this “cultural tradition,” which had been invented in the shift in 1918—from the Habsburg Monarchy to the First Republic—and was re-authorized for the current Second Republic.

With this understanding, a considerable amount of the cultural budget has been affirmed until today, as the former minister for education and art, Rudolf Scholten (in office: 1990–1994), clearly stated in the annual art report of 1992:

Because Austria [...] rightly claims to be a cultural nation of the first order, and to derive a good portion of [national] identity from the achievements of the contemporary artists as well as the preservation of the cultural heritage of our land, the support for art and culture must be provided with a certain [...] priority (BUKK 1992: I).

Regarding the scene of cultural practices, Vienna has been the vital ground of Austrian identity politics, especially in the post-war era. At that time, the federal government under the leadership of the People's Party encouraged “cultural reconstruction” within the nation, aiming to demonstrate the national strength to those outside the nation and promote Austria as an attractive destination for tourism.<sup>23</sup> For all

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<sup>23</sup> For these purposes, the Österreichische Fremdenverkehrswerbung (Austrian Tourist Advertising) was founded in 1955. It was renamed Österreich Werbung (Austrian Advertising) in 1989.

these purposes, then, the resurrection of the “City of Music”—the image promoted in the First and Second Republic—was undertaken (Nußbaumer 2007: 10). For example, the Vienna Philharmonic and the federal theaters (the State Opera and Burgtheater) restarted their concerts and performances as early as 1945. Six years later, the annual cultural festival *Wiener Festwochen* (Viennese Festival Weeks) also resumed. As the primary venues were not available due to damage incurred during the war, the cultural events were held in alternative accommodations such as the Volksoper, the Theater an der Wien, and the Ronacher. These non-federal, large-scale theaters were the key players in reproducing the cultural identity of Austria between 1945 and 1955—until the restored federal theaters reopened.

### **2. 1. 2. The Role of the Volksoper Wien and the Theater an der Wien**

At the reopening of the federal theaters in 1955, their former temporal venues were forced to newly establish their own institutional policies and business strategies. The Volksoper and the Theater an der Wien were reorganized with new missions, whereas the Ronacher and the Raimund Theater (both of which came under the operation of the United States Vienna in 1987) returned to continue with the pre-war strategy. The traditional value of the Volksoper was reaffirmed—as the theater initially established for the fiftieth anniversary of the reign of Franz Joseph I—and became one of the federal theaters. By contrast, the Theater an der Wien became a municipal property in 1960, instead of demolition, though it entered commercial use.

In 1962, the Theater an der Wien—reopened as the Betriebs-Ges.m.b.H (broadly equivalent to the limited operating company)—was limited to three functions: (1) as a venue for the *Wiener Festwochen*, (2) as a venue for the performances of “Summer

Operetta,” and (3) as a rentable venue for guest performances, concerts, and events (Klingenbeck 1963: 72–74).<sup>24</sup> Two co-managers, one for artistic decision and the other for administration, had no discretion to plan an original production without the approval of the supervisory board in advance. Instead, the first artistic director, Fritz Klingenbeck (1904–1990, in office: 1962–1965), realized guest performances of two musicals, *My Fair Lady* and *West Side Story*, to improve the financial health of the theater.

Both the Volksoper and the Theater an der Wien played an introductory role for the musical in Vienna by bringing this genre onto the stage before the other Austrian theaters staged such productions,<sup>25</sup> though these two theaters took different paths.

The performances of the musical in the Volksoper was suspended by Ernst Marboe’s sudden death in 1957.<sup>26</sup> This chef of the Austrian Federal Theater Administration was an early promoter of the musical against what the municipal government intended at that time: an emphasis on high culture and a de-emphasis on imported culture. For example, the local councilor and the former executive city councilor for culture and national education, Viktor Matejka (in office: 1945–1959), states in his emergency motion as follows:

The Council of Vienna City considers it necessary to address itself in an energetic and purposeful action against the [...] corrupt phenomenon of Americanized culture, to call upon the people for the fight against it, and so, to reinforce the reputation of Vienna City as a cultural city of Europe.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The third principle was unrealistic because the theater was not suitable for guest performances due to the too expensive rental fee.

<sup>25</sup> The Kosmos-Theater (“Cosmos-Theater” after 1954) in Vienna was an exception: It offered special omnibus shows to introduce American culture to Viennese people (see also Brandner 2012).

<sup>26</sup> The Volksoper resumed offering the musical again since *Porgy and Bess* (1965).

<sup>27</sup> Dringlichkeitsantrag der Gemeinderäte Dr. Viktor Matejka und Genossen, Sitzung des

Considering the political trend against foreign—especially US-American—culture, and without the authoritative promoter, the Volksoper did not concentrate on the musical but rather positioned the genre as part of its repertoire.<sup>28</sup>

Conversely, the Theater an der Wien, whose role in cultural politics was not so important (as indicated by less public support for maintaining the theaters) pushed ahead with the musical, and this led to the early signs of developing and localizing the musical on site.

### **2. 1. 3. Optimizing Cultural Management**

The cultural politics during the federal government of the Socialist Party (1970–1983) were initially driven by “artistic freedom” and later by liberalization under the economic decline triggered by the first oil crisis in 1973.

The Viennese municipal government also pursued efficient distribution of the cultural budget by combining the perspectives of public and private economies. Under these circumstances, the Wiener Allgemeine Beteiligungs- und Verwaltungsgesellschaft m.b.H. (Viennese General Investment and Management Company; since 1984 as Wiener Holding) was founded in 1974 to collectively invest and manage 31 companies, more than 50% of whose stocks were shared by the city. The Theater an der Wien was no exception.

Under the official investor, the Theater an der Wien was oriented to optimize

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Gemeinderates der Stadt Wien, March 7, 1952, MAbt. 350 (=MA7), A62-2, WSTLA. The motion was rejected.

<sup>28</sup> The Volksoper received criticism that the musical, or American entertainment, was not suitable for the federal theater, which was recognized as a valuable cultural institution of Austria, before and after the performances took place (*Arbeiter Zeitung*, October 23, 1954; *Neues Österreich*, November 9, 1954; *Wiener Zeitung*, November 13, 1954).



theater management, utilizing the lower budget while seeking to attract maximum audiences. Concretely, the municipal government required the theater to supply annually two new in-house productions made by local staffs and performers, though the theater did not have resident actors or an orchestra at that time.

In fact, the fresh, globally popular genre musical was the best solution to meet these criteria. The artistic director Rolf Kutschera (1916–2012, in office: 1965–1982) brought 26 musicals to the stage in his direction period: one guest performance, nine productions made with the creators from Broadway, ten productions that celebrated the German-speaking premiere, and four brand new productions. He created a direct route to import hit musicals from Broadway<sup>29</sup> to Vienna without any intermediary, which meant that Vienna could smoothly obtain the necessary license while keeping production costs to a minimum.

Kutschera produced four original musicals. *Polterabend* (The Eve of the Wedding, 1967) was written by the Viennese kabarettist, Georg Kreisler. *Helden, Helden* (Heroes, Heroes, 1972) was based on George Bernard Shaw's *Arms and the Man* and was performed with the music by the Austrian popular composer, Udo Jürgens, not only in Vienna but in Hamburg (Germany) and Luzern (Switzerland).<sup>30</sup> *Das Glas Wasser oder Barock und Roll* (A Glass of Water or Barock and Roll, 1977) was a stage adaptation from Helmut Käutner's German musical-styled film (1960). *Die Gräfin vom Naschmarkt* (The Countess of Naschmarkt, 1978) featured the stereotype of the most popular Viennese marketer during the inter-war era, starred by the famous stage/film actress Marika Röck. This musical was broadcast in German-speaking countries.

Moreover, Kutschera provided original stagings for individual translated

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<sup>29</sup> Also, several musicals were imported from London, Rome, and Paris.

<sup>30</sup> See also Chapter 7 for the recontextualization effect of *Helden, Helden* with respect to the de-anglicization of pop music in Austria.

musicals, which led to less dependency on the importer and represented a core concept for localizing the musical in Vienna. Notably, he already addressed a foresighted view that the musical would have the potential to be flavored with the Viennese flair, much as the French operetta had turned into the well-known Viennese operetta (Kutschera 12/1983: 17).

As a result, the musical production became fully indigenized in Vienna by 1980, in terms of human resources (producer, stage crews, and performers) and with translation and adaptation. Differing from the repertoire system of public theater in German-speaking countries, where the resident ensemble offers various productions in daily rotation, the running system at the Theater an der Wien followed the *en suite* or *stagione* system: one production is intensively performed during two or three months.<sup>31</sup> Additionally, the casting consisted of temporarily employed principals and the resident chorus and ballet group.

Although the Theater an der Wien regularly offered the musicals in comparatively good quality in Continental Europe,<sup>32</sup> they were perceived as “imperfect” in comparison with the sophistication and excellence of Broadway (Tolar 1991: 258). Electronic mass media and more convenient transportation systems brought Viennese productions into global competition. In order to attain the international quality—equivalent to the performances on Broadway and the West End—neither the ensemble nor production could not be solely home-grown. Regarding performers, the

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<sup>31</sup> Usually, musical theaters in the *en suite* system in English-speaking countries extend the season when it is very successful (known as the long-run system). The Theater an der Wien did not adopt this approach until the 1980s, especially since the theater was not available while the Festwochen and Summer Operetta were held.

<sup>32</sup> For example, *Wie man was wird im Leben, ohne sich anzustrengen* (How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying, 1965) was described as “equivalent to Broadway standard” (*Das internationale Podium*, December 23, 1965). Viennese journalists were not welcoming, but *Krone Zeitung* (December 23, 1965) stated “if you want to see the performance of this genre in a high quality here, the Theater an der Wien is infallible.”

training system in Vienna was not directed toward the musical but focused on individual genres; the casting had to be optimized for each production, with the most competitive international performers.<sup>33</sup> Kutscher's original musicals succeeded in the German-speaking countries but not in the international market since they tackled the material and musical style that were familiar in Austria and its neighborhood.

#### **2. 1. 4. Establishment of the United Stages Vienna**

In the 1980s, the international market was under the supremacy of *megamusicals*: big-budget, massively publicized, strictly produced, scenographically and technologically complex musicals featuring epic, sentimental narratives, pop-influenced musicality, and sung texts, and typically originating on Broadway or the West End (Allain/Harvie 2014: 206).

Since the globalization of Andrew Lloyd Webber's *Cats* (London 1981), the megamusicals have been copied in franchise productions worldwide, including Vienna. The astonishingly long run of the Viennese version of *Cats* (1983–1989) revealed the need for something contemporary and fashionable among the younger audiences in Vienna, instead of operetta, Singspiel, and early musical works (Bömh/Weck 1982: 7). In order to eliminate the supply shortage, a solid financial and operative basis for the musical was required.

For that reason, the United Stages Vienna was established in 1987 to jointly operate three theaters: the Theater an der Wien, the Ronacher, and the Raimund Theater. The co-manager roles were occupied by the former directors of the Theater an der Wien: Peter Weck as an artistic director (b. 1930, in office altogether: 1981–1992), and Franz

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<sup>33</sup> This approach was contrast to the system of the Volksoper, which employs a resident ensemble that consists of opera and operetta singers as well as ballet dancers (see also Werner 2012).

Häußler as a business director (1936–2018, in office altogether: 1969–2008).

The first goal of the United Stages was to improve the financial health of these “historically valuable” theaters by three measures: (1) an increase in self-coverage ratio, (2) the status improvement of Vienna City as the third “musical metropole” after Broadway and the West End, and (3) reinforcement of in-house productions and international exports (Rechnungshof 2001: 29).

First of all, Weck reformed the running and employment systems. The long-run system was adopted for both local and international<sup>34</sup> audiences, even though the performances had to be paused during the Wiener Festwochen and Summer Operetta. The international performers with professional skills for the musical were employed pro production not only to minimize the personnel cost but because the existing local ensemble was not qualified for Weck’s goals.<sup>35</sup> Second, Weck established the Tanz-Studio Theater an der Wien (Dance Studio Theater an der Wien) in 1984 to train performers specialized in the musical on site.

The import of the megamusical had positive effects to Vienna during the 1980s, especially for tourism and local economies. Under Weck’s direction, the Theater an der Wien kept a high occupancy rate—most notably, the first season of *Cats* (1983/84) had a record rate of 99.60% (Pelz 1995: 84). Furthermore, in 1985, the theater was ranked fourth place among all the theaters in Vienna in terms of total audience attendance, overtaking the Volksoper (Österreichischer Statistisches Zentralamt 1985: 13).

However, cultural journalists and theatergoers maintained a negative reception to

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<sup>34</sup> For that purpose, the United Stages cooperated with the Österreichische Fremdenverkehrswerbung.

<sup>35</sup> For that reason, contracts with thirty artists in the chorus, ballet, and orchestra were not renewed in 1985 (Mader 1986: 170–172). For new performers who were specialized in the musical but not were acquainted with the German language, a phonetic trainer was employed for correct pronunciation (Tolar 1991: 260).

the popularization of the Theater an der Wien. To begin with, it was still a dominant view that the theater with the best acoustics ought to be utilized for opera<sup>36</sup> and not to be “occupied” with the translated musical’s long run (Lang 2001: 147–150). This stereotyping certainly emerged from the long-standing cultural divide between *Ernst* (lit. “serious”; elite culture) and *Unterhaltung* (lit. “entertainment”; popular, commercial culture) in German-speaking countries (cf. Kinsky-Weinfurter 2009). In such a framework, the musical was classified into the entertainment (see also Chapter 5.2.3), but it was also reinforced under the Austrian cultural politics favoring traditional, elite cultures. This mindset has been always the toughest barrier facing the musical in Vienna, even after Wiener musicals were launched from Vienna to the international market.

## **2. 2. The First Half of the 1990s: Establishment of Wiener Musical**

In the 1990s, the United Stages launched two German-speaking, megamusical-style productions from the Theater an der Wien: *Freudiana* (1990) and *Elisabeth* (1992). This first sequence led to re-defining the conventional framework of the musical in Vienna and steered the United Stages’ strategy.

### **2. 2. 1. The Attempt to Launch a Megamusical in Vienna: *Freudiana* (1990)**

*Freudiana* was a musical about Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) and his field of psychoanalysis, as well as his last footsteps as he moved from Vienna toward London. However, instead of Freud, the protagonist was a young US-American man who was sightseeing in the Freud Museum London.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Back-Vega (2008: 122) pointed out that influential Viennese journalists at that time were familiar with opera performances, including the ones held at the Theater an der Wien until 1955, instead of the damaged Vienna State Opera.

<sup>37</sup> For detailed discussion on the stage elements in *Freudiana*, see also Tanaka (2016).

The purpose was clear: to “break the wave of Andrew Lloyd Webber with this original Austrian work” (*Die Zeit*, December 28, 1990). In order to “conquer not only the stages in Europe but also Broadway” (*Nürnberger Nachrichten*, July 18, 1992), an international creative team was formed with British and Austrian artists and entrepreneurs: Eric Woolfson (concept and music), Alan Parsons (music), Lida Winiewicz (text and translation), Brian Brolly (co-production), and Peter Weck (direction and co-production). The production costs amounted to 350 million marks, and more than half came from the municipal budget (*Der Spiegel* 1990: 154).

*Freudiana* should have been the first Viennese megamusical to resonate with mass audiences and intellectuals inside and outside Vienna, with the goal being to “reach out [...] in an entertaining way and [...] provoke some thought about themselves” (*The Independent*, December 2, 1990). Most scenes were not about solving but rather portraying the protagonist’s absurd dream generated by his unconscious Oedipus complex and the fragments of Freud’s footsteps. To realize this concept, a genre-crossing stage was created through the combined efforts of Hans Schavernoch (stage set), who was hailed from the world of opera, Heinz Spoerli (choreography), who worked in contemporary ballet, and Annette Beaufays (costume), whose experience was known in the television and theater. The casting also consisted of performers from the fields of spoken theater, opera, operetta, and musicals. Considering individual skills, singers (including actors) and dancers played different roles in the performance.

Despite the best efforts of those involved, along with promotional material that included massive advertisements inside and outside Vienna, *Freudiana* transpired to be an unexportable flop. The external reason arose from instability in world politics under the influence of the Gulf War (1990–1991) and the Yugoslav Wars (1991–2001).

However, there was also a crucial gap between expectations and what was presented. The critics in German-speaking countries, especially in Vienna, described *Freudiana* as “too abstruse and esoteric for the popular taste” (*Die Zeit*, op. cit.) except for the satisfying visual spectacle. This viewpoint was concerned with individual evaluation criteria for the musical and the other genres, especially in comparison with opera—a favorite of the Viennese cultural journalists.<sup>38</sup> By contrast, journalists in the United Kingdom understood it not as a megamusical for the global market but rather as a resolutely local production (*The Times*, December 31, 1990).

### 2. 2. 2. An Austrian “Exportable” Musical: *Elisabeth* (1992)

In 1992, Peter Weck launched *Elisabeth* as his last production with a different approach but intended for the same purpose as *Freudiana*. This musical featured not only the Lloyd-Webberish megamusical style but also “resolutely European material”<sup>39</sup>—concerning the life of the Empress Elisabeth of Austria-Hungary (1837–1898)—and the interpretation of musical as *Musikdrama* or opera as a fine art.<sup>40</sup>

*Elisabeth* was the first musical created by Michael Kunze (b. 1943)<sup>41</sup> and Sylvester Levay (b. 1945)<sup>42</sup>—an essential pair for Wiener musicals and their developments in Vienna and Japan. The performance was remarkable in two points. On the one hand, it was an intermedial<sup>43</sup> production with rich connotations referring to Austrian and European literature, as well as modern history. The medieval European

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<sup>38</sup> This viewpoint echoes Back-Vega 2008: 122; Kräft/Knopf 2002: 16; and Rommel 2007: 187–189.

<sup>39</sup> Excerpted from a statement by Michael Kunze (Blickpunkt 2013: 4).

<sup>40</sup> For a detailed discussion on narratology and performance in *Elisabeth*, see also Tanaka (2015).

<sup>41</sup> Kunze was a legal historian and known for his lyrics to German-speaking pop music, as well as his German translations of English-language musicals.

<sup>42</sup> Levay worked in the field of pop music (including co-creations with Kunze) and Hollywood film.

<sup>43</sup> Here, “intermedial” refers to Fischer-Lichte’s theatrical method, whereby a performance is associated with previous work(s) in other types of media (Fischer-Lichte 2009: 209–219).

motif of “Totentanz” (dance of death) was used for the repeated song “Alle tanzten mit dem Tod” (All of them danced with death). The song “Die fröhliche Apokalypse” (The merry apocalypse, Act 1, Scene 10) originally came from the Austrian author Hermann Broch (1886–1951). The demonstration in the late nineteenth century developed into “the vision of a fascistic march” in Act 2, Scene 10 (Kunze and Levay 1996: 70). Additionally, the storyteller Luigi Lucheni (1873–1910), the dead assassin of Elisabeth, made sarcastic comments about the scenes in the performance, just as Che did in the musical *Evita*.<sup>44</sup>

On the other hand, the main story was almost “monster-kitsch” (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, September 5, 1992) by following and betraying the popular images of historical figures that have been repeatedly represented in films, other musical theater, and publications.<sup>45</sup> It was also unique a male actor performed the role of Death (*der Tod*)—symbolizing the end of the Habsburg Monarchy and Elisabeth’s longing for death, or her alter ego (the noun “death” takes the masculine gender in German language). A love story between Elisabeth and Death was set at the center, as if there were a pair of “a very modern woman” (Blickpunkt 2013: 4) and “an-androgynous-pop-star-like” figure<sup>46</sup> (Kunze & Levay 1996: 11), while the downfall of the monarchy was ultimately presented as “a sinking ship” in Act 2, Scene 14. Together with the double-sided text,

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<sup>44</sup> Kunze recognized the influence of *Evita* on *Elisabeth* (Lindner 2005: 264).

<sup>45</sup> Before her profile was revised by the historian Brigitte Hamann in the 1970s, Elisabeth had been often mythicized. A Singspiel, *Sissy*—named after Elisabeth’s nickname—was composed by Fritz Kreisler and written by Ernst and Hubert Marischka at the Theater an der Wien in 1932. In German-speaking countries, Elisabeth was known from the *Sissi* trilogy films (1955–1957) directed by Ernst Marischka. *Sissi* belong to Heimatfilm (homeland-film): a film genre that was popular between the 1950s and 1960s in Austria. This series is characterized by a sentimental love story that occurred in the Habsburg Monarchy, which exaggerated the “good old days.” The trilogy was broadcast annually as a television program at Christmastime in Germany and Austria until the mid-2010s. Peter Weck starred as Archduke Karl Ludwig in these films.

<sup>46</sup> Kunze modeled Death after the international popstar David Bowie, instead of using Heinrich Heine, Elisabeth’s favorite poet (according to an interview with Kunze and Levay, the *Semmel-Concerts*’ Facebook post entitled “Elisabeth das Musical” on February 20, 2016, <https://www.facebook.com/elisabethdasmusical/videos/10153481320812309/>, accessed on May 19, 2019).



Levay composed the music, adopting leitmotifs for the leading roles and characterizing them with various musical styles. It consisted of 38 pieces—more than double the amount in *Freudiana*.

It is striking that Harry Kupfer (1935–2019) took the role of director. He was the chief director of the Komische Oper Berlin (in office: 1981–2002) and was known for his works in the Bayreuth Festival. Weck expected Kupfer’s direction “to ‘ennoble’ the musical that is often regarded as less artistic.”<sup>47</sup> It could have been cynical had this opera director simply parodied the rock opera (another name given Lloyd Webber’s musicals). However, together with the satiric and surrealistic stage design by Hans Schavernoch, Kupfer tailored the performance not simply to be kitsch or a Ruritanian costume play but a piece of social criticism against the “Habsburg myth” (Magris 1963) and the fiction of a healthy nation in the past and present.

In contrast to the interdisciplinary nature of the creative team, the casting attached importance to the competence needed for the musical. All the performers had experience of appearing in musicals except for Else Ludwig as Archduchess Sophie. Both Austrian and non-Austrian performers were casted, including Nicole Sieger (the understudy to Elisabeth) and the other four performers who were trained at the Tanz-Studio Theater an der Wien.

Distinguished from *Freudiana* about the story took place in London, the locality was highlighted by the scenes of *Elisabeth*, taking place in real historical sites in Vienna, such as Hofburg (Act 1, Scene 3) or the Schönbrunn Palace (Act 1, Scene 7). In cooperation with the tourist board, advertisements for Austrian Airlines and the actual exhibition on Elisabeth<sup>48</sup> were printed in the program. Furthermore, a member of

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<sup>47</sup> This approach was articulated by Peter Weck in the program of *Elisabeth* (as of 1992).

<sup>48</sup> Titled *Schönheit für die Ewigkeit* (Beauty for Eternity), it was exhibited in Hermesvilla, Hofburg,

Wiener Sängerknaben (the Vienna Boys' Choir)—the worldwide influential poster boys for Vienna—appeared in the performance.

The performance was criticized by the journalists but was enthusiastically welcomed by the audience. On the one hand, cultural journalists criticized *Elisabeth* as “not a great successful musical” (*Kronen Zeitung*, September 4, 1992), and even as a “Schmarrn” (a vernacular expression in Vienna for something nonsense, *Die Presse*, September 5, 1992; *Wiener Zeitung*, September 5, 1992). Some critics in Germany understood the plot as “social-critical” (*Nürnberger Nachrichten*, September 5, 1992) but found fault with the music as “very cheap [...] worn-out slushy songs” (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 5/6, 1992). On the other hand, the performing season was extended to seven years, surpassing the six-year-long run of *Cats* in Vienna. Moreover, *Elisabeth* succeeded in an international export: first to Japan in 1996 (see also Chapter 4.1) and soon after to Hungary. Until 2019, *Elisabeth* has been the most successful musical of the United Stages proven by the most various performing countries, including the Netherlands (1999), Sweden (1999), Germany (2001), Italy (2004), Finland (2005), Switzerland (2006), Belgium (2009), South Korea (2012), and China (2014).

### **2. 2. 3. Localization for Export**

#### **2. 2. 3. 1. Redefinition of the Genre Musical**

*Elisabeth* was required to meet the international criteria of the musical, but also be distinguished from the Broadway and West End musicals by highlighting the Viennese locality. In the program of *Elisabeth*, Weck defined the US-American and English

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and the Schönbrunn Palace from February 4, 1998 to February 16, 1999.

musicals as going “from originality, leaving out nationality, to quality” (VBW 1992).<sup>49</sup> In other words, the conventional musicals established the global standard of the performance in high quality, but, in the process of internationalization, they lost their original nationality.<sup>50</sup>

According to Weck’s concept, the musical would consist of “dance, revue, singing or spectacle with individual focus ever,” and “must to go straight into the ears, be visually opulent, and thrill [the audience] by the plot”; that is, the musical is a hybrid form of various elements because “everything—every theme, every musical form—is allowed in musical” (ibid.). Furthermore, the musical could become “ennobled” in Austria and let “even the Waltz dream [...] recount about something abyssal in the history and mentality of this nation, rather than speak to its heart and identification” (ibid.). Here, “the Waltz dream” is associated with Viennese operetta, which offered the local “heart and identification” (ibid.); namely, nostalgia for the good old Vienna in the monarchy.

*Freudiana* and *Elisabeth* emerged from this concept of the “Austrian musical”; in short, a theatrical work in which not only audiovisual spectacle and a site-specific theme co-exist, but its focus can go back and forth between them. Weck thought that this genre would be valuable and progressive in a literal sense, depicting current social problems in an interesting way (Pelz 1995: 80). It did not solely emerge from the adaptation of Lloyd Webber’s works, such as *Jesus Christ Superstar* (Broadway 1971; Vienna 1981) or *Evita* (West End 1978; Vienna 1981), but also referred to theatrical

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<sup>49</sup> This expression is a variation on Franz Grillparzer’s (1960: 500) famous idiom: “the way of new education goes from humanity through nationality to brutality.”

<sup>50</sup> The stereotypical image of the “American musical” in Vienna was a compound of the first impression of American propaganda in the 1950s and the boom of megamusical in the 1980s, even though many megamusicals were made in the United Kingdom and other places.

experiments in Berlin.<sup>51</sup>

Additionally, the multipolarization of the musical market by the second metropole West End since the 1980s can be counted as an indirect factor. Savran (2017: 26–27) indicated the international impact of “the newly deterritorialization Broadway”:

The increasing economic clout of transnational entertainment conglomerates like Disney and the development of Broadway musical-like product in many parts of the world has rendered the most distinctively U.S.-American form of theatre increasingly mobile. The branding of a newly deterritorialized Broadway is the result of [...] the rise [...] of a generation of producers, writers, and directors [...] who disseminate locally-produced, U.S.-style musical entertainment.

From this perspective, Weck’s doubt on an “Austrian musical” becomes clear. On the first page of the program for *Elisabeth*, Weck defines this English phrase:

An Austrian Musical! – ein österreichisches Musical? – Does it really exist? Even “musical” is already untranslatable [and] not a German or Austrian concept (VBW 1992).

In other words, the “Austrian musical” contained split concepts: it was built on the US-American—it can be British too, as Weck experienced—theater form. However, its

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<sup>51</sup> It is not irrelevant that Weck worked at the Theater am Kurfürstendamm (Berlin) in his early career as an actor. The clue from Berlin to Wiener musicals was seen not only in Kupfer’s direction for *Elisabeth* but also in the inspiration of *Freudiana* drawn from *Ghetto* (by the Freie Volksbühne Berlin in cooperation with the Deutsche Schauspielhaus Hamburg, 1984). In this regard, Ulrich Tukur played a leading role in both *Ghetto* and *Freudiana*. Moreover, *Ghetto*’s playwright, Joshua Sobol, wrote the musical *F@lco* (Vienna 2000, see also Chapter 3.2.3.1).

“untranslatable[ness]” required to be reframed into the German phrase: “österreichisches Musical.”

It is remarkable that Weck’s practice unintentionally corresponded to Scott McMillin’s theory that the musical is the result not of “integration” but of “coherence [...] [in which] different elements [hold] simultaneously together without losing their differences” (McMillin 2006: 73). From this viewpoint, “the musical is doubly theatrical, ready to travesty any attempt to think of it as one thing” by “invasions of subtext [which] turn hidden motives into song and dance” (id.: 199–200). Referring to Brecht’s anti-Aristotelian or estrangement effect, the musical would enable a switching between a cathartic or empathetic plot and anti-cathartic elements. An “Austrian musical” was an attempt to not only localize the global megamusical but reinterpret and redefine the genre itself.

#### **2. 2. 3. 2. From Indigenization to Localization**

From the post-war era to the first half of the 1990s, the genre musical was brought about indigenization with the operational and systematic changes at the theaters in Vienna, and on that basis, the musical was capable to try a new style of combining the globally fashionable musical style and the local taste. Notably, the Viennese taste in the musical emerged not only from the local need against the mainstream of Broadway and West End musicals, but rather, it was initially invented for the purpose of entering global business, utilizing the tourist-oriented external image with a scent of local-oriented sarcastic or self-mockery flavor—which was encoded and hid in intertextuality, and since the export began, was transformed by the encounter with the other locales.

### 3. DEVELOPMENT OF WIENER MUSICALS IN VIENNA

The first international—i.e. extra-European—success of *Elisabeth* encouraged the United Stages to develop their strategies of producing and widely distributing exportable musicals inside and outside Vienna. Encountering and coping with requirements and limitations on the international, European, and domestic levels, Wiener musicals from the mid-1990s to 2006 were swaying between two different purposes: (1) re-interpreting and re-positioning the musical as part of Continental European musical theater with the internationally recognizable medieuropean taste—as its “ancestors,” the Viennese operetta, once displayed over the monarchy—for the international market and (2) incorporating the completely local and contemporary context into the musical for younger audiences in Continental Europe. Furthermore, economic and political situations reset the United Stages into the social frame, where a new artistic director Rudolf (“Rudi”) Klausnitzer (b. 1948, in office: 1992–2003) had to rationalize their activities in public.

The United Stages’ production and distribution for the individual purposes and markets were measured and analyzed with focuses on their appearance in the mass media (Maslo 2000), comparison to German musical companies (Schmittner 2005), dramatic quality (Müller/Stangl 2007), and musical quality of each production with its critique (Gruber 2010).

Synthesizing the previous discussion, this chapter tackles how Wiener musicals were varying from 1997 to 2006, along with changing social circumstances in Vienna and managing increasing market competition against Germany and the United States. The following subsections analyze two productions in the late 1990s from their stylistic and strategical tendency following *Elisabeth* (Chapter 3.1), describe structural changes

and their problems from the late 1990s to the beginning of the 2000s (Chapter 3.2.1/3.2.2), and figure out how experimental productions and their results were concerned with the social background in the early 2000s (Chapter 3.2.3/3.2.4).

### **3. 1. The Second Half of the 1990s: Musicals as “Wien Products”**

#### **3. 1. 1. Less Subvention, More International**

The financial circumstances of the United Stages were on track in the mid-1990s, the first half of the direction of Rudi Klausnitzer. The primary duty of this journalist and media manager in Austria and Germany—who was therefore criticized as “the then-ORF [=Austrian Broadcasting Corporation] man [who] has no theater experience” (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, July 16, 1992)—was to take over *Elisabeth* and keep running it until 1997.

In 1992, Klausnitzer arrived at the United Stages under the record-breaking positive effect of *Elisabeth*. In 1993, the self-covering ratio grew beyond the previous average (ca. 50%) and reached 58.54%. This number was higher than that of other musical theaters with the same capacity in German-speaking countries (e.g. 32.7% of the Theater des Westens in Berlin)<sup>52</sup> and Austrian federal theaters (under 40% in the 2000s). Furthermore, the United Stages officially announced in a press conference held on February 16, 1994, that they succeeded in running without loss compensation.

The relation between the United Stages and municipal cultural politics stood not only by the annual municipal budget but by identity of interests. The executive city councilor for cultural affairs, Ernst Marboe (in office: 1996–2001), encouraged to increase the economic effect of arts and cultures in Vienna, especially the creative

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<sup>52</sup> The United Stages emphasized the ratio in comparison to the Theater des Westens in a press conference on February 16, 1994. The theater had a structure similar to that of the United Stages until 2002.

industry at that time (APA-OTS, October 9, 2000). In this regard, the Vienna Chamber of Commerce and Industry founded *Wien Products* (Vienna products) in 1995 to provide a platform for the export activities of Viennese companies and cultural institutions. The United Stages entered into a partnership with them in 1997.<sup>53</sup> Klausnitzer mentioned the term “Wien Products” in the second edition of *Elisabeth’s* program in 1997:

In Vienna, you can always watch at least one of the great musicals just the same as in London and New York [...] but unique developments, too, [...] so-called “Austrian musicals,” [...] genuine “Wien Products,” [...] [which label stands] next to twenty icons of Viennese living culture such as Sacher or Lobmeyer (VBW 1997).

Being one of the “Wien Products” was meant to enable the United Stages to recognize themselves as a cultural representative—“a first-class touristic factor” (ibid.)—of Vienna City.

Against this background, the United Stages launched two musicals for the international market in the second half of the 1990s: *Tanz der Vampire* (*Dance of Vampire*, 1997) and *Mozart!* (1999).

### **3. 1. 2. The Cult Musical (Not) for Broadway: *Tanz der Vampire* (1997)**

*Tanz der Vampire* was based on Roman Polanski’s comedy-horror film, *The Dance of Vampire* (1967). In 1987, Andrew Braunsberg, the former co-producer of Polanski, proposed Weck to develop a musical from this film (VBW 2009). After Weck’s

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<sup>53</sup> According to the municipal correspondence of February 28, 1997.



retirement, Klausnitzer took over the project and assembled an international creative team with artists from different fields: Polanski (direction and text), Michael Kunze (text and translation), and Jim Steinman (music). Later, William Dudley<sup>54</sup> (stage design) and Sue Blane<sup>55</sup> (costume and mask) joined the team.

The musical was full of parodies in visual, audial, and contextual dimensions. Originally, Polanski's film itself had a parodic nature: The contexts included Terence Fisher's serial vampire films since *Dracula* (1958) and the musical *Fiddler on the Roof* (1964)<sup>56</sup> (Fonseca 2011; Hallenbeck 2009: 81–86). The musical *Tanz der Vampire* followed the tragicomic nature of the film version while emphasizing a typical triangular romantic relationship among Alfred (a young male assistant researcher), Sara (a young peasant girl), and Graf Krolock (a court vampire). Meanwhile, the performance never forgot rationalizing and intellectualizing itself. The vampires represented the human instinct of mutual exploitation, which had been boosted since the modern era. The academics were not competent to resolve the social problems. Rather, they took a comic role that was characterized by “patter songs,” i.e. songs in fast tempo with tongue-twisting rhyming text, such as those found in Gilbert and Sullivan's comic operas.

Various elements were taken from pop music: Steinman brought the pieces from his previous compositions in the field of pop music and thoroughly rearranged them with Kunze's new lyrics (see Table 1). Furthermore, Steinman referenced some contemporary hit songs visually and audially: from David Bowie's *Moonage Daydream*

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<sup>54</sup> Dudley is a British stage designer of spoken theater and opera. He has been recognized with seven Olivier awards and further seven nominations. In 2015, he won the Molière Award for Visual Creation for *Tanz der Vampire* in Paris.

<sup>55</sup> Blane is known for her costume design for the musical *Rocky Horror Show* (London 1973; film 1975) and other theatrical works in London.

<sup>56</sup> The choreography of the film's climactic scene was an arrangement from *Fiddler on the Roof* by Tutte Lemkow.

(1972) to Michael Jackson's *Thriller* (1982). The audial structure was a successor to Singspiel and operetta that reuse existing songs. *Tanz der Vampire* was a forerunner of the jukebox musical that set an international trend since 2000 (see also Chapter 7).

Table 1. The Song Numbers of *Tanz der Vampire* (1997) with the Year of Release

	Song title in <i>Tanz der Vampire</i> [English]	Original Song ( <i>Musical Title</i> )
1-1	Ouvertüre [Overture]	The Storm ( <i>The Dream Engine</i> , 1969; <i>Bad for Good</i> , 1981)
1-2	He, ho Professor [Hey, Ho, Professor]	
1-3	Knoblauch [Garlic]	
1-4	Bitte, meine Herren! [Please, Gentlemen!]	
1-5	Eine schöne Tochter [A Pretty Daughter]	
1-6	Nie Geseh'n [Never Ever Seen]	
1-7	Sei bereit (Gott ist tot) [Get Ready (God is Dead)]	Original Sin (Taylor Dayne 1994)
1-8	Alles ist hell [Everything's Bright]	
1-9	Wahrheit [Truth]	
1-10	Du bist wirklich sehr nett [You're Really Very Nice]	
1-11	Einladung zum Ball [Invitation to the Ball]	Original Sin
1-12	Draußen ist Freiheit [Freedom is Out There]	Something of This Masquerade May Follow ( <i>The Confidence Man</i> , 1976)
1-13	Wuscha Buscha	
1-14	Tot zu sein ist komisch [Death is an Odd Thing]	Moonage Daydream (David Bowie 1972)
1-15	Durch die Wildnis zum Schloss [Through the Wildness to the Castle]	
1-16	Vor dem Schloss – Finale erster Akt [In Front of the Castle – Finale of Act 1]	City Night ( <i>Neverland</i> , 1977); Left in the Dark (Jim Steinmann 1981)
2-1	Totale Finsternis [Total Eclipse]	Total Eclipse of the Heart (Bonnie Tyler 1983)
2-2	Carpe Noctem	Come with Me, We Know Love ( <i>Neverland</i> , 1977); Good Girls Go the Heaven (Bad Girls Go Everywhere) (Meat Loaf 1993); Nowhere Fast (Jim Steinmann 1984)
2-3	Ein perfekter Tag [A Perfect Day]	
2-4	Für Sarah [For Sarah]	Milady ( <i>The Confidence Man</i> 1976)
2-5	Die Gruft [In the Crypt]	
2-6	Bücher [Books]	
2-7	Bücher (Reprise) [Books (Reprise)]	
2-8	Wenn Liebe in dir ist [When Love is Within You]	Little Bombardier (David Bowie 1967)
2-9	Sie irren, Professor [You're Wrong, Professor]	
2-10	Ewigkeit [Eternity]	God ( <i>Neverland</i> 1977); The Great Bolero's of Fire (Meat Loaf 1977)
2-11	Die unstillbare Gier [The Insatiable Appetite]	Objects in the Rear View Mirror May Appear Closer Than They Are (Meat Loaf 1993)
2-12	Tanzsaal [The Ballroom]	Original Sin
2-13	Draußen ist Freiheit (Reprise) [Freedom is Out There]	
2-14	Finale zweiter Akt – Der Tanz der Vampire [Finale of Act 2 – The Dance of the Vampire]	Tonight Is What It Means to Be Young ( <i>Streets of Fire</i> , 1984 <sup>57</sup> )

(The song titles are based on Live Recording CD released on October 12, 1998)

<sup>57</sup> A film directed by Walter Hill in 1984. The music (except for "Tonight Is What It Means to Be Young") was composed by Ry Cooder.

As a result, *Tanz der Vampire* gained high contextuality, taking on the status of a “cult musical” among the younger generation, paying tribute and acknowledging the contributions of many horror and science fiction B-movies. In this regard, it was notable that *Tanz der Vampire* was modeled after *Rocky Horror Show* (London 1973; film 1975)—the first “cult musical (film),” which had been clearly rooted neither in the Broadway-style musical nor the megamusical.

However, still, this production was also oriented for internationalization in the manner of the megamusical. The employment of the star performer, Steve Barton,<sup>58</sup> brought greater focus on Graf Krolock than the pair of young protagonists. The triangle relationship with the mysterious abductor at the top gave a romantic, escapist nature to the performance just as the same narrative structure of *The Phantom of the Opera* (London 1986) or *Beauty and the Beast* (Broadway 1994): The girl who is unsatisfied with her ordinary life becomes an adult via a mysterious, monstrous male person in a magical setting. Furthermore, both the opulent stage design and the text written first in English were considered “ready for Broadway” (Knopf 2000: 7).

In terms of export strategy, Klausnitzer stated in the program that “with this [production], we [the United Stages] grant the traditional mission of the metropolis Vienna, which was always a melting pot of various cultures and arts” (VBW 1997). This word choice of “a melting pot” clearly indicated the production’s goal: New York City.

It did not take a great deal of time to export *Tanz der Vampire* to the expected destination. First, the performances lasted approximately two and a half years at the United Stages’ second biggest theater, the Raimund Theater. Following the last performance there in 2000, *Tanz der Vampire* expanded into Germany—the first

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<sup>58</sup> Steve Barton is an US-American actor known in particular for being part of the original casts of *The Phantom of the Opera*. He also starred as Munkustrap in the Viennese version of *Cats*.

progress of the Wiener musical into this country.<sup>59</sup> Subsequently, and most meaningfully for the United States, it premiered on Broadway in 2002. However, in contrast to the long-lasting success in Germany, the Broadway version was performed for only one month and even made a loss of 1,200 US dollars (*New York Times*, January 16, 2003).

The main reason lay in extensive modifications by the Broadway team—they made the show “too jokey and broad compared with its *German* production, which was more arch and scary” (italics mine).<sup>60</sup> Notably, the production was not properly understood as Viennese but “German”—nevertheless, the Vienneseness was hardly found in both the contexts and musical theater dramaturgy. Regarding the manner of US-American adaptation, it is notable that *Tanz der Vampire* followed the same path of the original British film, *The Dance of Vampire*, which had been marketed as a farce in the United States, with the different title, *The Fearless Vampire Killers or Pardon Me But Your Teeth Are in My Neck*, and the additional animated prologue.

Klausnitzer described this unexpected setback on Broadway as “a great lesson for us,” and explained that the United States had to choose “either agreeing to the modified production for Broadway or having no performance on Broadway.”<sup>61</sup> Consequently, while *Tanz der Vampire* has been performed in 15 countries,<sup>62</sup> it could not prove the international competitiveness of Wiener musicals on par with Broadway but rather revealed the absolute superiority of Broadway to Vienna.

