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Faculty of Arts and Humanities

Music

Decentralising Nineteenth-Century Opera: Copenhagen, Barcelona and Dresden, 1800-1860

by

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Abstract

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This thesis decentralises nineteenth-century European music for the stage by examining three cities – Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona – that have traditionally been considered as the edge of nineteenth-century culture. These cities are located within a network of music for the stage and their contrasting positions within this network are analysed in the context of political events, theatrical organisation, genre, and individual agents. The position of each city within the European network was dependent on various influences; the repertory in each place blended French and Italian traditions with local theatrical practices. Considering multiple repertorial influences is crucial to an understanding of music for the stage in peripheral locations and is inseparable from ideas of cultural transfer. This thesis examines the effects of such political ideas as nationalism and reframes their importance by exploring the differences between local, national, regional, and international, and the realities of each of these within the repertories of Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona. Considerations of how cosmopolitanism appeared in different ways in each of these cities illuminates the importance of these places in the network of nineteenth-century European music for the stage.

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Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

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I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

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2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. None of this work has been published before submission

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Decentralising Music for the Stage

Music for the stage – from through-composed opera to single songs in otherwise non-musical dramas, but especially canonic operas – is usually studied in the context of theatrical premieres. In such centres as Paris, Vienna, and a range of cities in Italian and German states –[1] centres of production in the nineteenth century – or occasionally through transfer to cities like Prague or London, music for the stage is received as a product of a specific time and place.

Geometrically, there can only be one centre. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Paris is arguably *the* centre – and the one that has attracted considerably scholarly attention – and therefore the implied centre against which this dissertation is reacting.[2] However, centric places are not only defined by geometry. Instead, the cultivation of music for the stage suggests multiple centres existed in nineteenth-century Europe; places with a higher rate of export than import might be justified as centres, or places where canonic operas were performed. In this sense, Berlin, Vienna, and several Italian cities also occupied a central position.

This inquiry does not follow a traditional centralised approach, however. What happens if instead of focusing on the centres and how they influenced the peripheries, attention is paid to provincial centres? What if we try to write a history of music for the stage from peripheral cities like Lisbon and St Petersburg, or Prague and Dublin? Can places traditionally viewed as peripheral offer a fresh perspective of European music for the stage in the nineteenth century? And if so, what can be gained from an approach that centralises, at least culturally, places that have traditionally been considered on the edge of the European network?

This dissertation contributes to the growing scholarly field that attempts to decentralise music for the stage by doing exactly that:[3] three provincial centres – Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona – are the principal subjects, each chosen because they have traditionally been viewed as peripheral. Comparing practices and repertory in three cities traditionally viewed as peripheral, but which each adopted a centric role for their surrounding areas, demonstrates their significance

[1] I refer to those states in the German-speaking region of Europe.
[2] Walter Benjamin. 'Paris: Capital of the Nineteenth Century.' *Perspecta* 12 (1969): 165–72.
[3] For a consideration of how this approach broadens and decentralises the typical view of European history, see Philipp Ther. *Center Stage: Operatic Culture and Nation Building in Nineteenth-Century Central Europe*, translated by Charlotte Hughers-Kreutzmuller. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2014.; Kevin Korsyn. *Decentering Music: A Critique of Contemporary Musical Research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. A peripheral focus is also encouraged in Anne Kauppala, Ulla-Britta Broman-Kananen, and Jens Hesselager (eds.), *Tracing Operatic Performances in the Long Nineteenth Century, Practices, Performers, Peripheries*. DocMus Research Publications 9, 2017.

within the nineteenth-century theatrical network: they each presented music for the stage in a distinct way whilst sharing several similarities. For Michiel Baud and Wilhelm van Schendel, peripheral studies – and especially the study of borderlands – correct the inherent distortions that arise from centre-oriented studies.[4] In other words, connecting these cities through comparison can provide an alternative historical map of music for the stage to that offered by such nineteenth-century pillars as Paris or Naples. By disrupting the radial geography (flowing from centre to periphery) that underpins a significant portion of scholarship, the agency of peripheral cities in the circulation of music for the stage, and consequently the ways in which theatre had the ability to transcend geographic and social borders, becomes clear. Furthermore, comparing different cities can illuminate experiences across the whole European network, rather than simply extrapolating from its most high-profile centres.

This approach contrasts with the largely centric viewpoint of most cultural and historical literatures.[5] Operatic centres such as Paris are thought to have dictated dominant fashions, styles, and traditions; this explains, if not excuses, the approach used by many scholars.[6] However, culturally peripheral cities also played an important role in setting and shaping nineteenth-century traditions. Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona take centre-stage in this dissertation, and each had a thriving theatrical culture that influenced, and was influenced by, the societies in which they existed.[7] The impact of theatre on a city and vice versa is perhaps most visible in these peripheries because we come to them with fresh eyes. Despite their perceived culturally peripheral status, Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona can – and throughout this dissertation I will show they should – be repositioned as important nodes in a widespread European operatic network.[8]

Within this network of music for the stage, there are smaller, often overlapping networks. Most important for this dissertation were the Italian and French spheres of influence that together formed the basis of European music for the stage during the nineteenth century. These

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[4] Michiel Baud and Willem Van Schendel. 'Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands.' *Journal of World History* 8 No. 2 (1997): 242.
[5] Ther, *Center Stage*, 195.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Roberta Montemorra Marvin. 'Introduction: Migrations and Transformations.' In *Operatic Migrations*, edited by Roberta Montemorra Marvin and Downing A. Thomas. Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2006. 2.
[8] The idea of a network cannot be invoked without considering the contributions of Bruno Latour and Howard Becker. While both centre their work around the concept of networks, they do not talk about or cite each other. Their respective approaches differ slightly; where Latour talks about actors, Becker discusses agents. However, both highlight the importance of the interactions between people and places, an important aspect of how networks operated. Bruno Latour. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. Howard S. Becker. *Art Worlds*. 25th Anniversary Edition. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

existed alongside a smaller German network and a wide variety of local traditions that existed in different localities across the continent. These spheres of influence encompassed, to varying extents, Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona. Copenhagen was a clear part of the French cultural sphere, while Dresden and Barcelona were important nodes within the Italian. The ways in which these cities existed within these spheres of influence, and the various ways in which local traditions co-existed with the foreign traditions, will be explored throughout this dissertation.

Paris has long been considered the radial point of nineteenth-century opera; it was well funded, had the best orchestras, attracted high profile composers and singers, used cutting edge technologies, and has therefore been a focal point for scholars.[9] Accepting Paris as a centre, however, implies the existence of peripheries. Although these peripheries have been liminal in scholarly inquiry, they were innovative and often attracted best practice, despite not always following the patterns and practices we have assumed as universal. By directing attention to the peripheries, our understanding of music for the stage in both broad and very specific ways (international and local) is enriched and some of our assumptions are disrupted. These include the careers of internationally mobile figures (singers, composers, and writers) and the lives of works as they travelled across borders, what the most popular works were, the stability and value of genres, the nature of networks, and the implications of different institutional structures and political imperatives – and new contexts are also brought into the light for the first time. Nineteenth-century opera scholars have offered strongly held, and often contrasting, positions on the constitution of European opera repertory: while some argue for a single dominant influence, whether French or Italian,[10] plenty acknowledge the mixed economy that manifests as a Franco-Italian hegemony.[11] Perceptions of the universality of Italian opera, for example, are in part the result of dependence on studies of operatic centres, like London and Vienna. However, European repertory cannot be so easily defined; a broad and diverse mixture of works from varied places, that had the ability to transcend individual cities or countries, formed the basis of most repertories. The theme of decentralisation also applies to repertory and offers the potential to

[9] Although Paris forms the centre of much scholarship, it is perhaps understudied, certainly considering its culturally centric position within the network of nineteenth-century music for the stage, in comparison with major Italian cities and the birthplaces of important nineteenth-century Italian opera composers.
[10] Charlotte Bentley. 'Resituating Transatlantic Opera: The Case of the Théâtre d'Orléans, New Orleans, 1819–1859.' PhD Diss., University of Cambridge, 2017, 15.; Randi M Selvik. 'Høstgildet by J. P. A. Schulz: A National Singspiel?' In *Tracing Operatic Performances in the Long Nineteenth Century, Practices, Performers, Peripheries*, edited by Anne Kauppala, Ulla-Britta Broman-Kananen, and Jens Hesselager, 222. DocMus Research Publications 9.; Claudio Vellutini. 'Cultural Engineering: Italian Opera in Vienna, 1816-1848.' PhD Diss., University of Chicago, 2015.
[11] Mark Everist. 'Cosmopolitanism and Music for the Theatre: Europe and Beyond, 1800–1870.' In *Music History and Cosmopolitanism*, edited by Anastasia Belina, Kaarina Kilpio and Derek Scott, 13-32. London: Routledge, 2019.

decentralise the canon. Analysing the day-to-day organisation of music for stage reveals the longer-term impact and importance of non-canonic works that are too often passed over. This dissertation not only reframes the importance of some of these, but also demonstrates the importance of plays within the repertory of each city. A considerable portion of the repertory in each city were plays, and although musical genres were significant, they were not always as significant as might be assumed when we broadly refer to opera. Instead, I use the term music for the stage to refer to the diverse repertory in each city; opera and theatre are grouped together because they were often performed in the same places. Because different genres overlapped and fused in the process of translation and adaptation, it would not be meaningful to focus on opera alone. A considerable amount can be gained from recontextualising European repertory; we understand the impulses behind repertory motivations and understand the very real influences that dictated which works were performed and the ways in which they were performed. A different picture emerges from the familiar one rooted in the operatic centres of, say, Paris, Vienna, and Milan.

Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona take centre stage in this dissertation because they were each traditionally viewed as peripheral within the network of nineteenth-century music for the stage. This shared peripheral status offers a unique way of considering music for the stage as it provides an ideal consistent backdrop against which to view the contrasting ways in which music for the stage was presented. Each city was also an important political and/or commercial centre in national terms – the Kingdoms of Denmark, Saxony, and Catalunya – and they offer contrastingly rich examples of the different ways in which local and international concerns interacted and played out in the theatre. These common features enable the comparison that is presented throughout this dissertation, a comparison which ultimately contributes to the decentralisation of nineteenth-century music for the stage.

An investigation of theatrical organisation and repertory in Copenhagen forms the basis for the first chapter of this dissertation and is used throughout subsequent chapters as a means of comparison. Danish theatrical traditions have been largely neglected by opera scholars;[12] although there has been some pioneering work by Jens Hesselager and others on the Danish repertory,[13] Copenhagen has not been treated as an important node within the European

[12] Anna Hersey. *Scandinavian song: a guide to Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish repertoire and diction*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016, 4.

[13] See, for example, Jens Hesselager. *Musik I Denmark, Den korte historie*. Multivers, 2022.; Jens Hesselager. '*Musik til Skuespil* – Two Methodological Challenges and a Few Observations Occasioned by an Early Nineteenth-Century Danish Manuscript of Incidental Music.' In *Theater* mit *Musik, 400 Jahre Schauspielmusik Im europäischen Theater*, *Bedingungen, Strategien, Wahrnehmungen*, edited by Ursula Kramer, 183-201. Mainzer Historische Kulturwissenschaften, Bind. 16. Mainz: Transcript Verlag, 2014.; Jens

network. Dresden, perhaps the most geographically central city included in this dissertation, especially considering the literal centre of nineteenth-century Europe, was also culturally peripheral. The Dresden Royal Theatre, which forms the basis of the discussion in Chapter Two, was significant in its presentation of a predominantly Italian opera repertory in this period. Considering how this fitted alongside a growing German opera tradition demonstrates the complexities of repertory in the nineteenth century and the political impulses that had an impact on music for the stage. Chapter Three considers the *Gran Teatre del Liceu*, the principal theatre in Barcelona, a politically assertive city located both within and out of Spain. Barcelona witnessed significant political change in the nineteenth century which was reflected in the repertory. Second cities, like Barcelona, were important locations for political experimentation which caused significant tension with the capital, in this case Madrid.[14] The political motivations that influenced the repertory performed in Barcelona, which ultimately led to the creation of the principal institution in the city, demonstrates how peripheral locations were often central to the development and progress of music for the stage. Comparison between these institutions demonstrates contrasting theatrical presentation in peripheral cities and allows a recontextualisation of nineteenth-century repertory.

This introductory chapter will first outline my scope: the choice of cites, the chronology, and the invaluable source material that has assisted this inquiry. What follows is an outline of the critical frameworks and concepts that underlie this dissertation, namely cultural transfer, peripheries, and networks, with a discussion of the extant literature on these topics. Finally, this introduction will culminate in a brief overview of the dissertation, raising questions that will be answered during the following chapters.

Hesselager. 'Provincialism within limits? Nationalism and cultural transfer in Danish mid-19th century musical culture.' In *Musik im Spannungsfeld zwischen nationalem Denken und Weltbürgertum: Franz Liszt zum 200*, edited by Dorothea Redepenning, 205-222. Universitätsverlag Winter, 2015.; Jens Hesselager. 'Rachel the Jewess in Copenhagen.' In *Opera on the Move in the Nordic Countries in the Long Nineteenth Century*, edited by Anne Sivuoja, Owe Ander, Ulla-Britta Broman-Kananen, and Jens Hesselager, 221-249. (DocMus Research Publications 4, 2012.; Jens Hesselager, 'Recitative and Modernity in Copenhagen, c.1720-1850.' in *"Verwandlung der Welt"? Die Musikkultur des Osteeraums in der Sattelzeit*, edited by Martin Loeser, 61-76. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2016.; Jens Hesselager, ed. 'Sympathy for the devil?' In *Grand Opera Outside Paris: Opera on the Move in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. London: Routledge, 2017, 97-113.; Niels Krabbe, ed. *Music in Copenhagen*, translated by James Manley. Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzels Publishers Ltd, 1996.; Gerhard Schepelern. *Operaens historie I Danmark 1634-1975*. Copenhagen: Rosinate, 1995.

[14] Maiken Umbach. 'A Tale of Second Cities: Autonomy, Culture, and the Law in Hamburg and Barcelona in the Late Nineteenth Century.' The American Historical Review 110 No. 3 (2005), 662.

The City and Beyond

Studies of the lyric theatre in single cities are common within the field of opera studies; an approach that gives prominence to an individual city allows for a detailed investigation that furthers an understanding of the significance and durability of nineteenth-century opera. This methodology illuminates how theatre operated within specific contexts: in this case, three individual and arguably disconnected cities that had distinct ways of organising theatre and opera. Although there are many arguments for the disconnectedness of these cities, geography being the most obvious, they can be brought together through a decentralised, comparative approach, which highlights significant similarities, not only between these cities, but across the wider European network. Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona each encourage a traditional city-based approach as they have not yet received the same level of scholarly attention as some centres. This approach also emphasises the duality of theatrical influence: the day-to-day organisation of any theatre was influenced by, and in turn influenced, the broader context of the city in which they were located.[15] Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona each offer different ways of considering these influences and an institutional framework provides a constant with which to make comparisons. Furthermore, a city study with a specific institutional focus allows an increased understanding of the impact of institution on theatre; institutions were significant for dictating practice and convention and became a culture in themselves.[16] In the nineteenth century when so much change occurred, a stable viewpoint is necessary to assess impact. Despite the many positive outcomes that arise from a city-focused approach, there are some drawbacks. Particularly hazardous is the temptation to remain situated solely within a locality; while this would provide a voice for a specific place, the overall impact would remain limited.

The potential limitations of a focus on a single city can be combatted by using a comparative approach in the second and third chapters of this dissertation. My approach places individual city studies within a broader comparative context and locates these cities as part of a nineteenth-century European network. The value of a comparative study is the emphasis on difference and the very real implications these differences had on theatre in three peripheral cities. Comparing local histories presents a more cohesive view of peripheral music for the stage and highlights the intricacies of the relationship between peripheries and centres – the assumed

[15] Two such prominent studies that follow this city-based approach are Anselm Gerhard. *The Urbanization of Opera: Music Theater in Paris in the Nineteenth Century*, translated by Mary Whittall. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998. and Benjamin Walton. *Rossini in Restoration Paris: The Sound of Modern Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
[16] Emanuele Senici. 'Genre.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Opera*, edited by Helen Greenwald. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014, 33.

binary will be disrupted and their centrality, at least for their surrounding areas, will be emphasised. David Gramit argues that 'apparently unremarkable' local practices can indicate global processes, and subsequently reframe the link between local and global.[17] Individual cities were not in fact unremarkable; they had significant local traditions that reflected and sometimes determined larger operatic trends. Ultimately, comparing peripheral locations permits a wider understanding of how wide-reaching networks had an impact on individual, local theatres, and highlights how they in turn had an impact on the societies in which they were located.

Chronology and Sources

The Napoleonic Wars and the resulting Congress of Vienna (1815) significantly altered the geographical and political landscape of Europe;[18] each city studied in this dissertation was affected differently by the conflicts and subsequent political and geographic shifts. They led to the re-establishment of the *ancien regime*; rather than a continuation of static politics, there was an increased desire for political emancipation.[19] As a result, the nineteenth century was a revolutionary period: the continuous series of wide-reaching political and cultural changes had an impact on developing political movements, changing social structures, and music for the stage.[20]

While eighteenth-century theatre was promoted and consumed by the aristocracy, it increasingly became the domain of the growing middle classes in the nineteenth century.[21] The comparative approach of this dissertation aids an exploration of the shifting social structures in Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona, and demonstrates how theatre generally, and opera specifically, had the power to transcend social limits. Comparing contrasting types of theatrical institutions, including a strictly controlled Royal Theatre in Dresden, a state-run Danish Royal Theatre, and a privately owned institution in Barcelona that largely emerged because of the intellectual and artistic energy of the bourgeoisie, demonstrated the contrasting ways in which theatre was forced to adapt to the changing politics and social structures of the nineteenth century; a growing desire to attract mass audiences, alongside increased professionalisation of the theatre, ensured less reliance on the elite class.[22] Theatre was also revolutionised in the

[17] David Gramit, 'The Transnational History of Settler Colonialism and the Music of the Urban West: Resituating a Local Music History', American Music 32/3 (2014): 272–91.
[18] Ther, *Center Stage*, 9.
[19] Ibid., 5.
[20] Alexander Ringer, ed. *The Early Romantic Era, Between Revolutions: 1789 and 1848*. Basingstoke and London: Granada Group and The Macmillan Press, 1990, 1. See also the essays in Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, Philippe Bourdin, and Charlotte Wolff, eds. *Moving Scenes, the Circulation of Music and Theatre in Europe, 1700-1815*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2018, 1.
[21] Ther, *Center Stage*, 1.
[22] Ibid., 6.

nineteenth century by the increase in industrialisation: railways, steam travel, and the growth of mass media increased the possibilities of cultural transfer on a much larger scale.[23]

The principal theatre in each city forms the basis of this dissertation. Although this partly results from readily available data, it is also a practical decision as opera was predominantly staged at the larger theatres across Europe. While smaller, regional theatres offer an interesting perspective on music for the stage, they do not facilitate such a useful point of comparison between these cities. Therefore, although discussion occasionally ventures away from the principal institutions when meaningful comparisons can be made, the principal theatres take centre-stage, so to speak. While these are court theatres in Copenhagen and Dresden, the main theatre in Barcelona was independently established, which offers an interesting viewpoint from which to compare music for the stage in three central, yet fundamentally different, organisations.

A comparative approach over an extended period allows for a thorough consideration of the repertory performed in different locations, while simultaneously allowing the observation of patterns, and perhaps most importantly, shifting patterns over time including logistical practices and repertorial organisation. It is this comparison that allows a decentralisation of nineteenth-century music for the stage; the shared common features of Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona allow a more detailed comparison which brings out the detail of repertory in each city. While Chapter One encompasses 1800 to 1860, a large overarching time period, Chapters Two and Three concentrate on theatre in Dresden and Barcelona in comparison to Copenhagen during shorter periods: 1815 to 1832, and 1847 to 1860, respectively. These dates have been selected for several reasons; a new German theatre company was established in Dresden in 1815 and 1832 saw the closure of one branch of the Royal Theatre, providing a coherent span within which to explore the repertory. The principal theatre in Barcelona, the *Gran Teatre del Liceu*, was inaugurated in 1847 and was damaged by fire almost immediately after 1860, providing the chronological framework for Chapter Three. The two distinct time periods for each city – 1815-1831 for Dresden and 1847-1860 in Barcelona – were a deliberate choice to enable a comparison between the start of the period and the end of the period, as well as between geographical locations. Using an overarching time period in Copenhagen allows the cross-comparison that allows this dissertation to cover such a wide period. Studying an overarching period for Copenhagen, with overlap between the cities, enables comparison both geographically and temporally; considering Danish theatre between 1800 and 1860 illuminates how theatrical practices shifted across this sixty-year period and enables a comparison between peripheral cities at different points in the nineteenth century.

[23] Ibid., 196.

The readily accessible data for theatrical performances in each of these three cities aids a fuller investigation of music for the stage which goes beyond a record of canonic works. The performance data for Copenhagen used in this dissertation were compiled by Niels Jensen, in an ongoing project to document literature and cultural artefacts.[24] Despite the vast scope of his work – the data range between 1725 and 1975 – Jensen is not an infallible source; errors include dates, genre allocations, and translations that are most likely the result of missing data or transcription mistakes. While the records are complete for the *Kongelige Teater*, which forms the basis of Chapter One, and a point of comparison for Chapters Two and Three, Jensen acknowledges the incomplete nature of his data and is constantly updating and extending his database to cover other, smaller Danish theatres. While a repertorial discussion of these other theatres is not included in this dissertation, apart from moments when comparison aids a richer understanding, there is clear scope for further study of the repertory of these other theatres, which would enable a fuller understanding of peripheral music for the stage in nineteenth-century Europe.

Chapter Two of this dissertation considers theatre in Dresden during this period, drawing on comparisons with Danish theatrical practices to expand understanding of peripheral opera. The Dresden Royal Theatre was the subject of a collection of data by Oscar Fambach; he lists all performances between 1814 and 1832, rather than just premieres.[25] The end of Fambach's records coincide with the last performance of the Italian Opera company in Dresden on 31 March 1832.[26] This source material covers a period where complex interactions between traditional Italian opera and emerging German opera are played out at an institutional level.

Chapter Three also takes a comparative approach, this time focusing on the *Gran Teatre del Liceu* in Barcelona. The performance data is recorded by Jaume Tribó and lists all performances between 1847 and 1897, the first fifty years of the *Liceu's* existence. This dissertation uses the recorded data until 1860, aligning with the end of the period studied for Copenhagen, and just before the *Liceu* was temporarily closed due to fire damage.

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[24] Niels Jensen. *Opført dramatik 1722-1975*. Accessed 13 November 2021. http://danskforfatterleksikon.dk/1850t/t1850dato1815.htm

[25] Oscar Fambach. *Das Repertorium des Königlichen Theaters und Der Italienischen Oper zu Dresden*. Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1985.

[26] Wolfram Steude, Manfred Fechner, Hans-Günter Ottenberg, Hans John, Dieter Härtwig, and Matthias Herrmann. 'Dresden.' *Grove Music Online*. 2001. Accessed 8 February 2022. https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovmusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000044245

Methodology

The research process for the dissertation followed a data-driven research methodology: trends and patterns were identified from a large quantity of aggregated data before secondary literature was used to support hypotheses drawn from data analysis. An original hypothesis that commonalities would occur between different cities with a similar geographical or cultural profile was proven through this robust research process, however in researching this hypothesis, the significant insights lie in the nuanced differences within the similarities, as will be explored throughout this dissertation. Conclusions have only been made when secondary literature and historical context explain the trends; when this has conflicted or not been sufficiently supported, I have been sure to identify correlations and attempt an explanation without assuming correlation.

The quantitative data, presented both graphically and in prose, has been formulated from sources compiled by Jensen, Fambach, and Tribó. All three compilers categorise music for the theatre, usually with classifications of genre. Where possible, my categorisations have followed Jensen, Fambach, and Tribó to maintain consistency, allowing repeatability and extension of this research. Despite this, there are times when I have detected errors in the source material, and where appropriate, I have corrected these errors within my work. There are naturally borderline cases where a particular work may appear to fall into more than one generic category.[27] Where this happens, I have again followed those who compiled the source material.

To compile the quantitative data in this dissertation, I aggregated the data presented by the source material, taking particular care to capture, where possible, the performance date, personnel details including librettist, composer, and choreographer, work title and any subsequent changes, genre, performance language, and original performance language (where appropriate). I then organised the aggregated data by category to identify several different trends; two notable trends that emerged were the balance of genre and the prominence of certain individuals, and the ways these changed over time. Once trends had been identified for each individual city, pairwise comparisons between cities was possible and repeated patterns were observed, leading to data-driven support of my original hypothesis. The trends presented by the source material, as I identified through the aggregated data, have been presented in this dissertation graphically, tabularly, and in prose, to provide easy comprehension of such a large body of source material.

[27] I explain this in more detail when I discuss the fluidity of genre, and in particular the impact this fluidity had on nineteenth-century music for the theatre.

The aim of this dissertation is to present the trends that occurred within the network that was nineteenth-century music for the stage. The graphs and tables presented, along with the accompanying prose, visually and numerically show these trends; I have identified patterns that occur in each city and outlined these in the relevant chapter. I have then used extant secondary literature to attempt to offer explanations for why these trends and patterns are present in the relevant city, taking care not to assume causation unless proven further by reliable secondary literature and historical context.

Conclusions are drawn by comparing trends between cities, and combining these with reliable secondary sources, as can be seen in Chapter Two, Three, and the Conclusion to this dissertation. The observables, as visually and numerically presented for ease of access, fused with secondary literature and other observables, including historical context which is outlined where appropriate, lead to the conclusions presented. Hypotheses presented within the introductory chapter to this dissertation are explored in this way before being supported with additional evidence. Within the Conclusion section, I then relate the conclusions made to the main critical concepts that underpin this research, which are outlined and reviewed in the next section of this introduction.

Cultural Transfer and Mobility

Cultural transfer – the transmission of various materials from one place to another – is a key critical concept for this dissertation.[28] Studies of culture are typically linked to locations or societies and the practices, traditions, and behaviours that can be observed in those places; culture is an overarching term that encompasses these practices, traditions, and behaviours. However, despite association with specific locations, cultural boundaries are not distinct and they are continuously crossed and crossed again. Welsch introduced the idea of trans-culturality where culture is an overlapping process.[29] Considering the often-indistinct boundaries between different types of culture leads to a consideration of how practices, traditions, and behaviours relocate and move to new places, or, in short, cultural transfer.[30]

[28] Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist, eds. 'Introduction.' in *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer, Paris, 1830-1914*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009, 6.
[29] This understanding has also been promoted by scholars including Edward Said and Homi Bhabha. Jin-Ah Kim. 'Cultural Transfer as a Branch of Research for Music Sociology and Music Anthropology.' *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 46, No 1, (2015), 44.; Wolfgang Welsch. 'Transkulturalität. Zur veränderten Verfassung heutiger Kultur.' In *Hybridkultur: Medien, Netze, Künste*, edited by Irmela Schneider and Christian W. Thomsen. Köln: Wienand, 1997, 71.
[30] Fauser and Everist. 'Introduction.' In *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer,* 6.

Cultural transfer was first adopted by Michele Espagne in the 1980s; he was one of the first scholars to use a transnational approach for his research on translation history and the circulation of nineteenth-century Franco-Germanic knowledge.[31] His framework omits reference to individual countries or nations, instead referring to 'cultural zones', and suggesting each is a mix of traditions.[32] Espagne, along with Michael Werner and Matthias Middell, through discussion of the processes of transition and adaptation, consider how cultures are interconnected.[33] Their work demonstrates how cultural transfer only links to mobility and transformation, but also political ideas including local, or national, identities.

Cultural transfer is not just a historic branch of study, however; since the 1980s, cultural transfer has become an important critical category for scholarly fields and has been described as an alternative approach to writing history.[34] Annegret Fauser and Mark Everist define cultural transfer as seeking to 'explain the migration of sets of practices from one geographical position to another'.[35] They claim the field is 'as wide-ranging as translation studies, the critique of the slave trade, and the history of tourism', demonstrating its importance to music scholarship.[36] Although they suggest several definitions of culture, they focus on the movement of practices and materials, in their many forms, between different geographical locations. Despite the somewhat simple definition of 'one geographical position to another', Jin-Ah Kim develops the theory by arguing that processes of cultural transfer rarely follow a simplistic, linear relationship but instead suggesting that cultural materials moved around a multi-dimensional network.[37]

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[31] Michel Espagne. 'What is Cultural Transfer?' *EUSP*, 22 September 2014, Accessed 7 September 2022. https://eusp.org/en/news/what-is-cultural-transfer. See also, Michel Espagne. *Les transferts culturels franco-allemands.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999.

[32] Espagne, 'What is Cultural Transfer?'

[33] Michel Espagne and Michael Werner. 'La construction d'une référence culturelle allemande en France: Génèse et histoire (1750-1914.)' *Annals. Economies, Societies, Civilizations* 42 No. 4 (1987): 969-992.; Michel Espagne and Michaiel Werner. 'Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert, Zu einem neuen inter disziplinären Forschungprogramm des C.N.R.S.' (German French Culture Transfer in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, Toward a New Interdisciplinary Research Program of C.N.R.S.) In *Francia. Forschungen zur westeuropäischen Geschich 13 (1985)*, 502-510.; Michel Espagne and Werner Greiling, eds. *Frankreichfreunde. Mittler des französisch deutschen Kulturtransfers (1750-1850)*. (Friends of France. Mediators of French-German Culture Transfers.) Leipzig: Leipzig University Press, 1996.; Matthias Middell. *Kulturtransfers und Historische Komparatistik - Thesen zu ihrem Verhältnis*. (Culture Transfers and Historical Comparative Studies, Theses of their Relationship.) Comparativ 10 No. 1 (2000).; Kim. 'Cultural Transfer as a Branch of Research', 43.

[34] Anne Kauppala, Ulla-Britta Broman-Kananen, and Jens Hesselager name cultural transfer as just one of several alternative histories, and highlight key sources for each of their suggested fields. They name micro-history, performance studies, transnationalism, mobility studies, and histoire croisée, alongside cultural transfer. *Tracing Operatic Performances*, 8.

[35] Fauser and Everist. 'Introduction.' In *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer,* 6.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Kim, 'Cultural Transfer as a Branch of Research', 46.

My research contributes to the ever-growing field of cultural transfer by considering the theory from an alternative angle, namely the cultural peripheries outlined above. Everist and Fauser highlight Paris as an important centre for cultural transfer: works from the French capital were shared with other locations across Europe, and works from other locations relocated, to a lesser extent, to institutions in the French capital. While Everist and Fauser provide a compelling argument for studying cultural transfer in relation to nineteenth-century Paris, the scope of cultural transfer can and should be widened to encompass the entire network of European music for the stage. Perhaps if their work was produced today, it would do just that. This dissertation offers a decentralised approach; cultural transfer is an equally compelling approach for geographically peripheral cities, and an institutional framework helps identify connections between peripheral institutions with significant geographic separation.

Agents of cultural transfer contributed to the mobility of cultural materials – it did not happen in isolation.[38] These agents, including individuals, groups, and institutions, were entwined within a network which facilitated the movement of cultural materials.[39] In his sociological work, Pierre Bourdieu states the importance of these agents, stressing that those who engaged with culture actively aided its transfer.[40] Hesselager identifies agents by tracing the concrete points of contact involved with cultural transfer: he highlights personal interactions, the shipping and sale of books and musical scores, and travelling musicians, to name but a few examples.[41] Of particular relevance is his understanding that transfer between centres and peripheries was reliant on these agents. The importance of these agents has repeatedly emerged throughout the field: Everist and Fauser prioritise the 'focus on individuals rather than texts',[42] Ingeborg Zechner suggests an approach considering both individuals and texts,[43] and Kim concludes his work by indicating the potential for future study, that would investigate not only individuals but also groups and institutions.[44] Treating institutions as agents of cultural transfer deepens our understanding of how theatrical works changed as they relocated, whilst also highlighting the motivations for theatrical dissemination. Therefore, throughout this dissertation the principal theatrical institutions in Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona are considered as important agents within

[38] Espagne, 'What is Cultural Transfer?'
[39] Kim, 'Cultural Transfer as a Branch of Research', 45.
[40] Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*, translated by R. Nice. Sage Publications, Inc., 1990.
[41] Hesselager, 'Provincialism within limits?', 207.
[42] Fauser and Everist. 'Introduction.' In *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer,* 6.
[43] Ingeborg Zechner. 'Cosmopolitanism in nineteenth-century opera management.' In *Music History and Cosmopolitanism*, edited by Anastasia Belina, Kaarina Kilpiö and Derek B. Scott. London and New York: Routledge, 2019, 33-46.
[44] Kim. 'Cultural Transfer as a Branch of Research', 52.

processes of cultural transfer; they played an active role in the movement and transformation of cultural materials around nineteenth-century Europe.

Fauser and Everist's definition and their subsequent discussion suggests several thematic frameworks including the prioritisation of individuals over texts, and ideas of identity and difference.[45] They also prioritise crossbreeding over confrontation;[46] different cultural elements appeared in new contexts without conflict. Their book, taken as a whole, attempts to conceptualise cultural transfer in terms of both institution and discipline. On the largest scale, cultural transfer considers movement between institutions, a topic raised not only by Fauser and Everist who claim 'institutions are cultures too',[47] but also in Hesselager's *Grand Opera Outside Paris*.[48] Owe Ander's discussion of Fromental Halévy's *La Juive* (1835), while existing within the category of cultural transfer, demonstrates complex interactions between, and the mobility of, works, institutions, and individuals.[49] The theoretical framework of cultural transfer, then, is used as an overarching concept that is connected to themes including borderlands and peripheries, institutions, mobility, nationalism, and cosmopolitanism, in an attempt to expand our understanding of how cultural artefacts moved around Europe in the nineteenth century.

Fauser and Everist's succinct definition naturally, and inextricably, links cultural transfer to mobility. While some scholars argue that statis was normal and mobility was unusual,[50] the field of mobility studies has attempted to reverse this perception: mobility is now considered usual in sociological research.[51] Mobility and transmission are central to any study of music for the stage as they create the foundations of repertory and enable connections.[52] Stephen Greenblatt argues that movement must first be recognised and tracked, before highlighting many examples of how different cultures change, transform, and are adapted.[53] This approach to understanding culture demonstrates that movement across borders helped re-shape music for the stage for new places

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[45] Fauser and Everist. 'Introduction.' In *Music, Theater, and Cultural Transfer,* 6.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Jens Hesselager, ed. *Grand Opera Outside Paris: Opera on the Move in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. London: Routledge, 2017.
[49] Owe Ander. 'Halévy's La Juive in Stockholm, 1866.' In *Grand Opera Outside Paris: Opera on the Move in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. London: Routledge, 2017.
[50] Florian Scheding. 'Introduction: Mobility between Margin and Centre.' In *Musical Journeys: Performing Migration in Twentieth-Century Music*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2019, 4.
[51] Stephen Greenblatt. 'Cultural Mobility: An Introduction.' In *Cultural Mobility, A Manifesto*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.; Mimi Sheller and John Urry. 'The New Mobilities Paradigm.' *Environment and Planning A* 38, No. 2 (2006): 207–26.; Scheding, 'Introduction'.
[52] Beaurepaire, Bourdin, and Wolff, eds. *Moving Scenes*, 3. Björn Heile. 'Exile, Migration and Mobility…?' In *A Global History of Musical Modernism*. (work in progress).
[53] Greenblatt, 'Cultural Mobility: An Introduction'.

and times; Louise K. Stein argues that travel 'across political, linguistic and geographical boundaries' was essential for development.[54]

Cultural transfer and studies of mobility inform an understanding of how different locations were connected and how they existed beyond a national framework.[55] Discussing individual localities naturally highlights concepts of nation; these have become strongly linked to nineteenth-century scholarship.[56] While retaining the importance of these ideas, overstating the significance of a constructed identity that is perhaps more central to scholarship today than it was to nineteenth-century individuals and practices, is not intended. The earliest studies of cultural transfer highlight the dangers involved in ignoring the non-local elements of any culture, implicitly suggesting the centrality of cosmopolitanism to these studies.[57]

Discussions of cosmopolitanism form an important part of this dissertation, and an important conclusion concerns the different manifestations of cosmopolitanism in each city.[58] The concept of cosmopolitanism, in the context of nineteenth-century music for the stage, is the intentional and motivated existence of contrasting styles, traditions, and influences within one location – where location can refer to a physical place, a theatrical or operatic work, an individual's output, or an entire repertory.

As Ryan Weber argues, the best way to understand cosmopolitanism is through a consideration of the broader context in which ideas of belonging were created and interpreted.[59] He suggests local colour that has been used synonymously with national ideas was a necessary precondition for the creation and adoption of cosmopolitanism.[60] I extend this argument throughout my dissertation; I explore how Copenhagen, Dresden and Barcelona each presented

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[54] Although Stein's discussion is predominantly based in the seventeenth century, the arguments remain valid for a nineteenth-century study. Louise K. Stein. 'How Opera Traveled.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Opera*, edited by Helen Greenwald. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014, 843-844.
[55] Gerard Delanty. *The Cosmopolitan Imagination: The Renewal of Critical Social Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009, 3.; Ryan Weber. 'Tracing Transatlantic Circles: Manufacturing Cosmopolitanism in Music and Literature during the Late Nineteenth Century.' *Journal of Musicological Research* 36, No. 1. (2017): 86.; Heile, 'Exile, Migration and Mobility…?'.
[56] Weber, 'Tracing Transatlantic Circles'.; Herbert Lindenberger, 'Why (What? How? If?) Opera Studies?' In *Operatic Migrations*, edited by Roberta Montemorra Marvin and Downing A. Thomas. Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2006, 257.
[57] Espagne and Werner, *La construction d'une référence culturelle allemande en France*.; Espagne and Werner, 'Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert.; Espagne and Greiling, eds. *Frankreichfreunde. Mittler des französisch deutschen Kulturtransfers (1750-1850)*.; Middell, *Kulturtransfers und Historische Komparatistik*.; Kim. 'Cultural Transfer as a Branch of Research.', 43.
[58] For an introduction and overview of cosmopolitanism and its relevance, see Dana Gooley, et al., 'Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848-1914.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66, No. 2, (Summer 2013): 523-549.
[59] Weber. 'Tracing Transatlantic Circles', 86.
[60] Ibid., 105.

their own local traditions – in their unique forms – alongside the influences from elsewhere, and consider how these contrasting combinations each contributed to a slightly different manifestation of cosmopolitanism.

While acknowledging the existence and power of nationalism, Weber argues that nineteenth-century composers were actually motivated by cosmopolitan ideals.[61] Complicating the traditionally accepted binary of nationalism and cosmopolitanism is an important aim of my dissertation; as Tobias Boes argues, 'Cosmopolitanism is commonly yet erroneously understood to imply the opposite of nationalism.'[62] Nationalism and cosmopolitanism were not directly opposed but instead complement a greater understanding of theatrical networks. Some scholars explicitly link the ideas, arguing that operatic networks were often local, national, international, and cosmopolitan all at once.[63] My dissertation accepts this; local and national ideas existed within a broader cosmopolitan culture.

The connection between cultural transfer and cosmopolitanism is a common one: Scott Malcolmson and Bruce Robbins described mobility as 'actually existing cosmopolitanism',[64] a natural step given that musical mobility led to unpredictable conflicts with national identities.[65] Cultural transfer shaped how individuals understood themselves; local, national, and international identities were entwined.[66] Several scholars have adopted different viewpoints regarding nationalism, cosmopolitanism, and cultural transfer and mobility: Björn Heile provides a balanced argument, suggesting that mobility complicates the binary framework of nationalism and cosmopolitanism, even if it cannot completely contradict national ideas.[67] Similarly, Scheding suggests that mobility does not always overcome national confrontation.[68] There have been attempts to break-down the strict ideas associated with nationalism. Rather than contrasting nationalism with global or universal ideas, highlighting an interconnected network of important locations is more useful, particularly if we recognise the fluid configuration of this network where locations were not equally connected.[69] The relationship between nationalism and

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[61] Ibid., 84-85.
[62] Tobias Boes. *Formative Fictions: Nationalism, Cosmopolitanism, and the Bildungsroman*. 1st edition. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012, 31. See also Delanty. 'The Rise and Decline of Classical Cosmopolitanism.' In *The Cosmopolitan Imagination*., 18–50., for a discussion of the relationship between cosmopolitanism and nationalism in the nineteenth century. Weber. 'Tracing Transatlantic Circles', 89.
[63] Bentley. 'Resituating Transatlantic Opera.' 227.
[64] Pheng Cheah, Bruce Robbins, and Social Text Collective. 'Introduction Part I: Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism.' In *Cosmopolitics: thinking and feeling beyond the nation*, edited by Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.
[65] Scheding. 'Introduction.', 11.
[66] Bentley. 'Resituating Transatlantic Opera', 18.
[67] Heile. 'Exile, Migration and Mobility…?'
[68] Scheding. 'Introduction.', 10.
[69] Heile. 'Exile, Migration and Mobility…?'

cosmopolitanism can be understood, perhaps most productively, as a series of different interactions.[70]

Identifying cosmopolitanism is complicated; as Gooley argues, it can be found in theatrical practices, behaviours, performances, patterns of travel, and networks of communication. Cosmopolitanism can also be located in compositional style; composers are cosmopolitan because they amalgamate a range of styles and traditions.[71] Other scholars focus on repertory, however, and define cosmopolitan as a combination of works by individuals from different countries.[72] Weber argues that institutions with a repertory defined in this way attempted to assert their cultural authority on an international scale, rather than locally.[73] Cosmopolitanism can also be embodied in the lives of professional musicians who travelled abroad to train or perform as guests in foreign theatres. Some of these subsequently returned home and promoted local traditions and cultures, suggesting, as Gooley argues, that cosmopolitanism and nationalism were complementary rather than contradictory.[74]

Processes of cultural transfer facilitated the reinterpretation of cultural artefacts as they migrated around nineteenth-century Europe.[75] Downing A. Thomas states that 'migrations and transformations are opera itself':[76] mobility is inextricably connected to ideas of transformation. Music for the stage was fluid, and, facilitated by processes of cultural transfer, frequently changed as it moved. Preston and Bentley acknowledge touring troupes as a key indication of the changing and mobile history of opera. Preston sees much of opera's history in the emerging United States as fundamentally mobile, driven by touring troupes which established distinct pathways of cultural movement.[77] Culture had to adapt to fit in new environments: it is impossible to discuss theatre and opera without also considering the inevitable transformations. Several forms of transformations are studied throughout this dissertation, including but not limited to changed

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[70] Hesselager. 'Provincialism within limits?', 207.
[71] Gooley. 'Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism.', 525.; Michael C. Tusa. 'Cosmopolitanism and the National Opera: Weber's 'Der Freischütz'.' *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 36, No.3, (2006): 483-506.
[72] Gooley. 'Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism', 525.; William Weber. 'Cosmopolitan, National, and Regional Identities in Eighteenth-Century European Musical Life.' In *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, edited by Jane F. Fulcher, 209-227. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
[73] Gooley. 'Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism', 525.; Weber. 'Cosmopolitan, National, and Regional Identities.' For another view of cosmopolitanism centred on repertory and institutions, see Gerhard. *Urbanization of Opera*. 394.
[74] Gooley. 'Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism.' 526.
[75] Espagne. 'What is Cultural Transfer?'
[76] Downing A. Thomas. 'Epilog.' In *Operatic Migrations*, edited by Roberta Montemorra Marvin and Downing A. Thomas. Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2006, 266.
[77] Katherine K. Preston. *Opera on the Road: Traveling Opera Troupes in the United States, 1825-60*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993. For other examples of literature on touring opera, see Thomas Kaufman. 'The Arditi Tour: The Midwest Gets Its First Real Taste of Italian Opera.' *The Opera Quarterly* 4, No. 4 (1986): 39–52.; Bentley. 'Resituating Transatlantic Opera', 17.

meaning, speech into song, literary sources into operatic genres, translation, geographical and social movement, performative re-interpretation, and stylistic and communicative transformation. Perhaps one of the most significant modes of transformation explored in this dissertation are processes of translation and adaptation: these ensured the suitability of theatrical works for new places and aligned works with audience requirements.[78]

Although cultural artefacts often travelled from centres to peripheries, that does not mean the latter were insignificant within the process of cultural transfer.[79] Music for the stage is characterised by cultural transfer, mobility, and dissemination; ideas that have traditionally been associated with cosmopolitanism due to the complex intertwining of cultures and identities.[80]

Peripheral Cities

Nineteenth-century Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona were peripheral cities on the edge of different languages, cultures, and traditions. This peripheral emphasis emerges from the decentralised approach that underlies this dissertation and supports recent scholarly trajectories that encourage movement away from a centric focus. Hesselager argues that a history of music for the stage cannot be written exclusively about centres; peripheral locations are relevant for more than just local history and should therefore form the emphasis of more scholarly work.[81] As this dissertation will demonstrate, peripheral locations had traditions and practices that, for varied reasons, promoted independent theatre.[82] Comparing peripheral case studies helps to highlight what was distinctive about them as well as what belonged to a wider operatic economy. Furthermore, peripheral cities often had greater scope for creativity; there might be less intervention from the state or royal courts[83] or theatres might face less regulation. Perhaps most importantly, peripheral locations often encouraged the mixing of local and foreign elements; this sometimes facilitated a productive interpretation of the concepts of nationalism and cosmopolitanism and the ways in which these interacted. Studying music for the stage from peripheral locations allows new perspectives that do not always emerge from only considering the centres.[84] A peripheral view is less straightforward and often raises more questions because the picture is unfamiliar; this makes peripheral locations an interesting departure point to not

[78] Beaurepaire, Bourdin, and Wolff, eds. *Moving Scenes*, 3.
[79] Jürgen Osterhammel. *Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, translated by Patrick Camiller. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014, 5.
[80] Beaurepaire, Bourdin, and Wolff, eds. *Moving Scenes*, 1.
[81] Hesselager, ed. 'Introduction.' In *Grand Opera Outside Paris,* 2-3.
[82] Baud and Schendel. 'Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands', 212.
[83] Ther, *Center Stage*, 6.
[84] Jennifer Yee. *Exotic Subversions in Nineteenth-century French Fiction*. London: Routledge, 18.

only consider theatre, but also the ways in which culture influenced, and was influenced by, factors including shifting social structures and political ideas including cosmopolitanism and nationalism.

