【Article】

Actors and Their Cosmopolitan Existence:
Their contribution to the intermediacy among the classes, their cultural refinement, and their development of a sense of morality

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Contents

Abstract

This paper will focus on actors as a cosmopolitan existence and their cultural interchange in relation to the moral and market cosmopolitanism that had been theorized by Adam Smith, Immanuel Kant, and G.W.F. Hegel since the eighteenth century. In context of it, commedia dell'arte actors developed the cosmopolitan spirit as it is defined today while performing in cities across Europe. Their transnational theatrical performances were a kind of art and culture infrastructure for common theatrical aesthetics and public acceptance. In the eighteenth century, this tendency was intensified as many enlightenment philosophers and dramatics advocated it. The actors as a medium presence made their own body capital for connecting theater with spectators and for sociocultural and commercial activity.

From the nineteenth century, actors gradually created a new image as artists and public persons. During the assimilation of actors into civil society, they obtained a transnational and universal identity from their locality. Moreover, with the social and commercial expansion of the theater industry, the actors' and actresses' performance and reading techniques were gradually recognized as global common techniques of art exceeding the national code. Against the background of such a theater phenomenon, this paper will discuss the change in an actor's consciousness as a world citizen for struggling against political oppression.

1. Introduction

In the European Middle Ages, actors traveling between cities giving performances led the lives of itinerant wanderers. They experienced suppression and persecution by the Catholic Church, and were deprived of their civil rights by a society that forced them to exist as outsiders. Because of the strict religious doctrine of the church, these actors' popular, spectacular theater productions were shunned and regarded as both a cause of corruption in human nature and contrary to civil morality. In the Baroque Period, the influence of the church declined, and theater was adopted as a matter of cultural policy—serving the purpose of praising sovereignty and winning the hearts and minds of the people. Actors and actresses therefore gradually gained social recognition as their cultural importance increased. According to Jean Duvignaud (1993, p. 84), a famous theorist of European theater history, actors' vagabond lives in each country were commonly observed in parallel with their bureaucratization. In the nineteenth century, as the role of actors and actresses continued to settle, the establishment of their professional status and the acquisition of their civil-rights status also developed; by this point, some of them had already become celebrities.

Regarding the historical changes in the image of actors since the medieval ages, we can refer to the aforementioned research of Duvignaud, as well as to the research of Peter Schmitt (1990) and Jens Roselt (2009); the latter two discussed the image of actors in the German-speaking sphere, in regard to both the viewpoint of social history and acting methods. However, in conventional research, the close relation between actors and the concept of cosmopolitanism has not been argued. According to Martha Nussbaum (1997, pp. 28–32), the concept of cosmopolitanism originated in Greek Stoic, which the Romans then developed into the philosophical idea of "world citizens"(kosmou politês). The Roman philosophy of cosmopolitanism argues that people should have a strong drive toward becoming members of an ethical community and have a universal consciousness rather than local based on land of origin. Each person must take responsibility for becoming a moral and rational citizen beyond his or her class, position, gender, and ethnicity of origin. By doing so, people achieve an ideal society in which

members of the community are mutually respected. This cosmopolitanism philosophy concerning the supra-regional emancipation of humanity arose in the eighteenth century with the construction of civil society.

Commedia dell'arte, the Italian theater genre that appeared during the Renaissance, acquired great popularity among royal families, the bourgeoisie, and ordinary people from several countries. Thus, it is said that the actors in this genre were the first global, theatrical icons that crossed boundaries, classes, and languages. Through the experience of the acrobatic comedy of commedia dell'arte, which accentuated the physicality of its performers and represented an effective contribution to the hyperlocal spreading of dramatic code, it became possible to discover the former status of actors: that of cosmopolitan presences in the field of theater. Since the eighteenth century, by embodying the universal spirit and sharing their souls, lives, and enjoyment with the citizens of various countries, actors developed an important connection with different classes, thereby intensifying their identity and their sociocultural, integrative existence.

Regarding recent research on cosmopolitanism, Jeremy Waldron (2000, pp. 239–243) discussed Kant's jurisprudence as a criticism of the imperialism and colonialism of the eighteenth century. He defined it as a moral ideal that specifies ethical relationships with neighbors based on a common body of law. Moreover, David Harvey (2009), who conducted a successful study of critical geography, investigated the paradoxical, structural problems that arise in the course of imperialization, which contains a universal, cosmopolitan ideal. He connected it with the concepts of place, time and space, and environment, which are redefined when anthropological, geographical, and ecological knowledge is reconstructed. In this way, he simultaneously demonstrated the concept of a new form of cosmopolitanism. According to Harvey, this new form of cosmopolitanism shakes up the established order or system, e.g., the political culture and geographical framework of a particular place, and constructs an absolute space and time.

Pauline Kleingeld (1999, p. 506), a political scholar, studied six kinds of cosmopolitanism that existed in Germany in the second half of the eighteenth century. Until the first half of the nineteenth century, those political discussions had been overwhelmed by nationalism and patriotism, but their influence gradually grew weaker. By connecting to this research on eighteenth-century German cosmopolitanism, sociologist Keita Koga (2014, p. 35 and 51) examined the market cosmopolitanism of the eighteenth century, which Kant and Montesquieu had argued was based on the ideology of Adam Smith's *The Wealth of the Nations* and had consequently found to offer economic interdependence across borders. These philosophers analyzed a spirit of commerce that could not be regulated by nations and that led to the creation of a noble peace. This cosmopolitan principle is both natural and historical, since it exposes the

transference of capital and human resources through the operations of merchants and capitalists in each country.