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<sup>59</sup> The German production by the Stella Company (“Stage Entertainment” since 2001) was performed for three years in Stuttgart (2000–2003), Hamburg (2003–2006), and Berlin (2006–2008).

<sup>60</sup> Steinman’s statement regarding the Broadway premiere (*New York Times*, January 16, 2003).

<sup>61</sup> *Kurier*, special edition on September 7, 2003 (cited in Gruber 2010: 183).

<sup>62</sup> Austria (1999), Germany (2000), Estonia (2000), the United States (Broadway, 2002), Poland (2005), Japan (2006), Hungary (2007), Belgium (2010), Slovakia (2011), Russia (2011), Finland (2011), France (2014), the Czech Republic (2017), Switzerland (2017), and Denmark (2020).

### 3. 1. 3. The Successor of *Elisabeth: Mozart!* (1999)

While *Tanz der Vampire* was still performed in Vienna, *Mozart!* came to the stage at the Theater an der Wien in 1999. As the title indicated, the material centered on Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791), a world-known composer in the field of classical music and the most popular tourist attraction of Austria and Germany.

The purpose was to deal with “a theme, which deals with the people, the history, and the culture of this city” (VBW 1999), as *Elisabeth* accomplished. For that reason, *Elisabeth*’s librettist, composer, director, choreographer, and stage designer were gathered again. Newly invited were Yan Tax (costumes and masks), Franz Peter David (light), and Tony Meola (sounding).

*Mozart!* reinterpreted the life of this “genius” from a new perspective. Regarding this material, there were recent examples in films (e.g. *Amadeus*, 1984) and pop music (especially Falco’s *Rock Me Amadeus*, 1985), as well as traditional examples in musical theater.<sup>63</sup> In case of *Mozart!*, the plot and music focused on his personality and psychological conflict until his desperate death rather than detailed Mozart’s musical achievement.<sup>64</sup> For that purpose, Mozart was divided into two roles in the performance: “Wolfgang” (performed by a young performer) represented the personality, and “Amadé, the porcelain boy” (performed by an actor of approximately 10 years of age) symbolized the typical image of Mozart just as his famous portrait, which has been replicated today on the packaging of “Mozartkugel,” the famous chocolate balls.

The canonization of Mozart was partly reproduced but also distracted. On the

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<sup>63</sup> Such as the Singspiel *Szenen aus Mozarts Leben* (Scenes from Mozart’s Life, 1832) and the films, *Wen die Götter lieben* (Whom the Gods Love, 1942) and *Mozart* (a.k.a. *Reich mir die Hand, mein Leben*, 1955).

<sup>64</sup> According to Kupfer’s statement in the television program, *Making of Mozart* (ORF, October 26, 1999).

one hand, the cliché about Mozart was referenced in the text,<sup>65</sup> music,<sup>66</sup> and direction. In the song “Mozart, Mozart,” the chorus underlined his impersonality (“His mission must be divine,” Kunze/Levay 1999: 87), and Wolfgang represented it by disobeying his father’s order to “be popular, compose simpler” (id.: 36). On the other hand, Wolfgang sympathized with Emanuel Schikaneder’s principle of entertainment: “Our songs should be sung on the street” (id.: 85). Furthermore, Schikaneder obscured the border between serious arts and entertainment (“One says, entertainment is not the noblest for a great artist. But [...] it is the most difficult”).<sup>67</sup>

At the premiere, *Mozart!* received negative critiques, much like *Elisabeth*. *Die Presse* (October 4, 1999) described it as “Mozart as a victim of exploitation,” while *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (October 4, 1999) branded it “something like a long-winded historical work with not many stirring music numbers.” Nevertheless, *Mozart!* was chosen as “the best German-speaking musical” in 2000 by the magazine *Musicals* (APA-OTS, December 11, 2000). Furthermore, it was performed for two years in Vienna, then brought to Hamburg (2001), Japan (2002), Sweden (2002), Budapest (2003), the Czech Republic (2009), South Korea (2010), Belgium (2017), and China (2016). In these countries except for the Czech Republic and China, *Mozart!* was clearly a successor to *Elisabeth*, and therefore, less complicated to import.

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<sup>65</sup> The plot of *Mozart!* starts with a zealous search for the location of Mozart’s long-abandoned grave. This scene was based on the historian Brigitte Hamann’s explanation (Hamann 1990). Also, what Mozart says at his death in the performance refers to the first biography written by Franz Xaver Niemetschek in 1798 and Sophie Haibel’s remembrance in 1825 (See also Müller/Stangl: 112–113).

<sup>66</sup> Mozart’s music is briefly cited when Wolfgang or Amadé plays, composes, or flashes on it. The main idea was to focus on the contemporary reaction to each work at that time, and not on each work itself (Gruber 2010: 197).

<sup>67</sup> According to the CD published in 1999. Also, the classification between arts and entertainment was redefined in an additional song “Der einfache Weg” (The Simple Way, 2015): Wolfgang says that “the people’s applause is very meaningful for me” against the warning of his former supporter Archbishop Colloredo (“True art must avoid what entertains the folk. What belongs to the mass has no worth anymore,” Kunze/Levay 2016: 114–115).

### 3. 1. 4. An Attempt at Medieuropean Music Theater

*Tanz der Vampire* and *Mozart!* were produced following the first successful step of *Elisabeth* to make up “a new, very specially medieuropean form of music theater” featuring “a mixture of play, opera, and musical, [and] a combination of seriousness and entertainment” (VBW 1999). The basic structure certainly adopted some styles of the megamusical: the historical narrative in the former territories of the Habsburg Monarchy, audiovisual dynamics, and the being-adult story. Although the stylistic sources of Wiener musicals were obviously traced as such, the expression of “medieuropean” indicated the United States’ intension of identifying Wiener musicals with neither US-American nor British productions by emphasizing the “ancestral facts” of the musical: First, the operetta, which is the closest relative of the musical in the genealogy of musical theater, developed in Central Europe; more specifically, the Habsburg Monarchy. Second, Jewish immigrants from Central Europe to the United States in the early twentieth centuries played a fundamental role in establishing the musical.

On this point, it is also striking that Kunze underlined Wiener musicals as a successor to Wagnerian music drama, in which “the librettist and composer [work] together” so that the “text and music strengthen each other” (*Bühne* 9/1999: 36).<sup>68</sup> However, in reality, Wiener musicals not only *integrated* the elements in each production but simultaneously *disintegrated* the combination. Regarding the productions in the 1990s, each element was highlighted by parodies and self-reflective narratives, and therefore often became individually autonomous. Moreover, a being-adult story always resulted in neither a happy nor a tragic ending. These features made the productions not a pure megamusical featuring “epic, sentimental [...]”

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<sup>68</sup> This characteristic was later voluntarily termed “drama musical,” especially together with *Rebecca* (2006) (See also Chapter 3).

pleasurable narrative clarity [...] that is easily summarized” (Allain/Harvie 2014: 206–208). On the contrary, the 90s’ style of Wiener musicals let the audience interpret each production in a certain depth according to the individual contexts (and this consequently ensured room to adapt each production for each performing site, see Chapter 4).

Strategically, the productions maintained their focus on exportability and the accompanying knock-on effect for tourism and cultivation of theatergoers. On this point, it is remarkable that Klausnitzer pointed out that “recently, our whole demographic picture is directed generally stronger towards youth.”<sup>69</sup> Together with the careful choice of material for the productions, the media strategy via radio and television program supported the diverse audience—that was not irrelevant that the director Klausnitzer had a strong connection to the mass media.<sup>70</sup> All of these PR activities was important for the United Stages’ sustainability in the theatrical landscape of Vienna: The United Stages steadily improved their position with their own lineup for “the future audience” in the city.<sup>71</sup>

### **3. 2. Facing the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century**

#### **3. 2. 1. Avoid Competition: The Case of the Ronacher**

While the United Stages took the second step to the international market with *Tanz der Vampire* and *Mozart!*, the renovated Ronacher—another theater operated by the United Stages—faced an administrative problem. This theater was not directly run by the United Stages but by the Ronacher Etablissement from 1993 to 1997.

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<sup>69</sup> According to the Interview conducted by Reim-Bruckmüller (1994: 50). Notably, Reim-Bruckmüller (id: 61–75) also proved that school children and students constituted the biggest audience group in her survey of the Theater an der Wien and the Raimund Theater in 1994.

<sup>70</sup> The special program featuring the on-going Wiener musical (e.g. a backstage documentary series titled “Making of...”) was produced and broadcast by ORF. It was also transmitted to Germany via 3Sat.

<sup>71</sup> Stated by Klausnitzer in an interview by Reim-Bruckmüller (1994: 50).



In the Ronacher, Peter Schwenkow, a German producer and the founder of the Deutsche Entertainment AG (est. 1978),<sup>72</sup> took the main management role with his business partner in Austria, Stefan Seigner, while the artistic director, Reinhard Deutsch (in office: 1995–1997), arranged the annual schedule with diverse theater productions. Schwenkow also sold 49% of the Ronacher’s stocks to Rolf Deyhle, the founder of Stella AG (1988–1997): the German private musical production company, which had the largest share in Germany by successfully running Lloyd Webber’s musicals in different cities.

This entrustment was to operate the Ronacher with its own profits and not with the municipal subvention, reflecting the cultural politics in Vienna. In fact, Vienna City had appropriated overly expensive renovation cost (ca. 170 million schillings) for the renovation of the Ronacher from 1991 to 1993—its appropriateness had been heavily discussed (*Kurier*, July 23, 1993). Moreover, the Viennese government began theater reform in 1996, promoting a viable independent theater with less political and financial bolster and with greater sponsorship of private companies (*Der Standard*, November 19, 2002).

However, the entrusted Ronacher never succeeded but ended up in court. The unclear extent of the Ronacher’s discretion infringed the United Stages, and therefore, initiated litigation proceedings between the United Stages and the Ronacher. The United Stages charged the Ronacher Etablissement with violation of the contract. The arguments of both sides were as follows; the United Stages contended that the Ronacher must be “rented,” while the Ronacher maintained that this company must have a usufructuary right to run what it wanted: the musical.

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<sup>72</sup> Deutsche Entertainment organized classical and pop music concerts in Berlin and other sites. The company came to be listed on the Stock Exchange in Frankfurt am Main in 1998.

Subsequently, the United Stages were blamed for monopolizing the musical.<sup>73</sup> Rudolf Czerny, the cultural spokesman of the People's Party in Vienna at that time, asserted that "the spectacle, which [was] now being offered in front of the court," was "as embarrassing as image-damaging" and "Vienna, as a place of cultivation of the musical, must lose an international reputation."<sup>74</sup> Additionally, Czerny talked about the importance of competition with regard to the musical in Vienna:

Competition is a very healthy thing. Moreover, the interest of the Viennese audience is broad enough to accommodate both opponents. Instead of litigating, they should complement their offerings. And as far as the economic aspect is concerned, it would be laughable if it were impossible in Vienna of all places to run profitably as well as artistically demanding musical venues.<sup>75</sup>

As a result, however, the musical in Vienna remained in a state of monopolism. The Local Court Innere Stadt (Inner City) Vienna decided in favor of the United Stages in the first instance (*Die Presse*, September 5, 1996). The second instance also ended in judgment against the Ronacher Etablissement. While the trial proceeded, Schwenkow found himself in a difficult situation outside the legal sphere. The musical *She Loves Me*<sup>76</sup> staged at the Ronacher was a flop with an occupation rate of only 38%, while the United Stages kept a rate of around 90% with *Elisabeth* and *The Beauty and the Beast*. Ultimately, the contract between the United Stages and Schwenkow was canceled out of

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<sup>73</sup> The Volksoper Wien was the possible competitor in Vienna, but it steered the way toward the musical as one component of the lineup, coming after the opera and operetta. It was striking that the Volksoper regained its balance with the new version of *My Fair Lady* in the operetta style (Volksoper 2019).

<sup>74</sup> Excerpted from Czerny's statement (APA 380, May 24, 1995, cited in Maslo 2000: 53).

<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> For more detail on *She Loves Me*, see Maslo 2000: 115–117.

court, and the Ronacher came back under the direct operation of the United Stages since September 1, 1997. It means that the United Stages had no other choice—since it turned out that privatization was not a realistic solution (see also Chapter 3.2.2)—but to rationalize the necessity of running three theaters with a sufficient budget from the municipal government.

### **3. 2. 2. Competitiveness and Sustainability**

#### **3. 2. 2. 1. The Privatization Plan for the United Stages**

In the late 1990s, the problem was hinged on competitiveness and sustainability. The former was the matter of internationalization or the concept of Vienna as the third musical metropolis, but the latter concerned a local prerequisite or financial dependence on the municipal subsidies.

The United Stages encountered a setback in the export of *Tanz der Vampire* to Broadway. It could have been acceptable when the re-created Broadway version would have resulted in substantial success as the Japanese versions achieved (see also Chapter 4). However, considering what succeeded to the 90s' productions, the flop of the Americanized production aroused suspicion whether it would be plausible to aim for position on Broadway, though Wiener musicals continued attempts to advance Broadway and the West End.

There was another competition with Germany. The advance of the Stella from Germany to the Viennese market was liable to jeopardize the position of the United Stages. When the Stella would defeat the United Stages and represent how the successful private musical company could be in Vienna, the Viennese government might reduce or lose the municipal budget for the United Stages. In fact, Vienna once regarded

the Stella as an ideal template for privatizing musical theater company. As Back-Vega (1995) cynically pointed out, few politicians properly understood how difficult a private musical company succeeds—generally, only two out of ten musical productions can recover their cost, and only one out of ten can make a profit (Cogo-Fawcett 2003: 15–16).

Against this background, discussion arose in the late 1990s as to whether the United Stages should be excluded from the Wiener Holding and privatized. The leading plan was to split the United Stages into two sections: one owning and maintaining the theaters with the municipal budget, and the other producing and running the musicals commercially (Rechnungshof 2001: 32). In this regard, the case of the Ronacher was—though it was not fruitful—a trial for this plan of splitting.

Nevertheless, the United Stages' theater managers and creators learned firsthand how unrealistic it was to expect that the genre musical could help revitalize public and private theater without public investment, as politicians and journalists in German-speaking countries often believed (or are still believing). This was supported by the fact too: The Stella was finally sold out to an emerging Dutch theater company, Stage Entertainment (est. 1998) in 2001. Moreover, there was no alternative financing available: Even though Wiener musicals were under the sponsorship of many companies,<sup>77</sup> it never was enough to operate the performances.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> For example, *Elisabeth* was supported by Austrian Airlines, BP Austria, Confiserie Heindl, the Vienna Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Schönbrunn Palace, EMI Austria, and Gräfin vom Naschmarkt (according to the advertisement in the program as of 1997).

<sup>78</sup> In Austria, the discussion on “culture and art sponsorship” intensified since the early 1990s. Large Austrian companies such as banks and insurance companies first reached the public with collections of contemporary art, but the sponsoring system failed to generate revenue. According to the Initiative Economy for Art's survey of sponsorship for the arts among the top 500 companies in Austria (1998), sponsorship for the performing arts accounted to 21% of the whole expense of art sponsorship (Ratzenböck et al. 2004: 94–95).

### **3. 2. 2. 2. Four Missions of the United Stages**

The municipal subsidy was, once again, indispensable for continuing Wiener musicals. Thus, the United Stages managed to obtain that at any cost in the situation that the municipal government gradually cut the cultural budget.

In the 1990s, the Wiener Holding—which the United Stages belonged to—sold off most subsidiaries, except for “a distinctive core [...] companies in especially close connection to the municipal or public missions” (Wien Holding 2012: 21). The United Stages ultimately remained under the Wiener Holding, and therefore, undertook the responsibility of the “municipal or public missions.”

Hence, simultaneous fulfilment of four missions—regardless of inconsistencies between the new and old missions—was asked of the United Stages: (1) healthy management of the three historical theaters, (2) production and worldwide expansion of Wiener musicals, (3) status improvement of the city as a result of the first two measures, and (4) consideration and sustainment of municipal cultural politics. To carry out these demanding tasks—especially the fourth duty—the United Stages sought a new design for Wiener musicals.

### **3. 2. 3. Experimental and Modern Productions**

Under these circumstances, the director Klausnitzer launched three musicals in the second half of his direction: *F@lco* (2000), *Wake Up* (2002), and *Barbarella* (2004). While Wiener musicals by then dealt with historical themes stemming from the Habsburg Monarchy, the newer productions handled modern material—though they were not regarded as successful cases.

### 3. 2. 3. 1. Homage to the Austrian Popstar: *F@lco – A Cyber Show* (2000)

*F@lco – A Cyber Show* was the first collaborative musical by the United Stages and Paulus Manker-Rock Production (VBW 2000). This musical was about the legendary Viennese singer-song-writer, Johann Hölzel (1957–1998), a.k.a. “Falco.”

The pair of Paulus Manker (b. 1958) and Joshua Sobol (b. 1939)—known for many cutting-edge spoken theater productions, especially in German-speaking countries since 1985<sup>79</sup>—aroused interests of this musical about Falco’s biography. The concept developed from folklore on the golem—a man-made figure that turns against its creator. The plot of *F@lco* described the downfall of a disunited person who was not only a normal human being but a mythicized popstar. This was represented via the role “Hans Hölzel” (performed by an actor) and “Falco” (as a 3D animated character).

While the visual spectacle received positive reactions, some critics doubted that the main theme would be adequate: *F@lco* questioned the idolization and dehumanization of the popular artist for consumerism, symbolically cited in the song “Should I die to live?”<sup>80</sup> (ibid.; *Wiener Zeitung*, April 3, 2000). This showed the same perspective as *Mozart!* (1999), not purely replicating the music with the biographical myth but reinterpreting it in the combination of universal and personal narratives. Nevertheless, *F@lco*’s one-and-a-quarter-hour performance was abrupt and insufficient to unfold the narrative and tackle an essential question on musical canonization. The content was “not convincing and [did not] go without banality and embarrassment” (ibid.). As a result, *F@lco* was described as “not a musical at all” but “a lavish

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<sup>79</sup> Above all, they produced *Alma – A Show Biz ans Ende* (*Alma: A Show Biz Comes to Its End*, 1996, Sanatorium Purkersdorf) in the Wiener Festwochen. This unique work caused a sensation, simultaneously showing biographical scenes on Alma Mahler-Werfel, a wife of the composer Gustav Mahler.

<sup>80</sup> This lyric (“Muss ich dann Sterben, um zu leben”) was taken from the title track of Falco’s last album *Out of the Dark* released in 1998 after his death.

multimedia show” made up of “high-tech stage spectacle” and Falco’s biographical scenes, including his hit songs (*Spiegel*, April 2, 2000).

In this regard, *F@lco*’s conceptualization and unfavorable result were in contrast to the German musical *Falco Meets Amadeus* (2000, Theater des Westens). While *Falco Meets Amadeus* has been repeatedly performed in German-speaking countries, offering a two-and-a-half-hour musical revue as the audience would expect, *F@lco* disappointed “those [...] who came to the Wiener Ronacher to enjoy a Falco-Musical-Revue” (ibid.); hence, it was never performed again.

### **3. 2. 3. 2. With the Exclusive Local Context: *Wake Up* (2002)**

Another variation of disenchantment occurred in *Wake Up*. This musical about a backstage crime was developed from a true story involving one of the composers/authors. As mentioned on the logo highlighted “the musical by Rainhard Fendrich and Harold Faltermeyer,” the music and text were written together by a Viennese singer-song-writer, Rainhard Fendrich<sup>81</sup> (b. 1955), and a German composer/arranger, Harold Faltermeyer<sup>82</sup> (b. 1952).

*Wake Up* was about an alcoholic pop star who was trapped in jail on a false charge of attempted rape of a female fan but was finally found innocent and even revived the girl from a coma with his music. The performance was described as the modern version of the fairy tale *Sleeping Beauty* on one side, and as the supposed world of show business and its flimsiness on the other side (*Wiener Zeitung*, April 30, 2002). The theme was visually presented in colorful, garish stage elements, from costume and

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<sup>81</sup> Fendrich was known for Austropop (a neologism of “Austrian” and “pop music,” see also Chapter 7).

<sup>82</sup> Faltermeyer was internationally known for soundtracking many US-American films since the late 1970s.

stage design to lighting. The music, most of which was newly or previously composed by Faltermeyer, was regarded partly as a mixture that journeyed from classic music through pop and rock to rap but also as “a pair of actual pop sounds” that “often resulted in the average song contest level” (ibid.). Even the title song did not function necessarily for the plot.

Another problem was the casting. The story was modeled after Fendrich’s own experience—his fan awoke from her coma—but the performance did not feature Fendrich.<sup>83</sup> The casting received a negative reaction (“the original ‘protagonist’ was not there in the whole performing schedule,” *Der Standard*, December 9, 2005), since Fendrich—whose experience was staged in *Wake Up*—was not starred as a popstar but appeared as the second role, his manager.

After running for two years, *Wake Up* was branded “a flop” considering the average attendance rate of 70.5 % and the total loss of 12.7 million euros to the United Stages (*Der Standard*, November 9, 2005). The Kontrollamt (Audit Office) of Vienna gave a low evaluation of the United Stages’ management status, with *Wake Up*’s failure being attributed to growing political tension around Iraq and increasing discussions about the private lives of popular artists (ibid.). Additionally, regardless of the social circumstances, such a high-contextual and meta-theatrical musical was capable to appeal only to the specific audience group, who could guess what the authors’ names on the logo meant and were familiar with the status of the Austrian pop star in the 2000s. Ultimately, *Wake Up* was exclusively local-oriented.

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<sup>83</sup> Fendrich denied *Wake Up* as “Seelestriptease von mir” (a striptease of my soul, *Wiener Zeitung*, April 30, 2002).



### 3. 2. 3. 3. Lack of the Target Strategy: *Barbarella* (2004)

The next production was *Barbarella* (2004), the first technical combination of film and rock/pop music since *Freudiana* (1990). This musical was based on Jean-Claude Forest's French comic serialized in *V-Magazine* (1962–1964)—the first pornography-tinged graphic novel for adult readers—and its cult film adaptation (1968), both describing an autonomous and erotic heroine Barbarella who travels across the universe.<sup>84</sup> The creative team consisted of non-local but internationally known people in the field of pop music and/or musicals: Dave A. Stewart (music/direction), Mark Fisher (stage design), Willie Williams (lighting), Patricia Field (costume), Michael Kunze (translation), Kim Duddy (choreography), and Rudi Klausnitzer (text/production).

Klausnitzer announced in the opening press conference that the international leading team was going to tailor the musical version of *Barbarella* for “an international theme,” which was attributed to “Dave [Stuart]’s charisma and position in the international rock world” (Wien Holding 2004). The retro-future world in the 1960s was presented in the Pink Freudian stage design and lighting, with disco-styled laser beams, a mirror ball, and other deliberately old-fashioned effects.<sup>85</sup>

However, the performance was not successful. Factors being criticized were not only the concept of musicalizing the 60s’ comic<sup>86</sup> but also the plot. The plot was regarded as “undeniably long-winded” (*Die Presse*, March 13, 2004) and “not persuasive” (*Kurier*, March 13, 2004). It was also stated that “since there’s not enough plot to fill a two-hour show, we get a disjointed series of vignettes with some gratuitous

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<sup>84</sup> Regarding the historical description of the comic *Barbarella*, see also Tabachnick (2017).

<sup>85</sup> ORF, “Making of Barbarella,” March 7, 2004.

<sup>86</sup> For example: “the story of *Barbarella* taken from the 60s’ comic proved that it is truly uninteresting for the next generation” (Jansen 2008: 256).

soft-core porn tossed in” (*Variety*, March 21, 2004). Moreover, *Barbarella* recorded the lowest average occupation rate of 50% pro performance among the previous productions by the United Stages (Kontrollamt der Stadt Wien 2008: 50). It was an undesirable startup for the new director Kathrin Zechner (b. 1963, in office: 2004–2012), whose role in the production was nominal since the then-Director Klausnitzer took the main lead as producer.

In terms of the United Stages’ lineup history, the flop was attributed to the unclear target audience. As discussed on Chapter 2 and 3, the succeeded Wiener musicals in the 1990s were oriented for all ages—not only for the younger audience by utilizing the being-adult narrative and youth culture but also for the connoisseurs by offering divergent cultural-historical parodies. In Vienna, the genre musical was generally regarded as a tool to reach a wider range of audience than other musical theater forms, especially following the economic development of Broadway as a tourist-friendly entertainment district since the late 1980s (cf. Wollman 2002). From this perspective, *Barbarella* was not suitable for broader audience but rather effective for the specific group of adults, as the original comic had been directed to.

### **3. 2. 4. Changing Wiener Musicals with the One-Sided Strategy**

In summary, in the first half of the 2000s, the United Stages gradually lost the initial direction that paid a certain degree of attention to the Austrian/Viennese historical themes for “Austrian musicals” to attain the audiences inside and outside Vienna. Instead, they adopted actual (or previous) youth culture for the musicals, which corresponded to Klausnitzer’s purpose of cultivating future audience in younger generations on site, thereby displaying public benefit of young-adult-friendly Wiener

musicals. Nevertheless, what “youth culture” designates was relatively determined, as seen in the 2000s’ productions referring to the Austropop for the mid-1970s and 1980s, Falco for the 1980s and 1990s, and the 60s’ comic.

As a result, the new productions with local, contemporary contexts attained fewer international visitors. This might not be solely caused by the productions but also by the unstable international situation; however, the outcome showed that the new strategy imperfectly fulfilled the four missions of the United Stages and remained one-sided. Moreover, a bad financial performance and lack of external achievements were conspicuous disadvantages to maintain the hand-in-hand relationship between the United Stages and the municipal government.

Nonetheless, the experimental and modern characters were certainly passed on from Klausnitzer to Zechner. Additionally, Wiener musicals continued to face the fluctuating criteria and criticism against the United Stages, reflecting the inconsistent municipal cultural politics in Vienna, also in the coming decade.

#### 4. WIENER MUSICALS IN JAPAN (1996–2006)

Wiener musicals entered and was slammed on Broadway in 2002, while encountering another criteria with the unfamiliar running system—which not as similar as Broadway or Viennese—and the special need for a revue-style performance in the first destination of the export: Japan. The long-term outcomes from the initial success of *Elisabeth* in 1996 to the successive decade propelled this country to the largest non-European market for the United States to export their productions. Moreover, the adaptation process in Japan had an impact on the Japanese market, where the Broadway and West End musicals were dominant, and directed the Viennese export strategy from the full license business to flexible adaptation with interpreting the Viennese flair in each of the local contexts.

The previous studies on the Japanese adaptations of Wiener musicals typically focused on the text and stage elements at the inner-theatrical level, or especially from the perspectives of literature and theater studies, analyzing how they were adapted from the first Viennese version under the special criteria of the first Japanese importer, the Takarazuka Revue (Mageanu 2015; Rommel 2007; Sakagami 2010; Suzuki 2012).<sup>87</sup> The United States' participation in the Japanese productions—especially in terms of export strategy—was only discussed in Gruber (2010).<sup>88</sup>

However, regarding the success of popular musical theater in Japan, a complex of various sociocultural factors surrounding the performance has been as important as—or more important than—the performance itself. In this regard, it is striking that the

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<sup>87</sup> Watanabe (2010: 211–2) wrote a comparative analysis of *Elisabeth* in Vienna and Japan, referring to programs, lyrics, and Rommel (2007) in Japanese translation (unpublished) conducted by Tomoko Kakuyama.

<sup>88</sup> In terms of transformation of transnational musical theater, Pottag (2010) discussed about the intercultural phenomenon of the musical *Linie 1* (Line 1, Berlin 1986), focusing on the performances in Berlin and Seoul.

Takarazuka Revue and the Tōhō developed their individual offerings for appealing to the new bourgeois class in the modernization and urbanization process from the beginning of the twentieth century (cf. Kamiyama 2018; Kawasaki 1999). Furthermore, Hibino (2017: 19–20) pointed out that the development of the genre musical in the post-war Japan had been associated with “popular musical theater in each country, the tradition of kabuki [Japanese pre-modern popular musical theater], the longing for US-American culture.” Additionally, the Japanese musical invented the intermittent long run system for maintaining the traditional star system, whereby it was not only a matter of *what* the performance features but also a matter of *whom* the performance features. Around the shift of the century, it is also notable that the increase of mobilization enlarged the international market of the musical, encouraging the tourists and producers to visit the centers of the musical.

Based on the discussion above, the following subsections pay great attention to motivations and intensions underpinning substantial changes of Wiener musicals from 1996 to 2006 in Japan, with connecting the Viennese and Japanese attitudes to the international mainstream. By these means, this chapter discusses what was the drive forces to successfully transfer Wiener musicals from Vienna to Japan and how the initial local taste (could not fully) remain in emigration process.

This chapter consists of three subsections. Chapter 4.1 addresses the first two adaptations of *Elisabeth* in Japan. Chapter 4.2 analyzes their global and local impacts according to the marketing needs and the historical backgrounds. Eventually, Chapter 4.3 figures out a mutually beneficial relationship between Vienna and Japan thorough Wiener musicals, considering the status of the Viennese flair in the individual performing sites.

#### **4. 1. Two Japanese Versions of *Elisabeth***

##### **4. 1. 1. From *Elisabeth* to *Rondo of Love and Death* (1996)**

In 1996, four years after of the premier of *Elisabeth* in Vienna, the first adaptation, *Erizabēto* (Elisabeth) with the subtitle *Ai to Shi no Rondo* (Rondo of Love and Death) was performed at the Takarazuka Grand Theater. The production was made by one of the dominant theater companies in Japan: the Takarazuka Revue.

##### **4. 1. 1. 1. The Takarazuka Revue and Its Special Requests**

The Takarazuka Revue is featured by musical plays and revues starring almost all young unmarried female performers<sup>89</sup> and has been popular with female audiences, which account for more than 90% of all the visitors (Brau 1990: 80). Since its establishment in 1914, the Takarazuka Revue has offered the widest range of musical theater with the motto, “purity, honesty, and beauty.” Politically, regionally, and sexually aggressive content has been strictly restrained in the harmless and intoxicating performances. The members belonging to the Takarazuka Revue represent this motto inside and outside theater and are usually called “Takarasienne” (a blend of “Takarazuka” and “Parisienne”) reflecting the special longing for Paris (see also Chapter 6).

In order to keep running the performances<sup>90</sup> in the two permanent theaters in Takarazuka City near Osaka and in Tokyo, as well as the other rental theaters, the Takarazuka Revue maintained four troupes (The increasing need enabled the company to form the fifth troupe in 1998). Each troupe has approximately 70 performers, and is

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<sup>89</sup> There are fourteen old performers who professionally performs difficult roles. They are classified as senka (lit. special course, a.k.a. superior members) and are expected to teach other young actresses in the rehearsal.

<sup>90</sup> Basically, eight or nine productions are performed per year in the permanent theaters in Takarazuka and Tokyo. Each production is intensively run 45 times including matinee and soiree in a month.

divided into two categories: *otokoyaku* who are trained to play male roles and *musumeyaku* who are trained to play female roles.

The shows are run in a star system: only one *otokoyaku* can become a *top star*, who always plays the male leading role and for whom every stage element is specially tailored. Since the top star leaves the company after several years and another *otokoyaku* becomes a new top star, every show must be newly created or at least updated for the current top star. For that reason, the Takarazuka Revue has resident playwrights, composers, arrangers, directors, choreographers, and divergent designers for lighting, costumes, and many other elements—all of who are capable to adjust both original and imported productions to the star system with a fast metabolism.

#### **4. 1. 1. 2. Takarazukanization of *Elisabeth***

For the Takarazuka Revue, *Elisabeth* was drastically modified by the director Koike Shūichirō (b. 1955). The production confronted the special criteria of the all-female performance in the star system and filled the lack of European contexts for Japanese audiences,<sup>91</sup> to whom the House of Habsburg had been unfamiliar until the mid-1990s (see also Chapter 4.2.2.3). In order to adjust the production to this local frame, the Takarazuka Revue bought the minimal license: music, text, and performing rights. Moreover, for the Takarazuka version, the original authors revised the music and text,<sup>92</sup> while the resident artists newly made the stage elements from direction through lighting to choreography.

It is striking that not only the scene structure but even some core elements were revised and rewritten for the Takarazuka's taste (see also "The Scene and Song List of

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<sup>91</sup> According to Koike's statements (*Asahi* 2016: 43).

<sup>92</sup> Stated by the producer Furusawa Makoto (*Myujikaru*, 3/1996: 18).

*Elisabeth* in Vienna and Japan” in Appendix). Notably, the protagonist was changed from the female character, the Empress Elisabeth, to the male character, Death, for Ichiro Maki (b. 1965, Snow Troupe’s top star: 1993–1996). Moreover, Death was humanized with the name “Tōto” (based on the pronunciation of *der Tod*, i.e. “death” in the German language) and was ennobled as “Yomi no Teiō” (Emperor of the Realm of the Dead).<sup>93</sup> Koike combined the original androgynous feature of Death with an image of Japanese shōjo manga (girl-oriented comics) in this character.<sup>94</sup>

The socio-historical element was considerably reduced to minimize confusion and disapproval of the Japanese female audience. Accordingly, the possible “harmful” scenes, such as Sophie (Elisabeth’s first daughter)’s death, syphilis, necromancy, and the rise of National Socialism, were deleted. Negative profiles of Elisabeth were also mildly described or replaced. Instead, there were new scenes tackling a revolutionary spectacle in Hungary with a new song “Hungarian Revolutionary Movement.”<sup>95</sup> This was not only served for scenographic scenes with dynamic and lively group choreography<sup>96</sup> but also for creating several characters for the junior performers.

Additionally, the romantic plot was emphasized in both translated and additional songs. A new song “Ai to Shi no Rondo” (Rondo of Love and Death)—also the subtitle of the Takarazuka version—was newly written by Kunze and Levay for this version. Nevertheless, Kunze’s original lyrics were not translated word for word, but Koike wrote new Japanese lyrics to construct a melodramatic feature of the song.

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<sup>93</sup> The concept was known by the ancient Japanese myth *Kojiki* (ed. ca. eighth century), in which *yomi no kuni* (the realm of the dead) would be ruled by the goddess Izanami.

<sup>94</sup> Koike explained that he referred to Edgar, the mysterious vampire character and puer aeternus from the manga *Pō no Ichizoku* (The Poe Clan, 1972–1976) by Hagio Moto (Koike 1998: 299).

<sup>95</sup> This song was adopted in the Szeged version in 1996.

<sup>96</sup> In contrast, Dennis Callahan’s choreography for the Viennese version (1992) was recognized as “a little unnatural and against the music” (*Musicals*, 1998: 28). It required no skill as a professional ballet dancer but an enormous sense of movement and rhythm to the ensemble (Rommel 2007: 92).



Finally, the sequence of the last scene was totally changed. In the Viennese version, (1) Lucheni assassinated Elisabeth, (2) Death gave his last kiss to Elisabeth (song: “The Veil Descends”), (3) Elisabeth left the stage, and (4) Lucheni hanged himself while gazing at Death on stage until a blackout. Lucheni’s suicide by hanging linked to the prologue, where he first appeared as “a hanged man [dangling] from a rope” (Kunze/Levay 1996: 9). On the other hand, in the first Takarazuka version (1996), (1) Lucheni assassinated Elisabeth and leaves the stage, (2) Death gave his last kiss to Elisabeth (song: “The Love Theme,” with the same melody of “The Veil Descends”), and (3) Elisabeth and Death were gliding up together on the clouds of dry ice until a blackout. The song “The Veil Descends” was rewritten into “The Love Theme,” with a free translation to emphasize romantic fulfillment between Elisabeth and Death.<sup>97</sup>

#### **4. 1. 1. 3. Sensation from Japan to Vienna**

Ultimately, the Takarazuka Revue re-created *Elisabeth* as a romanticized costume drama “to let all the faces of the ensemble show to the audience”<sup>98</sup> but also “in a pyramid structure setting Ichiro at the top.”<sup>99</sup> The adaptation victimized Elisabeth as a woman who sought emancipation from the royal duties and her suppressive family. This concept caught the interest of the Japanese female audiences in the 1990s, who often confronted the same dilemma between their conventional gender role and a new independent style.<sup>100</sup> The story also evoked the real situation of Japanese royal

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<sup>97</sup> “The Veil Descends” ended with a duet of Elisabeth and Death, underlining the independence and emancipation of Elisabeth as an individual (“The world seeks my/your life’s meaning in vain because I/you belong only to me”), whereas “The Love Theme” sang out eternal love with the same melody (“What never reaches the end is your love,” corresponding the same melody lines above).

<sup>98</sup> Stated by the light designer Katsushiba Jirō (*Myujikaru*, 6/1996: 50).

<sup>99</sup> According to Koike’s statement (*Myujikaru*, 4/2001: 10).

<sup>100</sup> In the 1990s, the standard model of post-war family, in which a woman became typically married before 25 years old and had a couple of children, and the so-called “romantic love ideology”

princesses, who had non-aristocratic origins and always attracted media attention.<sup>101</sup> Although not only the audiences but also the performers regarded the Takarazuka version as unconventional in its musical structure, somber theme, and stage design at first glance,<sup>102</sup> it ultimately made a great, long-lasting sensation—all five troupes rotationally performed *Erizabēto* until 2005—and became one of the most popular Takarazuka Revue works (see also Chapter 6.2.1.2).

The United Stages Vienna did not see the Takarazuka Revue as a partner at first glance—the production history was mythicized with the story that the Top Star Ichiro sang the song of *Elisabeth* in the original key in the second meeting at the United Stages, and that convinced their producers<sup>103</sup>—but they positively understood that in the Japanese version there were “throughout extreme differences from our original” (Gruber 2006: 318). This recognition was caused particularly by the synergy effect, as Klausnitzer pointed out in 1997:

Japan was not only besieged by an own [...] production of “Takarazuka Theater,” [but] also there were some Japanese charter flights to Vienna for the purpose to visit and watch this musical in its birthplace and where the heroine lived (VBW 1997).

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contributed to declining marriage and birth rates (cf. Yamada 2007).

<sup>101</sup> For example, Empress Michiko (tenure: 1989–2019) broke precedent and raised her children by herself. She was also known for her numerous visits to countries and regions. Meanwhile, it was repeatedly reported that the mental ailments of Empress Masako (tenure: 2019–present) prevented her from carrying out most of her official duties as princess. In this regard, the Viennese version was rather understood as a reflection of British Princess Diana (1961–1997).

<sup>102</sup> One journalist pointed out that “Death is the shadow, and therefore, Ichiro’s fans, who expected the show featuring Ichiro, might be disappointed” (*Asahi*, March 1, 1996); Ichiro got an impression from the proposal of *Elisabeth* that “this production cannot fit Takarazuka’s culture” since fewer scenes were not centering on the male protagonist, and the music was too difficult for the all-female troupe (*Asahi*, July 26, 2003); Hanafusa Mari, who performed *Elisabeth* in 1996, recognized that *Erizabēto* unusually contained many solos for the female protagonist. She also noticed that the performance started with “the mood that Takarazuka never had” (*Asahi*, November 5, 2012).

<sup>103</sup> According to Koike’s statement in the program of *Erizabēto* (1996).

Just after the Japanese premiere on February 1996, a direct flight between Vienna and Tokyo, as well as between Vienna and Osaka commenced. This enabled the Japanese fans, who got to know *Elisabeth* in Japan, to trace footprints of this empress but to watch the “original” version running until 1998 in Vienna. Some enthusiastic fans also followed Ichiro’s performance on the special stage for the anniversaries: Ichiro came to the Viennese stages two times: (1) at the special concert for the last performance of the first Viennese version in 1998 and (2) at the “*Elisabeth* Tenth Anniversary Concert” in 2002. Additionally, Ichiro appeared on *The Helene Fischer Show*, which was broadcast by German television channel *Das Erste* on December 25, 2012.

#### **4. 1. 2. Recontextualization in the Tōhō Version (2000)**

While the Takarazuka version became a blockbuster in Japan, another biggest Japanese theater company, the Tōhō, offered the second production entitled *Erizabēto* without subtitles in 2000. With the Tōhō version, *Elisabeth* was finally performed by both male and female performers in Japan.

