

## Article

# **Berliner Ensemble 1957 – Piccolo Teatro 1963. Science in the reception of Brecht's *Galileo* as from the press reviews on both stagings**

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*The article reports the outcome of an analysis of the reception of Bertolt Brecht's play, The Life of Galileo, as presented by Giorgio Strehler (Milan, 1963) and Brecht himself in collaboration with Erich Engel (East Berlin, 1957), carried out on respective press reviews. The reviews were examined by the application of quantitative analysis based on the recurrence of determinate themes associated with images of science. In comparing the results of the analysis of each of the two press reviews, it appears that different images were conveyed by the same play performed in two different contexts for different audiences. Italy, in particular, showed a more frequent recurrence of the conflict between science and religion as a result of the ongoing cultural and spiritual authority of the Church, whereas in the German Democratic Republic's communist regime, where Brecht is a troublesome but tolerated intellectual, the topics of the scientist's freedom within the Establishment and intellectual courage were more frequent.*

### **Introduction**

In recent years, science has assumed an increasing although limited role of importance in theater as well as cinema.<sup>1</sup> Not only have playwrights such as Tom Stoppard (*Arcadia*, *Hapgood* etc.) and Michael Frayn (*Copenhagen*) drawn from science for material, but also men of science such as chemist Carl Djerassi (*An Immaculate Misconception*, *Oxygen*) and cosmologist John D. Barrow (*Infinites*) have considered the medium of theater a useful instrument of communication of scientific ideas. In the history of theater, science has not played a major role. However, in the middle of last century the news of uranium fission and the explosion of atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki marked a change in the collective perception of science both among experts in physics and general science, and non-experts. The issue of the possible catastrophic consequences of scientific research marks the subsequent philosophical, sociological and artistic production. As of the 1950s, numerous plays were also based on this topic.<sup>2</sup> This theme persists in contemporary plays, such as the previously cited *Copenhagen*, which brings center stage two of the greatest representatives of atomic physics of the time, Werner Heisenberg and Niels Bohr, as well as the concepts of quantum mechanics.

Bertolt Brecht's *The Life of Galileo* is a paradigmatic work of contemporary scientific theater not only because of the playwright's prestige, but also for its artistic outcome and the influence it has had on later theatrical productions. The play was written between late 1938 and early 1939, the period of time in which Brecht, fleeing from Nazism, sought voluntary exile in Denmark and became aware of the news of uranium fission at the hands of Otto Hahn e Fritz Straßmann. The play was later revised in the United States in 1947 in the aftermath of the atomic bomb. Right from its onset, the work was a manifestation of the historical and ideological changes of the time. Within the complexity of its inspiration and the issues it tackles, the work touches upon all of the fundamental questions posed by atomic physics: the scientist's social responsibility, the freedom of scientific research from conditioning by political power, man's uncertainty in the light of new discoveries.

## Objectives

Excluding two minor stagings, one in Zurich in the midst of World War II and another in Cologne in 1955, the first significant productions of *The Life of Galileo* in Europe, particularly in Italy, are Brecht's own in 1957 at the Berliner Ensemble Theater, founded by the playwright in East Berlin,<sup>3</sup> and the 1963 production directed by Giorgio Strehler at Milan's Piccolo Teatro. The objective of this article is to compare the reception of both productions by means of the respective press reviews, with particular emphasis on the images of science that emerge. This comparison demonstrates that the context in which a play is performed influences the way that the message is transmitted and received. What more of a distance can there be between a dissident theater within one of Communism's most severe totalitarian regimes and a "socialist"<sup>4</sup> theater of early 1960s Catholic Italy?

The artistic stature and thus, the cultural influence of the personalities involved, in addition to being first-ever *premières* in both countries, render both of these productions particularly interesting. However, two specific circumstances make the differences that emerge from the analysis of the two press reviews even more significant. The first is the abundance of information that the playwright provides with regards to the meaning of the text, which can be found as much in the marginal notes of different editions as in Brecht's own theoretical writings.<sup>5</sup> Naturally, these have influenced all annotators who have read either of them. The other is the extraordinary loyalty with which Strehler, and Engel, adhered to the "master's" precise directions when staging the play. One fact that could explain the substantial resemblance between the two stagings is that Strehler based his version on Brecht's revisions for the Berliner Ensemble staging. Nearly fifty years have passed since then, which allows for a more objective historical outlook when interpreting the results of the analysis.

## Methodological issues

When looking at the Milan press review, the idea that the basic content of an article can be found in the title and the lead, although usually well founded, revealed itself otherwise in our case. A close examination of the titles alone would amount to numbers too small to carry out a significant statistical analysis. Of the total number of articles in the press review,<sup>6</sup> 88% have completely insignificant titles: "Brecht's Galileo at the Piccolo in Milan", "High expectations in Milan for the grand staging of 'The Life of Galileo'", "Buazzelli: marvelous as Brecht's Galileo", and so on. If the title is significant, it has nothing to do with science issues: "Brecht's moral lesson", "What is the true face of Galileo?", "Brecht's Galileo creates new path for Italian theater", "Galileo doesn't always obey Brecht", and so on. A similar reason excluded the analysis of the articles' lead: the statistics would also have not been significant in this case and the risk of overlooking important information would have been too high.

The identification of key words such as "power", "powerful", "authority", "clergy", "religion", "church priests", and so on, in order to analyze their recurrence in relation to science, was also taken into consideration. However, *The Life of Galileo* is an intricate text and this method would not have provided results that could be easily interpreted. Upon reading the articles, thematic analysis revealed itself to be the most appropriate method. This approach not only allowed for less fragmentation of numeric data, but also for taking a larger amount of sensitive information into account as the presence of a theme within a text can also be recognized in the absence of a set of more or less strictly determined keywords.