Thus, in studies conducted on cosmopolitanism in recent years, the chief aim of research has been to redefine a cosmopolitan sense of ethics regarding local and alternative elements of society. These ethics have been suppressed by political culture and geographical/national power structures, but have nonetheless upset the absolute space-time framework. Moreover, both the creation of peace through a transversal spirit of commerce and the establishment of rights for world citizens have drawn the attention of researchers.

In the second section of this paper, the theater culture of the Baroque Period and the Age of Enlightenment will be examined. This paper will also concentrate on the image of actors as world citizens and forerunners of cultural interchange—this is because, as actors' gradually acquired citizenship and performed activities, they crossed the borders between classes. In other words, they who used their bodies as resources functioned as a mediating presence between audiences and the theater and performed sociocultural and commercial activities. The third section investigates the theater culture and actors of the nineteenth century, during which the functions of the theater, as a moral-education institution and a place providing entertainment, were gradually fixed. Then, it examines the point that during the progression of the assimilation of actors into civil society, they became acquainted with their consciousness as artists, but they also acquired transnational and universal identities, based on their localities. Moreover, with the social and commercial expansion of the theater industry, the actors' performances and reading techniques were gradually recognized as common, global, artistic techniques that exceeded the national code. In the background of this theater phenomenon, there is also discussion about the change in actors' identities as world citizens, struggling against political oppression.

２．How actors disseminate pleasure, and the effect of their communication between classes

In this section, the theater culture of the Baroque Period and the Age of Enlightenment will be examined, in which the actors, in their medial roles, produce aesthetic pleasure in the theater and extend the boundaries of acting by their activities.

2.1. The development of various performance techniques according to aesthetic changes in sensibility

In the late-seventeenth century, various theatrical companies travelled around Europe and created the theater world. After the closing of theaters in London, the occupational theater groups of England moved to other countries to produce theater performances.

They brought to the continent a sense of values—and the impression that being an actor or actress was a profession. According to Kenji Hara (1988, p. 18f.), a German literature scholar, different theater troupes frequently appeared and staged high quality spectacles—not only in German-speaking spheres, but throughout Europe. These troupes included British groups, Commedia dell'arte, teatro Italiano via France, as well as German companies, which had been influenced by teatro Italiano performances. In performances for the royal family or at periodic markets, the actors developed their own theater aesthetics and established audience bases in Europe consisting of individuals who comprehended common performance techniques.

In the Baroque Period, the influence of medieval Christianity declined and indulgence in pleasure, which had been inherited from the Renaissance and involved expressing admiration for humanity and enjoyment of life, became a chief element in people's lives. Specifically, in court society, where the desire for pleasure and lavishness was strong, the pursuit of a festal existence was born. Majestic, grand operas and spectacular tragedies were performed, concerning topics such as the deification of kings, the worship of power, and the glorification of life. According to Richard Alewyn (1959, p. 14), the famous Baroque researcher, these peoples' passionate desire for enjoyment was "not vulgar pleasure at least, but the pleasure of the kind attended with all elevation of our individuality."[1] This was an epistemic change in human culture and aesthetic pleasure. Owing to such recognition of a new sensitivity, a sharing of theater and dance styles between the court and the general populace occurred in the cultural spaces of Europe. The actors became mediums of this marginal, dramatic phenomenon between the classes. The common performance code of pleasure, which they mastered experientially onstage and disseminated through their spirit of commerce, bridged boundaries, spread horizontally, and formed the dramatic community.

Concerning the unification and standardization of a theater code, one can refer to a book by French court painter Charles Le Blanc: *Method for Learning to Draw the Passions* (*Methode pour apprendre a dessiner les passions,* 1698), in which different ways of expressing humanity with the body were illustrated and systematized. From the seventeenth century onwards, the doctrine of affection aesthetics continued to be generalized. Part and parcel to that generalization, this guidebook created a universal expression and became a means of bringing the world and its local cultures together, thereby helping to create a new way of recognizing the world.

In Germany, such unification of dramatic body language also took place in large-scale, religious dramas, which were performed in Latin. They were superintended by Jesuits and performed regularly throughout the second half of the Baroque Period (Roselt, p. 76). The unity of performance methodologies used in them required explanation to courtiers, the educated class, and most spectators (i.e., the lower class, who did not

understand this intellectual language), so apprenticeships were needed to teach actors how to perform. In this regard, Franciscus Lang, a priest and professor of rhetoric and poetics, wrote *An Essay on Stage Performance* (*Abhandlung über die Schauspielkunst*, 1727). This manual considered recitation and gestures, which formed the foundation of sermons, i.e., the art of public speaking, and which tragic actors employed at the end of the seventeenth century. It subdivided and systematized methods of performance. The actions involved an imitation of court manners, such as the expressions of the visual body, from the tips of the toes to the top of the head, as well as expressions of emotion and aspects of onstage standing position.