The Tōhō version was distinguished from the first Japanese adaptation by superficial imitation of the first Viennese version—above all, the character Elisabeth came back to the title role. Some scenes that had been erased in the Takarazuka version were revived, but some scenes were re-modified in the Tōhō version, which allowed more experimental and aggressive expression than the Takarazuka Revue.<sup>104</sup> For example, the Hakenkreuz and the Nazi uniform were used for the scene of a National Socialistic demonstration together with a special intonation representing the Japanese

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<sup>104</sup> See also “The Scene and Song List of Elisabeth in Vienna and Japan” in Appendix.

far-right propaganda.<sup>105</sup>

Meanwhile, some performers uniquely shaped and contextualized the performance. The director Koike, who also dealt with all of the previous Takarazuka versions, paid considerable attention to the audiences who had already experienced the Takarazuka versions (*Myujikaru*, 4/2001: 8–9). Therefore, the contextual continuance from Takarazuka to Tōhō was strictly expressed by the presence of the specific ex-Takarasiennes. Ichiro Maki, who was known for performing Death in the first Takarazuka version (1996), performed the character Elisabeth for the Tōhō version from 2000 to 2006. Since then, Elisabeth has been always performed by the ex-Takarasiennes, especially those who appeared in the Takarazuka version (Table 2).<sup>106</sup>

Table 2. The Cast List of *Erizabēto* (Elisabeth) in the Tōhō Version (2000–2019)

Year	Elisabeth	Death	Lucheni	Franz Joseph	Rudolf	Archduke Sophie	
2000	Ichiro Maki*	Yamaguchi Yūichiro Uchino Seiyō	Takashima Masahiro	Suzuki Sōma	Inoue Yoshio	Hatsukaze Jun*	
2001				Suzuki Sōma Ichikawa Zen	Urai Kenji Pak Tongha		
2004					Urai Kenji Pak Tongha Inoue Yoshio	Kotobuki Hizuru*	
2005					Urai Kenji Pak Tongha	Kotobuki Hizuru* Hatsukaze Jun*	
2006				Yamaguchi Yūichiro Takeda Shinji	Urai Kenji Irei Kanata		
2008/ 2009	Suzukaze Mayo* Asami Hikaru*	Yamaguchi Yūichiro Ishimaru Kanji Shirota Yū	Takashima Masahiro	Ichikawa Zen	Urai Kenji Irei Kanata Tashiro Mario	Kotobuki Hizuru* Mori Keaki*	
2010	Asami Hikaru* Sena Jun*	Yamaguchi Yūichiro Ishimaru Kanji Máté Kamarás		Ichikawa Zen Okada Kōki	Ohno Takuro Hirakata Genki Furukawa Yūdai		
2012	Haruno Sumire* Sena Jun*	Shirota Yū Inoue Yoshio		Yamazaki Ikusaburō Onoe Matsuya II	Tashiro Mario	Furukawa Yūdai	Tsurugi Miyuki* Kōju Tatsuki*
2015	Hanafusa Mari* Ranno Hana*	Yamazaki Ikusaburō Songha		Sato Kōki	Kyōmoto Taiga	Suzukaze Mayo* Kōju Tatsuki*	
2016	Hanafusa Mari* Aiki Reika*	Inoue Yoshio Furukawa Yūdai	Yamazaki Ikusaburō Songha	Tashiro Mario Hirakata Genki	Kyōmoto Taiga Miura Ryōsuke Kimura Tatsunari	Tsurugi Miyuki* Suzukaze Mayo* Kōju Tatsuki*	
2019							

\* Ex-Takarasiennes

<sup>105</sup> By contrast, the actors and actresses in Schutzstaffel uniforms protested in the special form of group chanting (Sprechchor) in the Viennese version.

<sup>106</sup> More ex-Takarasiennes appeared in the Tōhō version in the late versions. In 2000, only two principal characters, Elisabeth and Archduchess Sophie, were performed by ex-Takarasiennes (Tōhō 2000). In 2016, seven ex-Takarasiennes appeared in the Tōhō version (Tōhō 2016).

Whereas the Takarazuka version was performed in the two theaters in Takarazuka and Tokyo, the Tōhō version created a nationwide sensation, offering the performances in seven theaters in eastern, southern-central, and western Japan by 2006.

## **4. 2. The Global and Local Impacts of the Japanese Versions**

### **4. 2. 1. The Export from Vienna: Flexible Adaptation for Every Locale**

The success of the extraordinary Takarazuka version was repeatedly referenced in media by the United Stages, such as “the starter for the further international productions” (VBW 2012) or “a milestone for the extraordinary success history” (VBW 2019). As mentioned in these expressions, the United Stages continued to export their productions to countries and regions, and in most cases except in English-speaking countries, celebrated their successful regional versions.

Following the case of completely Takarazukanized *Elisabeth*, Wiener musicals boosted the export not with a package license but with a small license, including the original libretto, music, and performing rights. Basically, all the elements including direction, choreography, costume, lighting, and the others had to be newly created by the local team for its own version, and even the libretto and music were often revised with the approval of the original authors. For example, Kunze and Levay changed the whole scene structure for the Takarazuka version based on the requests by the Director Koike (Asahi 2016: 42–44; Tōhō 2015).

Moreover, the United Stages never strictly monitored the translation into the local language, exemplified by Koike’s drastic alterations in the translated libretto in Japanese that were not questioned. In this regard, Peter Back-Vega, the chief

dramaturg<sup>107</sup> of the United Stages, stressed that the regional versions should be flexible and independent of the licenser United Stages:

The American productions must be taken over with the same concept for direction. Then, the assistants and original directors come to us and monitor whether everything is really like the original version. [...] We do not have this strict pass-on of the production [...]. The productions should be able to adapt themselves to the circumstances of each performing place. [That is why] there are regional directors and costume designers.<sup>108</sup>

Here, the word “American productions” implied the megamusical that were known as the form that “typically originate[s] on Broadway in New York or in London’s West End but [is] copied in franchise productions worldwide, usually running for years, even decades, and becoming fixed global cultural reference points” (Allain/Harvie 2014: 206–208). Although Back-Vega deliberately put all the US-American musicals into a blanket term, and even not all the megamusicals spread their replicated productions all over the world,<sup>109</sup> this discourse of “their” Americanism—or “Anglo-Saxon”<sup>110</sup>—versus “our” Vienneseness, has often appeared in the discussion about the musical in Vienna.

It is remarkable that the United Stages have continued to represent Wiener musicals as an alternative to Broadway and West End productions with the flexible

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<sup>107</sup> Here I shall use the term “dramaturg,” emphasizing the position of “Dramaturg” at public theater in German-speaking countries since the eighteenth century. In this context, dramaturg/Dramatrug professionally coordinates theater activities acrossing artistic production, adminisrtation, and public affairs.

<sup>108</sup> According to the interview with Back-Vega (Gruber 2010: 317–318).

<sup>109</sup> For example, *Cats* (1981) revised the “Growltiger’s Last Stand” for Broadway in 1982 and thereafter incorporated the change into other productions including in London.

<sup>110</sup> In Austria, the term “Anglo-Saxon” or “Anglo-American” was often used in academia (e.g. Pelz 1995; Wildbihler 1999; Schmittner 2006) and in journalism (e.g. the critique of *Rudolf* in *Die Presse*, 2009, February 27). The same idiom was also found in Germany (e.g. Schäfer 1998).

adaptation strategy, i.e. each regional theater should work on its own adaptation(s). In the program of the third Viennese version of *Elisabeth* in 2012, a musical critic, Tobias Hell, highlighted that “different from the American and English mass productions, which almost always determine the stage concept in adaptations, more freedom for the most part is given to the theaters [adapting] *Elisabeth*” (VBW 2012). Each regional version became promoted as a result of co-creation between regional theatre and the original authors<sup>111</sup> and was ultimately labelled as “a living music theater work,” being compared to most hit musicals that “froze” the performing style of the premiere (ibid.).

Although flexible adaptation strategy brought lower royalties than the megamusicals, licensing business was not essentially required for subsidized Wiener musicals. Rather than assuring the same quality of each regional production, it was advantageous for the United Stages to try out something new and experimental that initially occurred to fit to each regional framework outside of Vienna, and some of which would be transregionally valid. For instance, the song “Ai to Shi no Rondo” (originally written for the Takarazuka version in 1996) was exported to Hungary in the same year and finally was incorporated into the third Viennese version (2012) with the name of “Rondo.” Accordingly, compared to the traditional production style on Broadway in the 1940s, where musicals were tried out and completed for the premiere, Wiener musicals could be distinguished by a reverse development system—try out after perfecting, so that the production remains never imperfect.

#### **4. 2. 2. The Local Impact in Japan**

*Erizabēto* also had a domestic impact—it opened the consumable world of the Habsburg

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<sup>111</sup> It partly led to the concept of the “Drama Musical” (see also Chapter 5.2.1).

Monarchy to the theater industry in Japan and finally set a new trend of adaptation-friendly musicals. Now it should be asked what gave such power to *Erizabēto* in Japan. To answer the question, three following points are considered: the sociocultural circumstances (Chapter 4.2.2.1), the acceptance history of popular musical theater since the 1930s (Chapter 4.2.2.2), and its marketing demands since the 1980s (Chapter 4.2.2.3).

#### 4. 2. 2. 1. The Habsburg Boom in Japan

With regard to the historical theme of *Elisabeth*, it was notable that the “Habsburg boom” (*Nikkei*, April 8, 1993) arose in publishing and tourist industries as well as in classes and workshops for adult education provided by private culture centers<sup>112</sup> in Japan in the 1990s. The boom started with books, such as *Hapusuburuku-ke* (House of the Habsburg, 1990) and *Erizabēto* (Elisabeth, 1992), which soon became the best sellers. Sequentially, many books about the Habsburg Monarchy<sup>113</sup> were published to re-value the multinationalism of the Habsburg Monarchy and appreciate its luxurious culture in a decadent mood (*Nikkei*, op. cit.; *Asahi*, November 6, 1994). Nevertheless, this feature blindly reflected the “Habsburg myth,”<sup>114</sup> or the common characteristics of Austrian literature and its derivations—Viennese operetta in particular—to mystify the Habsburg

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<sup>112</sup> Culture centers (a.k.a. *bunka sentā*) in Japan offer paid liberal arts classes and workshops mainly for adults. Since the Sankei, one of the biggest daily newspaper companies in Japan, founded Sankei Gakuin (Sankei School in 1955, private companies in mass media. Distribution industries also opened cultural centers since the 1980s.

<sup>113</sup> For example, the best sellers included *Hapusuburuku Monogatari* (The Story of the Habsburgs, 1993), *Hapusuburuku no Hitobito* (The Habsburg People, 1993), *Kouhi Erizabēto* (The Empress Elisabeth, 1994), *Hapusuburuku no Kunshuzō* (The Portraits of Habsburg Emperors, 1994), *Ikarosu no Shittsui* (The Fall of Icarus, 1994), *Hapusuburuku Rekishi Monogatari* (The Historical Tale of the Habsburgs, 1994), and *Furantsu Yōzefu* (Franz Joseph, 1994).

<sup>114</sup> Magris (1963) critically discussed about the term “Habsburg myth,” defining it as a fictionalized and conserved image of the Habsburg Monarchy—a multinational state in bureaucratism and hedonism since the fin de siècle era. It founded the basement of Austrian cultural politics and has remained in them (cf. Bauer 2014).



Monarchy. In parallel with growing interest in the royal families prompted by British Princess Diana (married Prince Charles in 1981) and Japanese Princess Masako (m. 1993), many German and French publications about the Empress Elisabeth were also translated into Japanese from 1996 to 2001.<sup>115</sup>

Increasing demands for the “intellectual entertainment” (ibid.) were also reflected in new package tours from Japan to Austria, such as All Nippon Airways’ “Kareinaru Hapusuburuku-ke no Ashiato wo Tazunete” (Following the Paths of the Great Habsburg, 1992), Tōbu Travel’s “Hapusuburuku-ke no Eikō wo Tazunete” (The Visit to the Glory of the Habsburgs, 1992), and the Asahi’s “Hapusuburuku Teikoku-shi” (The History of the Habsburg Empire, 1993). Following the trend in Japan, the Austrian National Tourist Office has stressed the “Habsburg” theme for the tourism business strategy to Japan since 1992. In fact, the increasing tourists from Japan<sup>116</sup> amounted to only 5.5% of all tourists in Austria in 1997, but they spent approximately 3,900 schillings per day, which was 50% to 100% more money than tourists from other countries (*Nikkei*, April 21, 1998).

#### 4. 2. 2. 2. Viennese Nostalgia in the Takarazuka Revue

The Takarazuka Revue immediately caught the Habsburg boom with *Koibito-tachi no Shōzō* (Portraits of Lovers, 1991) and the second version of *Utakata no Koi* (Ephemeral

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<sup>115</sup> Such as Catherine Clément’s *Sissi: L’impératrice Anarchiste* (Sissi: The Empress Anarchist, 1992, transl. 1997); Marieluise von Ingenheim’s *Sissy: Ein Herz und eine Krone* (Sissy: The Heart and the Crown, 1985) and *Sissy: Aus dem Tagebuch einer Kaiserin* (Sissy: From the Diary of An Empress, 1986, both transl. 1997); Gabriele Praschl-Bichler’s *... von dem müden Haupte nehm’ die Krone ich herab – Kaiserin Elisabeth privat* (... From the Tired Head, I Take the Crown: Empress Elisabeth in Private, 1995, transl. 1998); Martha Schad’s *Elisabeth von Österreich* (Elisabeth of Austria, 1998, transl. 2000); Brigitte Hamann’s *Elisabeth: Kaiserin wider Willen* (Elisabeth: Empress Against Wills, 1981, transl. 2001).

<sup>116</sup> After introducing the Boeing 747 and bulk fare (the discount for buying blocks of seats) in 1969, the number of Japanese tourists in Austria—more than the half of whom visited Vienna—increased steadily until 2000 (Statistik Austria 2003).

Love, 1983, inspired by Anet's *Mayerling*).<sup>117</sup> After *Erizabēto* came out in 1996, *Ai to Kodoku no Hate ni: Rūtobihhi Nisei* (Ludwig II: To the Other Side of Dreams and Solitude, 2000), *Hapusuburuku no Hōken* (The Treasure Sword of Habsburg, 2010), and *Sōtō no Washi* (The Eagle with Two Heads, adapted from Cocteau's novel, 2016) were also created. The interrelation of each production was often pointed out in media exposure.<sup>118</sup>

It was not surprising that the Habsburg boom so quickly settled down in the repertoire of the Takarazuka Revue, when considering the company's role in the cultural history of modern popular musical theater in Japan. The Takarazuka Revue introduced the Viennese operetta—once again, the “original” carrier of the Habsburg myth—to Japan in the 1930s through the in-house directors and composers, who had been sent to European countries in the early nineteenth century.<sup>119</sup> They developed a new theatrical style for new bourgeois audiences in Japan, not only modeled after some forms of Western popular musical theater but also based on Japanese traditional musical theater. Notably, the Takarazuka Revue fabricated the imaginary nostalgia for Europe, which most people knew but had never been, in a Japanese society under rapid westernization since 1868 (Kamiyama 2014b: 120; Kawasaki 1999: 226–228).

The occidentalistic feeling toward the West survived in the Takarazuka Revue after the Second World War and functioned as a basis of the Habsburg boom in theater since the mid-1990s. *Elisabeth* carried a discourse of “re-discovering (cultural)

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<sup>117</sup> *Utakata no Koi* was performed seven times by 2019 (1983, 1993, 1999, 2000, 2006, 2013, 2018).

<sup>118</sup> The same phenomenon appeared in the productions related to *Rose of Versailles* (1974). Suzuki (2010: 26) pointed out the link to Japanese pre-modern popular theater, especially *kabuki* and *jōruri*, in which form many works were written with the same theme, and sometimes reusing the same characters and stories.

<sup>119</sup> For example, Shirai Tetsuzō (Paris) and Hori Seiki (Berlin). The composer, Nakagawa Eizō, experienced Viennese operettas in Vienna around 1930 (cf. Nakagawa 12/1930).

origin,”<sup>120</sup> namely following the history of modern popular musical theater, in parallel with the demands of cultural sophistication in Japan after the materialistic and rapid economic growth until the mid-1970s.

Practically, the nostalgia for Vienna caused selective importation of Wiener musicals to Japan. By 2006, *Mozart!* (the Japanese title as “Mōtsaruto!,” Tōhō 2002) and *Tanz der Vampire* (the Japanese title as “Dansu obu Banpaia,” Tōhō 2006)—both as costume plays set in the (former) territory of the Habsburg Monarchy—were adapted in Japan. These productions were not excessively adapted like *Elisabeth*, but were newly directed (Koike Shūichiro for *Mozart!*; Yamada Kazuya for *Tanz der Vampire*) with opulent costume and stage set, often newly designed or reworked for the star performers.<sup>121</sup> Meanwhile, the musicals with modern material, such as *F@lco*, *Wake Up*, and *Barbarella*, remained for the Viennese market. Next to the problem of their quality, the productions were hardly recognized as Viennese by the Japanese audience, according to the tight association between “Wiener musicals” and the “Habsburg Monarchy” in the 1990s and 2000s.

#### 4. 2. 2. 3. The Adaptation-Friendly Musical After the Megamusical Boom

Against these backgrounds as discussed above, Wiener musicals were recontextualized and kept being offered to the Japanese audiences. Meanwhile, Wiener musicals also changed the structure of the Japanese market swept by Broadway and West End

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<sup>120</sup> Hayashibe Mitsuyoshi, the editor of *Habsburg Family*, explained that the readers enjoyed to “re-discover Europe ... not only as the origin of modernization” (*Nikkei*, April 8, 1993). Sunaga Asahiko, the author of Habsburg-related books, highlighted Vienna as “a crossroad of European cultures” (*Nikkei*, November 6, 1994).

<sup>121</sup> On this point, it is notable that Yamaguchi Yūichiro (b. 1956), one of the most popular musical performers in Japan, kept appearing in every Japanized Wiener musical, often as a protagonist. Regarding the productions mentioned above, Yamaguchi performed Death (*Elisabeth*) for 12 years, Archbishop Colloredo (*Mozart!*) for 17 years ongoing, and Count Krolock (*Tanz der Vampire*) for 13 years ongoing (see also Chapter 6.2.1).

productions since the 1960s.

The Broadway-style musical was introduced to Japan with *Kiss Me Kate* (Broadway 1948; Tōhō 1963). The Tōhō and the Takarazuka Revue were established by the same entrepreneur (see also Chapter 1.1.2), and therefore, they did not compete with each other but rather took the initiative in learning and adopting the Broadway style for performances in Japan.

From the mid-1960s to the 1990s, the Tōhō actively imported hit musicals from Broadway, inviting the performers who experienced each original production on Broadway, such as Sammy Dallas Bayers for *Fiddler on the Roof* (Broadway 1964; Tōhō 1967, hereafter *Fiddler*) and Eddie Roll for *Man of La Mancha* (Broadway 1965; Tōhō 1969, hereafter *La Mancha*). The Takarazuka Revue embraced the Broadway-style musical with *Oklahoma!* (Broadway 1943; Takarazuka 1967), which was performed not in the conventional method of the Takarazuka Revue in makeup, costume, and acting for the star system, but precisely according to the Broadway style under the direction of Gemze de Lappe, an assistant of the original director/choreographer Agnes De Mille. Whereas the Takarazuka Revue ran the large number of imported Broadway (and later West End) musicals, each of which was basically run for a couple of months (that is, an annual total of nine productions), the Tōhō tended to bring the successful musical onto the stage over and again with different star performers.

While adhering to the audiovisual reproduction of Broadway productions with special focus on choreography,<sup>122</sup> Japanese musical producers kept underlining the

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<sup>122</sup> Among the three invitees mentioned above, Bayers and Lappe were dancer/choreographer. Additionally, the Shiki, another large theater company specializing in the genre musical, introduced dance classes for a resident ensemble, based on the Broadway training system (see also Asari 1999[1983]: 330).

importance of adaptation for the Japanese audience to sympathize with the narrative.<sup>123</sup> Considering that Japanese importers were not allowed to revise the copyrighted elements, they often invented a local-oriented atmosphere in acting and casting. In this regard, it is notable that the Tōhō's chairman, Matsuoka Isao (b. 1934, in office: 1977–2009), developed the intermittent long run for the musical in Japan (*Nikkei*, June 26, 2016). In this system, all the productions would be adapted with the star system, and only the successful production could be performed again and again until its popularity would decline. For example, *Fiddler* focused more on the patriarchal relationship centering Tevye performed by the star actor, Morishige Hisaya<sup>124</sup> (1913–2009, as Tevye: 1967–1986), than on the original theme portraying the Jewish group in the Pale of Settlement of Imperial Russia (*Yomiuri*, October 5, 1967). In *La Mancha*, the kabuki actor, Ichikawa Somegorō VII (1942–),<sup>125</sup> has been playing the leading role (Miguel de Cervantes/Don Quixote) for 50 years since 1969, with his hybridized performing style of Japanese and Western theater to make the audiences feel close to the unfamiliar musical language (cf. *Asahi*, May 18, 1969).

In the 1980s, the megamusical rapidly spread in Japan, with the understanding that their “direction, stage design, costume, and the other elements were exported to all over the world in the same way as the original production” (*Asahi*, April 21, 2007).<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> In this regard, Shiki's Director Asari stated that “man had to dare to recook [the musical] to suit the Japanese society” (*Yomiuri*, January 3, 1979). Noguchi (1983) pointed out “either a serious realistic drama or a slapstick comedy was able to make the audience cry or laugh, but the drama with singing turned them off” because “the audience for popular theater at that time was not acquainted with the musical.”

<sup>124</sup> Morishige is a Japanese stage/television actor and comedian. He began his stage career at the Tokyo Takarazuka Gekijo (current the Tōhō) in 1936, turned into an announcer for the Japan Broadcasting Corporation in 1939, and became the most famous actor in films, television, and stage in the post-war era.

<sup>125</sup> Following the tradition of kabuki as family business, the kabuki actor succeeds the names of his ancestor or master. Somegorō took the name Matsumoto Kōshirō IX in 1981, and since 2018, he became Matsumoto Hakuō (see also 6.1.3.2).

<sup>126</sup> Among several exceptions, *Jesus Christ Superstar* was first adapted into the “Japonesque version”

Comparing the negative reception in Vienna (see also Chapter 4.2.1), Japan was relatively favorable to the megamusical, according to the following description sequentially coming after the definition above: “the *sophisticated* musical culture in the English-speaking countries was directly taken over [to each performing site]” (ibid., *Italics mine*). In other words, the megamusical was considered as part of US-American and British “sophisticated” cultures, which Japanese people were longing for.

Since the megamusicals were run in the same system on Broadway—the Shiki Theater took a lead in the systematic running system independent from the star system in Japan—the megamusicals could never fully respond to the expectations from the Japanese musical fans, who often paid special attention to the specific performer. Regarding the fan culture, it was notable that the Takarazuka Revue developed with an ardent patronage system, in which the fans supported their favorite performer not by donation but through indirect contribution such as multiple visits of one production regardless of its quality, and watching the performance in a special manner, exemplified by clapping every time the favorite performer appeared on stage, or gazing at her with opera glasses during the entire performance.<sup>127</sup> On the basis of these ardent fans, the Takarazuka Revue produced performances with the star system.

Ultimately, in the mid-1990s, *Erizabēto* (Elisabeth) stood out in the mainstream of Broadway and West End musicals in Japan, with recognition as “an ever-growing production in higher flexibility” (ibid.). According to the demands of the Japanese market, this flexibility was suitable for re-focusing the star performers. *Erizabēto* was successfully indigenized and became as popular as other Tōhō musicals, including *Les Misérables* (West End 1985; Japan 1987) and *Miss Saigon* (West End 1989; Japan 1992),

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(Shiki 1973), adopting the visual elements of kabuki. After three years, the “Jerusalem version” (Shiki 1976) was also created following the Broadway production.

<sup>127</sup> As for the ardent fan culture of Takarazuka Revue, see also Miyamoto (2011).

as well as the Takarazuka Revue's lineup counting *Guys and Dolls* (Broadway 1950; Japan 1984) and *Me and My Girl* (West End 1937; Japan 1987).

#### **4. 3. Mutually Beneficial Relation between Vienna and Japan through Musicals**

The different contexts of Vienna and Japan formed and developed the “ever-growing” nature of Wiener musicals, and finally, it resulted in a mutually beneficial relationship between these venues. This phenomenon had two functions: (1) as a response to the demands for re-localization of the musical, and (2) overwriting the original locality with the “Wiener flair” (Viennese flair)—or offering the plastic Vienneseness—in each regional production.

##### **4. 3. 1. As a Response to the Demands for Re-localization under Globalization**

From the global perspective, the mutual beneficial relations did not function as a perfect substitute for the megamusical in terms of market scale and stylistic penetration. However, the interactive manner of Wiener musicals certainly demonstrated against the conventional perspective of globalization through musicals since the end of the twentieth century, which was criticized as “one-way cultural exchange” in *The Guardian's* (September 8, 2010) article titled “Globalised Theatre and the Rise of the Monster Musicals,” with the following question as a conclusion:

Should we really be clapping the ubiquity of a homogenised theatre culture across the planet, where your musical adventure, from Seoul to São Paulo, can take on the same uniformity as your cup of Starbucks coffee?

This journalist took up a case of Disney musicals in the late 1990s, which “arguably kickstarted the trend for shipping out assembly-line monster musicals from Broadway and London” (ibid.). In this context, “globalization” was regarded as a synonym for worldwide homogenization of theater culture modeled after the style of Broadway and the West End.

Not surprisingly, such deepening and prevalent globalization with the mass-produced musicals created the need for a reactionary strategy toward something local. Against this background, Wiener musicals expanded in 20 countries<sup>128</sup> in East-Central and Northern Europe—including the Eastern Bloc countries that joined globalization after around 1991—as well as East Asia, with flexible adaptation. This strategy exerted an effect in theaters outside of the United States and the United Kingdom, with the specific experience; that is, failed or less effective adoption of the Broadway-style musical since the theater was not exclusively designed and/or renovated for the musical as the Broadway theater empirically equipped. In other words, flexible adaptation was a new solution for various environmental limitations, for instance, in stage shape and size, as well as production system and cost. In this regard, it is striking that the megamusical often requires the specific technological and electronic equipment to provide a spectacle, on which every stage element transforms in perfect synchronization in the exact way of the original production. This can be demanding for theaters that capsule and maintain the pre-modern architectural style and are utilized for multiple purposes, especially for “classical” music and theater, as often seen in European countries and regions.

Notably, in Europe, the United Stages was able to utilize the cultural history for

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<sup>128</sup> Belgium, China, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Poland, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, South Korea, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States.



their expansion in emphasizing the appreciation of “mentality, the understanding of audience, [and] the characteristics of the performer” in each performing site (VBW 2003: 14).<sup>129</sup> This slogan was often associated with the Habsburg Monarchy in the specific cities and regions—symbolically, Budapest became the second earliest partner for Vienna, and *Elisabeth* was performed in the exact city where the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary was established.

Additionally, in terms of competition—which is indispensable for all types of musical business—Japan was an ideal partner for the United Stages because Japan was not likely to interfere with the United Stages’ monopolization of musicals in Vienna. By contrast, the German partner, Stella (and later Stage Entertainment), remained a neighboring threat to the United Stages. Whereas Germany selectively imported Wiener musicals while being wary of the competition,<sup>130</sup> Japan imported the most diverse Wiener musicals. Ultimately, Japan has continued to be the largest market for the United Stages.

#### **4. 3. 2. Overwriting the “Viennese Flair,” or Plastic Vienneseness**

When the musical would attain the ever-growing nature through the constant overwriting of its characteristics with the local contexts as occurred in Japan, the question remained whether Wiener musicals still owed their locality—here I shall use the term, “Wiener Flair” or its translation (“Viennese flair”), which the United Stages International (est. 2009, former: VBW Cultural Management and Event) always used for describing their productions.

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<sup>129</sup> Referred to Back-Vega’s statement (VBW 2003; 2012); see also Asahi 2007.

<sup>130</sup> In Germany, *Elisabeth* (2001), *Tanz der Vampire* (2000), *Mozart!* (2001), *Rebecca* (2011), and *Don Camillo und Peppone* (2019) were performed.

#### 4. 3. 2. 1. Transcultural Performance and Locality

Regarding a general feature of transcultural performances, Fischer-Lichte (2010: 4) discussed “interweaving cultures in performances.” Distinguishing from “intercultural” performances that fused Western and non-Western cultural components, Fischer-Lichte (id.: 14–15) pointed out the performances that came out of the end of colonialism in the 1960s, as a result of exchanges between permanently changing and transitive cultures in a combination of texts, acting styles, stages, and scenic devices. In the special “interweaving” production process, the performance inevitably reflects every locality, and thereby, attains “something new which is neither one nor the other but both at the same time” (id.: 12). Fischer-Lichte called it as a “liminal experience” or in-betweenness<sup>131</sup> in the performance that equips multiple localities.

On the other hand, the musical has basically represented its initial and normalized US-American locality. Leonard Bernstein (1918–1990) clearly pointed out that—although it was mentioned at the very beginning of the dissertation, I shall repeat the same excerpts here since it came straight to the point—the musical emerged from the very specific, local frame: “the American musical theater” was “an art that arises out of American roots, out of our [American] speech, our tempo, our moral attitudes, our way of moving” (Bernstein 1959: 174–179). Nevertheless, increasing the economic and industrial values of the musical in global mobility and distribution, the “original” locality became capsulized in the copyrighted production and represented in the franchise system of the megamusical.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Originally referenced Homi Bhabha’s (1994) “third space.”

<sup>132</sup> Discussion on “originality” from the perspectives of cultural history and local economics, see also Chapter 5.2.4.2.

#### 4. 3. 2. 2. The Relativistic Branding of the “Viennese Flair”

According to these two transcultural cases, Wiener musicals—given how contradictory this terminology was (see also Chapter 2.2.3)—can be described as a hybrid of both cases.

Characteristically, Wiener musicals changed their localness from one performing site to another, while the United Stages’ dramaturgs also paid attention to whether each regional version would maintain the “essentials” (Gruber 2010: 318)—nevertheless, the “essentials” were left undefined. Furthermore, as mentioned in the previous section, the United Stages exported the small license of music, libretto—both of which could be revised for the regional production—and performing rights. If Wiener musicals would have the “essentials,” they could never belong to the changeable elements and forms.

When we try to identify the “essentials” as localness—as the name of “Wiener” musical displays—it comes out that the Vienneseness can be also plastic and interpretable in each local context. That is, the label of “Wiener” signifies differently in each performing site, especially based on diplomatic, touristic and cultural relations between Vienna and the relevant region in the past and present.

Japan is the best example: the Japanese versions of Wiener musicals never fully represented the initial themes and forms that belonged to the local history of Vienna—even the musical style of *Elisabeth* was misunderstood as “operatic” in Japan (*Asahi*, June 10, 1996).<sup>133</sup> Instead of the “original” locality, the Japanese versions were dedicated to illuminating the leading performers and embodying the fictionalized and

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<sup>133</sup> The musical structure in the Viennese version of *Elisabeth* was never understood as operatic, as seen in the critique such as “very cheap acoustic costumes for rent, where something schmaltzy with obviously worn out signs next to glitters of disco- and cinemascope sounds” (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, September 5/6, 1992) and “Sylvester Levay’s flat, naive, roaring music—[the collection of] third-handed [Andrew] Webber, [Kurt] Weill, [Hans] Eisler and [Ennio] Morricone” (*Nürnberger Nachrichten*, September 5, 1992).

distorted image of Vienna with a special affinity with this former imperial capital, in other words, the westernized nostalgia; thereby, Wiener musicals represented the Japanized Viennese flair for the local audience in Japan.<sup>134</sup>

The intercommunicative nature of the Viennese flair in Wiener musicals might be attributable to the cosmopolitan city of Vienna in the modern era, when the city was not indigenously cosmopolitan, but rather, it was the place where people took cosmopolitan ideas seriously (Steinberg 2003: 169). Those ideas often appeared together with the Habsburg myth in the fictive forms—literature, film, and musical theater. From this cultural-historical perspective, flexible adaptation would properly represent the Vienneseness as imagined and mystified, and that would validate Wiener musicals with flexible adaptation as a capitalistic derivation of Felix Austria: “Let others wage war: thou, happy Austria, marry’.”

Nevertheless, the relativistic branding of “Wiener musicals” was never solely advantageous to their place of birth. In Vienna, the United Stages’ export strategy encountered pragmatic problems within Vienna itself and its cultural politics that were going to shake the foundation of Wiener musicals (see Chapter 5). Considering the global market, East Asian countries paid increasingly more attention to musicals born in Continental Europe.<sup>135</sup> The Japanese market was opened for Parisian musicals with the introduction of *Le Passe-muraille* (The Passer-Through-Walls, Paris 1997; Shiki 2000), and transnational collaborations in both production and adaptation began with Frank

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<sup>134</sup> This fanciful nature of pseudo-European site can be associated with Ruritanian romance; a literature genre was established in Europe in the nineteenth century and characterized by an adventurous story with love and chivalry in a fictional European country.

<sup>135</sup> In this context, it was remarkable that *Linie 1* (Line 1, 1986) by Berlin’s Grips Theater was adapted by Kim Min-ki with the local setting in South Korea in 1994, which was performed in Seoul for approximately 20 years, and after that, appeared as short-term revivals. *Linie 1* has been performed in 15 countries (as of 2012), but remained an isolated case of the Grips Theater. Regarding *Linie 1* and its Korean version, see also Pottag (2010).

Wildhorn's *Never Say Goodbye* (Takarazuka 2006).<sup>136</sup> This generated the further need for a musical completely rooted in the Japanese context, a need that was met with *Marie Antoinette* in 2006 (see Chapter 6).

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<sup>136</sup> Some original Japanese musicals outsourced stage elements to well-known creators outside Japan. For example, composition and lyrics, direction, musical direction, and choreography were entrusted to the international team for *Scarlet* (Tōhō 1970; West End 1972). This almost-non-Japanese production was distinguished from *Never Say Goodbye*, which was made by the creative team mostly consisted of the resident artists of Takarazuka Revue, except for Shukubi Yō (vocal training) and Oku Shūtarō (video design)—though both had already worked for the Takarazuka Revue.

## **PART II. 2006 AND AFTER: PURSUING SOMETHING LOCAL**

### **5. A TURNING POINT FOR WIENER MUSICALS IN 2006**

In the continuing discussions of the efficient and proper operation of the United Stages Vienna, the public benefit of Wiener musicals became highlighted in both political and academic discourses under the new government in Vienna City. Subsequently, a structural reform of the United Stages was carried out in 2006. It was a turning point for Wiener musicals that had to be recognized by the key players in the municipal cultural politics.

How did the United Stages change their strategy in 2006? This chapter discusses the reform of the United Stages (Chapter 5.1) and its impact on Wiener musicals (Chapter 5.2), with an emphasis on the influence of Vienna's municipal cultural politics.

#### **5. 1. Structural Reform of the United Stages Vienna in 2006**

##### **5. 1. 1. Being (Also) Politically Meaningful in Vienna**

The United Stages Vienna began as an Austrian limited liability company in 1987, jointly operating three theaters in Vienna: the Theater an der Wien, the Raimund Theater, and the Ronacher (the Kammeroper was added in 2012). Since the success of *Elisabeth* (1992) both in and outside Vienna, the United Stages produced Wiener musicals and launched them into the international market. However, Wiener musicals moved out of their “home,” the Theater an der Wien, which was relabeled “a new opera house” in 2006, reframing its policies in response to Vienna's new municipal cultural politics.

European popular musical theater—an interdisciplinary topic that often belongs

to musicology—has in recent years been examined in terms of public financing and influence on the masses, exemplified by Walter’s (1997) social and legal historiography of opera in the nineteenth century. In Austria, the theme of cultural politics had been a research object in economics rather than in political studies, but more recent studies have been interdisciplinary in an effort to disentangle a complex of actual situations. Regarding the cultural-political conditions of theaters in Austria, studies on the Bundestheater (federal theaters), including the Burgtheater, the Vienna State Opera, and the Volksoper, were carried out respectively (Moser 1998; Lukas 2009; Vieten 2016). However, there was much less interests shown at the state and municipal levels. Perhaps most notably, the case of Vienna City—which is not only the capital city but an Austrian state as well—was only discussed in Konrad’s (2010) survey of the cultural budget and Paya’s (2010) thesis on Viennese theater reform in 2003, which essentially changed the municipal cultural promotion system: from an equal-shares-for-all principle into an all-or-nothing policy. Among the few relevant studies in Japanese, the most remarkable are Kobayashi’s (2004) country-by-country study of the Culture Promotion Law at the federal and state levels in Austria, and Kanayama’s (2017) historiographical analysis of the annual international cultural festival, Wiener Festwochen (Viennese Festival Weeks).

The United Stages and their former status have been examined from the perspectives of economics and media studies, as well as in philological and cultural studies. Mader (1986) analyzed the management of the Theater an der Wien (which had belonged to the United Stages since 1987). Maslo (2000) focused on the United Stages’ media exposure included constant discussions of the municipal budget. Gruber (2010) took on the subsidy problem in the historiography of Wiener musicals up to 2006.

However, these studies concentrated on the phenomena of the United Stages before the reform of 2006; hence, company's strategic shift and its crucial impact on the further development of Wiener musicals in the past decade have not been explored.

The being-politically-meaningful process shapes cultural practice within specific social, political and economic frames. It echoes the perspective of *Kulturbetriebslehre*,<sup>137</sup> namely, a focus on cultural and economic values, which are interactively generated in the “historically developed, social organizational form of conception, production, distribution, mediation, reception, conservation and preservation of specific cultural properties” (Zembylas 2004: 13).

From this perspective, the United Stages' strategic shift in 2006 is related to their institutional framework. The organization is engaged not only in the import of the musicals from the international market and the export of their original productions to domestic and non-domestic venues but also in the operation of the municipal theaters in trust to Vienna City under the annual municipal budget. Thus, the United Stages' artistic director and business manager (and later the general director, as well) had the discretion to operate the theaters, but would necessarily have to negotiate with the city council for the amount of the annual municipal budget they would receive. Determinations were to be made by the relevant Municipal Departments.<sup>138</sup> Even personnel changes could be hardly discussed without becoming the subject of cultural politics around Vienna; indeed, the company's business manager was sometimes chosen from political circles,

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<sup>137</sup> In German-speaking countries, *Kulturbetriebslehre* emerged from management studies such as cultural economy or cultural management studies in the 1980s. Whereas management studies focused on the administrative aspect, *Kulturbetriebslehre* was distinguished by its interdisciplinary approach, e.g. jurisprudence, art sociology (Konrad 2011: 5–7).

<sup>138</sup> In terms of investment management, the United Stages basically belongs to the category “Finance, Economy and International” under the Municipal Department 5 (Affair of Public Finance and Household). From the perspective of the global budget, the Municipal Department 7 (Affair of Culture) also participates in the determination of the budget for the United Stages (Kontrollamt der Stadt Wien 2008: 21).



in particular, the Social Democratic Party—the majority party in Vienna’s municipal government since 1945.

Although the United Stages was essentially embedded in Vienna’s municipal cultural politics as such, with their specialty, namely Wiener musicals, their activities remained both regular and irregular in Vienna, since the genre musical inevitably represented the picture of show business, and the city’s cultural politics were historically oriented toward the musical tradition. Therefore, the United Stages’ reform in 2006 emerged as a symbolic and decisive event in re-defining their cultural-political role in Vienna and ultimately revealed how the genre musical would be recognized in the cultural scene of the city.

In the following subsections, the details of the reform and its historical and sociopolitical backgrounds are analyzed (Chapter 5.1.2). The status of the United Stages in comparison with the federal theater (Chapter 5.1.3) and show business outside of Austria (Chapter 5.1.4) is also examined. In the process, the difficulties faced by Wiener musicals in their efforts to gain cultural-political meaning in Vienna become a central theme.<sup>139</sup>

## **5. 1. 2. The 200<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Theater an der Wien**

### **5. 1. 2. 1. Anti-Musical Movements at the Theater an der Wien**

In Vienna, constant and intense criticism of the musical has continued unabated since the Volksoper Wien introduced the musical to the city in the 1950s. The Volksoper, and since 1962, the Theater an der Wien were constantly at the center of the discussions (see also Chapter 2.1). On the one hand, the Volksoper, which stabilized the musical as one

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<sup>139</sup> Chapter 5.1 was developed from Tanaka (2018b), with translation from Japanese to English and many revisions with the results given in the additional survey.

of the main theatrical categories, was designated one of federal theaters in 1955 and became incorporated into the inheritors of the Habsburger court theater. On the other hand, the annual schedule of the Theater an der Wien was generally under the managers' control, except for Wiener Festwochen between May and August, resulting in an increase in the performances of musicals from the 1960s.

A new trend of the megamusical arrived with the new artistic director of the Theater an der Wien, in an operational changeover in 1983: performance scheduling changed from an en suite system to a long-run system. Accordingly, the megamusicals and original productions were continuously performed except for the annual Festwochen. The long-run performances continued until 2000, improving the financial health of the theater (and that of the United Stages since 1987) by appealing to new audience groups, including tourists from neighboring states and countries and far beyond.

Nevertheless, theater directors, artists, journalists, and politicians, especially those who did not belong to or support the Social Democratic Party, maintained their critical view of the musicals at the Theater an der Wien, arguing that the genre devaluated the acoustics of the theater by using microphones in the live performances (Lang 2001: 150).<sup>140</sup>

The anti-musical movement intensified with the election of the state parliament and municipal council Vienna (which constitute the single legislature) in 2001. Taking advantage of the occasion, the general director of the Vienna State Opera, Ioan

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<sup>140</sup> The criticism of the “amplified” sound was not solely seen in Vienna but generally found in German-speaking countries. For example, the German jazz singer and stage actress, Ingeborg Brandenburg (1929–1999), contributed an article titled “Opera Singers Require No Microphone” to *Berliner Morgenpost* in 2002. She recognized that “opera singers and musical singers were specialists in their individual fields” and “crossover beyond the fields were successful.” However, she pointed out that “it belongs to the exclusiveness of opera that the singers can fill the space only with their voices” (*Berliner Morgenpost*, July 28, 2002).

Holender (b. 1935, in office: 1992–2010), led the discussion to exclude the musical from the Theater an der Wien. His supporters included opera singers such as Elisabeth Schwarzkopf (1915–2006), Cecilia Bartoli (b. 1966), and the conductor Riccardo Muti (b. 1941), as well as politicians of the Austrian People’s Party, including the then executive city councilor for cultural affairs, Peter Marboe (in office: 1996–2001), and the permanent secretary for arts and media, Franz Morak (in office: 2001–2007). In this regard, Franz Endler (1937–2002), the cultural journalist at *Kurier*, rationalized Holender’s idea from a following cultural-historical perspective:

To be honest, it is totally natural for me that in the house of Emanuel Schikaneder, Ludwig van Beethoven, and Frank Lehár, operetta and opera must be played and sung without technical amplification—not only during the Festwochen and summer periods but throughout the year. I believe, same as the Viennese mayor, that is the only right use of this jewel and that’s that (*Specs* 2001: 42).

Here, Endler’s historiography begins with the establishment in 1801 by Emanuel Schikaneder, who was known as a librettist and impresario of the Singspiel, *Zauberflöte* (Magic Flute, 1791). Subsequently, it recounts the fact that Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827) worked in the theater and composed his opera, *Fidelio* (1814), and referenced the contributions of Franz Lehár (1870–1948), who conducted and launched a number of operettas, including his *Lustige Witwe* (Merry Widow, 1905).