Peripheral locations often host cultures that combine local traditions with international trends, facilitated by individuals who crossed national, linguistic, generic, and social borders.[85] This aligns with other definitions; these are places where different cultures meet – often interactive places rather than strictly impenetrable lines.[86] Borders create several distinctions, perhaps most obviously political, social, and cultural; however, their existence also implicitly indicates interaction and networks that cross borders.[87] Traditionally, borders, and by extension notions of the nation, are used to portray clear differences.[88] However, a comparative approach focuses on similarities and facilitates an attempt to reframe ideas of the nation.

A peripheral focus within a nineteenth-century context is well positioned; Europe during this period underwent significant geographical, political, and social change, leading to the creation and promotion of several types of borders, including those between countries or nations. However, these borders were not always as divisive as scholarship or politics would lead us to believe:[89] a modern understanding of borders, emphasised by political movements, ongoing conflicts, and closed borders that prohibit movement, does not necessarily align with the more cohesive Europe of the nineteenth century that was less border-orientated.[90] Benedict Anderson, in his seminal nation-challenging text, describes borders as 'porous and indistinct' – places where 'sovereignties faded imperceptibly into one another'.[91] Nineteenth-century borders were often mobile and flexible; artistic life led to mobility and travel, with musicians and performers often able to easily cross national borders.[92] By extension, the place of origin of theatrical works was less important in the nineteenth century; instead, stylistic differences, that often did not extend as far as distinct generic differences, were more important than national differences.[93] Understanding this flexibility leads to a productive discussion considering how the porous nature

[85] Bentley. 'Resituating Transatlantic Opera', 188.
[86] David Thelen. 'Of Audiences, Borderlands, and Comparisons: Toward the Internationalization of American History.' *Journal of American History* 79, No. 2, (1992): 438-439.
[87] Baud and Schendel. 'Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands', 216.
[88] Siegfried Weichlein. 'Cosmopolitanism, Patriotism, Nationalism.' In *Unity and Diversity in European Culture c. 1800*, edited by Tim Blanning and Hagen Schulze. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006, 77.
[89] Beaurepaire, Bourdin, and Wolff, eds. *Moving Scenes*, 5.
[90] Ther, *Center Stage*, 249.
[91] Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso: London and New York, 2016, 22.
[92] Hesselager. *Grand Opera Outside Paris*, 10.
[93] Beaurepaire, Bourdin, and Wolff, eds. *Moving Scenes*, 3.

of nineteenth-century borders facilitated cultural transfer and subsequently influenced the ways in which theatre was performed in peripheral places.

A peripheral approach naturally leads to comparison with centres: these were the middle of an economy, characterised by communication and a high population density which contributed to their prosperity. This contrasts with peripheral locations which are often considered to have subordinate power;[94] centres and peripheries are almost always connected hierarchically.[95] Traditionally, peripheral places are studied from the centre outwards.[96] However, deconstructing the traditional centre–periphery hierarchy, before exploring the complex and often entwined identities that are connected to these ideas, is an important aim. Centre and periphery relationships were rarely equal but they were not one-sided either;[97] although local works from peripheral cities were not usually performed away from the locality – a similarity shared by Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona – these works still influenced the growing cosmopolitan theatrical culture of nineteenth-century Europe. Mobility, of individuals and works, was not only integral to building a relationship between centres and peripheries but also demonstrates the complex connections between them. Comparing peripheries to each other, rather than to traditional centres, shows how they adopted a centric function for their surrounding areas.[98] The scale of the three institutions studied in this dissertation ensures their significance for the smaller theatres in the same cities and the surrounding areas. Peripheral urban societies built large theatres as part of their desire to become cultured cities that were integral to European civilisation. Although each of these cities had large theatres that contributed to developing culture, Barcelona is perhaps the clearest example of a city where an institution was built for the purpose of increasing the cultural importance of the city.[99]

The centre–periphery dichotomy is inextricably linked to perceptions of identity and connects ideas of local and international culture. Recontextualising the framework of centres and peripheries also reframes the contradictions that arise from comparisons of local and international. Peripheries are particularly conducive to an investigation of how the local, national,

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[94] Maoz Azaryahu. 'Tel Aviv: center, periphery and the cultural geographies of an aspiring metropolis.' *Social & Cultural Geography* 9, No. 3, (2008): 303-318.; José Ignacio Suárez García. 'Centros y Periferias en la Recepción Wagneriana en España en el Siglo XIX.' In *Musicología global, musicología local*, edited by Javier Marín López, Germán Gan Quesada, Elena Torres Clemente, and Pilar Ramos López. Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 2013, 1407.
[95] Azaryahu, 'Tel Aviv.' 303-318. For a brief overview of the concept of Centre-Periphery Analysis, see Amy Turner Bushnell's work in *The Princeton Companion to Atlantic History*, edited by Joseph C. Miller. Princeton, NJ and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2015, 86–7.
[96] Baud and Schendel. 'Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands', 241.
[97] Ther, *Center Stage*, 249.
[98] Ibid., 195.
[99] Ibid., 1.

and international were entwined: individuals combined stylistic elements to meet the local needs.[100] Thelen argues that 'people, ideas, and institutions do not have clear national identities';[101] instead, individuals in peripheral locations constructed their identities and cultures from the varied practices that existed in these places. The lack of a clear national identity is perhaps most obvious in the peripheral places where local traditions mixed with international trends: cosmopolitanism has been used to describe the people, practices, and places that could transcend national borders.[102] By contrast, while the cosmopolitan ideas that originated in theatrical centres had the potential to reach out to the peripheries, national ideals that started in the peripheries had the potential to aspire to centric ideas. Hesselager argues that nineteenth-century cosmopolitanism was linked with the growing intellectual middle classes who were drawn to urban centres.[103] Therefore, considering the connections between cosmopolitanism and nationalism is an interesting framework through which to consider connections between centres and peripheries. The cultural diversity that existed in any one place leads away from a national approach; despite nationalist arguments forming the backdrop for much of nineteenth-century historiography, a more productive discussion goes beyond classifications of local versus national or national versus international.[104]

Although it could be argued that music for the stage could 'mediate and transcend temporal, geographic, and social boundaries',[105] the practical ways in which theatre often overcame social borders in nineteenth-century Europe requires explanation. Class boundaries were renegotiated during the nineteenth century; significant economic development in the middle classes ensured a higher degree of bourgeois participation in theatre.[106] Theatre reflected shifting social structures; while eighteenth-century opera had been an aristocratic pastime largely reserved for the court and elite classes, it became an attraction for the new bourgeoisie and the emerging educated classes during the nineteenth century.[107] This was perhaps most significant in peripheral cities where diverse audiences enjoyed theatre and opera;[108] in contrast with

[100] Thelen. 'Of Audiences, Borderlands, and Comparisons', 436.
[101] Ibid., 432, 436, 440.
[102] Ibid., 434.
[103] Hesselager. 'Provincialism within limits?', 205.
[104] Bentley. 'Resituating Transatlantic Opera', 20, 189.
[105] Marvin. 'Introduction.' 1.
[106] Roberta Montemorra Marvin. 'Burlesques, Barriers, Borders, and Boundaries.' In *Operatic Migrations*, edited by Roberta Montemorra Marvin and Downing A. Thomas. Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate, 2006, 207.
[107] Ther, *Center Stage*, 196.; Anne Sivuoja, Owe Ander, Ulla-Britta Broman-Kananen, and Jens Hesselager, eds. *Opera on the Move in the Nordic Countries in the Long Nineteenth Century*. DocMus Research Publications 4, 2012, 7.
[108] Carlotta Sorba. 'National theater and the age of revolution in Italy.' *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 17, No. 4, (2012), 410.

traditional operatic centres who had a long theatrical history, peripheral cities often had less motivation to preserve the political and social status quo. The demise of aristocratic theatres reflected the declining power of the elite classes: elaborate venues struggled financially and became increasingly dependent on wider audiences.[109] The growing relevance of music for the stage during the nineteenth century was largely due to its ability to transcend social borders.[110] In this period, the stage portrayed social and political movements:[111] shifting social structures affected theatrical themes and settings and opera became a political tool that both created and disseminated national histories, political movements, and ideals for the future.[112]

Theatrical genres often indicated customs associated with social structures; some were considered appropriate for the lower and middles classes while others belonged to the elite class. The middle classes were thought to object to the static nature of most serious opera,[113] preferring genres which used spoken dialogue including *opéra comique*, *Singspiel*, and *Zarzuela*.[114] This is of course overly simplified; serious genres and those including spoken dialogue coexisted within repertories. Connections between genre and society were reflected further by *grand opéra*. Although the genre was traditionally associated with elites,[115] once it left Paris it changed its physiognomy: it often lost its dance elements, and the complex accompanied recitative (which increasingly became something that was hard to emulate outside of Paris) was replaced with dialogue. Outside of Paris, therefore, *grand opéra* and *opéra comique* shared many common features. *Grand opéra* could be adapted – in terms of language, genre, and form – to suit local audiences and resources, while retaining echoes of its original elite-ness and French-ness;[116] this allows a productive complication of the traditional dichotomy of cosmopolitanism and nationalism. The complementary nature of these ideas was particularly noticeable in peripheral locations; although these places have previously been described as places of cultural conflict,[117] it is perhaps more accurate to acknowledge the often-harmonious cultural mixing that stemmed from cultural transfer across borders.

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[109] Ther, *Center Stage*, 198.
[110] Ibid., 203.
[111] Ringer. *The Early Romantic Era*. 13.
[112] Sivuoja, Ander, Broman-Kananen, and Hesselager (eds.), *Opera on the Move in the Nordic Countries.* 7.
[113] Ringer. *The Early Romantic Era.* 13.
[114] Ibid.
[115] Lawrence W. Levine. *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of a Cultural Hierarchy in America*. Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1988.; Joseph A. Mussulman. *Music in the Cultured Generation: A Social History of Music in America, 1870–1900*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1971.
[116] Bentley. 'Resituating Transatlantic Opera.' 133.
[117] Thelen. 'Of Audiences, Borderlands, and Comparisons.' 439.

Peripheral cities are an excellent framework through which to consider cultural transfer, and its subsequent effects; they allow an examination of how local traditions mixed with international trends that could transcend time and place. Music for the stage also transcended social borders, occurring most easily in peripheral locations; the growth of the middle class aligned with increasing power, both politically and within theatre, and the middle class became a group whose tastes symbolised their growing power.[118] Opera was endlessly adaptable, and peripheral cities that did not have the same tightly regulated theatrical hierarchy of, say, Paris, had the freedom to adapt across (or ignore) traditional social, political linguistic, generic borders.

Networks and Agents

The development of lyric theatre relied on mobile networks of both personnel and material; cultural transfer illuminates Europe as a varied yet connected cultural space.[119] A network is sociologically defined as a structure consisting of actors – including individuals, organisations, or societies – that are connected or have social interactions. This definition is a constructed theory designed to assist a heuristic understanding of the relationships and interactions that exist between social actors. In this context, Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona existed as key points within the network of nineteenth-century Europe.

Theoretical references to networks appear in a wide range of modern musical scholarship, but very few define the relevance to musicology and opera studies. However, operatic development relied on a vast network of people and material. Everist invokes network theory by claiming music for the stage is rooted in a vast network of power relationships between various agents. He names individuals including composers, dramatists, and impresarios, but also suggests institutions and states can adopt the role of social agents within a network.[120] Although identifying agents is important, more important are the relationships and interactions that connect agents, as these allowed theatres to become significant cultural institutions with wide-ranging influence, or, agents in their own right.[121]

Cultural agents within theatrical networks have received varying degrees of attention and prestige. Individuals, including audiences, performers, composers, and dramatists, are sometimes

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[118] Ringer. *The Early Romantic Era, Between Revolutions*. 6.
[119] Espagne. 'What is Cultural Transfer?'
[120] Mark Everist. 'The Music of Power: Parisian Opera and the Politics of Genre, 1806–1864.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67, No. 3 (Fall 2014).
[121] Benjamin Piekut. 'Actor-Networks in Music History: Clarifications and Critiques.' *Twentieth-Century Music* 11 (2014). 191-215.; Georgina Born and Andrew Barry. 'Music, Mediation Theories and Actor-Network Theory.' *Contemporary Music Review* 37 (2018). 443-487.; Bentley. 'Resituating Transatlantic Opera.' 62.

described as users of an already established theatrical network.[122] However, a contrasting approach gives people more agency and recognises the power they held within theatrical systems; Everist demonstrates how individuals played an active role in aiding institutional development at the Paris *Odéon*.[123]

Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona exist within three spheres of influence: German, French, and Italian. These networks stretched further than their country of origin: they represented the cultural spheres that depended on influence from these major theatrical and operatic players. These contrasted with the Danish, German, and Catalan linguistic spheres that these cities represent. The position of each city in relation to these different networks is considered: the overlapping nature of spheres is evident through a repertorial investigation. These networks, and the position held by these cities within them, demonstrates how culturally peripheral cities were connected within a vast theatrical network that stretched across Europe.

Each chapter in this dissertation is organised thematically, beginning with a consideration of the political situation within each city and the subsequent effects on repertory. Then, there is a consideration of theatrical organisation and the day-to-day running of each institution, with a discussion of the influences on repertory and links to other factors. The various political, social, and theatrical contexts and detail are crucial to understanding how music for the stage was presented in each city, and therefore each chapter presents a summary of what happened during the chosen period. Next, the repertory is considered, and particularly for the vast sixty-year period in Copenhagen, shifts in the generic balance are detected. The individuals present in each city, both physically and within the repertories, indicate broad generic trends: these help to identify the networks of individuals who influenced the repertory.

The case study presented in Chapter One, centred around Johann Abraham Peter Schulz's (1747-1800) *Høstgildet* (1790), captures and crystallises some of the important ideas drawn from the wealth of detail presented in the first part of the chapter, and which are pursued in the rest of the dissertation. *Høstgildet* demonstrated not only the intricacies of local theatrical style and the suitability of local works for royal occasions, but also the ways in which foreign elements coexisted alongside a local style, ultimately blurring generic borders. The reception of *Høstgildet*

[122] Frederic William John Hemmings. *The Theatre Industry in Nineteenth-Century France*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
[123] Mark Everist. 'Music Drama at the Paris Odéon, 1824–1828.' Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002. 44–111.

also indicated several important political tendencies that influenced theatre during this period, including contrasting opinions on the inclusion of patriotism.

Chapters Two and Three include comparisons between Dresden and Copenhagen and Barcelona and Copenhagen, respectively. These predominantly focus on the repertory in each city, drawing on detail from political matters and theatrical organisation when a meaningful discussion can emerge. A comparative approach aids an investigation of theatre in the peripheries and allows conclusions to be drawn – including the different ways in which local and foreign genres coexisted within the cities and the contrasting position each city held in the European network of music for the stage – from the sheer quantity of detail presented in these chapters.

Writing a history of music for the stage, or indeed any history, as an account of age defining occasions and premiere performances, is easy.[124] However, by solely looking at unique moments, the value of the everyday, where trends and traditions are established and developed, is often overshadowed. The quotidian is often missing in scholarly work, but it is a consideration of the everyday that provides critical contexts within which we can consider nineteenth-century music for the stage. This is not to say, however, that day-to-day events were not special in themselves, but points of interest typically arise from overlapping layers of normal circumstances that gradually shift and evolve.[125] The everyday occurrences are explored, and the effect of shifting circumstances on theatre is considered, throughout this dissertation.

Many scholars have attempted to define the institution of nineteenth-century music for the stage. Some argue for the dominance of Italian opera, claiming its centrality to European repertory, while others suggest French culture was predominant.[126] However, issues arise when highlighting any single culture to the detriment of another; Everist instead offers a pan-European background of French and Italian trends often in translation.[127] This dissertation goes further: although Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona each relied on French and Italian repertory and/or practices, they each blended them in different ways. Furthermore, German and/or local repertory and practices were introduced, which develops the implicit complexity in Everist's model in fascinating ways. The shifting balance of music for the stage in this period at the main institutions in Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona allows a re-contextualisation of accepted views; the binary of centre and periphery is disrupted, as are the commonly accepted perceptions of geographical, social, political, and cultural influences. How and why the balance of theatrical

[124] Bentley. 'Resituating Transatlantic Opera.' 227.
[125] Ibid., 228.
[126] Mark A. Pottinger. 'French Music Criticism in the Nineteenth Century, 1789–1870.' In *Cambridge History of Music Criticism*, edited by Christopher Dingle. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019. 127.
[127] Everist. 'Cosmopolitanism and music for the theatre.' 13-32.

genres in each city shifted is assessed, linking to political ideas and the network of individuals that influenced the repertory.

This dissertation seeks to expand the ways in which we think about the mobility of music for the stage, beyond the basics of which works were performed, and when and where performances occurred, and far beyond the restrictions presented by only studying canonical works. Although local works rarely travelled beyond borders, the frequent transformation of foreign into local offers a new perspective through which to consider the cultural transfer of music for the stage. Through a discussion of the political situation, theatrical organisation, generic balance, and the wide-ranging network of individuals, I aim to widen the field of opera studies by presenting a discussion of peripheral theatre and highlighting its impact on the wider network of nineteenth-century European music for the stage.

Chapter 1 Copenhagen, 1800-1860

1.1 Introduction

Copenhagen played a significant role in nineteenth-century music for the stage. However, opera scholarship, which has traditionally focused on fewer and larger centres of operatic production, has mostly neglected Denmark,[1] and Copenhagen has therefore not been considered an important part of the European theatrical network. Despite its geographically peripheral position, an analysis of the repertory demonstrates the scale of Copenhagen's contribution to nineteenth-century international theatre and its involvement with European political and social movements. Copenhagen had a thriving theatrical culture that maintained a substantial local repertory – which rarely migrated beyond Denmark's borders – while receiving and frequently performing important foreign works.

Historically, Copenhagen sat geographically and culturally outside of central Europe. Before 1790, it was the capital of a composite state, united by King Frederick VI (1768-1839), which encompassed Denmark, Norway, and the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein.[2] Denmark's borders were in contention between 1800 and 1860:[3] a series of geographical shifts reframed the state which had an impact on all aspects of Danish society. Denmark's involvement in the Napoleonic Wars brought about the end of the larger Dano-Norwegian Realm: Norway was surrendered to Sweden and the Congress of Vienna (1815) led to further territorial losses. Land disputes reached a climax in the late 1840s when Schleswig and Holstein fought for independence from Danish rule. Conflicts and changing borders led to the desire to promote Danish culture and identity, achieved through local works and individuals and the adaptation of foreign works. This contributes to a greater understanding of Danish nationalism – entangled with aspects of French and German culture – and how this was intertwined with cosmopolitan ideas. Nationalism as a political movement should not be confused with references to Denmark as a nation, however. While nationalism has political implications, the latter simply assigns something as belonging to Denmark. However, even this formulation raises complications: there were frequent examples of

[1] Anna Hersey. *Scandinavian song: a guide to Swedish, Norwegian, and Danish repertoire and diction*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016. 4. Jens Hesselager. *Musik I Denmark, Den korte historie*. Multivers, 2022.

[2] Ellen Karoline Gjerven. 'Staging state patriotism: *Høstgildet* of 1790.' In *Tracing Operatic Performances in the Long Nineteenth Century*, *Practices, Performers, Peripheries*, edited by Anne Kauppala, Ulla-Britta Broman-Kananen, and Jens Hesselager, 249-268. Helsinki: DocMus Research Publications 9. 263.

[3] Danish border disputes were a long-standing issue dating back to the seventeenth century: borders shifted and there were significant territorial losses and political defeats.

generic and stylistic blurring within the repertory, with many works containing both foreign and local elements. This blurring of genres, therefore, complicates the categorisation of theatrical works to national genres.

The repertory performed at the *Kongelige Teater* (The Royal Theatre) between 1800 and 1860 is the focus of this chapter. Politics, theatrical organisation, genre, and individuals – and complex interactions between the above – had an important impact on the formation and performance of Danish repertory throughout this period. Within the repertory, local works and individuals these were combined with important foreign works which demonstrated the growing significance of a cosmopolitan approach to music for the stage. These demonstrated the varied influences on theatre and revealed the gradual diversification of repertory throughout this period. A case study considering Johann Abraham Peter Schulz's (1747-1800) *Høstgildet* (1790) reveals many of the main themes affecting Danish repertory and considers how this was affected by politics, systems of organisation, genre, and individuals.

The diversity of music for the stage between 1800 and 1860, demonstrated through the variety of Danish and foreign works which also dispels the notion of any one singular influence on repertory, shows the importance of Copenhagen within a wide-ranging theatrical network. Copenhagen was more than a peripheral city on the edge of Europe and instead performed a diverse repertory, not only for its own audiences, but also the surrounding areas.

1.2 War and Revolution: Danish politics between 1800 and 1860

Denmark endured significant political turmoil between 1800 and 1860, considered by some to be the worst in its history.[4] The period began with conflict; although Denmark attempted to remain neutral during the Napoleonic Wars, they eventually allied with France after the British bombardment of Copenhagen. Moreover, ongoing conflict with the German Confederation, which had begun in the mid-eighteenth century, culminated in the loss of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein in 1864. These events contributed to the growing desire to create a clear Danish identity that had an impact on all parts of society and was subsequently reflected in theatre.[5] Music for the stage was political, especially during periods of unrest.[6] Danish politics, in its broadest sense,

[4] Katja Jepsen. 'Bournonville og dansk national identitet i det 19. Århundrede.' In *Dansen er en kunst: Bournoville- Den levende tradition, 174-193.* København: Schønberg, 2005. 187.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Philipp Ther. *Center Stage: Operatic Culture and Nation Building in Nineteenth-Century Central Europe*, translated by Charlotte Hughers-Kreutzmuller. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 2014. 2. Although Ther does not specifically discuss Denmark, his argument applies convincingly to Danish music for the stage, as will be considered here.

including population, governance, war, and revolution, affected the repertory of the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen between 1800 and 1860, which in turn reflected and drove societal and political change during this period.

Historically, Denmark was ruled by the nobility through a state council. By expanding the army and defences, King Frederick III (1609-1670) increased his power during the first half of the seventeenth century, culminating in absolute rule from 1660. From this point, Denmark was a territorial state. The constitution, signed in 1665, enforced Royal Law and enabled the King to rule without the State Council.[7] This absolutist constitution – the first in Europe – replaced provincial law with state law.[8] Absolute rule was only repealed in 1849 when a semi-democratic constitution was introduced which separated government powers, allowed adult males to vote – women were not enfranchised until the next century – which increased the voting population from 2.8% to 15%, and ensured freedom of the press and religion.[9] Denmark thus became a nation state instead of a territorial state.[10]

Before 1800, a policy of state patriotism was endorsed, advocating loyalty to the King, Copenhagen, Denmark, and state-run institutions.[11] This was promoted through the 1776 Act of Citizenship, a multi-faceted act reserving citizenship for those born within the state borders, restricting government positions to citizens, and ensuring citizens worked for the common good in return for civil liberties.[12] Patriotic acts were simple and could be completed by anyone.[13] Patriotism was supported by the middle class because it was usually promoted through cultural platforms, including theatres and newspapers, to which only the upper and middle classes could gain access.[14] Furthermore, patriotism overlapped with the liberal and radical movements that were also associated with the growing middle class.[15] In contrast, these ideas often caused unease amongst the nobility who were concerned that patriotism would encourage revolt and revolution. The Act of Citizenship caused further tension because it excluded members of the German-born

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[7] Lars Bo Kaspersen. 'How Denmark Became Democratic, The Impact of Warfare and Military Reforms.' *Acta Sociologica* 47 No. 1 (2004): 79.
[8] Ibid., 79-80.
[9] Ibid., 71.
[10] Ibid., 76.
[11] Ellen Karoline Gjerven. 'Staging state patriotism.' 257.; Randi M. Selvik. '*Høstgildet* by J. P. A. Schulz: A national Singspiel?' In *Tracing Operatic Performances in the Long Nineteenth Century*, *Practices, Performers, Peripheries*, Kauppala, Anne, edited by Ulla-Britta Broman-Kananen and Jens Hesselager. Helsinki: DocMus Research Publications 9, 1994. 87.
[12] The Act of Citizenship, in Danish, was the *Forordning om indfødsret for embedsmænd.* Ellen Karoline Gjerven. 'Staging state patriotism.' 256.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Jonathan Sperber. *The European Revolutions, 1848-1851.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. 88.
[15] Ibid.

aristocracy, another cause of the growing tensions between Denmark and Schleswig and Holstein.[16] While the middle classes supported patriotic ideas, and the upper classes opposed them, peasants were largely unconcerned: they opposed neighbouring villages rather than foreign influences.[17]

Connected to patriotism is the idea of nationalism, often defined as a principle that divides society into autonomous, distinct groups, each unified by a common language and culture, and for some, the sense of a common destiny.[18] Although this aligns, to some extent, with Danish state patriotism, the modern understanding of nationalism was not widely acknowledged in this period: nations and nation states were only recognisable from the 1840s. Although nationalism seems inseparable from nineteenth-century operatic discourse, a modern understanding is often projected onto historical events, giving the concept greater precedence than perhaps it deserves. In contrast, cosmopolitanism has often been overlooked in nineteenth-century discourse; while frequently used as a synonym for diversity, repertorial choice must be politically motivated before it can be described as cosmopolitan.[19] Cosmopolitan ideas largely stemmed from the emerging middle class who had access to cultural material. Throughout Europe, this growing, politically focused social class motivated many repertorial decisions. Cosmopolitan and national ideas were not independent; they co-existed within a complex, non-binary system that motivated the formation of theatrical repertory.

The Danish population and the ways it changed had a significant impact on music for the stage between 1800 and 1860. The number of institutions and the availability of funding increased in line with the growing population. The population of Europe grew steadily from the mid-eighteenth century and dramatically accelerated to an annual rate of 0.5%-1% from 1800. In Copenhagen, the population increased significantly, which, combined with similar population growth elsewhere, contributed to a continent-wide economic crisis in the 1840s. This led to the largest, most violent political movement in nineteenth-century European history.[20] Although the Danish population growth closely mirrored that of the rest of Europe, several factors limited expansion in Copenhagen. In 1795, a fire left 6% of the population homeless and destroyed most of the medieval and Renaissance heritage of the city. Moreover, the 1807 Battle of Copenhagen

[16] Ellen Karoline Gjerven 'Staging state patriotism.' 255.
[17] Jonathan Sperber. *The European Revolutions*, *1848-1851*. 87.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Dana Gooley et al. 'Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848-1914.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 66 No. 2 (2013): 523-549. William Weber. 'Cosmopolitan, National, and Regional Identities in Eighteenth-Century European Musical Life.' In *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, edited by Jane F. Fulcher. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. 211.
[20] Jonathan Sperber. *The European Revolutions*. 2.

killed hundreds of civilians and burned yet more of the city. There was significant poverty, naturally affecting the population, following the Napoleonic Wars.

The social constitution of the population gradually shifted throughout this period. The European nobility rarely exceeded 1% of the population; despite holding political power, therefore, they were outnumbered by the lower and middle classes. The middle class, consisting of property owners, businessmen, and working professionals including clergymen, lawyers, notaries, physicians, apothecaries, and school and university teachers, expanded in Denmark and throughout Europe in the nineteenth century.[21] They also became more politically active during this period – they held and promoted political opinions – which, combined with their growth, gave them greater power and control. The Danish middle class were particularly inspired by political advancement elsewhere in Europe: this dated back to the French revolution of 1789 and was reinforced by the July Revolution (1830).[22] These events inspired political organisation and agitation and mass political participation occurred for the first time in Denmark in 1848.[23] The Danish nobility were concerned with the growth and increased politicisation of the middle classes: this motivated the decision to allow greater power and a share in government as a preventative measure to avert the revolutions that occurred elsewhere in Europe.

Denmark's involvement in the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) had long-lasting consequences, including permanent geographic changes and crippling financial sanctions. Two battles were fought in Copenhagen: the first, in 1801, was a British defeat over the Dano-Norwegian fleet, and the second, in 1807, was another attack from the British against the Danish navy. The second battle targeted civilians: 2000 died and most of Copenhagen was destroyed. Denmark retaliated by uniting with France, but the Sixth Coalition isolated Denmark and forced King Frederick VI to make peace and join the alliance against France. Denmark's involvement in the conflict triggered a declaration of state bankruptcy in 1813 and a subsequent state of poverty for the following twenty-five years.[24] The Treaty of Kiel (1814) forced Denmark to surrender Norway to Sweden and Heligoland to Great Britain, dissolving the Dano-Norwegian Realm. Furthermore, the Congress of Vienna, designed to rebalance European powers after the conflicts, had a significant impact on Denmark.[25] Although it lost land, it did not suffer the same extreme losses as other countries due to its conversion to the anti-French alliance in 1814. Despite the earlier loss of Norway, the Norwegian dependencies of Greenland, Iceland, and the Faroe Islands

[21] Ibid., 22.
[22] Ibid., 84, 54.
[23] Ibid., 58.
[24] Jepsen. 'Bournonville og dansk national identitet i det 19. Århundrede.' 187.
[25] Tim Chapman, *The Congress of Vienna 1814-1815*. London and New York: Routledge, 1998. 56.

remained part of Denmark. Although Denmark had gained Swedish Pomerania after losing Norway, the Congress of Vienna took it away.[26] These significant geographical losses contributed to growing discontent amongst the Danish population.

Tensions between Denmark and the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein caused significant unrest during this period. Since the twelfth century, Denmark had ruled the duchies and considered them unified with the state, clashing with the liberal views of the German-speaking population that lived in Schleswig and Holstein. They were prosperous areas where one third of the Danish population lived. Denmark wanted to preserve the connection as their loss would have strengthened surrounding areas, including Prussia, especially given the substantial land losses at the start of the century. Holstein was geographically and culturally closer to Germany and it was incorporated into the German Confederation after 1815 – created because of increased national feeling following the Napoleonic Wars – although Denmark retained political and economic control. Schleswig, however, was more divided. The historic connection between Schleswig and Holstein led to suggestions that the two should combine to form one state within the new German Confederation, an idea that was opposed by Denmark and the Danish population in Schleswig.[27]

The German-speaking population in Schleswig and Holstein openly revolted against Danish rule in March 1848. This became a popular cause throughout the German Confederation and was supported by the liberal Prussian army.[28] Mass meetings were held in support, women gathered money and supplies, and volunteers were enlisted to fight.[29] In August 1848, after pressure from England and Russia, Prussia signed the *Malmö* armistice and were forced to withdraw their support for the rebellion.[30] The war continued for another two years but the Danish victory was not decisive and the conflict remained unsolved.[31] The eventual loss of the duchies to Prussia and Austria in 1864 was significant: Denmark lost a third of its territory and population.

Nineteenth-century political events and ideas led to the creation of a national identity, centred around shared cultural, linguistic, and historical elements. While mirrored throughout the continent, this was a particular priority amongst many Northern European countries; the

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[26] Gjerven. 'Staging state patriotism.' 266. Chapman. *The Congress of Vienna 1814-1815*. 42.
[27] This is explored in further detail in Glyn Jones. *Denmark: A Modern History*. Beckenham: Croom Helm, 1986.
[28] Sperber. *The European Revolutions*. xii.
[29] Ibid., 213.
[30] Ibid., xiv.
[31] Niels Bo Foltmann. ''Orden og Nøjagtighed er Sjælen I alle Forretninger', Niels W. Gade 1817-2017.' *Magasin fra Det Kongelige Bibliotek* 30 No. 1 (2017): 11.

establishment of local theatre contributed to the creation of a local cultural identity.[32] In Denmark, although this began at the start of the nineteenth century following the Napoleonic Wars, national feelings dramatically increased in the 1840s after conflict with the German Confederation. The promotion of a national identity in the theatre was perhaps most obviously noticeable through use of the Danish language: although traditionally considered the language of peasants, an important aspect of Danish nationalism was the promotion of the Danish language to something worthy of art and culture.[33]

The implications of political events were felt throughout society, and music for the stage was no exception. Widespread censorship resulted from the complex political situation; this was prevalent in Copenhagen although it also occurred, to different extents, throughout nineteenth-century Europe.[34] The content of some works was considered provocative; certain details were omitted, or in some extreme cases, works could be banned. The act of censorship was an indication of the potentially inflammatory nature of theatre; rulers feared that theatre, and especially opera, might politically mobilise the population and undermine the government. Political mobilisation had an undeniable impact on music for the stage; the audience demographic shifted to include the growing middle classes. Furthermore, the desire to promote a local identity was an underlying factor that influenced the construction of the repertory but cannot be considered without the cosmopolitan tendencies that also affected nineteenth-century music for the stage.

1.3 Theatrical Organisation in Copenhagen

Theatrical organisation in Copenhagen exemplified nineteenth-century music for the stage as a whole. Musically sophisticated genres, including opera, were performed in state supported venues like the Royal Theatre whereas popular entertainment was presented in suburban theatres which typically had fewer resources. Copenhagen had several active theatres between 1800 and 1860, each offering different forms of theatrical entertainment. While the scope of this chapter is primarily restricted to performances at the *Kongelige Teater*, other theatres in Copenhagen are considered when meaningful observations can be made.[35] Theatre, and theatrical

[32] The *Nationaltheatret* – Norway's national theatre – was established to contribute to the creation and promotion of a Norwegian cultural identity.
[33] Sarah Gutsche-Miller. 'The Reception of Carl Nielsen as a Danish National Composer.' Masters diss., McGill University, 2003. 20.
[34] For an overview, see Francesco Izzo, 'Censorship', In *The Oxford Handbook of Opera*, edited by Helen Greenwald. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. 817-842.
[35] The main source of data for this chapter is Niels Jensen's *Dansk Forfatterleksikon*, an exhaustive catalogue of performance data for Danish theatres between 1701 and 1975. However, as Jensen

organisation, were influenced by several factors: political connections, the preservation of tradition, audience preference and expectations, and foreign influences, spread by touring troupes, all had some degree of control over theatrical organisation. However, theatrical organisation also had a significant impact on the repertory performed at the Royal Theatre; processes of organisation reveal important issues within the repertory, including the ways in which local and foreign genres coexisted.

The *Kongelige Teater* had opened in 1748 and housed the Danish company for the whole period under discussion here, almost invariably performing works in Danish.[36] The institution had rich musical resources and an excellent orchestra which facilitated the staging of elaborate works, including large-scale operas which were expensive to stage.[37] Although the Royal Theatre primarily performed staged theatrical works, a significant concert tradition also existed where vocalists and instrumentalists performed alongside excerpts from stage works. In 1800, concerts were typically stand-alone performances but by 1860 they were included in an evening's entertainment alongside up to three staged works.[38] This growth in resources, increased financial stability, the growing demand for stage works, and the increasingly diverse repertory was driven by the growing population and a wider variety of theatrical works.

The *Hofteatret* (Court Theatre) had opened in 1767 and was part of the same institution as the *Kongelige Teater*. The two theatres were clearly linked; on many occasions Jensen links the *Hofteatret* to the main *Kongelige Teater* records. This suggests that works were performed by the Danish company at the *Hofteatret* or by the Court company at the Royal Theatre.[39] The Court Theatre was originally created to house a visiting French troupe who had been invited to Copenhagen in 1766.[40] This set a precedent that continued long into the nineteenth century, with the theatre providing a performance space for several French, Italian, and German touring troupes. Throughout the period, the Court Theatre was also an important concert venue. Concerts were often performed by touring troupes and increased in frequency in the final decades of this period. Unlike at the Royal Theatre, concerts at the *Hofteatret* were never heard alongside other works. The start of this period also saw the beginning of a pantomime tradition at the Court

acknowledges, these records are currently only complete for the Royal Theatre. Niels Jensen, 'Opført dramatik 1722-1975.' Accessed 13 November 2021. *http://danskforfatterleksikon.dk/1850t/t1850dato.htm*.

[36] Hesselager. 'Rachel the Jewess in Copenhagen.' 222.

[37] Selvik. '*Høstgildet* by J. P. A. Schulz.' 226.

[38] Jensen. 'Opført dramatik 1722-1975.'

[39] Ibid.

[40] Gerhard Schepelern. *Operaens historie I Danmark 1634-1975*. Copenhagen: Rosinate, 1995. 17.

Theatre, which continued, after 1843, at the Tivoli theatre.[41] Despite the varied forms of theatrical entertainment at the *Hofteatret*, the repertory largely resembled that of the Royal Theatre.

The Royal Theatre put on between one and two performances a day. The average number of performances per day between 1800 and 1860 was 1.462: the lowest was 1.286 in 1822 and the highest was 1.642 in 1830.[42] Despite this high average of performances per day, there were some days with none, and some with double, triple, or quadruple bills. There were rarely seven performance days in a week, but there was no consistent pattern throughout the period, except for a general absence of Sunday performances when works were performed at the *Hofteatret* instead. This was not consistent, however. Unlike the *Kongelige Teater* which sometimes performed up to four works in an evening, the Court Theatre had a far lower frequency and usually only performed one work per performance day. Performance frequency increased towards the end of the period in line with the increased presence of touring troupes in the city.

The Royal and Court Theatres existed alongside several suburban theatres. These usually operated between June and September when the *Kongelige Teater* took its summer break. In contrast to the higher register works, including opera, performed at the Royal Theatre, suburban theatres typically performed popular works that were accessible to a wider audience. The repertories of the *Kongelige Teater* and suburban theatres offers a juxtaposition between high and low register music. While higher register works were traditionally associated with aristocratic audiences, the growth of the middle class in the nineteenth century, both by size and political empowerment, led to an expansion of theatrical genres enjoyed by all social classes. The foundation of many suburban theatres during this period aligned with the physical expansion of the city and the increasing population: house building around the lakes of *Nørrebro*, *Vesterbro* and *Frederiksberg* led to the subsequent establishment of corresponding suburban theatres. A summer theatre was created in *Vesterbro* in 1812, located just outside of the city borders – this was replaced by a simple wooden building in 1834 which served as a new summer theatre.[43] The *Vesterbro* was a venue for touring troupes and typically staged popular entertainment including comedies, *vaudevilles*, and circus performances.[44] A pantomime theatre existed at *Nørrebro* from 1828 until it burnt down in 1833.[45] In 1843, a theatre operated outside of the city walls at Tivoli, which staged concerts amongst other forms of entertainment. Founded by Georg Carstensen

[41] Henning Urup. 'Dance in Copenhagen.' In *Music in Copenhagen*, edited by Niels Krabbe. Translated by James Manley, 128-159. Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzels Publishers 1996. 156.
[42] These figures were obtained by dividing the number of performances per year by the number of days per year on which there were performances.
[43] Urup. 'Dance in Copenhagen.' 143.
[44] Ibid., 156. Hesselager. 'Rachel the Jewess in Copenhagen.' 222.
[45] Jensen. 'Opført dramatik 1722-1975.'

(1812-1857), Tivoli Gardens opened with permission from King Christian VIII (1786-1843, crowned in 1839) as a way of distracting the public from political matters: this exemplified the use of theatre as a form of social control.[46] Hans Christian Lumbye (1810-1874) was employed as music director and created pieces exclusively for performance at Tivoli. Members of all social groups were entertained at this theatre; it drew attention from international audiences as well as typical summer spectators.[47] The Casino Theatre was established in 1848: it operated when Tivoli closed for the winter and performed popular genres including French comedies, pantomime, and ballet.[48] The *Folketeatret* (People's Theatre) was established to provide accessible theatrical works for audiences from the middle and lower classes. The theatre primarily performed Parisian comedies, aligning with other Danish suburban theatres. The *Folketeatret* also staged most of the *opérette* performed in the city.[49] The existence of these suburban theatres – and the repertories they performed – were strong indications of the expansion of the middle class, and exemplifies the impact that audiences had on music for the stage.

The conventions governing season length were an important aspect of nineteenth-century theatrical organisation: European theatres largely followed the same model. In general, the Royal Theatre began its season at the start of September and finished in May: a lengthy pause in productions marked the summer break. A shorter break occurred at Easter, usually lasting around a week, and performances restarted in the days immediately following Easter Monday. Around Christmas, performances only paused for Christmas Day itself. Typically, suburban theatres were open during the summer – to facilitate audience movement away from the city centre – when the Royal Theatre took a break. However, there were exceptions: the Casino Theatre performed when Tivoli closed for the winter, demonstrating the significant break-down of convention and the power of new theatres and their audiences. The Tivoli adopted the role of a principal theatre, with the Casino Theatre assuming the role of a suburban theatre that filled the gap in its seasons.

Despite these generalisations, season length did not always follow conventional patterns. Throughout most of the period, there were some performances during the summer months, albeit far less than during the regular season. These either marked national occasions or were

[46] Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker. *A History of Opera: The Last Four Hundred Years*. London, Allen Lane, 2012. 330.
[47] Heinrich W. Schwab. 'Von den Konzertgärten, Berichte und Bilder aus der Kulturgeschichte des Konzertsaals (IV).' *Das Orchester* 41 No. 5 (1993). 544.
[48] Pentti Paavolainen. 'Operetta in the Nordic Countries (1850-1970.)' In *The Cambridge Companion to Operetta*, edited by Anastasia Belina and Derek B. Scott. 150.
[49] Ibid., 151.

performances by touring companies who used the theatre while the resident company took a break. The summer break was interrupted during 1816-1819, 1823, 1825, 1827, and 1831.