Furthermore, not only was this performance technique verbalized through such texts, David Garrick (1717–1779), a great English actor, also became a model for German acting (Gerda Baumbach 2012, p. 342). In his performance method, the body was not only used as a medium of expression for conveying emotions or feelings, but as an instrument for presenting one's moral nature. In this way, the body language of the performance and expression of emotions were gradually unified across the continent, and dramatic signs were established that circulated among and were received by spectators beyond the scope of spatial-geographical separation.

Both manuals and models of performance techniques that commodified actors' bodies were distributed supra-regionally on a large scale, because actors and actresses were attuned to the modes of the time and thus to the pursuit of great commercial successes. They would effectively express onstage the morality and ideals of humanity. This was a change from the courtly, aristocratic ideals of the Baroque Period. Until the seventeenth century, human beings were understood as symmetrically placed in relation to God, as a negative existence. To such mankind, ethics and intellect were connected, leading to the concept of "humanity" as an aristocratic virtue.[2] By the eighteenth century, this kind of humanity was no longer praised on the stage. In this time of declining court and aristocratic society, a civil society and consciousness were established, producing the cultural and educational concept of Enlightenment. The people displayed on stage a humanity that developed amidst new conceptualizations of the citizen and the autonomy of the individual. Indeed, the transcultural absorption of different theater styles and trends led to the emergence of a common cultural sentiment and sense of community across countries.

However, there is another thing to note: one concept of aesthetic-reception theater was that of an illusion that stimulated audiences' immersion in a work; Christian Biet and Christophe Triau (2006, p. 478) defined this as the "comfort in being deceived" (la douceur d'être trompé). As a result of the mutual consent between audiences and theater, visual effects attracted audiences and produced pleasure. According to d'Aubignac, who wrote *The Practice of Theatre* (*La Pratique du théâtre*) in 1642,

regardless of what the author wrote, actors and actresses had to command the stage skillfully; the performance could not be considered completely artificial. He said, "The minds of the spectators must not acknowledge that they are being deceived" (2001, p. 317). This change in perception towards the hedonic consumption of deception shows that the concept of "deceiving," which was incidental to "performing," had been regarded negatively since the Middle Ages. However, it has now been converted into the cultural/creative category of "pleasure." Moreover, related to this conceptual change, actors' activities obtained acknowledgement—in both a professional and commercial sense.

2.2. The new actor's image of having a transboundary existence, created by philosophers during the Age of Enlightenment

In 1776, Adam Smith discussed the social relationship between floating capital and labor in his *The Wealth of the Nations,* and therein he found value in the labor of an actor—believing that it should be considered lowbrow, like that of a musician, and less so than a lawyer or doctor. Although an actor's technique of recitation is materially unproductive, it has mental value (1999, p. 431). Regarding Smith's high praise for the actor, we should consider his discussion of art published in 1775. In his book, Smith verified to what enjoyable effect of each art the concept of imitation would contribute. In his view, excellent acting technique is required of the artist who performs the imitative arts, such as pantomime, music, and dance. For example, opera performers can express a beauty completed by graceful and natural dramatical skills in addition to their musical ability (Smith 1980, p. 194f.). In the ideas of eighteenth-century British aesthetics, a part of the pleasure of imitation was thought to derive from unnatural remembrances, and for this reason, displays of unnaturalness were regarded as an ill (James M. Malek 1972, p. 52). Thus, the performance techniques of actors who could exude naturalness were gradually integrated into the main techniques of the expressive imitative arts. Meanwhile the civil and professional status of actors had already been established, since they engaged in service industries that produced immaterial, extinctive products. They conveyed theater culture and its spirit by transforming their own bodies into fluid capital, and they hyper-locally operated an infrastructure of pleasure in the creation of commercial and mental products.

During the Enlightenment, French thinkers advocated for the work of actors as individuals who improved peoples' tastes and culture and who had developed theater culture to form the soul of a community. They also argued for the dissolution of public prejudice against actors, because they were the mediums of such theatrical issues, as well as for the improvement of social civility in this regard. In 1757, prominent philosopher Jean Le Rond d'Alembert described his vision in the section "Geneve"

（Page 7: 578）of *L'Encyclopédie*. Specifically, he asked what would happen if Geneva, a city without a theater culture, had a company of actors who acquired civil rights and became respected. He supposed that this theater group would become the most excellent in all of Europe, and Geneva, a city with seemingly poor culture, would change into a refined, culturally tasteful, philosophical, and free-spirited city. Consequently, Geneva would become a reformed European city:

> I might add that such a company would soon be the best in Europe. Many people would hasten to Geneva who have great inclination and talent for the theater but who at present fear they would be dishonored by acting. There they would cultivate a talent that is so pleasing and so unusual, not only without shame but also even in an atmosphere of respect. While many Frenchmen now find a stay in Geneva depressing because they are deprived of seeing plays, the city, which is already the abode of philosophy and liberty, would then also be the abode of respectable pleasure. ［…］ Then a small republic could claim the glory of having reformed Europe in this respect, and this is perhaps more important than one thinks.（D'Alembert, 1696, p. 578）[3]

In d'Alembert's appreciation of professional actors' respectability and sociocultural contribution, their capability to transform a city is also praised. They would bring with them an advanced and excellent culture from a foreign country, and plant it in a new one as a rich taste. Moreover, cities that had active acting communities drew tourists from foreign countries, allowing them to blossom into artistic, cultural places. D'Alembert regarded actors as having a cosmopolitan existence, since they performed cultural interchange and promoted the theater industry. They crossed boundaries, including cultural, personal, and mental ones, and gave spectators the enjoyment of living. As citizens, they created pleasure, completely reforming a city's amusement facilities through their spectacles.