Notably, this historiography highlighted musical achievements from the time of

the Habsburg Monarchy until the beginning of World War II in 1939.<sup>141</sup> Thus, it closely corresponds to the identity politics prevalent in Austria based on the “cultural tradition,” or heritage of the House of Habsburg.<sup>142</sup> This perspective formed the basis of the claim that the Theater an der Wien should offer only opera and operetta in order to honor the historical value of the theater (regardless of the fact that opera and/or operetta had once been regarded as mass entertainment and had not functioned entirely as “serious” arts in the time of Schikaneder, Beethoven, and Lehár).<sup>143</sup> Consequently, the festival concert “200 Years Theater an der Wien” was held in 2002, featuring the classical works of Beethoven and Johann Strauß, performed by the prestigious Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra (APA-OTS, June 13, 2001).<sup>144</sup>

### **5. 1. 2. 2. The Reform in Municipal Cultural Politics**

In 2002, the new executive city councilor for cultural affairs, Andreas Mailath-Pokorny (in office: 2001–2010), announced that the Theater an der Wien was going to be utilized as an “opera house” beginning in the Season 2006/07 for the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Mozart’s birthday. The United Stages were to be divided into two sections. The opera

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<sup>141</sup> Lehár brought his new operettas and Singspiels to the stage at the Theater an der Wien during the First Republic (1918–1938), including *Die blaue Mazur* (The Blue Mazurka, 1920), *Frühling* (Springtime, 1922), *Frasquita* (1922), and *Die gelbe Jacke* (The Yellow Jacket, a.k.a. The Land of Smiles, 1923). During World War I (1914–1918), popular musical theater in Vienna was closed; the genre operetta subsequently declined while modern entertainment genres such as revue, kabarett, and film were on the rise (See also Linhardt 2006: 112–129).

<sup>142</sup> In this regard, it is notable that the Theater an der Wien functioned as an alternative site for the federal opera house, or Vienna State Opera, from 1945 to 1962, to represent the national identity inside and outside Austria with the motto, “Austria as cultural nation” (see also Chapter 2.1.1).

<sup>143</sup> For the social and culturehistorical position of musical theater performances by the Theater an der Wien in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see the historiography by Fritz Klingenberg, the then artistic director (in office: 1962–1965), and Britta Müller’s thesis (Klingenberg 1963; Müller 1992).

<sup>144</sup> The program consisted of two parts: The first act was dedicated to Strauß including “Overture” from the operetta *Waldmeister* (Woodruff, 1895), *Pizzicato-Polka* (1893, composed by Johann and Josef Strauß), *Frühlingsstimmen* (Spring’s Voice, 1883), *Ägyptischer Marsch* (Egyptian March, 1870), and “Overture” from the operetta *Der Zigeunerbaron* (The Gypsy Baron, 1885). In the second act, Beethoven’s *Symphony No. 6* (1808) was performed.

section would be newly settled in the Theater an der Wien, while the office and archives of the musical section would move to the Ronacher.<sup>145</sup> Under this plan, the United Stages would operate the Theater an der Wien and Kammeroper for the opera while utilizing the Ronacher and Raimund Theater for the musical (Fig. 3).

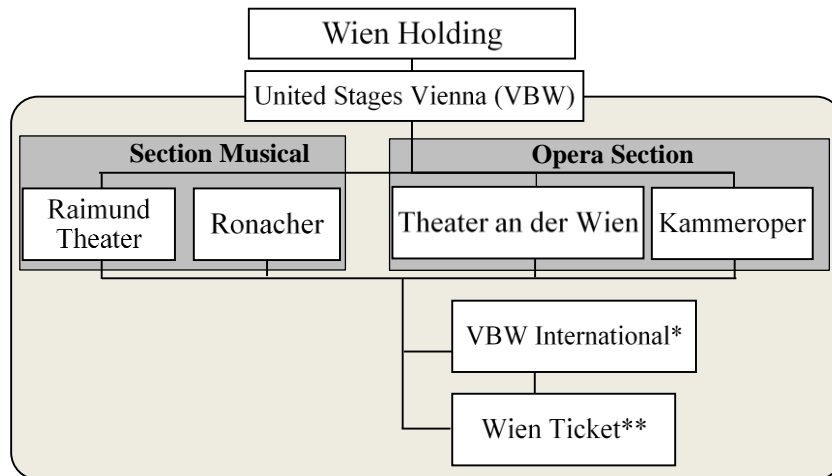


Figure 3. The Structure of the United Stages Vienna

\* VBW International GmbH was established in 2009 as a daughter company of the United Stages (Former form: VBW Cultural Management and Event).

\*\* Wien Ticket GmbH was established in 2004 for selling the tickets for the Wien Holding’s cultural companies such as the United Stages and Wiener Stadthalle, as well as for many cultural events in Austria. The company was shared by the Wien Holding, the VBW International, and Wiener Stadthalle.

This United Stages’ reform was recognized as one of the most important cultural strategies for Vienna, as Mailath-Pokorny explained in his preface to the *Annual Report of Arts and Cultures of Vienna City* in 2006. From the beginning, he understood the importance of Vienna in Austrian cultural and foreign policies (“Vienna as a cultural capital city is not a cliché but a truth—I repeatedly hear that when traveling abroad”), citing the following phrase of Hans Landesmann (1932–2013), the well-known impresario and cultural manager who steadily supported the Salzburg Festival: “For

<sup>145</sup> Instead, the Ronacher was renovated between 2005 and 2008 in order to install technical facilities and refurbish the old-style stage and auditorium, at a total cost of 18 million euros (*Ö1*, December 6, 2011).

artists, especially musicians, Vienna is the Elysian island” (Magistrat der Stadt Wien 2006: 7). Subsequently, Mailath-Pokorny defined the new concept of the Theater an der Wien as “a cultural-political feat that will result in great effects for Viennese musical lives,” stressing that this project has been promoted “with a broad consensus among the experts and politicians” (ibid.).

Regarding this reform, two perspectives from that time should be noted: (1) the correlation between federal and municipal policies for cultural promotion, and (2) the position of musical theater genres—opera and musical—in the cultural politics.

The first point related to the influence of the federal policy reversal in the late 1990s at the municipal level. In 1999, the People’s Party began to reduce cultural promotion at the federal level. In response, the Viennese municipal government, where the Social Democratic Party has taken a majority since 1945, took the opposite course, as Mailath-Pokorny stated in 2002:

The scope of municipal action is limited by federal cultural politics. The Federation decreases the subsidies especially for Viennese cultural institutions. If Vienna would not step in and help them out, they would have been locked out. Vienna endeavors to compensate for the financial gaps, from which the federal politics pulled back (Magistrat der Stadt Wien 2002: 7).

Whereas the former municipal government had promoted lower subsidies for larger number of cultural activities and attempted to de-politicize their processes in favor of free market principles, the new municipal government re-politicized them with intensive cultural promotion for more selected objects. This new cultural policy caused a

realignment of the municipal investment agency, Wiener Holding, which had been established in 1984 (see also Chapter 3.2.2.2). In 2002, it was renamed Wien Holding and proceeded to buy back 75 companies that had been sold off in the 1990s (Wien Holding 2012: 21). Rather than its former mission of developing local economy in Vienna, Wien Holding began to provide the municipal subsidies and know-how to the companies of Vienna “as the cultural metropole in the heart of Europe” (Magistrat der Stadt Wien 2002: 7).

In this frame, the new municipal government featured the budget-consuming opera house as a cultural representative of the city rather than promoting the musical as an economic accelerator, with its detouring knock-on effect on the tourist and service industries, resisting the negative “foreign” image of the musical in the city. Still, the municipal government did not exclude the musical, as Mailath-Pokorny announced: “Vienna remains the city of opera *and* musical” (*Der Standard*, May 21, 2002, italics mine). This decision was made in recognition of the prior and potential economic and tourism-related effects of the musical, as recounted in *The Study of Economic Potentials of “Creative Industries” in Vienna* (2004), which identified the United Stages’ musicals as one of the effective vehicles for activating Viennese international business (Ratzenböck, et al. 2004: 183–185).

Consequently, the United Stages took a stronger and more crucial part in Vienna’s cultural politics in terms of both human and economic resources. In 2008, Thomas Drozda—the then general director of the Burgtheater (in office: 1998–2008) and the future Federal Minister for Arts and Culture, Constitution and Media (in office: 2016–2017)—was appointed as a general director of the United Stages. In the following year, the subsidies for the United Stages amounted to 21% of the entire municipal

cultural budget. Critical discussion of the genre, however, left unsolved and continued erupting (see also Chapter 5.2).

### **5. 1. 3. The Genre Musical in the Federal Theaters and the United Stages**

The United Stages took part in the cultural politics in Vienna as crucial and large extent as the federal theaters undertook at the federal level. Practically, the federal theaters and the United Stages have been the biggest holdings jointly operating large- and middle-scale theaters in Austria,<sup>146</sup> supported by the considerable public subsidies. More importantly, however, the United Stages are legally distinguished from the federal theaters.

The federal theaters are the 100% property of the Federation. Their financing and management policies were prescribed by the Bundestheaterorganisationsgesetz (Federal Theater Organization Law, hereafter “BThOG”), enacted in 1998. The law required that the federal theaters carry out certain mandated cultural-political missions, including the general duties assigned to the federal theaters as a whole (“play[ing] the fundamental role in the Austrian cultural lives” as “the representative stages of the Republic Austria,” BGBl. I Nr. 108/1998), as well as the specific roles of each theater. In 1999, the federal theaters were separated from the direct governmental administration,<sup>147</sup> accompanied by a change in legal status from public company to limited liability company affiliated with the Bundestheater Holding.<sup>148</sup> The purpose was to produce more effective and less dependent management of the theaters and to reflect

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<sup>146</sup> As of 2000, the Bundestheater Holding had the largest number of employees (2,088); The United Stages were second (610) (KMU Forschung Austria 2003: 32).

<sup>147</sup> Since the federal theaters constituted quite a large organization, they were separated gradually: firstly, from the Federal Chancellery to the Federal Ministry for Education and Cultural Affairs (BMUK); secondly, from the BMUK to external agencies.

<sup>148</sup> The Bundestheater Holding includes Vienna State Opera, Burgtheater, Volksoper, and the ART for ART Theaterservice (a provider of stage sets and props, costumes, and ticket sales).



the actual and cross-sectional situations of each theater, insulated from the complicated formalities of politics<sup>149</sup> (Springer/Othmar 2006: 568–570). In reality, however, the Bundestheater Holding has never been fully independent of politics, since the cultural-political status of the federal theaters, with the considerable public subsidies, remains secure under the BThOG.

The United Stages, in contrast, were initially owed by the Wiener Holding and two individuals.<sup>150</sup> They operated the several theaters, which were 100% the property of Vienna City, essentially reflecting the municipal cultural policies. Legally, the operations were stipulated by the Wiener Veranstaltungsgesetz (Viennese Event Law, enacted in 1971). In practice, the cultural-political missions of the United Stages were not fixed under a particular law but rather were defined in occasional discussions between the managers and the municipal council.

When the United Stages were established in 1987, their initial mission corresponded to the efficiency-oriented municipal cultural policy at that time; namely, the creation of new cultural economic values, especially in terms of job creation and tourism, by the use of Vienna's historical theaters. In pursuit of this goal, the concept of "Wiener musicals" was subsequently originated and rationalized through an interweaving of new and old musical theater styles and in labelling "Vienna as the third metropole of musicals," especially in reminiscence of pre-war musical theater, when Vienna had monarchial authority over Central Europe.<sup>151</sup> In other words, strengthening

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<sup>149</sup> The management of the federal theaters may have become less transparent after the separation: In 2013, the Burgtheater's long-term irregularity in bookkeeping came to light.

<sup>150</sup> The percentage ownership in 1987 was as follows: Wiener Holding (97.34%), Margarete Marik (1.75%), and Hans Bunzel (0.91%).

<sup>151</sup> Kutschera, the artistic director of the Theater an der Wien, consciously adopted the localization history of the Viennese operetta for the musical (Kutschera 1983: 17). The Viennese operetta was also imported from Paris to Vienna and developed into an internationally known genre by interweaving with the Viennese folk theater (see also Chapter 2.1.3).

the cultural-historical value of Vienna emerged secondarily in the process of shaping the uniqueness and scarcity of Wiener musicals for the international market.

The different frameworks of the federal theaters and the United Stages influenced how each theater offered the genre musical. In this regard, the artistic director of the Volksoper, Robert Meyer (in office: 2007–present), clearly explained as follows:

Every Volksoper director must be concerned with cultivating the musical, precisely in the appropriate way for this theater: Any high-tech, glossy machine of decoration may not invade this stage. Singable, classical works must be chosen. And the genre calls the singer-actor (Sängerdarsteller). [...] The *right* musical can anchor a favor much deeper in the heart of their audience (Meyer 2006: 7, italics in original).

The Volksoper was legally prescribed to offer “opera, light opera, operetta, musical, ballet, and modern dance” (BGBl. I Nr. 108/1998). The attempt to differentiate the Volksoper musicals from those of the United Stages evolved into a particular work selection and performance style: the Volksoper offered *classical* works in the same *classical* way as the other genres at the Volksoper—not only aesthetically but with respect to the repertoire system—and not in the megamusical style that the United Stages put on. In this format, time-honored musicals such as *Show Boat*, *Kiss Me*, *Kate*, and *Carousel* were brought to the stage of the Volksoper.<sup>152</sup> This not only connected the early style of the musical with contemporary popular musical theater—utilizing the fact

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<sup>152</sup> Revivals have also been in the repertoire. The exception was *Vivaldi: Die fünfte Jahreszeit* (Vivaldi: The Fifth Season, 2017). The Volksoper produced this new “Ba-Rock” musical about Antonio Vivaldi (1678–1741) with the rock-styled composition by Christian Kolonovits.

that operetta has been the Volksoper's specialty—but represented the historical achievement of the theater; it has been said that “this genre [musical] started its Continental triumph from the Volksoper” (Meyer 2006: 7).

This distinction between the Volksoper and the United Stages also affected the target audience of each theater organization. While the United Stages' musicals paid special attention to international audiences and the younger generation since the 1990s, the Volksoper concentrated on conventional audiences who valued the traditionalized musical as “lively Viennese theater,” exemplified by the new operetta-flavored version of *My Fair Lady* (director: Robert Herzl, 1993).<sup>153</sup> This clear segmentation<sup>154</sup> in dealing with the genre musical kept the Volksoper and the Theater an der Wien apart and rejected a whim to “replace” the roles of the two theaters, as Ioan Holender earnestly suggested regarding the treatment of the Theater an der Wien (*Der Standard*, December 16, 2000).

#### **5. 1. 4. Theater and (Un-)Profitability**

In terms of institutional status and audiencing strategy in German-speaking countries, the Volksoper is not a unique case. Germany, where more than half of all theaters with the resident ensemble in the world concentrated (Deutscher Bühnenverein 2015: 259), offers a good example. Each German state or wealthy municipality has its own large-scale theater that boasts a production department(s) and a resident ensemble consisting of actors/actresses, singers, dancers, and musicians. Characteristic of these

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<sup>153</sup> Excerpted from a critic on *Krone Zeitung* (Volksoper 2018: 65).

<sup>154</sup> Nonetheless, the Volksoper and the United Stages have been connected only on a personnel level. Performers have come to both stages, including some of Wiener musicals with a parody of the operetta and some of the relatively recent musicals at the Volksoper. For example, Gernot Kranner has been a member of the tenor ensemble of the Volksoper since 2001 after starring in the original cast of the United Stages' *Tanz der Vampire* (1997); Steve Barton performed in the United Stages' *Jesus Christ Superstar* (1981) and *Cats* (1983), as well as the Volksoper's *West Side Story* (1982).

arrangements is the enormous cost of maintaining a repertoire system in which a large number of productions are presented in daily rotation. Nevertheless, the cost is basically covered by the supporting state or municipality (or, sometimes, jointly with other by some “co-owners”).

Therefore, each theater is obligated to return “profits” to the taxpayers, or corresponding citizens, by offering the expected performances. In other words, the public theaters in Germany have a clear sense of purpose: to circulate site-specific resources in the local economy and cultivate the cultural environment on site. According to these criteria, the cultural activities presented are evaluated by citizens, journalists, and politicians. This local-oriented theater system leads to relatively reasonable ticket prices (generally, the lowest prices in a public theater are 5 to 10 euros) and low profitability. In Season 2009/10, the highest profitability among the German theaters was recorded by Semperoper Dresden (43%), followed by Bayerische Staatsoper (38%) and Staatsoper Hamburg (28%) (Mertens 2010: 76).

This same phenomenon can be found in Austria as well. In Season 2011/12, the Vienna State Opera had the highest profitability (42%), followed by the Volksoper (25%) and the Bugtheater (22%) (Bundestheater-Holding 2013). The enormous personnel costs of the federal theaters tend to hold profitability under 50%. Furthermore, the Bundestheater Holding annually allocated 110% to 115% of public subsidies for personnel costs (Rechnungshof 2014: 39).

The musical developed as show business in the United States during the first-half of the twentieth century and is generally regarded as such today.<sup>155</sup> In the

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<sup>155</sup> Production by the investor(s) are common in the United States, while the theaters receive public subsidies too. In 2006, the National Endowment for the Arts promoted the whole theaters with 8.7 million US dollars, equivalent to 6.9 million euros (*New York Times*, March 18, 2007). However, compared to the number of subsidies for the United Stages (ca. 40 million euros per year), there is a

1940s, musicals were “tried out” in cities close to New York before entering into the severe competitiveness of Broadway. Enormous initial costs for a premiere on Broadway were compensated with the profit from the long run system and/or selling a package or minimal license with royalties. With increasing production costs, especially from the 1990s onwards, Broadway musicals became the product of extensive partnerships, sometimes with powerful real estate moguls who owned the theaters (Adler 2011: 352). Since the 2000s, an enhancement system in which a commercial producer subsidizes a non-profit theater’s production has become common (id.: 360–362; *New York Times*, March 18, 2007). As a result, the musical tends to require more careful development over a longer period with added sophistication for Broadway. Additionally, ticket prices vary with the level of demand for each production. All these changes favor the producers and investors, reducing risk and generating more benefits.

In Germany, large-scale companies monopolize the private musical business. For example, the Stage Entertainment operates 26 theaters across Europe and offers various long-running and touring productions at their multiple venues (*Tagesspiegel*, August 6, 2013). In this system, the healthiest theaters cover the deficits of their less prosperous sister theaters. Ticket prices for Stage Entertainment’s musicals are relatively higher than those in the public theaters but do not so vary as much as the prices for Broadway productions.<sup>156</sup>

In terms of the operational and management system, the structure of the United Stages stands in the middle of public theater and show business. The United Stages

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huge gap between the United States and Vienna City.

<sup>156</sup> For example, ticket prices for Stage Entertainment’s *Aladdin* in Hamburg (2015–2019) were set between 50 to 132 euros. The lowest price once recorded ca. 90 euros (*Musical1*, November 26, 2015). Considering that ticket prices are reasonable at some West End theaters, the amount of subsidies partly, but not absolutely, influences the ticket price range (*National Public Radio*, July 30, 2014).

employ artists per production, rather than having a resident ensemble for each theater. One production runs few months but sometimes extends its run if demand is high.<sup>157</sup> Personnel costs, approximately 30 to 40 million euros pro year, amount to 50% to 60% of the total expenses of United Stages (Fig. 4). The personnel and maintenance costs of each theater are paid from the municipal subsidies. Profitability is relatively higher than that of the federal theaters or German public theaters, with a total profitability of approximately 50%; and only the musical section has maintained more than 50%.

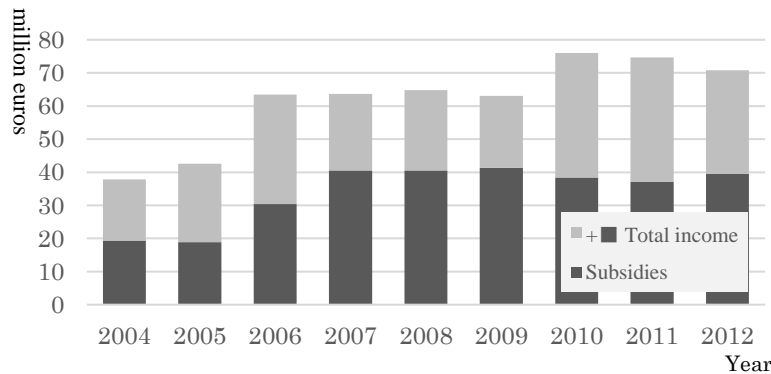


Fig 4-1. The Change of the Total Income (2004–2012)

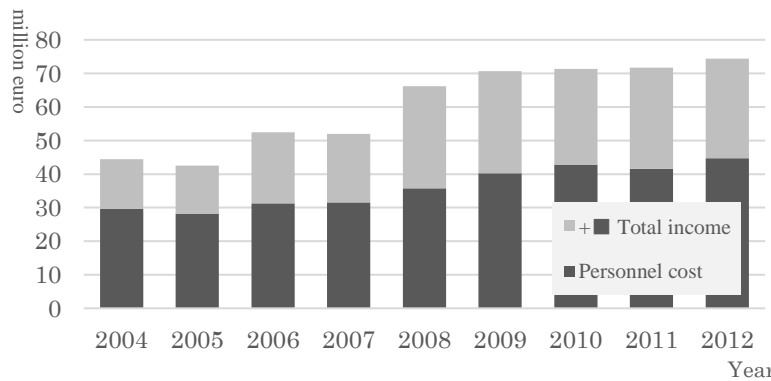


Fig 4-2. The Change of the Total Outcome (2004–2012)

Figure 4. The Revenue and Expenditure of the United Stages Vienna (2004–2012)

In the time frame between 2004 and 2012, the total income was rising but not stable in parallel with the steadily increase of the total outcome. The slight decrease of the subsidies was seen in 2010 and 2011. (The Data are based on Kontrollamt der Stadt Wien 2007: 15; Kontrollamt der Stadt Wien 2008: 80; Kontrollamt der Stadt Wien 2013: 9; *Kunst- und Kulturbericht, Frauenkulturbericht der Stadt Wien* 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012)

<sup>157</sup> For the additional performances, the contract of each artist is, if possible, extended as well.

Then, did Wiener musicals improve the financing of the United Stages in the long term? On the whole, the United Stages took high risks to create new productions having no tryout prior to the premiere.<sup>158</sup> The municipal subsidies offset not only personnel costs but losses by less successful productions such as *Freudiana*, *Wake Up*, and *Barbarella*. Although Wiener musicals played a recognizable role in branding and advertising the city and its cultural products in both the domestic and international markets, their financial results were far from a reliable resource to counter the increased running costs of United Stages. The total profit from the international business between 1995 and 2007 was only 9.24 million euros (Kontrollamt der Stadt Wien 2008: 94–95). Furthermore, the gap between the achievements of exporting Wiener musicals and their actual profit gave an unfavorable impression to the budget suppliers (ibid.).

The structural reform of the United Stages did not mean the immediate cessation of the musical section, and the company's mission continued to include the promotion of Wiener musicals both inside and outside Vienna, as noted earlier. However, with the division of the municipal budget between two sections, the opera section—which directly reflected the traditional cultural policy featuring “Austria as cultural nation” and Vienna as the “City of Music”<sup>159</sup>—undoubtedly received more than the musical section.

## 5. 2. Wiener Musicals at a Crossroads

The United Stages' reform with the ongoing, often heated arguments regarding the

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<sup>158</sup> The try out system requires a theater network that includes theaters in and near the central city. However, the theater scene in Vienna is stratified, and cooperation between the smaller private theaters and the large public theaters rarely occurs (Lachenbacher/Mattheiß/Their 2003: 10).

<sup>159</sup> Recently, Vienna expanded the coverage of the municipal cultural subsidies, especially for non-traditional, classical arts, and identified itself as the “(Capital) City of Culture” (Magistrat Stadt Wien 2002: 187).

genre musical, changed the evaluation criteria for Wiener musicals. The following subsections observe chronological development of such arguments since 2006.

The global-oriented strategy that had been passed down from the former director Rudi Klausnitzer to Kathrin Zechner no longer fit the new municipal cultural policies (Chapter 5.2.1). Subsequently, the United Stages encountered harsher criticism not only due to the quality of each production but from the viewpoint of public profit (Chapter 5.2.2). Under these circumstances, the United Stages were obliged to convince their patrons that their cultural-political utility deserved a large share of the municipal budget (Chapter 5.2.3). With the constant updating and increased doubts about the merits of the United Stages' activities, especially with their regime change from Zechner to Christian Struppeck, Wiener musicals became more contextual for their increasingly limited audience (Chapter 5.3).

### **5. 2. 1. De-Viennization of Musicals**

Under the second half of Zechner's direction (in office: 2004–2012), the United Stages launched two musicals: *Rebecca* (2006) and *Rudolf* (2009).<sup>160</sup> These productions planned before 2006 sought de-Viennization with the international style and material, though they were not convincing enough to continue the international-oriented strategy since the 2000s.

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<sup>160</sup> Zechner was also involved in new musical comedies, such as *Die Weberischen* (The Weberish, 2006) and *Die Habsburgischen: Eine musikalische Familiensatire* (The Habsburgish: A Musical Satire for the Family, 2007), which were premiered at the Halle E in the MuseumsQuartier. Since the first production *The Little Matchgirl* (2006, premiered at the Odeon Theater) was not regarded as a musical (*Der Kultur-Channel*, March 8, 2006), the “Ronacher mobile” productions remained uncategorized—they were considered with an umbrella term of “Musiktheater” (music theater) rather than being classified into the musical not only by the journalists (*Der Kultur-Channel*, December 6, 2011; *Der Standard*, December 8, 2011; *Die Presse*, December 6, 2011) but by the United Stages themselves—and finally, did not continue after Zechner's direction.



### 5. 2. 1. 1. Wiener-Free “Drama-Musical”: *Rebecca* (2006)

*Rebecca* is a musical based on Daphne du Maurier’s novel thriller (1938), which Alfred Hitchcock had been made into an internationally known film (1940). This new musical was co-authored by Michael Kunze and Sylvester Levay, the proven pair known for the successful Wiener musicals, *Elisabeth* and *Mozart!*.

The story—obviously, the text was first written in English and then translated into German—had a frame narrative with a never-named narrator, “I,” and a circular structure symbolized by the song “Ich hab geträumt von Mandaley” (I have dreamed of Mandaley) in both prologue and epilogue. The scenes moved back and forth between a melodrama of “I” with Maxim de Winter—a prosperous British widower—and a detective story centered around Rebecca: Maxim’s mysteriously deceased former wife (who never appears in the performance). In the performance, the melodrama side described the rather stereotypical emancipation of a young, adolescent woman in love, as the song “Die Stärke einer Frau” (The Power of a Woman) straightforwardly presented; meanwhile, the detective side told an “unrelentingly dark tale [...] balanced by well-calibrated humor” (*Variety*, October 8, 2006). Gloomy and opulent stage design showed a luxurious, haunted British mansion that ultimately offered a spectacle of a great fire. Moreover, British versus US-American identities were satirically represented in the songs such as “I’m an American Woman” and “Wir sind Britisch” (We are British).

On the marketing level, it is notable that *Rebecca* identified itself as a “Drama-Musical,” a designation that could be applied to Wiener musicals since 1990. The director Zechner emphasized that “with the world premiere of this ‘Drama-Musical’ by Michael Kunze and Sylvester Levay, the United Stages Vienna keep walking further

on the way to a very special form in the wide sphere of the musical” (VBW 2006). The purpose was still—regardless of the actual outcome—to distinguish Wiener musicals from the Broadway and West End musicals by the style and form of Continental European musical theater (see also Excursus).

The performance received not-completely-positive reactions in Vienna, as one critic referred to it as “Kitschical,” or a mass-oriented kitsch musical (*Der Standard*, November 3, 2006). Nonetheless, *Rebecca* was positively received outside of Vienna. It was not only performed in Vienna for two years but exported to Japan (2008), Finland (2008), Russia (2009), Hungary (2010), Rumania (2011), Swiss (2011), Germany (2011), Serbia (2012), South Korea (2013), Sweden (2014), and the Czech Republic (2017).

The United Stages regarded *Rebecca* as a revitalizer of Wiener musicals in the international market covering three continents. However, although *Rebecca* was expected to open on Broadway and the West End—the long-cherished destinations of the United Stages—the workshop conducted in London (2009) never resulted in a West End premiere, and the hoped-for Broadway production (planned for 2012)—the second step for the United Stages after *Tanz der Vampire*—was never realized following several postponement, due largely to a funding problem with fictitious investors (*New York Times*, January 2, 2013; *Theatermania*, April 24, 2017).<sup>161</sup> Attempts to penetrate the two musical metropolises thus once again fell through.

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<sup>161</sup> The United Stages paid 500,000 US dollars (approximately 380,000 euros) to cover part of the production costs. This was criticized as “Viennese money for Broadway” (*Der Standard*, May 7, 2012).

### **Excursus: The Problem of the “Drama-Musical”**

The concept of the “Drama-Musical” remained temporary for *Rebecca* and *Marie Antoinette* (Japan 2006, see Chapter 6.1), and did not appear again in the subsequent musicals by Kunze or Levay—for example, Kunze’s *10 Gebote* (The Ten Commandments, 2010) was not represented as a “Drama-Musical.” What exactly was a “Drama-Musical”? And what were the problems with this concept?

Kunze cites two conditions to define a “Drama-Musical”: (1) “a European form of the musical that is not a copy of the Broadway musical” and (2) “the domination of the story.”<sup>162</sup> The first condition focuses on an export strategy that “opens the doors in the other countries,” and “doesn’t ever mimic the usual in music theater, and moreover, doesn’t easily copy [the works] that succeed on Broadway or West End.”<sup>163</sup> The purpose is obviously to make a strategic distinction regarding his series of musicals—which are also counted as Wiener musicals—with artistic quality and flexibility (cf. Menze 2018: 109).

In the field of the musical, flexible adaptation is comparable to the nature of the megamusical that are performed theoretically in the same way in every place by trading the package license of the production (see also Chapter 4.2.1). However, when one considers flexible adaptation within the broader field of “music theater,” especially those in Continental Europe (see also Chapter 3.1.4), it overlooks the stream of Regietheater (“director’s theater”), which has been seen in spoken and music theater, particularly in German-speaking countries (Garaventa 2000), and the historical fact that numerous performances of pre-modern and modern popular musical theater were

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<sup>162</sup> A special clip for launching the English version of the website, dramamusicals.com, in September 2009.

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

transmitted and revised to fit the respective local audiences in and between Europe and United States (cf. Platt/Becker/Linton 2014; Valentin 1988).

The second condition highlights the hierarchical structure in a musical production. Kunze paid attention to “everything, every element of the musical, [...] the lyrics, the words of the dialogue, the music, the choreography, so sets, the costume design, [...] the lighting,” but he put the heaviest accent on “the drama [...] as the most important part.”<sup>164</sup> The focus on text in the musical had already been present in the evolution of the integrated musical on Broadway in the 1940s. In other words, Kunze’s model is not unique, but rather it echoes past and current fundamental dramaturgy, including Aristotelian poetics, Gustav Freytag’s dramatic structure, Robert McKee’s dramaturgy of classical Hollywood films, and Joseph Campbell’s stylization of world myths (cf. Gruber 2010: 80–84; Müller/Stangl 2007).

Moreover, regarding its historical formation as discussed in this dissertation, early Wiener musicals are characterized not (solely) by the dramaturgy of “Drama-Musical” but by contradictive hybridity, or capability of connecting to both “native” and “imaginary” Vienna; hence, the “Drama-Musical” could not truly function as expected—neither as an interconnected manner of “medieuropean” music theater with the “imported” genre musical, nor as another label for Wiener musicals.<sup>165</sup>

Ultimately, *Rebecca* was the last instance of co-authorship by Kunze and Levay

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<sup>164</sup> Ibid.

<sup>165</sup> It is also notable that this unsuccessful reframing process with the “Drama-Musical” would give a question: whom the productions belong to. The fact that all the successful Wiener musicals until 2006 were co-authored by Kunze and Levay—though the performances did not solely consist of text and music—would actuate the need of identification. This point can be associated with a subsequent phenomenon in Japan. There were two sorts of special concerts: one entitled with “Wīn myūjīkaru konsāto” (Vienna Musical Concert, since 2008), and another as “M. Kuntse to S. Rīvai no Sekai” (The World of M. Kunze and S. Levay, since 2012).

for the United Stages.<sup>166</sup> Unsolved was the question of the Viennese locality in Wiener musicals: *Barbarella* (see Chapter 3.2.3.3) and *Rebecca* were unrelated to Vienna on the thematic level, while the next musical, *Rudolf*, tackled Viennese material again but in a non-local approach.

### **5. 2. 1. 2. Against Locality and Historicity: *Rudolf* (2008)**

*Rudolf* was a good example of a work that addressed or fictionized the Habsburg history in an international—that is, not typically Viennese—manner. The plot was based on Frederic Morton’s novel, *A Nervous Splendour: Vienna 1888–1889* (1980), the US-American best seller about the mythical “Mayerling incident,” or the suicide pact of Austrian Crown Prince Rudolf (1858–1889) and Baroness Marie Vetsera (1871–1889).

*Rudolf*’s production history was filled with twists and turns. The former artistic director Klausnitzer began the project with Morton in 1997. The musical was finally co-produced by the United Stages under Zechner and the Budapesti Operettinház (Budapest Operetta Theater)—for the United Stages, *Rudolf* was the second co-production after *F@lco*. The creative team consisted of Frank Wildhorn (music), Jack Murphy (text/lyrics), Phoebe Hwang (text), Nan Knighton (lyrics), David Leveaux (direction), Mike Britton (stage design), John O’Connell (choreography), and Laura Hopkins (costume). The English libretto was translated into German by Julia Sengtschmid (text) and Nina Jäger (lyrics). Since the Theater an der Wien became unavailable as the venue for the premiere during the production process, *Rudolf* celebrated its world premiere in Budapest in 2006.

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<sup>166</sup> After co-authoring in Vienna, Kunze and Levay co-produced *Marī Antowanette* (Marie Antoinette, 2006) and *Redī Besu* (Lady Bess, 2014) with the Japanese production company, Tōhō (see also Chapter 6). Meanwhile, Kunze created his new musicals in Germany, whereas Levay promoted his relations with theater companies in East Asia.

The Budapest version was then drastically revised for the Viennese audience, according to Wildhorn's wishes (*Bühne*, 2/2009: 16). As a result, the United Stages faced the difficulty of negotiating with the Budapesti Operettinház for the considerable changes in text and music.<sup>167</sup> In the meantime, the Budapest version was exported and completely changed in Japan.<sup>168</sup>

Wildhorn appeared to be a suitable person to introduce the new style of Wiener musical to the international market—the East Asian market, in particular—considering his achievements such as *Jekyll and Hyde* (Broadway 1997; Vienna 2001) and his recent engagement in Japan.<sup>169</sup>

The title already indicated a blood line to the most successful Wiener musical, *Elisabeth*, whose story featured the Empress Elisabeth of Austria, the mother of Rudolf. Brigitte Hamann, whose studies were the essential basis of *Elisabeth*, served as a historical advisor for *Rudolf*, as well. However, shortly before the premiere in Vienna, Hamann strongly and publicly censured the show for its historical inaccuracy:

The [libretto as a] whole is done well, and I don't want to cavil about it. However, it has nothing to do with Rudolf's history (*News*, February 11, 2009).

Subsequently, she also criticized the original novel, stating that “many [descriptions] were incorrect, and I threw the book away” (*ibid.*). This clearly implied that Murphy's libretto was inaccurate, as it contained many citations from the original novel. On that

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<sup>167</sup> According to an interview with the chef dramaturge of the United Stages, Peter Back-Vega (Gruber 2010: 318).

<sup>168</sup> In cooperation with Wildhorn, Hwang, and a Japanese director, Miyamoto Amon.

<sup>169</sup> Two months before *Rudolf's* premiere in Budapest, Wildhorn newly co-created the musical *Never Say Goodbye* together with Koike Shūichirō for the Takarazuka Revue in Japan. In the same frame, he also worked for the Japanese version of *The Scarlet Pimpernel* (Broadway 1997; Halle/Saale 2003; Takarazuka 2008).

point, Leveaux responded to Hamann's criticism: "one can develop a musical not only from a historical biography [but] one must pick certain aspects observing what theater can handle" (ibid.). In fact, Leveaux's direction focused on Rudolf's loneliness and personal conflict between the revolutionary movement and the paternal, traditional world.

Although it is too simple to ascribe it to less historicity as Hamann blamed because there have been numerous examples that sentimentalized Rudolf and his family members, the premiere received negative reactions. The vulgarized historical drama was labelled "Schnulzical," or "tear jerker musical," corresponding to "Kitschical," the label that had been earlier applied to *Rebecca* (*Der Standard*, February 28, 2009). The performance "lack[ed] the musical and dramaturgic brace, which would have formed that immanent abruptness into unity" (ibid.). Among all the performance elements, the text was dismissed as "mostly terrible" (*Die Presse*, February 28, 2009). Leveaux's idea of Rudolf "as a bird that tries to break out of his cage and always flies against the walls" (*News*, op. cit.) is regarded as "unimaginative and emotive" (*Musicals*, 4/2009: 8).<sup>170</sup>

After the performances in Vienna (which were not extended), *Rudolf* was performed in Tokyo (2008; 2012<sup>171</sup>), Szeged, Hungary (2010), and Seoul (2012). Compared to the previous Wiener musicals, and even the latest work *Rebecca*, *Rudolf* could not be regarded as an international hit.

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<sup>170</sup> In this regard, it is remarkable that Leveau mentioned the link not to *Elisabeth* but to *Hamlet* and *Henry V* ("Rudolf is a mixture of Hamlet and Henry V," *News*, February 11, 2009). However, Leveau's idea actually echoed *Elisabeth* that had been developed from Kunze's concept of the Empress Elisabeth as a black gull, reflecting her words written on the diary of her Greek teacher and reader, Constantin Christomanos (see also Rommel 2007).

<sup>171</sup> The second Tokyo version (2012) invited Leveaux as director to follow the Viennese version.

## 5. 2. 2. Politics and Personnel

### 5. 2. 2. 1. Wiener Musicals Without a Master Plan

In the end, the blame for the modestly successful productions went to the United Stages and their artistic director. Hamann satirized: “The United Stages are *happy*. They have many ticket reservations. I surely won’t see it” (*Die Presse*, February 10, 2009; the word in italic is in English in the original German text). *Die Presse* (February 28, 2009) also questioned the United Stages’ strategy under the subhead “timid programming”:

The course taken by the musical director Zechner [...] seems increasingly dubious. [...] If the United Stages are already so expensive, then they should challenge artistically original things now and then. Certainly, the tourists would like it too, if the director could be courageous.

This evaluation was not fully based on the financial result—the shows under Zechner’s direction actually achieved the most successful accordance rate of 94.4 % with 650,455 visitors and approximately 750,000 euros of net profit in 2010 (*Der Standard*, May 21/22, 2011). The critical eyes were cast over Zechner’s professional skills as an artistic director.

As early as her first season in 2004/05, Zechner was the target of the criticism; her *Romeo und Julia* (Paris 2001; Vienna 2005) was not well received. One journalist wrote satirically that Zechner “achieved a miracle on her debut and proved that it was possible to continue on the taste-confused downfall in a series that the former [director] Rudi Klausnitzer had begun with *Barbarella*” (*Der Standard*, February 25, 2005). The shift from Klausnitzer to Zechner lacked novelty since the both had moved from the



Austrian Broadcasting Corporation (ORF) to the United Stages, and theater was seemingly out of their domain. Additionally, both directors re-presented the same production, *Elisabeth*, at the very beginning of their direction (which was never counted as their debut production since the revivals of the well-known musical took less risk than new productions).

Confronted with the United Stages' reform, Zechner established different roles for the Raimund Theater and the Ronacher. It was determined that “[t]he Raimund Theater should offer mainstream productions for the whole family; The Ronacher will be an urban city theater of diversity and offer provocative works” (*Der Standard*, June 27, 2008). The latter was characterized by the motto of “Ronacher mobile” (a.k.a. “RONACHERmobile”), aiming to offer smaller productions in musical theater and guest performances of various musicals in the short term at the Ronacher or alternative venues during its renovation (APA-OTS, February 21, 2006). Here, one side of the initial concept—to ennoble the musical for the intellectuals—was discontinued, and instead, the new strategy focused on attracting broader audiences for public benefits.<sup>172</sup> In this regard, it is notable that a complimentary concert was given in the first Wiener Sicherheitsfest (Viennese Safety Festival) on the Austrian National Day in 2006 and became an annual event.

Turning now to the question: what was the actual matter with Zechner's direction? From 2004 to 2012, she launched 17 productions in total, including nine musicals.<sup>173</sup> Among all, four celebrated German-speaking premieres, three had

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<sup>172</sup> In this context, it is notable that the programs in the 1990s contained several articles written by prestigious scholars such as Hamann (for *Elisabeth*) and the psychiatrist Erwin Ringel (for *Freudiana*), besides production histories written by dramaturgies and/or journalists. Reflecting the new concept of attracting broader audiences, the program became visually richer with stage photographs and fewer articles.

<sup>173</sup> Without counting the musicals in the concert versions and the productions categorized into

Austrian premieres, and two-and-a-half—considering that *Rudolf* was a coproduction with Budapesti Operettinház—were original productions. Additionally, eight “provocative” and uncategorized music theater productions<sup>174</sup> were launched with the relatively smaller number of performances (approximately 20 performances in average, min. 5 and max. 50 performances).<sup>175</sup>

However, not only the “provocative” productions remained isolated cases, but also the imported musicals were not always successful; *The Producers* (Broadway 2001; Vienna 2008) and *Spring Awaken* (Broadway 2006; Vienna 2009) produced the two poorest financial results. Nevertheless, it stands out that non-Wiener musicals (*Sister Act* and *Ich war noch niemals in New York*) or the earlier Wiener musicals (*Elisabeth* and *Tanz der Vampire*) filled the houses. It was ironic that the United Stages’ *Rebecca* and *Rudolf* experienced less success than Stage Entertainment’s *Ich war noch niemals in New York*,<sup>176</sup> a production that “should have occurred to the United Stages Vienna” since it dealt with an “Austrian composer [and] Austrian author”<sup>177</sup> (*Die Presse*, March 18, 2010). Seemingly, the journalist regarded the production of and by the Austrian artists highly, rather than those oriented for the international export.