Touring troupes were important within nineteenth-century theatre: they facilitated cultural transfer and were responsible for the dissemination of new theatrical styles and works, heavily influencing the theatrical style of the cities they visited. Furthermore, many cities without a resident theatre company relied on touring troupes. Touring troupes usually performed in their own language, contrasting with the Danish performances at the Royal Theatre. Copenhagen's long history with touring troupes began in the eighteenth century; a French troupe, primarily performing *opéra comique*, visited Copenhagen in 1766.[50] *Opéra comique* quickly dominated the Danish repertory and contributed to the significant French influences within Danish theatre throughout the nineteenth century. Italian troupes were also present in Copenhagen before this period: they were popular between 1747 and 1778[51] because influential courtiers wanted to hear Italian opera at the Royal Theatre.[52] Despite this early popularity, there were no further Italian companies until the arrival of Pietro Rossi's company in November 1841.[53] This group performed at *Vesterbro* upon arrival in Copenhagen – demonstrating the links between popular works performed by touring troupes and suburban venues[54] – but gained immediate popularity with the King and were subsequently offered the Court Theatre.[55] Their popularity led to a small increase in Italian opera performances in Copenhagen, but did not substantially alter the repertory. Their presence demonstrated the links between Italian opera and aristocratic culture and clearly demonstrated the power of the court within Danish theatre. However, this also reflected the historic links between touring troupes and the Court Theatre. The presence, acceptance, and ultimate popularity of touring troupes in Copenhagen during this period contributed to the diversification of the repertory, promotion of foreign styles, and helped to align Danish repertory with that of other European cities. Furthermore, the state support for foreign touring troupes demonstrated the cosmopolitan motivations that facilitated the presentation of a diverse repertory in Copenhagen.

The reception of touring troupes in Copenhagen was varied. Despite some significant success, touring troupes often faced hostility, largely motivated by attempts to preserve Danish

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[50] Schepelern. *Operaens historie I Danmark 1634-1975*. 17.
[51] Jens Hesselager. 'Recitative and Modernity in Copenhagen, c.1720-1850', in "*Verwandlung der Welt"? Die Musikkultur des Osteeraums in der Sattelzeit*, Martin Loeser (ed.), Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2016, 61.
[52] Selvik, '*Høstgildet* by J. P. A. Schulz.' 221.
[53] Hesselager. 'Rachel the Jewess in Copenhagen.' 221.
[54] Ibid., 222.
[55] Jens Hesselager. 'Recitative and Modernity in Copenhagen, c.1720-1850.' In *"Verwandlung der Welt"? Die Musikkultur des Osteeraums in der Sattelzeit*, edited by Martin Loeser. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2016. 222.

theatrical traditions and promote Danish culture. While audiences celebrated the arrival of Rossi's Italian troupe as a welcome alternative to the Danish company,[56] some critics opposed them: Johan Ludvig Heiberg (1791-1860) insisted the Danish company should not emulate the style of the Italian troupe, for example.[57] Heiberg's criticism largely stemmed from self-preservation: his success relied on the popularity of the Danish stage. However, not all criticism was so negative. Theatre historian Thomas Overskou (1798-1873) was more neutral: although he criticised some foreign trends, including applause for individual performers without consideration for the overall performance quality, he praised the expression and energy of the Italian performers, believing these qualities were missing at the Royal Theatre.[58] Overskou encouraged greater effort towards emotional and dramatic drive, recognising that foreign competition raised the standard of the Danish company.[59] Critical opinions on touring troupes attacked both the presence of foreign styles and the infiltration of these foreign influences into the local style.[60] Hostility largely resulted from a defence of local Danish traditions: local individuals promoted their own work, alongside the creation and promotion of a Danish cultural identity.

Audiences played an important role in music for the stage: they dictated the success or failure of theatrical works. Methods of theatrical organisation reveal audience demographics and expectations, providing valuable insight into contemporary audiences. The dominance of the Danish language at the Royal Theatre suggests a local audience predominantly consisting of those from the middle and lower classes. Furthermore, the lack of subscriptions for many performances at the *Kongelige Teater* ensured financial accessibility for a wider audience.[61] In contrast, the Italian troupes who performed in Italian at the *Hofteatret* had a largely aristocratic audience who could understand Italian. Audiences expanded during the nineteenth century: the growing middle and educated classes re-built theatre to align with their own priorities, including liberal ideas that gave them greater political and cultural power.[62] Suburban theatres aligned with the changing audience demographics: they performed popular and accessible works. Theatrical plots also revealed audience characteristics: the plots of many *grands opéras*, for example, reflected the interests of middle class citizens who campaigned for progression and reformist policies and were attracted to French political developments.[63] After the revolutionary period of the 1840s,

[56] Hesselager. 'Rachel the Jewess in Copenhagen.' 222.
[57] Hesselager. 'Recitative and Modernity in Copenhagen.' 61.
[58] Hesselager. 'Rachel the Jewess in Copenhagen.' 222.
[59] Thomas Overskou. *Den Danske Skueplads*, vol. 5. København: Samfundet til den danske Litteraturs fremme, 1864. 493-498.
[60] Hesselager. 'Recitative and Modernity in Copenhagen.' 63.
[61] Jensen. 'Opført dramatik 1722-1975.'
[62] Anne Sivuoja, Owe Ander, Ulla-Britta Broman-Kananen, and Jens Hesselager eds. *Opera on the Move in the Nordic Countries in the Long Nineteenth Century.* Helsinki: DocMus Research Publications 4, 2012. 1.
[63] Hesselager. 'Recitative and Modernity in Copenhagen.' 70-72.

audience requirements changed because social and political ambitions had been accomplished: audiences around Europe therefore sought lighter entertainment instead of classical and topical dramas.[64]

Royal occasions often dictated theatre and organisation: they had a direct impact on the creation and presentation of repertory. Royal occasions were usually marked or celebrated in Copenhagen with the performance of local works: most were commissioned on themes from Danish history.[65] Schulz was contracted to create an annual composition to celebrate the King's birthday, for example.[66] Another key event was the death of King Christian VIII on 20th January 1848, which was marked by a pause in performances at the Royal Theatre until 3rd March. Once they restarted, the repertory consisted of mostly local works, including several new pieces by Heiberg and Henrik Hertz (1797-1870), as shown in figure 1, which were created to mourn the King.[67] This exemplified the importance of local style and shows how the monarchy contributed to the promotion of Danish theatre.

Fig.1. Performances following the re-opening of the Royal Theatre after the death of King Christian VIII.

Date	**Title**	**Dramatist/Composer/ Choreographer**	**Genre**	**Premiere?**	**Notes**
3 March 1848	*Sørge-Prolog*	Johan Ludvig Heiberg	Prologue	Yes	Prologue to the first performance after the death of His Majesty King Christian the Eighth
3 March 1848	*Kong Renés Datter*	Henrik Hertz	Lyric Drama	No	
3 March 1848	*Liden Kirsten*	Johan Peter Emilius Hartmann / Hans Christian Andersen / Pierre Larcher	Syngespiel	No	
4 March 1848	*Ninon*	Henrik Hertz	Play	Yes	

[64] Ther. *Center Stage*. 198.
[65] Gjerven. 'Staging state patriotism.' 249. Selvik. '*Høstgildet* by J. P. A. Schulz.' 223, 240.
[66] Selvik. '*Høstgildet* by J. P. A. Schulz.' 222.
[67] Jensen. 'Opført dramatik 1722-1975.'

5 March 1848	*Valgerda*	Johan Ludvig Heiberg	Lustspiel		Fastelavn (Carnival)
5 March 1848	*En Søndag paa Amager*	Johanne Luise Heiberg (originally anon.)	Vaudeville	Yes	Fastelavn (Carnival)
6 March 1848	*Barselstuen*	Ludvig Holberg	Comedy	No	
6 March 1848	*En Søndag paa Amager*	Johanne Luise Heiberg (originally anon.)	Vaudeville	No	
7 March 1848	*Ninon*	Henrik Hertz	Play	No	

Danish systems of theatrical organisation reflected significant social and political shifts in nineteenth-century Copenhagen and throughout Europe. The established systems not only demonstrate the construction of nineteenth-century theatre but also highlight the main factors motivating repertorial choice, including state support for local style, changing audience demographics and expectations, and touring troupes. Perhaps most significantly, audiences, facilitated by their expansion and empowerment, encouraged the creation of new theatres in Copenhagen that prioritised accessibility, aligning with shifting theatrical systems throughout Europe. Targeted state support, political ideas and empowerment, and audiences all played a significant role, not only in methods of theatrical organisation, but also in repertorial construction and performance throughout this period.

1.4 The Politics of Genre: The Foreign and the Local

Considering the changing balance of theatrical genres, and particularly the balance between foreign and local genres, offers a nuanced understanding of the impact of politics on theatrical repertory.[68] This period witnessed the simultaneous striving to promote a local, specifically Danish, cultural identity, alongside the movement towards a more cosmopolitan approach to music for the stage. These seemingly contradictory ideas of nationalism and cosmopolitanism, represented by local and foreign works, were intertwined within the repertory. Important factors emerging from this analysis are dominant foreign influences, including several French genres – notably *opéra comique* and *comédie-vaudeville* – and the ways these were often received as local,

[68] Mark Everist. 'The Music of Power: Parisian Opera and the Politics of Genre, 1806–1864.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67 No. 3 (2014). 685.

the promotion of local styles, audience preferences, and the preservation of tradition, that together, contributed to the diversification of the *Kongelige Teater* repertory between 1800 and 1860.

Genre originates from the Latin *genus*, meaning kind, sort, or class, demonstrating the fundamental basis of classification and division that is central to any generic study. This leads to value judgements;[69] genres are compared based on perceived qualities that vary dependant on different times and cultures. Genres, therefore, do not exist independently; they should be understood through interrelation with, and differentiation from, other genres.[70] Although the etymology of genre suggests the collection of works based on shared or common traits, the grouping of works should be fluid, allowing works to move between different categories.[71] This, therefore, raises questions of generic boundaries and is inescapably linked to processes of adaptation where works were modified to align them with a preferred genre or style, ultimately complicating the classification process.[72] Nineteenth-century theatrical genres were not distinct, complicating any attempt to define or assign labels or categories. While theoretically we can define genres and set clear boundaries, in practice these were often blurred and the borders between different genres were indistinct and porous.[73] This is exemplified by the clear similarities between a play and a *vaudeville*, or a *vaudeville* and an *opéra comique*, for example. Acknowledging these grey areas, while complicating the study of genre, is a productive way of considering cultural transfer: it not only demonstrates the similarities between some, supposedly conflicting, theatrical styles, but provides greater context for performance practice and processes of adaptation.

During the nineteenth century, theatres presented a variety of social and cultural entertainment alongside many theatrical genres; only a few European theatres exclusively staged opera.[74] The serious opera tradition in Copenhagen first began in the mid-1780s,[75] and by 1800, a local tradition existed that continued to develop throughout the period. Local composers created

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[69] Ralph Cohen. 'History and Genre.' *New Literary History* 17 No. 2 *Interpretation and Culture* (1986). 203, 206.
[70] Ibid., 207.
[71] Ibid., 204. Jacques Derrida and Avital Ronell. 'The Law of Genre.' *Critical Enquiry* 7 No. 1 *On Narrative* (1980). 63.
[72] Derrida and Ronell. 'The Law of Genre.' 69.
[73] While genre is, and in my opinion should, be fluid, to enable the comparative approach taken within the dissertation, genre categorisations have been used. As outlined in the Introduction, where possible, genre classifications used here follow those used by the compilers of the underlying data to ensure consistency. Where obvious errors have occurred, as is possible given the accepted fluidity of genre, I have attempted to classify these appropriately, based on several factors, including stylistic features and original performance language.
[74] Ther. *Center Stage*. 198.
[75] Selvik. '*Høstgildet* by J. P. A. Schulz.' 221.

many Danish-language works that were subsequently performed at the Royal Theatre. As the period progressed, a commonly accepted view suggested the Royal Theatre should adapt to the new, modern theatrical styles that were circulating around Europe,[76] facilitated by the movement of individuals and touring troupes. However, many local composers, dramatists, and critics opposed this idea: they wanted to promote local works instead of foreign styles. Despite growing opposition, by 1860, Copenhagen hosted a lively and diverse repertory including several theatrical genres and works by many local and foreign composers.

Theatrical genres must be considered within the political context of the nineteenth century.[77] The Napoleonic Wars and the resulting measures taken by the Congress of Vienna triggered the desire to promote a local cultural identity, which increased in strength towards the end of the period amidst the ongoing tensions and conflict with Schleswig and Holstein.[78] This was reflected in the creation and performance of local works, the appropriation of foreign works, compositional elements, and public and critical discourse that criticised foreign influences and genres. However, despite the high proportion of local works, the repertory at the Royal Theatre between 1800 and 1860 was highly varied: suggesting a more cosmopolitan approach inspired by foreign influences. Promoted by trajectories within European theatre, combined with the Danish practice of sending composers to train in Europe, cosmopolitanism grew alongside the seemingly contradictory promotion of local influences and can be identified through the growing diversity of the Danish repertory.

The duality of nationalism and cosmopolitanism is further complicated when considering the clear regional links that existed between Denmark and other Northern European places: German traditions, for example, had a significant cultural influence on Scandinavian countries.[79] These were demonstrated by the ongoing conflicts with the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein: Denmark and the German Confederation were connected, albeit with a hostile relationship. Regional links are particularly obvious when considering plays; German plays were successful in Copenhagen because of the clear stylistic similarities as well as practical concerns facilitated by the geographical proximity. The inclusion of so-called Danish theatrical elements in local works further demonstrate regional connections; folk traditions and spoken dialogue were also integral to German national works.

[76] Hesselager. 'Recitative and Modernity in Copenhagen.' 72.
[77] For a history of genre studies and the politics involved in the study of genre, see Cohen. 'History and Genre.' 203., Derrida and Ronell. 'The Law of Genre.' 69., and Everist. 'The Music of Power.' 685.
[78] Jepsen. 'Bournonville og dansk national identitet i det 19. Århundrede.' 187.
[79] Gutsche-Miller. 'The Reception of Carl Nielsen as a Danish National Composer.' 6.

The composite nature of Denmark before and during this period indicates the usefulness of a regional approach for understanding how repertories were formed.[80] However, attempting to differentiate between national and regional styles is problematic;[81] shared theatrical styles complicate attempts to define distinct national elements.[82] Despite commonly used terms like 'Nordic colour', defining a universally accepted Scandinavian musical style is problematic: the vague terminology demonstrates the difficulties with describing such a style. Although Scandinavian nations have historically been considered as a single unified region, the vast geographic, historic, cultural, and linguistic diversity resulted in significant repertorial differences which sometimes even occurred within the repertoire of a single individual. Considering Denmark, Norway, and Sweden as one homogenous region with similar repertory is problematic: despite some overlapping history, language, and culture, Norway and Sweden had comparatively limited musical progress during the nineteenth century compared to the diverse repertory in Denmark that more closely aligned with the rest of Europe.[83] Denmark, therefore, subsequently adopted the role of a local centre for the surrounding areas. Danish, and some German, influence dictated and shaped the repertory and organisational systems of Norway's national theatre, for example.[84] The reliance on Danish culture to form the repertory of the newly created *Nationaltheatret* opposed the very purpose of the building: it had been created as part of the development of a Norwegian cultural identity,[85] in much the same way that local works were performed at the *Kongelige Teater* to promote Danish culture.

The *Kongelige Teater* offered a diverse repertory that combined local genres with popular foreign works. Between 1800 and 1860, the generic balance changed; while plays were popular throughout the period, the repertory gradually diversified in favour of a wide range of musical genres. Between 1800 and 1814, ballet was the most prominent genre but was overshadowed by *opéra comique* between 1815 to 1826. From 1827 onwards, the repertory was largely dominated by Danish *vaudeville* and *comédie-vaudeville.* German and Italian opera, although significant in the repertory, never reached the dominating popularity of other genres. This diversity, and the contrasting mixture of local and foreign genres, reflected the breadth of influences that motivated the repertory during this period. The combination of foreign and local genres not only reveals the factors motivating repertorial shifts but also highlights the socio-political impact on repertory in

[80] Gjerven. 'Staging state patriotism.' 263.
[81] Hersey. *Scandinavian song.* 1-2, 115.
[82] Carl Dahlhaus. *Nineteenth-Century Music.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989. 38.
[83] Hersey. *Scandinavian song*.
[84] Kirsten Shepherd-Barr. 'The Development of Norway's National Theatres.' In *National Theatres in a Changing Europe*, edited by S.E. Wilmer, 85-98. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. 90.
[85] Ibid.

this period. While the prominence of local plays and Danish *vaudevilles* depict a local orientation that favoured spoken word, motivated by practical and aesthetic reasons, the selection of foreign musical genres that diversified throughout this period, in line with the repertory performed elsewhere in Europe, reflected the cosmopolitan nature of theatre at the Royal Theatre, driven by government action.

1.4.1 Local Genres

The repertory of the *Kongelige Teater* featured many local works between 1800 and 1860, so defined because they aligned with Danish conventions and promoted local culture and traditions. Plays, including some foreign plays, adhered to the conventional Danish theatrical style, but there were also more obvious Danish genres, including *Syngestykke* and *vaudeville*. Ballet also promoted the local aesthetic style that was so important in nineteenth-century Copenhagen, despite many works being imported from France. The significance of these local, or locally perceived, genres demonstrated the importance of promoting local identities and culture, while also indicating audience preference and highlighting their demographics.[86]

Danish artists wanted to create a new and unique style of music to promote their own culture and differentiate from existing – and particularly German – traditions.[87] The Danish language, folk traditions – which were immediately recognised and celebrated as part of local culture – the preference of speech over recitative, and the importance of text over music, were all stylistic elements promoted as Danish. However, despite an ongoing desire to distance Danish culture from German traditions, many of the stylistic elements considered to be Danish were also central to the German national style. In fact these features were also associated with several national genres: the inclusion of folk songs and stories and use of spoken dialogue were common elements within national traditions.[88] Using a local language was another common feature of national style: whether original or translated, a local language ensured works were easily understood by local audiences and removed the need for printed translations.[89] Furthermore, the Danish language could be understood by the whole audience, including the new audience formed from the growing middle class. The use of spoken dialogue over recitative largely stemmed from the desire for accessibility and clarity: putting greater emphasis on declamation and vocal

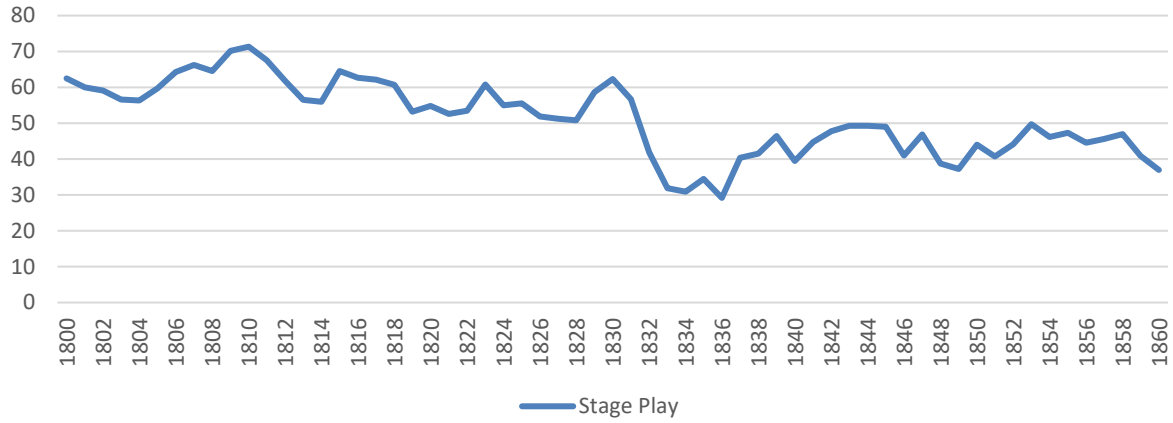
[86] With all locally perceived works, it is important to consider whether this was a contemporary view or whether the label has been assigned retrospectively. Selvik. '*Høstgildet* by J. P. A. Schulz.' 241.
[87] Jepsen. 'Bournonville og dansk national identitet i det 19. Århundrede.' 187.
[88] Finn Egeland Hansen, 'Niels W. Gade og Carl Nielsen i et nyt og bredere perspektiv', *Magasin fra Det Kongelige Bibliotek*, (29(3), 2016), 39-42. https://tidsskrift.dk/magasin/article/view/66986/96499
[89] Hersey. *Scandinavian son.,* 2.

presentation ensured important messages were clearly heard and performances were easy to understand.[90] Furthermore, compared to the simplicity of spoken dialogue, recitative required elaborate musical and performative skills that went beyond the resources of the *Kongelige Teater*. However, the preference for spoken dialogue was not only practical: singing was considered un-Danish and many believed it should not be included in local works.[91] This stemmed from a widespread belief that text was more important than music:[92] recitative was only really favoured within Italian opera and French *grand opéra*. The long-standing association between recitative and foreign opera – widely considered a rival to spoken theatre[93] – encouraged further promotion of spoken dialogue. The promotion of this local style, as part of the wider movement to create and promote a local identity, was an important component of the Danish Golden Age. This movement promoted theatrical elements that were widely considered to be Danish, including folk tunes, specific melodic structures, and strict adherence to the traditional dialogue opera model.[94]

Plays constituted around 50% of the repertory at the Royal Theatre; they were the most frequently performed works between 1800 and 1860. Over 60% of performances in 1800 were plays, compared to the second leading genre – ballet – which was just under 20% of the repertory. Plays remained consistent until the 1830s, as shown in figure 2, after which, they faced significant competition from the emerging genre of *comédie-vaudeville*, which, in 1834 and 1836, was more frequently performed. The final two decades of the period were again dominated by plays: around 35% of the repertory. The gradual decline throughout this period was triggered by the diversification of the repertory and the growing desire for musical works; no single musical genre was responsible for the decline.[95]

[90] Ther. *Center Stage*. 205-206.
[91] Hesselager. 'Recitative and Modernity in Copenhagen.' 71.
[92] Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker. 'Singing and speaking before 1800.' In *A History of Opera,* 145-166. London, Allen Lane, 2012.
[93] Hesselager. 'Recitative and Modernity in Copenhagen.' 74.
[94] Hersey. *Scandinavian song.* 116.
[95] Throughout this work, no specific figures have been given, largely because there are classification errors throughout the source material. Furthermore, the blurring of genres complicates generic classification.

Fig.2. The percentage of plays in the repertory of the *Kongelige Teater* between 1800 and 1860.



The origins of the plays performed at the Royal Theatre reflected in small scale the diverse range of influences within the overall repertory. Between 1800 and 1860, 40% of plays were Danish, compared to 28% French, 24% German, and 6% English. Italian and Spanish plays had very little significance during this period – there were only a few performances of each because these cultures generally prioritised lyric genres. Although English plays were not frequently performed, they increased in prominence towards the end of the period largely due to the growing popularity of works by William Shakespeare (1564-1616). Despite the overall dominance of Danish plays, foreign playwrights were significant; half the music in 'Musik til Skuespil', a collection of incidental music, was composed by non-Danish playwrights. This represents, in small scale, the significance of foreign plays, and playwrights, in Copenhagen.[96] Until the 1820s, German plays were the most frequently performed, largely due to the popularity of August von Kotzebue (1761-1819). A shared Northern European theatrical style promoted not only Kotzebue's success, but also the success of German plays throughout the period. Heiberg's *Elverhøj* (1828), widely considered to be the first Danish national play, led to the growing success of Danish plays throughout the rest of the period, ensuring their overall dominance in the repertory. The prominence of Danish and German plays largely resulted from practical

[96] Although this small sample cannot fully represent the scale of performances during this period, Hesselager demonstrates the variety of plays performed at the Royal Theatre. Plays in this collection were written by playwrights including August von Kotzebue (1761-1819), Louis-Benoît Picard (1769-1828), Pierre Beaumarchais (1732-1799), Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600-1681), Friedrich Schiller (1759-1805), Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749-1832), Ernst August Friedrich Klingemann (1777-1831), William Shakespeare (1564-1616), Anders Fredrik Skjoldebrand (1757-1834), Johann Ludwig Deinhardstein (1790-1859), Eduard von Schenk (1788-1841), Casimir Delavigne (1793-1843), and Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1774). Jens Hesselager. '*Musik til Skuespil* – Two Methodological Challenges and a Few Observations Occasioned by an Early Nineteenth-Century Danish Manuscript of Incidental Music.' In *Theater* mit *Musik, 400 Jahre Schauspielmusik Im europäischen Theater*, *Bedingungen, Strategien, Wahrnehmungen*, edited by Ursula Kramer. Mainzer Historische Kulturwissenschaften, Bind. 16. Mainz: Transcript Verlag, 2014, 183-185.

considerations: they could be accessed, rehearsed, and performed far more quickly than works from further afield, minimising cost, and in the case of Danish works, needed no translation.[97]

Plays were popular throughout Europe during the nineteenth century and so the Danish repertory aligned with other theatres. The appeal of plays largely stemmed from their ability to reflect the lives of ordinary people; they could be changed and adapted in line with social shifts, new audiences, and new theatrical influences.[98] By the nineteenth-century, any music within plays was gradually removed.[99] Kotzebue was the most successful Danish playwright; his popularity in Copenhagen was not unique, and instead aligned with his success elsewhere in Europe. Theatrical forms developed throughout this period: Kotzebue's success declined and works written by Eugène Scribe (1791-1861) in the mid-1820s, including *comédies*, *tragédies*, *comedies vaudevilles*, began to dominate the repertory.

The significant performance frequency of plays was aided by their ability to conform to the preferred local theatrical style. Foreign plays were easily aligned with local traditions: translation was simple as plays lacked the strict musical parameters of operatic genres. Furthermore, plays often travelled without music:[100] while the text was a constant feature, incidental music was ephemeral.[101] Theatres usually made no attempt to obtain the original music; the translated text was combined with new or existing local music as this was quicker and cheaper than transporting the original. Although borrowing from foreign works was possible, it was not common practice.[102] While closely aligning the works with local traditions, this practice was also practically motivated: nineteenth-century audiences demanded novelty, and so the use of existing local music allowed works to be performed quickly. Local conventions were also important in dictating this practice: theatre in Northern Europe largely prioritised text over music, hence why play texts travelled without music, and in Copenhagen, plays were sometimes performed with fewer musical numbers than originally intended.[103] This provides an interesting viewpoint from which to consider cultural transfer: local traditions and practical concerns motivated not only repertorial choice, but also dictated how works were performed.[104]

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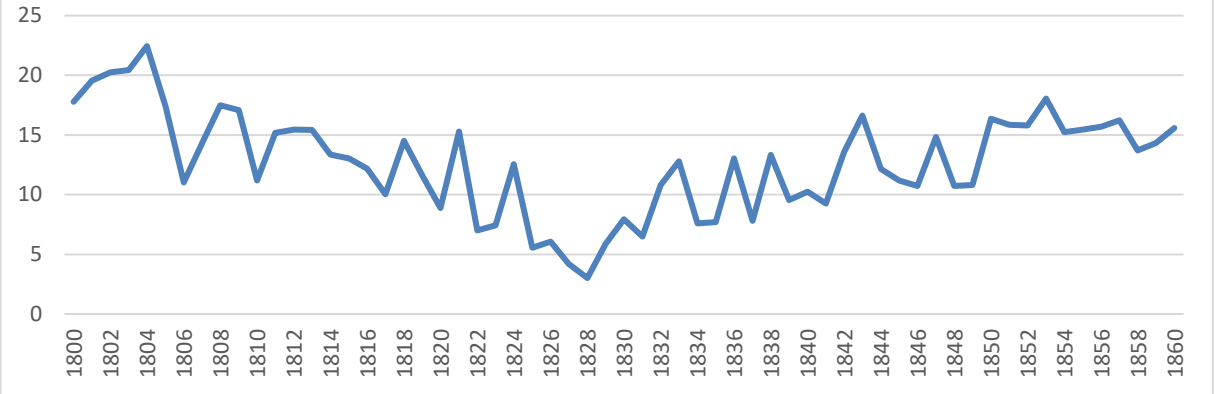
[97] Philipp Ther. *Center Stage*. 205. While Ther's discussion does not refer to Copenhagen and Danish plays, his description of German written plays, in this context also applies to the Danish.
[98] Michael R. Booth 'Nineteenth-Century Theatre.' In *The Oxford Illustrated History of Theatre*, edited by John Russell Brown, 299-340. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995. 300. David Grimsted. *Melodrama Unveiled: American Theatre and Culture, 1800–50*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968. 248.
[99] 'melodrama.' *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Accessed 19 April 2022. https://www.britannica.com/art/melodrama.
[100] Hesselager. 'Musik til Skuespil.' 194.
[101] Ibid., 187.
[102] Ibid., 193.
[103] Ibid., 190.
[104] Ibid., 185.

Fig.3. The percentage of Ballet performances in the repertory of the *Kongelige Teater between* 1800 and 1860.



Ballet was one of the most prominent genres at the *Kongelige Teater* between 1800 and 1860. Ballet was consistently popular but most successful during the first quarter of the period; ballets were the most frequently performed, after plays, between 1800-1805, 1807-1814, in 1818, and in 1824. The significance of these performances largely rested with Vincenzo Galeotti (1733-1816), the leading choreographer at the start of this period. The frequency of ballet performances was consistent, despite a significant dip in the middle of the period, as shown in figure 3. The increased frequency of performances in the 1840s reflected a new era of dance, primarily led by August Bournonville (1805-1879).[105] Despite this re-found popularity, ballet faced greater competition from the growing variety of musical genres. While it was the most significant genre at the start of this period, towards the end, ballet contributed to the growing diversity of genres performed at the Royal Theatre.

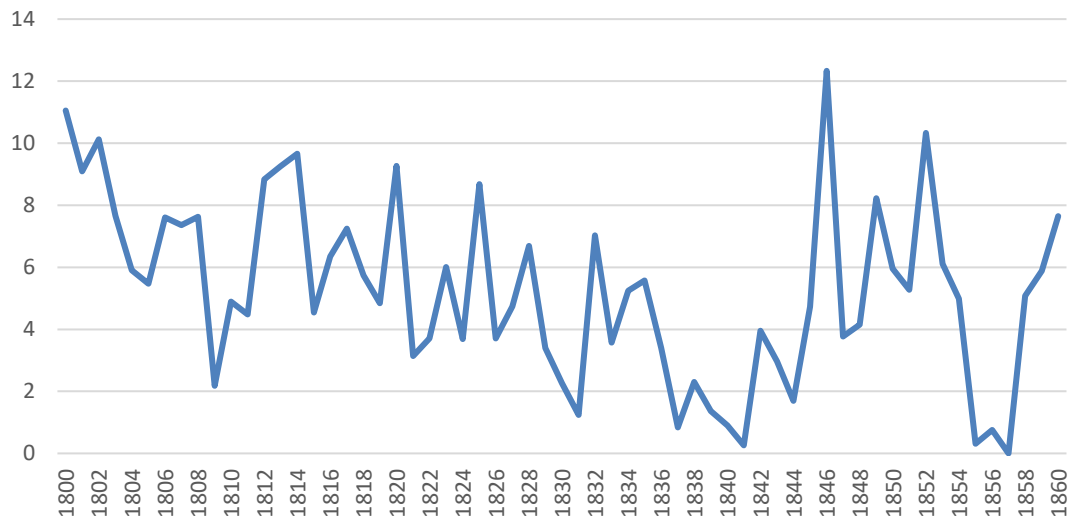
The success of ballet in Copenhagen largely stemmed from its conformity to the preferred local style. Although there were clear links with France and French culture – some works were imported from France, the leading ballet choreographers trained in France, and many stylistic elements originated from French traditions – ballet was also considered to be specifically Danish. This association lasted throughout the period, but was particularly linked to works by Bournonville, whose style, although gained through traditional French training, aligned closely with the preferred local aesthetic. Bournonville embodied the Danish romantic aesthetic: his works demonstrated lightness, grace, effortlessness, modesty, energy, and joy, without exaggerated virtuosity. These qualities were important elements of Danish theatrical style, while also promoted as virtues to strive for in every-day life. It was through his inclusion of these elements that Bournonville was celebrated as a Danish individual, and his works were promoted as an important part of Danish theatre. Ballet, while highly successful in Copenhagen throughout

[105] Urup. 'Dance in Copenhagen.' 149.

this period, was not held in the same regard elsewhere in Europe; the prominence of ballet, and its reception as a local genre, were unique features of the Danish repertory.

Danish opera, identified in Jensen's source as *Syngestykke*, was an important local genre at the *Kongelige Teater* in this period. Like other local opera genres, these works resembled plays that included songs and some sung dialogue. The genre was considerably less significant than might be expected: at the peak of its popularity, Danish opera constituted less than 15% of the repertory, as shown in figure 4. The significant fluctuations, again shown in figure 4, suggests works did not enjoy lasting success and were only popular for a short period. Danish operas were most frequently performed in the mid-1840s, aligning with the culmination of political tension between Denmark and the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. However, despite the peaks of success shown in figure 4, these resulted from several popular works – no one single work was significant. There was some correlation between political events and the performance of local works; the desire to promote a local culture and identity peaked at this point during the period, and composers created works that aligned with the political situation as this appealed to audiences. Furthermore, local composers took inspiration from politics and current affairs, explaining the increase in Danish opera at this point during the period.

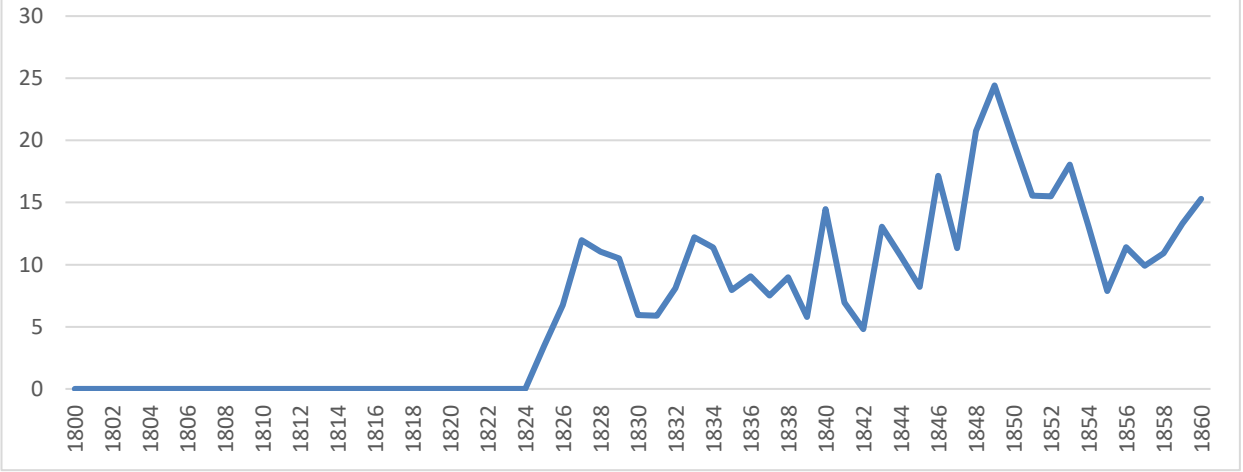
Fig.4. The percentage of Danish Opera performances in the repertory of the *Kongelige Teater* between 1800 and 1860.



Danish *vaudevilles* were significant in the repertory of the Royal Theatre in the second half of this period. They first emerged in 1825, as shown in figure 5. They quickly grew in popularity because they aligned with local style and matched the preferred style of the popular

opéras comiques and French *vaudevilles*.[106] Heiberg was almost solely responsible for the development of the genre: he emulated the French *vaudevilles* while adjusting for Danish audiences. Heiberg also promoted the genre: he defended his *vaudevilles* in an essay, comparing them to the well-known and well-received genre of *opéra comique.*[107] Performances steadily increased in frequency after this, peaking in 1849 when the genre constituted almost a quarter of the repertory at the Royal Theatre, before declining in the 1850s, ahead of a final increase in the last years of the period. Danish *vaudeville* was the most frequently performed genre in 1827, 1829, 1840, 1843 to 1844, 1846, 1848 to 1854, and 1858 to 1860. The success of this genre reflected not only the favoured Danish aesthetic but also the preference for light-hearted works that offered a contrast with the political tensions of the 1840s.

Fig.5. Percentage of Danish *vaudeville* performances in the repertory of the Royal Theatre between 1800 and 1860.



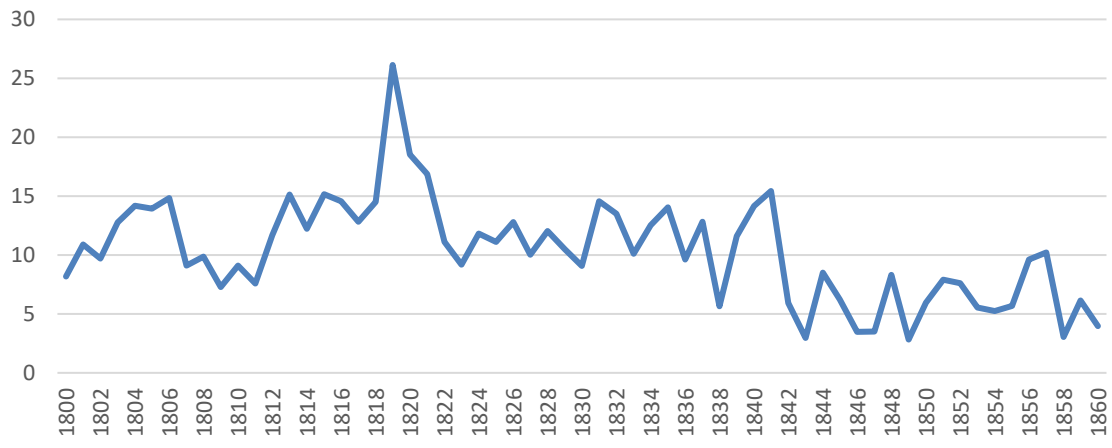
The presence and success of local genres in Copenhagen was clearly linked to the socio-political situation between 1800 and 1860. The desire to promote a national identity contributed to the development of Danish theatre: theatrical elements that were received as Danish were subsequently used in *Syngestykke*, *vaudeville*, ballet, and local plays. However, some elements associated with Danish culture were also observed in some foreign genres. The resistance to recitative and through-composition, for example, can be observed not only in specifically Danish genres, but also in other genres, including German opera, *opéra comique*, and *comédie-vaudeville*. Furthermore, Danish theatrical style was also used to adapt foreign works for performance in Copenhagen, aligning them with the preferred aesthetic and increasing accessibility for local

[106] Paavolainen. 'Operetta in the Nordic Countries.' 150.
[107] J.L. Heiberg. *Om Vaudevillen Som Dramatisk Digtart Og Om Dens Betydning Paa Den Danske Skueplads En Dramaturgisk Undersøgelse*. Kjøbenhavn: Schultz, 1826. 38-40, 48-49.

audiences. This demonstrates the clear links between local and foreign genres, despite significant promotion of the former.

1.4.2 Foreign Influences

Fig.6. The percentage of *opéra comique* performances in the repertory of the *Kongelige Teater* between 1800 and 1860.



Foreign influences were significant within the Danish repertory and can be traced to before the period began: King Christian IV (1588-1648) began the practice of sending Danish musicians to train in Europe, with the aim of broadening their musical tastes and knowledge.[108] This continued into the nineteenth century and resulted in performances of foreign works on Danish stages alongside the inclusion of foreign elements within the works of Danish creators. This was a major factor contributing to the increasingly diverse repertory at the *Kongelige Teater*. The reception of foreign works in Copenhagen cannot be considered without acknowledging the political influences that underpin any study of genre.[109] Government action and political motivations encouraged the cultivation of a growing cosmopolitan repertory in this period, consisting of French, Italian, and German musical genres, alongside the desire, also stemming from the government, to promote a significant local theatre.

French theatrical traditions had a long, historic presence in Copenhagen, influencing Danish theatre since the eighteenth century.[110] In 1766, a French touring troupe visited Copenhagen and performed a repertory primarily consisting of *opéra comique* at the *Hofteater*, a genre which remained highly successful between 1800 and 1860. Along with the considerable and

[108] Hersey. *Scandinavian song*. 115.
[109] Everist. 'The Music of Power.'
[110] Paavolainen. 'Operetta in the Nordic Countries.' 150.

lasting success of *opéra comique,* other French genres including *grand opéra*, *comédie-vaudeville*, and *opérette* enjoyed popularity in Copenhagen between 1800 and 1860. However, the French orientation of the Royal Theatre did not only stem from the historic relationship with French troupes. Ongoing conflicts with the German Confederation, and particularly the tensions with Schleswig and Holstein, encouraged separation from German culture which further reinforced the existing associations with French theatre.[111] Furthermore, the historic relationship, and stylistic similarities, led to some French genres being appropriated, and subsequently received, as local genres in Copenhagen.

Opéra comique was significant in the repertory of the Royal Theatre; it was the leading musical genre for twelve years and remained popular for the entire period, as shown in figure 6. It was the most performed musical genre in 1806, 1815-1821, 1825-1826, 1828-1832, and 1841. There was a significant peak in 1819 where performances were evenly split between nineteen works. After this dramatic peak – over 25% of the repertory – performances remained mostly consistent for the rest of the period despite a decline after 1840. This correlated with the emergence, and subsequent popularity, of the *comédie-vaudeville* genre. However, despite greater competition from other French theatrical genres, *opéra comique* remained popular with audiences.

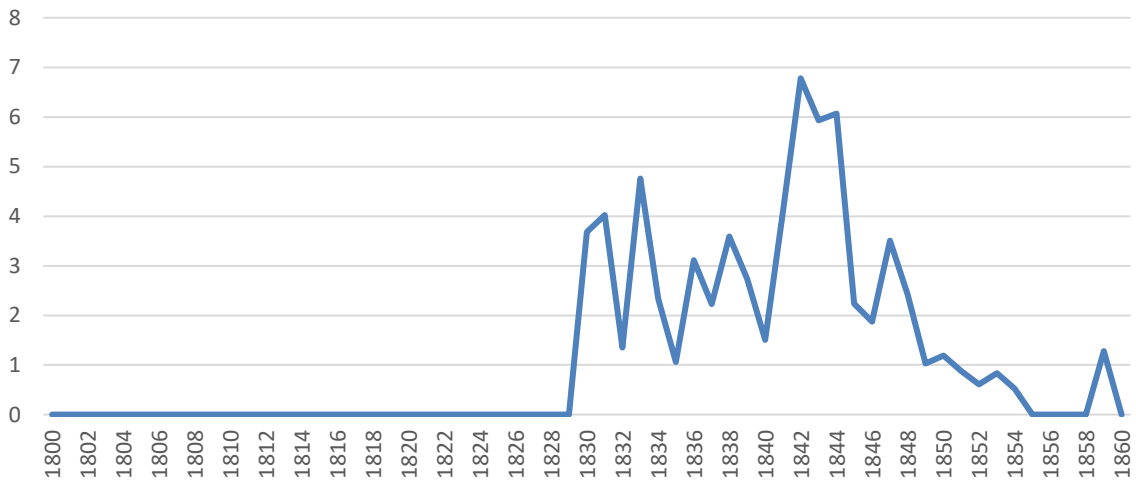
The lasting success of *opéra comique* was not only an indication of the popularity of the French genre: it also demonstrated the importance of preserving tradition and the appropriation of a foreign genre as local. As early as 1790, a dominant stylistic model, established from the early *opéra comique* genre, emerged in the Danish repertory, triggering opposition to any works that differed from this model.[112] *Opéra comique* was defended as a key component of Danish theatrical traditions, with some critics claiming it was the only operatic genre that could be appropriated as Danish.[113] The reception of *opéra comique* as a quasi-Danish genre not only resulted from long-standing traditions, however; it also aligned closely with local theatrical traditions and included many preferred qualities within Danish culture.[114]

Grand opéra first emerged around 1830: it is commonly thought to originate with performances of Daniel François Auber's (1782-1871) *La muette de Portici* (1828).[115] It quickly

[111] Ibid., 151.
[112] Hesselager. 'Recitative and Modernity in Copenhagen.' 74.
[113] Ibid., 61.
[114] Ibid., 62.
[115] There were precursors to *grand opéra*, including works composed by Gaspare Spontini (1774-1851) and Christoph Gluck (1714-1787). However, performances by these individuals were insignificant in the Danish repertory during this period.

became an important genre throughout Europe as works were popular with audiences. *Grand opéra* was characterised by vast resources, complex performative skills, and the sheer length. However, *grand opéra* was also linked to political events and social developments, subsequently sparking the interest of the growing middle class who were interested in the continent-wide revolutions. The inclusion of mass scenes reflected this: a chorus who determined the narrative was an on-stage representation of ordinary people who became politically empowered.[116] Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* (1829) was a particular example of this: it exemplified the successful endeavours of commoners,[117] which led to feelings of empowerment within the middle class and discontent amongst the nobility.