In 1758, Jean-Jacques Rousseau was so affected by d'Alembert's article that he wrote a *Letter to M. D'Alembert on Spectacles*（*Lettre a d'Alembert sur les spectacles*）. According to Marie-Claude Hubert（2008, p. 149f.）, Rousseau had been influenced by the ideas of Plato, who did not count theater as an art because he argued it had a bad moral effect on people, and therefor initially denigrated theater as a disruption in social morality. While Rousseau had a negative regard for the bourgeoisie culture of his age, he affirmed the traditional and ceremonial theater forms he thought should continue from ancient times into the new.[4] Moreover, Pierre Frantz（1998, p. 123f. and 231f.）, who analyzed Rousseau's theory of language's origin in *Essay on the Origin of Languages*（*Essai sur l'origine des langues,* 1781）, indicated that Rousseau recognized

in pantomime a primitive act of language and estimated its importance to alternative languages. Therefore, Frantz included Rousseau's pantomime theory in modern theater aesthetics. Based on studies of recent years, it is worth confirming here the reference to Rousseau's idea of the actor's image and function. Mentioning Greek theater, which has sacred origins, he considered an actor to be like a priest—a first-rank, respected citizen, whose job is celebrated and honorable (Rousseau, 2003, p. 130f.). Rousseau admired modern actors' capability to imitate, and recognized it as a professional practice. In this context, in the 1770s, Denis Diderot examined actors' characters and performance techniques in *The Paradox of Acting* (*Paradoxe sur le comedien,* written 1773–1777, published in 1830), and stated that he admired actors as models of ideals.

2.3. Kant's cosmopolitanism and its influence on the theatrical world

During the revival of actors and actresses, they were considered citizens and professionals who engaged in an artistic activity, and awareness of their mental labor deepened. In such a theatrical situation, in his "*Critique of Judgment* (*Kritik zur Urteilskraft*)" published in 1790, Kant examined rhetoric as the art of speech and classified it into the group of beautiful arts. Kant criticized the function of this rhetoric due to its preventing the work of the Understanding, and therefore regarded it as the art "of deceiving by a beautiful show (ars oratoria)" and ranked it lower than poetry (Kant 1974, p. 267). However, to the contrary, in Kant's epistemological aesthetics, rhetoric was considered a technique for not only producing beauty and harmony by combining sensitivity and the Understanding, but also for expressing an emotional idea. The theater, in this view, should be formed by connecting the traditional techniques of the classical period with pictorial expression. It has a significant meaning that rhetoric, which constituted the theater, was taken up as an object of academic argument in Kant's sensitivity studies, even if he did not explicitly discuss actor's rhetoric and acting techniques at that time. This was the beginning of a tendency to estimate highly the actor as an artist in the philosophy of German idealism, as in Hegel.

Meanwhile, Kant's ideal of cosmopolitanism developed in parallel to his sensitivity studies. In his *Perpetual Peace* (*Zum ewigen Frieden*) from 1795, Kant mentioned the spirit of commerce as a cosmopolitan policy for avoiding war. He said:

> [⋯] and now salt and iron was discovered, perhaps the first widely-sought articles of a trade market of the different nations, whereby they were first brought into a peaceful relationship with one another, and so even with distant peoples, in consensus, community, and peaceful relations among the peoples (Kant, 1992, p. 76).

In another reference, he said:

> It is the commercial spirit that cannot exist together with war, and sooner or later, it takes possession of each nation（ibid. p. 81）.

In his theory of peace, Kant examined ideas and methods of controlling impulses in order to avoid war.[5] With reservation, in the two aforementioned passages, Kant showed the commercial spirit to have been a practical and effective, primitive method for building peace since humanity had begun forming the cultural sphere. Such understandings of the commercial spirit in this critical context are not limited to Kant. According to Kleingeld（1999, pp. 518–521）, in parallel to the progress in the global trade of the same period, an argument about the relationship between the commercial spirit and the construction of cosmopolitan peace can also be seen in studies like those by Dietrich Hermann Hegewisch. Although depending on individual moral qualities and behavior, Kant's contemporary intellectual, commercial spirit was recognized as one possible practical method for overcoming the differences of each nation or variant ethnic groups beyond individual states, and for forming important social connections. In Kant's concept of the cosmopolitan, the commercial spirit is certainly one pragmatic means of achieving peace; however, an individual's existence as a transboundary that carries out commercial activity has the objective universality needed to create a state of peaceful coexistence between nations.