Ultimately, one journalist concluded that “[b]asically, the following is valid: it

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“music theater” (*Der Kultur-Channel*, December 6, 2011; *Der Standard*, December 8, 2011; *Die Presse*, December 6, 2011).

<sup>174</sup> The productions included *The Little Matchgirl* (2006, Odeon Theater), *Die Weberischen* (2006, Halle E), *The Habsburgischen: Eine musikalische Familiensatire* (2007, Halle E), *Forbidden Ronacher* (2008, Halle E), *Josephine* as German-speaking premiere (2009, Ronacher), *The Infernal Comedy: John Malkovich ist Jack Unterweger* (2009, Ronacher), *The Giacomo Variations: John Malkovich ist Casanova* (2009, Ronacher), and *Woyzeck & the Tiger Lillies* (2011, Halle E).

<sup>175</sup> The musicals were performed approximately 268 times in average. Minimal was 66 performances for *Spring Awaken*, whereas *Tanz der Vampire* recorded the largest number of 505 performances, according to the data in a press conference on December 6, 2011.

<sup>176</sup> *Ich war noch niemals in New York* (Hamburg 2007) involved Christian Struppeck as a co-author. He was the artistic director of the creative section in Stage Entertainment at that time, and later became Zechner’s successor (see Chapter 5.2.4).

<sup>177</sup> The nationalities of the creative team members were often mentioned in the program and critiques; Wiener musicals in the 1990s and 2000s were rarely led by Austrian artists on either the musical and dramaturgical level, except for *Wake Up*.

lacks a master plan, what the musicals should be able to do” (*Profil*, January 25, 2012). The United Stages’ mission—to make Vienna the third metropole of musicals with homegrown productions—was receding with the increase in demand for apparently local productions.

#### 5. 2. 2. 2. Criticism of the United Stages

The company’s “timid programming” is understandable. Drozda, the general director of the United Stages, lamented the unfavorable situation around Wiener musicals:

When *Rebecca* becomes a flop, I am be criticized. When the musical becomes successful, the owner [=the municipal government] will cut the subsidies. This would be discouraging (*Der Standard*, May 7, 2012).

In this circumstance, the musicals under Zechner’s direction were often considered as “banal” and “sentimental,” which surely formed part of criticism.<sup>178</sup> However, most journalists were more concerned with the financial aid of the municipal cultural politics for the United Stages rather than monitoring the quality of the performances.

Furthermore, the subsidies were unstable. The number was reduced from 40 million to 36.35 million euros in 2008, but increased to 45 million euros in 2009 (equal to 21% of the municipal cultural budget). In addition, a breakdown of the subsidies shows that the opera section received much more than the musical section, which obviously produced more performances. In 2012, the United Stages received 36.35

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<sup>178</sup> For example, *Romeo und Julia* was described as “a transport of *banality*” (*Der Standard*, February 25, 2005, italics mine); *Rebecca* was a “rich retro-slushy play” (*Die Presse*, September 30, 2006); *Rudolf* was “an *unimaginative* panorama of histories” (*Die Presse*, February 28, 2009, italics mine).

million euros in subsidies, 70% of which went to the Theater an der Wien (126 performances) and the resident orchestra, while the remaining 30% went to supporting the musicals (503 performances in total), including those at the Raimund Theater and the Ronacher (Kontrollamt der Stadt Wien: 135; *Profil*, January 25, 2012).

The new municipal policy was also disadvantageous for the United Stages. The People's Party and The Greens continued their criticism of the United Stages.<sup>179</sup> Subsequently, with the Social Democratic Party and The Greens forming a coalition government in 2010, the United Stages were featured as one of the main cultural subjects in the government program. The government promoted the motto, "cultural politics of fairness," and exercised more stringent control of the United Stages by applying "medium-term [...] saving and synergic potentials, also with proper theater concepts, in all areas" and "striving for a gradual cost reduction" (Wien 2010: 51). Furthermore, "financial resources [for the United Stages] which will be available is used for financing new cultural-political focuses" (ibid.). In other words, the United Stages' privilege in the municipal cultural politics, which had been their essential foundation since 1987 and was seemingly rebuoyed by the reengagement of the Theater an der Wien with the opera in 2006, became at stake.

### **5. 2. 3. How to Prove that the Musicals are Socially Meaningful?**

Whereas the opposition parties criticized the municipal cultural politics, the Social Democratic Party attempted to show how meaningful the United Stages' cultural

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<sup>179</sup> When *The Producers* finished 2008 with the worst financial result and less than half-full house during the performances, the politicians swept aside Zechner's idea. The cultural spokesman of the People's Party, Franz Ferdinand Wolf, stated that "the concept to fill out the Ronacher with a Broadway hit should be considered as a pitiful failure." The Greens' Marie Ringler, in the same post, followed with: "Hopefully, [*The Producers* was] not a terrible omen" (*Der Standard*, November 21, 2008).

activities were to Vienna. In 2011, the City Councilor for Financial Affairs, Renate Brauner (in office: 2007–2018), presented a report by the Institute for Advanced Studies Vienna (IHS) concerning the indirect profitability of the United Stages. The report indicated that “the United Stages Vienna are not only an important factor in the Viennese cultural scene but also a considerable factor for Viennese economics and concerns” from the perspective that “economics and culture in a city like Vienna [...] are mutually dependent, [and] strengthen and regulate each other” (Stadt Wien, May 20, 2011).

In this context, the keywords for rationalization were *value creation* and *tourism*. First, the annual subsidies of less than 40 million euros for the United Stages turned into 2.3-fold added value for Vienna, especially by creating 1,529 employees (ibid.). Second, the United Stages boosted Vienna as a leading destination for cultural tourism from around the world; indeed, 46% of all visitors to the United Stages’ productions came from outside of Vienna, and 48% of these non-Viennese visitors considered the United Stages’ productions as a principal reason to come to Vienna (ibid.). These facts and figures provided an effective supporting argument to increase the subsidies for the United Stages’ musical section. Nevertheless, the rationale for the municipal subsidies given to the United Stages continued to swing between a traditionalization, in which the musical would be counted as *Kulturindustrie* (cultural industry, Horkheimer/Adorno 1985[1944]) and a positive valuation of the genre as “creative industry.”

In Vienna, a conservative view of musicals as part of cultural industry was as dominant as ever. As indicated by the Horkheimer/Adorno’s use of the subtitle “Enlightenment as Mass Deception,” with this classification, the musical was regarded as one of those popular cultures that deceive the masses through capitalist

manipulation.<sup>180</sup>

However, as the relation between artistic and economic activities became closer and more reciprocal in the world in the 1980s and 1990s, the negative concept of “cultural industry” was gradually replaced by the alternative expression of “creative industries” in order to recognize creative products as a compound of semiotic or symbolic codes and materials (cf. Jones/Lorenz/Sapsed 2015).

Consequently, “creative industries” were also referenced in the political dimension. It was striking that the British Labour government established the Creative Industries Task Force (CITF) in 1997, retaining the original definition of the creative industries as “those industries which have their origin in individual creativity, skill and talent and which have potential for wealth and job creation through the generation and exploitation of intellectual property” (CITF 2001: 5). In Vienna, this conception was referenced in a report titled “The Study of Economic Potentials of ‘Creative Industries’ in Vienna” in 2004 (see also Chapter 5.1.2.2).

There was thus an incongruence between cultural-economic value and cultural-historical importance in Vienna. The lack of clear evaluation criteria for the musical in Vienna left the United Stages in suspense under the next director as well.

## **5. 2. 4. For a Smaller International Market**

### **5. 2. 4. 1. Impractical Missions for the United Stages**

The new artistic director, Christian Struppeck (b. 1969, in office: 2012–2025 as scheduled), was a specialist in the musical—not only as an actor since his graduation from the Tanzstudio Theater an der Wien but also as an author/translator/choreographer/

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<sup>180</sup> Adorno (1975[1961]) used the example of Broadway music in the chapter “Leichte Musik” (Popular Music) in *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*.

director/producer in Germany. Moreover, he was working at the Stage Entertainment—the rival company in the neighborhood.

The expectations for Struppeck were high. In a press conference on February 15, 2012, Mailath-Pokorny explained the appointment as the means to “guarantee that quality will be further linked with a preferably broad access”<sup>181</sup> in Vienna, especially in the musical sector. Drozda asserted that Struppeck’s “excellent international network and market knowledge as well as his experience in the development of original productions with international marketing value” were decisive.<sup>182</sup> Struppeck’s statement reflected the expectations: “You must also promote creatives from Vienna, [and] should not recruit only artists from the Anglo-Saxon world” (*ORF*, February 15, 2012).

In short, a new solution for Wiener musicals—effective globalization together with local human resources—was required of Struppeck. Localization was expected not on the formal and thematic levels but on the pragmatic level, except for the director. In this regard, it is notable that one journalist even wrote “the German conducts musical theater in Vienna” (*ibid.*)—Struppeck’s assumption would be associated with the case of the Ronacher in the mid-1990s (see also Chapter 3.2.1). Nonetheless, the press conference revealed that the United Stages persisted in maintaining the “Anglo-Saxon” as their hypothetical rival rather than paying more attention to a growing market in Germany and France.<sup>183</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> According to material from the press conference, “Vereinigte Bühnen Wien: Christian Struppeck ist künftiger Musical-Intendant” (United Stages Vienna: Christian Struppeck is the next artistic director for the musical) on the Vienna City Hall.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>183</sup> Since the 2000s, Parisian musicals expanded their market to East Asia, such as *Romeo et Juliette: de la Haine à l’Amour* (2001; Vienna 2005; Takarazuka 2010; Umeda 2011), *Mozart l’opera rock* (2009; Nelke Planning 2013; Takarazuka 2019) and *1789: Les Amants de la Bastille* (2012; Takarazuka 2015; Tōhō 2016). *Romeo et Juliette* in 2011 was co-hosted by TBS, Horipuro, and Umeda Arts Theater.

#### 5. 2. 4. 2. Originality vs. Adaptation

Struppeck's first two original musicals *Der Besuch der alten Dame* (The Visit, 2013, hereafter *Der Besuch*) and *Don Camillo und Peppone* (Don Camillo and Peppone, 2016, hereafter *Don Camillo*) were co-productions with Swiss festival and theater: Thunerseespiele and Theater St. Gallen. Both musicals had a tryout in Switzerland, then were revised and performed in Vienna. This co-production system with tryout—which began with *Rudolf* in a not desirable way—effectively functioned for the United Stages in order to diversify the initial costs and hedge risks.

The two musicals developed from classical works that were particularly connected to Continental Europe. In the case of *Der Besuch*, Friedrich Dürrenmatt's drama (1956) was adapted first into cinemas, Gottfried von Einem's opera (1971), and then an US-American musical.<sup>184</sup> *Don Camillo* was based on a series of Italian novels (1942–1996) and films (1952–1965), which were widely known in Continental Europe. Struppeck gave the following reason for these adaptations:

It's the most challenging discipline to write a new musical that's not based on a known title[.] [...] They [the audiences] are more open in Vienna because they're used to [original work than elsewhere in the world]. [...] [I]t's not like you announce a title and they storm the box office. But they expect it from us—that's why we get subsidies (*The Clyde Fitch Report*, January 30, 2017).

Struppeck's opinion focused on two points: the nature of Viennese audience and the

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<sup>184</sup> The musical *The Visit* was made in Chicago in 2001. Despite its skillful creative team, including John Kander, Fred Ebb, and Terrence McNally, the production was initially unsuccessful—due in no small measure to the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States—and took 14 years to reach Broadway.



financing system. For the first point, Struppeck had already rationalized the means of recycling material for the musical in 2014: He pointed out that “potential buyers [...] come to the premiere [of *Der Besuch*] since the material is well-known in South America and Asia” (*Kurier*, February 20, 2014). Moreover, the journalist shared Struppeck’s idea since one critic mentioned that “the first [duty] is [to] fill a theater,” and for that reason, “the popular figures of *Don Camillo* can increase the chance of succeeding” (*Wiener Zeitung*, January 30, 2017). With respect to the second, Struppeck seemed to have understood, as discussed in the two previous sections (Chapter 5.2.2/5.2.3), the municipal government was investing in the United Stages’ musical section to produce potential smash hits that could appeal to audiences both inside and outside Vienna.

The result, however, was unconvincing. *Der Besuch* was performed in Thun, Switzerland (2013), Vienna (2014), Tokyo (2015), and Tecklenburg, Germany (2020); *Don Camillo* was staged in St. Gallen (2016), Vienna (2017), and Tecklenburg (2019)—much the same as *Rebecca*. *Die Presse* (February 21, 2014) criticized Struppeck’s strategy as follows:

You wonder why the United Stages, which have all the resources and sufficient money, do not even develop something really new, all the more so, since they boast about exporting their productions to 18 countries in the program for *Der Besuch*. There, original material would be certainly asked for again.

Such criticism matches that levied against Zechner, exemplified by the following remark: “If the United Stages are already so expensive, then they should challenge

artistically original things now and then” (*Die Presse*, February 28, 2009, see also Chapter 5.2.2.1). The above critique of *Der Besuch* concluded that the Wiener musicals “are all in all [...] aesthetically and musically very alike” (ibid.).

The question then arises: What should the musical be in Vienna? Should a musical production be “original,” and, if so, how can this be accomplished?

In terms of originality, the negative criticism of Wiener musicals could be attributed to the view that the performances would be a complete product of creative industries. However, it still disregarded the numerous dramatizations of existing literatures and films in the fields of opera, operetta, Singspiel, and spoken theater. In these cases, critics typically paid more attention to the original interpretations given by the individual directors and/or conductors. Moreover, uncountable musicals have been developed from existing novels—from classical examples such as *Candide* (from Voltaire’s novel with the same title), *My Fair Lady* (from Shaw’s *Pygmalion*) to recent megamusicals such as *The Phantom of the Opera* (from Leroux’s novel of the same title) and *Les Miserables* (from Hugo’s novel of the same title). In this regard, if the Viennese journalistic evaluation criteria would center on pure originality, which is examined in the next subsection, it should be questioned.

#### **5. 2. 4. 3. Reception**

In parallel with the discussion above on the strategic and marketing levels, one question also needs to be asked: What kind of reaction did the actual performances of *Der Besuch* and *Don Camillo* receive from the journalists and audience in Vienna?

### **Poisonous Compromise: *Der Besuch der alten Dame* (2014)**

One critic wrote that the performance of *Der Besuch* had “a contradictory impression” (*Kurier*, February 20, 2014) involving both actual, social-critical cynicism and melodramatic, musical-fan-oriented elements.

These two seemingly incompatible sides of the performance were deliberately created under the director Gergen’s concept of “bombast plus trash plus slapstick plus kitsch” (ibid.). With respect to actual, social-critical cynicism, the scene development, especially with the multiplication of electronic billboards and the increasingly more garish and uniform ensemble costumes, satirized the mutation of Central Europe—the conservative and clerical nation of Austria in particular—“to the global US-American village” as if it were “Brecht/Weill’s *Netzstadt Mahagonny*” (*Die Zeit*, February 20, 2014). Furthermore, Viennese site-specific topics appeared in the sarcastic dialogue of the triple bodyguards who were newly created for the musical: one was the ringleader who caused the dismantlement of Hypo Alpe Adria, a state-owned bank concern in 2014; another was a “Strizzi” (“spiv” in Southern German and Austrian German) who was born in Ottakring, the west part of Vienna, and became a drug mafioso in South America. Their employer, Claire, conducted extensive business with New York, Tokyo, and Vienna—the exact destinations of Wiener musicals.

On the melodramatic, musical-fan-oriented side, Dürrenmatt’s vengeance story was toned down and sweetened. In the words of one critic, “such things are surely not in the [original] sense” (*Kurier*, February 20, 2014). A sentimental memory of the protagonists appeared in their young alter egos, singing and dancing like the musical *Dirty Dancing*.<sup>185</sup> However, the cliché-style love songs such as “Weisst du noch?” (Do

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<sup>185</sup> In this context, it is notable that the old pair were performed by Douwes and Kröger, the “dream pair in the early period [of Wiener musicals]” (*Die Presse*, February 21, 2014), so that the

you still remember?) and “Liebe endet nie” (Love never ends) were less than touching. In this regard, one critic cautioned that the literal meaning of the lyrics “must be doubted” (*Die Presse*, February 21, 2014).

This discrepancy was largely the result of target marketing, as *Die Zeit* (February 20, 2014) observed in its telling analysis:

[In Vienna,] there must [be,] in rushing satisfaction of the anticipatory target group, whipping cream on the music sauce to make it sweet and honey-like, and on that, the pent-up feeling shakes and erupts through all the moving, beautiful [music] in minor.

The sentimentalization of the performance was thus considered the means to appeal to the target audience—the middle-aged fans of Wiener musicals since the 1990s. This strategy was reflected in casting with the star performers—Pia Douwes, Uwe Kröger, and Ethan Freeman, who had appeared in the very first version of *Elisabeth* (1992–1997). Nevertheless, in *Der Besuch*, Douwes—the initial cast as the Empress Elisabeth (*Elisabeth*)—performed Claire, a white-haired, physically challenged and barren woman, whereas Kröger—known as the blond, androgynous Death—performed Ill, a dull, suburban man who deceived Claire and left her in the lurch. Accordingly, the casting was less concerned with the nostalgic effect of replaying the bygone images than considered their established fame as performer in the German-speaking musicals, but rather playing and deceiving the conventional images with the actual ones (see also Chapter 6.3).

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performance was meta-theatrically associated with the performers’ early career.

Struppeck attempted to approach the younger audience with *Natürlich Blond* (Natural Blond, Broadway 2007; Vienna 2013), but the outcome was disappointing, as the number of visitors was dependent on elder citizens and bus tour groups (*Kurier*, February 20, 2014). This pattern was confirmed by the success of *Mamma Mia!* (London 1999; Vienna 2014)—a jukebox musical clearly oriented toward the ABBA generation.

*Der Besuch* was, so-to-speak, an all-round compromise, with the hidden contexts related to the absurd circumstances of the theater. One German review interpreted such high contextuality as “Viennese” (*Die Zeit*, February 20, 2014). In other words, the deliberate localizations for the specific audience group ultimately brought out the Viennese flavor in the musical.

### **Regionalism in Central Europe: *Don Camillo und Peppone* (2017)**

Struppeck’s another work, *Don Camillo und Peppone* dealt with a Central European—or even Mediterranean—story. It portrayed an ideological fight between Don Camillo, the pugnacious priest, and Peppone, the new communist mayor, in a fictive, small village in Italy in 1947. Michael Kunze added a frame narrative to this original setting: The old Gina as narrator—who is standing by in every scene—rekindles her old memory when she was young and loved her boyfriend, Mariolino.<sup>186</sup> In this frame, the performance focused on representing the idyllic, rural atmosphere of ordinary lives in an Italian village during the Cold War rather than presenting any particularly dramatic events, even the main story like *Romeo and Juliet*.

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<sup>186</sup> There were two characters on the stage: Old Gina (as narrator) and Gina (as the young in Old Gina’s memory),

For this nostalgic and retrospective concept, Dario Farina (b. 1950) composed the music in the style of Italian pop music in the 1980s.

One critic rejected this approach altogether (“it is the weakness of the whole,” *Der Standard*, January 29, 2017). There was also harsh criticism of the Italian composer. Some dismissed the songs as trivial and banal (ibid.; *Kurier*, January 29, 2017) and used mockeries such as “Pastapop” and “Italopop, instead of Agitprop” (*Wiener Zeitung*, January 28, 2017)—which satirically treated the provincial, rough description of communistic propaganda (“Agitprop”) in the performance. Another critic pointed out the old-fashioned musical style likening to “a taste of a chilled pizza from the microwave oven” (*Wiener Zeitung*, January 30, 2017).

Although the performance quality should have been evaluated separately from the regionalistic issues in Vienna at that time, negative reactions to *Don Camillo* reflected the increasing demand for local (=Viennese) orientation in the everyday politics with the rightward drift. With the sharp rise in refugee arrivals in Austria,<sup>187</sup> the right-wing Freedom Party of Austria was broadening its constituency in national and state elections, especially carved by the best ever result in the first round of the Austrian presidential election in 2016,<sup>188</sup> and moreover, with the second best result in the Austrian legislative election in 2017, it formed a coalition with the Austrian People’s Party. Nevertheless, the theme of regionalism to hometowns could appeal to many in the “elder audience and bus tour groups” from neighboring Austrian states, as well as the countries and regions in Continental Europe—though it was surely not for the whole international audiences from the United States, United Kingdom, and East

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<sup>187</sup> The number of first-time asylum applicants tripled from 2014 to 2015 (Eurostat 2019).

<sup>188</sup> The Freedom Party was defeated by The Greens in the runoff (see also Chapter 7.3.1).

Asian countries, as well as the new Austrians with a recent migratory background.<sup>189</sup>

### 5. 2. 5. Highly Contextual Musicals for Limited Target Audiences

*Don Camillo* was another example that cannot be fully understood without an understanding of the specific contexts. Whereas *Der Besuch* worked with the meta-theatrical factors and today's local topics, *Don Camillo* dedicated itself to the post-war memories on the Continent and their reproduction in the early mass-oriented products.

The two musicals were distinguished from Wiener musicals created by 2012 from the context of meta-theatricality. After attempts to ennoble the genre musical through the intellectual genre-crossing with the tourist-oriented, historical themes in the 1990s and efforts at de-Viennization with internationalized materials and manners in the 2000s to 2013, Wiener musicals attained the highly local contextual style: the combination of well-known and/or shallow plot and rich expressions and implications. This confined the target audience to the inhabitants in smaller localities, including the states and regions in Austria and its neighborhoods. This approach was going to deepen with the local human resources in two subsequent productions, *Schikaneder* (2016) and *I Am From Austria* (2017).

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<sup>189</sup> The casting could have been an attraction for the international fans of Wiener musicals. Two of the original cast from the second Viennese version of *Elisabeth*: Maya Hakvoort—who appeared as Elisabeth in *Elisabeth*—as the old Gina in *Don Camillo*, and Kurosch Abbasi—Luigi Lucheni in *Elisabeth*—as Mariolino. From the meta-theatrical perspective, this combination implies what happened at the end of the performance in *Don Camillo*: In the scene of the wedding between Gina and Mariolino, the old Gina encounters Death, whose existence has been early mentioned in the prologue (“At night, when the bell rang out from afar, the death rode a bicycle over there along the banks,” Kunze 2016: 8), and whose face behind the mask is that of Mariolino. The old Gina receives a kiss from Death/Mariolino and disappears from the stage, as same as the last scene of *Elisabeth*. This sequence was directed for the performance and not written in the libretto.

## 6. EVOLUTION OF PERFORMER-ORIENTED MUSICALS IN JAPAN

Beginning in 1996, Wiener musicals rapidly established their own status in Japan by allowing flexible adaptation of each production (see also Chapter 4). The long-term collaboration of the international and local team for adapting and ever-updating Wiener musicals allowed the Japanese theater company, Tōhō, to create three Japanese original musicals from 2006 to 2019.

These adapted and original productions not only emerged from the complicated context in the production process but also were substantially transforming in the re-presenting process. Regarding the rapidly changing strategical status of the Tōhō since its endeavor to export *Marie Antoinette* (2006), but meanwhile, all the production were, in principle, maintaining and strengthening the specialty—the Tōhō has been specialized in Japanese entertainment theater by featuring a variety of performers, and wherefore the production has recently become oriented and often customized.

The fashion of performer-oriented or custom-friendly musicals coming after the rise of Wiener musicals is just a part of the Japanese musical scene that consists of countless translated Broadway-style musicals, as well as many original and adapted productions for a variety of marketing sizes. Still, it is striking that the phenomenon basically concerns the fluid nature of this genre musical that not only intrinsically but practically “keep[s] revising the forms and customs to meet the expectations of the audience and become[s] free from a variety of actual limitations” (Hibino 2017: 10). Furthermore, the phenomenon reboosted the local characteristic of theater practice in Japan, which is not always controlled synthetically under the producer or director for the initial purpose but is a result of collaboration with diverse specialists, including the accustomed audience (cf. Kamiyama 2014a).



Accordingly, this chapter empirically examines the latest phenomenon of Wiener musicals and their developments in Japan from 2006 onwards. The following subsections focus on how *Marie Antoinette* developed and impacted the musical both inside and outside Japan (Chapter 6.1), considering the changing requirements for Wiener musicals and original productions in Japan (Chapter 6.2), especially in comparison to the development of Wiener musicals in Vienna (Chapter 6.3).

### **6. 1. Musicals for (Re-)Localization: *Marie Antoinette* (2006)**

The musical *Marie Antoinette*<sup>190</sup> was first staged in Tokyo (2006, as *Marī Antowanetto*) and later performed in Bremen (2009), Tecklenburg (2012), Seoul (2014, as *Mali Angtuaneteu*) and Budapest (2016).<sup>191</sup> When it finally returned to Japan in 2018, this musical took on a completely different appearance *and* content; drastic adaptations had been made to meet the expectations of the producers, creators, and audiences in each performing site.

The adaptation history of *Marie Antoinette* in the global sphere is unusual for the conventional style of musical. Typically, the musical retains the same content as the original production in regional adaptations in order to protect the commercial interests of the license holder. Thus, show business can be distinguished from general theater practices, which often allow numerous adaptations, in which even a slight scent of the original piece is sometimes hardly perceptible.

The transformation of *Marie Antoinette* from 2006 to 2018 was related to the intensification of the performer-oriented strategy in Japanese popular musical theater. While modern Japanese theater attempted to adopt the Western theater style, from

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<sup>190</sup> I shall call this series of production as “Marie Antoinette,” instead of its Japanese title, to avoid confusion between regional productions that were not always based on the first production.

<sup>191</sup> The title in German and Magyar was *Marie Antoinette*.

architecture to acting methods, this imported style was adapted and popularized through actual practice in Japanese popular musical theater, and finally incorporated into the local contexts. *Marie Antoinette* was an example of the metabolism in Japanese popular musical theater, where dramatic conventions have been infused with a new design to reach the local audience from time to time.

Chapter 6.1 deals with the transformation of *Marie Antoinette* between the first and second Japanese versions, focusing on its recontextualization in the changing pragmatic setting of each local theater and the radical revision of the production for more convenient re-localization. By analyzing the situation of each performance and the adaptation process, the following subsections discuss how the localness and tradition of Japanese popular musical theater are represented today.<sup>192</sup>

### **6. 1. 1. The First Japanese Version (2006)**

#### **6. 1. 1. 1. International Collaboration with Layered Intentions**

*Marie Antoinette* emerged from an international collaboration. Based on the Japanese serialized novel *Queen Marie Antoinette* on *Asahi* in 1980/81 by Endō Shūsaku, it was produced by the Tōhō, written by Michael Kunze and Sylvester Levay, directed by Japanese director Kuriyama Tamiya, and embodied by Japanese performers. After the first successful adaptation of *Elisabeth* (Vienna 1992; Takarazuka 1996; Tōhō 2000, see also Chapter 4), both the Takarazuka Revue and Tōhō promoted further collaborations with the United Stages, especially with the original writers, Kunze and Levay. As a result, while four Wiener musicals were adapted into Japanese productions 13 times

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<sup>192</sup> Chapter 6.1 was developed from Rina Tanaka's unpublished paper "Local Bodies in Japanese Popular Musical Theater Today: Re-localization in the Transformation of the Musical *Marie Antoinette*," awarded for Helsinki Prize of the International Federation for Theatre Research (IFTR), 2019.

from 1996 to 2006, the *Marie Antoinette* project began in the late 1990s (*Yomiuri*, January 1, 2006).

Apparently, the Tōhō sought both international and domestic success, as seen in the program and other publications written both in Japanese and English. The managing director, Masuda Noriyoshi, intended “to launch it to the world,” considering that “the relationship became solid to collaborate with Kunze and Levay, and the human resources became mature to underpin Japanese musicals” in the past decade until 2006 (*Yomiuri*, January 27, 2006). From the perspective of the Japanese producer, exportability could be established with the support of “worldly” proven hitmakers, while a domestic success would be ensured by casting Japanese popular performers.

However, *Marie Antoinette* was ultimately driven by different intentions. On the structural level, *Marie Antoinette* was designed to have an anti-cathartic effect and to encourage the audience to think critically of the universal, historical theme—violence for justice—rather than offering catharsis through a sympathetic description of the French Queen Marie Antoinette (1755–1793).

Regarding the theme setting, the original novel dealt with the doubt of Christianity by dramatically depicting the historical setting of the French Revolution from the perspective of the fictive beggar, Margrid Arnaud, in sharp contrast to the Queen. On that basis, Kunze developed a critical reflection of the history in the manner of epic theater for the musical whereby the audience would come to question the ethical meaning of the revolution. The performance had a frame narrative with two narrators who critically observed what was happening on stage. While the contemporary playwright, Pierre A. Caron de Beaumarchais, provided sarcastic comments within the drama, the legendary alchemist, Giuseppe Balsamo alias Cagliostro, took an

anachronistic look as the actual audience would have. This meta-theatrical structure was preserved in Kuriyama's direction. A minimalist stage enabled the focus to be on the polyphonic and self-reflective narrative. This approach differed markedly from the conventional style of musicals about the Western history, which have successfully appealed to the Japanese audiences with opulent costumes in a dynamic stage design.<sup>193</sup>

However, at the level of performance, the performers referenced Japanized images of the historical figures in the French Revolution rather than simply following the authors' conceptions. In this context, it is remarkable what the actress Suzukaze Mayo (b. 1960) mentioned regarding how she prepared for the title role in *Marie Antoinette*:

I read all [ten] volumes of the manga [*Rose of Versailles*] again for performing [this role]. I referred to everything from it (*Asahi*, February 5, 2007).

In fact, *Marie Antoinette* could never be separated from the manga *Berusaiyu no Bara* (Rose of Versailles) and its stage versions by the Takarazuka Revue since the mid-1970s, which had an unmistakable impact on Japanese popular musical theater in the succeeding decades.

#### **6. 1. 1. 2. The Japanized Image of the French Revolution**

*Rose of Versailles* was a series of shōjo manga (girl-oriented comics) by Ikeda Riyoko that appeared in the weekly comic magazine *Māgaretto* (Margaret) from 1972 to 1973.

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<sup>193</sup> In this regard, the Takarazuka Revue has provided many original musicals about the tragic love in Europe in the monarchical era. This tendency was formed in the 1930s, when the westernization and modernization had proceeded in Japanese theater under the influence of European popular musical theater—especially the Parisian and Viennese operetta.

Inspired by Stefan Zweig's novel, *Marie Antoinette: Bildnis eines mittleren Charakters* (*Marie Antoinette: The Portrait of an Average Woman*, 1932), the manga described Antoinette not only as an innocent, tragic victim of the epoch but as an ordinary woman, who sought her real love outside of her preordained marriage. This fictionization reflected the Japanese society, where the number of love marriages first surpassed that of arranged marriages in late 1960s. Additionally, it echoed the trend of shōjo manga, which abounded with Western-looking characters with huge, dewy eyes and long blond hair. Accordingly, *Rose of Versailles* illustrated not the real French figure but the “idealized Western Otherness” in the Japanese context (Napier 1998: 107).

Subsequently, this Japanized occidentalistic context emerged again, not on the two-dimensional portrait—even before the animated television series (1979–1980)—but through the Japanese performers: In 1974, only a year after the final episode was published, *Rose of Versailles* was adapted for the musical by the Takarazuka Revue.

The Takarazuka Revue has been one of the largest theater companies in modern Japan, particularly known for popular musical theater starring all young female performers (see also Chapter 4.1.1.1). In 1914, this company was established by the entrepreneur Kobayashi Ichizō (1873–1957) initially as a sort of finishing school for girls who were taught not only to sing, dance, and play instruments in both Japanese and Western styles, but to become “good wives, wise mothers”: a phrase that indicated a woman's preferred role in Japan's growing imperialist ventures in the early twentieth century.<sup>194</sup> Combining the theatrical styles of Japanese, US-American, and Western popular musical theater, the Takarazuka Revue provided the performances with the performer-centric principle of traditional Japanese performance theory and technique:

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<sup>194</sup> As for the relation between the Takarazuka Revue and the gender role in modern Japan, see also Kawasaki 2005; McConachie/Nellhaus/Sorgenfrei/Underiner 2016; Robertson 1998.

“[s]howing the ability of the performer to the fullest” (Kawatake 1978: 114). Meanwhile, the French revue—this fashionable novelty was imported by the in-house director who sent to Paris in the early twentieth century and soon became the symbolic icon of this company—was detoxicated and reformatted to fit the main tenets of the Takarazuka Revue: “purity, honesty, and beauty.” In this context, the actresses of the Takarazuka Revue have been usually called “Takarasienne,” a blend of “Takarazuka” and “Parisienne” (Kitamura 2014: 49).

The musical version of *Rose of Versailles* created a huge sensation, and it instantly became one of the most popular productions of the Takarazuka Revue. As of 2014, the production attracted more than five million visitors (*Nikkei*, June 27, 2014). This success can be attributed to a considerable overlapping of target audiences for shōjo manga and the Takarazuka Revue—both were basically developed for entertaining the expected female consumers—striking an effective balance between faithful representation and reconstruction of each manga character by and for each Takarasienne in the star system.

The person credited with establishing a special acting style for the first version was the director Hasegawa Kazuo (1908–1984)—the film and stage actor who specialized in samurai swashbucklers and modernized kabuki theater (a genre of Japanese traditional popular musical theater since the seventeenth century). Based on his formalistic acting style developed from traditional theater to play film, Hasegawa taught the Takarasiennes on how to represent the picturesque images of *Rose of Versailles* in their female bodies. Although *Rose of Versailles* has been newly created more than 30 times since 1974, in order to distinguish a new performance from previous ones by showing the ability of each Takarasienne to the fullest, the form established by

Hasegawa has underlain in each version.

Consequently, a special association was established between *Rose of Versailles* and the bodily expression of Takarasiennes. This, in essence, formed the particular context of the French Revolution in Japanese popular theater. In practice, when Antoinette appears in other theater works, an (ex-)Takarasienne typically takes the role in order to maintain this context.<sup>195</sup> Additionally, the more familiar target audience became with both the Tōhō and the Takarazuka Revue by watching more ex-Takarasiennes in Tōhō musicals from 2000 onward—which were triggered by *Erizabēto* (2000, see also Chapter 4.1.2)—the stronger this association became.<sup>196</sup>

Accordingly, when Suzukaze confirmed that she referred to *Rose of Versailles* for her acting as Antoinette in *Marie Antoinette*, the referent was the contextual world of *Rose of Versailles*, which had been inherited and *re-presented* in the previous performances by (ex-)Takarasiennes in Japanese popular musical theater. In this regard, Suzukaze did not simply *reproduce* Antoinette through the special acting style that Hasegawa had invented. Rather, the image of Antoinette oozed through Suzukaze’s own presence, strongly connecting to the world of *Rose of Versailles* for the audiences, who were very familiar with Suzukaze’s legendary performance “exactly like Oscar [the fictional character in the comic]” (*Nikkei*, July 14, 1990) in three versions of *Rose of Versailles* (1989–1991).

### 6. 1. 1. 3. The Tension between the Brain and the Body

There was a clear tension between structure and performance when the first version of

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<sup>195</sup> For example, Daichi Mao appeared as Marie Antoinette in *Marī Antowanetto* (Marie Antoinette, Shochiku-za 2006); Ōki Kaname, Ryū Masaki, and Hanafusa Mari appeared in *1789: Basutīyu no Koibito-tachi* (1789: The Lovers of the Bastille, Tōhō 2016).

<sup>196</sup> Ex-Takarasiennes were often found in Tōhō’s theater productions already since the 1950s. The best example is Koshiji Fubuki (1924–1980).

*Marie Antoinette* celebrated its premiere at the Imperial Theater in 2006. One critic suggested the need for a try-out performance to “harmonize the work with the performers and the audience”; otherwise, there was a danger of betraying the expectations of the target audience for “the romantic tragedy in the French Revolution” (*Asahi*, December 6, 2006).

Table 3. Song Numbers of the first Japanese version of *Marie Antoinette* (2006)<sup>197</sup>

Act-No.	Title	Act-No.	Title
1-1	1779-nen (Prologue: The Great Cagliostro; lit. “Year 1779”)	2-1	Seigi no Kane yo (The Bell of Justice)
1-2	Mō Nakusu-mono mo Nai (All We Feel Hunger)	2-2	Sanbukai no Parēdo (France on Parade)
1-3	Naze (Why She, Why Not I?)	2-3	Sanbukai no Parēdo (Reprise) (France on Parade)
1-4	Goran Ōhi wo (Look at Her)	2-4	Nagare-boshi no Kanata (Reprise) (Turn, Turn)
1-5	Naze Kēki wo Tabenai (Why Don’t They Eat the Cake?)	2-5	Ummei no Toshi (Women of Paris; lit. “The Fatal Year”)
1-6	100-man no Kyandoru (Blinded by a Thousand Candles)	2-6	Kane ga Kimete (Money’s Talking)
1-7	Nagare-boshi no Kanata (Turn, Turn)	2-7	Aishita Koto Dake ga (The Only Thing I Ever Did Right)
1-8	Kanpeki na Ōhi (A Perfect Queen)	2-8	Nanika ga Machigatteiru (Something’s Wrong)
1-9	Bukiyō na Ō (I’m Sorry; lit. “An Awkward King”)	2-9	Paris Cut Pari Jōhō (The Paris Cut)
1-10	Maboroshi no Ōgon wo Motomete (Gold Out of Nothing at All)	2-10	Kyōfu Seiji (Reign of Terror)
1-11	Kokoro no Koe (The Voice in My Heart)	2-11	Varennu e no Tōbō (The Flight to Varennes)
1-12	Onozomi Kanaete (You’ve Got to Give Them What They Want)	2-12	Moshimo Kaji-ya Nara (Why Can’t I Be Just a Smith)
1-13	Moshimo (If)	2-13	Nagare-boshi no Kanata (Reprise) (Turn, Turn)
1-14	Girochin (Doctor Guillotin’s Machine)	2-14	Warera wa Kyōdai (Onward, Brothers!)
1-15	Ōsutoria Onna (Parce Qu’elle est Autrichienne)	2-15	Naze Anata wa Ōhi Nanoka (The Only Thing I Ever Did Right; lit. “Why Are You the Queen?”)
1-16	Kokoro no Koe (Reprise) (The Voice in My Heart)	2-16	Minna Kurutteiru (Thank God, We’re All Mad)
1-17	Kami wa Aishite Kudasaru (God Cares for All)	2-17	Subete wa Anata ni (Reprise) (All I Do; lit. “All for You”)
1-18	Subete wa Anata ni (All I Do; lit. “All for You”)	2-18	Ōji wo Hikihanase (Taking the Boy)
1-19	Sosite Isakai (Lovers’ Bickering)	2-19	Sono Kubi wo Hanero (Off with Her Head!)
1-20	Watashi koso ga Fusawashii (I am the Best)	2-20	Sono Toki ga Kita (Her Time is Up)
1-21	Nanatsu no Akutoku (Seven Weird Ingredients)	2-21	Jiyū no tame ni Chi wo Nagase (Blood Must Flow for Liberty!)
1-22	Nantoiu Seremonī (Some Day to Remember)	2-22	Jiyū (Freedom!)

(Based on the song lists in the program in 2006 and Live Recording CD released on March 28, 2007)

The music was compatible with this tension (Table 3). On the one hand, it

<sup>197</sup> The English titles are based on the Live Recording CD, adding the direct translation for the interpreted English titles.



managed to contribute to the cathartic development by describing each character and each belief, as well as dramatizing the tide of the revolutionary times. On the other hand, in the critical discourse, the upsurge of the music with the violent progress of the revolution came to symbolize the demagogic aspect of the revolution for the anti-cathartic effect as designed by the playwright and the director.

Nevertheless, the performance was incompatible with the structure, especially because of the casting. Although the playwright and the director focused on critically describing the real history, the Tōhō employed Suzukaze as the protagonist to attract a certain group of audience; namely, those who were acquainted with how Japanese popular musical theater had treated the French Revolution since *Rose of Versailles* and who expected a (re-)presentation through/of Suzukaze's reminiscent body.

In this regard, the initial design was interpreted by the performers and audiences differently. For example, the minimalist stage design was initially intended to extract the fundamental ethical question from the historical setting, but it also helped the audience to gaze on the performer(s). As the core audience of the musical in Japan tends to watch the performance with opera glasses in order to trace minute expressions by the main—and especially favorite—performers, the staging of *Marie Antoinette* was unintentionally suited to that purpose. Although the critics understood, to a certain extent, the seriousness of the concept, they basically favored the fandom. As one critic wrote, “the musical begrudges an empathy with the characters, so that the music cannot come to the heart” (*Yomiuri*, November 29, 2006).

Ultimately, the production was revised for its second season in the Imperial Theater in 2007. Many modifications were made, not only for an easier understanding of the historical background but for less radical presentation that was more favorable to

the performers. With this respect, it is striking that the song “Iryūjon: Aruiwa Kibō” (Illusion or Hope) was added. Although the author rationalized the revision from a dramatic perspective, for impressing the frame narrative on the audience through showing the narrator’s transcendental perspective, this song was obviously tailored to provide a scene for the star performer, Yamaguchi Yūichirō, that appealed to the expectations of his fans.

## 6. 1. 2. Immigrating Antoinette: The Adaptation Process until her Homecoming

### 6. 1. 2. 1. Haphazard Adaptations from Germany to South Korea

The adaptation process of *Marie Antoinette* following its two premieres in Tokyo is revealing: the various productions were not always developed from the original version but from the latest regional version (Figure 5). Austria and France, major tourist countries in Europe and where Marie Antoinette has been an icon to appeal to tourist, were expected importers, but they finally rejected the production. Subsequently, the production began wandering, not as planned but rather haphazardly.