Fig.7. The percentage of *Grand Opéra* performances in the repertory of the *Kongelige Teater.*



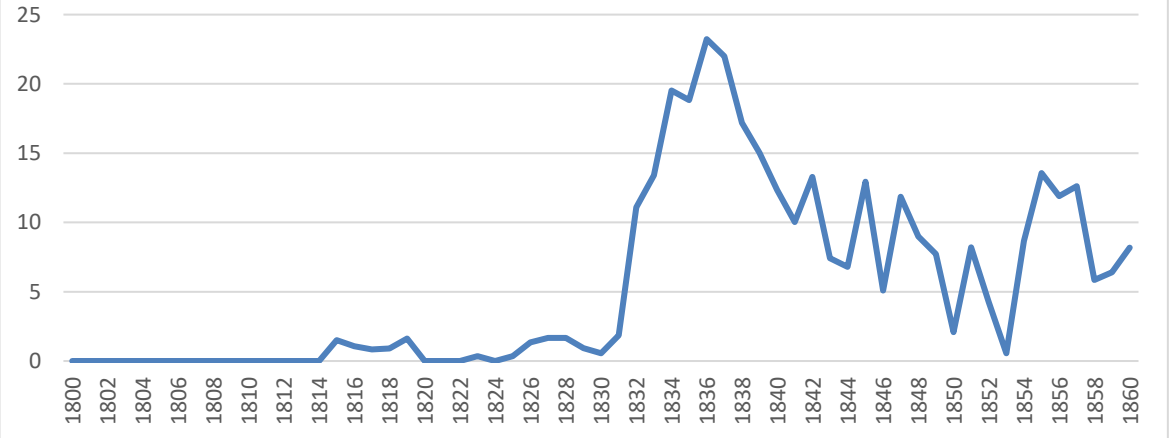
The stylistic qualities of *grand opéra* were idealised as those that should be emulated in Danish theatre, therefore, several works from the genre were performed at the Royal Theatre to much enthusiasm from Danish audiences.[118] After the emergence of *grand opéra* in Copenhagen, with thirteen performances of Auber's *Den Stumme I Portici* (originally *La muette de Portici*) (1828), the genre reached a peak of success at the start of the 1840s, as shown in figure 7, before an immediate decline. The popularity of this genre in the 1840s partly resulted from the political tension and increased political sentiments within the Danish middle class; audiences enjoyed works that reflected contemporary political events, particularly when they were modified to better suit the aesthetic style of Danish repertory. The genre dramatically declined from the late 1840s, correlating with the implementation of the new semi-democratic constitution in 1849,

[116] Ther. *Center Stage.* 3.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Hesselager. 'Recitative and Modernity in Copenhagen.' 75.

after which political ambitions had largely been achieved. The overall lack of *grand opéra* performances at the Royal Theatre – the genre never reached more than 7% of the repertory – was largely influenced by practical considerations: these works required unprecedented resources that surpassed even the excellent resources available at the *Kongelige Teater*. Furthermore, the stylistic features of *grand opéra* did not align with Danish convention and adapting a work of this scale required unparalleled work and cost. Finally, while a subset of audiences enjoyed performances that reflected political events, the elite class and Danish government were concerned that political works would lead to further discontent and revolution: this was a likely factor limiting performances at the Royal Theatre.

Comédie-vaudeville was one of the most successful genres in nineteenth-century Copenhagen. The emergence of the genre was heralded by performances of Jean Nicolas Bouilly's (1763-1842) *Haine aux femmes* (1808), a one-act comedy mixed with *vaudevilles*, first performed in Copenhagen in 1815. The light-hearted, comic genre played a significant role at the Royal Theatre from 1832, peaking in 1836, when performances constituted almost a quarter of the repertory. Between 1833 and 1839, 1842, 1845, 1847, and 1855 to 1857, *comédie-vaudeville* was the most frequently performed musical genre. After the peak in 1836, which consisted of performances of several works, performances gradually declined, as shown in figure 8, despite another increase towards the end of the period. Throughout the period, no one work single-handedly contributed to the success of the genre. While the popularity of the genre partly stemmed from the ongoing connections with French culture, *comédies vaudevilles* also aligned with the existing theatrical style that had originally stemmed from *opéra comique*. The light-hearted nature fulfilled the requirements of an audience who wanted lighter entertainment after the conflicts of the 1840s, in ways that serious genres like *grand opéra*, could not.

Fig.8. Percentage of *comédie-vaudeville* performances in the repertory of the *Kongelige Teater* between 1800 and 1860.

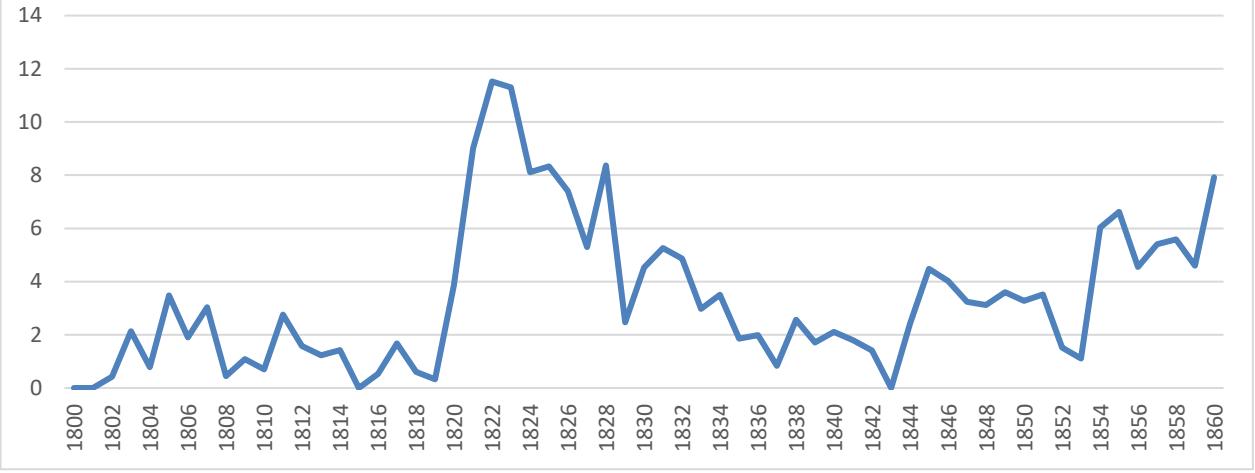


Opérette, a genre that first emerged in the 1850s, had very little presence in the repertory of the Royal Theatre during this period, despite the long-standing connections between Copenhagen and French culture, and the popularity of the genre throughout Europe. This was largely because the genre only emerged right at the end of this period. However, despite its popularity, *opérette* was considered inappropriate, immoral, and decadent and was subsequently banned in several places. It is possible the genre was also prohibited at the Royal Theatre. However, while there were no performances at the *Kongelige Teater*, *opérette* was performed at suburban theatres including the *Folketeatret*.[119] This demonstrated the links between French genres and popular culture; although *opérette* was perhaps unsuitable for performance at the Royal Theatre, it was enjoyed by middle class audiences at other theatres.

The success of *opéra comique* and *comédie-vaudeville*, and the presence of *grand opéra* and *opérette*, demonstrates the wide-reaching influence of the French cultural sphere. The historic relationship between Copenhagen and French theatre that first began in the mid-eighteenth century and continued long into the nineteenth century contributed to the success of several genres and a significant number of works. However, the success of French theatre relied on other factors too. The influence of an increasingly middle-class audience was a significant factor motivating the presence of French genres within the Danish repertory: popular genres including *comédie-vaudeville* and *opérette* became increasingly common because they aligned with audience preference. Therefore, these works not only demonstrated the significance of French culture but also reflected the shifting social stratification of the nineteenth century and exemplified the impact of this trend on theatre. The political empowerment and mobilisation of the middle classes, and their growing attendance at the theatre, contributed to an expansion of repertory throughout this period despite the long-lasting French orientation.

[119] Paavolainen. 'Operetta in the Nordic Countries.' 151.

Fig.9. The percentage of Italian opera performances in the repertory of the *Kongelige Teater* between 1800 and 1860.



Italian opera in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries was an international phenomenon:[120] Italian opera *was* opera. However, it could not maintain the same universal status it had once enjoyed and in many places often became just another national genre.[121] However, this was not universally true; Italian opera had a particular quality as big cities had an Italian opera, not a German or Czech one, for example. In Copenhagen, it lacked significance largely because the Italian style did not align with Danish tastes.[122] Contemporary criticism pitted Danish genres against their Italian counterparts; most discourse portrayed conflict between the two cultures,[123] stemming from fundamental differences including conflicting views about the importance of text and music. In Italian opera, words were subordinate to music – Italian spoken drama was rare[124] – contrasting with the Danish preference for spoken dialogue.[125] The inclusion of recitative in Italian opera was opposed throughout Northern Europe: recitative was considered antiquated, unnatural, and inescapably connected with castrati and an outdated court culture.[126] The stylistic contrast between genres, and the promotion of a local identity, led to the alienation of Italian opera in favour of local traditions that prioritised the preferred aesthetic style.

Given such significant opposition to the genre, it is perhaps surprising that Italian opera featured in the repertory of the Royal Theatre every year during this period, except for 1800-1801, 1815, and 1843. The presence of Italian opera fluctuated throughout this period, as shown in figure 9. The genre was most successful in the 1820s – and was the most performed musical

[120] Selvik. '*Høstgildet* by J. P. A. Schulz.' 222.
[121] Ther. *Center Stage.* 250.
[122] Ibid., 222.
[123] Hesselager. 'Rachel the Jewess in Copenhagen.' 222.
[124] Selvik. '*Høstgildet* by J. P. A. Schulz.' 238.
[125] Hesselager. 'Recitative and Modernity in Copenhagen.' 61.
[126] Ibid., 68-69.

genre in 1823 – mirroring the popularity of Italian opera elsewhere in Europe during this decade that was triggered by the craze for Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868) and his works. However, the success of Italian opera in Copenhagen in the 1820s contrasts with other cities; instead of solely resting on the success of one individual – namely Rossini – Italian opera performances in Copenhagen were evenly split between Rossini and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-1791). After a sustained decline in the 1830s, Italian opera increased in prominence during the early 1840s, correlating with the presence of Pietro Rossi's Italian troupe in Copenhagen. Rossi's troupe, while primarily based at the Court Theatre, inspired a greater number of Italian opera performances in the city. However, despite the several significant moments of success across this period, Italian opera performances never exceeded 12% of the repertory remained below 6% for most of the period.

German opera was problematic in Copenhagen, largely because of the ongoing political conflicts between Denmark and the German Confederation. Nineteenth-century German-language operas were a crucial part of the German nationalist movement and therefore held little significance for audiences outside of the German Confederation.[127] However, the clear stylistic similarities between Danish and German genres contributed to the presence of the latter in Copenhagen:[128] the shared preference for spoken dialogue over recitative was particularly significant. Furthermore, the lack of a serious opera tradition within German theatre – it was strongly associated with comedy[129] – aligned with the French traditions that were popular at the Royal Theatre. The similarities between Danish and German traditions and French *opéra comique* led to audiences and directors uniting over the perceived superiority compared to the serious Italian opera tradition. Despite the obvious parallels between genres, German opera had little success in Copenhagen: this aligned the Danish capital with other European cities where German works were rarely performed.

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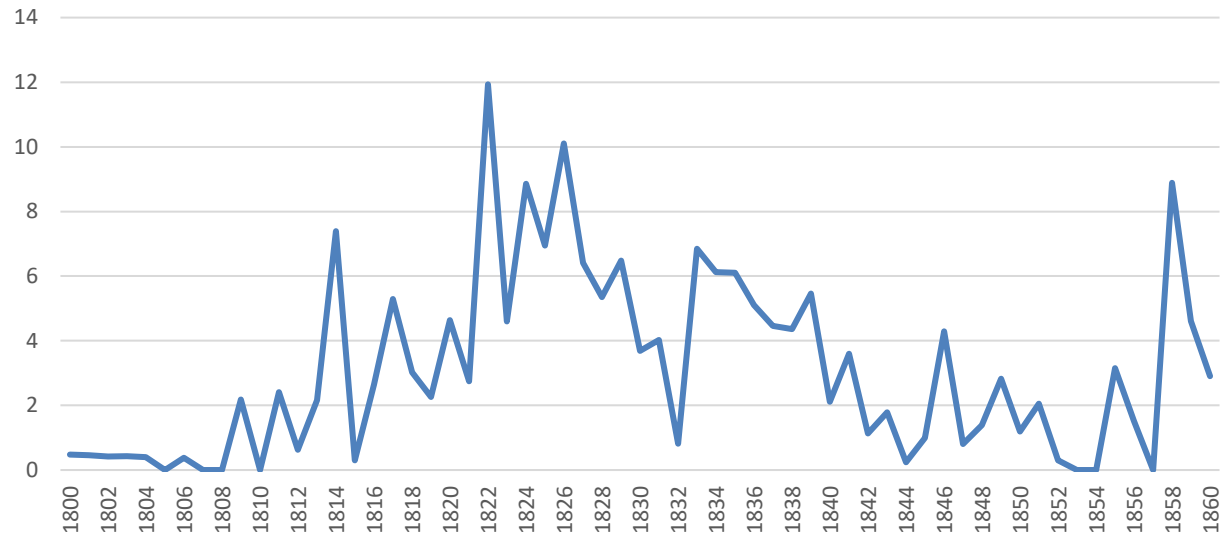
[127] The discourse surrounding early nineteenth-century German opera – or *Singspiele* – has largely concentrated on the context of growing nationalism; this will be explored further in the next chapter of this work. During the last decade of the eighteenth century, *Singspiel* defined many German works, comic or otherwise, with or without recitative, which problematises any attempt to define genres. Ultimately, 'opera' has been used for works where music is integral to the drama (Randi M Selvik. 'Høstgildet by J. P. A. Schulz.' 238-239.), whereas a modern definition of *Singspiel* refers to 'a German comic opera with spoken dialogue – 'a play with singing' rather than a 'sung play''. (Thomas Bauman. 'The Problem of Genre.' In *North German Opera in the Age of Goethe*, 9-14. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.) These terminological complexities further demonstrate the fluidity of genre.

[128] Hesselager. 'Recitative and Modernity in Copenhagen.' 61.

[129] Selvik. '*Høstgildet* by J. P. A. Schulz.' 240.

Fig.10. The percentage of German opera performances in the repertory of the *Kongelige Teater* between 1800 and 1860.



Largely due to the lack of large-scale German-language operas before 1821, and *Der Freischütz* is but a single work, the genre had little significance in the early years of the period.[130] The first spike in performances in 1814, shown in figure 10, indicates performances of Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (1781), which was an exception. German opera was most successful in the 1820s – and the most performed musical genre in 1822 – largely due to the success of Carl Maria von Weber's (1786-1826) *Der Freischütz* (1821), which, despite being considered the new national German opera,[131] was one of a few early nineteenth-century German operas to achieve lasting success outside of German-speaking territories. However, this success was short-lived, and the genre steadily declined throughout the period. The fleeting success of individual German opera performances represented by the peaks of success in figure 10, combined with several years with few, or no, performances, inevitably questions the significance of the genre. The limited success of German opera predominantly stemmed from the immediate yet short-lived popularity, which ultimately did not contribute to overall success for the genre, despite aligning stylistic qualities and geographical proximity.

[130] Sieghart Döhring, 'Dresden and Leipzig: Two Bourgeois Centres.' In *The Early Romantic Era, Between Revolutions: 1789 and 1848*, edited by Alexander Ringer. Basingstoke and London: Granada Group and The Macmillan Press, 1990. 144.
[131] Stephen C. Meyer, *Carl Maria von Weber and the Search for a German Opera*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003.

Stylistic similarities, political events and tendencies, and preservation of tradition and promotion of local style all contributed to the audience preference, and ultimate success, for some genres over others. Perhaps the most practical reason for success during this period was the significant stylistic similarities that contributed to the success or failure of different genres at the Royal Theatre: Italian opera did not succeed because it significantly contrasted with the preferred style. Aesthetic style was more significant than national differences, explaining why some foreign genres, including *opéra comique*, could be celebrated as Danish. However, this also stemmed from tradition: French genres enjoyed long-lasting success and the historic relationship ultimately resulted in the defence of French traditions as a fundamental aspect of Danish culture. Political events were also an important motivating factor for repertorial formation in this period, and contributed to the success, or failure, of several genres. The long-standing hostilities between Denmark and the German Confederation contributed to a lack of German opera performances at the Royal Theatre despite stylistic similarities. However, there was also significant conflict with French politics at the start of the nineteenth century which had little impact on the repertory.

1.4.3 The Foreign Becoming Local: Theatrical Adaptation and the Blurring of Genres

Although many foreign works, from several genres, were performed at the *Kongelige Teater* during this period, many were adapted to align them with a preferred local performance style, a process which occurred throughout Europe. While adaptation was often prompted by the desire to align foreign works with local traditions, adaptations were also motivated by practical concerns. Adaptation was more significant for operatic genres which, as a rule, required more substantial changes than plays. Producing foreign operas in Copenhagen often required significant adaptations of performance texts, staging, and technology as there were usually far greater resources at the theatres where these works originated.[132] Generic transformations, facilitated by processes of adaptation, reveal the fluidity of genre, clear social changes in audience demographics and shifting expectations, and some of the many causes of popularity during this period.[133]

The most common form of adaptation was translation into the local language. This not only aligned works with local styles but also made performances accessible to local audiences.[134] Translation was the most basic form of adaptation; it allowed reinterpretation where translators promoted and emphasised certain parts of the text without drastically altering the original

[132] Sivuoja. *Opera on the Move in the Nordic Countries*. 8.
[133] Cohen. 'History and Genre.' 216.
[134] Sivuoja. *Opera on the Move in the Nordic Countries*. 9.

work.[135] This was considered more respectful than other forms of adaptation that drastically altered theatrical works. Translation was the most public form of exposure to the political force behind genre; important messages were emphasised and plot points that were considered inappropriate could be disguised.[136] Within Danish culture where the government ruled absolutely, this form of censorship was a method of controlling audience behaviour: language was therefore used as both a cultural and political tool during the nineteenth century.

Transforming recitative into spoken dialogue was another important modification that aligned foreign works with a local style. This was motivated by the traditional association of recitative with antiquity, an outdated court culture, and the unnatural Italian castrati;[137] modernity was an important focus and commonly led to the exclusion or adaptation of any works that aligned with the outdated model. In 1807, a production of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (1787), performed in Copenhagen as *Don Juan*, was performed with spoken dialogue instead of the original recitative, as was common throughout this period.[138] The transformation of recitative into spoken dialogue, combined with a Danish translation, ensured foreign works aligned with the accepted aesthetic style promoted at the Royal Theatre.

Important adaptation processes used during this period are exemplified through the modifications made to Giacomo Meyerbeer's (1791-1864) *Robert le Diable* (1831), first performed in Copenhagen as *Robert af Normandiet* in 1833. This work was adapted multiple times. The first adaptation replaced recitative with spoken dialogue and translated the text while the second reinstated the original music and recitatives.[139] This demonstrated the changing opinions towards foreign works, and how these opinions were reflected through practical processes.[140] Plot alteration was a form of adaptation that, while uncommon, was important for this work because the original plot was considered inappropriate. Overskou, who translated *Robert* into Danish, was asked to transform the devil character into a father figure and remove any diabolic reference from the title.[141] These changes were made with the claim that the sensibilities of the Danish

[135] Pierre-Yves Beaurepaire, Philippe Bourdin, and Charlotte Wolff, eds. *Moving Scenes: the Circulation of Music and Theatre in Europe, 1700-1815*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2018. 6.
[136] Everist. 'The Music of Power.' 717.
[137] Hesselager. 'Recitative and Modernity in Copenhagen.' 68-69.
[138] Jens Hesselager, ed. 'Sympathy for the devil?' In *Grand Opera Outside Paris: Opera on the Move in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. London and New York: Routledge, 2017. 100.
[139] Ibid., 72-73.
[140] For a full examination of how *Robert* was adapted for the Danish stage, see Hesselager, ed. 'Sympathy for the devil?' 97-113.
[141] Hesselager. 'Recitative and Modernity in Copenhagen.' 72.

audience had to be protected, ensuring no one took offence.[142] Plot alteration was not common because the large-scale changes were considered a betrayal to the original work.

The extent to which foreign works were adapted for performance in Copenhagen gives a clear indication of audience demographics. The almost exhaustive translation into the Danish language demonstrates the predominantly local audience at the *Kongelige Teater*. Furthermore, translation of foreign works is indicative of a middle- or lower-class audience; aristocratic audiences would have attended performances in the original language. Extensive plot changes like those observed in performances of *Robert af Normandiet*, albeit an uncommon process, suggests the local audience would not have accessed this work elsewhere.

Adaptation was an important and widespread part of nineteenth-century music for the stage. Crucially, adaptation blurs traditional generic boundaries, thus complicating a simple generic analysis. Foreign works, although an indication of government efforts to diversify the repertory, were aligned with a local theatrical style through various modification processes, ultimately demonstrating the priority to promote a local identity during a period of tense political instability. The adaptation processes exemplify the merging of cosmopolitan theatrical practices with the promotion of local styles: performing a varied selection of foreign works embodied a cosmopolitan approach to music for the stage while adapting foreign works reflected the desire to promote local culture.

1.5 Individuals and Agents

Theatre emerges from the collective activity of several individuals within a wide-reaching network.[143] Those individuals present in nineteenth-century Copenhagen – both physically and within the repertory – and their subsequent interactions reflected the preferred theatrical genres and the dominant political tendencies of the nineteenth century. These individuals drove change; local figures promoted national culture, whereas the popularity of foreign individuals symbolised the growing cosmopolitanism that was promoted by government action. However, these individuals also exemplified the blurring of foreign and local within the repertory of the Royal Theatre and reveal many repertorial influences. The following analysis of composers, dramatists, and choreographers considers the factors that influenced repertorial construction between 1800 and 1860. While these individuals perhaps had the most obvious impact on theatre, their success rested with those who had control over the repertory: directors, managers, politicians, censors,

[142] Ibid., 72.
[143] Howard S. Becker. *Art Worlds*. 25th Anniversary Edition. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982. 1.

and financiers, for example. Considering the complex network within which these individuals existed and interacted reveals, crucially, the relationship between repertory and the socio-political situation in Copenhagen during this period and demonstrates how the promotion of local culture was inextricably linked with growing cosmopolitanism.

Many of the most influential individuals had multiple roles within Danish theatre; this significantly enriches, albeit complicates, our understanding of nineteenth-century repertory and the influencing factors. Emmanuel Reibel outlines the commonly identified links between theatrical staff and the press and reveals the significance of their impact on theatre. He explains that theatre critics were also creators, demonstrating the substantial conflict of interest that underlies systems of theatrical organisation.[144] While Reibel concentrates on France, these *carrières croisées* can also be identified within Danish theatre. These individuals demonstrate clear institutional links, exemplified by Hans Wilhelm Lange (1815-1873), who directed the Casino Theatre in 1848-55, the Court Theatre in 1855-56, and the *Folketeatret* between 1857-73, as well as acting at the *Kongelige Teater*.[145] Furthermore, these individuals reveal important political implications for theatrical organisation and repertorial construction, including the promotion of local genres, self-promotion, and criticism of foreign genres.

Johan Ludvig Heiberg (1791-1860) and Johanne Luise Heiberg *née* Pätges (1812-1890) directed the *Kongelige Teater* in the mid-nineteenth century.[146] Alongside his directorship, Heiberg was also an important playwright, – he wrote the text for *Elverhøj* (1828), widely considered the first Danish play – an influential critic, and a reader for the Royal Theater,[147] a role which enabled him to decide which works were performed. Finally, Heiberg was an advisor to the theatre board, assisting the day-to-day organisation of the *Kongelige Teater*.[148] Heiberg's wife began her career at the *Kongelige Teater*, first performing in 1823 in a production of Nicolai Søtoft's (1790-1844) *Christian IV's Dom* (1822).[149] She performed regularly at the theatre until the 1850s before her final performance in 1864. She also wrote several works, including *vaudevilles*

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[144] Emmanuel Reibel. 'Carrières entre presse et opéra au xixe siècle: du mélange des genres au conflit d'intérêts.' Médias 19 [online], Publications, Olivier Bara et Marie-Ève Thérenty (dir.), Presse et opéra aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles, Nouveaux protocoles de la critique à Paris et en province, http://www.medias19.org/index.php?id=23962.

[145] Laurence Senelick, ed. *National theatre in Northern and Eastern Europe*, 1746-1900. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991. 51.

[146] Shepherd-Barr. *National Theatres in a Changing Europe*. 90

[147] Senelick, ed. *National theatre in Northern and Eastern Europe*. 52.

[148] Senelick, ed. 'Jonas Collin lauded as a paragon of administrators, 1843.' In *National theatre in Northern and Eastern Europe*. 44. Fædrelandet (The Fatherland) (1843), quoted in Peter Hansen, *Den danske skueplads : illustrerei theaterhistoire* volume 2. Kjøbenhavn: E. Bojesen, 1889-96. 276

[149] Niels Jensen. 'Johanne Luise Heiberg.' Accessed 4th April 2022. https://danskforfatterleksikon.dk/1850r/personnr216.htm.

that she performed in,[150] before holding the role of stage director from 1867-74.[151] Other individuals in this period also demonstrate the way in which multiple roles were held by the same person. Christian Molbech (1783-1857), for example, was an author, editor, censor, historian, and librarian, amongst other roles.[152]

The significance of one individual holding multiple roles is exemplified by Heiberg's self-promotion: *vaudevilles* were initially unpopular until he defended them in an essay by comparing them with *opéra comique*. Heiberg used his position as a critic to promote his own works, highlighting their simplicity and modesty – important qualities praised in Denmark.[153] Given the subsequent success, Heiberg's influential position was a notable factor in the popularity of *vaudevilles*, further demonstrating the power held by some individuals. Furthermore, directors of the Royal Danish Ballet reveal links between directorship and personal success. Galeotti, Antoine Bournonville, Pierre Larcher, and August Bournonville all choregraphed works performed during this period, the success of which aligned with their period of directorship.

Some individuals used their influence to contribute to the creation of a local identity; this was often achieved through promotion of local over foreign, or the criticism of foreign. Some individuals opposed the ongoing efforts to diversify the repertory and considered any shift away from Danish conventions as a betrayal.[154] Heiberg preserved Danish traditions by condemning the Italian opera genre, particularly after the immediate popularity of Rossi's Italian opera company in the 1840s. Heiberg was an influential critic: he encouraged the Danish company to avoid copying the Italian style, believing audiences attended the theatre to enjoy a play and not listen to music.[155] Heiberg's opposition to the Italian style formed a defence of existing Danish traditions that were reflected in Danish *Syngspiele*, local plays, ballet, and some examples of *opéra comique*, not to mention his own *vaudevilles*. Furthermore, in his role as reader for the Royal Theatre, Heiberg rejected Henrik Johan Ibsen's (1828-1906) *Hærmændene paa Helgeland* (1857) (The

[150] Ibid.
[151] 'Johanne Luise Heiberg.' The History of Nordic Women's Literature. Accessed 26th February 2022. https://nordicwomensliterature.net/writers/heiberg-johanne-luise/.
[152] Senelick, ed. *National theatre in Northern and Eastern Europe*. 44.
[153] '…A vaudeville should therefore not be grand, or require theatrical pomp and circumstance. I have accordingly written all mine in one act, and without scene changes, although I would not claim that that was the only way of observing the necessary limitations in size and theatrical apparatus.' Heiberg. 'Om vaudevillen.' 38-40, 48-49.
[154] Hersey. *Scandinavian song*. 116.
[155] Hesselager. 'Recitative and Modernity in Copenhagen.' 61-62.

Vikings at Helgeland), describing it as a characteristic Norwegian national drama, and rejecting it because it had an affected manner.[156]

Individuals involved with theatrical organisation reveal several trends; firstly, senior directors were always courtiers who were closely connected to the monarchy,[157] demonstrating substantial links between the monarchy and theatre. However, of greater importance was the desire to promote local culture and identity, which was partly achieved through exclusion of foreign individuals. This was exemplified by Joachim Godsche Levetzau (1782-1859), Lord Steward under Christian VIII (1786-1848) and director between 1839-49, who was considered ill-suited to manage the *Kongelige Teater*, despite his prominent position at court. Concerns largely stemmed from Levetzau's German heritage and presumed lack of understanding of the Danish language, – in an institution that predominantly performed in Danish, this was an important consideration – Danish culture, and the tastes and preferences of the Danish public.[158] The preferred choice was Jonas Collin (1776-1861), appointed Senior Director in 1843, but who had undertaken the theatrical administration for the previous two decades.[159] The treatment of Levetzau towards the end of this period demonstrated a contemporary desire to promote the arts and national identity as two very connected ideas.[160]

1.5.1 Composers

Both foreign and local composers held prominent positions in the repertory of the Royal Theatre between 1800 and 1860.[161] Claus Nielsen Schall (1757-1835) was the most well-performed composer; with around 800 performances, he dominated the repertory, largely resulting from the popularity of ballet in Copenhagen. However, his performances were largely restricted to the first few decades of the period: after 1840, Schall had no performances. The concentration of

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[156] Senelick, ed. *National theatre in Northern and Eastern Europe*. 52.
[157] Senelick, ed. 'Jonas Collin lauded as a paragon of administrators, 1843.' In *National theatre in Northern and Eastern Europe*. 44. Fædrelandet (The Fatherland) (1843), quoted in Hansen, *Den danske skueplads : illustrerei theaterhistoire*. 276
[158] Ibid.
[159] Senelick, ed. *National theatre in Northern and Eastern Europe*. 44.
[160] Ibid.
[161] 115 composers were present within the repertory of the Royal Theatre between 1800 and 1860, not including those who composed incidental music for plays. Incidental music was considered ephemeral: it was removed or replaced to suit new performance requirements. Therefore, incidental music composers were often unknown, some plays included music from several composers, and others included new music to replace the original. Niels Jensen, therefore, does not consistently list these individuals so they have not been included in this analysis. Given the sheer number of composers, this analysis primarily focuses on those with the most performances across the entire period. However, even with this restriction, an analysis is complicated: many composers were successful for a limited time but had little overall significance. Therefore, a decade-by-decade analysis, combined with a synoptic approach, more accurately highlights the most significant composers.

performances towards the start of this period increased his significance: he was the most performed composer throughout the entire period despite none in the final decades. Throughout this period, Schall had around 300 more performances than Daniel Auber (1782-1871), the second leading composer. Auber's works emerged from 1825, but had most success between 1830 and 1850, largely because of the success of his *opéras comiques*. The third most highly performed composer in this period was Holger Simon Paulli (1810-1891) with around 430 ballet performances. However, these included performances of *Napoli* (1842) and *Bellman* (1844). Both ballets were the result of composer collaboration; Paulli was one of three composers involved in the production of *Napoli* – Neils W. Gade (1817-1890), Edvard Helsted (1816-1900), and H.C. Lumbye (1810-1874) – whereas for *Bellman*, Paulli arranged songs composed by Carl Mikael Bellman (1740-1795). Therefore, taking these collaborations into account, we must question the individual significance of Paulli. Like Schall and Auber, Paulli's performances were restricted to a limited period, but unlike the others, his success was restricted to the end of the period: he first appeared in the repertory in 1842 and was successful for the following twenty years. If we were to discount Paulli due to the significant collaborations, the next most highly performed composer in this period was Mozart, with a range of German and Italian operas. Unlike Schall and Auber, Mozart's performances were not restricted to a limited period, instead his works were performed throughout the period from 1810 onwards. Other composers were consistent throughout this period, notably Étienne-Nicolas Méhul (1763-1817) and Christoph Ernst Friedrich Weyse (1774-1842).

The most frequently performed composers in this period demonstrate several wider trends. Firstly, the nationalities of the leading composers in this period demonstrate how foreign and local influences were combined within the repertory. The prominence of local composers revealed the motivation to promote a local identity: two of the three leading composers during this period were Danish. However, the presence of foreign composers demonstrated the widespread influences within the Danish repertory. Leading composers also indicated the preference for certain genres: ballet was prominent throughout the period, as shown by the success of Schall and Pauli, and the success of *opéra comique* is revealed through the prominence of Auber. These composers particularly demonstrated the significance of French theatre, and the popularity of French genres, within the Danish repertory: both Auber and Méhul were leading nineteenth-century French composers. Furthermore, the leading composers in this period also indicated the audience preference for works that reflected current political events. Méhul,

particularly, was an important composer during the French Revolution,[162] a period that inspired the political tendencies of the newly politically mobilised Danish middle class.

Some composers were significant for a smaller period between 1800 and 1860; a decade-by-decade analysis reveals the presence of a greater number of other important composers. Schall dominated the first decades of this period – unsurprising given his overall dominance of the repertory – demonstrating the priority for promoting local culture following the political uncertainty that arose from the Napoleonic Wars. Mozart was the most successful composer in the 1820s, however, his popularity was restricted to this decade: after this he had very few performances until the final decade of the period when he was the third most performed composer. Mozart's success in the 1820s contributed to the significance of Italian opera in Copenhagen, a genre that, like elsewhere in Europe, largely resulted from performances by Rossini, who was the third most frequently performed composer in the 1820s. Mozart had greater success in this decade because he also composed several German operas. Auber dominated the 1830s. Also popular were Johannes Frederik Frøhlich (1806-1860) and Ludwig Zinck (1776-1851), who, while considerably less popular than the French composer, were also significant during this decade. Auber's success stemmed from the significance of French theatrical genres: *opéra comique* was highly successful but Auber's popularity was also assisted by the emergence of *grand opéra*. The 1840s were dominated by two local composers, Henrik Rung (1807-1871) and Paulli,[163] with Auber the third most performed. This decade saw a significant increase in political instability: the political tension with Schleswig and Holstein led to the promotion of Danish culture and the performance of works that aligned with contemporary events partly explained the increase in works by local composers. The 1850s were also dominated by local composers: Paulli was the most prominent – again noting his significant collaboration – followed by Rung.

The presence and resulting success of a varied range of composers emphasises the diverse repertory performed at the *Kongelige Teater*. The prominence of a wide range of local composers reflected a widespread desire to promote a local culture and identity, achieved through performance of local works. Furthermore, the death of King Christian VIII in 1848 aligned with an increase in the frequency of works by local composers, demonstrating not only the strong links between monarchy and theatre, but also the ways in which theatre was directly used to

[162] M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet. 'Méhul, Étienne-Nicolas.' Grove Music Online, 2001, Accessed 21 March 2022. https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000018270.

[163] As discussed when Paulli was first mentioned during the composer overview, many of his performances were collaborations with other composers, notably for the ballet *Napoli* and *Bellman*. As discussed previously, this questions his individual significance.

promote a national identity. However, the prominence of local composers also stemmed from practical concerns; works created by these individuals were easier to access and perform. The prominence of French composers throughout this period was not only an indication of foreign influences present in Copenhagen but also demonstrated the long-standing relationship between French and Danish culture. Although first originating from touring troupes before this period, French genres and composers remained successful in Copenhagen. The success of such a varied range of composers signals a cosmopolitan tendency – albeit with a substantial local and French orientation – within the repertory of the Royal Theatre.

1.5.2 Dramatists – Librettists and Playwrights

Dramatists, like composers, signalled dominant trends, including contemporary theatrical taste. The diversification of the Danish repertory, which led to a greater variety of musical genres in favour of plays, ensured that the leading dramatist changed over the course of this period. Many dramatists wrote texts for both plays and musical works, which despite some similarities between musical genres with spoken dialogue and plays with incidental music, were different and therefore deserve separate consideration. A synoptic analysis, combined with additional insight from a decade-by-decade analysis, reveals the impact these individuals had on the Danish repertory.

The leading librettists between 1800 and 1860 were Heiberg and Scribe. They dominated the repertory by a significant margin with around 950 and 750 respective performances. Heiberg's dominating success stemmed from his involvement with the *vaudeville* genre: although not the only individual involved with the *vaudeville* genre, Heiberg was by far the most prominent and was responsible for over half the total number of works during this period. He was also the only individual with performances in every year between 1825 and 1860. The most significant individual after Heiberg, with around 13% of *vaudeville* performances, was Hostrup. The third leading librettist, Lorenzo Da Ponte (1749-1838), had around 250 performances throughout this period, significantly fewer than the two leading librettists. These three individuals reflected the contrasting presence of a diverse range of genres: Danish and French traditions formed the most significant part of the repertory of the *Kongelige Teater* during this period but there were other influences too.

The first decades of this period favoured spoken drama: musical genres were considered inferior and therefore all held a similar position within the repertory. Consequently, librettists also held a similar position within the repertory. Until 1810, Christen Henriksen Pram (1756-1821), Benoît-Joseph Marsollier (1750-1817), and Alexandre Duval (1767-1842) had around 50, 45, and

35 respective performances. Between 1811 and 1820, although there were more performances, the leading librettists were still largely insignificant: Charles-Guillaume Etienne (1778-1845) had around 75 performances, Jean-Nicolas Bouilly (1763-1842) around 65, and Adam Gottlob Oehlenschläger (1779-1850) about 50. Because plays were most frequently performed in these early decades, no librettist held particular significance. However, the proportion of musical works in the repertory increased after 1820, aligning with the diversification of repertory, subsequently leading to a greater number of librettists and a larger distinction between individuals. Heiberg was the leading librettist in the 1820s, with most of his success stemming from *vaudevilles*; he had around 70 more performances than Da Ponte, whose Italian libretti for Mozart's operas contributed to his success in this decade. The third most performed librettist, Johann Friedrich Kind (1768-1843), demonstrated the fleeting success of German opera; the immediate popularity of *Der Freischütz* (1821) promoted the German librettist to third position, but its success, and that of Kind, did not last. The 1830s witnessed another dramatic increase in performance numbers between librettists: Scribe and Heiberg had around 300 and 250 respective performances. Scribe's success demonstrated the immediate popularity of French works within the repertory, partly resulting from the emergence of *grand opéra*. The third leading librettist, Overskou, only had around 50 performances in the decade, considerably lower than the others. The 1840s resembled the previous decade: Heiberg and Scribe switched positions with around 260 and 250 performances respectively, and Hostrup had around 70 performances. The final decade again resembled the last, albeit with slightly greater equality: Heiberg, Scribe, and Hostrup had 260, 170, and 110 respective performances. Due to the late emergence of musical genres, the two most frequently performed librettists across the entire period, Heiberg and Scribe, only gained significance during the 1820s and 1830s. The increase in number and diversity of the librettists within the repertory of the *Kongelige Teater* indicated the growing diversification of music for the stage. Particularly from the 1820s, the repertory gradually developed to encompass a wider variety of musical genres, encouraged by several foreign influences that existed alongside the local repertory.

The prominence of plays throughout this period ensured the success of playwrights. Holberg and Kotzebue were the leading playwrights, by a significant margin, for the entirely of the period between 1800 and 1860 with around 1000 and 850 respective performances. They were followed by Hertz and Oehlenschläger, who had around 470 and 450 performances respectively. Following these was Scribe with around 350 performances throughout the period. Most of Scribe's success as a dramatist originated from collaborations with others; alone, he wrote the text for around 100 performances, making him the twelfth most performed playwright, compared to fifth if his collaborations were included. Therefore, while highly significant due to his many

collaborations, his overall success was less significant than that of some other playwrights present in the Danish repertory in this period.

Kotzebue dominated the repertory at the start of this period with around 680 performances in the first two decades alone. His success continued into the 1820s, albeit to a lesser extent, with a further 140 performances, before significantly declining. Despite Kotzebue's early success, Holberg was the most successful playwright across the whole period with a consistent presence in every decade: his 1000 performances largely resulted from his many highly performed works. Holberg, was the second most prominent playwright in these early decades, with less than half the total of Kotzebue's performances, but his consistency in later years elevated his position in the repertory. August Wilhelm Iffland (1759-1814) was also successful in the first decade with around 120 performances, but his lack of consistency across the entire period ensured he never reached the prominence of others; his performances between 1800 and 1810 constituted half his total performances in this period. Performances by Oehlenschläger were successful between 1810 and 1840 but lost prominence towards the end of the period; although his success lasted beyond his death, he was most popular while actively writing. Hertz was successful from the 1840s – he had around 400 performances in the last twenty years and became the leading playwright in the last decade of the period. Molière (1622-1673) and Shakespeare, considered to be founders of the Romantic drama,[164] were prominent in the 1840s and 1850s, respectively. The late interest in these works was an indication of shared Northern European regional links; Romanticism grew in popularity in Copenhagen, largely due to influence from German romantic traditions.[165]

The success of playwrights at the *Kongelige Teater* between 1800 and 1860 was motivated by several factors. Local playwrights had the most success because most plays performed in this period were Danish. However, these individuals also often demonstrated regional links between Denmark and the German Confederation. Oehlenschläger trained and travelled in German lands after receiving a government grant,[166] returning to Copenhagen with new theatrical traditions gained on his travels. Furthermore, the success of Kotzebue at the Royal Theatre resulted from regional links: although he was German, the geographical proximity and shared theatrical style allowed easy presentation of his works in Copenhagen. The popularity of French traditions in Copenhagen is demonstrated by Scribe's position amongst the leading

[164] Tili Boon Cuillé. 'The Sublime And The Grotesque: Opera And The Romantic Aesthetic.' *European Romantic Review* 13 No. 2 (2002). 161.
[165] Hesselager. 'Musik til Skuespil.' 198.
[166] 'Adam Gottlob Oehlenschläger.' *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Accessed 16 March 2022. https://www.britannica.com/biography/Adam-Gottlob-Oehlenschlager.

playwrights in this period. However, the main motivating factor for the prominence of all these individuals was their ability to fulfil the desire for novelty; leading dramatists usually had a continued output of new works and those with fewer works had comparatively short-lived success. This is exemplified by Heiberg who was not significant as a playwright, despite his success elsewhere in the repertory. His success predominantly rested on *Elverhøj* (1828) but despite this success he lacked other plays.

1.5.3 Ballet: Choreographers and Composers

The popularity of ballet at the Royal Theatre propelled the success of several choreographers and composers. Two important choreographers were active in this period: Vincenzo Galeotti (1733-1816), who also directed the company until his death, and August Bournonville (1805-1879), who directed the company throughout the rest of the period from 1830. Each had distinct periods of success – their works had very little overlap. Galeotti's works, which represented the traditional style of ballet, were popular between 1800 and 1826; his works formed an important part of the Danish repertory during the first half of the period. Bournonville, on the other hand, was significant from 1832 until the end of the period; his success, stemming from a new style of ballet, contributed to the exclusion of Galeotti's works from the repertory. Bournonville's works also fulfilled the audience desire for novelty: he introduced a new style of ballet to Copenhagen, contributing to his lasting success during the period. Several other choreographers were present in the repertory during this period, including Larcher, who directed the company in the gap between Galeotti and Bournonville, Louis-Jacques-Jessé Milon (1766-1849), and Jean-Louis Aumer (1774-1833), but none reached the same level of prominence as Galeotti and Bournonville.

Many ballet composers were present in the repertory during this period, but few had lasting significance. The most prominent composer, by a significant margin, was Schall; his partnership with Galeotti led to consistent success during the first two decades of the period and resulted in his position as the leading composer across the entire repertory. He faced very little competition: Paulli and Frøhlich were the other leading ballet composers, with around 400 and 250 performances respectively.[167] After the late 1820s, the emergence of Bournonville contributed to a greater diversity of ballet composers. Paulli was the most consistent composer between 1842 and 1860, despite facing greater competition from a wider range of individuals.

[167] Again, Paulli's significant collaboration with Bellman, Lumbye, and Gade must be considered when questioning his overall significance.