Another crucial matter arose in this regard: what articles to analyze. Having excluded the titles and leads, an analysis of all of the available material, nearly 280 articles, would have entailed to an excessive amount of work and would have probably been of no use for the purposes of this paper. Therefore, I limited the selection to a particular window period from around the time prior to the debut on 21 April 1963 to one month after. The month following the debut, as expected with any "media event", provides the greatest number of articles and thus, can be considered a significant sample. Moreover, the articles' "freshness" can probably be considered to be significant. Indeed, many of the later articles debate not only the play and the performance, but the critiques also. For the purpose of carrying out the thematic analysis, 78 articles were found to be of use since at least one of the selected themes appeared in the text.

With regards to the Berlin staging, the selection of articles was handled differently. In this case, there were only a few dozen kept in the Brecht archives in Berlin including publications from both the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany. Given the great ideological differences

between the two, it would not have made sense to create a single set of data for the recurrence of themes. Several factors led me to select magazines from West Germany as a sample. One is practical in nature, namely the disproportionate amount of articles in both groups: 30 from magazines in West Germany and only 8 in East Germany. Another pertaining to content, was that upon the examination of the articles in East Germany, signs of the well-known Communist regime's control over the mass media were evident. The idea of writers being much freer in the Federal Republic, thus making their work more authentic, is confirmed through the comparison with articles from the "foreign press": English, French and Italian. On the other hand, this selection does not compromise the interpretation of the results because, as evident in the reading, the circumstances in which the play was created and staged are fundamental to the critical reception. In fact, the basic idea of this article is that the context in which a play is performed is central to the message it transmits. The very fact that a play is brought to the stage in a specific place, for a specific audience and in a particular moment in history, is important and changes the reception. Just as we can say that articles in the press can demonstrate the reception of a certain audience, I believe we can also say that the critiques from the Federal Republic of Germany are capable of demonstrating the message conveyed in the German Democratic Republic. The majority of these are based on context (as an analysis of the leads and, in some cases, the title itself, would indicate) and it is evident from the reading that the journalist would have never written the way he/she did if the performance would have taken place in his/her own country (just as the critiques on the premiere, Köln 1955, which I didn't find worth comparing with the Italian critiques, are also different). The critics make continuous references not only to the political and cultural context, but also to the audience's reactions, the atmosphere in the theater and the conditions in which the playwright/director found himself within the German Democratic Republic. It is on these references that our analysis is based. On the contrary, the reviews in East Germany are limited to comments about the aesthetic value of the staging and making note of its brilliant success.

### Selection of themes

A play of extensive range if ever there was one, *The Life of Galileo* offers readers and viewers a great wealth of suggestions. Further stimuli are provided by the fact that the playwright was strongly partial, from an ideological point of view, not so much for championing either side of the political spectrum, but for a personal and profound vision of society, art and science. His vast theoretical works strengthened this; not only did he write, but he reflected upon literature as well. Without going to the extent of investigating their understanding of Brecht's ideas through essays in *Schriften zum Theater* or thoughts in the *Work Journal*, the critic, reader and spectator can already find clear indications of Brecht's intentions and the complex inspiration behind the tormented genesis of the play in the marginal notes. I say this not for the love of completeness, but because these specifics of Brecht's work strongly reflect themselves in the reception, which we want to investigate. I have used the term "reception", more frequently associated with literary criticism rather than theater because journalists' impressions of the performance itself, the text and the playwright's notes coexist in the press review.

Since this analysis is on the reception and not the work itself, I preferred drawing the spectrum of themes from the press review rather than identifying those found in the text and then searching for their recurrence in the articles. This also allowed for identifying themes that are not specifically found in the play and yet are a part of it for the reasons specified above. The selection of themes was made using Italian press reviews, which are of greater interest for us, in addition to being much more substantial than the Berlin reviews. The following is a list of themes obtained from this approach.

### *Responsibility of science*

This is the fundamental theme of both last versions of *The Life of Galileo*. The explosion of the atomic bomb in Japan made it dramatically evident that science must be responsible for its own discoveries.

*Science for the sheer pleasure of science*

This is the other side of science's responsibility. Galileo admits to living science as a vice, an irrepressible impulse, a desire for pure knowledge. In order to continue to satisfy this desire, the scientist from Pisa is also willing to abjure his own ideas.

*Modern man's crisis*

This comes from the loss of certainties, of acquired and shared truths, and from that existential solitude that the new science leads to. As Goethe wrote that night in January 1610, when Galileo directed his telescope towards the Medicean skies and made his discoveries, man has had to forgo the "exorbitant privilege" of being the center of the universe.

*Galileo as hero/champion of reason*

This involves Galileo's intellectual courage, which holds reason superior to authority. Galilean Pre-Enlightenment.

*Galileo's humanity/antiheroism*

Galileo is not the incorruptible hero unjustly persecuted for the truths he announced; he is also a guilty and defeated man. His taste for the pleasures of life is very human. He perfected a model of a telescope from Flanders and, being in continuous financial straits, does not hesitate to sell it to the Venetian Republic as his own invention.

*Relationship between Science and Power*

This involves the intellectual/scientist's freedom within a system of institutional, cultural and social power. In order to maintain this freedom, Galileo, much like the exiled Brecht who wrote the original version of the play, is willing to work secretly: "Better strained than empty (hands)".<sup>7</sup> Science should be free to reveal its discoveries regardless of how unpleasant they may be to the Establishment. According to the author, the 17th Century Church is only one of the existing power structures.