Such Kantian cosmopolitanism echoed throughout the literary world. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe conceived of "world literature" as a universal literary model wherein art was for not only the wealthy or the educated, but also served the purpose of educating all citizens. Goethe acknowledged that this cosmopolitan literature was created in the theater of the Enlightenment, as actors were important people who conveyed global ideas. We can find this concept in the words of the hero, Wilhelm, in Goethe's famous novel *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*（*Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre,* 1796）. Wilhelm grew up in a good citizen's house, but yearned for the theater, and wished to break free from the spirit of his narrow-minded, provisional, bourgeois life. In the fifteenth chapter of the first book, his understanding of actors is described as follows:

> How blessed he ［Meister］ praised therefore the actors in former times, as he saw in their possession so many majestic clothes, armor, and weapons and, in their constant exercise of a noble behavior, their minds appeared to him to be a mirror of the most glorious and magnificent aspects of the world represented through their relationship, ethos, and passions.（Goethe, 1977, p. 62）

Goethe idealized actors in regard to their free existence, their ability to change into any person in the experiential world, and their higher souls. According to Jürgen Habermas's interpretation (1990, pp. 67–69), since Wilhelm cannot change either his aristocratic or civil being, he goes on stage to substitute the existence of his public world. Without being caught up in the narrow-minded and provincial values of conventional communities, Wilhelm tries to establish his identity as a dramatic and public presence in another world. From this viewpoint, we can refer to Goethe researcher Hellmut Ammerlahn (2003, pp. 16–23), who indicated that Wilhelm found the whole, co-existential world within the theatrical sphere, on the basis of Goethe's ideas. For Wilhelm, the theatrical sphere is a place of ideal experience in which he can pursue, as an artist, human life and universality. In this regard, Goethe's reference in this work to "the influence of the theater on the world and people" identifies the fictional world of ideas—in which an actor presents a reflection of the models of life, beauty, and the civil morality of humanity.[6]

As a result of the idea during the German enlightenment of the theater as a moral and cultural institution, social recognition of the presence of actors changed considerably. A little earlier in this period, Johann Friedrich Löwen, a famous promoter of the establishment of the Hamburg National Theater, wrote *History of German Theater* (*Geschichte des deutschen Theaters,* 1766). In this, he explained the illuminative role of actors to the public, stating that their moral sense would be improved by the actors (1905, pp. 70–72).

During the same period, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing wrote his *Letters Concerning the Latest Literature Letters* (*Briefe, die neueste Literatur betreffend,* 1759–1765), saying, "We don't have a theater. We don't have any actors. We don't have any audience." (Wir haben kein Thater. Wir haben keine Shauspieler. Wir haben keine Zuhörer. 1974, p. 85). In this context, he expressed the un-modernized situation of theater in Germany. However, Lessing's regret did not apply to all cases, because Löwen realized that contemporary comedians had an educational function for which he respected them. Hence, actors assimilated into civil society as artists, having changed from vilified nomads offering mere amusement to respectable teachers.

Indeed, we can examine the activities of the well-educated actors in Germany at the end of the eighteenth century. For example, August Wilhem Iffland (1759–1814), who contributed to the advancement of the social statuses of other actors, was the first actor to receive a decoration in the German-speaking sphere (Baumbach 2012, pp. 31–37). While actors' professional specialization progressed, there was increasing pressure for actors to become leaders of excellence in art. Iffland inherited his reformed performance methodology from Johann Jakob Engel (1741–1802), a famous theorist who had created

an original acting method. He developed his technique of body language and recitation through performance—and in accordance with the customs of civil society. Actors and actresses were not already established performers, but they were the people who reproduced the noble-minded souls of select tragedies and comedies. In this way, the nationalization of theater and the strengthening of its function as a moral-education institution proceeded—as did the assimilation of actors into civil society. With the unification and standardization of acting techniques, theatrical activity spread supra-regionally. This gave people dramatic, cultural pleasure and catharsis, leading to an intensification of their ethics and the marketing of cosmopolitan life.

3．The assimilation of actors into civil society and the expansion of their cosmopolitan consciousness

The third section investigates the theater culture and actors of the nineteenth century, during which the actors were assimilated into civil society and obtained a transnational and universal identity distinct from that of their locality.

3.1. The influence of Hegel's cosmopolitanism on educational concepts for actors in theatrical circles

Throughout the nineteenth century, the commercial development of theater culture prospered; during that time, over 4,000 people attended the theater every night (Devrient, 1840, p. 25). In response to the theater changing into a cultural and moral institution, a new image of actors as public personas and artists was created. The illuminative function of acting teachers offered a national, cultural education, which was recognized in the context of their new, social characters as citizens. Particularly in Germany in the 1830s, there was a theater-reform movement, including the development of the concept of a "National Theater," which managed to gain momentum with financial assistance from the state. Although actors still moved between many cities to give performances, some had stable contracts with the most famous theaters in big cities. Regarding the background of the cultural and commercial development of theater in the nineteenth century, we can refer to the German philosopher, Hegel, who discussed his viewpoint on cosmopolitanism and provided a relevant image concerning actors. According to Lydia L. Moland (2011, pp. 149–175), a researcher of political thought, Hegel, as a moral cosmopolitan, critically inherited Kant's ethical cosmopolitanism and wanted to make nationalism and cosmopolitanism compatible.