1.5.4 Individuals: The Blurring of Foreign and Local

Prominent local individuals reflected several important trends, including the promotion of Danish theatrical style, the development of a more international style with several foreign influences and, perhaps most importantly, the blurring of local and foreign within the repertory. Furthermore, local individuals reflected dominant trends, audience preference, reflected and drove political tendencies, revealed regional links, and demonstrated, in small-scale, the overall diversification of the Danish repertory during this period.

Danish theatrical style can be identified within the works of several individuals: the inclusion of compositional elements that aligned with the preferred Danish aesthetic, while not a political statement, contributed to a growing local repertory that promoted Danish culture and identity. Local works were typically centred around themes preferred by audiences: a love of nature and the sea, feelings of melancholy and longing, a contrast between light and dark, climate extremes, and lively folk traditions.[168] Christoph Ernst Friedrich Wesye (1774-1842), appointed court composer in 1819, was an important advocate of Danish theatrical style; he created simple, strophic songs in line with Danish traditions.[169] Friedrich Daniel Rudolf Kuhlau (1786-1832) also promoted the Danish theatrical style, gaining popularity from the success of *Elverhøj* (1828), for which he composed the music. Heiberg, director of the *Kongelige Teater* between 1849 and 1856, was a powerful figure who widely promoted Danish theatre and theatrical style; he wrote *Elverhøj* (1828), the first Danish play, widely promoted Danish theatre, and introduced the *vaudeville* to Denmark. Schulz, *Hofkapellmeister* and director of the Royal Theatre between 1787 and 1797,[170] composed Danish *Syngespil* with simple, strophic folksongs that were successful during this period because they matched the preferred local style and attracted local audiences. Although he first arrived in Copenhagen to increase the prominence of Italian opera for the aristocratic audiences, most of Schulz' success stemmed from his local works.[171] Johan Peter Emilius Hartmann (1805-1900) promoted a distinct Danish compositional style that used medieval ballads and Danish hymns,[172] and blended traditional folk traditions with a Romantic aesthetic.[173] Although not officially a Danish composer, Bournonville was considered 'more Danish than most Danes': he grew up in Copenhagen and considered Denmark his homeland.[174] He followed ideas promoted by

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[168] Hersey. *Scandinavian song*. 1.
[169] Ibid., 118. Sarah Gutsche-Miller. 'The Reception of Carl Nielsen as a Danish National Composer.' 13-14. Vagn Kappel *Contemporary Danish Composers Against the Background of Danish Musical Life and History*. Copenhagen: Det Danske Selskab, 1950.
[170] Hersey. *Scandinavian song*. 116.
[171] Selvik. '*Høstgildet* by J. P. A. Schulz.' 220-222.
[172] Hersey. *Scandinavian song*. 116.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Jepsen. 'Bournonville og dansk national identitet i det 19. Århundrede.' 187.

the Danish state including patriotism, loyalty to neighbour and monarchy, and promotion of the independence and honour of Denmark.[175] This, combined with inclusion of Danish elements within his works, demonstrated the importance of local style: this was more important than nationality for local reception.

Danish compositional style was also promoted and developed through teaching and education; the tradition was passed down, unbroken, to Gade at the end of this period, who then continued to play a significant role in shaping Danish musical life.[176] Gade's music for Bournonville's three-act ballet *Et Folkesagn* (1854) was the first moment of stage success for the composer. Earlier works, including *Mariotta* (1848-49) and music for Bournonville's ballet Napoli (1842), were not immediately popular.[177] Gade was exposed to Danish compositional style through his education with Andreas Peter Berggreen (1801-1880) and Weyse; he was taught harmony, counterpoint and form, and a love of folklore.[178] This teaching had a clear impact on Gade's compositional style and ultimately his success: his works featured rich text painting,[179] harmonious language, melodies inspired by Danish ballads or folksongs, and instrumentation that signalled mystery, shadow, and darkness.[180]

Local composers were not excluded from the political uncertainty and upheaval that affected all aspects of Danish culture. Works that aligned with the Danish style were popular during this period, partly because they promoted a clear Danish identity: Berggreen argued that national character above all else, gave meaning to art.[181] Schulz felt that musical education would increase the moral and cultural character of Denmark, indicating the desire to promote a national identity during this period.[182] Furthermore, he actively promoted social change: he believed that promoting national music could unite different social classes – an important goal given the tense

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[175] August Bournonville. *Mit Theaterliv.* Translated by Patricia N. McAndrew as *My Theatre Life*. Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1979. 163.
[176] Hersey. *Scandinavian song*. 119.
[177] Foltmann. 'Orden og Nøjagtighed er Sjælen I alle Forretninger.' 12-14.
[178] Dmitrij Viktorovič Belânskij. 'Nil's Gade v Leyptsige i Kopengagene.' *Učenye zapiski Rossijskoj akademii muzyki imeni Gnesinyh* 1 No. 28 (2019). 45. Anna Hersey. *Scandinavian song*. 119.
[179] Hersey. *Scandinavian song*. 119.
[180] Finn Egeland Hansen. 'Niels W. Gade og Carl Nielsen i et nyt og bredere perspektiv', Magasin fra Det Kongelige Bibliotek 29 No. 3 (2016): 38-44. https://tidsskrift.dk/magasin/article/view/66986/96499.
[181] This was stated in the preface to volume one of Berggreen's Folk Songs and Melodies: 'Men Musikerne have endnu ikke, saaledes som Digterne med Hensyn til Folkepoesien, tilfulde erkjendt, hvilket nærende Stof for musikalsk Composition der ligger i Folkemelodierne; thi Optagelsen af dette element i Kunsten skulde ikke blot bestaae i, ligefrem at indlægge hine Melodier i et Musikværk; men disse maae være gaaede over i Componistens Væsen, der da, opfyldt af deres Aand, vil kunne give sit Arbeide det eiendommelige, nationale Præg, der dog frem for Alt giver et Kunstværk Betydning.'. Berggreen subsequently taught Gade and passed along the national orientation of his compositional style. Niels Bo Foltmann. 'Orden og Nøjagtighed er Sjælen I alle Forretninger.' 5-6.
[182] Selvik. '*Høstgildet* by J. P. A. Schulz.' 221.

political situation.[183] Gade, too, was affected by the political uncertainty of the 1840s; the conflicts not only contributed to the local orientation of his work but also affected his personal life: he returned to Copenhagen upon army conscription for the three-year war between Denmark and Prussia (1848-1850).[184] Political events also triggered an audience desire for topical works reflecting the political situation: Gade's success in Copenhagen primarily resulted from his ability to reflect bourgeois taste.[185] The style of his works matched the preferred aesthetic style that was preferred by the middle class who had a growing interest in theatre during this period.

A shift towards a more international style of composition could be identified in the repertory of the *Kongelige Teater*, even within the works of individuals considered to be important local creators. Exposure to foreign styles led some composers to absorb continental traditions into their own works, demonstrating a clear blurring of foreign and local styles. Funded by the government as part of ongoing efforts to diversify the repertory – demonstrating clear cosmopolitan tendencies – several individuals travelled and trained in Europe, including Heiberg, who trained in Paris between 1817 and 1820. Heiberg was strongly influenced by French *vaudeville* but updated the traditional model to create new works that were fundamentally Danish, through use of relevant subjects and the typical Danish style. Gade exemplified the relationship between the promotion of local traditions and the permeation of foreign practices: despite his clear Danish compositional style, he adopted a more international style after exposure to a broad repertory in Leipzig, and his later works reflected a more Euro-centric compositional approach.[186] This followed a warning against an overly national style from Robert Schumann (1810-1856). The developing universal style within his works was therefore rooted in more than simply his European travels. Gade imitated Schumann's style and followed his advice almost entirely: his new international style featured more restrained Nordic colour.[187] Gade used a technique of subtle paraphrasing – presenting folk ideas without using any fully-formed passages – which can be observed in *Elverskud* (1854). Schulz also demonstrated the balance between Danish and foreign theatrical styles. He worked closely with the Berlin School of Lied composition and promoted their doctrine that songs should include simple melodies and strive for social and moral education. While indicating that Schulz contributed to the dissemination of foreign influences, this also demonstrates clear regional links between German and Danish style. Schulz

[183] Ibid., 217-218.
[184] Dmitrij Viktorovič Belânskij. 'Nil's Gade v Leyptsige i Kopengagene.' 44. Niels Bo Foltmann. 'Orden og Nøjagtighed er Sjælen I alle Forretninger.' 11.
[185] Hersey. *Scandinavian song*. 119.
[186] Ibid. Foltmann. 'Orden og Nøjagtighed er Sjælen I alle Forretninger.' 11.
[187] Robert Schumann. *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*. Leipzig: Georg Wigand's Verlag, 1854. 86.

travelled throughout Europe teaching a Polish princess; a range of cultures and styles, and particularly *opéra comique*, subsequently influenced his later works.[188] Schulz's dramatic music, while firmly rooted in Danish traditions, was clearly affected by his travels; the *opéra comique* genre, early Italian opera, and German *lied* traditions from Leipzig all influenced his style.[189] Kuhlau also expanded the Danish repertory through a hybrid compositional style that included Italian, French, and German features, alongside the Danish. These were exemplified in his opera, *Røverborgen* (1814), a popular work performed at the Royal Theatre in almost every year of this period that blended foreign influences within a clearly Danish work.[190] Kuhlau used a parody or model technique, borrowing ideas from other composers, which increased the foreign influences present within local works.[191] Local composers who mixed foreign and local styles contributed to the diversification of the repertory of the *Kongelige Teater* between 1800 and 1860.[192] This demonstrated the balance between the specific Danish aesthetic that was favoured in Copenhagen and the universally accepted musical style that was popular throughout Europe.[193] These individuals demonstrated not only the ways in which the national and international interacted, but also how genres and styles were blurred, and the ways in which people embodied this.

Despite their reception as important promotors of Danish theatre, many local individuals demonstrated the regional links with cities within the German Confederation. Some important individuals who contributed to the substantial local repertory were not actually Danish: Schulz, for instance, was from Northern Germany. This was in fact true for most prominent Danish composers in the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries.[194] Like other composers in this period, Schulz travelled around Europe; he brought foreign influences to Copenhagen when he served as Court Kapellmeister. Kuhlau, too, was German-born, but like Schulz, was recognised for furthering Danish theatre throughout this period. Until 1820, the Danish repertory resembled that of Hamburg, largely due to Kuhlau's influence.[195] The presence of these individuals, their success, the success of their works, and their involvement with important local practices, demonstrated the impact of shared Northern European regional identities.

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[188] Selvik. '*Høstgildet* by J. P. A. Schulz.' 216-217.
[189] Ibid., 217.
[190] Gorm Busk. 'Friedrich Kuhlau's Operas.' In *Music in Copenhagen*, edited by Niels Krabbe and translated by James Manley. Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzels Publishers, 1996, 99.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Hersey. *Scandinavian song*. 116.
[193] Foltmann. 'Orden og Nøjagtighed er Sjælen I alle Forretninger.' 15.
[194] Selvik. '*Høstgildet* by J. P. A. Schulz.' 216.
[195] Busk. 'Friedrich Kuhlau's Operas.' 96.

The individuals considered above, along with many others, played a significant role in shaping the diverse repertory that was performed at the Royal Theatre between 1800 and 1860. There was a substantial local repertory, created by several important Danish individuals, that contributed to the promotion of Danish culture and a local identity. However, the local repertory also included some German composers, demonstrating the regional links despite ongoing political tension. However, local individuals also contributed to a more universal style of composition, facilitated by exposure to different theatrical practices elsewhere in Europe. The government support for the inclusion of foreign influences indicated cosmopolitan tendencies even within a repertory that promoted local culture.

1.5.5 Singers

Singers attracted audiences to the theatre; from an audience perspective they were often the highlight of a performance, and they often influenced the presentation of theatrical works. The presence of singers in Copenhagen also reflected important repertorial trends. Despite the desire to promote a Danish identity, performances often required foreign singers. Many nineteenth-century singers trained in operatic centres including Paris and important Italian cities like Milan, but ultimately led a peripatetic life.[196] Individuals could cross national borders, especially given the common linguistic background of the Northern European geographical region.[197] Similarly to composers who travelled around Europe to develop their style, the presence of foreign singers increased the cosmopolitan stance of the Royal Theatre in this period. Foreign singers, and foreign training, ensured the emergence of external influences in Copenhagen, not only within the repertory, but also in the ways works were performed.[198]

During periods of political unrest, local singers partly influenced the increased patriotic sentiments amongst the population. This largely stemmed from their influential position; audiences looked up to singers – in some ways idolising them – which ensured they followed the ideas they promoted. One such individual was Hans Christian Knudsen (1763-1816), an important singer at the Royal Theatre at the start of this period who regularly performed until December 1815. Knudsen performed in a range of local works including plays and Danish *Syngestykke*.[199]

The critical treatment and reception of popular singers in Copenhagen was exemplified by the soprano Pauline Rung (*née* Lichtenstein) (1818-1890). Rung performed between 1838 and

[196] Sivuoja. *Opera on the Move in the Nordic Countries*. 10.
[197] Ibid., 9-10.
[198] Hesselager. 'Rachel the Jewess in Copenhagen.' 239-240.
[199] Jensen. *Opført dramatik 1722-1975*. https://danskforfatterleksikon.dk/1850r/personnr273.htm

1857.[200] Many hoped she would match the standard required for the virtuoso *bel canto* repertory.[201] Rung was praised for possessing many of the qualities traditionally associated with Italian performers, contrasting with Danish performers who lacked warmth of expression and acting ability.[202] It was predicted that Danish theatre, with the talents of Pauline Rung, could compete with the visiting Italian company in the 1840s; Rung, however, could not fully match the demands of the Italian style and her parts had to be adapted.[203] Rung exemplified the nineteenth-century Danish repertory as a whole; she balanced both Danish and Southern European qualities[204] which contributed to her success because she appealed to a wider audience and could portray a wide range of characters. This again reflected the ways in which foreign and local styles were combined within the repertory of the *Kongelige Teater* during this period.

The repertory of the *Kongelige Teater* between 1800 and 1860 was broad and diverse, reflected by the prominent individuals present both physically and within the repertory. Despite a continued desire to promote local culture, Danish individuals were not the only significant individuals.[205] Instead, the repertory featured works by a wide range of both local and foreign individuals that, combined, reflected many influences. The mixture of foreign and local, particularly in the works of one individual, exemplified here by several Danish composers, demonstrated the ways in which theatrical genres and styles were blurred. Furthermore, these individuals demonstrated how political ideas were complex and intertwined: although promoting a Danish identity was important in this period, the repertory also demonstrated cosmopolitan tendencies, encouraged by government systems. Significantly, the blend of national and cosmopolitan could be observed in the repertoire of a single individual, as well as the entire repertory. This diversified after 1820; a greater proportion of musical works and foreign individuals[206] led to the repertory resembling that of other European theatres.[207] These were more than simply foreign influences: the political emphasis of the government practice encouraging local composers to train abroad demonstrates the increasingly cosmopolitan nature of Danish repertory between 1800 and 1860.

[200] Jensen. *Opført dramatik 1722-1975*. https://danskforfatterleksikon.dk/1850r/personnr497.htm
[201] Hesselager. 'Rachel the Jewess in Copenhagen.' 223.
[202] Ibid.
[203] Ibid., 240-243.
[204] Ibid., 244.
[205] Sivuoja. *Opera on the Move in the Nordic Countries*. 11.
[206] Ibid., 8.
[207] Busk. 'Friedrich Kuhlau's Operas.' 96.

1.6 Case Study – *Høstgildet* (1790)

Schulz's *Høstgildet* (1790),[208] with a libretto by Thomas Thaarup (1749-1821), exemplified many of the important trends within nineteenth-century Danish theatre. *Høstgildet* was a play with songs, referred to as a *Syngespil*. *Høstgildet* demonstrated not only the preferred Danish theatrical style and the suitability of a local work for a royal occasion, but also the ways in which foreign elements coexisted alongside a national style, ultimately blurring generic borders. Furthermore, *Høstgildet* indicated several important political tendencies that influenced theatre during this period, including contrasting opinions on the inclusion of patriotism.

Høstgildet had its premiere at the *Kongelige Teater*[209] during celebrations for the marriage of Danish Crown Prince Frederik (later King Frederik VI) to Princess Marie of Hesse-Kassel.[210] *Høstgildet* was composed specifically for the excellent facilities and experienced orchestra at the Royal Theatre, in contrast to other royal occasions which were typically celebrated at the Court Theatre.[211] It received immediate popularity with audiences, largely because it was written for, and produced by, citizens from the middle class: *Høstgildet* was performed for paying spectators by professionals,[212] contrasting with performances for previous royal events which were only performed for the Court. This popularity outlasted the immediacy of the royal wedding and continued long into the nineteenth century; *Høstgildet* was performed sixty-five times at the Royal Theatre between its premiere in 1790 and 1860, with thirty-seven performances after 1800.

Høstgildet embodied the preferred Danish theatrical style. The main themes within the work included the royal family, rural surroundings and reference to the land reforms, and representation of all social classes – farmers, soldiers, and princes, young and old.[213] The work ended happily – an important feature of Danish theatre – and portrayed gratitude to the Crown Prince who had advocated for the peasants affected by the reforms.[214] *Høstgildet* also reflected the composite Danish state: Denmark, Holstein, and Norway were all represented with clear national styles for different characters.[215] *Høstgildet* followed the accepted Danish theatrical model; strophic song, favoured because of the simple melodies and accompaniment,[216] was combined with arias, ensembles, choruses, and dances, which contributed to its distinct Danish

[208] Selvik. '*Høstgildet* by J. P. A. Schulz.' 238.
[209] Gjerven. 'Staging state patriotism.' 252.
[210] Selvik. '*Høstgildet* by J. P. A. Schulz.' 215.
[211] Ibid., 226.
[212] Gjerven. 'Staging state patriotism.' 252.
[213] Selvik. '*Høstgildet* by J. P. A. Schulz.' 224.
[214] Ibid., 225.
[215] Ibid., 224, 244.
[216] Ibid., 226.

style.[217] Furthermore, there was no recitative and all dialogue was spoken.[218] This work not only epitomised the preferred Danish theatrical style through style and content, but also influenced later national works, further increasing its significance.

Despite its reception as a local *Syngespil*, there were many foreign influences within *Høstgildet*. There was clear inspiration taken from André Ernest Modeste Grétry's (1741-1813) well-known *opéras comiques* as well as from Neapolitan opera and Gluck's style.[219] The overarching structure of *Høstgildet* – two-acts with mini finales – was indicative of *opéra comique* and *opera buffa*;[220] however this was a common feature of all forms of dialogue opera. This therefore demonstrates how local and foreign styles could be blurred within a single work.

Høstgildet existed within a complex web of conflicting political ideas which influenced the work and its subsequent performances. Some even consider it a political work with patriotic sentiments.[221] The patriotism was deliberate; Thomas Thaarup (1749-1821), who was commissioned on several occasions when the 'fatherland' was intended to be celebrated, wrote *Høstgildet* to account for the lack of patriotism in the work originally intended for the royal wedding[222] – Christen Henriksen Pram's (1756-1821) *Frode og Fingal* (1790). Both *Høstgildet* and *Frode og Fingal* were performed at the wedding celebrations, but the former was the main spectacle.[223] During this period, where promoting Danish culture and identity was an important part of life, the setting, folk songs, and simplicity of *Høstgildet* appealed to a wide audience;[224] a work that reflected local events and people, and followed the preferred theatrical style, was popular amongst growing foreign influences. However, the plot promoted increased power for the middle and lower classes which was an unpopular topic with the aristocracy amidst the uncertain international political situation.[225] As a result of these concerns, the Prince, who had initially supported the work, claimed that a serious opera with fewer political links would have been more appropriate for the occasion.[226] *Høstgildet* was further cemented as a political work following the publication of multiple revisions, each intended to reflect the shifting political

[217] Ibid., 224.
[218] Ibid., 227.
[219] Ibid., 226.
[220] Ibid., 227, 236.
[221] Gjerven. 'Staging state patriotism.' 249-250. *Høstgildet* was considered a national *Syngespil* by Danish musicologist Niel Schiørring (1910-2001). Nils Schiørring. *Musikkens Historie i Danmark*, Volume 2 1750–1870. København: Politikens, 1978. 98.
[222] Selvik. '*Høstgildet* by J. P. A. Schulz.' 224.; Gjerven. 'Staging state patriotism.' 255.
[223] Gjerven. 'Staging state patriotism.' 249.
[224] Selvik. '*Høstgildet* by J. P. A. Schulz.' 241.
[225] Ibid., 225.
[226] Ibid., 226.

situation.[227] The first major revision was published in 1793, ending with a tribute to the King who had ended serfdom, rather than the royal wedding, ensuring the work remained relevant.[228] Later revisions were of greater significance, however. New revisions, in 1814 after the cession of Norway, and 1864 after the eventual loss of Holstein, dramatised the changing geography of Denmark. Specific characters were removed, representing the loss of territory; the Norwegian farmer in 1814 and the Holstein farmer in 1864. Furthermore, music that originally promoted the unity of Denmark, Norway, and Holstein, including the song 'Brothers in Accord' was adapted to only promote Danish culture.[229] These adaptations ensured lasting relevance and continued importance in the repertory of the *Kongelige Teater*. Furthermore, this demonstrates how theatrical works reflected social and political circumstances. Additionally, the subsequent adaptations cement *Høstgildet* as an important local, or national, work: it changed to reflect major geographical and political events which reframed the state.

Høstgildet was an important work within the repertory of the *Kongelige Teater* for a long time after its premiere in 1790. Its significance as a local work was initiated by its commission for the royal wedding and cemented by later adaptations that closely aligned the work with political events. There were also important foreign elements within the work, representing in small scale the foreign influences identified throughout the repertory of the *Kongelige Teater*. *Høstgildet* also demonstrated the impact of politics on theatre and vice versa; the inclusion of patriotic sentiments within a work for a royal event was important in a period where local culture was prioritised. However, the middle-class enthusiasm for the work, contrasting with opposition from the aristocracy, demonstrates the conflicting political priorities for different social classes and shows the extreme reactions evoked by theatre. Later adaptations of *Høstgildet* further emphasised the significance of politics within theatre; the work was adapted to accommodate geographical shifts, ensuring its continued relevance as an important local work.

1.7 Copenhagen and Beyond: The Cosmopolitan City

Copenhagen had a thriving theatrical culture in the nineteenth century: the city maintained a substantial local repertory while also performing foreign works which were well received by audiences. The repertory at the *Kongelige Teater* between 1800 and 1860 reveals several important themes that had an impact on the presentation of theatrical works, including the diversification of the repertory and the motivations triggering this, the coexistence of foreign and

[227] Ibid., 215.
[228] Thomas Thaarup, Høst-gildet (3rd ed.), Kiøbenhavn: Johan Frederik Schultz, 1793, 47.
[229] Gjerven. 'Staging state patriotism.' 266.

local theatrical traditions, and the prominence of French theatre and reasons for its success. Furthermore, clear links between the repertory of the Royal Theatre and contemporary political tendencies are revealed; the government encouraged a more cosmopolitan approach towards music for the stage, despite their promotion of local identity and culture in this period of political tension.

The repertory performed at the *Kongelige Teater* became increasingly diverse between 1800 and 1860. The most significant shift was the declining frequency of plays which decreased from over 60% of the repertory in 1800 to just over 35% in 1860. This was not an indication of declining success, however – plays were popular with audiences throughout the period – but instead reflected the increased diversity of musically sophisticated genres within the repertory of the Royal Theatre and the growing internationalisation of music for the stage during this period. Ballet, Danish *Syngespil*, and *opéra comique*, which were all present at the start of this period, did not change drastically; each declined in frequency by less than 5% throughout the period. The emergence of German opera, Italian opera, *grand opéra*, c*omédie-vaudeville*, and Danish *vaudeville*, at various points during the period, contributed to the varied repertory and reflected popular taste and theatrical style. Perhaps the largest change was the increase in *vaudeville* performances; these not only indicated the diversification but also reflected the preferences of the middle classes who, during this period, gained greater interest in music for the stage, facilitated by new suburban theatres. *Vaudevilles* significantly increased in popularity because they were light-hearted and offered relief during the years of considerable political tension. The repertory at the *Kongelige Teater*, particularly towards the end of the period, resembled that of other European cities; a blend of local and foreign traditions contributed to a diverse theatrical culture. The popularity of genres like *opéra comique* and c*omédie-vaudeville* clearly aligned with other European repertories, while the success and local reception of ballet was more specifically Danish. The overall diversification of the repertory occurred primarily through the movement of individuals around Europe where they gained new knowledge and experiences.

The prominence of Danish works throughout this period, including local plays, *Syngestykkes*, and *vaudevilles*, formed a substantial local repertory that reflected the preferred Danish style. The preservation of traditions, through the continued prominence of local individuals and works, partly resulted from the ongoing desire to create and promote a strong national identity, sparked by the political conflicts and tensions throughout the nineteenth century. However, the significance of local culture at the Royal Theatre also stemmed from more practical motivations: it was quicker, simpler, and cheaper to produce locally created works than import works from elsewhere. These practicalities also extended to the dominance of plays, and

particularly local plays; these were easier to produce than musically sophisticated works that required greater resources and skill.

Movement towards a more diverse, universal repertory was significant. The repertory of the *Kongelige Teater*, with its many foreign traditions, clearly indicated cultural transfer although this process was one-sided. Very few Danish works were performed elsewhere in Europe; instead, Copenhagen contributed to the process of cultural transfer by receiving and performing a diverse range of works. Copenhagen did, however, adopt a centric role for other Nordic countries, demonstrating the regional connections that existed throughout this period.

The presence of local and foreign influences within the repertory of the *Kongelige Teater* is made more significant – and far more interesting – by the ways in which these traditions often coexisted within the works of a single individual, or even within a single work. The works of several local individuals revealed the coexistence of foreign and local traditions; the government process of encouraging European travel led to the inclusion of foreign theatrical elements within the works of local individuals who were known for the promotion of a distinct Danish style. Furthermore, these foreign influences were significant even within a work like *Høstgildet,* widely considered to be a national work.

Copenhagen specifically played a significant role in the dissemination of French genres. This French influence originally stemmed from eighteenth-century touring troupes who performed *opéra comique* at the Court Theatre but continued to have a significant impact on Danish theatre throughout this period. The historic relationship between Danish and French culture was preserved long into the nineteenth century: some French genres were even celebrated as part of local theatre. Furthermore, the acceptance and subsequent success of French theatrical genres originated from their ability to conform to the preferred Danish aesthetic style, facilitated by several similarities, including the conventions central to spoken dialogue genres. The French influence extended into local genres; ballet and *vaudeville*, while clear examples of Danish theatre, had their origins in French culture. Both Bournonville and Heiberg, for ballet and *vaudeville* respectively, modified the traditional French models to ensure works aligned with the preferred Danish theatrical style. This demonstrates the wide reach of the French cultural sphere, but also the ways in which these traditions were appropriated and subsequently received as local. Ultimately, this demonstrates how the combination of foreign and local led to significant generic blurring, and highlights the importance of style over national differences, in turn demonstrating a cosmopolitan approach even within the creation of national traditions.

The diverse repertory performed at the *Kongelige Teater*, combined with some political motivations, demonstrated the cosmopolitan nature of music for the stage in nineteenth-century

Copenhagen. The government sent Danish composers to train in European theatres, welcomed the repertoire of, and hired, foreign composers at the Royal Theatre, and provided performance space for several touring troupes. However, this occurred alongside the promotion of a national identity and local culture. Although cosmopolitan practices led to the production of foreign works at the Royal Theatre, the promotion of local culture influenced how foreign works were performed. Processes of modification ensured conformity to the preferred Danish style even within foreign works; this exemplified how political ideas were intertwined within Danish theatre throughout the nineteenth century.

Chapter 2 Dresden and Copenhagen, 1815-1831

2.1 Introduction

Although centrally located in Europe, at least geographically, Dresden was not a theatrical or cultural centre during the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, Dresden played an important role in the nineteenth-century theatrical network; it received and performed important foreign works soon after their premieres, and like Copenhagen, adopted a centric role for the local area. 1815 to 1831, a period which has been selected to align with important events in the timeline of the *Königliche Theater* (Royal Theatre) including the establishment of a new German company and the closure of one theatre building, also overlaps with available performance data for Copenhagen allowing comparisons to be made. Dresden deserves attention: the ways in which repertory was formed and performed – through processes of cultural transfer – indicate its centrality to the early nineteenth-century European theatrical network.

From as early as the fifteenth century, Dresden was the capital of the Electorate of Saxony before it was chosen to be the capital of the newly created Kingdom of Saxony in 1806. It was incorporated into the German Confederation – which replaced the Holy Roman Empire – in 1815.[1] Saxony was ruled by its former elector, Frederick August III (1750-1827), who became King Frederick August I in 1806 and ruled until his death in 1827. He was succeeded by his son, Anthony, for the rest of this period. Dresden's elevation and new-found independence partly resulted from the good relationship between Saxony and France, nurtured through an ongoing alliance during the Napoleonic Wars. The frequent political shifts during the first decades of the nineteenth century contributed to a growing, widespread move towards promoting local identity and culture – a movement that, to some extent, was mirrored in the theatre. This was most obviously identified through the creation and promotion of a new national genre of opera, championed by Carl Maria von Weber (1786-1826). Assessing the new German opera, the ways it was performed, and its interactions with foreign genres, along with the individuals who created and promoted it, contributes to a greater understanding of German nationalism. This chapter will also complicate the binary of nationalism and cosmopolitanism through an exploration of how Weber's initiatives were also cosmopolitan.

[1] 'German Confederation', *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Accessed 16 September 2022., https://www.britannica.com/topic/German-Confederation.

The impact of – and interactions between – the political situation, theatrical organisation, genre, and individuals on the formation and performance of repertory demonstrates how foreign and local influences coexisted and gradually merged throughout the period. The local repertory – written by Saxon individuals and often performed in German – grew significantly, alongside strong Italian traditions. The tensions between foreign and local, represented by locally created German opera and the traditionally dominant Italian opera that had a historic presence in Dresden, demonstrates how the socio-political situation had a significant impact on theatrical repertory. Theatre in Dresden presents a paradox: at a time when national ideas became increasingly dominant, companies gradually merged, demonstrating the cross breeding that underpins studies of cultural transfer.[2]

Comparing the Dresden repertory with that performed at the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen between 1815 and 1831 provides a deeper understanding of how institutional organisation, political events and ideas, and individuals shaped repertories in contrasting ways. To aid this, comparisons between politics and organisational practices will also be made when meaningful observations arise. Dresden and Copenhagen each had rich, historic, theatrical traditions revolving around a central institution. However, the royal institutions shared few significant organisational and repertorial similarities, and as such, contrasting ways in which music for the stage was presented throughout Europe in the early decades of the nineteenth century are revealed.

2.2 War, Conflict, and the Emergence of Nationalism

Early nineteenth-century Dresden was affected by several political impulses. The Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815) had a significant impact on the political situation in Dresden, as did the subsequent Congress of Vienna (1815) which led to substantial territorial loss. After this, the remaining territory of the Kingdom of Saxony was incorporated into the newly formed German Confederation. These events contributed to the move to promote local identity, not only in Dresden, but throughout German-speaking Europe. In Dresden, the conflicts that contributed to the development and promotion of national ideas were embodied through a seemingly straightforward binary opposition between national repertory and Italian opera, nourished with some French opera despite the political conflicts.

Dresden was occasionally the base of operations for Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) during the Napoleonic Wars and was therefore a major target for anyone fighting against the

[2] Michel Espagne. *Les transferts culturels franco-allemands*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1999.

French. The most immediate consequence of these conflicts stemmed from the Battle of Dresden in 1813, the second largest battle of the wars. It culminated in a French victory – for the battle, at least –[3] but caused significant damage in the Saxon city. More significant than the extensive damage from the battle, however, were the long-lasting political and geographical consequences that stemmed from Saxony's alliance with the French Empire during the conflicts.

The Congress of Vienna (1815) resulted in major political and geographical shifts that affected not only the Kingdom of Saxony and Dresden, but the entire continent.[4] It aimed to restore and maintain peace, after a quarter century of conflict triggered by the French Revolution, by rebalancing political and geographical power, with a long term aim of preventing future conflicts.[5] Because of the alliance between the Kingdom of Saxony and the French Empire, and their subsequent loss in the conflicts, Saxony faced drastic consequences in the Congress of Vienna: 60% of Saxon land and 40% of the population were reassigned to Prussia, although Dresden and Leipzig remained within the Kingdom of Saxony under the control of King Friedrich August I.[6] While the Congress of Vienna was designed to suppress emerging national ideas – with the aim of preventing the emergence of a single dominating power – it did, in some cases, contribute to the development of nationalism. This was particularly true in places that suffered significant territorial and political losses, including the Kingdom of Saxony and many German-speaking states.[7]

An important part of the Congress of Vienna was the Treaty of Chaumont (1814) which saw the establishment of the German Confederation, a collection of thirty-eight independent but united German states, including the Kingdom of Saxony.[8] This was an important part of the negotiations as it helped to mend the power imbalances that had contributed to the conflicts. The Confederation was led by a Federal Convention consisting of representatives from each state who spoke for their regions interest. The establishment of the German Confederation was an important part of the development of a national identity; this group of German-speaking states gained a collective identity – an important part of many national movements. The German Confederation remained united until the eventual unification of Germany in 1871.

[3] Although Bonaparte won the Battle of Dresden in 1813, his success was overshadowed by overall French defeat.
[4] Tim Chapman summarises the measures taken by the Congress of Vienna and outlines the implications for Europe. Tim Chapman. *The Congress of Vienna 1814-1815*. London and New York: Routledge, 1998.
[5] Ibid., 56.
[6] Ibid., 42, 49.
[7] Ibid., 45.
[8] Ibid.

Several factors contributed to a continued development of the national ideas that had first emerged in the second half of the eighteenth century. The Napoleonic Wars, the political and geographical shifts caused by the Congress of Vienna, and the creation of the German Confederation were important catalysts for the increased momentum; war-torn European countries struggled to realise their identities within new political configurations.

The creation of a local identity was often centred around similar cultural, linguistic, and historical elements and shared experiences. While national movements existed throughout Europe, the creation and promotion of a local identity was particularly prevalent in many Northern European countries, and especially German-speaking states. In the theatre, this was often achieved through use of a local language: regardless of the origin of theatrical works, the German company in Dresden – which along with an Italian company constituted the Royal Theatre – invariably performed in the German language, and in Copenhagen, works were performed in Danish. Furthermore, in German-speaking Europe, promoting local identity and culture was also achieved through the creation of a new, local opera genre.

Local identity was not restricted to a small area; instead, places that shared cultural and linguistic similarities were linked. These connections were often facilitated by touring troupes who performed in new locations for new audiences, moving cultural artefacts, including theatre, from one place to another. Singers travelled during seasonal breaks to supplement their earnings, and many places without a resident company relied on troupes for performances. Between March 27th and October 15th 1815, and between April 15th and October 20th 1816, the Royal Theatre offered guest performances in Leipzig during seasonal breaks in Dresden,[9] cementing regional links between the two Saxon cities. These performances stopped when Dresden took control of the Leipzig opera administration in 1816. The presence of the Royal Theatre in Leipzig demonstrates Dresden's influence and how it adopted a centric role for the surrounding areas. This mirrored Copenhagen's position, which also became a theatrical centre for the surrounding areas.

2.2.1 Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism

Nationalism has been formulated as a reaction to existing cultures that were usually foreign.[10] As a response to several foreign influences present in the Dresden repertory, individuals including

[9] Oscar Fambach. *Das Repertorium des Königlichen Theaters und der Italienischen Oper zu Dresden 1814-1832*. Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1985. vii.
[10] William Weber. 'Cosmopolitanism, National and Regional Identities in Eighteenth-Century European Musical Life.' In *The Oxford Handbook of the New Cultural History of Music*, edited by Jane Fulcher. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. 209.

Weber sought to create a new form of German opera to compensate for a supposed lack of existing German culture. They aimed to replace the extensive foreign influences, and particularly Italian opera which was successful with the elite class, with a growing German repertory that included musical genres and local plays.

Foreign works that were translated for performance in Dresden, combined with locally created works, contributed to a repertory that broadly mirrored other places in Northern Europe. Regional similarities, some of which were also identified in Copenhagen, contributed to a Northern European regional identity that helps to explain some of the overarching similarities that will be explored later in this chapter. Regional similarities demonstrate the complexity of nationalism; it extended far beyond a simple configuration of local versus foreign.

Despite the growth of national ideas and the elevated position of nationalism within nineteenth-century discourse, cosmopolitan ideas also existed and can be identified during this period. Cosmopolitanism has often been overlooked despite its significance for music for the stage and the ways in which it is linked to the seemingly opposite idea of nationalism, a point made in Chapter One that is being repeated here for effect.[11] Although cosmopolitanism has been used synonymously with terms including diverse, varied, and international,[12] the concept demands more cultural authority and political motivation.[13] Cosmopolitanism can be identified in several theatrical practices, most obviously in compositional style and repertorial organisation.[14] Gooley argues that cosmopolitanism appears in repertories in two ways: the foreign and the local combined within works and the combination of foreign and local works within a repertory, both of which can be identified in Dresden during this period. Repertory often blurred the boundaries between nationalism and cosmopolitanism, and positively complicates the assumed presence of nationalism: national elements are clearly identified within the fundamentally cosmopolitan repertory in Dresden.

The nineteenth century saw dramatic population growth, particularly in cities, which primarily resulted from young people moving to urban areas from rural settings. This occurred throughout Europe and Dresden was no exception: from 1800 to 1870, the population increased from 60,000 to almost three times that number.[15] Population growth had a significant impact on

[11] Dana Gooley, et al. 'Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism, 1848-1914.' Journal of the American Musicological Society 66 No. 2 (2013). 526.
[12] Ibid., 523.
[13] Weber. 'Cosmopolitan, National, and Regional Identities.' 211.
[14] Gooley. *Cosmopolitanism in the Age of Nationalism.* 525.
[15] This growth was not restricted to Dresden: Berlin grew from 172,000 to 826,000, Hamburg from 130,000 to 290,000, Munich from 40,000 to 269,000, Breslau (now Wrocław) from 60,000 to 208,000, and

music for the stage: the demand for theatrical performances increased, and often, new theatres or companies were established to meet the demand.

Significant social shifts during this period aligned with other major European cities. These had an impact on both the political and cultural spheres, including music for the stage. One such shift was the significant growth of the middle class; this started at the end of the eighteenth century, partly because of the increased industry that provided additional sources of wealth, and continued throughout the nineteenth century. The growing middle class used their new position to campaign for political reform and used cultural and political power to increase their social standing. In German-speaking states, this social group were known as the *Bildungsbürgertum*, an educated social class with a keen focus on culture and continuing education.[16] While they were part of the cultural elite, the *Bildungsbürgertum* were also linked to politics and often held liberal ideas. These liberal ideas were linked to national ideas and the desire to establish Germany as a nation state with an independent identity.

Political events, including Dresden's involvement with the Napoleonic Wars and the consequences that resulted from the Congress of Vienna, had an impact on music for the stage during this period. The growth of the *Bildungsbürgertum* and the liberal ideas they supported, combined with the widespread development of nationalism and national ideas, contributed to the creation of a new form of German opera. However, this was also performed alongside a wide range of foreign influences which contributed to a cosmopolitan repertory, despite the national elements and regional connections.

2.3 Theatrical Organisation

In Dresden, conflicts between foreign and local were embodied through two separate companies, with two separate repertories, who performed at two theatres within the institution of the Royal Theatre. However, the closure of one theatre at the end of this period, resulting from the growing local repertory and the gradual merging of companies, reveals how national ideas were linked to cosmopolitan tendencies, and how the two ideas had a tangible impact on music for the stage. Theatrical organisation was influenced by several factors: royal and political connections, funding, the preservation of tradition, audiences, and foreign influences all dictated methods of theatrical

Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) from 55,000 to 112,000. Thomas Nipperdey. *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck: 1800–1866*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996. 96-97.

[16] Ursula Klein. 'Science, industry, and the German *Bildungsbürgertum*.' *Annals of Science* 77, No. 3, (2020). 366.

organisation, and, by extension, the repertory performed in Dresden. These processes reveal important trends and demonstrate how local and foreign genres coexisted within the repertory.

2.3.1 Companies and Buildings

The *Königliche Theater* was geographically central and had long-standing connections with the Royal Court, signalling its cultural importance for Dresden and the surrounding areas. Between 1815 and 1831, the *Königliche Theater,* under the leadership of Count Carl von Vitzthum (1770-1837), housed two companies – Italian and German – in two buildings: the centrally located *Morettisches Haus*[17] and the suburban *Linkeschen Bad*. Despite the long associations between the Italian company and the *Morettisches Haus*, both Italian and German companies performed there throughout the season, whereas the *Linkeschen Bad* exclusively housed the German company during the summer months, as was typical for suburban theatres throughout Europe. As the period progressed, the two companies became increasingly connected through two paths: the celebration of royal occasions and the gradually converging repertories.[18]

Italian opera was well established in Dresden, perhaps more so than anywhere outside Italy other than Vienna,[19] largely due to the long-standing connections between Italian opera and the royal court, and the support provided by Friedrich August I who enjoyed Italian opera.[20] However, despite this long history, there were no Italian opera performances after 1780 until Dresden's Italian company was re-established in 1818.[21] The existence of a prominent, permanent Italian opera company, led during this period by Francesco Morlacchi (1784-1841), demonstrates Dresden's connection to Italian opera, and its reception, by some, as an Italian city.[22] Despite unsuccessful attempts by many German states, including Dresden, Munich, Berlin, and Vienna, to suppress Italian opera in the late eighteenth century in favour of German traditions, Italian opera continued to grow in popularity throughout the German-speaking world.[23]

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[17] Fambach uses '*Morettisches Haus'* and '*Stadttheater'* interchangeably in his source material, but to avoid confusion, *Morettisches Haus* is used throughout this dissertation. Fambach, *Das Repertorium des Königlichen Theaters und der Italienischen Oper zu Dresden 1814-1832*.
[18] Stephen C Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber and the Search for a German Opera*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003. 24.
[19] Richard Engländer and Erminie Huntress. 'The Struggle between German and Italian Opera at the Time of Weber.' Translated by Erminie Huntress. *The Musical Quarterly* 31 No. 4 (1945). 490-91.
[20] Ibid., 488.
[21] Fambach, *Das Repertorium des Königlichen Theaters,* 30.
[22] Engländer and Huntress. 'The Struggle between German and Italian Opera at the Time of Weber.' 488.
[23] Ibid., 482.

Friedrich August I also enjoyed German chamber music which contributed to his desire to support the growth of German theatre.[24] The German company was newly created in 1816; when the King acquired the Leipzig opera administration from Franz and Joseph Seconda, he established a state-supported German opera company to compensate for the financial loss.[25] Weber was invited to direct the company in 1816 and was eventually succeeded, after his death, by Carl Gottlieb Reissiger (1798-1859) in May 1828.[26] The new German department was the first permanent vernacular company in Dresden to offer significant competition to the well-established Italian opera.