*Science as a bearer of ruin and destruction*

After the explosion of atomic bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Brecht was inspired to include this theme in the later versions of *The Life of Galileo*. However, it already appears in the first draft as a result of the news of uranium fission.

*Science for the good of humanity*

This theme manifests itself in the press review in two ways: science is useful to man; science must/should be useful to man. At the end of the play the regretful Galileo understands that the goal of science should be to alleviate man's exhaustion.

*Science and class struggle*

Galileo's ideological revolution can, according to Brecht, reach society as well. Just as in the Ptolemaic System, so too can social classes overthrow the few to which the masses submit.

### *Anti-religious polemic. Galileo's blasphemy and anticlericalism*

Although it lies outside of the author's intentions, this theme is nevertheless found in the Italian press. The accusations range from the play or Strehler's staging being anticlerical to satirical intent and even blasphemy in some scenes.

### *Conflict between reason/science and faith - Synthesis of reason/science and faith*

The dissent between religion and science was a dramatic issue in 17th Century culture. How to reconcile the truths of faith and science? From the play, some articles draw the idea that scientific research "is authorized to destroy heritages of faith and hope"<sup>8</sup> in order to continue its path, while others recall Galileo's idea that synthesis comes from the division of both ambits.

Even if many of the themes are distinguishable in the press reviews and the play, they highly overlap at times and are part of Brecht's general message with regards to science and its relationship with society. In the conclusion of a fugue, many voices work towards a final stretta that recaptures all of the elements developed and directs them back to a main theme. In the same manner, the final scene of *The Life of Galileo*, by means of the scientist's long discussion with his student, Andrea, recaptures all of the themes of the play and directs them back to the principal theme, the responsibility of science, while demonstrating how they relate and overlap. So, for example, a scientist's responsibility for Brecht/Galileo means, above all, defending his freedom to research from the Establishment and evaluating the social impact of research on the masses that submit to that Establishment.

## **Thematic Analysis Results**

Regarding the Milan staging, 239 recurrences of the identified themes were found in the 78 significant articles.<sup>9</sup> In the case of the Berlin staging, 70 recurrences were found in the 18 significant articles. The data is shown below in table 1 and table 2 in terms of absolute values and percentages. The histograms and pie charts from figure 1 to figure 6 illustrate the corresponding absolute and relative distributions.

1	SCIENCE - POWER RELATIONSHIP	36	15,1%
2	SCIENCE AS DESTROYER	32	13,4%
3	GALILEO AS AN ANTI-HERO	30	12,6%
4	SCIENCE'S RESPONSIBILITY	25	10,5%
5	SCIENCE'S USEFULNESS	21	8,8%
6	MAN'S CRISIS	16	6,7%
7	INTELLECTUAL COURAGE	16	6,7%
8	SCIENCE AND CLASS STRUGGLE	15	6,3%
9	SYNTHESIS OF SCIENCE AND FAITH	15	6,3%
10	SCIENCE AS A VICE	14	5,9%
11	ANTICLERICALISM	11	4,6%
12	SCIENCE - FAITH CONFLICT	8	3,3%

**Table 1.** Recurrence of themes in the Piccolo Teatro press review in terms of absolute values and percentages.

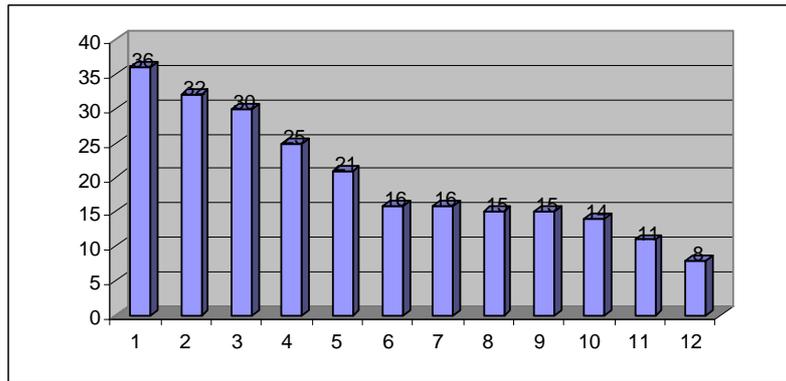


Figure 1. Histogram of the recurrences in the Piccolo Teatro press review in terms of absolute values.

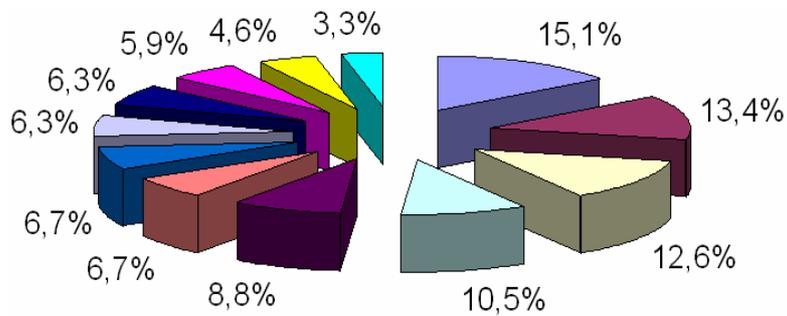


Figure 2. Relative recurrences in the Piccolo Teatro press review.