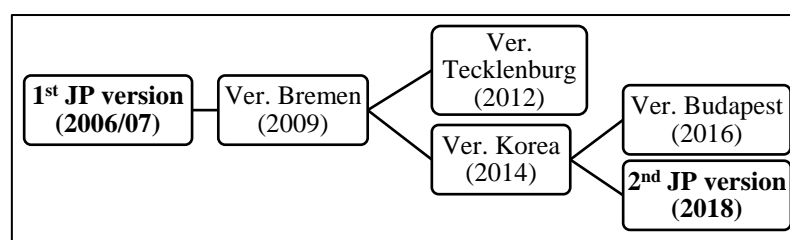


Figure 5. Adaptation of *Marie Antoinette* (2006-2018)

In 2009, *Marie Antoinette* was first brought to the Musicaltheater Bremen in Germany. This export was sensationally reported in Japan with an understanding that *Marie Antoinette* had inherited the local-oriented or adaptation-flexible strategy of Wiener musicals that was expanding in non-English-speaking countries since the mid-1990s (*Asahi*, April 21, 2007). However, in fact, the adaptation process was not

driven by a specific strategy; rather, it emerged from environmental limitations. Financial problems in Bremen set limits on the import, to the extent that only the original authors, the Japanese director, and the assistant director took part in the German version, against the Tōhō's will.

In the collaboration between the original and local teams, the performance concentrated on Kunze and Kuriyama's concept of "go[ing] against the trend of shallow musical entertainment for the whole family [...] and approach[ing] the lost group of musical fans again" (*Parkscout*, 2/2009). Social criticism was emphasized in the rearranged scene structure and in the frame narrative initiated by Cagliostro with the song "Illusion or Hope." Here, the specific performer also created a special context based on his/her stage career. Cagliostro was performed by Ethan Freeman, whose Lucheni was well-known as the original cast of *Elisabeth* (1992). His roles were consistent in *Elisabeth* and *Marie Antoinette*, where he played a liminal storyteller who created a frame narrative but observed and criticized the story on the border of the frame.

Nevertheless, the production did not succeed as expected. One critic regarded *Marie Antoinette* as a rehash of *Elisabeth*, which had been first performed in Germany in 2000 (*The Musicals*, 2/2009).<sup>198</sup> Meanwhile, another critic pointed out that the theme was too unfamiliar to the German audience (*Nürnberger Nachrichten*, February 2, 2009). The German version sought to expand into Austria and France but once again met with disappointment. Ultimately, *Marie Antoinette* was sold to the South Korean EMK Company in the midst of the bankruptcy crisis of the Musicaltheater Bremen.

The EMK obtained permission to use the music and text in order to fully

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<sup>198</sup> "You cannot help but think of Kupfer's *Elisabeth* [...]. The direction has not its own fascination."

customize the production for its local audience.<sup>199</sup> In 2014, the Korean version had its premiere in Seoul's Charlotte Theater. The performance was drastically modified: more than 80% of *Marie Antoinette* was changed by US-American director/concept designer, Robert Johanson, who had collaborated with the EMK since 2008 and had proved his tailoring skill for the Korean market.<sup>200</sup> Moreover, the EMK became a license holder of this Korean version with the approval of the first authors—Kunze and Levay—and the Tōhō.<sup>201</sup> As a result, the Korean version was exported to Hungary and Japan. Whereas it was, once again, drastically adapted for the Budapest version by the local director, Gábor Miklós Kerényi, it was imported to Japan as a package—Johanson was invited to produce the second Japanese version.

## **6. 1. 2. 2. The Special Presence of Antoinette**

### **The Korean Version (2014)**

The Korean version contrasted with the first Japanese version, especially in its catharsis-oriented structure. Johanson's concept focused on “the tragic life of Marie Antoinette,” so that “the audience can understand all the characters and empathize with them.”<sup>202</sup> The production concentrated on Antoinette and her relationship through the rearrangement of the scenes, song numbers (see Table 4), and text, especially removing the frame narrative and halving the number of main characters.

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<sup>199</sup> The Tōhō tried to include the Japanese director in the Korean version, but it was not successful.

<sup>200</sup> According to an interview with Eom Hong Hyun by Jang Ji-Young (*MUST*, <http://must.caci.or.kr/?p=4874>, May 30, 2017, last accessed November 30, 2018).

<sup>201</sup> In the Budapest version, Levay and Kunze were recognized as the original creators (here, Levay was regarded as the first author, considering that he is Hungarian), while Endō Shūsaku (the author of the original novel), the Tōhō (the production company of the original version), and the EMK (the original creator of the current version) were mentioned as the license holders.

<sup>202</sup> Stated by Johanson in a press release for the Korean version on October 31, 2014.

On the performance level, a rotating cast system was adopted to ensure high efficiency—continuous performances without any holiday. Four roles were double- or triple-cast, whereby the EMK offered 24 casting combinations. Moreover, the context of *Rose of Versailles* emerged once again. KAI (a.k.a. Jung Ki-Yeol, b. 1981), who starred as Count Axel von Fersen, stated that “I bought all the volumes of Ikeda Riyoko’s *Rose of Versailles* and read them.”<sup>203</sup> This is not particularly surprising since the manga had been unofficially translated into Korean at the end of the 1970s, and guest performances of the Takarazuka version took place in Kyung Hee University in 2005.

Table 4. Song Numbers of the Korean/Second Japanese version of *Marie Antoinette* (2014; 2018)

Act-No.	Title	Act-No.	Title
0-1	Prologue**	2-1	He is the King Who Controls the News
0-2	Marie Antoinette**	2-2	The Only Thing I Ever Did Right
1-1	Look at Her	2-3	Women of Paris
1-2	All I Do	2-4	God Cares for All
1-3	Blinded by a Thousand Candles	2-5	Onward, Brothers
1-4	Le Dernier Cri (The Last Cry)	2-6	We Go with the Flow**
1-5	Dazzling*	2-7	Reign of Terror
1-6	Why Can't I Just be a Smith	2-9	Hate in Your Eyes
1-7	This Night**	2-10	All I Do (Reprise)
1-8	Parce Qu'elle est Autrichinne	2-11	Why She Have More Than I? (Reprise)
1-9	Why Does She Have More Than I?	2-12	The Flight
1-10	Turn, Turn	2-13	Why Can't I Just be a Smith (Reprise)
1-11	Parce Qu'elle est Autrichinne (Reprise)	2-14	Turn, Turn (Reprise)
1-12	I'm the Best	2-15	Onward, Brothers (Reprise)
1-13	Distant Thunder**	2-16	Life Has Made You Hard and Bitter
1-14	The One You See in Me**	2-17	Turn, Turn (Reprise)
1-15	Looks**	2-18	And When We Cry (Reprise)**
1-16	If	2-19	Taking Away Her Son
1-17	The Necklace**	2-20	The Trial
1-18	A Day to Remember	2-21	Her Head Must Roll!
1-19	Kill the Snake**	2-22	Marie Antoinette**
1-20	The Necklace Thing**	2-23	How Can We Change the World
1-21	Kill the Snake**		
1-22	A Day to Remember (Reprise)		
1-23	Enough is Enough		
1-24	And When We Cry**		
1-25	Enough is Enough		

\* The songs added in the Bremen version.

(Based on EMK 2014; Tōhō 2018)

\*\* The songs added in the Korean version.

<sup>203</sup> Excerpted from *Hangeki.com*, “The Korean Premiere *Marie Antoinette*: Upgraded from the Japanese Version, Press Conference,” November, 1, 2014.

Consequently, the Korean version, featuring a harmonization of the simplified drama with the music, allowed the audiences to enjoy an expected romantic story about Antoinette without the anti-cathartic effect. In this regard, one journalist mentioned that most of the audiences for the musical in South Korea consisted of young women (*The Chosun Ilbo*, August 24, 2014). This phenomenon is not irrelevant to the fact that the hit musicals there tend to deal with stories from Europe in the Middle Ages that were once described in the old shōjo manga. Accordingly, the title role for *Marie Antoinette* in South Korea not only became sovereign over the other characters but also adhere to the expected image.

### **The Second Japanese Version (2018)**

The second Japanese version followed the concept, structure, and lyrics of the Korean version.<sup>204</sup> Moreover, it adopted the rotating cast system, not for minimalizing holidays but for the domestic success with the performers well-known in Japan.<sup>205</sup> In terms of the cast members, it is striking that two contrasting performers, Sasamoto Rena (b. 1985) and Hanafusa Mari (b. 1973), were employed to alternate performances of Antoinette for two completely different reasons: Among all the cast members of the second Japanese version, only Sasamoto had been part of the first Japanese version as one of the main characters (though she was not employed for maintaining the original concept from the first version); Hanafusa, on the other hand, was chosen due to her fame as “*Marie yakusha*” (*Sankei Living*, October 16, 2018; *Geki-Pia*, October 17, 2018)—which means that she is “the best actress for the character of Marie Antoinette.”

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<sup>204</sup> The text of the second Japanese version was basically translated from that of the Korean version.

<sup>205</sup> In this regard, it is also striking that the program of the second Japanese version was written in Japanese. Only the greetings of Kunze, Levay, and Johanson as well as the names of the cast members were written both in English and Japanese (and the latter was calligraphic as well). They emphasized the occidentalistic, fanciful nature of theater rather than being for international audience.

Such an expression is generally considered as one of the supreme compliments that could be given to a kabuki actor.

The compliment was based on Hanafusa's stage career as Antoinette. *Marie Antoinette* was the third occasion for Hanafusa to appear as Antoinette following *Rose of Versailles* (Takarazuka Revue 2001) and *1789: The Lovers of the Bastille* (Tōhō 2016). Hanafusa had been known as a prominent Takarasienne, with the ability to enhance her attractiveness in performing the role of a royal, tragic person. She continued to impress on the audiences her interpretation of Antoinette even after she left the Takarazuka Revue—although ex-Takarasiennes have often looked to shed their Takarazuka-styled image and challenge a different type of role in the theater. By refining her image from her previous performances, Hanafusa has elevated her own presence on stage, separating herself from the numerous “Antoinettes” in other castings and versions of *Rose of Versailles* and *Marie Antoinette*, as well as other theater productions featuring Antoinette in Japanese popular musical theater. As a result, Hanafusa came to be recognized as an actress “who has a special presence as if she were truly Marie herself” (Hirano 2018).

Hanafusa's powerful image as Antoinette influenced Sasamoto, the other Antoinette. Sasamoto explained that “the strong image of *Rose of Versailles* make the audience believe how Marie Antoinette should behave,” and under these circumstances, Hanafusa “always realized the expected figure in each work.”<sup>206</sup> Sasamoto began imitating Hanafusa's behavior in rehearsals, recognizing that “even only her standing posture clearly shows Hanafusa as the queen” (*Mainichi*, November 22, 2018). Thus, Hanafusa taught her body language to Sasamoto (ibid.).

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<sup>206</sup> According to an interview with Sasamoto by Manago Yōko (*Web Ronza*, November 3, 2018). In this regard, Sasamoto, whose mother is an ex-Takarasiienne, seemingly has a special sense for perceiving Hanafusa's presence.

### 6. 1. 2. 3. More Comfortable, and More Stable as an Entertainment

The second Japanese version of *Marie Antoinette* definitively followed the traditional style of Japanese popular musical theater; that is, the stylistic form for playing the characters should be passed on from one actor to another, but meanwhile, an actor is also required to perform the character with both in a similarity and difference from those who had previously performed the same character. In the second Japanese version, the Japanese image of Antoinette since *Rose of Versailles* was especially presented and represented by Hanafusa, who had become the definitive actress to perform this particular role. As a result, the performance became dependent on the specific performer—one who could live up to the expectations of the target audience.

The critics received the clearer structure of this second version far more positively than the first version. As one critic stated, “The audience can empathize with Marie. [...] Instead of harsh sharpness of the first version, [the second version] becomes more comfortable as a musical, and more appropriate as an entertainment” (Hirano 2018). This reception was in contrast to the first version, whose direction was perceived as too serious and not suitable as an entertainment (*Nikkei*, November 15, 2006).

Ultimately, the image of *Marie Antoinette* was updated and overwritten. The link between the critical first Japanese version and the empathic second version appeared neither in the performance nor in the critique. Furthermore, the adaptation history—titled “The Journey of the Musical *Marie Antoinette*” in the program of the second Japanese version—showed the popularity of *Rose of Versailles* in Japan ahead of the first Japanese version of *Marie Antoinette* (Tōhō 2018), even though Kunze and Kuriyama had not in any way considered *Rose of Versailles* in their creation of the first



Japanese version.<sup>207</sup>

Only the music survived during the 12-years-long adaptation history from the first to the second Japanese version, though it, too, was forced to undergo some changes. Many songs were displaced and functioned in a different way from the first version (see also Table 3 in Chapter 6.1.1.3 and Table 4 in Chapter 6.1.2.2). For example, the song “Illusion or Hope” had been completely rewritten for the Korean version, except for the melody. It was newly titled as “Sesang-eul Jibaehaneun Beob” (He Is King Who Controls the News)<sup>208</sup> and sung by the Duke of Orléans for displaying his treasonable ambition, instead of Cagliostro—who was erased in this version (EMK 2014). The second Japanese version followed the Korean version, but changed the title slightly, to “Yoron wo Shihai siro!” (Rule Public Opinion!) (Tōhō 2018). In the process, the composer Levay rearranged the score for each performer in rehearsals. He would keep up with the actual demand of the Japanese market in his constant collaboration with the Takarazuka Revue and the Tōhō, as Johanson successfully undertook in the Korean market.

### **6. 1. 3. Displacement and Replacement**

#### **6. 1. 3. 1. The Role of the Producer**

The transformation of *Marie Antoinette* is distinguishable from other exportable musicals—even its adaptable “ancestor,” Wiener musicals—in terms of both the intention and export strategy. It is unusual that the Tōhō maintained a non-aggressive position in the adaptation—or, more precisely, the overwriting—process, and therefore,

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<sup>207</sup> According to an interview with Kuriyama and Niwayama Yuka (coordinator) in Tokyo on February 28, 2018.

<sup>208</sup> The English title was based on the program of the Korean version (2014).

each local production arose from the interaction between the original writers and the individual local theater without any strict control of the license holder.

Normally, the producer of a large-scale musical production must bear a huge initial cost. In such cases, royalty-producing export can serve as an appealing financial remedy. One of the exceptions is the Austrian theater company, United Stages Vienna (est. 1987), which is able to promote the export with flexible adaptation in each performing site since their production and running costs are compensated with the cultural budget of Vienna City. Nevertheless, the United Stages maintain the original license in the export, as is the usual case with the musical that has survived in the international market, rather than allow the local creator to have a license for its regional production.

The Tōhō did not follow the standard practice due primarily to its lack of experience as a license holder of the exportable musical. In fact, the Tōhō once produced and exported its original musical *Sukāretto* (Scarlet, Tōhō 1970; West End 1972)—which was not successful.<sup>209</sup> However, it is also important to note that the initial costs for *Marie Antoinette* were basically covered by the profits of Tōhō's other businesses in the film industry and real estate.<sup>210</sup> Against these background, the Tōhō's permissive attitude in export was formed, which accelerated the unusual adaptation process of *Marie Antoinette*.

Another key player in the transformation of *Marie Antoinette* was the EMK, which positioned itself neither as the Tōhō nor as any of the other musical companies. The EMK established a new type of show business, characterized not only by buying

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<sup>209</sup> It is suspicious whether *Scarlet* could be counted as a genuine “Japanese” production since most stage elements—except the original text by Kikuta Kazuo—had been entrusted to the international team, and the West End production was produced without the Japanese playwright.

<sup>210</sup> According to Factbooks from 2001 to 2018. In that time frame, the profit of Tōhō's theater business accounted for less than 10% of its total operating profit.

the musicals from Continental Europe for the South Korean audience but also by the trading of fully revised versions to third countries.<sup>211</sup> This allowed each regional theater to completely customize the musical to the local context, as illustrated in the Budapesti Operettinház's rewrite of the Korean version of *Marie Antoinette*, which caused mutations of the production.

It is not irrelevant that this “small license” trade for a “custom musical”<sup>212</sup> arose between Continental European and Asian countries, both of which accepted and has tackled the genre musical since the post-war era. In Continental Europe, there have been attempts to create an original musical, which often linked to the practice or method of European musical theater, as represented by Wiener musicals. In Asian countries, where the commercial model of the musical was rapidly expanding since the 1990s, however, it has been often quite difficult to strictly enforce a faithful representation of an original production since the exporters can typically only check the visual elements of the production but are incapable of detecting any difference between a faithful translation and a creative remake being carried out in the local language.

Regarding the local-oriented strategy, *Marie Antoinette* ultimately found a course of complete compatibility in migration and relocation. There was certainly a risk in not following the manner of conventional show business, but doing so affords added opportunities for the aesthetic or commercial development of the production at each of the various performing venues. *Marie Antoinette* may have lost its original,

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<sup>211</sup> In 2017, the EMK purchased the license for *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* from the Theater Sankt Gallen, Frank Wildhorn, and Jack Murphy in order to mediate its export to countries in East and West Asia as well as the United Kingdom and Ireland, both in English and in local languages (*The Kukmin Ilbo*, May 23, 2017). The business model as a mediator in the license trade was early seen in The New International Musicals Incorporated (2002, co-funded by Japanese private companies, Hankyū, Tōhō, and Kyōdō Tokyo).

<sup>212</sup> Stated by the General Producer Eum Hong Hyeon in an interview by Kim Dong Yon (*The Dong-a Ilbo*, January 13, 2016).

universal-oriented concept, but in return, it gained the space to renew and reform with each local presentation.

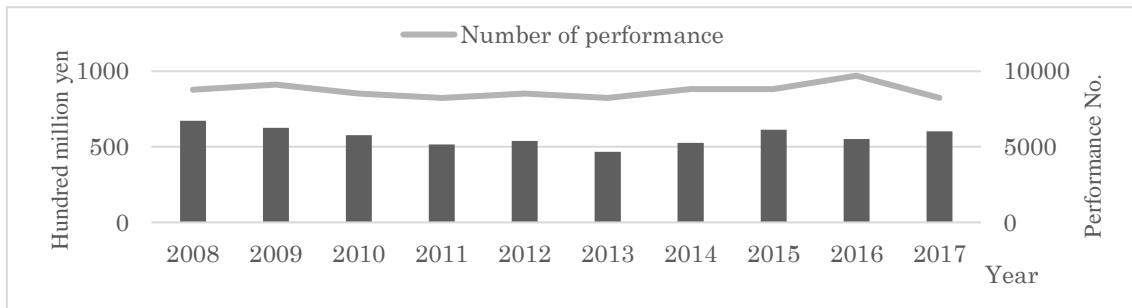
### **6. 1. 3. 2. From the Japanese-Style Long Run to the Rotating Cast System**

The full compatibility of *Marie Antoinette* was not undesirable for the Tōhō, as the company has long specialized in offering an entertainment for the local audiences by flavoring existing material to suit the local-friendly taste rather than creating a new trend for the international market.

#### **The Shift of Marketing Strategy of the Tōhō**

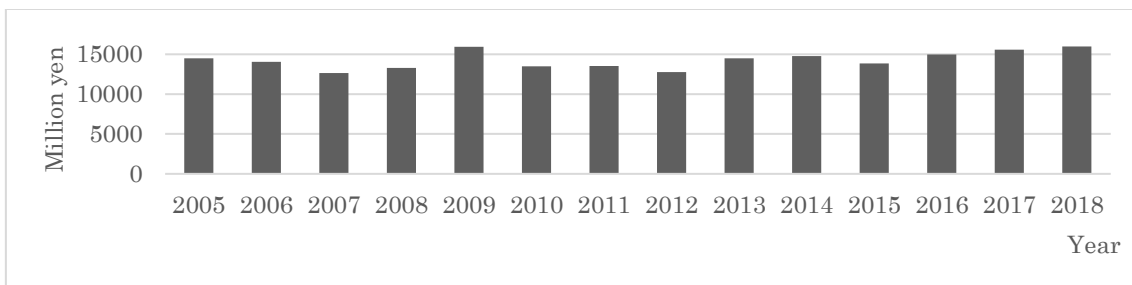
The Tōhō has played a leading role in Japanese popular musical theater since its establishment in 1932. As of 2016, sales for Tōhō's theater business (ca. 15 billion yen) amounted to approximately 9.1% of all sales in the field (ca. 164 billion yen) (Pia Research Institute 2017: 30). As the Japanese market of the musical has not enlarged but remained unstable since 2008 (Figure 5, on the next page), the Tōhō has managed to increase its operating results following some ups-and-downs prior to 2015 (Figure 6, on the next page).

Whereas the other large theater companies, the Takarazuka Revue and the Shiki Theater, have their own ensembles and the training school for them, the Tōhō always employs a diverse group of popular performers for each production. The company has thus competed against its rivals by changing the combination of performers in the intermittent long run system—whereby all the productions can be adapted with traditional star system, and only the successful production is performed again and again until its popularity once declines. The representative case was *Ra*



Source: Pia Research Institute (2018)

Figure 5. The number of performance and market size of the musical in Japan (2008–2017)



Source: Tōhō (2009; 2015; 2018)

Figure 6. The change of operating results of the Tōhō's theater business (2005–2018)

*Mancha no Otoko* (The Man of La Mancha, Broadway 1965; Tōhō 1969), which has been featured for 50 years by the kabuki actor, Ichikawa Somegorō VII (b. 1942, as Matsumoto Kōshirō IX since 1981; as Matsumoto Hakuō since 2018, see also Chapter 6.1.3.2). It is striking that the Tōhō's chairman, Matsuoka Isao (b. 1934, in office: 1977–2009), designated this system as the “Japanese-style long run system” (*Nikkei*, June 26, 2016). In short, utilizing a hybrid cast of diverse performers has comprised the core operating strategy of the Tōhō and has been the way of keeping up with the trends of the times.

The trend of the Japanese-style long run system usually adopted the fixed cast members for several years. The rotating cast system, which was initially adopted for the Japanese versions of *Les Misérables* (since 1987) and *Miss Saigon* (since 1992), became to function more effectively with more divergent performers and productions. In this system, a daily schedule indicating which performer would appear in each role was

announced before selling the tickets in order to appeal to various fan groups of the respective performers in the cast. Different from the Broadway-style musicals, the performers appearing as the same role on different performance days are not sorted into “principal” and the “understudy” on the casting list under the rotating cast system. Since the late 2000s, more works—the adaptations of Wiener musicals, in particular—have been performed multiple times, gradually espousing the same system. In the mid-2010s, two or three performers were typically cast for each role in a Tōhō musical, so that each performance of one production could be flavored with a different combination of performers. This also gave the audience the opportunity to seek out their favorite combinations and made it possible for the producer to analyze current trends and directions based on sales for the various casting combinations.

#### **For More Secure Success: The Case of Re-Migrating *Marie Antoinette***

When the project *Marie Antoinette* developed with an ambitious agenda for export in the late 1990s, the producer did not allow it to be fully experimental or universal; to the contrary, the Tōhō hedged its risks to ensure a solid success, by bringing the local context to the performances with the hiring of Suzukaze on the top. This is a strategic decision under the principle of commercial musical theater practices in Japan, where the pragmatically local running system had been established and well developed.

Changing the trends affected the performance: Whereas the first Japanese version had offered a single cast, the second Japanese version, in which four characters were double-cast, enabled the audience to compare 16 different cast combinations. This modulization of performers in the rotating cast system was intended as a measure to increase the number of domestic repeaters, but it ultimately contributed to the

replacement of localness for *Marie Antoinette* and allowed the performance to function in the performer-centric theater style that Japanese popular musical theater has adopted.

#### **6. 1. 4. What Determines the Theater as Local**

The *Marie Antoinette* phenomenon raises the fundamental question of what makes theater both local *and* traditional. Obviously, both descriptors relate to the specific style and form of bodily posture and movement of trained performers in Japan, but such stylization cannot function without two more factors: first, a certain type of audience—one that can appreciate how each performer presents their individual performing style and ability on stage and can decipher the slight differentiations of each performance, and second, a specific architecture that enables the audience to savor these differences by offering a range of choices not only from various versions of one single work but also from attractive cast members and their various combinations.

Accordingly, it is a matter of how to establish the sharable coding between the performers and the audiences, but not as discussed in the sense of intertextuality as an intellectual play; Rather, this coding is based on the designed familiarity—as Hasegawa Kazuo (1973) sought to create the “theater and film productions that are near and dear for you, regardless of whether the production and acting would be good or bad, through my own body.”

Such special interaction between the performers and the audiences occurs essentially in the actual setting on site. For that reason, the producer needs to adapt the production to *mediate* this interaction on the foundation of the unstable local context (Mouri 2007: 61). This perspective can be traced to Zeami, who established the performing style and system of Noh theater around 1400. Combining his multiple

perspectives of performer, playwright and producer, Zeami emphasized the importance of adjusting each performance for the actual audience in his first treatise, *Fūshikaden* (The Transmission of the Flower through the Forms, established in the beginning of the fifteenth century). This is understood not necessarily as a traditional principle of Japanese theater, but as a fundamental requirement in the practice of popular theater, which can create localness for each performing site in each time—as is/was the case for immigrating and re-migrating *Marie Antoinette*. In other words, the constant compromise between style and context can equip the performance with the special localness based on the interaction between performer and audience, meaning that the practice of Japanese popular musical theater can re-present the traditional interaction for the actual audience.

## **6. 2. Recent Developments**

While *Marie Antoinette* went through a substantial change from its first to second Japanese versions, the Takarazuka Revue and Tōhō developed their adaptations and creation of musicals in different ways. In that process, Wiener musicals maintained their essential role in the Japanese market of the musical, being adapted for specific performers and their fans (Chapter 6.2.1). The growing trend of developing performer-oriented musicals—rather than intended for export—also resulted in two original productions (Chapter 6.2.2).

### **6. 2. 1. Wiener Musicals in Japan after 2006**

#### **6. 2. 1. 1. Newly Imported Productions**

Wiener musicals continued to be performed, attracting a certain amount of audiences in



Japan after 2006. Although not all Wiener musicals were exported to Japan, the Tōhō brought three of them to the stage: *Rebecca* (2008), *Rudolf* (2008), and *Der Besuch der alten Dame* (2015). Moreover, the Takarazuka Revue imported *I Am From Austria* (Vienna 2017) in 2019—23 years after the first import of *Elisabeth*.<sup>213</sup>

These productions were not as drastically adapted in Japan as *Elisabeth* had been, but they were clearly adapted for featuring the specific performers, whose brand images had been formed and established not only in terms of their acting style but by the characters they had portrayed during their careers. *Rebecca* and *Der Besuch* starred the star performer, Yamaguchi Yūichiro, who had been initially trained and working as an ensemble of the Shiki Theater in 1979–1996. His repeating appearances in the Japanese versions of Wiener musicals, such as *Death (Elisabeth)*, *Archbishop Colloredo (Mozart!)*, *Court Krolock (Tanz der Vampire)*, and *Cagliostro (Marie Antoinette)* have determined a certain group of core audiences. Another example is Inoue Yoshio (b. 1979), who performed *Rudolf* in the Japanese version of *Rudolf*. He began his stage career with *Rudolf* in the first Tōhō version of *Elisabeth* (2000) when he was a student at Tokyo University of the Arts, and through his subsequent stage career, he has been known as a “prince in the musicals” (*Nikkei*, September 7, 2019). In this regard, it is also remarkable that *Der Besuch der alten Dame* (literally translated as “the visit of the old lady”) was re-titled in Japan as *Kifujin no Hōmon* (The Visit of the Noble Lady), obviously out of consideration for Suzukaze Mayo. She had performed *Marie Antoinette (Marie Antoinette)* and has been known as “Fairy” in decades since working in the Takarazuka Revue, so that it is undesirable for the theater to market her as an “old lady.”

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<sup>213</sup> As for the Takarazuka version of *I Am From Austria*, see footnote 263 in Chapter 7.4.

## 6. 2. 1. 2. Long-Lasting Popularity of the Old Wiener Musicals

Meanwhile, the Japanese versions of old Wiener musicals have been repeatedly performed. Throughout, *Elisabeth* has never lost its unshakable position in Japanese popular musical theater. The Takarazuka version has been performed many times—ten times by 2020—with constant modifications centered on the top star of each troupe in each season (Table 5). As of 2018, it recorded total 250 million audiences (*Sankei*, September 20, 2018).<sup>214</sup>

Table 5. Performance History of *Erizabēto* (Elisabeth) by the Takarazuka Revue (1996–2018)

No.	Troupe	Date	Theater	Stages	Audiences
1	Snow	1996.02.16-03.25	Takarazuka	55	146,000
		1996.06.03-06.30	Tokyo	47	124,000
2	Star	1996.11.08-12.16	Takarazuka	55	135,000
		1997.03.04-03.31	Tokyo	47	125,000
3	Cosmos	1998.10.30-12.20	Takarazuka	69	183,000
		1999.02.12-03.29	1000days	65	132,000
4	Flower	2002.10.04-11.18*1	Takarazuka	64	170,000
		2003.01.02-02.09	Tokyo	57	120,000
5	Moon	2005.02.04-03.21	Takarazuka	65	162,000
		2005.04.08-05.22	Tokyo	64	135,000
6	Snow	2007.05.04-06.18	Takarazuka	65	160,000
		2007.07.06-08.12	Tokyo	55	116,000
7	Moon	2009.05.22-06.22	Takarazuka	46	120,000
		2009.07.10-08.09	Tokyo	45	95,000
8	Flower	2014.08.22-09.22	Takarazuka	46	123,000
		2014.10.11-11.16	Tokyo	54	114,000
9	Cosmos	2016.07.22-08.22	Takarazuka	45	-
		2016.09.09-10.16	Tokyo	55	-
10	Moon	2018.08.24-10.01*2	Takarazuka	54*3	143,000
		2018.10.19-11.18	Tokyo	44	-

\*1 Total 100 million audiences on November 14, 2002 (*Sankei*, November 15, 2002).

\*2 Total 250 million audiences on September 20, 2018 (*Sponichi*, January 15, 2019)

\*3 According to JTAA 2019; 53 times on *Mainichi*, August 26, 2014.

In contrast to the Takarazuka version, the Tōhō version came to be characterized not only by small revisions in direction, choreography, and many other stage elements but also by the rotating cast system, with an increasing number of performers in revivals and revisions (Table 6, on the next page). In 2000, only the character Death was performed by two male principals in rotation. Ten years later, five main characters were double- or triple-cast. Additionally, Máté Kamarás, who was known for his performance

<sup>214</sup> The Takarazuka Revue can individualize and re-energize the Takarazuka version without the rotating cast system since the Takarasiennes typically “graduate” from this company in their seventh to ninth years (Sakabe 2014).

Table 6. The Casting list of *Erizabēto* (Elisabeth) in the Tōhō versions (2000–2019)

Year	Elisabeth	Death	Lucheni	Franz Joseph	Rudolf	Archduke Sophie
2000	Ichiro Maki*	Yamaguchi Yūichiro Uchino Seiyō	Takashima Masahiro	Suzuki Sōma	Inoue Yoshio	Hatsukaze Jun*
2001				Suzuki Sōma Ichikawa Zen	Urai Kenji Pak Tongha	
2004					Urai Kenji Pak Tongha Inoue Yoshio	Kotobuki Hizuru*
2005					Urai Kenji Pak Tongha	Kotobuki Hizuru* Hatsukaze Jun*
2006				Yamaguchi Yūichiro Takeda Shinji	Urai Kenji Irei Kanata	
2008/ 2009	Suzukaze Mayo* Asami Hikaru*	Yamaguchi Yūichiro Ishimaru Kanji Shirota Yū	Ichikawa Zen	Ichikawa Zen Okada Kōki	Urai Kenji Irei Kanata Tashiro Mario	Kotobuki Hizuru* Mori Keaki*
2010	Asami Hikaru* Sena Jun*	Ohno Takuro Hirakata Genki Furukawa Yūdai				
2012	Haruno Sumire* Sena Jun*	Yamazaki Ikusaburō Onoe Matsuya II				
2015	Hanafusa Mari* Ranno Hana*	Shirota Yū Inoue Yoshio	Yamazaki Ikusaburō Songha	Tashiro Mario Sato Kōki	Kyōmoto Taiga	Suzukaze Mayo* Kōju Tatsuki*
2016						
2019	Hanafusa Mari* Aiki Reika*	Inoue Yoshio Furukawa Yūdai	Yamazaki Ikusaburō Songha	Tashiro Mario Hirakata Genki	Kyōmoto Taiga Miura Ryōsuke Kimura Tatsunari	Tsurugi Miyuki* Suzukaze Mayo* Kōju Tatsuki*

\*: Ex-Takarasienne

as Death in the second Viennese version (2003–2005)—Japanese audiences were also able to know that through the DVD (on sale in Japan since 2008)—was employed to reprise the role in 2012. Notably, Kamarás was not specially treated as a member of the original cast of the Viennese version, but rather was one of three performers in the Tōhō version, where he performed his role fully in Japanese.<sup>215</sup> Ultimately, all the main characters were double-cast in 2015, with performers including ex-Takarasiennes, kabuki actor, ex-Shiki performers, other types of performers and entertainers in different media<sup>216</sup> as well as performers who had appeared as the same or different characters in

<sup>215</sup> In this regard, Tanaka, et al. (2018a) pointed out that all the Japanese productions of *Elisabeth* were not exactly based on the Viennese productions; rather, they were developed from the first Japanese production by the Takarazuka Revue.

<sup>216</sup> It includes the members of Johnny's Jimusho (Johnny and Associates), one of the Japanese largest talent agencies, promoting male entertainers for television, pop music, and theater (cf. Nagaike 2012). Recently, the Tōhō's musicals actively features the former actors of 2.5-dimensional musicals, a subgenre of Japanese popular theater based on manga, animation, and video games, especially known for faithful embodiment of two-dimensional characters through the three-dimensional bodily presentation on the stage (cf. Suzuki 2017).

previous versions—as exemplified by Hanafusa Mari as Elisabeth (Takarazuka 1996; 1998; Tōhō 2015–2019) and Inoue Yoshio as Rudolf (Tōhō 2000–2001) and Death (Tōhō 2015–2019). Additionally, this system not only favors the producer but functions as a significant step in the performer’s career development in the field of large-scale, popular musicals in Japan.

It is striking that neither the Takarazuka Revue nor the Tōhō aimed at producing the worldly best version of *Elisabeth* for re-export; rather, they enjoyed re-interpreting and rearranging each element to maximize consumption per individual fan by encouraging the tasting of differences many times: not only by repeatedly visiting the theater but through the audial or audiovisual recordings for each version and each cast combination.<sup>217</sup> In this complicated process, each performance took on a distinctly one-time-only nature—unattributable to the purist definition, i.e., performance as transitory and ephemeral (Fischer-Lichte 2014: 29)—for the experienced audience.

### **6. 2. 2. Development of Unexportable Local Musicals**

In the mid-2010s, the Tōhō also created two original musicals, *Redī Besu* (Lady Bess, 2014) and *Ouke no Monshou* (Crest of the Royal Family, 2016), with a development process similar to *Marie Antoinette*, but focusing more on a limited audience.

#### **6. 2. 2. 1. For the Highly Sympathetic Stage: *Redī Besu* (2014)**

*Redī Besu* was the latest production co-authored by Kunze and Levay (as of 2020). This musical dealt with Elizabeth I (1533–1603) in her youth before she became the Queen

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<sup>217</sup> The Tōhō usually sells two recordings of a production, each featuring a different cast combination. For example, for *Elisabeth*, two CDs were sold in 2004 (each CD featured a different performer as Death), one set of double CDs was sold in 2015 (with different casts in Disc 1 and 2), and two DVDs were sold in 2016 (with different casts in each of the DVDs).

of England and Ireland in 1558. For this theme, Kunze initially wrote the musical as “a tale of growing up” in a frame narrative utilizing the historical setting,<sup>218</sup> which can be considered as a variation of his being-adult stories in Wiener musicals and *Marie Antoinette*. However, the director, Koike Shūichirō, highlighted the melodramatic, sympathetic side of the first concept rather than developed the initial concept.

As a result, the performance centered on Elizabeth’s decision regarding whether she would live for her love as an ordinary woman or dedicate her life to the empire as Queen (*Mainichi*, September 17, 2014). One critic pointed out that *Redī Besu* appeared to favor “the Japanese musical fans [who] love the European court plays, such as *Elisabeth* about the House of Habsburg and *Rose of Versailles* tackling the House of Bourbon” (*Nikkei*, May 7, 2014). Not only contextually but practically the performance appealed to the Japanese musical fans: five of the nine main characters were double-cast, including the star performers—Hanafusa Mari and Yamaguchi Yūichirō.<sup>219</sup> Overall, *Redī Besu* was specially tailored as “highly sympathetic stage” (*ibid.*) for fans who had experienced *Rose of Versailles* and the Japanized versions of *Elisabeth*, approving of fictionalized and sentimentalized costume plays.

#### **6. 2. 2. 2. Modulization for Specific Fan Groups: *Ouke no Monshou* (2016)**

*Ouke no Monshou*<sup>220</sup> strongly represented the contrast in stereotypical images of orientalized and oxidentalized foreign countries. This musical was based on the best-selling series of shōjo manga since 1976, co-authored by Hosokawa Chieko and

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<sup>218</sup> Excerpted from Kunze’s post “Lady Bess” on November 18, 2013 in his official blog *Notes & Quotes* (<http://michaelkunze.blogspot.com/2013/11/lady-bess.html>, accessed on October 28, 2019).

<sup>219</sup> For the revised version (2017), the performance was simplified at the Tōhō’s request.

<sup>220</sup> The romanization of the title is based on the program (Tōhō 2015).

Fūmin that has appeared in the monthly comic magazine *Purinsesu* (Princess).<sup>221</sup> The manga deals with the melodramatic time travel of a blond-haired, blue-eyed American teenager girl, Carol, to Ancient Egypt, where she faces many dangers due to her exotic beauty and knowledge of ancient Egyptian history.

The original manga is unfinished and extremely long—as of 2019, 65 volumes have been published—and therefore, the musical tackled the content from the first through the fourth volumes. Fully respecting the fans of the original manga, who are called themselves as “members of the royal family,” Ogita Kōichi, the Takarazuka Revue director/librettist from 1994 to 2008, faithfully followed the manga in virtually every detail (99% of all the lines were cited from the manga).<sup>222</sup>

Sylvester Levay composed the music in various styles, synchronizing with the different vocal methods and characteristics of the diverse performers. They consisted of stage actors/actresses trained to perform in any type of the Broadway- or Japanese-style musical, a voice actor skilled for dubbing anime and films, and a female *aidoru* (lit. “idol”): a special type of entertainer whose distinctive singing style is rather unprofessional with its unnatural emphasis on fashionable “cuteness” in the Japanese entertainment industry over the last few decades. The revised version (2017) emphasized the character as melodrama, with additional dialogue and two new songs.

In short, *Ouke no Monshou* was the product of modulization designed for very specific audience groups and their particular motivations. For this purpose, the performances were created from existing styles and forms, as well as the specific contexts associated with the manga or the various individual performers. In this regard, the performers were required to intensely adjust themselves in the strong context, and

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<sup>221</sup> As of 2006, the collected volumes had sold 40 million copies in Japan, making it the third bestselling shōjo manga ever.

<sup>222</sup> According to Ogita’s preface in the program of the second season (Tōhō 2017).

that was the possible reason why *Ouke no Monshou* did not adopt the rotating cast system—which encourages the production to be diversified and individualized.

### **6. 3. High Contextuality (Re-)Presented by Performers**

Unlike *Marie Antoinette*, neither *Redī Besu* nor *Ouke no Monshou* were internationally oriented; rather, they were aimed exclusively at a limited group of musical fans in the domestic market. Thus, customizability was given priority over other elements when choosing a production. For this reason, the Tōhō created fewer risk-taking original musicals, preferring to import ready-made, retrofittable productions from theater companies such as the United Stages (Austria), the EMK (South Korea), and the NTCA Productions (France) to customize over and over into the performer-oriented performance at all times.

In comparing the changes and developments of Wiener musicals in Vienna and Japan during the decade until the mid-2010s, it was notable that the changes in the Takarazuka Revue and Tōhō productions are similar to those of Unite Stages Vienna in terms of their high contextuality designed for attracting the limited target audiences—which could be attributed to diverse and demanding needs for the specific “local” audience group after the collapse of the “grand narrative” (Lyotard 1979) and the beginning of many-to-many communication instead of the one-to-many or one-side interaction (cf. Smudits 2002: 222).

However, the two phenomena can be distinguished from one another when considering the kinds of subjects and elements that were expected to be incorporated in the performances.

As discussed in Chapter 5.2.5, the United Stages developed their highly

contextual musicals by adapting existing non-musical works and encoding them with specific types of musical expressions and verbal implications that were related to the everyday lives of people around Austria over the prior few decades, and that were experienced—or commonly seen and heard—by the target audience group.

On the other hand, the Takarazuka Revue and Tōhō sought to maximize the special presence of the individual star performers for their fans. Compared to Wiener musicals that also starred famous performers, both Japanese companies not only adopted the star system but brought out strongly sympathetic perceptions of the performance by favorable descriptions of each character in a way that would boost and exploit the branding image of each performer. Meanwhile, the performers were also required to both faithfully contextualize and practically individualize their respective bodily presence on the stage with another branding image of the specific character, which has been raised not only from the bygone performances of the stage work but from every type of media sharing the same universe. Consequently, this performer-oriented performance required greater costs for casting and casting-related factors than for production and performance, both of which are commonly believed to determine the original quality of the theater work.

This phenomenon has demonstrated one of the changing and diversifying tendencies in the Japanese market of the musical: from flexible adaptation as a post-megamusical style through original “Japanese” musicals to the focus on the modulization and customization of imported productions. These were not invented but rather sprouted from the interweaving of environmental factors—the historical and current status of theater companies and their potential target audience groups for the musical in Japan. By these means, Wiener musicals became enrooted in Japan,



characterized by continual updating and re-encoding the local context of Japanese popular musical theater in their performance practices.