Each company had a distinct repertory during this period.[27] Morlacchi's Italian company performed Italian opera, in Italian, while Weber's German company performed vernacular theatre, the most musically sophisticated being *Singspiel*. The German company also performed foreign works in a German translation, a large portion of which were *opéras comiques*.[28] The generic divisions between companies, and the conventions that upheld them, indicated widespread theatrical practices: generic distinctions were a matter of organisation that avoided overlap.[29] The marginalisation of vernacular opera, identified by the exile of German opera to suburban venues like the *Linkesches Bad*, was common throughout nineteenth-century theatre:[30] Dresden, Munich, and Vienna were three cities that embodied traditional generic divisions by side-lining local works to suburban theatres while promoting established Italian opera in a prestigious venue in the centre of the city.[31]

The German and Italian companies, and their repertories, were connected and became increasingly equal during this period, despite the traditionally peripheral position of German opera. The intertwined nature of the two traditions, despite significant differences, was perhaps inevitable given the reinstatement of Italian opera occurred just as German opera, under the

[24] Ibid., 488.
[25] Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 22.
[26] Ibid., 23, 163.
[27] Ibid., 23.
[28] Ibid., 13.
[29] The allocation of specific genres to specific theatres was sometimes enforced by law. For an overview, particularly in London and Paris where the enforcement of such laws was most prevalent, see Christina Fuhrmann. *Foreign Operas at the London Playhouse: From Mozart to Bellini*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. 4-6. and Mark Everist. 'The Music of Power: Parisian Opera and the Politics of Genre, 1806–1864.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67 No. 3 (2014). 685-690. Theatrical organisation in Dresden was not so strictly controlled, however, the preservation of existing traditions acted to maintain the established divisions between companies. Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 12-13.
[30] Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 13.
[31] In Vienna, the centrally located *Kärntnertortheater* and *Burgtheater* performed Italian Opera, whereas German-language works were performed at the suburban *Leopoldstadt*, mirroring the situation in Dresden.

leadership of Weber, began to emerge.[32] The repertory of each company gradually converged during this period: the Italian company performed other genres in addition to Italian opera and the German company performed local works alongside translated foreign works and even some translated Italian operas. This was exemplified by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's (1756-1791) *Don Giovanni* (1787) which was performed at both the *Linkesches Bad* and the *Morettisches Haus* on 9th June and 10th August 1822 respectively, despite the different generic associations of each theatre.[33] This shows the similarities between repertories and the audience demand for a wide variety of works, while also emphasising the celebrity of *Don Giovanni*, despite the conventions that divided performances by company and location. The gradual convergence of repertory and companies culminated in the closure of the *Morettisches Haus* in 1832. The increased equality between the German and Italian companies during the period was unusual and demonstrates the significance of the new German opera tradition: German opera had long been considered a subdominant genre – even in German-speaking states. This also demonstrates state acceptance; the King ensured the companies had equal status after the success of Weber's first performance.[34]

The two companies at the Royal Theatre, and by extension Weber and Morlacchi, were at the head of several conflicts, although these are often exaggerated. They represented a dichotomy between German and Italian, local and foreign, new and established, and traditional and modern. Morlacchi, prompted by self-preservation and the desire to promote his own company, wanted to retain traditional generic divisions and so challenged the growth of the German company. He was ultimately unsuccessful; German opera, under Weber's leadership, continued to flourish. The success of both German and Italian companies, and their gradual alignment, reveals how theatrical conventions began to unravel during this period.[35]

The increased success of the German company – driven by the equal state support given to both companies – that almost matched that of the long-established Italian company, was an indication of the growing national ideas present in Dresden during this period. Institutional and generic divisions heightened tensions between local and foreign: each company performed different works for different audiences and attracted different levels of support. However, the presence and success of both companies, the support given to both companies, and the cultural authority exerted by their broad, combined repertory, signals the presence of cosmopolitan ideas even within a theatrical culture that prioritised the development of national ideas and works.[36]

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[32] Engländer and Huntress. 'The Struggle between German and Italian Opera.' 482.
[33] Fambach. *Das Repertorium des Königlichen Theaters*. 72-74.
[34] Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 25.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Weber. 'Cosmopolitan, National, and Regional Identities.' 211.

Theatrical organisation was heavily influenced by the two companies present within the Royal Theatre. The six-day performance week – there were no performances on a Friday –[37] was organised to meet the expectations of each company and provide equal performance opportunities. Different days had different genre designations: Wednesday and Saturday were reserved for the Italian company while the German company performed during the rest of the week.[38] The creation of a rota shows managerial attempts – that went above Weber and Morlacchi – to ensure a more equal division of repertory. This was not only a relatively modern approach to organisation but also indicated that the desire to support both companies was supported by audiences and authority figures alike.

Funding – and particularly state funding – had a clear impact on repertory. Although the Dresden repertory followed some state governed conventions, it was predominantly controlled by directors and managers. Theatrical funding was often accompanied by conditions: some works had to be performed, some had to be performed in specific ways, and some were banned. Funding also sometimes dictated which individuals had to be employed and specified certain conventions to be followed.[39] The locations of the two Dresden theatres, and the divisions between companies, had contrasting implications on funding and performance: productions by the Italian company were likely to be lavish, aligning with not only the traditional elite associations of Italian opera but also the comparative audience wealth. In contrast, performances from the German company required fewer resources.

The two companies at the Royal Theatre had different approaches to funding acquisition. These contrasting approaches, while ensuring both companies received funding, strengthened the divisions between them. Morlacchi was dependent on courtly connections for financial support: he was either unable or unwilling to establish contacts elsewhere.[40] Morlacchi's reliance on the elite class, while contributing to the success of his company and by extension Italian opera, enhanced associations between Italian opera and aristocratic culture. The presence and resulting popularity of Italian opera in Dresden was therefore driven by continued royal patronage and support from the upper classes. Weber, on the other hand, was less financially reliant on the court although he still depended on some individuals within courtly society.[41] Instead, he used his

[37] John Warrack. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976. 178.
[38] Ibid. These divisions were common: the Paris *Opéra* and *Théâtre Italien* never performed on the same night is just one other example of this.
[39] The institutional influence on repertory was most significant in nineteenth-century Paris, where genre was highly regulated. While the Dresden repertory was not as strictly regulated, it still had to align with the ideas and requirements of the state. See Everist. 'The Music of Power.' 686.
[40] Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 26.
[41] Ibid.

personal contacts established from amongst the *Bildungsbürgertum*. Individuals in this group, who shared Weber's liberal ideas,[42] attempted to undermine the traditional hierarchy that had exiled German opera, and vernacular theatre more broadly, to the edge of theatrical culture. However, Weber's own popularity also influenced his ability to acquire funding. The successful premiere of *Der Freischütz* (1821) in Berlin, along with subsequent performances in Dresden, following the first Dresden performance at the *Morettisches Haus* on 26th January 1822,[43] increased Weber's visibility to potential supporters: his financial backing increased after the emergence of *Der Freischütz*,[44] demonstrating the significance of this work, and his involvement in the creation of the new German opera, for acquiring financial support.

The availability of resources also had a significant impact on which works were performed, how they were performed, and by which company. Morlacchi's Italian company benefitted from elaborate resources at the *Morettisches Haus* because of the associations with the elite class that supported Italian opera. In contrast, before 1821, limited resources and the ability of the singers in the German company severely restricted Weber's productions: he was forced to produce simple works that were easy to stage.[45] This included performances with syllabic text, short phrases, and a limited vocal range that were easily achievable by his company.[46] However, as Weber's influence increased in line with his growing financial success, the complexity and diversity of his repertory increased as he no longer needed to strive for simplicity.

Audiences directly supported, and therefore had some control over, the repertory performed at the Royal Theater. While audiences reflected the repertory performed at the Royal Theatre, the repertory also provides an insight into the composition of nineteenth-century audiences. The dominance of Italian opera in Dresden, for example, indicates a significant portion of the audience belonged to the elite class given the long-standing links between Italian opera and the aristocracy. However, local performances from the German company, and particularly those at the *Linkesches Bad*, suggest a more middle-class audience that would have included members of the *Bildungsbürgertum*. Performance language also indicates audience characteristics. The German company performed works in German for a local audience. However, the Italian company performed in Italian – a continuation of eighteenth-century traditions –[47] which suggested a more elite audience who could understand Italian. This was, however, impractical; most nineteenth-

[42] Ibid.
[43] Fambach. *Das Repertorium des Königlichen Theaters.* 69.
[44] Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 26.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid., 36.
[47] Ibid., 25-34.

century libretti from Dresden were bi-lingual – the Italian was printed alongside a German translation – suggesting most audiences could not understand Italian.[48]

2.3.2 Seasonal Organisation

Conventions governing season length were present throughout nineteenth-century Europe; most theatres, including the Dresden Royal Theatre, followed similar patterns. The Dresden season began at the end of September and lasted until around May. The Christmas break usually lasted from the middle of December to the end of the calendar year, however, from 1827 onwards, performances restarted immediately after Christmas. Performances paused for just over two weeks at Easter and restarted in the days immediately following Easter Monday. There were also smaller regular breaks during the season, usually only lasting a day, that marked religious festivals including the National Day of Prayer, usually in mid-May, and Pentecost.

Although the theatrical season usually ended in May before a long summer break, performances were usually heard during the summer at suburban venues to provide for audiences who did not move to summer residences. In Dresden, then, there should have been performances at the *Morettisches Haus* between autumn and spring, and the *Linkesches Bad* was additionally supposed to host performances during the summer.[49] However, contrasting with the expected conventions, summer performances in Dresden unevenly alternated between the *Morettisches Haus* and the *Linkesches Bad*.[50] This demonstrated the clear audience demand for performances in both locations, and suggests a significant number of residents remained in the city during the summer months.

As in any theatre, deviations from the typical patterns often occurred for practical reasons: some were necessitated by unexpected events such as fire or the weather, occasionally theatres had to adapt to the indisposition of important performers, and sometimes they chose to benefit from visiting performers. Minor seasonal disruptions in Dresden regularly affected the alternating pattern of summer performances. In 1821, for example, performances were only heard at the *Linkesches Bad* rather than the usual alternation between buildings.[51] Because 1821 was the only year in this period with no alternating performances, it was likely there was a problem at the *Morettisches Haus* during this time. Performances in 1827 also strayed from the traditional pattern: there was one production at the *Morettisches Haus* in May, none in June, and

[48] Ibid., 30.
[49] Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 13.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Fambach. *Das Repertorium des Königlichen Theaters.* 62-66.

twenty-eight in July, with the usual alternating performances only starting on August 2nd.[52] This indicates a practical issue at the *Linkesches Bad* that was not resolved until the start of August. A delayed start to the typical pattern also occurred in 1829, when alternating performances began on June 5th.[53] Performers' illness also contributed to breaks in performances: there were no performances on October 18th 1827 because of the illness of Anton Babnigg (1793-1872), a prominent singer. This caused the postponement of the Dresden premiere of Weber's *Oberon* (1826),[54] a work that quickly assumed repertorial importance in Dresden. The delay of this production, along with the significance of its success, demonstrates the potential impact of seasonal disruptions. These minor fluctuations demonstrated that practical motivations were often as significant as the implementation of carefully planned conventions.

Localised changes that altered the basic pattern of performances indicated a close link with the royal court: many seasonal alterations occurred because of royal events, both in Dresden and across Europe. The death of a monarch or member of the royal family was usually marked by a pause in theatrical productions. In 1827, the season paused from November 7th to mark a period of mourning for Amalie of Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld, known as Maria Amalie Auguste or Queen Maria Theresia of Saxony, who became the first Queen of Saxony in 1806.[55] Performances did not resume until December 26th, rather than in the new calendar year as was typical, which may have been an attempt to account for the lost performance time.[56] Similarly, in 1828 performances paused from November 12th to signal the anniversary of the Queen's death.[57] The death of Princess Marianna, the sister of the King, was marked by a break between November 24th and December 9th 1820.[58] Similarly, the deaths of Prince Clement of Saxony and Prince Albert of Saxony in 1822, on January 12th and February 12th respectively, were marked by pauses in performances,[59] and the death of Princess Maria Kunigunde of Saxony in 1826 was marked by a pause between April 6th and April 23rd.[60] Perhaps most significantly, the death of King Frederick Augustus I in May 1827 was marked by a two-month break.[61] Theatre in Dresden also signalled the death of members of other royal families, albeit with shorter breaks. The death of Maria

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[52] Ibid., 122-126.
[53] Ibid., 141.
[54] Ibid., 126.
[55] 'Geschlossen wegen Ablebens der Königin Maria Theresia von Sachsen (+ Nov. 7).' Fambach. *Das Repertorium des Königlichen Theaters.* 127.
[56] Ibid.
[57] 'Landestrauer wegen Ablebens J.M. der verw. Königin.' Fambach. *Das Repertorium des Königlichen Theaters.* 136.
[58] Ibid., 58.
[59] Ibid., 69-70.
[60] Ibid., 111.
[61] Ibid., 122.

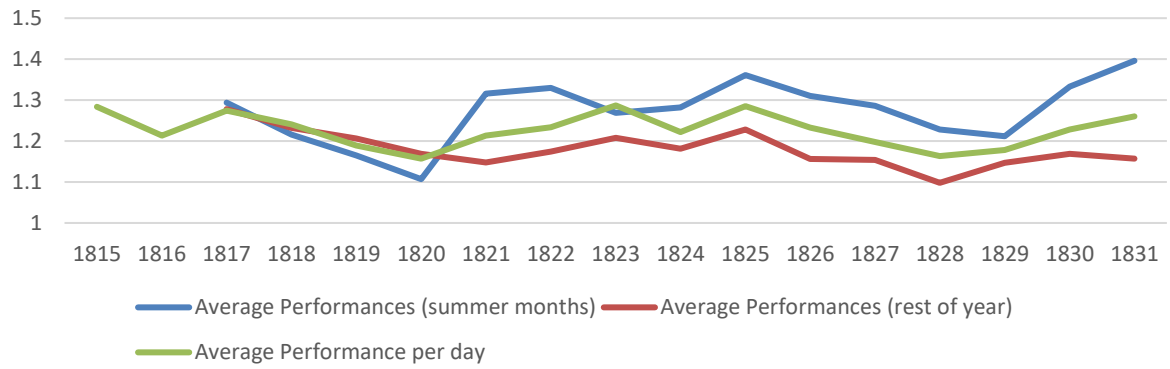
Josephine Amelia, third wife of Ferdinand VII, King of Spain, and daughter of Prince Maximillian of Saxony, was marked with another pause at the *Königliche Theater* on May 27th 1829.[62] The connections between theatre and the royal family were further emphasised by theatrical pauses to mark periods of illness, including a pause on June 26th 1830 to signal the illness of Prince Maximillian.[63] These breaks were facilitated by conventions, the preservation of tradition, and the connections between court and theatre during this period.

Theatre was also used to celebrate royal occasions. These occasions included music and theatre intended for weddings and jubilee celebrations, including the fiftieth jubilee celebrations for the King, and the marriage of a Saxon princess.[64] These further demonstrated the connections between the two companies at the Royal Theatre as the resources of both companies were used during these celebrations.[65]

An important element of seasonal organisation is frequency of performance.[66] There were an average of 1.227 performances per day at the Royal Theatre throughout this period: 1820 had the lowest average of 1.157 and 1823 had the highest average of 1.287. During the summer months, however, performance frequency significantly increased, as shown in figure one. This largely resulted from multiple performances per day during the summer, particularly at the *Linkesches Bad*. The only irregularity occurred between 1818 and 1820 when there were fewer performances during the summer. In the last two years of the period, summer performances increased significantly; in the summer of 1831 there were an average of 1.396 performances per day, which partly resulted from a greater demand for performances at the suburban theatre. Multiple performances per day, although not unheard of, were not particularly common in Dresden, suggesting that audiences preferred shorter evenings of entertainment with only one work performed.

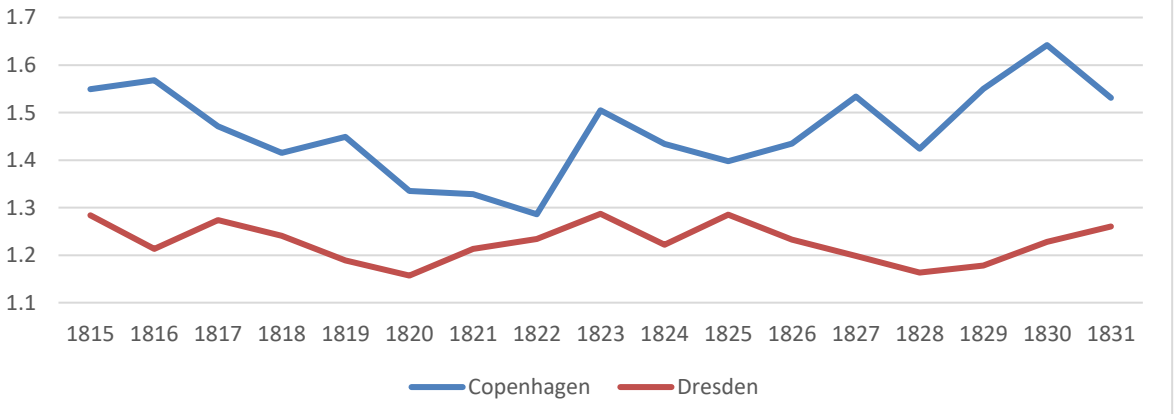
[62] Ibid., 141.
[63] Ibid., 152.
[64] Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 24.
[65] Ibid.
[66] The frequency of performance has here been calculated by dividing the total number of performances in a year by the total number of days on which there was a performance. Comparing the performance frequency in Dresden to the same calculation for Copenhagen reveals important considerations about theatre in each city.

Fig.1. The average number of performances per day during the summer months in Dresden compared to the rest of the year.



Compared to Dresden, Copenhagen had a far higher frequency of performance with more performances per year between 1817 and 1820, and 1826 and 1830. The average performances per day during the same period was 1.462, as shown in comparison to Dresden in figure two: 1822 had the lowest average with 1.286 and 1830 had the highest average of 1.642. Double, triple, and even quadruple bills were more common in Copenhagen leading to a higher average number of performances, even considering that theatre in Copenhagen took much longer summer breaks. The higher frequency of performance In Copenhagen stemmed from demand created by the larger population: in Copenhagen between 1769 and 1840, the population increased from 82,086 to 120,819, compared with the population of Dresden which increased from 50,321 in 1815 to 63,865 in 1831. This also suggests there was more financial support available at the Danish theatre.

Fig.2. The average number of performances per day at the *Kongelige Teater* (Copenhagen) and the *Königliche Theater* (Dresden) between 1815 and 1831.



Theatrical organisation had a significant impact on the repertory performed in Dresden between 1815 and 1831. Theatre was divided between German and Italian companies, demonstrated through contrasting styles of direction, different buildings, and repertorial differences. The contrasting levels of financial support, and the varied approaches to financial and resource acquisition taken by each director indicated a diverse and complex system of organisation that depended on different social groups – an aspect of theatrical organisation that maintained social divisions. Weber captured the support of a growing middle class, largely driven by aligning political ideas, whereas Morlacchi was dependant on the upper classes for financial backing, reflecting traditional associations between Italian opera and the court. The Royal Theatre captured in small-scale the tensions between inherited Italian opera and locally created German works that existed across the German-speaking cultural sphere. Theatrical organisation in Dresden also highlighted the complexities of the associations between genre and elite and popular culture, all within the context of increasing German nationalism. However, as will be explored throughout the rest of this chapter, the gradual merging of the two companies also had a significant impact on repertory and reveals the simultaneous presence of cosmopolitanism.

2.4 Balancing Foreign and Local: Genre in Dresden and Copenhagen

Genre, used to divide different musical styles into discrete categories, is one important method by which to analyse the repertory of any given place at any given time. Comparing genres present in different repertories enables a greater understanding of how nineteenth-century theatre was organised, and the contrasting influences that affected how and why some works were performed. The comparative approach in this section, that considers the repertories in Dresden and Copenhagen between 1815 and 1831, is driven by the cosmopolitan nature of music for the stage in both cities; each theatre performed a varied repertory which gradually diversified throughout the period, resulting in a wide range of genres that fluctuated in success throughout the period. Important factors emerging from this analysis are the social shifts that affected audience demographics and their preferred repertory, the tensions between preserving tradition and striving for modernity, the ways in which foreign influences existed alongside local works – and how these changed throughout the period –, and the different ways that Dresden and Copenhagen contended with the growing political and social move towards promoting local culture and identity.

Genre – although an excellent metric by which to consider repertory and the factors that influenced its formation – was not static. Instead, genre was fluid and the boundaries between

genres were often heavily blurred; shared stylistic features caused many genres to overlap. One example were staged plays. Most plays performed in this period included some form of incidental music, and most opera during this period, apart from Italian opera and *grand opéra* when performed in its original form, used speech instead of recitative, causing the two styles of theatre to resemble each other. When these similarities were combined with methods of theatrical adaptation, blurred boundaries between genres reveal how problematic a purely generic analysis is. Generic blurring was a regular occurrence in nineteenth-century repertory; it represented the transitional and fluid nature of music for the stage during this period.[67]

The *Königliche Theater* in Dresden and the *Kongelige Teater* in Copenhagen had diverse repertories throughout this period. Both had a strong local tradition that was complemented by a wide range of foreign influences. Each repertory diversified throughout this period: in Copenhagen this was reflected by a gradual decline of plays in favour of a wide range of musically sophisticated genres underpinned by strong French traditions. In Dresden, however, the limited repertory at the start of this period, which almost exclusively consisted of local plays, suddenly diversified in 1818 with the re-emergence of the Italian company and the formation of Weber's German company. Although the performances of plays declined in both cities, they remained the most highly performed type of work, in each city, for the entirety of the period. The Dresden repertory gradually expanded: the performance frequency of plays declined, musical genres became more prominent, and a wider range of foreign influences could be identified. Although Italian opera was the most highly performed musical genre in Dresden during this period, which was significant in itself – despite Weber's efforts to create and promote a national opera, Italian opera remained dominant during the period – the growth of a new genre of German opera almost matched the success of Italian works. The Danish repertory, on the other hand, included a greater variety of works and foreign influences that were performed alongside the local genres of ballet and Danish opera. Each city had a diverse repertory by the end of this period, and the underpinning foreign influences demonstrates the Franco-Italian formulation of early nineteenth-century repertory.[68] The presence of foreign influences alongside local, or locally perceived, genres, and the state support that equalised them, demonstrated the cosmopolitan practices that influenced repertory.

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[67] Parallels can be drawn with theatrical culture elsewhere in Europe. In many places, opera was performed at institutions that also performed works with spoken dialogue, and spoken theatre with some, little, or no incidental music. Paris was the clear exception to this pattern; there was an acknowledged generic hierarchy, where the *Opéra* was at the top, performing only *grand opéra* and ballet, and other theatres had specific generic designations. Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 34.

[68] Mark Everist. 'Cosmopolitanism and Music for the Theatre: Europe and Beyond, 1800–1870.' In Music History and Cosmopolitanism, edited by Anastasia Belina, Kaarina Kilpio and Derek Scott, 13-32. London: Routledge, 2019. 13-14.

2.4.1 Local Genres

In Dresden, and throughout German culture, – particularly at a time when societies were reshaped, territories shifted, and political power was redistributed – political ideas led to the creation of a local genre of opera that was widely promoted as national opera. Although several examples of German opera dated to before this period, the new German opera was created as a reaction to a supposed lack of German culture. This predominantly emerged from Weber's efforts and culminated in the composition of *Der Freischütz* in 1821, followed by other German operas including *Euryanthe* (1823) and *Oberon* (1826), both also composed by Weber. Although these had their premieres in Berlin, Vienna, and London respectively, they were written in Dresden, and first performed in the Saxon city in 1822, 1824, and 1827, respectively. It is interesting that *Der Freischütz*, the epitome of German national opera, was first performed in Berlin, a city in Prussia, rather than in Dresden where Weber lived and worked at the time.

In Copenhagen, by contrast, the preference for local over foreign was not realised to the same extent as it was in some German-speaking states. Although there was a substantial local repertory of Danish operas, plays, and eventually *vaudevilles*, these were performed alongside stronger foreign influences. Foreign genres were supported at the Danish Royal Theatre either because they aligned with local stylistic features or were forced to align through processes of adaptation.

The repertory of the Royal Theatre during this period consisted of several locally created genres that adhered to the conventions promoted within German theatre. While Weber's new genre of German opera is perhaps the most obvious example of a local or national genre, other works, including *Singspiel* and German language plays, also fit within this category. Furthermore, through processes of adaptation – and specifically translation – spoken dialogue genres like *opéra comique*, that formed a significant portion of the German repertory, began to resemble German works.

Defining any genre is challenging. Attempting to define early nineteenth-century German opera, given the wide range of works performed, is perhaps more challenging. Additionally, the emergence of a new genre in the early 1820s further complicate attempts to categorise these works. In the first years of this period the exact parameters of German opera were unclear; defining by subject matter was problematic, for example, as plots were taken from a wide variety of sources.[69] Some features were common, however: use of the German language was the first

[69] Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 30.

main element. The use of dialogue rather than recitative was also important, stemming from the perceived importance of text over music;[70] works were critically referred to as spoken dramas with added music because of the extensive nature of some dialogue.[71] This was further realised through librettists being given precedence over composers on both libretti and playbills and in contemporary critical discourse.[72] However, despite these elements, which were not only included in Weber's new German opera but also integral in the older *Singspiel* genre and the German plays that were popular at the start of this period, some argue that German opera could be identified by a *lack* of unified character, both dramatically and musically,[73] which further complicates any attempts to define the genre.

These features were also common in many Northern European repertories, including the preferred Danish style that could be recognised within several genres performed at the *Kongelige Teater* in Copenhagen. Regional similarities often emerged from geographical proximity, shared political history and culture, and preferred theatrical styles. This ensured the easy transfer of works from one place to another, further increasing the regional connections that existed in Northern Europe.

Weber, as director of the German company, was faced with the challenge of identifying exactly what German opera was, or at least what it should be.[74] His attempts to define German opera were realised – as far as they could be – by the repertory of the German company. His compositional solution to the challenge of defining German opera was his creation of the new genre, initially realised with *Der Freischütz* and subsequent operas. Considering *Der Freischütz*, therefore, enables a greater understanding of what constituted German opera – at least as far as Weber was concerned – during this period.

Der Freischütz was received as a *National-Oper*,[75] in part because of the German language and the inclusion of German folk idioms. However, *Der Freischütz* did not reject foreign influences, another common element of national opera.[76] Instead, its main generic model was *opéra comique*, and it included several other French and Italian influences, including

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[70] For a more detailed discussion about the contrasting relationship between text and music in Italian and German operatic traditions, see Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker. 'Singing and Speaking before 1800.' In *A History Of Opera, The Last 400* Years. London: Penguin Books, 2015, 145-166.
[71] Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 29.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid., 80.
[74] Ibid., 28.
[75] Michael C. Tusa. 'Cosmopolitanism and the National Opera: Weber's 'Der Freischütz.'' *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 36 No. 3 (2006). 484.
[76] Marina Frolova-Walker. 'The Language of National Style.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Opera*, edited by Helen Greenwald. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. 172.

sentimentality that has been likened to Etienne-Nicolas Méhul (1763-1817), unusual scoring, and integration of nature and emotion.[77] That *Der Freischütz* was received as a national opera is not in question. Instead, questioning why it has been received this way – or what features of the work makes it a national opera, along with a consideration of how this may have also linked to cosmopolitan ideas – allows a deeper understanding of how political ideas influenced music for the stage.

The presence of several foreign elements suggest that its reception as a national work went beyond the musical or dramatic elements of the work and instead partly stemmed from its success.[78] Its acceptance – in the repertory and as a national work – was reliant on contemporary views: public discourse outlining the requirements for a national work would have determined its reception.[79] Within contemporary discourse, the opera was described as a weapon against foreign influences;[80] critics used *Der Freischütz* to signal the moment when German music became free from the domination of foreign influence. Weber was considered to have won – with *Der Freischütz* – a battle against Italian opera which was personified by Gioachino Rossini (1792-1868): in the words of Weber's cataloguer, Friedrich Jähns, 'In this victorious battle Weber won consciousness for the German people and earned for them their own place in musico-dramatic art.'[81] Gaspare Spontini (1774-1851) is also mentioned alongside Rossini, although this relationship was more complex because after 1804, almost all of his works were French. This, combined with the date of the Jähns quotation – the year of German unification, when national feeling would have been considerable – raises questions about the validity of his claim. There were also some mixed reviews: some argue that *Der Freischütz* only reached this position because there were no viable alternatives for national opera.[82] Furthermore, Weber's elevated position as director of the German opera, and his role as a respected critic, further contributed to his idolisation by audiences and the reception of his works as national.

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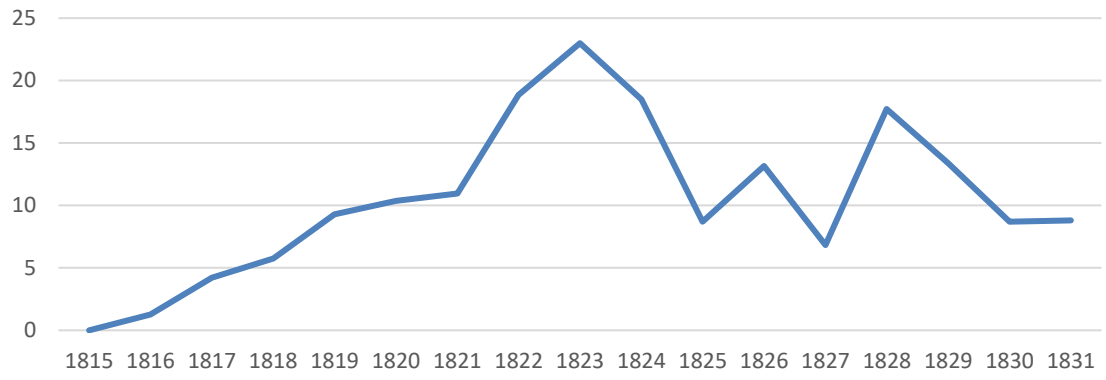
[77] Tusa. 'Cosmopolitanism and the National Opera.' 486-489.
[78] Frolova-Walker. 'The Language of National Style.' 172.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 111.
[81] Friedrich Wilhelm Jähns. *Carl Maria von Weber in seinen Werken: Chronologischthematisches Verzeichniss seiner sämmtlichen Compositionen nebst Angabe unvollständigen, verloren gegangenen, zweifelhaften und untergeschobenen*. Berlin: Schlesinger'schen Buch-und Musikhandlung 1871; reprinted Berlin-Lichterfelde: Lienau, 1967. 311. Quoted by Michael Wolfgang Wagner. *Weber und die deutsche Nationaloper*. Mainz, 1994. 199. Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 111.
[82] Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 112.

Fig.3. The percentage of German opera performances in the repertory of the Dresden Royal Theatre between 1800 and 1860.



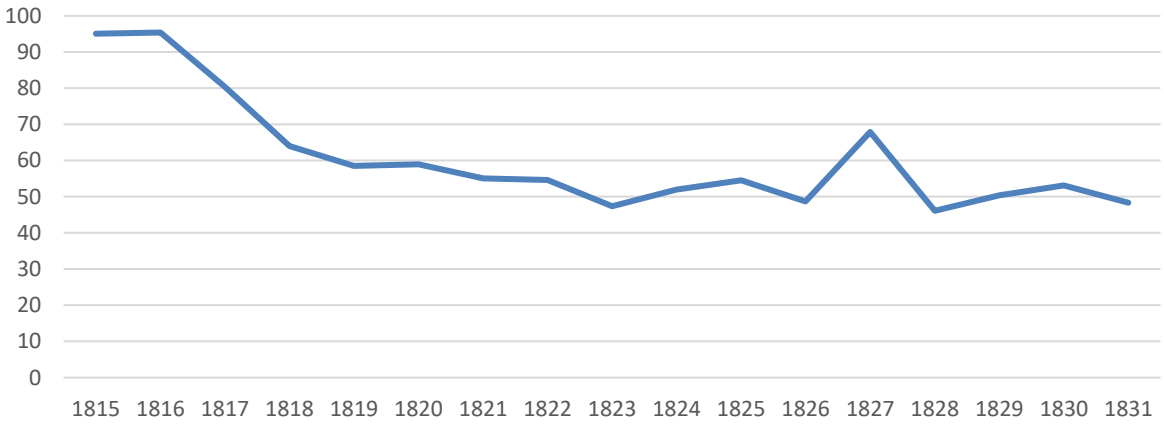
German opera – including *Singspiele* and Weber's new works – was successful within the repertory of the Dresden Royal Theatre but was inconsistent performed throughout the period. The genre slowly emerged at the start of the period as shown in figure three: performances gradually increased in frequency until 1821, when the genre constituted just over 10% of the repertory. In 1822 and 1823 it was the most highly performed musical genre, constituting around 19% and 23% of the repertory respectively. This peak resulted mostly resulted from performances of *Der Freischütz*, but other works included Joseph Weigl's (1766-1846) *Die Schweizer Familie* (1809), Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's (1756-1791) *Die Zauberflöte* (1791), and Weber's Preciosa (1820-21), amongst others. The success declined almost immediately: nineteen performances in 1822 decreased to eleven in 1823 and nine in 1824.[83] After 1824, performances remained just below 10% of the repertory for the rest of the period, except for a small peak in 1826 and a larger peak in 1828, which largely resulted from the success of Weber's *Oberon, König der Elfen* (1826), which had twenty-six performances – just over half of all German opera performances in this year.[84] Once again, this work immediately declined in popularity; there were ten performances in 1829 and only six in 1830.[85]

The success of German opera during this period stemmed from the popularity of individual works. However, this success often lacked longevity and although works reached almost-immediate popularity, they also declined quickly. Therefore, the overall success of the genre rested on the immediate popularity of multiple works that had – at least during this period – limited overall significance within the repertory. This inevitably questions the overall significance of the genre. While Weber's operas were considered to be the epitome of national

[83] Fambach. *Das Repertorium des Königlichen Theaters*. 69-98.
[84] Ibid., 127-137.
[85] Ibid., 137-158.

style, other German works benefitted from their adherence to the locally accepted performance style. Furthermore, Weber's popularity and his connections and roles within theatre, contributed to the popularity of not only his own works, but all German works performed by his company. The company, and its repertory, succeeded in part because of Weber's personal success and his ability to unite audiences.

Fig.4. The percentage of plays in the repertory of the Dresden Royal Theatre between 1800 and 1860.



German opera was far less significant at the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen, surprising, perhaps, given the extant regional similarities. However, given that success in Dresden partly resulted from growing national ideas and the desire to promote local culture, combined with the ongoing conflicts between Denmark and the German Confederation, a lack of success in Copenhagen was less surprising. At the Danish Royal Theatre, German opera was the most frequently performed musical genre in 1822; however, in Copenhagen this success resulted from the success of *Der Freischütz* rather than the combination of works performed in Dresden. There was another, albeit smaller, peak of success in 1826, but this was formed of performances of four works, only one of which – Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte* – had any significance.[86] Like in Dresden, the success of German works almost immediately declined.

Although not an immediately obvious local genre like Weber's German opera, plays – and especially locally created plays – were an important part of the local repertory. Plays were the most frequently performed type of work at the *Königliche Theater* during this period: they always constituted more than 40% of the repertory and were regularly over 50%, as shown in figure four. However, the percentage of plays in the repertory was never consistent; in the first two years of

[86] The other works in this year included three performances of Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf's (1739-1799) *Doktor und Apotheker* (1786), five performances of Weber's *Der Freischütz* (1821), and two performances of Weber's *Preciosa* (1821).

the period plays constituted around 95% of the entire repertory before a quick decline to around 65% in 1818. From this point, plays remained consistent for the rest of the period, fluctuating between 45% and 65% of the repertory. Despite the dramatic decline at the start of this period in favour of a wider range of musical genres, plays remained the most highly performed works, albeit with less performances towards the end of the period.

Plays were also the most highly performed works at the *Kongelige Teater* during this period and were more consistently presented in Copenhagen. Although there was a decline in performances at the start of the period, it was nowhere near as dramatic; instead, plays constituted around 65% of the repertory in 1815 compared to 55% in 1831, with a low point of 50% in 1828. Plays did not witness such a dramatic decline in Copenhagen because the repertory was already more varied.

The performance of plays in Dresden and Copenhagen, while demonstrating their popularity, also demonstrated repertorial trends that had a significant impact on repertories. The dramatic decline of plays correlated with an increasingly diverse repertory which included more musically sophisticated works. In Dresden, this aligned with the emergence of Weber's German company and the re-emergence of the Italian company. In Copenhagen, the repertory already included several musical genres at the start of the period. Therefore, the decline, while still present, was less dramatic. The shift at the start of this period, in both cities, demonstrated the changing priorities that affected music for the stage, including the expansion of a previously limited repertory to include a greater variety of musical works, the growing demand for theatrical spectacles, an increased demand for music, and a decrease in classically modelled dramas in favour of new styles of theatre.

The considerable success of plays in Dresden and Copenhagen also resulted from practical factors: plays were easy to produce and perform. They were also accessible because they were either local works or could be easily translated into a local language. Translating plays was simpler than translating musical works because plays lacked the stricter musical parameters that often existed within formal musical genres including opera. Furthermore, plays did not usually include fundamental music, and did not depend on multiple discourses including spoken word, song, instrumental music, and recitative. Unlike operas which travelled as an entire unit, plays often moved to new locations without music: existing local music or newly composed music replaced

the old, cleverly aligning plays with local traditions as well as ensuring they were quick, easy, and cheap to access, rehearse, and perform.[87]

The presence and success of local genres in Dresden – including German opera and local plays – was clearly linked to the socio-political situation in Dresden during the period. The conflicts at the start of the century resulted in the desire to promote a local identity: an important part of which was reflected in the theatre with the performance of local works that represented national culture. There were a wider range of local genres in Copenhagen – plays, Singspiele, and ballet, as well as several French works which were received as local – representing the more varied overall repertory in the Danish city. However, even within national, or nationally received, works, there were clear foreign influences that demonstrated strong links between local and foreign. These were represented, on a larger scale, by the mixture of foreign and local traditions within the repertories performed at both royal theatres between 1815 and 1831.

2.4.2 Foreign Influences

During a time of political conflict, the desire to promote local culture might have been, in many places including Dresden, a response to the political events of the early nineteenth century. While national music for the stage has traditionally been formulated as a reaction to the dominant Italian opera genre – which can be observed in Dresden given the long and established Italian opera traditions – it actually opposed a largely *Franco*-Italian repertory: both French and Italian traditions underpinned nineteenth-century European music for the stage.[88] In Dresden, although Italian opera was dominant at the *Morettisches Haus*, local works and translated French comic opera were performed at the *Linkesches Bad*. This was slightly different to the more general Franco-Italian repertory performed alongside local genres in Copenhagen.

Several foreign influences played a significant role in the Dresden repertory between 1815 and 1831. Such influences could be identified through the presence of an Italian opera company, the performance of important works from elsewhere in Europe, and the presence of some foreign influences within works that were received as national, including Weber's *Der Freischütz*. The presence and influence of foreign works was complicated by links to national traditions, whether

[87] Jens Hesselager. 'Musik til Skuespil – Two Methodological Challenges and a Few Observations Occasioned by an Early Nineteenth-Century Danish Manuscript of Incidental Music.' In Theater mit Musik, 400 Jahre Schauspielmusik Im europäischen Theater, Bedingungen, Strategien, Wahrnehmungen, edited by Ursula Kramer, 183-201. Mainzer Historische Kulturwissenschaften, Bind. 16. Mainz: Transcript Verlag, 2014. 183 and 193.

[88] Everist. 'Cosmopolitanism and music for the theatre.' *Music History and Cosmopolitanism*, edited by Anastasia Belina, Kaarina Kilpiö and Derek B. Scott. London and New York: Routledge, 2019. 13-14.

in instances like *Der Freischütz*, or through the process of adaptation and modification to align foreign works with the preferred local style. To further complicate the presence of foreign works, state support for foreign traditions, and particularly the equal support given to German and Italian works, combined with the political drive to promote a national identity, demonstrated the growth of cosmopolitan ideas.

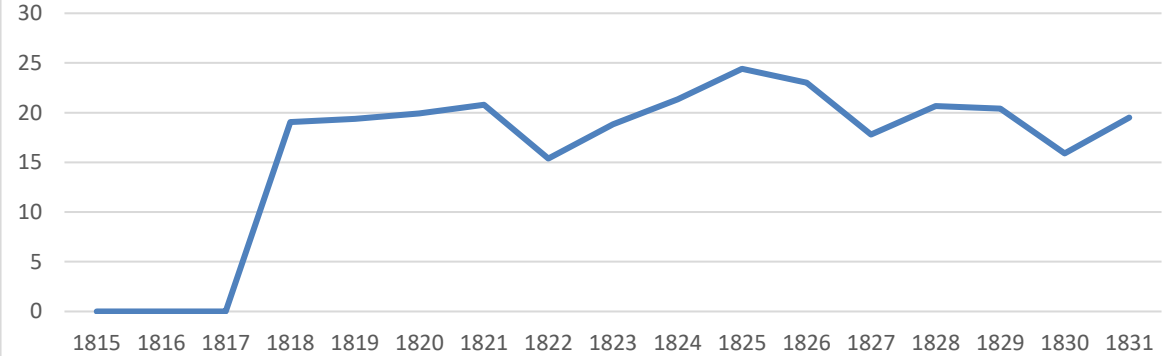
Italian opera had a historic presence at the Dresden Royal Theatre; the first court opera dated from 1717. It was ingrained in the local culture to such an extent that eighteenth-century Dresden was described as an Italian city – at least in cultural terms.[89] The presence of Italian opera in Dresden mirrored, to some extent, other major cities: combined with French traditions, the genre was dominant throughout Europe at the end of the eighteenth and start of the nineteenth centuries.[90] However, Italian opera in the German cultural sphere was somewhat problematic, despite its prominence; in Dresden, and other German-speaking states, the end of the eighteenth-century saw attempts to establish strong German traditions that would replace the Italian,[91] culminating in no Italian opera performances in Dresden after 1780, until this period began.[92] Italian opera had long been associated with the aristocracy or the elite class so the cultural shift that attempted to remove dependency on Italian culture was linked to a shifting social hierarchy that eventually saw the extension of theatre to a wider audience. Despite attempts to undermine the hegemony of Italian opera, the genre remained dominant in Dresden and elsewhere in the German cultural sphere for a significant period in the nineteenth century.

Italian opera was significant in the repertory of the Dresden Royal Theatre; it was the most highly performed musical genre for most of this period, except for 1822 when German opera was most highly performed. Italian opera performances emerged suddenly in 1818, aligning with the re-establishment of the Italian opera company.[93] Performances then remained consistent from 1818 until the end of the period, as shown in figure five. In 1818, performances of Italian opera constituted around 20% of the repertory. They dipped to around 15% in 1822 – when Weber's *Der Freischütz* enjoyed its peak of success – and peaked at around 25% in 1825, half of which were performances of works composed by Rossini.[94] The sudden emergence of Italian opera in 1818, and its consistent presence throughout the period, demonstrates its centrality to

[89] Engländer and Huntress. 'The Struggle between German and Italian Opera at the Time of Weber.' 480.
[90] Weber. 'Cosmopolitan, National, and Regional Identities', 212. Everist. 'Cosmopolitanism and music for the theatre.' 13-14.
[91] Engländer and Huntress. 'The Struggle between German and Italian Opera at the Time of Weber.' 481.
[92] Fambach. *Das Repertorium des Königlichen Theaters.* 30.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid., 98-108.

the repertory and its independence within the theatre – Italian opera did not rely on the success or failure of any other genre even if it was affected by the presence of other genres.

Fig.5. The percentage of Italian opera performances in the repertory of the Dresden Royal Theatre between 1800 and 1860.