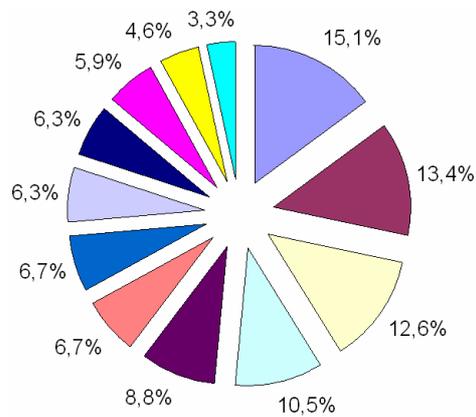
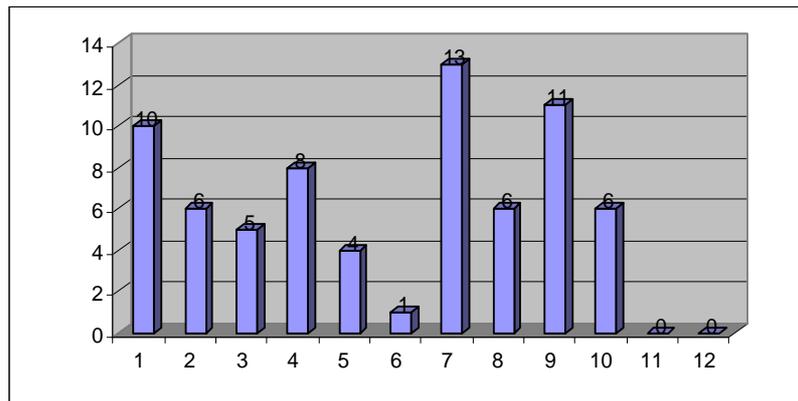


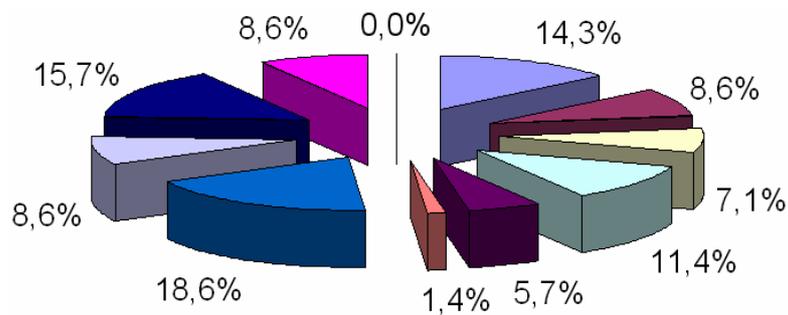
Figure 3. Relative recurrences in the Piccolo Teatro press review.

1	SCIENCE - POWER RELATIONSHIP	10	14,3%
2	SCIENCE AS DESTROYER	6	8,6%
3	GALILEO AS AN ANTI-HERO	5	7,1%
4	SCIENCE'S RESPONSIBILITY	8	11,4%
5	SCIENCE'S USEFULNESS	4	5,7%
6	MAN'S CRISIS	1	1,4%
7	INTELLECTUAL COURAGE	13	18,6%
8	SCIENCE AND CLASS STRUGGLE	6	8,6%
9	SYNTHESIS OF SCIENCE AND FAITH	11	15,7%
10	SCIENCE AS A VICE	6	8,6%
11	ANTICLERICALISM	0	0,0%
12	SCIENCE - FAITH CONFLICT	0	0,0%

**Table 2.** Recurrence of themes in the Berliner Ensemble's press review in terms of absolute values and percentages.



**Figure 4.** Histogram of the recurrences in the Berliner Ensemble's press review in terms of absolute values.



**Figure 5.** Relative recurrences in the Berliner Ensemble's press review.

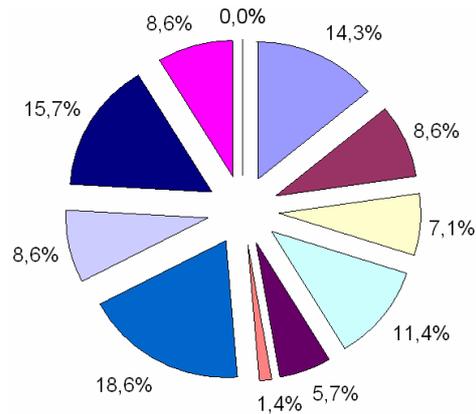


Figure 6. Relative recurrences in the Berliner Ensemble's press review.

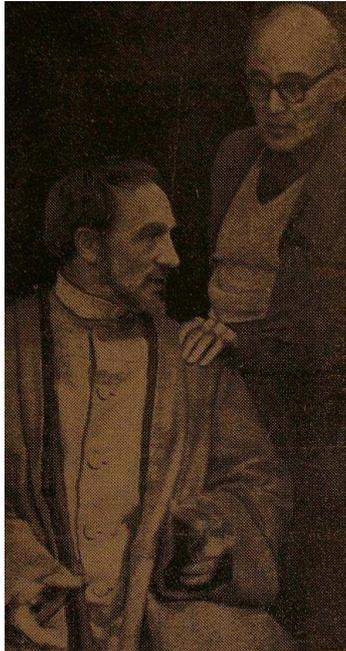
### Discussion of the Results

Viewing the data from the Milan press review, it is immediately evident that the theme of responsibility of science, although the author intended it to be the fundamental element of this last version of the play, is not the most recurring. Instead, the most recurring is the relationship between the intellectual and authority, which was the central idea of the first version. This is partly due to the fact that numerous reviewers refer to the genesis of the play rather than Brecht's version for the Berliner Ensemble and Strehler's version for the Piccolo Teatro. Nevertheless, I do not believe this offers an adequate explanation of the distance, 36-25, between the two sets of data. It is necessary to observe that the theme manifests itself in two different ways: the freedom to research and the freedom to manage the discoveries made by scientific research. These are not always cited together. Taking into consideration the 32 recurrences of the theme of science's destructiveness as well, it becomes evident that the distance is not so much due to the reviewers' lack of attention to the risks involved in scientific research, but probably to the idea that science has neither the right nor the need to decide on the future of its discoveries.