## 7. FOR THE LOCAL, BY THE LOCAL: *I AM FROM AUSTRIA* (2017)

The localization of the genre musical heretofore undergone in Vienna, especially along with changing onsite conditions of the United States Vienna in sociocultural and ecopolitical dimensions, brought about extrememost results in the second half of the 2010s. On October 26, 2017, an abridged version of the United States’s ongoing musical *I Am From Austria* was performed on the open-air stage of the Rathausplatz, in front of the Vienna City Hall across the Burgtheater. Between the regular performances at the Raimund Theater from September 16, 2017 to June 16, 2019, this one-hour special performance took part in the Wiener Sicherheitsfest (Viennese Safety Festival) on the Austrian National Day to celebrate the declaration of neutrality of the Republic of Austria in 1955.<sup>223</sup>

This performance in the nation-related festival symbolized the hybrid nature of *I Am From Austria*, as a result of cultural and identity politics of Vienna as well as the localization history of the musical with pop music.<sup>224</sup> Furthermore, this musical was designed as a jukebox musical, which is generally understood as a subgenre of musical compiling famous pop music in new settings.

The musical numbers of *I Am From Austria* mostly consist of 1980s “oldies” by Rainhard Fendrich: a meaningful Austrian pop star in the age of so-called *Austropop*; that is, pop music in Austria caused by “de-anglization” and “re-ethnicization” (Larkey 1993). Fendrich’s song “I Am From Austria” (1989)—also a motif of this musical—is broadly known as an “unofficial anthem” on this land (Nüchtern 1995: 118; Scheib 2005). For that reason, it would be the matter of the localization or *austrianization* of

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<sup>223</sup> The festival features all safety-related matters, especially the national armed forces.

<sup>224</sup> Here, “pop music” is understood as “Anglo-American genres” that manifest cultural globalization, whereas “popular music” includes genres and musical cultures such as “pre-rock styles and non-Anglo-American genres such as Spanish *flamenco*, Argentinean *tango*, Japanese *enka*, Brazilian *samba* and many others” (Regev 2015: 35).

the jukebox musical that made of the synchronous localization of the “jukebox,” or pop music, and the “musical”—both of them were launched from the United States and later the United Kingdom, and became globalized.

Although this chapter deals with this problem, its analysis does not intend to classify the genre, which sometimes ends up in tautology because “genre identification was often a matter of promotion, theatre law or the broader terrain of theatre politics” (Linhardt 2014: 47). That is to say, “in terms of a mobile field of operations, a variety of cultural functions and a diversity of social anchorage points” (ibid.), it becomes apparent why and how *I Am From Austria* really ran and functioned in both the current and historical settings on site. It is a matter of how the genre musical had to be localized in the on-site contexts of a non-English-speaking country and how it connected to the localization of the jukebox musical.

In the following subsections, these questions are addressed by analyzing the performance of *I Am From Austria* and its sociocultural and historical backgrounds. Chapter 7.1 deals with the current setting of *I Am From Austria*, taking a closer look at the process of production, performance, and reception, which involved a municipal government (budget supplier), a theater company, performers, critics, and audiences. Chapter 7.2 describes the historical setting; namely, the regional popularization history of the musical *and* pop music since the late twentieth century in Austria. Going one step further in Chapter 7.3, the effect of the jukebox musical in *I Am From Austria* is discussed with reference to cultural memory awakened in the performance.<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>225</sup> Chapter 7 was developed from Tanaka (2019), revising it with additional information.

## 7. 1. Production, Performance, Reception

### 7. 1. 1. Background: The Three-Year Plan (2015–2018) with Municipal Budget

One can already remark on the local nature of *I Am From Austria* in the procedure of the production. In German-speaking countries, the genre musical has been regarded as show business under the strong influence of two metropolises; namely, New York's Broadway and London's West End. Conversely, the musical in Vienna has been supported by the municipal government, which always set off public debate as a political issue.

In 2014, the *I Am From Austria* project was first officially announced by the United Stage, as part of their three-year plan that was set to run from September 2015 to June 2018. In a press conference, the artistic director for the musical section in the United Stages, Christian Struppeck, introduced two strategies of the coming plan, namely “a focus on Austria” and “an even more varied performance schedule” (VBW 2014). Under these strategies, the performances for the coming three years were planned. Next to the Viennese version of the West End musical *Evita*, three homemade productions were selected: *Mozart!* (1999, see also Chapter 3.1.3) in a new staging by Harry Kupfer, and two new productions—*Schikaneder* and *I Am From Austria*.

This decision was a turning point for the United Stages, which had been promoting the export of their original musicals since the 1990s. However, the past exports were not lucrative enough to cover the increasing personnel cost of the United Stages, which annually amounted to approximately 40 million euros since 2009.<sup>226</sup> While the municipal subsidy became indispensable as such, the municipal government was legally responsible for ownership of the theaters but not for their organizer, the United Stages. Therefore, the amount of subsidy for the United Stages could fluctuate

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<sup>226</sup> The interests of export from 1995 to 2007 amounted to approximately 9.24 million euros (Kontrollamt der Stadt Wien 2008: 54).

depending on how this organization would be important in the cultural politics of the municipal government.

The necessity of the municipal budget for the United Stages was constantly argued in the Municipal Council of Vienna, and the government always excused the considerable amount of cultural budget devoted to the single institution. For example, on December 19, 2014, two months after the announcement of the three-year plan by the United Stages, the then-executive city councilor for cultural affairs and science, Andreas Mailath-Pokorny (Social Democratic Party; in office: 2001–2018) explained the social and cultural responsibility of the United Stages:

The United Stages Vienna have, of course, the cultural-political mission, too. [That is,] [...] in terms of the content, across the theme [and] the subthemes, if it is possible, if it seems to be meaningful, to establish the strongest local connection as much as possible (Wien 2014: 13).

In the ensuing discussion, Mailath-Pokorny presupposed the independence of cultural implementation from cultural politics (“it is not primarily my duty as cultural-politician to preset or intervene in the content”), while recognizing the inevitable influence of the public sector on cultural practices with a certain public subsidy (“the cultural-political guideline of what the subsidy supplier cultural-politically draws will be undertaken. [The guideline] really exists and will exist in the future”). According to the understanding of “the subsidy supplier”—the city council for cultural affairs and science—the United Stages should run alongside the local-oriented attitude of the municipal government.

This understanding was also supported by The Greens—the municipal coalition partner with the Social Democratic Party since 2010. The culture spokesman of The Greens, Klaus Werner-Lobo, estimated that “the cultural-political mission is to position the United Stages Vienna as a contemporary music theater taking local artistic resources into account,” and it was therefore desirable that the United Stages should run original productions of high quality made by local artists instead of “commercial licensed productions” (*Der Standard*, October 29, 2014).

Consequently, the United Stages, which cannot manage themselves without the municipal subsidies, had to pay close attention to politics in order to ensure and rationalize their budget. They were required to perform as a cultural representative of Vienna next to opera houses and museums,<sup>227</sup> demonstrating artistic achievement in original productions and not importing well-known musicals. In fact, the success of the musical has been proved not only by the profit, the number of visitors, and the attendance rate, but also by the politicians and cultural journalists in Vienna, most of whom believe that this genre has to be sufficiently successful on a commercial level to run without subsidies.

### **7. 1. 2. Performance: Like a Broadway Show, Sounds for the Locals**

It is under these circumstances that *I Am From Austria* was brought onto the stage. In the early phases of the production, Titus Hoffmann<sup>228</sup> and Christian Struppeck first chose the hit songs by Rainhard Fendrich (Table 7), and then built the plot and

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<sup>227</sup> According to the survey of WienTourismus about cultural purposes for visiting Vienna, “musical” was ranked third (4.2%) after “opera” (8.8%) and “museum and exhibition (unspecified)” (8.4%) (WienTourismus 2010: 4).

<sup>228</sup> Hoffman is a translator/director of the German-language versions of musicals from Broadway and West End, such as *Next to Normal* (Fürth 2013) and *American Idiot* (Frankfurt am Main 2017).

characters.<sup>229</sup> The chosen songs were rearranged and orchestrated by Michael Reed and Roy Moore. Struppeck, Reed, and Moore had once collaborated on a successful example of a German-speaking jukebox musical with Udo Jürgen’s hit songs, *Ich war noch niemals in New York* (I Have Never Been to New York, Hamburg 2007), and Hoffmann wrote some revues while translating and adapting English-speaking musicals into the German language.

Table 7. Song numbers of *I Am From Austria* with the release year of the original songs

Act-No.	Title	Year of release	Act-No.	Title	Year of release
1-1	Ouvertüre [Overture]	-	2-1	Entr’acte	-
1-2	Schickeria [Chic people]	1982	2-2	Razzia [Police raid]	1982
1-3	Nix ist fix [Nothing is fix]	1991	2-3	Es lebe der Sport [Long live sport]	1983
1-4	Wo gehör ich hin [Where I belong to]		2-4	I Am From Austria	1989/90
1-5	Bussi, Bussi	2010	2-5	Nimm dir ein Herz [Take your heart]	2016
1-6	Midlife Crisis	1993	2-6	Zweierbeziehung [Relation of two]	1981
1-7	Nur die Liebe zählt [Only love counts]		2-7	Löwin und Lamm [Lioness and ram]	1991
1-8	Blond	1997	2-8	Liebeslied [Love song]	1981
1-9	Wo gehör ich hin (Reprise)		2-9	Tango Korrupti	1988
1-10	Macho Macho	1988	2-10	Weus’d a Herz hast wie a Bergwerk [Because you have a heart like a mine]	1983
1-11	Strada del Sole [Road of the Sun]	1981	2-11	Opernball-Walzer [Waltz of Opera Ball]	-
1-12	Haben Sie Wien schon bei Nacht geseh’n [Have you ever seen Vienna at night]	1985	2-12	I Am From Austria (Reprise)	-
1-13	Kein schöner Land [No more beautiful country]	1986	2-13	Die, die wander [Those who wander]	2013

(Source: VBW 2017; Live Recording CD (Released on November 17, 2017))

Struppeck’s core idea, that “the work serves the language but looks like a Broadway show” (*ORF*, September 15, 2017), was staged by Andreas Gergen<sup>230</sup> as “revue operetta” (*Die Bühne* 9/2017: 14).

The staging was informed by the nature of Fendrich’s songs; namely “Wiener

<sup>229</sup> According to the dialog between Hoffmann and Struppeck in the program (VBW 2017); *Der Standard*, October 22, 2015; *Kleiner Zeitung*, January 31, 2017.

<sup>230</sup> Gergen was the then opera director of Salzburger Landestheater (in office: 2011–2017). Next to operas and operettas, Gergen worked on musicals; especially some productions in cooperation with the United Stages such as *Der Besuch der alten Dame* (2013) and *Don Camillo und Peppone* (2016).

Schmäh”: a style of black comedy that can be seen in the Viennese tradition running from the old Viennese popular theater through operetta and Kabarett (a satirical revue performed in German-speaking countries from the twentieth century onward) to Austropop. Cultural jokes and self-directed satire about Vienna today and in the past were spoken in Wienerisch—the vernacular in Vienna City—and were inserted between the song numbers by the kabarettist, Dolores Schmidinger (b. 1946). She performed an old-established chief concierge of Hotel Sacher,<sup>231</sup> who always confused the conversation with her anachronic and nonsense talk, but supported romantic fulfillment of two young protagonists in a dramatic way. Also, not a few songs, especially the title song “I Am From Austria,” were sung in Wienerisch on the stage. For that reason, almost all performers were Austrian, and approximately 80% of all performers were born and/or once studied in Vienna (VBW 2017).<sup>232</sup>

The plot was designed to be light enough to zip around the song numbers. It was molded as a stereotyped love story between Emma Carter, a Hollywood actress, and Josi Edler, a son and heir of the imaginary four-point-five Hotel Edler (a parody of the well-known Hotel Sacher in Vienna). Emma abandoned her motherland Austria and her real name for another new life in Hollywood, and is now forced by her sly manager to marry a famous Argentinean soccer player to attract paparazzi. She falls in love with Josi in her short stay in Vienna and regains her identity in an incognito adventure in the Austrian mountains. Emma finally declares her love for Josi, not to her fiancé, in public at the Opera Ball (an annual ball at the Vienna State Opera), while her fiancé also comes out as gay. The production resolves in a happy ending with the announcement that the

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<sup>231</sup> This figure echoes the character of television drama, *Hallo – Hotel Sacher... Portier!* (1973–1974), starring Fritz Eckhardt, the popular Viennese actor.

<sup>232</sup> This linguistic feature has not been seen in the past productions of the United Stages, especially after the export strategy that started in the 1990s. For example, the original main cast of the first successful musical from Vienna, *Elisabeth* (1992), consisted of 14 Germans, five Austrians, four individuals from other European countries, and three US-Americans (VBW 1992).



Hotel Edler has been awarded its fifth star.

The stage designer, Stephan Prattes, built each scene on a revolving stage in order to switch from one scene to another quickly. Each scene was also designed to be full of parodic context. Most of the scenes developed on the enormous three-tier “Edler Torte” (referred to as Sachertorte, the most popular chocolate cake in Vienna). The climax was an adventure scene involving a helicopter and the rocky mountain decorated with the summit cross and a papier-mâché of Alpine ibex. With the song “I Am From Austria,” the scene functioned as a parody of the video clip of Fendrich’s song, which had been filmed on Mt. Grossglockner: the symbol mountain of Austria. Additionally, in the last scene at the Opera Ball, all Austrian celebrities past and present appeared on stage in the form of caricature as life-sized cardboard cutouts.

### 7. 1. 3. Reception and the Long-Run

The premiere was largely accepted by the critics. Despite the displacement of Fendrich’s songs from the original context, the performance full of self-mockery was generally interpreted as embodying “the Austrian, the Viennese” (*Passauer Neue Presse*, September 19, 2017).<sup>233</sup>

The balance between the breezy sentimental story and the Viennese-styled ironical expression was often pointed out. *Tiroler Tageszeitung* (September 17, 2017) referred to the production as “a shallowly and excitingly exaggerated revue with plenty of local flavor and quite enough self-irony.” *Der Standard* (September 17, 2017) valued an “absurd,” “grotesque” direction that counterpoised the “sentimental,” “shrilling” part: an element that has been frequently criticized in reviews of musicals in Vienna.

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<sup>233</sup> A similar viewpoint was shared by *Falter*, September 20, 2017; *OÖ Nachrichten*, December 12, 2017; *Wiener Zeitung*, September 18, 2017.

*Passauer Neue Presse* (September 19, 2017) carried the argument further, noting that this feature made the production resemble an operetta.

However, as remarked by *OÖ Nachrichten* (December 21, 2017), “the title is not valid for all of the audience” and the production “[grasped] only the listener who is acquainted with Austropop, so that they can enjoy the effect of the iconic songs lurking behind abstruse phrases of the iconic songs.” In other words, *I Am From Austria* was primarily for the target audience group, who knows at least the context of Austrian popular culture in the last decades of the twentieth century; therefore, this musical was not for the Others, especially the international audience at all.<sup>234</sup>

Ultimately, *I Am From Austria* drew a full house. The long run was already decided by the end of 2017, and on May 9, 2018, the 250,000<sup>th</sup> visitor was recorded.

#### **7. 1. 4. In Contrast: *Schikaneder* (2016) and the Problem of the Target Audience**

The long run of *I Am From Austria* was contrasted with the previous production, *Schikaneder* (2016)—a musical about Emanuel Schikaneder (1751–1812), who was known as a librettist and impresario for Mozart’s Singspiel, *Zauberflöte* (The Magic Flute, 1791).

*Schikaneder* was a culmination of two halves for creating an original musical in the capital city of Austria, one of which sought to refer to the contemporary popular context for the broader and younger audiences, while the other half was an attempt to incorporate the musical in the context of European music theater with the purpose of reactivating the cultural values of Viennese musical theater. As mentioned on Chapter 2, the United Stages promoted Vienna as the third international metropolis of musical by

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<sup>234</sup> There were English subtitles, but they did not work well due to the difficulty of translating the implications (*OÖ Nachrichten*, December 21, 2017; *Passauer Neue Presse*, September 19, 2017).

combining the forms of musical and music theater since *Freudiana* (1990), especially highlighting that Viennese musical theater played a significant role to develop European music theater in (pre-)modern era.

*Schikaneder* interpreted the Singspiel as the earliest form of today's musical. A musical parody of the early Singspiel in the eighteenth century was undertaken by Stephan Schwartz, who was known for his composition of US-American hit musicals such as *Godspell* (1970), *Pippin* (1972), and *Wicked* (2003). Christian Struppeck wrote a love story between Mr. and Mrs. Schikaneder focusing on one of today's female dilemmas; that is, the struggle to balance between a business career and satisfaction in partnership and marriage. Also, the performance revealed what happened behind the scenes of a theater troupe in the monarchy, which functioned as a meta-theater on the part of the United Stages, which had a hard time not only originating musicals from Vienna but also running their theaters.

Although the premiere received a positive response from the critics inside and outside Vienna, the accordance rate in average stayed under 80%. A possible cause was the audience. Aside from critics, those who are capable of picking up the trail of "a parody of running an opera performance" (*Wiener Zeitung*, October 3, 2016), tend not to visit what is called a "musical," while musical fans usually have less interest in opera and other forms of music theater. Accordingly, *Schikaneder* had a crucial problem that the appearance of the performance, especially the title, should have needed to be clear enough to attract the target audience while also better taking into account the fact that a considerable portion of the audience actually came from Vienna and the other states of Austria, not much from other countries.<sup>235</sup>

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<sup>235</sup> According to a questionnaire filled out by visitors to the Institute for Advanced Studies in 2009, almost half of the audience of the musicals produced by the United Stages was from Vienna.

While *Schikaneder* was a theatrical parody across the genres that could function only with a musical competence and the historical knowledge of music theater, *I Am From Austria* contributed “an homage towards our land” (VBW 2017) and required an audience equipped with the Austrian popular contexts of the near past. This contribution also measured up to the expectations of the subsidy supplier, who attempted to reach the masses by utilizing the musical for the better public interests of the city. As the general director of the United Stages, Franz Patay (b. 1961, in office: 2016–present), mentioned in the program, “this original production of the United Stages Vienna comes to us in a brand new way” (ibid.). This was accomplished not only by restricting the target audience but by a sense of balance between the various factors influencing the actual run.

## **7. 2. A Jukebox Musical, or an Austro-Musical?**

### **7. 2. 1. The Rise of the Jukebox Musical and its Function**

*I Am From Austria* succeeded in attracting the local audience by referring to the local context via Fendrich’s songs. Not only the critics<sup>236</sup> but the United Stages themselves<sup>237</sup> recognized it as a jukebox musical, considering the milestones that had created the international trend exemplified by *Mamma Mia!* (West End 1999; Vienna 2014) and *We Will Rock You* (West End 2001; Vienna 2008). In this regard, *Wiener Zeitung* (September 18, 2017) spoke for the general understanding of the jukebox musical in Vienna: in this genre, “well-known songs are embedded in a more or less logical plot,” and is “easy (or easier) to produce, because the music practically exists, and [the

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Approximately 30% were from the other states (Schnabl et al. 2009: 25).

<sup>236</sup> For example: *Der Standard*, October 22, 2015; *Kleiner Zeitung*, September 16, 2017; *Kurier*, October 3, 2017; *Wiener Zeitung*, September 18, 2017.

<sup>237</sup> Struppeck cited the influence of the jukebox musical already in the production phase (*Der Standard*, October 22, 2015).

jukebox musical is] agreeable to the public by the effect of brand recognition and the nostalgia factor.”

Despite of its fluid definition, the jukebox musical signifies, in principle, a musical play or film that features well-known popular songs, as one would hear on a jukebox.<sup>238</sup> The re-use of existing songs in new settings “allows intertextual and personal associations in reception as well as the response to the dissonance and comedy of camp” (Taylor 2016: 152). More specifically, what is called the “jukebox musical” today—and also is concerned here with *I Am From Austria*—is the model since the 2000s, which was invented and optimized for “commercial incentives” in order to meet Broadway’s core audience that grew up with pop music since the 1950s (*New York Times*, May 12, 2010). In such a common context, familiarity, and nostalgia take a significant role in the jukebox musical, which “allows [the audience] to be removed from their everyday lives, to relive fantasies and memories, and to participate in singing and dancing” (Taylor 2016: 152).<sup>239</sup> This special experience can be described as a representation of “cultural memory”<sup>240</sup> via the certain songs in the specific group of audience.

Thanks to the worldwide flourishing of pop-rock music via electronic mass media, the jukebox musical can find the potential audience in non-English-speaking countries, though its actual practice developed in either of two contrary directions. On the one hand, to seek a perfect re-creation of the referent, some export cases were required not

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<sup>238</sup> Blumenfeld 2010: 171; Hoch 2014: 91; *The Collins English Dictionary* (the version of 2013); *The Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (as of 2008).

<sup>239</sup> The similar discussion is found in Hoffman 2014: 202; *New York Times*, May 12, 2010.

<sup>240</sup> Here, “cultural memory” is understood as in a broader sense (cf. Halbwachs’ “cultural memory” and Warburg’s “social memory”) that can be applied for an interdisciplinary research, as Erll (2008: 2) defines it as “the interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts.” As for the discussion of cultural, collective and individual memory in popular music, see also: Crane 1986; van Dijck 2007; Regev 2015; Strong 2015.

to ruin the familiar sound by the translation. For example, the first German production of *We Will Rock You* in Cologne (2004) retained the original lyrics while the dialogue was spoken in German.<sup>241</sup> On the other hand, the local-oriented jukebox musical emerged from indigenization of pop music in the context of popular music in the performing site.

## **7. 2. 2. Localization of the Music(al) in Austria Towards the Jukebox Musical**

### **7. 2. 2. 1. Localization of the Musical *and* Pop Music**

In Austria, the musical and pop music have been simultaneously localized and affected each other.<sup>242</sup> The musical in Austria has been certainly offered in the same style as in the original performing site, and considered as a foreign genre, especially the US-American, just after the genre was brought into Vienna through the American Allied forces.<sup>243</sup> However, the stretched interpretation of the musical was already found in the 1960s, as Linhardt (2006[1963]: 66–7) pointed out as follows: a vast number of television programs were promoted with the label of “musical” on the basis of an understanding that musicals “must be directed, choreographed, danced, played and sung.” They were perceived as just a mixture of diverse genres of entertainment “from

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<sup>241</sup> By contrast, *Mamma Mia!* has been performed with translated lyrics in the German production since 2002, possibly because ABBA’s hits are rather incorporated into the story of *Mamma Mia!*. For the German production, the Stage Entertainment obtained the performing rights from Little Star Services Ltd., and also signed the contract with the original composers to decide the range of using their songs within the performance.

<sup>242</sup> The imported musicals were not independent from the context of localized pop music. Michael Kunze, who has translated the libretti of English-speaking musicals into German since *Evita* (German premiere: Vienna 1981) and has later written original works such as *Elisabeth* (1992) and *Mozart!* (2001), started his career as a librettist in German-speaking pop music such as Peter Maffay’s million seller “Du” (1970) and some representative works of Udo Jürgens (“Griechischer Wein” in 1974; “Ein ehrenwertes Haus” in 1975; “Ich war noch niemals in New York” in 1982).

<sup>243</sup> The genre musical was first experienced as “an expression of occupying culture and American propaganda” in Vienna (Steinberg 2003: 170). When the Volksoper Wien adopted the musical as one of the repertoires, the musical was still understood as “the attempt to give birth to an entertainment theater of Anglo-American cultural thinking” (Prawy 1989: 18).

the musical comedy, the *musiquette*, the conventional *Singspiel*, the satire *Songspiel* [an operatic musical drama] with *chanson*-styled accent, the *Schlager* [“hit song”] parade and musical overview to the veritable show.” This was principally the situation in Germany, while Austria was overheated in the boom of *Kabarett*—the other popular form of hybridity in a critical sense—but the German phenomenon can be counted as the very beginning of localization of the “American” musical, considering the broadcasting of not a few German television programs in post-war Austria, where was inevitably under the worldwide impact of Broadway-style musicals.<sup>244</sup>

The attempt at the original localized musical soon began in Austria; especially in Vienna, where main popular theaters have been concentrated. The musical was used for refreshing and reactivating the Viennese image of music theater, combining the element and/or theme of opera and operetta, whereas this genre was connected with the local popular context to catch the younger audience. In fact, there was a lack of theater programs for younger generation in Viennese theaters at that time. The *Volksoper Wien* first adapted the musical in the 1950s, but has since offered the early style of musical next to operetta. The *MuseumsQuartier* has been regarded as another venue for the musical since the 1990s, especially for guest performances. Consequently, the *Theater an der Wien* (until 2006) and the *United Stages* (since 1987, including the *Theater an der Wien*) have taken on the role of producing and running original and adapted musicals, initially for better efficiency of the theater but also for revitalization of the city in cooperation with the municipal government.

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<sup>244</sup> Regev (2015: 44) describes localization of pop music involving three axes: (1) the dramatization of the birth moment of national pop-rock, (2) the ritual classification of all pop-rock styles and genres, set apart from traditional forms of music, and (3) ideological works that “locally made pop-rock is not about mimicking or succumbing to Americanization, but rather about hybridization, modernization and reinvigoration of local music.” Here, “Americanization” is to meet the global and standardized style of musical industry and its practice.

The very first success of the original German-speaking musical was *Helden, Helden* (Heroes, Heroes) by the Theater an der Wien in 1972, based on Shaw's *Arms and the Man*. The music was composed by Udo Jürgens (1934–2014), who started his career in the Austrian Broadcasting Corporation (ORF) in the 1950s and became successful in German-speaking countries with his music style combining pop music with the Continental European, especially German-styled Schlager music. It was epoch-making by its hybrid musical style, originated on site at a time when the imported musical was dominant.

A year after *Heroes, Heroes*, the musical *Fäustling* (Young Faust, 1973) was made by Wolfgang Ambros (b. 1952) and Joesi Prokopetz (b. 1952) as part of the annual cultural festival, *Wiener Festwochen*. Ambros and Prokopetz established Austropop not only under the influence of global pop music and Schlager music (here, it designates popular music in German-speaking countries and their neighborhood since the 1950s) but also referring the relation between music and Wienerisch—the vernacular developed from old Viennese popular musical theater to the avant-garde and actionist movement in Vienna (cf. Smudits 1995). A year after the premiere, *Fäustling* was broadcast on *Spotlight*, the monthly television show for teenagers by ORF 1.

The other variation was carried out by Rainhard Fendrich (b. 1955), who started his theatrical career in parallel with his songwriting. He performed original and imported musicals at the Theater an der Wien, such as *Die Gräfin vom Naschmarkt* (1978), *Jesus Christ Super Star* (1981), and *Chicago* (1998). Fendrich was also co-creator of the original musical *Wake Up* (2002) by the United Stages, which describes the dark side of show business and was not successful under the actual social



circumstances (see also Chapter 3.2.3.2).<sup>245</sup> Indeed, this is partially the reason why Fendrich did not participate in the production of *I Am From Austria*.

The productions above were all newly written by contemporary pop composers and musicians, but the United Stages' *F@lco: A Cyber Show* (2000) can be counted as the first example of the localized jukebox musical, as it consisted of Falco's hit songs (see also Chapter 3.2.3.1). The popularity of Falco on television enabled a visual parody in the performance. For example, two performers took the role of Falco, imitating the characteristic fashion of this real—and deceased—musician. A parody of Falco's video clips could be also found in the chorus in rococo-styled costume in the song number "Rock Me Amadeus."

In this way, the history of localization of the musical in Austria (though it happened exclusively in Vienna) was proceeding by making the best use of the contemporary pop music scene on site, which also entailed the localization in the musical and semantic senses.<sup>246</sup> In addition, by broadcasting, it created a common context in a large group of people, which became the target audience of the jukebox musical in Austria.

#### **7. 2. 2. 2. The Role of Multimedia Performers**

The localization of the musical is also the result of the performers who have been working across different types of media. Among the cast members of *I Am From Austria*, Dolores Schmidinger took an important role in giving the Viennese flavor to the performance. Schmidinger began her career at the Theater am Kärntnertor and has

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<sup>245</sup> The economic decline triggered by the growing political tension around Iraq, as well as increasing discussion about the private life of popular artists were considered as the reasons (*Der Standard*, December 9, 2005)

<sup>246</sup> Regarding the localization of pop music in Austria, see also: Gröbchen 1995; Larkey 1993.

worked at the Kabarett, in some other forms of popular theater in Vienna, in spoken theater, in operettas and musicals, as well as television dramas and films.

However, for the Broadway-style musical, the performers had to be newly educated to achieve all the criteria of stage elements. Although the genre Kabarett was once closely tied up with the elements and styles of popular musical theater in Vienna, the kabarettists do not usually appear in musicals, especially after the boom of *Cats* (Vienna 1983), due to the different types of criteria; especially professional skills as a ballet dancer.<sup>247</sup>

Along with the development of original musicals, the criteria have been changing. The international criteria for the musical required for *I Am From Austria*, but the other key aspect was the matter of the local and popular context. Schmidinger played the role of concierge or advisor not only on stage but in the rehearsal, considering her knowledge and experiences.<sup>248</sup> This does not mean a disregard of artistic achievement; rather, this form of popular entertainment essentially requires a tight combination of artistic practice and the context that the local people know well. This function can be seen more or less in any sort of popular theater, and also in the age of television. On this point, what is especially relevant in the case of *I Am From Austria* is how strongly and understandably all the stage elements were combined with the common context on site for the perception of the expected audience. Indeed, it is this model that finally enabled the audience to experience the adequate effect of the jukebox musical.

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<sup>247</sup> There are some roles that are taken by the kabarettists: a typical case is the role of the narrator in the German production of *The Rocky Horror Show*.

<sup>248</sup> According to the statement of Gergen and Schmidinger in the interview on the United Stages's video clip "I Am From Austria im Raimund Theater - Dolores Schmidinger," <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=euFbMG5fANA>, August 18, 2017 (accessed on January 1, 2018).

### **7. 3. The Jukebox Musical as a Medium of “Cultural Memory”**

#### **7. 3. 1. Cultural Reflection and Revision**

As mentioned in Chapter 7.2.1, the effect of the jukebox musical deals with the remembrance of cultural memory by re-using the common context of the audience in a certain generation. In connection with this matter, it is striking that Strenfeld and Wollman (2011: 122–3) give the following significant caution against the jukebox musical:

The American musical is often seen to reflect American culture, but to some degree, the form simultaneously reinvests culture as well. [...] Scholars must keep in mind that not only nostalgia but also cultural memory can be selectively fabricated. [...] In exploring the sociocultural relevance of contemporary musicals, the scholar must tease out what is cultural reflection and what is cultural revision.

From this viewpoint, the jukebox musical has two effects: it is appealing to potential audiences not only by reflecting a certain cultural memory of the age in which they lived (“cultural reflection”) but also by “fabricating” an expedient cultural memory that is compiled only with the convenient facts to hook the actual audiences on site (“cultural revision”). It recalls certainly the memory but only in a comfortable shape, as indicated by how the songs are revitalized—by re-orchestration or rearrangement at a faster tempo with different orchestration, and contextual displacement from the initial signification.

In terms of reception, the jukebox musical can be counted as a proponent of

nostalgism, next to the other representatives of popular musical theater: the Broadway musicals have made the best use of nostalgia first to “[allow] no room for individual difference; rather it encourages the fantasy of similarity” (Rugg 2002: 46), and later to expand its sense beyond the sanitization of racial segregation to revive and actualize the old or classical materials (Hoffman 2014: 171); the Viennese operetta developed in the milieu of Vienna City in the twentieth century first as a mirror of the age but later capsulizing—or even making up—the good old days of the cosmopolitan musical and literary style of the Habsburg Monarchy. Although each application of nostalgia must be concerned with the times that the performance refers to, it has provided the escapist aspect of performance by reshaping the cultural and collective memory according to social conditions of the times.<sup>249</sup>

The history of cultural reflection in the musical enabled *I Am From Austria* to hook the performance to the common context and reach the audience’s cultural memory. Rainhard Fendrich, “a singer for all Austrians” (Nüchtern 1995: 124), functioned as a medium to trigger the cultural memory of Austria in the last few decades of the twentieth century. There was the certain generation that was young at that time heard and saw Fendrich constantly, not only in the hit charts on radio and television, but also at the theater, in television dramas, and even in newspapers.<sup>250</sup> *I Am From Austria* was based on this sort of popularity rather than Fendrich’s pure artistic achievement, while the Austropop became the “classics” of popular music in Austria by recognizing the

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<sup>249</sup> It is striking that some Singspiel and operettas also re-used popular melodies in a new context, such as *Szenen aus Mozarts Leben* (Scenes from Mozart’s Life, 1832) and *Das Dreimäderlhaus* (Blossom Time, 1916) featuring Franz Schubert’s life and music, though copyright conditions are different from the jukebox musicals.

<sup>250</sup> In 2006, he was convicted of possession of cannabis. This occurred four years after Fendrich wrote a musical *Wake Up* in which the pop star is arrested for drug possession.

musical and literary importance.<sup>251</sup>

Additionally, Fendrich's most famous song "I Am From Austria" has been re-interpreted in the different contexts of the times, thereby achieving in the long-lasting popularity.<sup>252</sup> The song was first created in 1989—under the administration of the Austrian President, Kurt Waldheim (1917–2007, in office: 1986–1992), whose early career as an intelligence officer of Nazi Germany had become known as "Waldheim affair" in 1986—in response to the situation of Austrians, a considerable amount of who lived outside the land and denied their origin in order to avoid the conflation of the Austrian with Nazism. The English title of the song, in contrast to the lyrics in Wienerisch, was not merely literal but also critical.

As time went by, the song was read more and more as a political affirmation. In 2014, the populist and national-conservative Freedom Party of Upper Austria unauthorizedly used the song's verses for the advertisement on the Internet (*ORF*, August 22, 2014). Two years after, another case was found in the final round of Austrian presidential election—a head-to-head race between Norbert Hofer (Freedom Party) and Alexander Van der Bellen (The Greens). For this occasion, Van der Bellen used the song in his advertising clip by with Fendrich's approval.<sup>253</sup> In the clip, the message of Van der Bellen to the viewers appears in white color against a foreground of scenic pictures of Austria and campaigning shots of Van der Bellen with the song "I Am From Austria." The message uses a Self/Other grouping strategy by emphasizing solidarity with "our

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<sup>251</sup> From September 14, 2017 to March 25, 2018, the exhibition *Ganz Wien: Eine Pop-Tour* was held in the Wien Museum. It provided the history of Austrian pop music since the 1950s as a result of canonization of Austropop, without featuring Fendrich.

<sup>252</sup> "I Am From Austria" was chosen as the "favorite song of the Austropop" in the ranking show *Österreich wählt* (Austria Chooses, broadcast on June 17, 2011), and as the "the song of your life" (chosen from 1,000 hit songs of the last 50 years) on the radio channel Ö3 in 2017.

<sup>253</sup> "'I Am From Austria' – Liebe Österreicherinnen und Österreicher," posted on November 28, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WAHMgFL1x5M> (accessed on October 31, 2018).

homeland,” “in which we put togetherness over separateness.” It finishes with a shot of Van der Bellen standing in front of the national flag as the song plays out with three repeats of the phrase “I am from Austria” by Fendrich along with the chorus. The effect of “I Am From Austria” in this clip is to recall the co-experience of familiarity among viewers who can be identified themselves as Austrian and have heard this song many times, perceiving it as just as the jukebox musical functions.

### **7.3.2. *I Am From Austria* and Cultural Revision**

It would be presumptuous to jump to the conclusion that there was a similar function in the performance of *I Am From Austria* as in the election, but the matter of Van der Bellen’s video clip also needs to be incorporated into the common context of the target group because it was part of a hot topic for months in Austria until the election turmoil ended with the win of Van der Bellen against another candidate, Norbert Hofer (Freedom Party of Austria) in December 2016.

Under these recent circumstances, a grouping strategy emerged more clearly from the performance of *I Am From Austria*, not only in the effect of Fendrich’s songs but in the stereotypical appearance of the foreigners on stage. Tourists in Vienna were obsessed with “selfies,” and the people in Hollywood were all blond and dressed in the same white T-shirts and shocking-pink hot pants as if they were Barbie dolls. Moreover, the Argentinian character honestly stated that he could not understand what was happening on stage due to lack of linguistic competence in the local vernacular, as the main concerns of the performance were driven by the Austrian characters in Wienerisch. The grouping was completed at the end when the performers and audience singing “I

Am From Austria” together.<sup>254</sup> These stereotypes and groupings could consequently help create a sense of “Our” feeling within the local audiences in Austria.<sup>255</sup>

Regarding the common context as discussed up to this point, now we return to the very first topic in this chapter: the celebration of the National Day of Austria. On that day, the highlighted version of *I Am From Austria* became meaningful beyond an annual complimentary concert in public,<sup>256</sup> especially when the title song “I Am From Austria” was offered as part of the national celebration.<sup>257</sup>

In this aspect, the production can be recognized as a result of reflection and revision of cultural memory, not only in terms of cultural and social context but also the political framework surrounding the performing site and the audience.<sup>258</sup>

#### **7. 4. Conclusion: A Musical “From, About, and For Vienna”**

*I Am From Austria* can be called a jukebox musical; however, it was already transformed in the local framework. This was a jukebox musical designed to be effective only *within* today’s Austria.<sup>259</sup> Consequently, *I Am From Austria* referred to the cultural memory on site *and* also creates the context itself through the performance.

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<sup>254</sup> As of the performance on June 21, 2018.

<sup>255</sup> It is remarkable that two-or-three-generation families and the student group were often found in the audience, that is more likely to be seen in family-oriented musicals. Moreover, some women were dressed in the folk costume Dirndl. On this point, *I Am From Austria* partly functioned as the performance that represented and taught the cultural memory from one generation to the next.

<sup>256</sup> The special performance on the National Day by the United Stages started in 2007 (see also Chapter 5.2.2.1).

<sup>257</sup> *I Am From Austria* was broadcast in the weekly television program *Heimat Österreich* (Homeland Austria) of ORF III on October 27, 2019—the day after the National Day.

<sup>258</sup> The politicization is also found in the other performing site. The famous example is *Hamilton: An American Musical* (2015). Inspired by the biography of Alexander Hamilton, the performance consists of hip hop, R&B, and other contemporary musical styles, as well as color-conscious casting. It was also related to the Presidential Election of the United States in 2016.

<sup>259</sup> This is a contrast to the Viennese operetta, *Das Dreimäderlhaus* (1916), which took part in constructing the international image of Schubert and Vienna. Another case is *The Sound of Music* (1965): it is a worldly known family musical made in the United States, and therefore, it is usually considered as not purely Austrian by themselves.

This interactive communication between what is performed and performing requires close attention to the whole picture of the local prerequisite for the performance, especially in the times when “for an audience to share space with performers does not in itself guarantee any sort of intimacy, connection, or communication between performers and spectators,” instead, “a socio-cultural value attached to live presence” (Auslander 2006: 66). From this perspective, the motto for the special event of *I Am From Austria* was very much to the point: “[Being] right in the middle, instead of only standing by.”<sup>260</sup> In other words, not spatial and temporal co-existence but active participation in the event gains the performance a unique value that is relevant to the society. And that realized the scene, in which the audiences enthusiastically waved the individual national flag together with singing “I Am From Austria.”<sup>261</sup>

Therefore, it is necessary to analyze not only the pure performing elements in the theater but also what activates the performance in the performing site. The essential nature of popular musical theater can be described in this way when the form is constantly forced to keep up with the rapid transformation of popular culture in the daily lives on the basis of technical innovation, especially since the whole scenery of musical theater is drastically changing in the digitalization of today.<sup>262</sup>

For all that, the performances of *I Am From Austria* in Vienna were the creation

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<sup>260</sup> The special event “I Am From Austria: Sing-Along” on May 16, 2019 was based on the motto: “Sing together, dance together, do together: [being] right in the middle, instead of only standing by.” At the event, each audience received a packet of small souvenir, cyalume sticks, and a small national flag to live up the atmosphere.

<sup>261</sup> Ibid.

<sup>262</sup> The United Stages created their own accounts on online social media not only to advertise their productions but also supply the lack of the performance. In September 2018, the United Stages uploaded a series of four clips on YouTube (though the clips were later deleted). In these “I Am From Austria: Austrian Dialect,” the performers of *I Am From Austria* guess the meaning of a dialect word. As regional dialect becomes less often heard on street and Standard German becomes major in Austria today, the clips poke the linguistic identity and call more attention to Wienerisch in the performance. Here, the link can be found between popularization and digitalization (or re-contextualization) of musical.



of localized popularization. *I Am From Austria* was initially the Austro-Musical—the concept indicates a musical of the Austrian, by the Austrian, for the Austrian, which does not refer to the real nation but implies a group of people tied up with cultural memory, as the famous quote by Harry Zohn about the Wienerlied [Viennese songs]: “from, about and for Vienna.”<sup>263</sup>

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<sup>263</sup> The Takarazuka Revue performed the Japanese version of *I Am From Austria* from October 24 to December 28, 2019 in Takarazuka and Tokyo. This was produced to commemorate the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of establishment of diplomatic relations between Japan and Austria. Moreover, the Takarazuka version—with the new subtitle of “Furusato wa Amaki Shirabe” (Home Sounds Sweet)—interpreted the production with two themes: “home” and “family.” They were regarded as a display of the “fictive ‘nostalgia’” toward the imaginary foreign lands, which the Takarazuka Revue invented in the early twentieth century (Kawasaki 2005: 54). In the performance, the director Saitō Yoshimasa emphasized that all the Austrians should be tied up as if they were one single blood family. Even though the further discussion is needed for this topic, this interpretation is not only associated with the “family state,” which the modern Japanese government promoted with having the Emperor at the top, but is practically considered as a marketing strategy for the ardent fans, who accustom themselves to support the Takarasiennes in the simulated mother-daughter relationship.