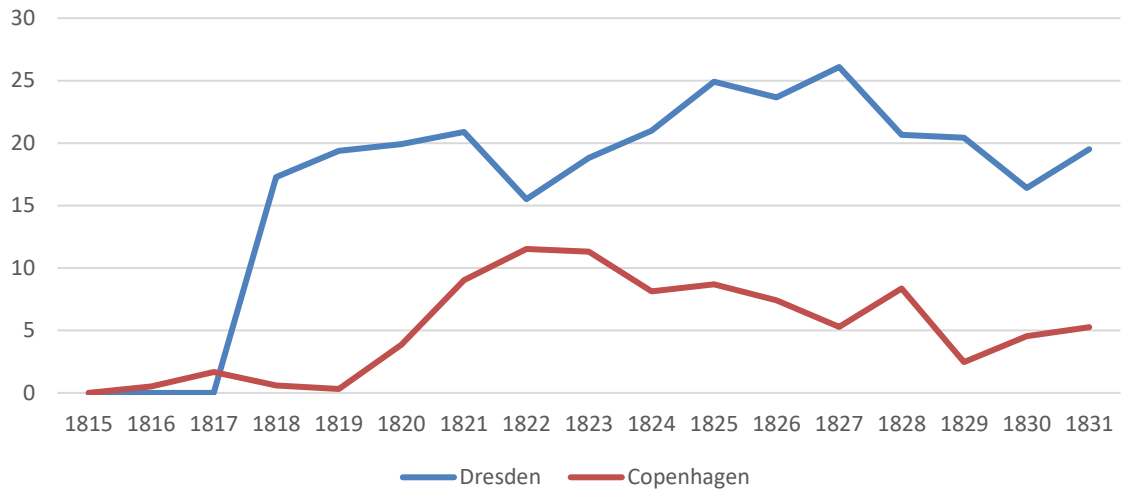


Italian opera was successful in Dresden for several reasons. Perhaps most significantly, its success resulted from the traditional presence of the genre in Dresden, elsewhere in the German cultural sphere, and throughout Europe. Despite the lack of performances in Dresden for a considerable time before this period, Italian opera was a significant part of the local culture, demonstrated by its sudden re-emergence in 1818 rather than a gradual increase over a few years. The success of Italian opera in this period was also the result of state support; Morlacchi's company were given equal chances to perform alongside the German company at the Royal Theatre. The political impulse that contributed to the presence of the Italian company at the Royal Theatre demonstrated a cosmopolitan approach to music for the stage. The success of Italian opera also resulted from, and demonstrated, the gradual diversification of the repertory in Dresden during this period; it emerged in 1818, at which point the frequency of plays drastically decreased.

Italian opera was far less successful in Copenhagen: a direct comparison is shown in figure six. Apart from 1816 and 1817 when there were no Italian opera performances in Dresden, the Danish city had considerably fewer performances across the entire period. Performances were also more erratic in Copenhagen; after a slow start, performances quickly increased after 1819, reaching a peak of over 10% in 1822, before gradually declining throughout the rest of the period, apart from another smaller peak of around 8% in 1828. The fluctuations in the presentation of this genre were perhaps the result of less repertorial space in Copenhagen – there were Danish, French, German, Italian, and ballet performances, compared with Dresden's German, French, and Italian performances. However, Italian opera in Copenhagen did align with the success of the genre elsewhere in Europe during this decade: in many places, the success of Italian opera was driven by the emergence and dominating success of Rossini whose works became almost

immediately popular across the continent. However, since both repertories featured the works of Rossini, the greater significance of Italian opera in Dresden suggests that the long-standing relationship between the Saxon city and the Italian genre, along with significant state support, was a more significant factor contributing to the success of the genre.

Fig.6. The percentage of Italian opera performances at the Royal Theatres in Dresden and Copenhagen.



The dominance of Italian opera, as seen throughout Europe, contributed to the growth of national ideas and the desire to create a local culture.[95] Despite the popularity of the Italian genre in Dresden throughout this period, there was an increasingly national consciousness that eventually led to the isolation of Italian opera at the end of this period.[96] The closure of the *Morettisches Haus* in 1832 suggested a lessening demand for the genre which, at least in part, resulted from the development of a local culture that was realised through the new genre of German opera.[97] This indicates that local works were successful enough to contribute to the eventual decline of some Italian traditions in Dresden, despite the long-standing connections and continued support for the genre.

French genres were also significant in Dresden during this period, although they never reached the same level of prominence as Italian traditions. Perhaps the most significant genre was *opéra comique* – though this only reached 10% of the repertory compared with almost 25% Italian opera –, which were mostly performed in a German translation by the German company.[98]

[95] Everist. 'Cosmopolitanism and music for the theatre.' 13.
[96] Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 25-26.
[97] Frolova-Walker. 'The Language of National Style.' 159.
[98] Arnold Jacobshagen. 'A National Genre in an International Context: 'Opéra-comique' in Nineteenth-Century Europe.' In *The Opéra-comique in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, edited by Lorenzo Frassà, 175-190. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011. 176.

Some examples of *grand opéra* were also performed at the end of the period, but these had limited significance as the genre only emerged in the final years of this period. The presence and success of French genres, despite conflicts with French politics at the start of the century, demonstrates the wide-reaching influence of French music for the stage; perhaps the influx of the French military even brought *opéra comique* to a part of Europe where, until this point, it was insufficiently known. The development of French genres during this period indicated a significant transformation in the overall repertory: despite the assumed dominance of Italian opera in Dresden – a place where Italian opera was considered the opposing culture to the emerging national opera – the presence of several French genres demonstrates the underlying *Franco*-Italian culture against which local repertory was formed.[99]

Opéra comique was the most highly performed French genre at the Royal Theatre during this period. These works were first performed in the Dresden repertory in 1817, increased to around 6% of the repertory in 1818, declined and stabilised around 2.5%, and peaked in 1828 with around 10%, as shown in figure seven. Performances fluctuated throughout the period; the peaks and troughs of this genre, in a similar way to the presentation of German opera, were to some extent determined by specific works. This was exemplified by François-Adrien Boieldieu's (1775-1834) *La dame blanche* (1825), performed in Dresden as *Die weiße Dame* four times in 1827 (including its Dresden premiere) and eight times in 1828.[100] The presence of the genre was supported by a wide range of works composed by several individuals; there was no single dominant work or composer that contributed to its success. The success of the *opéra comique* genre was also reliant on several important similarities with the preferred German style, including the preference for spoken dialogue. When performed in translation by the German company, *opéras comiques* appeared to represent a fusion of local and French traditions, again contributing

[99] Everist. 'Cosmopolitanism and music for the theatre.' 14.
[100] Fambach. *Das Repertorium des Königlichen Theaters.* 119-137.

to the cosmopolitan repertory at the Royal Theatre.

Fig.7. The percentage of *opéra comique* performances in the repertory of the Dresden Royal Theatre between 1800 and 1860.

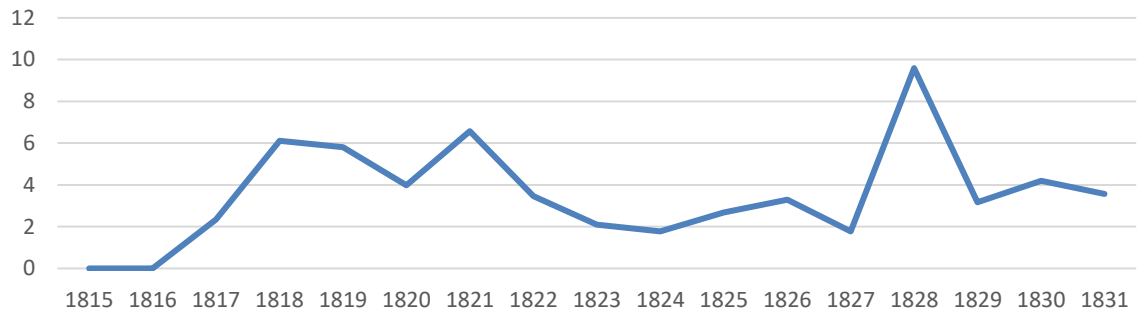
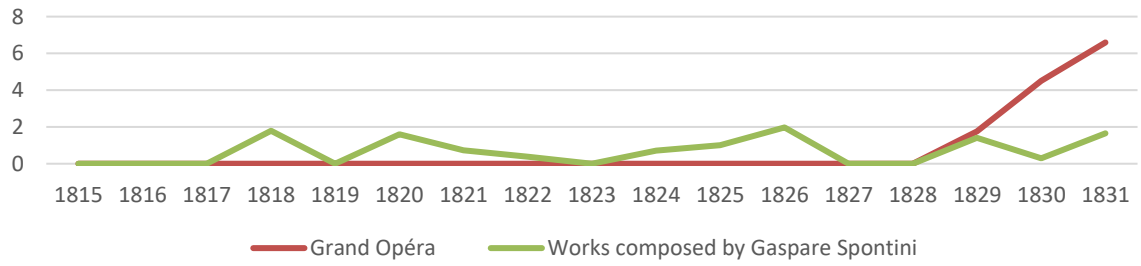


Fig.8. The percentage of *grand opéra* performances in the repertoire of the Dresden Royal Theatre between 1800 and 1860.



Opéra comique was considerably more successful in Copenhagen; it was the most frequently performed musical genre between 1815 and 1821, 1825 and 1826, and 1830 and 1831, reaching a peak of success in 1819 when performances constituted over 25% of the repertory. This significance continued towards the end of the period despite a significant decline: around 15% of the Danish repertory in 1831 consisted of *opéra comique* performances. The success of the *opéra comique* genre largely resulted from ongoing connections, dating back to the eighteenth-century, between Danish culture and French theatrical traditions. The genre remained popular in the nineteenth century, despite conflicts with French politics during the Napoleonic Wars. The success of the *opéra comique* genre in Copenhagen, despite these conflicts, suggests that existing connections and the preservation of tradition had more influence on the repertory than political conflicts.

As first introduced in Chapter One, *grand opéra* is generally considered to have emerged in 1828 with the premiere of Daniel François Auber's (1782-1871) *La muette de Portici* (1828). *Grand opéra* enjoyed continued wide-reaching success: composers of early *grands opéras* created

the epitome of European music drama for a significant portion of the nineteenth century.[101] *Grand opéra* engaged with history in a variety of ways but was often tied to political movements and social politics; subject matter was often dictated on-stage by a chorus of ordinary people. This encouraged new audiences who enjoyed seeing themselves represented on stage and contributed to the continent-wide development of theatre that encompassed a new audience, largely consisting of those from the politically and socially empowered middle class. However, the political implications of this genre sometimes led to modification and censorship; works were considered revolutionary and many places wanted to avoid further conflict.

Although *grand opéra* emerged towards the end of this period and therefore had limited significance, works composed by Gaspare Spontini (1774-1851) – widely considered to be precursors to the *grand opéra* genre – were regularly performed throughout the period, as shown alongside *grand opéra* performances in figure eight. These were almost all performances of *La vestale* (1807), with three performances of *Olympie* (1819), performed in Italian as *Olympia*, in 1825. Spontini's works were consistently performed in Italian except during 1829-1831, when *La vestale* was performed in German as *Die Vestalin*. These serious French operas not only acted as a precursor for the emergence of *grand opéra* but also contributed to the French theatrical tradition that, combined with other influences, underpinned theatre, albeit to different extents, in both Dresden and Copenhagen.

Grand opéra was first performed in Dresden at the end of 1829 and in this year, the genre constituted around 2% of the repertory, increasing to around 5% and 7% in 1830 and 1831 respectively. This upward trend demonstrates the growing significance of the genre in Dresden, despite its late arrival, and foreshadowed its continued significance after this period. The overall lack of significance resulted from an absence of works: only a few *grands opéras* were composed before the cut-off date for this chapter, including *La muette de Portici*, *Guillaume Tell* (1829), and *Robert le diable* (1831). *La muette de Portici* – the first *grand opéra* to be performed in Dresden – was first performed on 3rd December 1829 in the German translation of *Die Stumme von Portici*.[102] *Guillaume Tell*, performed in Italian as *Tell*, was successful at the Royal Theatre but was divided into two parts, *Tell* I – the first two acts – and *Tell* II – the final two acts – which were usually performed on consecutive days or a few days apart.[103] This division, despite the typical five-act length of *grands opéras*, demonstrates an audience preference for brevity. The performance of *Tell* in Italian, despite its French-language origins, demonstrates the prominence of Italian

[101] Everist. 'The Music of Power.' 725.
[102] Fambach. *Das Repertorium des Königlichen Theaters*. 146.
[103] Fambach. *Das Repertorium des Königlichen Theaters.* 158-170.

traditions in Dresden. It is even possible that *Tell* was consider to be just another Italian opera, like any other work by Rossini. The obscuring of French culture – both for *Tell* and operas by Spontini – through Italian translation demonstrates not only the audience preference for Italian works and an opposition to openly French works, but also suggests the limited ability of singers at the *Königliche Theatre*.

Grand opéra emerged a little later in Copenhagen: despite the prevalence of other French genres, the only work from this genre to be performed in Copenhagen before 1832 was *La muette de Portici*,[104] first performed on 22nd May 1830.[105] There were thirteen performances of Auber's opera in both 1830 and 1831. The delay before performances of this work, compared with a quicker speed of transmission in Dresden, combined with the lack of other works, indicates that Copenhagen was not as central to the European opera network, and therefore received works later. However, once again, there were very few *grands opéras* in circulation by this point, and a work like *Robert le diable* did not have the chance to reach Copenhagen before the end of this period in 1832. The omission of Rossini's *Guillaume Tell* (1829) in Copenhagen during this period is notable, however, given its success elsewhere. Given the revolutionary theme of the opera, and the higher levels of censorship in the Danish city, it is possible that performances were prohibited at this time to avoid political tension.

Although successful throughout Europe, *grand opéra* was limited in both Dresden and Copenhagen. The limited success of *grand opéra* may have resulted from significant stylistic differences even though these works were frequently modified so their recitative was replaced with spoken dialogue (making them resemble *opéra comique*). A major reason for the lack of performances of this genre were the practical difficulties and expenses that occurred when trying to perform a large-scale work like many *grands opéras.*

Many factors influenced the performance of a wide range of theatrical genres in the repertories of Dresden and Copenhagen between 1815 and 1831. These included stylistic elements, political events and ideas, the promotion of a local style, the continuation and preservation of tradition, audience preference, and practical concerns. The desire to promote local culture was an important influence on the repertory in both cities; these ideas were cemented by the promotion and success of local genres, including German opera – and

[104] Jens Hesselager ed. 'Introduction.' In G*rand Opera Outside Paris, Opera on the Move in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. London and New York: Routledge, 2018. 1.
[105] Niels Jensen. *Opført dramatik 1722-1975*. http://danskforfatterleksikon.dk/1850t/t1850dato1815.htm

particularly Weber's new German opera – in Dresden, and Danish opera and ballet in Copenhagen. However, stylistic similarities between local works and other genres led to the promotion of some foreign styles, including *opéra comique*, which was well received in both cities, at least to some extent, as a local genre. In Dresden, the German company performed these works in translation – aligning them with the local style – while in Copenhagen, long-standing connections dating back to the previous century led to the reception of the French genre as local. While stylistic similarities contributed to the success of some genres, including *opéra comique*, this was not the main factor leading to generic success during the period. This was demonstrated by the dominance of Italian opera in Dresden which in no way aligned with the preferred German style. Instead, this indicated the importance of the perseveration of tradition; Italian traditions had been central to music for the stage in Dresden for a long time. This was also important in Copenhagen and contributed to the success of French genres and the dominance of *opéra comique*.

2.4.3 Performance Practice: Adapting the Foreign

Many types of music for the stage – both foreign and local – performed at the Royal Theatre in Dresden during this period underwent different processes of adaptation which naturally complicates any consideration of genre. The treatment of foreign works in Dresden was not unique; across Europe, works were modified to ensure they aligned with local conventions.[106] Typical modifications included translation, altered recitative, and less commonly, musical changes including suppression of numbers, swapping numbers, or replacing them with numbers from outside the work, or plot adaptations. Modifications were often necessary for foreign works to be accepted: adherence to the local theatrical style, political pressure – both from events and individuals as well as the State –, and accessibility were important factors that motivated these changes. Attempting to align foreign works with a local style was perhaps the most significant motivation for adapting theatrical works. While this was perhaps the most politically charged factor, translating works to align them with local traditions was also practically motivated. Adaptation further contributed to the fluidity of genre as modifying works was one of the most effective ways of blurring generic boundaries.

[106] In London, for example, operas were regularly translated into English, musical structures were simplified, and recitative was cut or transformed. For elite audiences, original language was maintained, and adaptations were minimal; this preserved as much of the original work as possible. See Christina Fuhrmann. *Foreign Operas at the London Playhouse.*

The most common, and least disruptive, form of nineteenth-century adaptation was translation.[107] In many cities, including Dresden and Copenhagen, performances were almost invariably translated into the vernacular, irrespective of their original language. This type of adaptation revealed important audience demographics: use of a local translation suggests an insular audience that did not speak other languages, along with the refusal to go along with the orthodoxy of an Italian hegemony. The use of language at the Dresden Royal Theatre, however, was more complex because of the two permanent companies within the institution. The German company performed works – both local and foreign – in German for the local audience, whereas the Italian company invariably performed in Italian, continuing eighteenth-century theatrical traditions,[108] and supported the view that Italian was the language of opera and the aristocracy,[109] further emphasising social divisions that were often reflected in theatre. The use of the Italian language in Dresden was impractical, however: most nineteenth-century libretti from Dresden were bi-lingual – they were written in Italian with a facing German translation – implying that most audiences could not understand Italian, like in London, Paris, and elsewhere.[110] The translation of theatrical works, although facilitating performance and increasing accessibility, depicted a deterioration of the long-accepted connections between genre and language: no longer did performance language dictate genre.

The transformation of *recitativo secco* into spoken dialogue was one of the most common adaptations in this period; this occurred throughout Europe, including in Dresden and Copenhagen, but not in Italian states. This practice was dictated by local conventions: there was no recitative in Danish or German *Singspiele*[111] so works modified for these stages removed the recitative to align with local practices. This transformation occurred for several other reasons, beyond adhering to local practice. Spoken dialogue was easier to understand – particularly if the original work was foreign – which increased accessibility for local audiences. Speech and recitative also had contrasting effects; the former allowed for the effective communication of important messages while the lyrical latter was more connected with the Italian style.[112] Therefore, the transformation of recitative aligned with the view – commonly held throughout Northern Europe – that text should have greater precedence over music. Transforming recitative also facilitated

[107] Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 40.
[108] Ibid., 25-34.
[109] Engländer and Huntress. 'The Struggle between German and Italian Opera.' 479.
[110] Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 30.
[111] Gorm Busk. 'Friedrich Kuhlau's Operas.' In *Music in Copenhagen*, edited by Niels Krabbe and translated by James Manley. Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzels Publishers, 1996. 96.
[112] Jens Hesselager ed. 'Sympathy for the devil?' In *Grand Opera Outside Paris, Opera on the Move in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. London: Routledge, 2017. 100-101.

other adaptations: textual or plot modifications were easier to incorporate into a passage of spoken dialogue because there were less strict musical parameters.[113]

Both companies – German and Italian – in Dresden used processes of adaptation as a way of extending their respective repertories: generic transformation, enabled primarily by translation and modified recitative, allowed each company to perform a greater variety of works, including some that had traditionally existed firmly within the domain of the other company. This demonstrates the significance of theatrical adaptation: the German company modified and performed Italian operas, and the Italian company performed German operas, despite the vastly different styles of each company and genre. This also indicated the popularity of both styles: each company were encouraged to perform works from different genres to gain a new audience. An important Italian opera in the repertory of the German company was Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (1787); it was performed as *Don Juan* with German text and spoken dialogue in many German opera houses.[114] These adaptations were long-lasting; in Dresden, *Don Juan* retained the new *Singspiel* form – with spoken dialogue instead of recitative – until the 1840s. From this point, although still performed in German translation, the original recitatives returned.[115] The Italian company also adapted German works for performance: Morlacchi translated Weigl's *Die Schweizerfamilie* (1809) into Italian and replaced the spoken dialogue with recitative – a reversal of common practice.[116] The appropriation of foreign works – through means of adaptation – was a practical way of appealing to local taste and audience expectations: both companies wanted an accessible repertory that attracted a wide audience whilst simultaneously adhering to their preferred theatrical style. Ultimately, the localisation of foreign works increased accessibility and contributed to a wider audience for each company.

Adaptations played a significant role in accelerating the breakdown of generic boundaries: institutions presented a wide variety of new works, appealing to the nineteenth-century demand for novelty, all within the restraints of their usual performances. While this demonstrated, to some extent, a narrowing of generic boundaries given the ease in which works could be transformed, these processes simultaneously emphasised important stylistic differences that were hard to overcome. The success of the *opéra comique* genre in Dresden, particularly performed in a German translation, demonstrates how genre or nationality were blurred or masked by different methods of adaptation. Despite long-lasting conflicts with French politics, these works were popular in Dresden largely because they matched – through modification – the

[113] Ibid., 100.
[114] Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 33.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid., 34.

local style. The transformation of any foreign work blurred generic boundaries to such an extent that they became almost irrelevant, demonstrating that national differences and overarching stylistic similarities were often more significant than generic divisions.[117]

Theatrical adaptation demonstrated the contrasting ideas held in different places throughout the nineteenth century. Different places continued to develop their own distinctive theatrical style, in line with the desire to promote local culture and identity. Modifying foreign works was an important aspect of this: while accessibility and practical concerns were an important motivator, modification primarily occurred to align foreign works with the preferred style of the performing company. However, the presence of a diverse range of foreign works, despite their localisation, demonstrates the underlying cosmopolitan stance of repertory in this period. However, these processes also demonstrate the links between cosmopolitanism and the national ideas that led to the promotion of local culture.

2.5 Individuals and Agents

Individuals, and their actions and interactions, are an effective way of considering the factors that influenced nineteenth-century music for the stage. Several important individuals – both physically present and within the repertory – influenced the repertory at the Royal Theatre in Dresden between 1815 and 1831. Important individuals encouraged change and reform, preserved traditions, and encouraged the diversification of the repertory. Composers and dramatists had an obvious impact on repertory: their popularity and the success of their works attracted audiences who would attend performances of popular works by well-known composers and dramatists. However, less visible individuals, including theatre directors and financiers, had an arguably more significant impact on the construction and performance of repertories. The network within which this wide range of individuals lived and worked reveals how individual theatres were linked within a wide network of music for the stage.

Nineteenth-century music for the stage was controlled by individuals who often held multiple roles and responsibilities. This was particularly true for the most influential individuals – both those who were not immediately recognised within the repertory as well as the more visible dramatists and composers –; success in a range of environments extended influence. However, while contributing to greater success and growing influence, holding multiple roles also led to self-promotion, which often also led to conflicting interests, particularly when these individuals were

[117] Ibid., 29.

involved with critical discourse or the press.[118] The roles of these individuals reveal far more than just the conflicting interests that existed within theatre, however. The crossed careers[119] of several individuals reveal factors that influenced the repertory, including, most noticeably, the promotion of national genres through Weber's creation and promotion of the new genre of German opera, influenced by his role as director, composer, and influential critic. The real impact on repertory demonstrated the significance of individuals holding multiple positions of power within the theatre.

The crossed careers of many nineteenth-century individuals were exemplified by some individuals present in Dresden during this period. The career of Carl Gottfried Theodor Winkler (known as Theodor Hell) (1775-1856) demonstrated how multiple roles were often held by one individual: in Dresden, Hell was an editor, translator, critic, all alongside his role of *Theater-Sekretär* from 1815.[120] However, Hell was also an important example of how relationships with other individuals could elevate a career. Through his close friendships with several composers, including Weber, Hell's prominence increased: he wrote the libretti for Weber's *Die drei Pintos* (1820-21).[121] Weber's significance must also be considered within the context of multiple roles and self-promotion. His success in this period began in 1815 when he was asked to lead the German theatre company; he therefore controlled the repertory that was performed. This role alone would have ensured his significance, however, combined with his success as a composer, his prominence was further elevated. His success in both roles largely resulted from his position within the German national movement: Weber promoted shared ideas through his creation of a new national German opera genre. He then further promoted this through his role in music criticism, which cemented his reputation as a champion of German culture.[122] Weber's involvement with national ideas, the creation of a popular genre that aligned with local culture, his visibility to audiences, not to mention his self-promotion, all increased his popularity.[123] Morlacchi's success also originated from his role within the theatre, albeit to a lesser extent than Weber; as head of the Italian company he promoted Italian opera – and his own works –again

[118] Emmanuel Reibel. 'Carrières entre presse et opéra au xixe siècle: du mélange des genres au conflit d'intérêts.' Médias 19 [online], Publications, Olivier Bara et Marie-Ève Thérenty (dir.), Presse et opéra aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles, Nouveaux protocoles de la critique à Paris et en province, http://www.medias19.org/index.php?id=23962.
[119] A translation of Emmanuel Reibel's *carrières croisées*. Ibid.
[120] Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 24.
[121] This work was completed after Weber's death by Gustav Mahler (1860-1911). Clive Brown. 'Drei Pintos, Die.' *Grove Music Online*, 2002, Accessed 6 October 2022. https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-5000004089.
[122] Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 110.
[123] Ibid., 17-21.

demonstrating how the success of some individuals stemmed from self-promotion and holding multiple roles within the theatre.

The crossed careers of several individuals contributed to links between the German and Italian companies, despite deeply rooted differences. The gradual convergence of the two companies, which culminated in the eventual merge in 1832 which was forced by the closure of the *Morettisches Haus*, was driven by a few individuals who worked for both companies at the same time. Both Hell and Rudolf Friedrich von Hellwig (1775-1845) were directly involved with productions for both companies which drove connections between them.[124] This also demonstrates that, despite stylistic differences, the companies were united within the Royal Theatre.

2.5.1 Dramatists – Librettists and Playwrights

Nineteenth-century dramatists signalled significant repertorial trends that included, but were not restricted to, contemporary taste, popular genres, political influences, and the impact of relationships between individuals. Dramatists were prominent during this period, and particularly at the start of this period; playwrights were particularly successful because of the dominance of plays. After 1818, librettists became increasingly significant in line with the declining success of plays and playwrights. The presentation of operatic genres – particularly non-Italian opera – as a form of spoken theatre increased the significance of spoken word and subsequently the significance of dramatists. This was further emphasised by the preferential critical treatment of dramatists, and the ways in which text and spoken word were heavily emphasised in Northern Europe.

Dramatists occupied an elevated status within nineteenth-century music for the stage: music critics almost invariably listed a dramatist before a composer, particularly when referencing plays or German genres. This continued within publishing practice; a librettist was listed before a composer on libretti. These practices were reversed, however, for Italian opera. The treatment of dramatists, and particularly the relative prominence given to playwrights and librettists compared with composers, reinforced the preference of text over music, an important feature dividing German and Italian practices.[125]

Kotzebue was the leading dramatist within the repertory of the *Königliche Theater* for the first half of this period. His success was mirrored in theatres across the German Confederation,

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[124] Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 24.
[125] *AmZ* 25 (1823): col. 283. (31/03/1823). In Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 29.

Austria, and some foreign theatres – including the *Kongelige Teater* in Copenhagen – for a significant period during the nineteenth century.[126] Between 1815 and 1821 and in 1825, Kotzebue was the leading playwright in the Danish capital: until 1818, he wrote over 20% of the plays performed in this period, with a peak of around 25% in 1816. Although he remained significant during most of this period, the frequency of performance of Kotzebue's works gradually decreased, in line with the emergence of a greater number of playwrights in the repertory. Despite a significant low of only 2% between 1829 and 1830, Kotzebue's plays fluctuated between 8% and 15% of the repertory after the initial decline before 1820. Kotzebue's success largely stemmed from his extensive repertoire of works that had immediate but short-lived success. This explains why his dominant position in the repertory lasted only a few years beyond his death in 1819;[127] Kotzebue's success was driven by constant production of new works.

The most successful dramatist during this period, after Kotzebue, was Hell, who was the most prominent in 1823, 1827 to 1829, and 1831. Hell's works fluctuated around 10% of the repertory from 1823 until the end of the period. Like with Kotzebue, and other successful playwrights, Hell's success did not solely rest on the popularity of a few works, but instead resulted from a wide range of new plays. However, unlike Kotzebue, Hell's success was also influenced by his role within the theatre.

Many other playwrights were present throughout the period, including Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller (1788-1805), Johanna Franul von Weißenthurn (1773-1847), and Carl Theodor Körner (1791-1813), but these only had a few performances in each year. The audience demand for novelty that ensured a wide range of plays were performed in each year of the period also ensured a wide range of playwrights were present in the repertory. Many of the leading playwrights were German; these were the most common because they were easy and quick to access and needed no translation before performance.

Towards the end of this period, aligning with the shift towards a greater number of musical works, the most dominant dramatist shifted away from playwrights and towards librettists. 1822 was the first year when a librettist was the most performed dramatist in Dresden; Johann Friedrich Kind (1768-1843) dominated the repertory with around 8% of all performances in 1822. These were all performances of *Der Freischütz* (1821), an opera which was performed repeatedly because of its popularity. However, Kind's success declined immediately after this.

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[126] Richard Fisher. Review of *August von Kotzebue: The Comedy, The Man. Including The Good Citizens of Piffelheim*, translated From *die deutschen Kleinstadter* by Oscar Mandel, 383–387. *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 25 No. 3, 1992. JSTOR: www.jstor.org/stable/2739347.
[127] Ibid.

Unlike playwrights, many of the leading librettists in this period were not German and instead represented the many foreign influences within the repertory. The success of Italian opera during this period contributed to the success of several Italian librettists, including Jacopo Ferretti (1784-1852), Gaetano Rossi (1774-1855), and Andrea Leone Tottola (?-1831), each of whom had continued success during this period. Eugène Scribe (1791-1861) and Germain Delavigne (1790-1868) were also successful, largely resulting from the successful French genres of *opéra comique, grand opéra*, and *Comédie-vaudeville*. Delavigne's success in 1830 almost entirely resulted from the popularity of *La muette de Portici* (1828). The success of Scribe and Delavigne in Dresden, particularly towards 1830 demonstrated a generic shift – an increasingly French orientation of repertory – that could be expected to continue after this period.

The success of these dramatists – both playwrights and librettists – at the Royal Theatre between 1815 and 1831 was motivated by several factors. For many individuals, and particularly playwrights, repertorial success stemmed from an extensive output of popular works that met the audience demand for novelty. Because Kotzebue was the most successful dramatist during this period, it follows that meeting this demand for novelty was the main factor contributing to his success. However, some dramatists – particularly those with a smaller repertoire – depended solely on the popularity of their works. This was exemplified by the dominance of Kind in 1822 whose success rested solely on performances of *Der Freischütz* and deteriorated almost immediately after the initial popularity of the work declined.[128] Similarly, Delavigne's success was short-lived: in 1831, there were no performances of *La muette* and only two of *Le maçon* (1825), performed in German as *Der Maurer*. However, unlike Kind, Delavigne wrote the libretti for several works which extended his success. Other factors influencing the success of some individuals was their position within the theatre, their holding multiple roles, and their relationships with other individuals. Kind, who worked closely with Weber for the creation of *Der Freischütz*, gained success from the relationship, even though he moved away from the popular composer after *Der Freischütz*.[129] The diversification of the repertory, in favour of more musical genres, contributed to the growing success of librettists rather than playwrights, along with a wide variety of composers.

2.5.2 Composers

From 1818 until the end of this period – except for 1822 – Rossini was the most highly performed composer, aligning with the pan-European vogue for his music. There were other successful

[128] Ibid., 69-78
[129] Engländer and Huntress. 'The Struggle between German and Italian Opera.' 489.

composers in the repertory: Weber was the most highly performed composer in 1822 and Auber grew more successful as the period progressed. The presence of these two composers, along with Rossini, and their fluctuating moments of success throughout this period, demonstrate the main repertorial trends that could be observed at the Royal Theatre; Italian and French, combined with the local German tradition. The success of many composers resulted from several factors, including prominence gained through a large repertoire, the popularity of a work or genre, personal success, and involvement with popular political ideas.

Alone, Rossini composed over 50% of all Italian opera performances in Dresden between 1815 and 1831.[130] Rossini first appeared in the repertory in 1818; his presence gradually increased to around 10% of the entire repertory in 1824. After this, Rossini's works regularly constituted over 10% of the repertory. His success peaked in 1826 and 1827 when his works constituted around 15% of the repertory. Rossini's success reflected the success of the Italian company in Dresden, and by extension, the popularity of Italian opera. Several factors contributed to his success; Rossini's elevated position throughout Europe, the popularity of his works, his extensive repertoire, and the success of Italian opera and the Italian company, combined with their long history in Dresden. Throughout the period, there were over 400 performances of eighteen operas composed by Rossini,[131] ensuring his visibility to audiences. The alignment of Rossini's success in Dresden, with his popularity in other German speaking cities and elsewhere in Europe, demonstrated Dresden's involvement in the wider European theatrical network.[132]

Rossini faced significant opposition – despite his popularity – that stemmed from the dominance of a genre that did not align with the preferred German theatrical style. This originated from the growing national movement that worked to create, promote, and prioritise national opera. Rossini's dominance led to feelings of resentment with those who supported the development of German culture; contemporary critics likened Italian opera to a disease infecting Germany.[133] Weber even likened the domination to a fever: *Rossini-Taumel*. Although still used in modern discourse, Weber coined the term in a letter to Georg Friedrich Treitschke on 29th January 1820 at a point when Rossini was growing in popularity within the Dresden repertory.[134] Despite Rossini's growing success, national views also increased in German speaking places, to some

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[130] Fambach. *Das Repertorium des Königlichen Theaters*.
[131] Ibid., 30-170.
[132] His popularity peaked in Vienna in 1822, and the 1826/27 season was his most successful in Berlin. Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 204.; and Max Maria Von Weber and F. W. 'Reminiscences of C. M. Von Weber and Rossini.' *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular 17* No. 398 (1876). 423-27.
[133] Meyer. *Carl Maria von Weber*. 18.
[134] The term translates as Rossini-fever. Wolfgang Becker. *Die deutsche Oper in Dresden unter der Letiung von Carl Maria von Weber, 1817– 1826.* Berlin and Dahlem: Colloquium Verlag, 1962, 54. Michael Jahn. 'Rossini's Opern in Wien.' In *Di tanti palpiti … Italiener in Wien*. Vienna: Verlag Der Apfel, 2006. 67.

extent resulting from Rossini's success. Critics propelled the growth of national ideas as a reaction to Italian popularity and Rossini's success was pitted against German culture and political beliefs. Despite the significance of the opposition faced by Rossini, his continued success and popularity within the repertory demonstrated his significance, and that of Italian opera.

Weber was also notable within the repertory, largely because of his popular German operas that he promoted as director of the German company. Weber's success followed an entirely different pattern to that of Rossini: comparing the two demonstrates the contrasting trends of their respective genres. Weber first emerged in the repertory in 1822; this was a sudden appearance and performances of his works constituted around 12% of the repertory, compared with Rossini's 7% in the same year. Weber's success in 1822 rested solely on the popularity of *Der Freischütz*; success was sudden and widespread, leading to a shift in the balance of repertory in favour of German culture, albeit briefly. Weber, unlike Rossini, did not have an extensive and ever-growing repertoire of popular works to increase his success. Therefore, the popularity of his works – *Der Freischütz* in 1822 and *Oberon* which was performed twenty-six times in 1828 alone[135] – was a major factor contributing to his success. However, his success also stemmed from his prominent position within Dresden theatre, and particularly his directorship of the German company which gave him agency over which works to perform. Weber's involvement, both as a composer and critic, with the German national movement that worked to promote local culture also contributed to his success. Weber was perhaps the largest proponent of this cultural movement, during this period at least, and his works have been received as important cultural artefacts. Weber's success ultimately stemmed from several factors; his personal actions were perhaps the most significant cause for success.

Other composers also contributed to the diverse repertory heard at the *Königliche Theater* between 1815 and 1831. Mozart was a constant presence with a small number of performances every year. Comparing the age of Mozart's works to those of other leading composers demonstrates his lasting significance even though his works never exceeded more than 4% of the repertory in any given year. In contrast to Mozart's continued presence, Auber first emerged in the repertory of the Royal Theatre in 1824, before significantly growing in popularity from 1828. He was most significant in 1830 when his works constituted around 7% of the repertory. Performances in 1828 were mostly his *opéra comique*, *Le maçon* (1825), and in 1829, performances were equally divided between *Le maçon* and *La muette*. Despite composing several *opéras comiques* that were performed in Dresden earlier in the period, Auber's success primarily resulted from the popularity of *La muette*. Another late emergence was Vincenzo Bellini (1801-

[135] Fambach. *Das Repertorium des Königlichen Theaters.* 129-137.

1835); although he first featured in the repertory in October 1829 with *Il Pirata* (1826), his upwards growth at the end of this period indicated his significance. Bellini's works constituted around 5% of the Italian opera repertory in 1829, 12% in 1830, and 15% in 1831, not only demonstrating the continued significance of the Italian genre, but also the ways in which Dresden aligned with other European theatres. Several other composers were significant during this period, though most only had a few performances in each year, or did not have a continued presence throughout the period.

The presence of several composers demonstrates a wide range of foreign influences within the repertory of the Royal Theatre. However, the ultimate lack of significance for many of these indicated a formulaic repertory that, while diversifying as the period progressed, did not substantially shift away from what would traditionally be expected. The most important observations were the ways in which Italian and German traditions co-existed and the contrasting ways in which each tradition was presented. Italian opera was performed repeatedly, assisted by a continuous output of popular works primarily composed by Rossini, alongside a handful of other Italian operas from other composers. On the other hand, German opera did not dominate the repertory but had moments of success which aligned with performances of Weber's operas. Although Weber's German company performed other German works and some foreign works in German translation, Weber was the only significant contributor, in this period at least, to the creation of a new genre of German opera. Therefore, compared to the twenty-nine Italian opera composers in the repertory during this period, German opera could not hold the same significance. The gradual emergence of French composers towards the end of this period cements an understanding of Dresden as a cosmopolitan city with an underpinning repertory of Franco-Italian influences.

The individuals active at the *Königliche Theater* – both dramatists and composers – and those who made decisions about which works were performed and how they were performed, played a significant role in shaping theatre between 1815 and 1831. Despite the desire to promote local identity, which in the domain of music for the stage manifested itself through the creation of a new genre of German opera, there were a wide range of foreign individuals. Many factors influenced the repertory, including the self-promotion that arose from individuals holding multiple roles within theatre, the political drive that encouraged the promotion of a local culture, long-standing traditions that continued into this period, and the popularity of individuals and their works. The co-existence of several foreign and local influences, manifested through the

individuals who represented them, demonstrated the multi-faceted nature of nineteenth-century music for the stage.

2.6 Dresden: Cosmopolitanism and the European Network

Music for the stage in Dresden and Copenhagen between 1815 and 1831 differed in several ways, but overall, was presented in remarkably similar ways. Firstly, seasonal similarities between the repertorial organisation in each city aligned with conventions elsewhere in Europe. While both cities benefitted from touring troupes, Dresden had two resident companies within the Royal Theatre that represented the two major strands of influence on the repertory. In comparison, music for the stage in Copenhagen was predominantly influenced by French traditions. Although the repertories in each city demonstrated the varied influences that existed within the network of European music for the stage, each city also promoted local works. In Dresden, this predominantly occurred through the promotion of Weber and his new German opera, combined with government support for the German company, whereas in Copenhagen, the promotion of local ideas was represented through translation into a local language, some Danish opera, and a significant ballet tradition also based on French traditions. Despite the varied influences present in both cities, the most performed type of work was the play, demonstrating the overarching preference for spoken theatre. Nevertheless, another similarity was the decline of the play – to a greater extent in Dresden – throughout the early decades of the nineteenth century, towards a more musically focused repertoire by 1831 (although plays still dominated each repertory). A wide-reaching European theatrical network encompassed both cities. Dresden was an important part of the Italo-sphere, and even though there was significant growth of German music for the stage, Italian influences remained important throughout the period. Copenhagen was part of the French cultural sphere, demonstrated by the significance of French repertory in the city and the ways in which French genres were received as local. Copenhagen was an important indicator of cosmopolitan trends; the government encouraged individuals to train abroad before disseminating foreign influences within the local repertory. Dresden was a cosmopolitan city, demonstrated by the equal support for the German and Italian companies. The overarching similarities between these two cities demonstrates their presence in a shared network of practices; this network ensured that tradition, convention, and shared practice were more significant than individual local differences.

Dresden had a thriving theatrical culture between 1815 and 1831, which, like many other cities during this period, included a range of foreign influences that were performed alongside growing local traditions. The main themes assessed in this chapter – including theatrical organisation, political ideas and trends, genres, and individuals – shaped the ways in which

repertory was formed and performed during this period. The co-existence of a wide range of works reveals several important themes within music for the stage, including the diversification of the repertory, the preservation of tradition, shifting social classes, and the growing presence of foreign influences. The repertory performed in this period demonstrates the impact of contemporary political trends: the desire to promote local identity and culture was a common theme throughout Europe, but in Dresden, this was manifested through the creation and promotion of a significant new genre. However, despite the growing national ideas present in this period, cosmopolitan tendencies could also be identified, originating from the state support for both foreign and local theatrical traditions. Dresden was an important cultural city, not only because it received and performed a wide variety of works, but also because it adopted a centric role for other locations.

The repertory performed at the *Königliche Theater* between 1815 and 1831 became increasingly diverse as the period progressed. The most obvious development was the shift away from the dominance of plays towards a more musically sophisticated repertory: in 1815-1816, around 95% of the repertory consisted of plays before a dramatic decline to 65% in 1818 before a slow decrease to just under 50% in 1831. The inconsistency in this decline demonstrates the pivotal moment of change: 1818 saw the re-establishment of the Italian company and an increase in musical works performed by the German company, perhaps as a way of competing with the popularity of Italian performers. Despite the decline, plays remained popular throughout the period and co-existed alongside a wide range of musical genres. The two most significant, Italian opera which constituted almost 20% of the overall repertory and German opera which was just over 10%, had a contrasting presence during the period. Italian opera remained consistent from 1818 until the end of the period, demonstrating the importance of the long-standing connections between Italian opera and the Royal Theatre. This contrasted with the more dramatic peaks of German opera that resulted from growing political and cultural movements. The steady presence of *opéra comique* throughout this period, along with the dramatic emergence of *grand opéra* in the final years of this period, demonstrate the significance of underpinning French traditions within the repertory. The diversification of the repertory aligned with other nineteenth-century repertories and indicated many of the trends that influenced theatre, including popular works and genres driven by popular individuals, the preservation of tradition, and the importance of political ideas.

A significant local repertory existed in Dresden between 1815 and 1831, encouraged by systems of theatrical organisation, important political ideas, and individuals, along with factors including audience preference, practical motivations including ease of access and performance, and the preference for specific styles. The prominence of German opera was a significant part of

the cultural movement that strived to create a new German identity as an immediate reaction to the political tensions of the first decade of the nineteenth century. This was particularly relevant for Weber's new German opera, the creation of which aligned with the desire to promote local culture. The significance of local genres, including local plays, was not purely political, however; it was quicker, cheaper, simpler, and more suitably matched to the resources of the German company to perform these works in the local language. The repertory performed by the German company extended to translated *opéras comiques*: because of the similarities between dialogue opera genres, translated French works resembled the preferred German style.

Although local works formed a significant part of the Dresden repertory during this period, there were equally important foreign influences that contributed to the diverse theatrical culture that, in many ways, resembled music for the stage elsewhere in Europe. The national theatre tradition was established alongside the underlying theatrical culture, which initially seemed to be predominantly Italian because of the long-standing connections between Italian opera and the Dresden Royal Theatre. However, the repertory also included French influences: *opéras comiques* and some serious French works were performed in the early years of this period before the late emergence of *grand opéra*. Therefore, music for the stage in Dresden should be recontextualised as having an underlying Franco-Italian culture. The presence of a wide range of foreign influences demonstrates the process of cultural transfer and the existence of Dresden within a European network of music for the stage. However, unlike in Copenhagen which was largely a host for foreign works, some important local works, including Weber's operas, were performed elsewhere in Europe, signalling its important contribution to European music for the stage.

The repertory in nineteenth-century Dresden was influenced by contemporary political ideas that encouraged the development of local traditions that built on the desire to promote local culture as a reaction to political tension. Nationalism, and the desire to promote all things German, has been given significant attention in modern scholarship, and to some extent, does help to explain theatre during this period. However, the idea of cosmopolitanism, which can be identified in Dresden through the increasingly diverse repertory that was supported by government action, is more accurate. The complex interaction and fusion of foreign and local works, the decline and growth of foreign genres, and the ways in which political ideas influenced how works were performed – through processes of adaptation – exemplified how national and cosmopolitan ideas were intertwined. The simultaneous existence – and complex links – between the two ideas reveals the richness and diversity of nineteenth-century music for the stage not only in Dresden between 1815 and 1831, but throughout Europe.