It is clear from reading the articles that the 12,6% recurrence of the theme of Galileo's humanity/anti-heroism, much lower than German's 7,1%, can undoubtedly be explained by Tino Buazzelli, who was cast as the scientist from Pisa, for his physical presence on stage and his personality rather than his acting skills alone. Renzo Tian, for example, writes about Buazzelli in the *Messaggero*: "a true stage presence, robust and flexible, but never tumultuous or intrusive: a Galileo that extends across the whole spectrum of nuances of a good-natured, earthly, sympathetic and ironic humanity, far from being a hero and anchored at all times to unresolved ambiguity, which is one of the inventions of drama".<sup>10</sup> Figure 7 and figure 8 include some stage photographs of Buazzelli and German fellow actor, Ernst Busch.



Figure 7. Two images of Tino Buazzelli on stage in the role of Galileo at the Piccolo Teatro.



**Figure 8.** German actor, Ernst Busch, who played Galileo in Berlin, with Erich Engel.

In early 1960s Italy, still on the wave of economic recovery and far from the air of revolution of the end of the decade, class struggle remains a secondary topic in the press including those more inclined to the left. The situation is essentially the same in Germany where the revolutionary elements of Brecht's work are certainly not referred to class struggle, – and how could one think of a class struggle under a totalitarian regime? – but rather to the dissidence of intellectuals such as Pasternak, Meyerhold, Babel and Ehrenburg. Therefore, it is clear why the themes of the relationship between science and power and intellectual courage become more recurrent in this case. The *Tagespiegel* reads: “What is revisionism,<sup>11</sup> portrayed so negatively in the East, if not Galileo insisting that everything, even socialism and historic materialism, be subjected to empirical observation? (...) The Great Inquisitor's discourse also suits that of the Party inquisitor against revisionist tendencies”<sup>12</sup>.

Another noteworthy outcome of the comparison of the press reviews is the difference in the recurrence of the theme of man's modern day crisis. I believe that this is also a clear indication of the influence that the social contexts of both stagings had on the reception. The sense of uncertainty and the void left by scientific discoveries that a society perceives are typically accompanied by the level of democracy it has reached. Communist Germany in 1957, a totalitarian regime that exercises strict control over the circulation of ideas, but guarantees a certain societal balance, is not fertile ground for existential questions. The true issue of the limits placed on individual freedom is all too evident. On an existential level, guaranteeing all members of society basic needs such as home, education, work is all too comforting. Such needs in a democratic but capitalistic country, even if ensured by the Constitution, are acquired day by day in an ever-intense competition between citizens. Also, from a cultural point of view, Italy at the time was in the midst of a period of great renewal. Croce and Gentile's systematic philosophies are replaced by Husserl's phenomenology, which sees reality as a sheer phenomenon renouncing the idea of cause and effect; the great publishers such as Einaudi undertake a massive series of translations of contemporary European essays. The first Sputniks were launched in 1957 and in 1961 man circled the earth for the first time. The beginning of the exploration of the cosmos, aside from the enthusiasm about new knowledge and technological progress, makes man feel that he has a secondary position in the universe and that he is surrounded by infinite emptiness.

The most evident outcome of this thematic analysis is nevertheless the frequency with which the Italian critics refer to the play and/or the staging as presumably having argumentative, satirical and desecrating undertones directed towards the Catholic religion and Church in Rome. There is an 8% recurrence of the

themes of anticlericalism and conflict between science and faith. In Germany, there was 0%. This data contrasts all the more given the clear and precise intentions of the author and those who staged the Milan performance as seen in the notes to the Italian edition of the play, the author's theoretical works, the program prepared by the Piccolo Teatro for the show and the remarks made by experts at conferences including those arranged by Grassi and Strehler at the time of the performances. There is a section of Brecht's notes entitled "Representation of the Church", which reads:

"For the theatre it is important to understand that this play must lose a great part of its effect if its performance is directed chiefly against the Roman Catholic Church".<sup>13</sup>

"In the present play the church functions, even when it opposes free investigation, simply as authority. Since science was a branch of theology, the church is the intellectual authority, the ultimate scientific court of appeal. The play shows the temporary victory of authority, not the victory of the priesthood".<sup>14</sup>

"But it would be highly dangerous, particularly nowadays, to treat a matter like Galileo's fight for freedom of research as a religious one; for thereby attention would be most unhappily deflected from present-day reactionary authorities of a totally uneclesiastical kind".<sup>15</sup>

And further on:

"In casting the ecclesiastical dignitaries realism is of more than ordinary importance. No caricature of the church is intended".<sup>16</sup>

The Piccolo Teatro's representatives agree completely with Brecht's declarations. In an interview, with journalist Roberto Leydi, Paolo Grassi affirms:

"All eyes are on us. *The Life of Galileo* will be the most arduous play in the history of the Piccolo Teatro. In addition, the text creates fear and apprehension. Lately Jesuits, Capuchins, Dominicans and Barnabites who want to know how we will portray the Pope have besieged me. They fear the play will be blasphemous. This is because they have not read Brecht's text. There is no element of parody, ridicule or caricature in the figures of the Pope, Cardinals, and members of the Holy Office. The Church is represented with utmost seriousness because Brecht couldn't care less about the Church's behavior towards Galileo in the 17th Century. In *The Life of Galileo*, the Church is only a means and not an end in itself. It is an instrument that maintains the status quo which guarantees the stability of a certain social order. For Brecht, there is another much more vast and real problem: that of science's freedom in the contemporary world. Even in Russia, just like in America or China or France, Galileo is a pretext. To play the part of the Pope, we cast the most Catholic actor in Italy, Tamberlani, who is the director of the Istituto per il dramma sacro (Institute of Sacred Drama)".<sup>17</sup>