Moreover, Hegel argued that each citizen acquires an ethical responsibility to the entire human race in the development of a global market and a civil society. He considered the prosperity of the entire state—both the suprar-national development of a market and the autonomous formulation of the citizens' society. In this context, Hegel,

who had a deep knowledge of theater culture, tried to increase the civil status of actors by assimilating them into the civil society that alienated them. He made a meaningful, affirmative evaluation of the professional value of actors; this can be confirmed in his explanation in *Lectures on Aesthetics* (*Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik,* 1835):

> Today, people call actors artists and pay them all the honor of an artistic profession; to be an actor today is in our feeling neither a moral nor social defect. (Hegel, 1986, p. 515)

Hegel commended the spiritualism of actors, who expressed a community pathos when performing tragedy, and recognized them as artists. Moreover, Hegel found in actors such traits as industriousness, discipline, intellect, and patience—traits connected to the modernistic labor principles of civil society. In other words, he admired the professional nobility of actors from an aesthetic standpoint.

Many people were influenced by Hegel's viewpoint of actors. For example, Heinrich Theodor Rötscher (1803–1871), who played an active part as a drama critic in Berlin, wrote *The Art of Dramatic Performance* (*Die Kunst der dramatischen Darstellung,* 1841–46) and stated that the acting techniques of that time perpetuated classical Greek tragedy and comedy. Considering acting to be a noble art, he praised actors as an educated, cultivated part of civil society. Indeed, concurrently, Karl Gutzkow (1811–1878) and Edward Devrient (1801–1877), a theater reformer, similar to Rötscher, followed this movement toward the establishment of the professional status of actors as artists. Meanwhile, they advocated the establishment of an acting school that resembled the theater academy of France. In his essay *On Acting School: A Communication to the Theater Audience* (*Ueber Theaterschule: Eine Mittheilung an das Theaterpublikum,* 1840), Devrient, also an actor, suggested the nationalization of German theater and the necessity for a system that supports actors with government funds. In this essay, he stated the following:

> For this school purpose, one would be able to lay on a collection of scenes from the masterpieces, which offer exercises in the dramatic expression of the various nations, also in presentation of the fullness of human conditions. (Devrient, 1840, p. 44)

Therefore, Devrient emphasized that actors needed to play characters from all nationalities so they could transform into a wider variety of personalities. Indeed, he stressed the need for mastering the pronunciation, accent, or tone of foreign languages like French, Italian, and English, which actors should learn at acting school

(ibid. pp. 36–38). Since the second half of the eighteenth century, the necessity for actors' education in a pure and beautiful German language was already advocated by prominent actors like Iffland.[7] Under linguistic nationalism and the movement for the formation of standard language, this tendency was intensified and the theater as a morally edifying institution had a function of public language education. During the reform of German school systems, curriculum in foreign languages like French was also introduced in the gymnasiums, but not Italian or English (Martina G. Lüke, 2007, p. 73). This shows how Devrient simultaneously argued for adoption of German as a stage language and also of foreign languages for actors' transboundary activities after completing schooling. This principle of Devrient's manifested itself in the idea that actors should have a professional consciousness as global citizens who transcend the nation-state, rather than a local identity. Such an idea was not specified, for instance, in Goethe's guidebook *Rules for Actors*. From this point on, we can see that it was considered that the actors' and actresses' level of multinationality and diversity in their performances should exceed a local, narrow-minded viewpoint.

Regarding the previous point, according to Jens Roselt (2009, p. 49) who has studied acting theory from the Baroque Period to the present age, actors fundamentally possess dual identities: While an actor's body is a sign (in a semiotic context) of a fictional figure, he stands on an actual stage, transcending this illusion (Täuschung). Considering the features of such a duality, the actor imitates and portrays the truth and beauty of the world by fully using their body techniques to represent individuals from all nationalities, classes, and characters; they perform cultural integration and produce ideological reform. Aside from this point, in a certain historical and dramatical time and space actors responded to the exchange of emotions with audiences and offered them enjoyment and pleasure. Through their separate personalities, they formed a creative existence that represented various national and cultural groups.

3.2. Nestroy's opposition to censorship and his transnational artistic identity

Parallel to the German theater of the mid-nineteenth century, the theater culture of Austria was in full flourish. Particularly at the representative Burg Theater in Vienna, the audience was already mostly dominated by the bourgeois. Attending the theater was recognized as a cultured activity, in accordance with the concept of "National Education" (Nationalbildung) (a concept of the empire of Austria-Hungary). In these Viennese theaters, Johann Nestroy, a famous actor and playwright, played an active part. He exercised freedom of expression and opposed the literary and dramatic censorship enforced through authorities' inspections by using his talented, improvisational techniques (Herbert Zeman, 2001: Helmut Herles, 1973). He expressed the following cosmopolitan sentiment in his slapstick *The Talisman* (*Der Talisman*,

1840), in which he played the role of the protagonist, Titus, a read-haired friseur. He said:

> I've exchanged my residence with the wide world, and the wide world is much closer than one thinks. (Nestroy, 2000, p. 76.)