## 8. TENDENCIES AND DECISIVE FACTORS IN VIENNA AND JAPAN

The previous chapters have examined and discussed Wiener musicals and their developments in Vienna and Japan from the 1990s to the 2010s, focusing on the institutional contexts generated and changing at the micro- and macro-theatrical levels in the respective two venues.

### 8. 1. Vienna

In Vienna, Wiener musicals have been produced and distributed by the United Stages Vienna under the influence of environmental factors (Fig. 7). This company is characterized by the missions to operate three costly, public theaters not only with insecure municipal subsidies but in the most efficient and competitive manner inside and outside Vienna. Such a hybrid nature has been markedly affected by the *political factor*, especially the changes of municipal cultural policies related to decision making of the subsidies for the United Stages. Moreover, the subsidized status of Wiener musicals has been a controversial topic for party and media politics (*Public attention*).

Although the municipal cultural policies were consistently based on the *cultural-historical significance* of the city, i.e. the “City of Music” discourse in the center of “Austria as cultural nation”, their focus was gradually shifting from economic value creation through cultural products for the international market to symbolic value for representing cultural identities and demonstrating public benefits. In response to this, Wiener musicals have developed—and that is the survival strategy of the United Stages. In fact, it was a general problem among large-scale theater companies in Continental Europe. They initially adopted the package license business style that rapidly spread over in the 1990s, but began diminishing due to the worldwide economic stagnation in

the 2000s, except for a few cases—the Stage Entertainment and the United Stages.

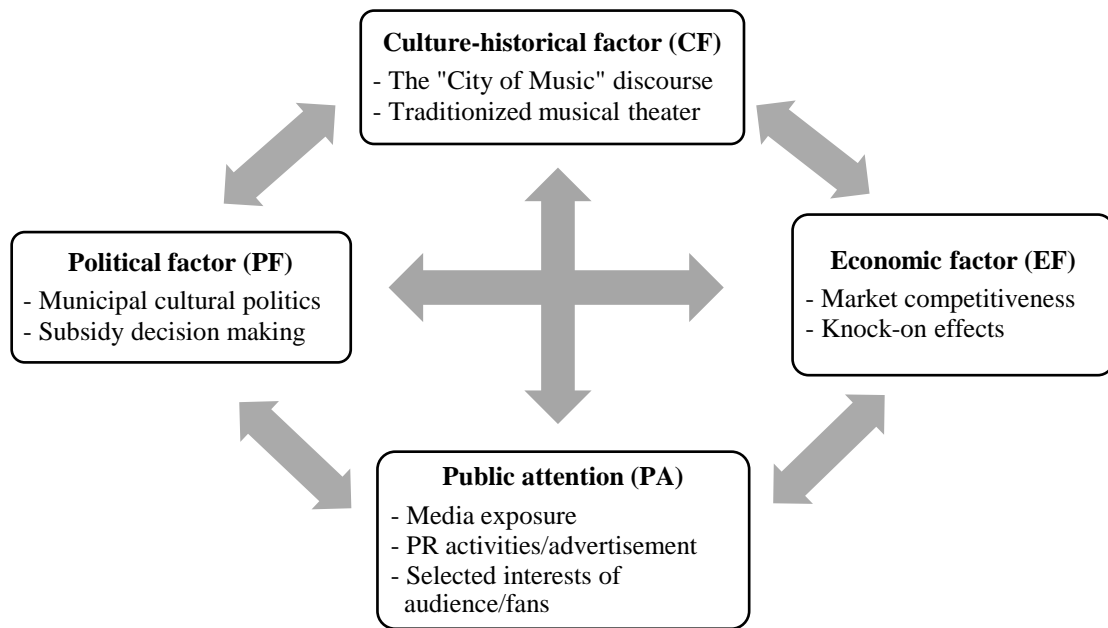


Figure 7. Decisive Factors on the Macro-Theatrical Level in Vienna

The decisive context fluctuating over time has constantly registered in the production intension, distribution extents, and reception among the audiences and in the media. By these means, strategical situations of Wiener musicals in Vienna have been formed and changing.

Nevertheless, the main concern of Wiener musicals has been anchored in how (and by which means) to demonstrate the Viennese locality with the label of “musical.” Initially, it took a stylistic approach to incorporate the genre into the European context of music theater for the international audience, as perfected in *Schikaneder* (2016). However, formal integration per se could not support the Vienneseness, when considering Lloyd Webber’s “rock opera” and the operetta-styled direction of the musical in many federal and state theater in German-speaking countries.<sup>264</sup> The most

<sup>264</sup> In this regard, the Volksoper Wien (Austria) and the Komische Oper Berlin (Germany) were regarded as successful cases of traditionalizing the musical and re-energizing the early popular

effective mediator for globalizing the Viennese flair was the site-specific, tourist-friendly theme and substantial material as proven in the successful export of *Elisabeth* (1992), *Mozart!* (1999), and (considering that the setting was at least in the territory of the Habsburg Monarchy) *Tanz der Vampire* (1997). Their branding method are represented in the plastic “Viennese flair” that should be interpreted as imagined and believed in each performing site.

Regarding the Austrian audience, it is striking that there were several productions featuring the cultural scene from the mid-1960s to 1990s, exemplified by *F@lco* (2000), *Wake Up* (2002), *Barbarella* (2004), *Don Camillo und Peppone* (2017), and *I Am From Austria* (2017). This fact implies that the initial target group of audience—who belonged to younger generation in the 1990s—has been aging; in other words, there have been the specific audience group, whom the United Stages tried to gain in the 1990s for cultivating the future audience, and who converged on the core visitors in the 2000s and 2010s. The aging audience group was not only the case in Vienna, as shown in the current trend of the jukebox musical all over the world.

Consequently, the creative process using existing famous works practically shaped the Vienneseness in the specific style of communication between performers and audiences. The high contextual performance is characterized by a variety of implications and parodies in intertextual practices, as well as by the limited audience group who can decipher the coding of the performance (cf. Hutcheon 1985). This led to the vernacular musical in Wienerisch—*I Am From Austria*.

## 8. 2. Japan

In Japan, Wiener musicals have been adapted by the Takarazuka Revue and Tōhō in another interaction of different contexts (Fig. 8). These two private companies under the same large corporation have produced and operated the musicals, fundamentally with the principle of commercial theater consistently for the domestic success. In this regard, their management policy (*political factor*)<sup>265</sup> was neither similar to the optimized Broadway-style business system, nor to the Viennese theater framework under cultural politics, nor to the Korean processing-and-brokerage business between Continental European and Asian countries. This is represented in the results of immigrating and re-migrating *Marie Antoinette* (2006).

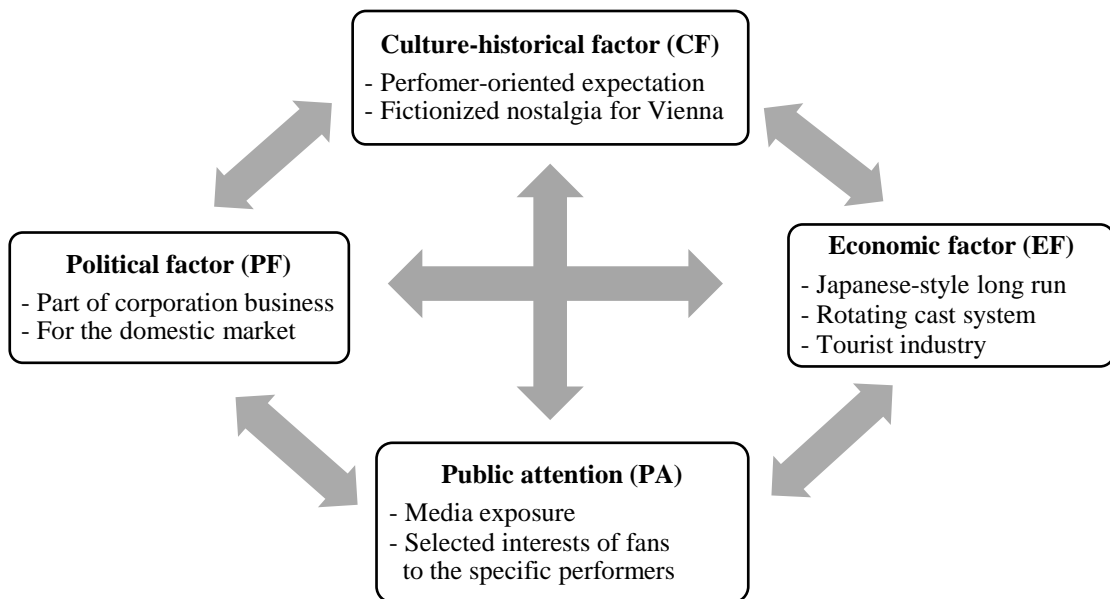


Figure 8. Decisive Factors on the Macro-Theatrical Level in Japan

The various layers of *culture-historical* contexts have underlaid symbolic value creation—which is indispensable for economic value creation as well—in all the Japanese versions of Wiener musicals and their developments, including the Japanese

<sup>265</sup> Here, the management policy is classified as part of the political factor, which is interpreted to include socially recognized structural requirements.

original musicals. While running these performances in the long term, both companies have created and updated *economic value* corresponding to—and nurturing—the needs and expectations of the core audience group. Distribution and advertisement have supported symbolic and economic value creation (*Public attention*).

Regarding the adaptations, the Japanese versions of Wiener musicals manifested the local taste, not in the theme and material but in the manner of romanticization. For that reason, Wiener musicals were selectively imported, initially to embed in the fictive—and mythicized—image of Vienna, which had been formed and represented in pre-war Japanese popular musical theater and was promoted in the rise of tourist industry as part of the Habsburg boom in the 1990s. For that purpose, *Elisabeth* (Takarazuka 1996; Tōhō 2000), *Mozart!* (Tōhō 2002), and *Tanz der Vampire* (Tōhō 2006) were characterized for the Japanese audience.

Meanwhile, flexible adaptation of Wiener musicals allowed the Takarazuka Revue and the Tōhō to highlight the familiar relationship between the specific popular performers and the skilled audiences in the performance. This interaction had once appeared in the acceptance process of the genre musical in the post-war era—as a result, the intermittent long run system with the star system on the top was invented and employed in the Tōhō musicals—and was increasingly expected during the boom of the copyrighted (and therefore unchangeable) megamusical in the 1990s.

In the numerous representations of each production, the core audience group became familiar with the content of each Wiener musical, while new Viennese productions in the first half of the 2000s were not exported, especially due to their incompatibility with the need of the Japanese market. In order to creating an additional symbolic value, the Tōhō came to individualize the productions not only with unending

revisions but also with the rotating cast system with an increasingly variety of star performers.

It is notable that the highly contextual performance in Japan was based on another kind of relationship between the specific performers and their fans. Thanks to the modulization of the performances, the fans can choose a combination of their favorite performers and selectively relish the taste emanating from the similarity and difference between the present performer and the others in all the relevant performance histories. By that means, Wiener musicals became accustomed and completely enrooted in the lineup of the Takarazuka Revue and Tōhō.

## 9. CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of Wiener musicals and their developments in Vienna and Japan was, as discussed in the previous chapters, being formed in the respective institutional contexts of each site. The contexts in the two venues were oriented by the individual cultural-historically formed principles, but meanwhile, they were also constantly affected by the changing sociocultural, political, and economic factors surrounding theater companies at each locale, as well as under the strong influence of global, interconnected theater practices. The mutually non-interventional—and therefore reciprocally beneficial—relationship between Vienna and Japan on the basis of the social and business status of each participant enabled each production to incorporate the context on site and kept developing flexibly in the changing local frame.

Regarding the global history of the genre musical, the “ever-localizing musical”<sup>266</sup> phenomenon is regarded not simply as a reaction to the global-oriented megamusical but rather as developments of the intentionality inherent in the genre musical itself. In other words, the fluid nature of the ever-localizing musical peeped in the following transition: what had been born as US-American popular musical theater in the early twentieth century, was standardized typically as the megamusical with the one-to-many cultural trade in the early period of globalization, migrated (or or the initial attempted at localization modeled after the globalized production and operation system) in another places, individualized itself for each of the local situations, and finally enjoyed communication between the divergent “branches” of the musical—as seen between Vienna and Japan. With this respect, it is notable that such cultural shifts occurred in the global economic stagnation since the 1990s, when only companies with

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<sup>266</sup> The concept of “ever-localizing musical” was developed from the “ever-growing musical,” which focused on the relationship between adaptations of Wiener musicals (Tanaka 2017a).



stable resources were able to survive, and thus, an applicative matching of smaller and resilient markets became preferable—that was boosted in the world acceleratedly interconnected via many-to-many communication. It should be also mention that the recent stream of nationalization and regionalization encouraged to develop the musical for the domestic market, as seen in both Vienna and Japan in the 2010s.

This dissertation asymmetrically analyzed the sociocultural characteristics that were crucially related to an overwriting of the local taste in the selected examples. The further studies are needed for a synthetic discussion about Wiener musicals and their developments in the combination of all the levels—including a survey of the inner-theatrical factors as well. A comparative structural analysis with the symmetrical research object setting would help the more comprehensive understanding of transnational popular musical theater practices. Additionally, the ever-localizing feature of Wiener musicals, especially in comparison with other historical and recent cases in Vienna (e.g. the Volksoper Wien) and Japan (e.g. the Shiki Theater and non-Wiener-musical-related productions of the Takarazuka Revue and Tōhō), requires further investigation. In this regard, a transnational and interdisciplinary research network is necessarily formed for a deeper understanding of the more and more complicating and individualizing local situations and their exchanges in the genre musical today.

Wiener musicals and their ever-localizing developments in Vienna and Japan are the result of combination between the no more realistic but still appealing image of the *global* genre musical and a compromise with the topologically determined requisites of *local* theater. This represents a status quo of the musical today in the glocal historiography of popular musical theater.

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## APPENDIX

### The Performance History of Musicals in Theater an der Wien (1962–2006)

Premiere	Title (○German-speaking premiere, ●Guest performance)	Composer	World Premiere
Intendant: Fritz Klingenberg (1962-1965)			
1963. 9	●My Fair Lady	Loewe	NY, 1956
1965. 4	●West Side Story	Bernstein	NY, 1957
Intendant: Rolf Kutschera (1965-1982)			
12	○Wie man was wird im Leben, ohne sich anzustrengen (How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying)	Losser	NY, 1961
1966. 3	Irma la Douce	Monnot	NY, 1960
9	●Heimweh nach St. Pauli (Homesick for St. Pauli)	Olias	Hamburg, 1954
12	Der König und ich (The King and I)	Rogers	NY, 1951
1967. 3	Polterabend	Kreisler	Wien
1968. 1	○Der Mann von La Mancha (The Man of La Mancha)	Leigh	NY, 1965
3	Can Can	Porter	NY, 1953
9	Hallo, Dolly!	Herman	NY, 1964
12	Der Mann von La Mancha	Leigh	See above
1969. 2	Anatevka (Fiddler on the Roof)	Bock	NY, 1964
9	Hallo, Dolly!	Herman	See above
11	My Fair Lady	Loewe	See above
1970. 2	Anatevka (Fiddler on the Roof)	Bock	See above
9	Der Mann von La Mancha	Leigh	See above
11	○Cabaret	Kander	NY, 1966
1971. 1	○Sorbas (Zorba)	Kander	NY, 1968
1972. 2	Anatevka	Bock	See above
10	Helden, Helden (Heroes, Heroes)	Jürgens	Wien
1973. 2	Kiss Me Kate	Porter	See above
9	Helden, Helden	Jürgens	See above
11	Das Appartement (The Apartment)	Bacharach	NY, 1968
1974. 2	○Pippin	Schwartz	NY, 1972
10	○Gigi	Loewe	NY, 1973
1975. 2	Das Lächeln einer Sommernacht (A Little Night Music)	Sondheim	NY, 1973
9	Gigi	Loewe	See above
1976. 2	○Billy	Barry	London, 1974
11	○Evviva Amico	Trovaoli	Rom, 1974
1977. 2	Das Glas Wasser (A Glass of Water)	Eichhorn	Wien
9	Evviva Amico	Trovaoli	See above
12	○Mayflower	Charden	Paris (No date)
1978. 2	Das Glas Wasser	Eichhorn	See above
10	Die Gräfin vom Naschmarkt (The Countess of Naschmarkt)	Halletz	Wien
1979. 2	Chicago	Kander	NY, 1975
9	Die Gräfin vom Naschmarkt	Halletz	See above
12	Chicago	Kander	See above
1981. 1	○Evita	Webber	London, 1978
9	Der Mann von La Mancha	Leigh	See above
12	Jesus Christ Superstar	Webber	London, 1971
1982. 3	Evita	Webber	See above
9	Jesus Christ Superstar	Webber	See above
Intendant: Peter Weck (1982-1992)			
12	Anatevka	Bock	See above
1983. 9	Cats	Webber	London, 1981
1984. 9	Cats	Webber	See above
1985. 9	Cats	Webber	See above
1986. 9	Cats	Webber	See above
1987. 9	Cats	Webber	See above
1988. 9	Cats	Webber	See above

12	○Das Phantom der Oper (The Phantom of the Opera)	Webber	London, 1986
1989. 7	Das Phantom der Oper	Webber	See above
1990. 6	●42nd Street	Warren	NY, 1980
12	Freudiana	Woolfson	Wien
1991. 10	Freudiana	Woolfson	See above
1992. 9	Elisabeth	Levay	Wien
Intendant: Rudi Klausnitzer (1992-2003)			
1993. 7	Elisabeth	Levay	See above
1994. 7	Elisabeth	Levay	See above
1995. 7	Elisabeth	Levay	See above
1996. 7	Elisabeth	Levay	See above
1997. 1	Anatevka	Bock	See above
9	Elisabeth	Levay	See above
1998. 9	Chicago	Kander	See above
1999. 10	Mozart!	Levay	Wien
2000. 9	Mozart!	Levay	See above
2001. 9	Jekyll & Hyde	Wildhorn	NY, 1997
2002. 9	Jekyll & Hyde	Wildhorn	See above
2003. 10	Elisabeth	Levay	See above
Intendant: Kathrin Zecher (2004-2012)			
2004. 9	Elisabeth	Levay	See above

(The data in 1962-2000 are based on Lang 2001: 209-216)

### The Performance History of Musicals in Raimundtheater (1987–2019)

Premiere	Title (○German-speaking premiere, ●Guest performance)	Composer	World Premiere
1987. 10	A Chorus Line	Hamlisch	NY, 1975
1988. 9	○Les Misérables	Schönberg	Paris, 1980
1989. 9	Les Misérables	Schönberg	See above
1990. 6	Das Phantom der Oper (The Phantom of the Opera)	Webber	See above
1991. 8	Das Phantom der Oper	Webber	See above
1992. 9	Das Phantom der Oper	Webber	See above
Intendant: Rudi Klausnitzer (1992-2003)			
1993. 9	Rocky Horror Show	O'Brien	London, 1973
11	Kuss der Spinnenfrau (Kiss of the Spider Woman)	Kander	NY, 1976
1994. 8	●42nd Street	Warren	NY, 1980
9	Grease	Jacobs/Casey	Chicago, 1971
1995. 9	○Die Schöne und das Biest (The Beauty and the Beast)	Menken	NY, 1994
1996. 9	Die Schöne und das Biest	Menken	See above
1997. 10	Tanz der Vampire (Dance of Vampire)	Steinman	Wien
1998. 10	Tanz der Vampire	Steinman	See above
1999. 9	Tanz der Vampire	Steinman	See above
2000. 3	Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dreamcoat	Webber	Edinburgh, 1972
2001. 3	Hair	MacDermot	NY, 1967
2002. 9	Wake Up	Fendrich/Faltermeyer	Wien
2003. 9	Wake Up	Fendrich/Faltermeyer	See above
Intendant: Kathrin Zechner (2004-2012)			
2004. 3	Barbarella	Stewart	Wien
2005. 2	○Romeo & Julia	Gerald Presgurvic	Paris, 2001
2006. 9	Rebecca	Levay	Wien
2007. 9	Rebecca	Levay	See above
2008. 1	We will rock you	Queen	London, 2002
2009. 2	○Rudolf	Wildhorn	Budapest, 2006
2010. 3	Ich war noch niemals in New York (I Have Never Been to New York)	Jürgens	Hamburg, 2007
2011. 9	Ich war noch niemals in New York	Jürgens	See above
Intendant: Christian Struppeck (2012-2022, scheduled)			
2012. 9	Elisabeth	Levay	See above
2013. 9	Elisabeth	Levay	See above



2014. 3	Mamma Mia!	Andersson/Ulvaeus	London, 1999
2015. 3	Jesus Christ Superstar	Webber	See above
2015. 9	Mozart!	Levay	See above
2016. 4	Ich war noch niemals in New York	Jürgens	See above
9	Schikaneder	Schwartz	Wien
2017. 9	I Am From Austria	Fendrich	Wien
2018. 9	I Am From Austria	Fendrich	See above
2019. 4	Jesus Christ Superstar	Webber	See above
Renovation (2019-2020)			

### The Performance History of Musicals in the Ronacher (1988–2019)

Premiere	Title (○German-speaking premiere, ●Guest performance)	Composer	World Premiere
Intendant: Peter Weck (1982-1992)			
1988. 10	Cats	Webber	See above
1989. 9	Cats	Webber	See above
General Renovation (1991-1993)			
Intendant: Reinhard Deutsch (1995-1997)			
1996. 9	Sie liebt mich (She Loves Me)	Bock	NY, 1963
Intendant: Rudi Klausnitzer (1997-2003)			
1999. 9	Chicago	Kander	See above
2000. 4	F@lco	Falco	Wien
Intendant: Kathrin Zechner (2004-2012)			
2004. 3	Miami Nights (Guest performance)	.*	Düsseldorf, 2002
4	Jesus Christ Superstar	Webber	See above
Renovation (2005-2008)			
2008. 3	Forbidden Ronacher	-	Wien
6	○The Producers	Brooks	NY, 2001
2009. 3	○Frühlings Erwachen (Spring Awaken)	Sheik	NY, 2006
9	Tanz der Vampire	Steinman	See above
2010. 9	Tanz der Vampire	Steinman	See above
2011. 3	Jesus Christ Superstar	Webber	See above
9	Sister Act	Menken	California, 2006
2012. 3	Jesus Christ Superstar	Webber	See above
Intendant: Christian Struppeck (2012-2022, scheduled)			
2012. 9	Elisabeth	Levay	See above
2013. 2	○Natürlich Blond (Natural Blond)	Benjamin/O'Keefe	NY, 2007
10	○Love Never Dies**	Webber	London, 2010
2014. 2	Der Besuch der alten Dame (The Visit)	Reed/Schneider	St. Gallen, 2013
10	Mary Poppins	Brother Shermans/Stiles	London, 1910
2015. 9	Mary Poppins	Brother Shermans/Stiles	See above
2016. 3	Evita	Webber	See above
2017. 1	Don Camillo und Peppone	Farina	St. Gallen, 2016
4	Jesus Christ Superstar	Webber	See above
2017. 9	Tanz der Vampire	Steinman	See above
2018. 3	Jesus Christ Superstar	Webber	See above
9	Bodyguard	.***	London, 2012
2019. 9	Cats	Webber	See above

\* The score featuring songs originally written by Gloria Estefan, Bonnie Tyler, David Bowie, Huey Lewis & The News, Marvin F. Jones, Duran Duran, Whitney Houston, Cindi Lauper, Irene Cara, Barry Manilow, Madonna, George Michael, Sheena Easton, and Wham.

\*\* *Love Never Dies* was performed in the German-speaking concert version.

\*\*\* The score featuring songs recorded by Whitney Houston, originally written by Cedric Caldwell, Benjamin Winans, Dolly Parton, Linda Creed, Michael Masser, Nickolas Ashfold, Valerie Simpson, Dean Pitchford, Michael Gore, Gerald Goffin, Thomas F. Kelly, Billy Steinberg, Jeffrey L. Osborne, George Robert Merrill, Shannon Rubicam, Narada Michael Walden, David Foster, Linda Tompson Jenner, John Bettis, Albert Louis Hammond, Whitney Houston, Antonio M. Reid, Daryl Simmons, Kenneth B. Edmond, Frank N. Wildhorn, Chuck Jackson, Jud Friedman, Allan Rich, Alicia Keys, Kasseem Dean (VBW 2018)

**The Performance History of Wiener-Musical-Related Tōhō Musicals (2000–2020)\***

Date	Title (○=Japan premiere; ◎=World premiere)	Theater
2000.06.06-08.30	○Elisabeth	Imperial Theatre
2001.03.30-04.28	Elisabeth	Imperial Theatre
2001.05.03-05.27	Elisabeth	Chunichi Theatre
2001.08.03-08.31	Elisabeth	Umeda Koma
2001.10.04-10.31	Elisabeth	Hakata-za
2002.10.05-10.31	○Mozart!	Nissei Theatre
2002.11.05-11.20	Mozart!	Theatre Drama City
2002.12.03-12.29	Mozart!	Imperial Theatre
2004.03.06-05.30	Elisabeth	Imperial Theatre
2004.08.01-08.30	Elisabeth	Chunichi Theatre
2004.10.02-10.28	Elisabeth	Hakata-za
2004.11.03-12.12	Elisabeth	Umeda Koma
2005.06.04-06.26	Mozart!	Umeda Arts Theatre
2005.07.04-08.26	Mozart!	Imperial Theatre
2005.09.01-09.30	Elisabeth	Imperial Theater
2005.10.05-10.30	Mozart!	Chunichi Theatre
2005.11.05-11.30	Mozart!	Hakata-za
2006.05.03-05.28	Elisabeth	Nissei Theatre
2006.07.02-08.27	○Dance of Vampire	Imperial Theatre
2006.11.01-12.25	◎Marie Antoinette	Imperial Theatre
2007.01.03-01.28	Marie Antoinette	Hakata-za
2007.02.07-03.05	Marie Antoinette	Umeda Arts Theatre
2007.04.06-05.30	Marie Antoinette	Imperial Theatre
2007.11.19-12.25	Mozart!	Imperial Theatre
2008.04.06-06.30	○Rebecca	Theatre Crea
2008.05.06-06.01	○Rudolf	Imperial Theatre
2008.05.21-05.28	Wien Musical Concert (Guest performance)	Umeda Arts Theatre
2008.08.03-08.28	Elisabeth	Chunichi Theatre
2008.09.03-09.28	Elisabeth	Hakata-za
2008.11.03-12.25	Elisabeth	Imperial Theatre
2009.01.08-02.02	Elisabeth	Umeda Arts Theatre
2009.07.05-08.26	Dance of Vampire	Imperial Theatre
2009.09.02-09.27	Dance of Vampire	Hakata-za
2010.03.05-03.31	Rebecca	Chunichi Theatre
2010.04.07-05.24	Rebecca	Imperial Theatre
2010.05.30-06.13	Rebecca	Umeda Arts Theatre
2010.06.18-06.27	The World of M. Kunze and S. Levay	Theatre Crea
2010.08.09-10.30	Elisabeth	Imperial Theatre
2010.11.06-12.24	Mozart!	Imperial Theatre
2011.01.08-01.25	Mozart!	Umeda Geijustu
2011.01.29-01.30	Mozart!	Kanazawa Kageki-za
2011.11.27-12.24	Dance of Vampire	Imperial Theatre
2012.01.07-01.12	Dance of Vampire	Umeda Arts Theatre
2012.02.26-03.04	The World of M. Kunze and S. Levay	Theatre Crea
2012.03.10-03.12	The World of M. Kunze and S. Levay	Umeda Arts Theatre
2012.03.14-03.15	The World of M. Kunze and S. Levay	Canal City Theatre
2012.03.17-03.18	The World of M. Kunze and S. Levay	Chunichi Theatre
2012.03.25	The World of M. Kunze and S. Levay	Tokyo International Forum (Hall C)
2012.05.09-06.27	Elisabeth	Imperial Theatre
2012.07.05-07.29	Rudolf	Imperial Theatre
2012.07.05-07.26	Elisabeth	Hakata-za
2012.08.03-08.26	Elisabeth	Chunichi Theatre
2012.09.01-09.28	Elisabeth	Umeda Geijustu
2012.10.15-10.22	Elisabeth: Gala Concert (Guest performance)	Umeda Arts Theatre
2012.10.26-10.31	Elisabeth: Gala Concert (Guest performance)	Theatre Orb
2013.07.05-07.06	Wien Musical Concert #2 (Guest performance)	Bunkamura Orchard Hall

2013.07.11-07.15	Wien Musical Concert #2 (Guest performance)	Umeda Arts Theatre
2013.07.20-07.22	Wien Musical Concert #2 (Guest performance)	Theatre Orb
2014.04.13-05.24	©Lady Bess	Imperial Theatre
2014.07.19-08.03	Lady Bess	Umeda Arts Theatre
2014.08.10-09.07	Lady Bess	Hakata-za
2014.09.13-09.24	Lady Bess	Chunichi Theatre
2014.11.08-12.24	Mozart!	Imperial Theatre
2015.06.11-08.26	Elisabeth	Imperial Theatre
2015.07.27-07.29	○The Visit	Theatre1010
2015.08.01-08.02	The Visit	Hondanomori Hall
2015.08.05-08.09	The Visit	Theatre Brava!
2015.08.13-08.31	The Visit	Theatre Crea
2015.09.04-09.06	The Visit	Canal City Theatre
2015.09.11-09.13	The Visit	Chunichi Theatre
2015.11.03-11.30	Dance of Vampire	Imperial Theatre
2016.01.02-01.11	Dance of Vampire	Umeda Arts Theatre
2016.01.15-01.17	Dance of Vampire	Aichi Geijutsu
2016.06.28-07.26	Elisabeth	Imperial Theatre
2016.08.05-08.27	©Crest of the Royal Family	Imperial Theatre
2016.08.06-09.04	Elisabeth	Hakata-za
2016.09.11-09.30	Elisabeth	Umeda Arts Theatre
2016.10.08-10.23	Elisabeth	Chunichi Theatre
2016.11.03-11.05	The Visit	Theatre1010
2016.11.12-12.04	The Visit	Theatre Crea
2016.12.09-12.11	The Visit	Canal City Theatre
2016.12.17-12.18	The Visit	Chunichi Theatre
2016.12.21-12.25	The Visit	Umeda Arts Theatre
2017.04.08-05.07	Crest of the Royal Family	Imperial Theatre
2017.05.13-05.31	Crest of the Royal Family	Umeda Arts Theatre
2017.10.08-11.18	Lady Bess	Imperial Theatre
2017.11.28-12.10	Lady Bess	Umeda Arts Theatre
2018.05.26-06.28	Mozart!	Imperial Theatre
2018.07.05-07.15	Mozart!	Umeda Arts Theatre
2018.08.01-08.18	Mozart!	Misono-za
2018.10.08-11.25	Marie Antoinette	Imperial Theatre
2018.09.14-09.30	Marie Antoinette	Hakata-za
2018.12.01-12.04	Rebecca	Theatre1010
2018.12.10-12.21	Marie Antoinette	Misono-za
2018.12.08-12.09	Rebecca	Kariya Cultural Center
2018.12.15-12.16	Rebecca	Kurume City Praza
2018.12.20-12.28	Rebecca	Umeda Arts Theatre
2019.01.01-01.15	Marie Antoinette	Umeda Arts Theatre
2019.01.05-02.05	Rebecca	Theatre Crea
2019.06.07-08.26	Elisabeth	Imperial Theatre
2019.11.05-11.27	Dance of Vampire	Imperial Theatre
2020.01.13-01.20	Dance of Vampire	Umeda Arts Theatre

\* In this table, each production is called in its English title to avoid confusion.

### The Scene and Song List of *Elisabeth* (Vienna 1992; Takarazuka 1996; Tōhō 2000)

Vienna (1992)		Takarazuka Revue (1996)		Tōhō (2000)	
No.	Scene title / "Song title"	No.	Scene title / "Song title"	No.	Scene title / "Song title"
-	Prologue "All of Them Danced with Death" "Elisabeth"	1-1	Prologue: The Nocturnal World of the Dead and the Dreamers "The First Examination" "Prolog" "The Love Burning Me"	1-1	Prologue: The Nocturnal World of the Dead and the Dreamers "The First Examination" "We are All Dead" "The Love Burning Me" "The Second Examination" "Elisabeth"
1-1	Hall at Possenhofen Palace "Like You"	1-2	Hall at Possenhofen Palace "Like Papa"	1-2	Hall at Possenhofen Palace "Like Papa"

1-2	On the shore of Lake Starhemberg "Nice to See you All Here"	1-3	On the shore of Lake Starhemberg "Nice to See you All Here" "The Fall"	1-3	On the shore of Lake Starhemberg "Nice to See you All Here" "Flying Trapeze and Fall"
1-3	Hofburg in Vienna, Reception Chamber "He's the Just Distributor"	1-4	From the realm of the dead to Elisabeth's room "Elisabeth" # "Rondo Between Love and Death" "Like Papa (Reprise)"	1-4	From the realm of the dead to Elisabeth's room "The Love Theme" "Rondo Between Love and Death" "Like Papa (Reprise)"
1-4	Bad Ischl "That's How Life Goes"	1-5	Reception Chamber "The Duty of the Emperor"	1-5	Reception Chamber "The Duty of the Emperor"
1-5	Between Heaven and Earth "Nothing is Difficult"	1-6	Bad Ischl "As Planned"	1-6	Bad Ischl "As Planned"
1-6	St. Augustine Church in Vienna "All the Questions Have Been Asked"	1-7	Between Heaven and Earth "The Storm Won't be Scary"	1-7	Between Heaven and Earth "If You Were on My Side"
1-7	Ballrooms in Schönbrunn Palace "The Final Dance"	1-8	St. Augustine Church in Vienna "The Beginning of Disaster"	1-8	St. Augustine Church in Vienna "The Beginning of Disaster" "Waltz of Marriage"
1-8	Elisabeth's Apartments at Laxenburg Palace "It's the Duty of an Empress" "I Belong to Me"	1-9	Ballrooms in Schönbrunn Palace "Failure of the Marriage" "Waltz of Time of Death" "The Final Dance" "The Storm Won't Be Scary (Reprise)"	1-9	Ballrooms in Schönbrunn Palace "Failure of the Marriage" "Waltz of Time of Death" "The Final Dance" "If You Were on My Side (Reprise)"
1-9	Stations of a Marriage "The Shadows Grow Longer"	1-10	Elisabeth's Bedroom "The Duty of an Empress"	1-10	Elisabeth's Bedroom "The Duty of an Empress" "The First Trouble" "The Duty of an Empress (Reprise)" "I Am on Your Side"
1-10	A Coffee House in Vienna "The Merry Apocalypse"	1-11	On Heaven "Only for Me" # "Rondo Between Love and Death (Reprise)"	1-11	On Heaven "Only for Me" "Death is in a Bad Mood"
1-11	Elisabeth's Bedroom "Elisabeth, Do Not Despair"	1-12	Marriage Knot "The First Year of the Marriage"	1-12	Marriage Knot "The First Year of the Marriage, and the Second Year..." "Where Is My Daughter? (The Second Trouble)" "My Enemy" "The Third Year of the Marriage" "The Empress of Beauty" "The Fourth Year"
1-12	Marketplace in Vienna "Milk!"	1-13	The Visit to Hungary "The Shadows Grow Longer"	1-13	The Visit to Hungary (Debrecen) "Debrecen" "Emperor Pageant" # "Elisabeth's Anger" "The Shadows Grow Longer"
1-13	Elisabeth's Dressing Room "Our Empress Should Pamper Herself" "I Belong To Me"	1-14	A Coffee House in Vienna "Killing Time"	1-13	A Coffee House in Vienna "Killing Time" "Café Playoff"
		1-15	Elisabeth's Bedroom "Elisabeth" "The Third Trouble" "Elisabeth, Do Not Cry" # "The Shadows Grow Longer (Reprise)"	1-13	Elisabeth's Bedroom "Elisabeth (The Love Theme)" "The Third Trouble" "Ultimatum" "Elisabeth, Do Not Cry (The Love Theme)"
		1-16	On the Street in Vienna "Milk" # "The Shadows Grow Longer (Reprise)"	1-4	On the Street in Vienna "Milk"
		1-17	From Elisabeth's Dressing Room	1-13	From Elisabeth's Dressing Room to

			to Ballroom “The Duty of the Empress” “Only for Me (Reprise)”		Ballroom “The Duty of the Empress” “Only for Me (Reprise)” “Only for Me (Three-Part Chorus)”
2-1	In Front of Buda Cathedral “Kitsch!”	2-1A	Kitsch “Kitsch”	2-1A	In Front of Buda Cathedral “Introduction to Act 2” “Kitsch”
2-2	A Bedroom in the Hofburg “Mama, Where Are You”	2-1B	Coronation in Budapest “Éljen”	2-1B	Coronation in Budapest “Cathedral” “Éljen”
2-3	A Neurological Clinic Near Vienna “Nothing, Nothing at All”	2-2	Labyrinth “Mama, Where Are You”	2-2	Rudolf’s Bedroom in the Hofburg “Mama, Where Are You”
2-1	In Front of Buda Cathedral “Kitsch!”	2-3	Labyrinth: Archduchess Sophie’s Salon “The Triumph of the Empress”	2-3	On the Corridor in the Hofburg “The Line of the Empress”
2-2	A Bedroom in the Hofburg “Mama, Where Are You”	2-4	Dining Room of the Hofburg “The Triumph of the Empress (Reprise)” “The Collection of Madam Wolf” #“Waltz of Time of Death (Ballet Version)”	2-4	A Neurological Hospital Near Vienna “A Neurological Hospital” “Freedom of Soul”
2-3	A Neurological Clinic Near Vienna “Nothing, Nothing at All”	2-5	Elisabeth’s Gymnasium in the Hofburg “The Empress’ Fasting” “Malady” “The Last Chance” #“Rondo Between Love and Death (Reprise)”	2-5	Archduchess Sophie’s Salon “The Triumph of the Empress”
2-4	Archduchess Sophie’s Drawing Room “Her or Us”	2-6	Restless Years “Restless Years”	2-6	Madam Wolf’s Salon “The Collection of Madam Wolf”
2-5	Mrs. Wolf’s Salon in Vienna “Don’t Play the Prude”	2-7	General Hospital Near Vienna “Hospital” “Freedom of Soul” #“Only For Me (Reprise)”	2-7	Elisabeth’s Gymnasium in the Hofburg “The Fall” “A Slight Fever” “The Last Chance” #“Between Dream and Reality”
2-6	Elisabeth’s Gymnasium in Schönbrunn “The Last Chance”	2-8	Labyrinth “The Shadows Grow Longer”	2-8	Archduchess Sophie’s Salon “The Fourth Trouble”(*)
2-7	Restless Years “She is Always Restless” “Mirror, Mirror” “Hunt”	2-9	Hungarian Independent Movement #“Hungarian Independent Movement”	2-9	Restless Years “When the Time Comes” “I’m Waiting” “She is Always Restless” “The Time Passed (1)” “My Mother’s Gone” “Go Wherever Her Fancy” “The Time Passed (2)”
2-8	On Death’s Carriage “The Shadows Grow Longer”	2-10	Anteroom of the Hofburg “Because I Am Your Mirror”	2-10	Achilleion on Corfu “Like Papa (Reprise)”
2-9	Loggia of a Villa on Corfu “Like You (Reprise)”	2-11	Ballroom “Dance of Death”	2-11	On the Corridor of the Hofburg “Father and His Son”
2-10	On the Opernring in Vienna “Hate!”	2-12	Funeral “Rudolf, Where Are You” “Elisabeth” #“Rondo Between Love and Death”	2-12	The Hate “Hate (Hass)”
2-11	In the Hermesvilla “If I Were Your Mirror”	2-13A	On the Street in Vienna “New Viennese Souvenir (Kitsch Reprise)”	2-13	Rudolf’s Room “The Shadows Grow Longer”

2-12	Mayerling “Mayerling Waltz” “Dirge”	2-13B	A Promenade along Lake Geneva “Ships in the Night”	2-14	Hungarian Independent Movement “Independent Movement”
2-13	A Terrace at Cape Martin “My New Assortment” “Ships in the Night”	2-14	Mausoleum of the Habsburg “The Last Testimony”	2-15	Labyrinth “If I Were Your Mirror”
2-14	On Deck of the Sinking World “All the Questions Have Been Asked”	2-15	Epilogue: A Promenade along Lake Geneva “The Love Theme”	2-16	Mayerling “Mayerling (Dance of Death)”
-	Epilogue “The Veils Descends”	2-16A	Finale “Rondo Between Love and Death”	2-17	Funeral “Grief of Death”
		2-16B	Finale (Rockettes) “Kitsch (Rockettes Version)”	2-18	Kitsch “Kitsch (Reprise)”
		2-16C	Finale “The Last Dance”	2-16C	On the Street in Vienna “New Viennese Souvenir (Kitsch Reprise)”
		2-16D	Finale “The Shadows Grow Longer (Finale Version)”	2-19	Côte d’Azur “Ships in the Night”
		2-16E	Finale “Only for Me”	2-20	Nightmare “Nightmare”
		2-17	Parade	2-21	Assassination “The Love Theme”

(Based on VBW 1992; Takarazuka 1996; Live Recording DVD of the Takarazuka version (1996, released in 2002); Tōhō 2000)

\* Added in the Budapest version (1996).

The Takarazuka version gave new titles for each piece, adding repetition of the leitmotif for each protagonist, especially “Rondo Between Love and Death” for Death and “Only for Me” for Elisabeth. This is concerned with the theme song system in the Takarazuka Revue (Sakaguchi 2010). Scene 2-16 and 2-17 in the Takarazuka version were the independent show part, which typically accompanies all the Takarazuka shows beginning immediately after the musical finished. On the other hand, the Tōhō version basically followed the structure of the Takarazuka Revue, but it separated the seamless composition into smaller pieces, given the individual characteristics for them. This detailedness was later adopted for the Takarazuka versions.