Even in the March 1963 issue of the Piccolo Teatro's monthly review, dedicated entirely to *The Life of Galileo*, the theme of the contrast between science and faith does not appear at all whereas the theme of the responsibility of science very much does. A quote by Max Planck appears in a box on page 3: "No matter how much or where we look, we cannot ever find a discrepancy between religion and the natural sciences. Instead, we find complete agreement. Religion and science do not exclude themselves, as some believe and fear. They are of use to and complement one another". However, as Grassi affirms, bringing the Pope and Papal Court to the stage in Italy was enough to create tension and suspicion, not to mention that the symbolic role of the religious characters in the play is that of a repressive authority that opposes the freedom of the protagonist who is a victim of one of the few mistakes that the Church would later recognize as a stain in its history. The following is an example of a review:

"No one wants to lessen the tragic nature of the events that developed around Galileo and his trial including the errors of men of the Church who had a predominant role in the matter. However, we must denounce the intention with which, beyond any subjective interpretation of the facts, some look to discredit the Church and drive spectators who are less informed about history, less skilled in criticism and quick to generalize against it, even if the history of the Church's role and

its current stand give opposite evidence. This intention cannot be denied because, besides the play, the direction itself denounces it by taking pleasure in highlighting the harshest elements of the text to the point of downright offensiveness. Some details or even entire scenes are anti-historical and therefore have no justification other than the intentions of the author and the director".<sup>18</sup>

Reviews of the Berliner Ensemble staging are entirely different. In this case, the symbolic character the Church clearly emerges. And the carnival scene, which endured the largest amount of accusations of irreverence and even blasphemy in Italy, is never mentioned if not to celebrate its scenic accomplishment. *Die Zeit* reads:

"In contrast with Schiller's cold, inhumane Grand Inquisitor, *Don Carlos*, Brecht's Grand Inquisitor is a more discerning and complacent man who adopts a benevolent understanding of his opposition. The Pope shows himself to be open to science and reluctantly places the interest of Rome's authority before the acknowledgement of the proven truth".<sup>19</sup>

The difference in the interpretation is also confirmed by the recurrence of references to the autobiographical nature of the opera, which are not frequent in Italy, and to Brecht's conditions as dissident intellectual within the Democratic Republic, in which the Catholic Church is one of the few social actors that openly opposes the regime.

## Appendix A

### Significant articles from the press review on the *Piccolo Teatro*

	Title	Publication	Author	Date
1	I catecumeni di Strehler	Espresso	Serini M.	23/12/1962
2	Un 'Galileo' su misura per la nostra società	Corriere della Sera	Ottone P.	17/1/1963
3	Giorgio Strehler giocherella con Galileo	Il Giorno	-	8/11/1962
4	Lezione filosofica di Brecht nel dramma 'sociale' su Galileo	Gazzetta del Sud	Cutrufelli G.	23/2/1963
5	È l'ora di Galileo	Piccolo Teatro	AA.VV.	1/3/1963
6	Ancora sul miliardo	L'Italia	Apollonio M.	3/3/1963
7	Vita di Galileo	L'Italia	Apollonio M.	14/3/1963
8	Processo e condanna di Galilei	Mondo nuovo	Ferrero A.	17/3/1963
9	Galileo genio moderno nel dramma di Brecht	Avanti!	Jacobbi R.	20/3/1963
10	L'universo del dottor Galileo	L'Europeo	Leydi R.	24/3/1963
11	Lezione morale di Brecht	Corriere della Sera	Eco U.	24/3/1963
12	Processo a Galileo	La Notte	Barigazzi G.	27/3/1963
13	Il 'Galileo' di Brecht nella storia del dramma	Avanti!	Jacobbi R.	28/3/1963
14	Ma qual è il vero volto di Galileo?	L'Unità	Lazzari A.	29/3/1963
15	Viva attesa a Milano per la grande rappresentazione della 'Vita di Galileo'	Paese sera	Manzini G.	30/3/1963
16	Brecht e la scienza	Diogene	Lunari G.	1/4/1963
17	Il 'Galileo' di Brecht è diventato capitalista	Arcoscenico	Terron C.	1/4/1963
18	Il 'Galileo' al Piccolo	Sipario	Bartolucci G.	1/4/1963
19	Il Galileo della storia e il Galileo di Brecht	L'Unità	Geymonat L.	2/4/1963
20	La scena illustrata	Il Mondo	Il Conte Mosca	2/4/1963
21	Il 'Galileo' di Brecht nella storia del dramma	Avanti!	Jacobbi R.	3/4/1963
22	Viva attesa per il 'Galileo' di Brecht nell'impegnativa regia di Giorgio Strehler	Il Messaggero	Tian R.	5/4/1963
23	La musica come 'commento' nel teatro di Brecht	L'Unità	Canino B.	10/4/1963
24	Galileo' costa 55 milioni	Il Giorno	Pozzi E.	11/4/1963
25	Il 'Galileo' di Brecht sarà lo 'spettacolo dell'anno'	Avanti!	Jacobbi R.	11/4/1963
26	Galileo e la storia	L'Italia	Pupi A.	16/4/1963
27	Il 'Galileo' di Brecht è un messaggio di fede nell'uomo e nel progresso	Il Telegrafo	Malcovati F.	20/4/1963
28	L'Adamo peccatore della scienza moderna	Il Giorno	De Monticelli R.	20/4/1963
29	La proposta di Galileo	L'Italia	Garzonio M.	20/4/1963
30	Finalmente 'Galileo' domani al Piccolo Teatro	Corriere della Sera	Barbara L.	21/4/1963
31	Galileo visto da Brecht	La Stampa	Bernardelli F.	21/4/1963
32	Il Galileo di Brecht rigoroso testimone delle gravi responsabilità della scienza	Gazzetta del popolo	Guglielmino G. M.	21/4/1963
33	La sconfitta di Galileo	L'Unità	Trevisani G.	21/4/1963
34	Solitudine dell'uomo nel 'Galileo' di Brecht	La Nazione	Poesio C. E.	21/4/1963
35	Una notte per vedere Galileo	Epoca	-	21/4/1963
36	Galileo' di Brecht trionfa al Piccolo Teatro di Milano	Paese sera	Frateili A.	23/4/1963
37	'La vita di Galileo' di Bertold Brecht rappresentato con successo al 'Piccolo' di Milano	Il Messaggero	Tian R.	23/4/1963
38	'La vita di Galileo' di Brecht	Gazzetta del popolo	Guglielmino G. M.	23/4/1963
39	'La vita di Galileo' di Brecht	Il Resto del Carlino	Dursi M.	23/4/1963