In this soliloquy, Titus describes the society and people around him. He complains of their prejudice, including that against him for having red hair, for example. He thus wants to leave the intolerant and closed society behind. Through the eyes of his main character, Nestroy, who had experienced a crisis of raison d'etre and artistic problems in the different cities he performed in during his career, sees the cause of such problems in both the people's localism and in their intolerance.[8] Nestroy recognized that he had a cosmopolitan existence—making the world his stage—and was playing an active part in art. While he related to the world through artistic expression, he was conscious about transmitting the universal content of art to each audience. Unlike an actor who performed on provincial tours and touched the world experientially, his statement revealed a new model of acting. It spiritually connected with the world and changed its consciousness into a cosmopolitan, global presence; actors became world citizens.

Nestroy had a cosmopolitan consciousness because the virtuosity of his performance technique was acknowledged. This peculiar modality of performing was favored, especially in commercialized, artistic circles, where modern industrialism and commercialism progressed. Regarding this, Rötscher took a critical stance on virtuosity because this modernistic phenomenon coming into style in French artistic circles was centered on nineteenth-century beliefs and emphasized actors' subjectivity. Hence, he denied this modality as "the perfect conquest of the body and the sound" (die vollständige Unterwerfung des Körpers und des Tones, 1859, p. 242).[9] However, responding to audiences' requests, desires, and tastes, virtuosic artists, integrating performance methods with commercial spirit, began to tour different countries, as exemplified by the famous pianist and composer Franz Liszt. This actuality shows the inseparable correlation between the cosmopolitan lives of artists and the commercial spirit that traverses nations.

It is also necessary here to reference Nestroy's stage language. At that time, the Burg Theater of Vienna strongly recommended that their actors have a refined stage language, like "Burg Theater German" (Burgtheaterdeutsch). The theater intended to become a model of pronunciation for audiences and, according to a study by Birgit Peter (2004, p. 18), from the beginning, this original stage language was an important component of the concept of "national theater," and especially became

so through a connection of language and politics. In contrast to this, the comedian Nestroy's stage language took on the character of regional colors. However, the spirit of cosmopolitanism is a sharing of the earth, and an idea of peace and morality exceeding the differences of boundaries or languages among different nations, and of friendly interchange with each other (Waldron, 2000). It was a forerunner connecting people through multicultural symbiosis or pluralism. Nestroy, as a theater manager, was knowledgeable of the theater situation in France, studied French drama, and tried to perform it in Vienna, but was censored.[10]

On this point, we should examine the fact that Nestroy mastered this subjective, creative body language and tried to undo the effects of theater censorship (i.e., the realm of laws and regulations). In fact, this performance modality, including buffoonery and clowning, which was anarchically used to counteract the pressure of the authorities, was traditionally observed in theater groups in medieval European courts, in use by harlequins in commedia dell'arte, or by professional entertainers or comedians influenced by it. These performers were in an exclusive position, which permitted performance for kings and other nobles of stage content that satirized sovereignties and politics. Like the time he fought against stage censorship onstage, Nestroy conducted an insubordinate campaign to repeal authority, sovereignty, and law.

In his avant-garde policy of art supremacy, Nestroy expressed his civil disobedience by using an original performance technique. In this sense, this virtuoso built a new image of the actor, one who resists power, and linked it to the liberal intellectualism of the same period. Nestroy knew that a significant dissociation had arisen between people's moral and social conceptions and the situation concerning censorship in Austria during that time. For this reason, while transcending local regulations, he attempted to transmit to the audience the universality of art that was common to every country. In his theory of the cosmopolitan consciousness of actors, Nestroy developed a humanistic theory and ideology of morality across nationalities. His performance as a world citizen had the clear intention of exceeding geographical, legal, and political governance, i.e., he deconstructed the time and space of absolute political power, in a process involving the establishment of a new genre of art and a universal ethics.

Conclusion

Following the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, actors and actresses attempted to show their ability to pursue common universal principles, forms, and models, as well as to spread those noble ideas to various parts of Europe. In the theatrical world, which considered emotional sympathy to be important, they developed their bodies as mediums, a means of integrating peoples from all nationalities and classes. Throughout the nineteenth century, they gradually extended their field of activity from the local

to the global and promoted their stage activities and dramatic poetry readings.[11] By reading to German immigrants in, for example, the United States, they strove for the popularization of literature, as well as the transmittance of the correct pronunciation of language. While this was a nationalistic, patriotic act that strengthened people's national identity, it was not only a model that involved actors engaging in multicultural behavior in foreign countries, but a development of the spirit of world citizens.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, during the shift from the current, avant-garde "director's theater" (Regietheater)[12] to the movie era, the theater market was trans-continental and fully expanded. Theater actors began embodying the cosmopolitan spirit through their transnational activities. Virtuosity in the theater and improvisation declined because of the intensifying adoption of systematic performance modalities, while, simultaneously, a dramatic phenomenon occurred in which actors' individuality disappeared. As an indication of Diderot's opinion about the impersonalization of actors,[13] during this modern age the act of the new aesthetics of performance partially consuming actors' bodies was established. This change was evident in the performance modality of producer Gordon Greig's "marionettization of the actor," which aimed to eliminate actors' subjectivity, or in the montage theory of noted director Sergei Eisenstein, who metonymically used actors' bodies.