40	Vita di Galileo' di Brecht un'opera che non si dimentica	Il Lavoro nuovo	Jacobbi R.	23/4/1963
41	vita di Galileo' pone il problema della responsabilità dello scienziato	L'Avvenire d'Italia	Bertani O.	23/4/1963
42	Creatura di alta poesia il Galileo Galilei di Bertold Brecht	La Gazzetta del Mezzogiorno	Cavicchioli L.	23/4/1963
43	Grande successo a Milano della 'Vita di Galileo' di Brecht	Il Gazzettino	Bertolini A.	23/4/1963
44	Il grande affresco del 'Galileo' sulla scena del Piccolo Teatro	La Nazione	Poesio C. E.	23/4/1963
45	L'anti-eroe Galileo	L'Unità	Trevisani G.	23/4/1963
46	L'insuperabile Galileo di Bertold Brecht e Giorgio Strehler	Avanti!	Jacobbi R.	23/4/1963
47	La 'Vita di Galileo' di Brecht rappresentata al Piccolo di Milano	La Stampa	Bernardelli F.	23/4/1963
48	La crisi dell'uomo moderno nel dramma di Galileo	Giornale del mattino	Pierantoni A.	23/4/1963
49	Motivata protesta	L'Italia	-	23/4/1963
50	Polemica a doppio taglio nell'opera di Brecht su Galileo	Il Tempo	Prosperi G.	23/4/1963
51	Strehler trasforma la ragione in emozione poetica	Il Giorno	De Monticelli R.	23/4/1963
52	Traguato difficilmente superabile la regia di Strehler per il 'Galileo'	Nazione sera	Sembranti P.	23/4/1963
53	Un mirabile Strehler per il 'Galileo' di Brecht	La Notte	Palmieri E. F.	23/4/1963
54	Vita di Galileo	Il Secolo XIX	Rietmann C. M.	23/4/1963
55	Vita di Galileo	L'Italia	Manzella D.	23/4/1963
56	Vita di Galileo	Corriere della Sera	Possenti E.	23/4/1963
57	Cinque ore e mezzo con Buazzelli grande Galileo	L'Avvenire d'Italia	Bertani O.	24/4/1963
58	Gli eredi di Tolomeo	L'Unità	I. P.	24/4/1963
59	Proprio per il Galileo si fa risuscitare l'inquisizione?	Avanti!	-	24/4/1963
60	Brecht ha voluto darci un Galileo dell'era atomica	La voce repubblicana	Vincitorio F.	25/4/1963
61	Una messa a punto di Paolo Grassi a proposito della 'Vita di Galileo'	Avanti!	Grassi P.	25/4/1963
62	Dietro Galileo secondo, l'ombra del fungo atomico	L'Europeo	Radice R.	28/4/1963
63	I demoni malinconici di Galileo	Espresso	De Feo S.	
64	Galileo e la Chiesa	L'Italia	Pupi A.	30/4/1963
65	Un giudice d'oggi processa Galileo	Oggi illustrato	Buttafava V.	2/5/1963
66	Galileo è cieco ma vede il sole dell'avvenire	Gente	Pensa C. M.	3/5/1963
67	Perché è grande Galileo	Domenica del corriere	Didimo	5/5/1963
68	Strehler ha conquistato l'anima di Galileo	Epoca	De Monticelli R.	5/5/1963
69	Brecht, Galileo e Strehler	Il Mondo	Chiaromonte N.	7/5/1963
70	Il Galileo di Brecht	Le Ore	Quasimodo S.	9/5/1963
71	Il dramma di Galileo	Tempo	Terron C.	11/5/1963
72	Assolto (sia pure con riserve) lo spettacolo brechtiano al PT	Il Giorno	-	15/5/1963
73	Da un avvenimento teatrale a un 'boom' propagandistico	L'azione giovanile	Negri L.	15/5/1963
74	Una montatura polemica attorno alla 'Vita di Galileo' di Brecht	L'azione giovanile	Negri L.	15/5/1963
75	Sul 'Galileo' brechtiano dibattito al Piccolo Teatro	Il Giorno	Laurini G.	15/5/1963
76	Un dibattito su Galileo	L'Italia	Garzonio M.	15/5/1963
77	Il pubblico risponde agli attacchi clericali	L'Unità	Trevisani G.	19/5/1963
78	La dolce noia	Il Mondo	Arbasino A.	28/5/1963

## Appendix B

### Significant articles from the press review on the Berliner Ensemble

	Title	Publication	Date
2.1	Brechts "Galileo Galilei": von beklemmeder Aktualität	Die Welt	17/1/1957
2.2	Wenn die Wahrheit zum Angriff geht	Frankfurter Allgemeine	18/1/1957
2.3	Despotismus zerstört menschliche Vernunft	Die Südpst	25/1/1957
2.4	Die Sanfte Gewalt der Vernunft. Erich Engel inszenierte Brechts "Galilei" in Ostberlin	Frankfurter neue presse	28/1/1957
2.5	Die Erbsünde der Naturwissenschaft. Zu Brechts "Leben des Galilei im Berliner Thater am Schiffbauerdamm	Die Andere Zeitung	31/1/1957
2.6	Theaterbrief aus Ost-Berlin. Brecht-ensemble spielt "Galilei"	Welt der Arbeit	1/2/1957
2.7	Ernst Busch, Brechts "Galilei"	Sos	1/2/1957
2.8	"Das Leben des Galilei". "Berliner ensemble" bestand Bewährungsprobe	Deutsche Volkzeitung	2/2/1957
2.9	Die Schuld des Galilei	Fahrt frei	5/2/1957
2.10	Brechts "Leben des Galilei". Zur Aufführung des Berliner ensembles	Die Deutsche Woche	6/2/1957
2.11	Des guten Zweifler Ironie	Die Zeit	7/2/1957
2.12	Bert Brecht sieht ins kalte Licht	Westfälische Nachrichten	12/2/1957
2.13	Brecht in der Maske Galileis? "Das Leben des Galilei" in Ostberlin	Christ und Welt	14/2/1957
2.14	"Das Leben des Galilei". Drama von Bertolt Brecht im Theater am Schiffbauerdamm	Hamburger Anzeiger	15/2/1957
2.15	Fesselnde Berliner Theaterabend	Marburg Lahn	28/2/1957
2.16	"Leben des Galilei". Zu einer Aufführung des "Berliner ensembles"	Die Tat	23/3/1957
2.17	Auch in der Zone: Klassiker an der Spitze	Die Welt	3/4/1957
2.18	Der Himmel kann nicht abgetragen werden. Gedanken auf dem Heimweg von Bert Brechts "Leben des Galilei"	Der Tagespiegel	25/12/1957

### Notes and references

<sup>1</sup> In this respect please see: C. Djerassi, "Contemporary 'science-on-stage': a rare genre", *Interdisciplinary science reviews*, 27(3), 2002, p. 193-201. G. Frazzetto, "Science on the stage", *EMBO reports*, 3(9), 2002, p. 818-820.

<sup>2</sup> For a brief review of the theatrical texts based on atomic science see: M.R. Orthofer, "The scientist on the stage: a survey", *Interdisciplinary science reviews*, 27(3), 2002, p. 173-183.

<sup>3</sup> After Brecht's passing, five months prior to the debut, collaborator and student, Erich Engel, was placed in charge of the direction of the play.

<sup>4</sup> The political stances of Giorgio Strehler and the Piccolo Theater's director, Paolo Grassi, were well-known.

<sup>5</sup> Many references can be found, for example, in: B. Brecht, *Schriften zum Theater. Über eine nicht-aristotelische Dramatik*, 1957. An English translation is available in: *Brecht on Theatre: The development of an aesthetic*, Methuen, London, 1964.

<sup>6</sup> The press review in its entirety can be found in the Archivi/Rassegna stampa section of the Piccolo Teatro's website, available at: <<http://www.piccoloteatro.org>>.

<sup>7</sup> B. Brecht, *Collected plays: Five. Life of Galileo – Mother Courage and Her Children*, Methuen, London, 1995, p. 98. Translation by: *Leben des Galilei*, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1955.

<sup>8</sup> P. Pierantoni, "La crisi dell'uomo moderno nel dramma di Galileo", *Giornale del mattino*, Florence, 23 April 1963.

<sup>9</sup> The significant articles of both press reviews can be found in the Appendixes.

<sup>10</sup> R. Tian, "'La vita di Galileo' di Bertolt Brecht rappresentato con successo al 'Piccolo' di Milano", *Il Messaggero*, Rome, 23 April 1963.

<sup>11</sup> The term "revisionism" dates back to Eduard Bernstein's (1850-1932) attempt to revise Marxist doctrine by rejecting value theory, economic determinism and the importance of class struggle.

<sup>12</sup> "Der Himmel kann nicht abgetragen werden. Gedanken auf dem Heimweg von Bert Brechts 'Leben des Galilei'", *Der Tagespiegel*, 25 December 1957. Author's translation.

<sup>13</sup> B. Brecht, *Collected plays: Five. Life of Galileo – Mother Courage and Her Children*, cit., p.191.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 192.

<sup>15</sup> *Ivi.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 211.

<sup>17</sup> R. Leydi, "L'universo del dottor Galileo", *L'Europeo*, Milan, 24 March 1963.

<sup>18</sup> "Motivata Protesta", *L'Italia*, Milan, 23 April 1963.

<sup>19</sup> P. M., "Des guten Zweiflers Ironie", *Die Zeit*, Hamburg, 07 February 1963. Author's translation.

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