However, while the actors whose bodily attributes were associated with the preferred physicality of the time have been lost, in the age of the mechanical reproducibility of art the use of the personalities of actors as a model for world citizens was advanced through the distribution of their portraits, i.e., their metonymic bodies. During the globalization of theater media, it was not the responsibility of the world citizen to create the noble peace that Kant defined. Rather, it became a comfortable intermediary for war propaganda—or for commercial advertising. In the world of the early twentieth century, in which imperialism and capitalism has increased its dominance, it should be taken into consideration that actors' cosmopolitan characters have been consumed as political and commercial instruments with which to rule, which, meanwhile, have incurred the loss of their totality, the loss of their selves, in progression.

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1) Except for the translation of "Geneva," all English translations of primary sources (German and French) are mine.

2) There is a great change in the concept of humanity from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment. About this discussion, I referred to the study of Hans Erich Bödecker (1982, pp. 1060–1083).

3) English translation by Nelly S. Hoyt and Thomas Cassirer. Cf. Nelly S. Hoyt and

Thomas Cassirer（1965）"Geneva", in *Encyclopedia of Diderot & d'Alembert - Collaborative Translation Project.* Accessed July 16, 2016. http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=did;cc=did;rgn=main;view=text;idno=did2222.0000.150

4 ）Furthermore, Yasuyoshi Ao（2010, pp. 75–93）refers to this.

5 ）James Bohman and Matthias Lutz-Bachmann（1997, pp. 1–24）investigate the possibility of Kant's cosmopolitanism for creating peaceful states in the context of globalization and pluralism. I refer also to the study by Martha Nussbaum（1997, pp. 25–58）, who compares Stoic ideas of peace with Kant's in the context of international legal order, encouraging fraternity between nations.

6 ）While engaging in the administration of the Weimar Court, Goethe also managed a theater and provided practical, educational instruction for actors. He wrote the guidebook *Rules for Actors*（*Regeln für Schauspieler,* 1803）to teach them techniques concerning performance and behavior.

7 ）Irmgard Weithhase（1961, pp. 333–571）, who investigates the history of the spoken language in the German speaking sphere indicated the contribution of actors to the refinement of the German spoken language since the eighteenth century, thanks to their beautiful stage language.

8 ）Nestroy had lived in Vienna since 1831, but his theater activity there and in different provincial counties faced problems with censorship and conservative civil morals. Cf. Hein（1973, p. 122f.）

9 ）In addition, Gunter Oesterle examined Rötscher's essay by connecting it with modern industrialization and technology. Cf. Günter Oesterle（2006, pp. 47–59）.

10）Under the conservative system of the Austrian Empire, censorship after the March revolution of 1848 was very severe as compared with neighboring nations like France, Germany, or Hungary. Nestroy conceived of translating the French work *Mesdames de la Halle* into German, and performing it in Vienna. However, he eventually gave up the plan due to censorship. Cf. Nestroy（2005, p. 278）.

11）Regarding the actors' reading tours in foreign countries, I referred to the study of languages by Weithase（1961, pp. 490–571）.

12）According to Devrient's work *History of German Art of Acting*（*Geschichte der deutschen Schauspielkunst,* 1848–1874, p. 372）, around the time of the 1830s, the director gained more and more influence and ultimately assumed leadership of the theater. Moreover, according to Roselt（2015, p. 15f.）, the word "Regie," indicating direction, appeared for the first time in German theatrical texts in 1775, this being the name for the occupation of theater management or administration. However, within a century, the nature of the "Regie" changed, as they extensively pushed their own subjectivity and artistry in production and performance. This too led to the objectivization of the actor. Cf. ibid. p. 56.

13) In his books, Diderot states the following: "The people say that the actors had no character, [...] " (On a dit que les comédiens n'avaient aucun caractère, [...] 1995, p. 96)

Acknowledgment

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Abstract

　18世紀の市民社会の構築は，超領域的に人間解放を掲げる理想主義的また倫理的コスモポリタニズム，さらにアダム・スミスやカントの提唱した商業主義的コスモポリタニズムを生み出した。本稿は17世紀後半から19世紀末にかけての演劇文化を対象に，従来まで論じられてこなかったこのコスモポリタニズムの概念と，演劇と社会の交差を実現した俳優とを関連付けるだけではなく，その新しい意義を見出すことである。バロック時代以降，俳優は国境と階級間を越境し，超領域的に演技術を統一させてきた。その傍らで，俳優は普遍的な世界精神を体現し，その精神と生活と享楽を各国の市民と共有することで，階層間の紐帯として活動した。本稿は，この俳優たちの社会文化的また統合的存在としての性格が強化されてゆくことを検証しただけではなく，俳優が，観客との無媒介のコミュニケーションにおいて，公共空間として確立しつつあった演劇世界とその文化の発展を担い，さらに市民的生における精神知財の共有と都市の発展に貢献したことを，俳優像の変化や，作家や俳優自身のテクストをもとに検証した。その際に，従来の人類学的また演劇史的観点から論じられてきた俳優の身体性を，コスモポリタン的観点から考察することで，その普遍的また世界市民としての俳優像とその新しい身体性の形成を追求した。