Chapter 3 Barcelona and Copenhagen, 1847-1860

3.1 Introduction

Theatre in Barcelona was vibrant and diverse. A wide range of foreign works was performed in the city, alongside the creation and performance of a substantial local repertory that included the development of new theatrical models and genres. Works performed in both Catalan and Castilian flourished;[1] new works by local playwrights including Victor Balaguer (1824-1901) formed a growing repertory intended for local audiences.[2] However, Barcelona was also an important recipient of foreign works – several of which had Spanish premieres in Barcelona[3] – and played a role in the dissemination of these works, and particularly Italian opera, around Europe. Although David Gies suggests that Barcelona's theatrical importance dated from the 1880s,[4] I argue that Barcelona's significance began earlier, particularly given the establishment of the *Gran Teatro del Liceu*.

Barcelona, the capital of Catalunya,[5] is a borderland city; Catalunya is a region on the north-east edge of Spain, which itself is geographically located on the edge of Europe. Its geographic and cultural remoteness is further emphasised by its exclusion from scholarly discourse. In his history of Spanish theatre, Gies, for example, does not discuss Barcelona in much detail, despite his claims to present a 'true history of theatre in Spain'. Instead, Gies focuses on Madrid – the Spanish capital –, using Barcelona as a minor comparison. Given the cultural importance of Barcelona during this period, this omission suggests the continued perception of Barcelona as a culturally peripheral city. He does, however, signpost those authors who offer a history of theatre in Catalunya, and therefore Barcelona.[6] Barcelona can be considered a double borderland; it was located both within, and outside of, the rest of Spain. This contributed to emerging political tensions throughout the nineteenth century, including conflicting Catalan and Spanish identities.

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[1] The 'Spanish' language was, and still is, referred to as 'Castilian' throughout the Hispanic world. Stephen Jacobson. 'Law and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe: The Case of Catalonia in Comparative Perspective.' *Law and History Review* 20 No. 2 (2002). 315. Jaume Tribó. *Annals 1847-1897 del Gran Teatro del Liceu*. Barcelona: Fundació Gran Teatre del Liceu, 2004. 94.
[2] David Thatcher Gies. *The Theatre in Nineteenth Century Spain*. Cambridge and New York: *Cambridge University Press*, 1994. 33-34.
[3] Ibid., 33.
[4] Ibid.
[5] 'Catalunya' is the Catalan and 'Cataluña' the Spanish.
[6] Ibid, 1-2.

The creation of a Catalan identity aligned with similar developments throughout nineteenth-century Europe. However, this was further complicated by Catalunya's geographical proximity to France, particularly at the start of the century when Napoleon Bonaparte (1769-1821) tried to incorporate Catalunya into the French Empire because of the extant geographic, linguistic, and cultural similarities with France.

Barcelona played an important role in the dissemination of Italian theatre around Europe, despite geographical proximity to Spain and France. Italian opera was the most highly performed foreign genre in Barcelona between 1847 and 1860, and perhaps more significantly, some Italian operas were performed in Barcelona for the first time away from the Italian peninsular.[7] Barcelona's position within the Italian cultural sphere was firmly cemented by the principal performance language being Italian.

External influences, including French, Italian, and Castilian traditions, demonstrated the complexity of theatre during this period. The concept of cultural transfer – defined by Everist and Fauser as the general movement of cultural artefacts, opposed to a narrower definition of two-way exchange between locations[8] – is crucial here: Barcelona was an important recipient of foreign repertory although local works were rarely performed elsewhere. The many influences promoted and performed during this period, combined with the factors that contributed to their varying degrees of success, demonstrate the importance of cosmopolitanism within theatre in Barcelona during this period.

The repertory performed at the *Gran Teatro del Liceu* – the centre of operatic activity in Barcelona[9] – between 1847 and 1860 forms the basis of this chapter. Tracing the *Liceu's* rise, from its inauguration in 1847, to 1860, just months before a fire that seriously damaged the building and contributed to the institution's sudden decline, demonstrates the cultural importance of Barcelona, not only in Catalunya, but throughout Europe. Instead of focusing on the few works that have been preserved through history, the entire repertory of the *Liceu* is considered, against a backdrop of political and ideological frameworks, organisational procedures, and the active individuals at the institution.

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[7] Emilio Casares Rodicio. 'Rossini: la recepción de su obra en España.' *Cuadernos de Musica Iberoamericana* 10 (2005). 41.
[8] Annagret Fauser and Mark Everist eds. 'Introduction.' In M*usic, Theater, and Cultural Transfer, Paris, 1830-1914*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2009. 6.
[9] Gabriel Sansano. 'Theatre spaces in Barcelona, 1800-1850.' In *The Routledge Hispanic Studies Companion to Nineteenth-Century Spain*, edited by Elisa Martí-López, 325-338. London: Routledge, 2020.

A comparison between the *Gran Teatro del Liceu* and the *Kongelige Teater* in Copenhagen demonstrates contrasting ways in which supposedly peripheral cities contributed to nineteenth-century theatrical culture. Despite clear differences, including private versus public and the preferred performance language, there were significant similarities including the turbulent political situation and the clear preference for one genre over all others. Comparisons are made between political events and organisational practices in Barcelona and Copenhagen when meaningful conclusions can be drawn, but the major comparison is reserved for the repertorial analysis section of this chapter.

Three main themes emerge from the repertory performed between 1847 and 1860. First, a Catalan identity was in a state of becoming during this period, triggered by many early nineteenth-century political events including Bonaparte's invasion. Secondly, tensions between nationalism and cosmopolitanism, exemplified through the presentation of foreign and local works, were further complicated by the Spanish/Catalan dynamic. Finally, the local bourgeoisie attempted to negotiate between conflicting identities: this played out not only in the repertory at the *Liceu* but also in the very creation of the theatre. These themes demonstrate the independence of theatre in Barcelona, while also emphasising connections with other common practices that influenced mid-nineteenth-century repertories.

3.2 Identity, Autonomy, Hostility: Nineteenth-Century Politics in Barcelona

Catalunya experienced considerable political and social shifts during the nineteenth century, including political tensions with France and Spain and the growth of a culturally elite middle class.[10] A Catalan identity emerged during this period; this was significant as it also linked to the desire for autonomy and political independence. This also partly arose from the ongoing hostility towards French culture and politics, stemming from the early nineteenth-century Napoleonic invasion that attempted to annex Catalunya. This, combined with political events, contributed to significant social change; the emergence of the local bourgeoisie demonstrated their power by contributing to the establishment of the *Gran Teatro del Liceu*, an institution that emerged from the desire to widen access to theatre. This demonstrated their cultural influence that existed

[10] For more detail about the historical situation in Catalunya in the nineteenth century, see the following: Pierre Vilar. *Catalunya dins l'Espanya moderna*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1966.; Albert Balcells. *Història dels Països Catalans*, Volume 3. Barcelona: Edhasa, 1980.; Josep Fontana Lazaro. *La fi de Vantic Règim i la industrialització, 1787-1868*. Barcelona: Editions 62, 1998.; Pierre Vilar. *Història de Catalunya*, Vol. 5. Barcelona: Editions 62, 1988.

alongside their increased political power. Nineteenth-century political events and social shifts had a significant impact on repertory: the complex relationships between Catalunya and the bordering powers of France and Spain, combined with the traditional, external influence from Italian culture, contributed to a diverse and cosmopolitan repertory that reflected contemporary ideas.

Spanish rule was unstable throughout the nineteenth century: Ferdinand VII (1784-1833) ruled in 1808, before deposition by French rule, and then again from 1813 until his death, albeit with a three-year interruption known as the *Trienio Liberal* (1820-1823). During this period, a military uprising led by Rafael de Riego (1784-1823) led to a new liberal government. Although absolute rule was reinstated by a French invasion in 1823, the Liberal Triennium had a significant impact on Spanish society; it contributed to a reconceptualization of the public as a political force that could drive cultural change,[11] culminating in a growing desire for greater political power. After the death of Ferdinand VII, Spain was ruled by Isabella II (1830-1904) throughout this period: she ascended the throne in 1833, just before her third birthday, and ruled under the regency of Queen Maria Christina (1806-1878). She was deposed in 1868 in the Glorious Revolution and finally abdicated in 1870.[12]

The geographical position of Catalunya contributed to significant political tensions throughout the nineteenth century: France and Spain attempted to assimilate Catalunya, albeit for different reasons.[13] Firstly, many policies enacted in Madrid were not designed to fulfil the needs of Catalan citizens, contributing to the desire, held by Catalan citizens, for greater political power.[14] However, the Spanish demanded that Catalans renounce their cultural identity and language if they wanted to contribute to Spanish politics, considering them disloyal and rebellious.[15] Despite these tensions, however, citizens from Catalunya and Spain were connected because of their geographical proximity and traditional links. In the eighteenth century, both had been ruled by Philip V (1683-1746), a Bourbon monarch, and many French cultural influences originated from this period. During the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, however, Catalunya became a pawn between the neighbouring powers of France and Spain. The French saw

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[11] Lisa Surwillo. 'Copyright, buildings, spaces and the nineteenth-century stage.' In *A History of Theatre in Spain*, edited by Maria. M Delgado and David T. Gies. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012. 254.
[12] Roger Alier I Aixalà and Francesc X. Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. Barcelona: Edicions Francesc X. Mata, S.L., 1991. 11.
[13] Albert Balcells. *Catalan Nationalism: Past and Present*, edited by Geoffrey J. Walker and translated by Jacqueline Hall. London: Macmillan Press, 1996. 17.
[14] David D Laitin. 'Linguistic Revival: Politics and Culture in Catalonia.' *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31 No. 2 (April 1989). 300.
[15] Balcells. *Catalan Nationalism: Past and Present*. 22.

Catalunya as a means of controlling Spain, and Bonaparte attempted to annex it.[16] Despite ongoing tensions, Spanish victory in the French wars was considered the best outcome for Catalunya,[17] and they remained mostly united in their hostility towards the French. At the same time, however, their fortunes diverged: while Spain tore itself apart politically and suffered severe economic consequences, Catalunya became increasingly industrialised. This caused significant instability during the Carlist Wars (1833-39), a manifestation of *tradicionalismo*, which idealised Spain's glorious Catholic past as a norm that should continue to be upheld.[18] The Carlists championed Don Carlos V (1788-1855), brother of Ferdinand VII, over Isabella II, which contributed to significant turmoil and political unease. The relationship between Spain and Catalunya remained problematic throughout this period, despite existing connections, largely because of Catalunya's strong autonomous aspirations.[19]

Catalan citizens strived for autonomy while also wanting to remain firmly rooted within the existing framework of the Spanish state.[20] Autonomy, rather than independence, benefitted Catalunya; during periods of conflict, they were protected by the Spanish state but could also celebrate their own regional identity and enjoy political independence. Those who strived for autonomy were not nationalists,[21] however, if nationalism is used to refer to a movement that aimed for, and promoted, national independence.[22] However, the size of Catalunya, their independent formal language, independent economy, and the increasingly politicised population contributed to the move beyond carefully balanced autonomy towards full-blown nationalism.[23] Despite these efforts, or perhaps because of them, there were no serious attempts to create an independent Catalan state in the nineteenth century.[24]

Political and cultural tensions between Catalunya and France at the start of the nineteenth century were one of the major causes that contributed to the desire for Catalan autonomy. In 1793, the French Republic declared war on all European monarchs, including

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[16] Ibid., 17.
[17] Ibid.
[18] John M Schumacher. 'A Study in Nineteenth-Century Spanish Politico-Religious Thought.' *The Catholic Historical Review* 48 No. 3 (1962). 343-344.
[19] Maiken Umbach. 'A Tale of Second Cities: Autonomy, Culture, and the Law in Hamburg and Barcelona in the Late Nineteenth Century.' *The American Historical Review* 110 No. 3 (2005). 662.
[20] Ibid., 670.
[21] For an examination of modern-day nationalism in Catalunya, see Mark F. Hau. 'Nation Space, and Identity in the City: Marking Space and Making Place in Barcelona.' *Etnofoor* 28 No. 2 (The City, 2016). 77-98.
[22] Umbach. 'A Tale of Second Cities.' 670.
[23] Ibid., 669-670. Jacobson. 'Law and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe.' 314.
[24] Umbach. 'A Tale of Second Cities.' 670. Catalan autonomy and independence was finally accomplished in 1932. Stanley G Payne. 'Nationalism, Regionalism and Micronationalism in Spain.' *Journal of Contemporary History* 26 (1991). 486.

Charles IV (1748-1819) of Spain.[25] Catalunya was a particularly desirable conquest: Bonaparte saw the geographical proximity and historic and linguistic connections, along with the strained relationship between Catalunya and Spain, as a way of weakening Spanish unity and gaining greater power.[26] By creating further divisions between Spain and Catalunya, and creating an independent Catalan republic, Bonaparte tried to control Catalunya. Catalan became the official language[27] and the main Barcelona newspaper, *El Diario de Barcelona,* founded in 1792 and traditionally published in Castilian, was renamed to *Diari del Govern de Catalunya y Barcelona* and was subsequently published in Catalan and French (Castilian and French on rare occasions).[28] In 1808, the *Guerra del Francès,*[29] lasting a further six years, broke out between Spain and France: much of the fighting occurred in Catalunya because of its geographical proximity to France. This led to significant damage and the land was exposed to robbery and pillage.[30] The Barcelona citadel, for example, was sacked in 1810 by the French occupation.[31] Although immediate damage resulted from the wars, the long-lasting consequences had greater significance, including the desperate economic situation.

The creation of the *Junta Superior del Principado de Cataluña*, who governed Catalunya between 1808 and 1812, originated from political resistance to the new regime led by Joseph Bonaparte (1768-1844) that had followed the abdication of Charles IV and Ferdinand VII.[32] *Juntas* like this, established throughout Spain and Catalunya, attempted to preserve the old regime and were an important step towards self-government in a period of tense political instability.[33]

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[25] Widely known as the Napoleonic Wars, Spanish historiography names these conflicts as the War against the French Convention. (Xavier Daufí. 'Study on the Decrease in Production of the Oratorio in Catalonia in the Last Decades of the Eighteenth Century and the First Decades of the Nineteenth Century.' *Revista de Musicología* 36 No. 1/2 (2013). 183.) In Catalunya, however, these conflicts were widely known as the Great War. Fontana discusses different names, and the context for each, which have been coined by Catalan historians. He proposes 'French War' as the most appropriate term to accurately depict the diversity of the conflicts and reflect the perceptions of the Catalan citizens who were directly involved with the conflicts. Josep Fontana. 'Catalonia, 1808-1814: How to Name a War.' *Review* (Fernand Braudel Center) 12 No. 3 (1989). 397-403.

[26] 'Catalonia. History. 19th-Century.' *Spain Then and Now*, 2009. Accessed 26 August 2022. https://www.spainthenandnow.com/spanish-history/catalonia-19th-century-politics

[27] Laitin. 'Linguistic Revival: Politics and Culture in Catalonia.' 300.

[28] Ibid.

[29] This was the name used in Catalunya, but the Spanish called it the War of Independence. In other countries it was known as the Peninsular War. Daufí. 'Study on the Decrease in Production of the Oratorio.' 184.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Michael Eaude. *Catalonia: A Cultural History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. xiv.

[32] Balcells. *Catalan Nationalism*. 17.

[33] Ibid.

A severe economic downturn also resulted from the conflicts.[34] The cost of the wars far exceeded the money raised, leading to enforced fines and loans. Furthermore, the local population were responsible for providing supplies for the war, and maintaining Bonaparte's troops, while simultaneously living in extreme poverty.[35] Discontent and financial difficulties continued after the war: a peace treaty between France and Spain led to economic trouble with other countries who still opposed the French.[36]

A distinct Catalan identity emerged during this period, largely resulting from nineteenth-century political events,[37] and reinforced by medieval precedents.[38] This aligned with similar movements throughout Europe; foreign oppression, military defeat, and cultural or economic modernization which threatened traditional values, often contributed to the creation and promotion of local identity and culture.[39] Although many national movements typically aimed to break-down class divisions,[40] the desire to promote Catalan identity extended beyond representations of social class.[41] The emerging Catalan identity was one of many regional identities that competed with the overarching Spanish culture in the nineteenth century: in 1851, Spain was described as a collection of autonomous states, each with a local identity.[42] Catalan identity was achieved through the promotion of local art, theatre, and architecture, and contributed to their desire for autonomy.

Catalans considered themselves superior to the Spanish: Catalunya became economically-developed during the nineteenth century, contrasting with the stagnant political and economic situation in Spain which contributed to a lack of industrial economy at the end of the century.[43] The industrial revolution that shaped public life led to the appearance of the first railways,

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[34] A trade crisis in the 1780s led to considerable discontent throughout Catalunya, reflected by a series of riots known as *Rebomboris del pa* (Bread Riots). These resulted from Barcelona City Council raising the price of bread. Daufí. 'Study on the Decrease in Production of the Oratorio in Catalonia.' 183.
[35] Ibid., 184.
[36] Ibid., 183-184.
[37] Xavier Moreno-Luzón and Xosé M. Núñez Seixas eds. 'Introduction: The Nation and Its Metaphors.' In Metaphors of Spain: Representations of Spanish National Identity in the Twentieth Century. Berghahn Books, 2017. 4.
[38] Francesc Cortés. 'Arnaldo di Erill, de Nicolás Guañabens: Aproximación al Estado de le Ópera en España a Mediados del Siglio XIX.' *Revista de Musicología* 20 No.1 (1997). 513-514.
[39] Payne. 'Nationalism, Regionalism and Micronationalism in Spain.' 485.
[40] Balcells. *Catalan Nationalism*. 23.
[41] Hau. 'Nation Space, and Identity in the City.' 83.
[42] 'Spain is not, in the strict and true meaning of the word, a nation but a collection of nations'. J.B. Gurardiola, 'Libro de la Democracia' (1851) in Balcells. *Catalan Nationalism*. 24.
[43] Laitin. 'Linguistic Revival.' 301.; Daniel W Gade. 'Language, Identity, and the Scriptorial Landscape in Québec and Catalonia.' *Geographical Review* 93 No. 4 (October 2003). 436.; Balcells. *Catalan Nationalism*. 18-21.

between Barcelona and Mataro, in 1848.[44] The Catalan sense of superiority, stemming from this industrial independence, prompted a rebellion against Catalan political subservience and cultural dependence on Castilian Spain.[45]

Politics events, the desire for autonomy, and an evolving Catalan identity, were all represented in theatrical cultural, which was mostly driven by contemporary popular taste.[46] Towards the end of the 1850s, there were significant concerns regarding musical nationalism in opera.[47] These concerns, however, had been voiced as early as the 1820s when the *Diario Literario-Mercantil* promoted the development of national opera in Barcelona, an important early indication of a developing Catalan identity.[48]

The French Wars had a significant impact on theatre at the start of the nineteenth century. During the conflicts, there was a significant break in theatrical performances; Barcelona lost their annual Italian opera season because many singers fled to Madrid.[49] To replace them, the occupying forces brought their own French company to Barcelona, but local audiences resisted and refused to attend. Theatre was used as political propaganda; it was forced to become an active participant in the conflict while also providing a backdrop against which political sentiments were displayed.[50] However, despite these events, there was little theatrical significance during the conflicts:[51] popular revolts, combined with the permanent state of war, meant governments and audiences had greater priorities than theatre and music.[52] Economic difficulties prevented spending on unessential luxuries including theatre and particularly the commissioning of new works.[53] After the war, however, there were immediate attempts to reinstate theatrical seasons and efforts were made to assemble the best Italian company – a return to pre-war traditions.[54]

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[44] José Luis González Subías. 'Nineteenth-century Spanish theatre: The birth of an industry.' In *A History of Theatre in Spain,* edited by Maria. M Delgado and David T. Gies and translated by Zachary Ludington. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012. 211.; and Rafael Lamas. '*Zarzuela*: High art, popular culture and music theatre.' In *A History of Theatre in Spain* edited by Maria M. Delgado and David T. Gies. Cambridge and New York: *Cambridge University Press*, 2012. 198.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Louise K Stein. 'Opera and the Spanish Political Agenda.' *Acta Musicologica* 63 No. 2 (1991). 125.
[47] Cortés. 'Arnaldo di Erill.' 506.
[48] Rodicio. 'Rossini: la recepción de su obra en España.' 50.
[49] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 9.
[50] Sansano. 'Theatre spaces in Barcelona, 1800-1850.' 328.
[51] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 9.
[52] Daufí. 'Study on the Decrease in Production of the Oratorio.' 183.
[53] Ibid., 183-184.
[54] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 9.

The African War (1859-1860),[55] fought over the Spanish borders of Ceuta in North Africa, exemplified how political events and autonomy had a real impact on theatre. The war contributed to considerable political agitation before culminating in Spanish victory at the Battle of Tetuán.[56] These military successes were celebrated through the creation of local *zarzuelas* (*sarsuelas* in Catalan), including *A L'Africa, Minyions* (1859), composed by Francesc Porcell (1813-1890) to a libretto by Josep Antoni Ferrer Fernández (1833-1871). This work was so successful that subsequent parts were written.[57] These distant events, geographically situated in northern Morocco, became more present in Barcelona through the medium of theatre. These events, and their portrayal in the theatre, further complicated the relationship between Spanish politics and Catalan identity; Spanish successes were celebrated in a Catalan style, demonstrating how Catalunya wished to remain culturally connected to the Spanish state, while maintaining their own identity.

3.2.1 Driving Social Change: The Politics of Culture, Language, and Urban Planning

The nineteenth century witnessed significant social shifts, not only in Barcelona but throughout Europe. In Catalunya, these could be identified through a more politicised population who had the power to drive social and political change: culture, language, and urban planning were tools that contributed to a local identity and reflected the power of the emerging politicised classes.

Urban renovation, a process that achieved modernisation through remodelling, encouraged significant population growth.[58] In 1800, the population of Barcelona exceeded 100,000 people.[59] However, events in the first quarter of the century, including the French War, the Liberal Triennium, and a yellow fever outbreak in 1821, ensured the population remained static until the mid-1820s. After this, the population expanded dramatically: by 1857, the population exceeded 190,000.[60] This population increase contributed to a lack of space within the

[55] This was known as the *Guerra de África* (African War) in Spain, but elsewhere was known as the Hispano-Moroccan War, the Spanish-Moroccan War, the First Moroccan War, or the Tetuán War. Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 31.
[56] Cortés. 'Arnaldo di Erill.' 513.
[57] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 31.
[58] The Parisian model of urban renovation began in the 1850s and was mirrored elsewhere in Europe, including Barcelona, during this period. Gesa Zur Nieden. 'Symmetries in Spaces, Symmetries in Listening: Musical Theater Buildings in Europe ca.1900,' In *The Oxford Handbook of Music Listening in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, edited by Christian Thorau and Hansjakob Ziemer. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019. 313.
[59] Although statistics differ significantly, a moderate estimation has been used to outline the statistics in this section. Sansano. 'Theatre spaces in Barcelona.' 326.
[60] Pilar López Guallar. 'El crecimiento de Barcelona y el proceso de formación de los criterios demográficos modernos, 1717–1897.' In *L'articulació social de la Barcelona contemporània*, edited by J. Roca Albert. Barcelona: Institut Municipal d'Història-Editorial Proa, 1997. 69-71.; Sansano. 'Theatre spaces in Barcelona.'

city which led to a widespread desire to demolish the city walls; the Madrid government finally approved the expansion in 1859.[61] The growing population, along with heightened industry and political power, led to significant societal problems. Along with the increased population density, the pace of life accelerated with the emergence of large industries.[62] Socialism and workers movements emerged gradually and gained momentum from the 1830s; like similar movements elsewhere in Europe, these had considerable force by the end of the century.[63] With a greater concentration of people, and increased industry leading to higher work rates, there were also demands for leisure and cultural facilities, leading to the establishment of the *Liceu*.[64]

Cultural and social development during this period was mostly directed and financed by the bourgeoisie, who also emerged elsewhere in Europe during this period.[65] The involvement of the bourgeoisie in the shifting social culture of Barcelona was cemented by the establishment of the *Gran Teatre del Liceu* in the 1840s;[66] the institution not only imitated society but also actively contributed to shifting social structures by giving the middle class a space to belong.[67] The theatre was set-up by the middle classes; unlike traditional institutions which existed because of courtly or aristocratic associations, the *Liceu* played an important role in the disintegration of traditional social borders. The *Liceu* was formed for several reasons, one of the most significant being the gradual reduction in theatre seating assigned to the lower and middle classes that occurred during the first decades of the nineteenth century.[68] This contributed to the desire for new alternatives that better aligned with the financial means and aesthetic preferences of the middle class.[69]

The bourgeoisie promoted culture throughout society; this extended beyond the establishment of the *Liceu*. A vibrant Catalan *renaixença*, again aligning with similar movements throughout Europe, was primarily dedicated to cultural and linguistic rebirth and was one of the foremost ways that local culture and identity were promoted. The Catalan *renaixença* referred to this period of cultural rebirth rather than the post-medieval period that is widely recognised as

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326. Significant growth also occurred in Madrid: the population increased from 280,000 in 1857 to nearly 555,000 in 1900, a scale of growth which aligned with other European cities. William Callahan. 'Response to Urbanization: Madrid and Barcelona, 1850-1930.' *Hispania Sacra* 42 No 86 (1990). 448.

[61] Eaude. *Catalonia: A Cultural History*. 78.

[62] Sansano. 'Theatre spaces in Barcelona.' 326.

[63] Gies. *The Theatre in Nineteenth Century Spain*. 309.

[64] Sansano. 'Theatre spaces in Barcelona.' 326-327.

[65] Umbach. 'A Tale of Second Cities.' 664.

[66] Subías. 'Nineteenth-century Spanish theatre.' 211.

[67] Gies. *The Theatre in Nineteenth Century Spain*. 2-3.

[68] Josep Artís i Balaguer. *Tres segles de teatre barceloní* - ('El Principal`, a través dels anys), edited by Gabriel Sansano. Lleida: Punctum-Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, [1938], 2020. 167.; Sansano. 'Theatre spaces in Barcelona.' 325-326.

[69] Sansano. 'Theatre spaces in Barcelona.' 325-326.

the Italian Renaissance. This movement laid the foundations for art and architecture that subsequently cemented Barcelona's position as a capital for art tourism.[70] The transformation of everyday spoken Catalan into a modern literary language was an important priority of the *renaixença*; the revival of the *Jocs Florals*, an ancient literary festival, was an important attempt to further develop the Catalan language.[71] Although considered an all-encompassing movement that contributed to significant economic advancement, greater education, literary growth, and self-government, the renaissance centred around literature; the creation of a Catalan culture was still required to match literary advancements.[72] Important artistic ventures, including poetry, theatre, and literature, were integral to the Catalan renaissance and became a symbol of, and reason for, the emerging Catalan identity.[73] This was further reflected by the construction and inauguration of several buildings, including the *Liceu*, which became conceptual tools used to promote Catalan culture. These became symbolic of political movements and the increased power held by the bourgeoisie.[74]

The promotion of the Catalan language was an important indication of political trends and was a crucial part of the political movements that helped shape nineteenth-century Barcelona. Language was an important element used to define local identity; it united emerging nations because it was considered an emotive aspect of local identity.[75] Despite attempts by invading French forces to integrate their language into the local culture, the French language remained subsidiary throughout the early and mid-century. 1859 was particularly important for Catalan language and culture, demonstrated by several works performed in Catalan at the *Liceu*.

One of the most obvious manifestations of language as a political tool was in the theatre; performance language did not always align with the origin of a work and instead promoted contemporary views and cultural preferences. The connections between language and genre, and the manifestations of political ideology through language, allow for a productive discussion about the intricacies of language and translation and the effect this had on nineteenth-century repertory. In Barcelona, despite attempts to promote the Catalan language, priority was given to

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[70] Eaude. *Catalonia: A Cultural History*. xv.; Jacobson. 'Law and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe.' 320.; Laitin. 'Linguistic Revival.' 301.
[71] Balcells. *Catalan Nationalism*. 25-26.
[72] Ibid., 27.
[73] Laitin. 'Linguistic Revival.' 301.
[74] These buildings including the *Museu Nacional d'Art de Catalunya*, the *Liceu*, the *Teatre Nacional de Catalunya*, and the *Arixu de la Corona d'Arago*. Mari Paz Balibrea. 'Urbanism, culture and the post-industrial city: Challenging the 'Barcelona model'.' *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 2 No. 2 (2001). 196.; Hau. 'Nation Space, and Identity in the City. '82.; Laitin. 'Linguistic Revival.' 301.
[75] Gade. 'Language, Identity, and the Scriptorial Landscape.' 429, 446.

the Italian language in the theatre, linking to pre-war traditions. The French language, like its traditions, continued to be supressed.

Political and social events and transformations had a significant impact on nineteenth-century life, and, by extension, on theatre. The growing Catalan identity that emerged during this period stemmed from conflicts with France, the desire for political and cultural autonomy, and an increasingly politicised population. The complex relationships between Catalunya and the bordering powers of Spain and France ensured theatre in Barcelona had a diverse range of theatrical influences. The political events and ongoing conflicts during this period affected the cultural sphere: a Catalan identity, promoted by a more highly politicised population amidst the French wars and evolving Spanish nationalism, offers context for the culturally diverse theatre in Barcelona between 1847 and 1860.[76]

3.3 Theatrical Organisation

Theatrical organisation – including the conception of the *Gran Teatre del Liceu* through to its inauguration on 4th April 1847[77] – seasonal organisation, architecture, audience demographics, audience taste, and funding, provide a greater understanding of theatre and repertory in a peripheral city. Comparisons to the Royal Theatre in Copenhagen broadens an understanding of how theatre was organised in peripheral cities, including the contrasting significance of private and public institutions.

3.3.1 Theatre Organisation

Several agents contributed to the conception and creation of the *Gran Teatre del Liceu*. The theatre emerged from the *Liceo Filodramàtico de Montesión,* a society of friends that, in 1837, was established as an organisation who contributed to the development and promotion of music education, further encouraged by the driving forces of the liberal bourgeoisie and a deep-rooted

[76] Political tension also continued after this period: several military revolutions, the deposition of Queen Isabella II in 1868, another civil war between 1870-75, a foreign monarch between 1870-73, and a failed republic in 1873-74 all led to continued political upheaval. 'Catalonia. History. 19th-Century.' *Spain Then and Now*, 2009, Accessed 26 August 2022. https://www.spainthenandnow.com/spanish-history/catalonia-19th-century-politics

[77] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 17.; Maricarmen Gómez. 'Barcelona.' *Grove Music Online*, 2001, Accessed 3 November 2021. https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000002023.

passion for music and theatre.[78] A conservatoire for music opened in 1838, supported by the Barcelona City Council and the Queen Regent Maria Christina.[79] Finally, the managers of the *Liceo* tasked Joaquim de Gispert (1799-1889) with the creation of the *Gran Teatre del Liceu*, which was inaugurated in 1847 on Easter Sunday – the traditional opening date of the Spring season.[80] The bourgeoisie also played an important role in the creation of the *Liceu*, as discussed above. The involvement of the monarchy and city council demonstrated the importance of the institution; although promoted by the bourgeoisie, important political impulses also contributed to the creation of the *Liceu*.

The creation of the *Gran Teatre del Liceu* aligned with a cultural movement during the nineteenth century when national governments, municipal councils, and independent impresarios tried to build theatres throughout Europe.[81] This resulted from industrialisation and urban development, along with the emerging Catalan identity. Theatres connected industry and culture; they moved beyond purely aesthetic, moral, or nation-building enterprises and became businesses that were inseparably linked to industry.[82] The *Liceu* was founded as part of this movement.[83]

The *Liceu* was privately funded, contrasting with many state-subsidised theatres throughout Europe.[84] Theatres required a large seating capacity to ensure their financial viability without reliance on state subsidies.[85] The *Liceu* was cooperatively funded by a group of shareholders named the *Societat del Gran Teatre del Liceu*. Despite its private nature – the *Liceu* generated its own income – the *Liceu* was also designed for Barcelona and its citizens; in this

[78] Sansano. 'Theatre spaces in Barcelona.' 336-338. 'About Liceu Conservatory – History.' Fundació Conservatori Liceu, 2018, Accessed 28th July 2022. https://www.conservatoriliceu.es/en/about/history/. The initial promotion of education is reflected in the name of the society and by extension, the name of the later theatre: Liceo or *lyceum*. Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 13.
[79] 'About Liceu Conservatory – History.'
[80] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 19.
[81] This was not restricted to Barcelona. The principal theatre in Madrid, the *Teatro Real*, was inaugurated in 1850 after thirty-two years of planning and construction, as were many other theatres during the period. Madrid in the 1840s, like Barcelona, witnessed the growth of theatre as an important industry; dozens of theatres and companies were formed and disbanded during attempts to transform theatre into a free market. Like the *Liceu*, the *Real* was designed for a wide range of operas, ballets, and concerts, and had a clear preference for Italian theatre. However, unlike the *Liceu*, the *Real* was financed by the government. Gies. *The Theatre in Nineteenth Century Spain*, 175.; and Lamas. 'Zarzuela.' 198.
[82] Subías. 'Nineteenth-century Spanish theatre.' 211.
[83] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 14. A full history of the evolution of the *Liceu* and links to the bourgeoisie have been well documented. See Sansano. 'Theatre spaces in Barcelona.'
[84] Surwillo. 'Copyright, buildings, spaces.' 257.
[85] Nieden. 'Symmetries in Spaces, Symmetries in Listening.' 313.

sense, it was a public institution although it differed from state funded theatres built for courtly entertainment.[86]

Ticket prices at the *Liceu* not only funded the institution but also reflected the audience demographic.[87] General admission was affordable, priced at roughly three *reales*, with a higher seat price for those who could afford it.[88] Tickets for operatic performances were generally more expensive because additional resources were needed for these works.[89] At the inauguration of the *Liceu*, the general entrance price was six *reales* whilst the most expensive boxes were priced at 100 *reales*.[90] The relatively high prices reflected the desire to attract the bourgeoise, which consisted of relatively well-off industrialists, entrepreneurs, and intellectuals.[91] In 1848, the *Liceu* wanted to compete with other theatres and subsequently created *monstruo* or *ómnibus* tickets. These allowed access to either two four or five act plays or a varied programme of six acts of verse and two dance acts.[92] During the 1857/58 and 1859/60 seasons there were subscription tickets divided into two instalments aligning with summer and winter seasons.[93]

The private funding and lack of royal support for the *Liceu* was reflected within its organisation. Because the monarchy did not financially contribute to the theatre, royalty was not represented in the name or design of the building, physically realised by the lack of the traditional royal box. The privately funded *Liceu* significantly contrasted with historic traditions; during the Golden Age (1500-1600), theatre in Barcelona was closely connected with the royal court with royal visits and private performances. This demonstrated a major shift in the nineteenth century: theatres needed to fill seats to ensure profit.[94] This offered a significant contrast with the *Kongelige Teater* in Copenhagen – a royal theatre supported by monarch and court.

Despite the lack of royal funding at the *Liceu*, performance materials, including libretti and playbills, still acknowledged the monarch, as seen in figure 1. The title page of the first opera

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[86] Charlie Allwood. 'The Gran Teatre del Liceu in Catalan Culture: History, Representation and Myth.' PhD Diss., Queen Mary University of London, 2014. 92.
[87] Subías. 'Nineteenth-century Spanish theatre.' 230.
[88] This roughly equates to €4.15 purchasing power in 2020. 'Measuring Worth Calculator.' Measuring worth – results, Accessed October 6, 2022. https://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/spaincompare/relativevalue.php.
[89] Subías. 'Nineteenth-century Spanish theatre.' 229.
[90] José Artís. *El gran teatro del Liceo*. Barcelona: Montaner y Simón, 1946. 28–32.; and Subías. 'Nineteenth-century Spanish theatre.' 230.
[91] Subías. 'Nineteenth-century Spanish theatre.' 230.
[92] Ibid., 231.
[93] *Almanaque del diario de Barcelona 1858-1860.* Barcelona: Imprenta del Diario de Barcelona, 1858. Accessed 6 March 2021. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo.31924087696195. 76.
[94] Jonathan Thacker. 'Lope de Vega, Calderón de la Barca and Tirso de Molina: Spain's Golden Age drama and its legacy.' In *A History of Theatre in Spain*, edited by Maria. M Delgado and David T. Gies. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012. 53.; Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 18.

at the *Liceu*, Gaetano Donizetti's (1797-1848) *Anna Bolena* (1830), first performed at the *Liceu* on 17 April 1847, refers to 'Barcelona's Dramatic Philharmonic of Her Majesty Donna Isabella II'.[95] This was common practice for all performances at the *Liceu*, demonstrating that connections between theatre and monarchy still existed despite the lack of financial support.

ANNA BOLENA

TRAGEDIA LIRICA

IN DUE ATTI

di Felice Romani

DA RAPPRESENTARSI

NEL GRAN TEATRO DEL LICEO,

FILARMONICO DRAMMATICO BARCELLONESE

di S. M. Donna Isabella II

LA PRIMAVERA DI 1847.

BARCELLONA

Dalla tipografia di T. GORCHS

Strada del Carmen presso l' Università

APRILE DEL 1847

Fig.1. The programme for Donizetti's *Anna Bolena*, first performed at the *Liceu* on 17th April 1847.[96]

[95] 'Filarmonica Drammatico Barcellonese di S.M. Donna Isabella II'. Tribó. *Annals 1847-1897 del Gran Teatro del Liceu*. 37.
[96] Ibid.

The architecture of the *Liceu* aligned with the *teatro all'italiana* style, a common Baroque form of theatre.[97] Architects followed this style, despite some limitations – audiences were prevented from concentrating on the performance because the auditorium encouraged an atmosphere of observing, and being observed by, other patrons[98] – because of the long association with Italian traditions. This style of architecture was characterised by open formation seating that was symmetrically orientated around a central view of the stage, combined with galleries with boxes.[99] Theatres in this style also had a proscenium stage, articulating a separation between stage and audience.[100] The varied seating options, combined with the openness of the *Liceu*, ensured every seat in the theatre, even the cheapest, had perfect visibility and audibility of the onstage performers.[101] Theatres in the *teatro all'italiana* style had an amphitheatre that could seat up to 3000 people: the *Liceu* was the biggest opera house in Europe with 3500 seats, demonstrating the priority to accommodate a large, socially diverse audience.[102] The size of the theatre also stemmed from the lack of state funding and the need to accommodate a large audience to ensure independent financial stability.[103] Large stages were a priority because they facilitated the performance of grand spectacles,[104] which reflected the demands of society.

The architecture of the *Liceu* represented the multitude of influences present in Barcelona during this period. As well as visually representing Italian culture, the theatre was also a significant advancement for Spanish architecture.[105] Construction began in April 1845, largely using local materials which reflected the ideals of an institution that aimed to promote local culture. Some accessories, however, were purchased in Paris,[106] and the design of the façade was created by a foreigner.[107] These foreign elements, combined with the predominantly local materials, reflected the combination of local and foreign influences that could be observed throughout theatre during this period. Like many theatres, the appearance of the *Liceu* inspired pride in local culture: the openings were clear and grand encouraging accessibility and

[97] Nieden. 'Symmetries in Spaces, Symmetries in Listening.' 315.
[98] Ibid., 319-320.
[99] Many European theatres, and particularly secondary theatres, all exhibited similar architectural features. Nieden exemplifies this through a discussion of the *Liceu* in Barcelona, the *Théatre du Châtelet* in Paris (1862-1880), and the *Teatro Costanzi* in Rome (1880-1907), all secondary theatres run by independent impresarios. Although the *Liceu* was technically a secondary theatre since the *Teatro Principal* already existed, it immediately became the centre of theatrical activity in Barcelona. Ibid., 313-314.
[100] Ibid., 319.
[101] Ibid., 313, 320.
[102] Ibid., 320.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid., 313.
[105] *Almanaque del diario de Barcelona.* 56.
[106] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 15.
[107] *Almanaque del diario de Barcelona.* 54.

celebration.[108] The theatre played a significant role in shaping national representation through the medium of art and culture; the *Liceu* was internationally recognised as an important theatre while simultaneously representing local culture.[109] This was further emphasised by the inclusion of a members club attached to the *Liceu* which housed important art works.[110]

Barcelona had several other active theatres during this period, including the *Teatre Principal* which was the main rival to the *Liceu*.[111] The *Principal* was the oldest theatre in Barcelona; originally founded in 1597, it was rebuilt several times including 1788 and 1848. Although an important venue for Spanish premieres, Italian music,[112] and a stable opera season since 1750, the opening of the *Liceu* led to rivalry between the two theatres and the *Principal* gradually fell into disrepair. The rivalry was vitiated by the links between the two theatres, including sharing an impresario, Santiago Figueras, from the 1850/51 season. His influence was significant as he removed competition and ensured the smooth running of theatre in Barcelona.

While the *Liceu* was widely recognised as a venue created by and for the bourgeoisie, the *Principal* was traditionally linked to the aristocracy. The contrasting audiences, reflected through different repertory, demonstrates the conflicting ideas held by different social classes. However, the existence of, and prevailing traditions at, the *Principal* partly contributed to the creation of the *Liceu* and hence its own demise.[113] As the *Liceu* overtook the *Principal* as the leading cultural institution in Barcelona, the cultural power of the bourgeoisie, compared with that of the aristocracy, was emphasised.[114]

The *Teater Nou*, active between 1843 and 1848 and directed by Juan Dalmau (1814-1880), was one of the first theatres to open in Barcelona when the monopoly held by the *Principal* ended. Dalmau's involvement demonstrated connections and the complex web of overlapping interests between the theatres in Barcelona as he was also the orchestra director at the *Liceu*. Although only active for a short period, the *Nou* offered significant competition to the *Liceu* as it presented overlapping repertory. The theatre was another indication of the strong Italian influence in Barcelona, visually demonstrated by the Italianised auditorium which mirrored the *Liceu*. Italian influence could also be identified in the repertory, a significant portion of which was Italian, with a particular emphasis on operas composed by Donizetti. This was further supported

[108] Ibid.
[109] Nieden. 'Symmetries in Spaces.' 313-314.
[110] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 20.
[111] The *Principal* was also known as the *Teatre de la Santa Creu*. In Spanish, these were the *Teatro Principal* or *Teatro de la Santa Cruz*.
[112] Rodicio. 'Rossini: la recepción de su obra en España.' 39.
[113] Sansano. 'Theatre spaces in Barcelona.' 336-337
[114] Ibid., 332

by a lack of French works: the only exception was Giacomo Meyerbeer's (1791-1864) *Robert le Diable* (1831), which itself had been circulating for a long time in an Italian translation. Although the *Nou* was significant between 1843 and 1848, the construction of the *Liceu* quickly led to its demise; the City Council ordered the demolition of the *Nou* and the old convent on which the *Nou* was built was subsequently turned into a square, known today as the *Plaza Real*.

The *Teatre Circ Barcelonès*, operating between 1853 and 1944, was the third largest theatre in Barcelona. This began as an institution presenting circus and equestrian performances before switching to more traditional theatrical and musical works.[115] The *Circo* was again designed in the *teatro all'italiana* form. The Italian influence was not restricted to the architecture of the theatre, however: the notable Italian actress, Adelaide Ristori (1822-1906), performed at the venue in 1857. She was so successful that the theatre was temporarily renamed as *Teatro Ristori*. This was unpopular, however, and the previous name was restored when it reopened after a fire in 1863.[116]

Theatrical organisation in Barcelona between 1847 and 1860, and particularly the conception, establishment, and existence of the *Gran Teatre del Liceu*, demonstrated several important themes that were present in mid-nineteenth-century theatre. Its foundations demonstrate the bourgeois context in which the theatre originated; these connections were also reflected by the repertory performed, the architecture of the theatre, and funding and ticket prices. The significant connections to Italian culture reflected popular taste while also preserving the long-standing traditions that existed within theatre in Barcelona. The presence of several theatres in Barcelona further demonstrated the significance of Italian influence in the city and cemented Barcelona's position within the Italian cultural sphere.

3.3.2 Seasonal Organisation

Barcelona aligned with the usual systems of theatrical organisation that could be observed throughout Europe. There were, however, several differences that also indicated internal influences. Theatrical seasons were usually organised from September to June, before a long summer break; despite some exceptions, seasons at the *Liceu* roughly followed this pattern. Until 1850, Easter Sunday was the traditional opening date of the Spring season: performances ran

[115] The diverse range of performances continued into the twentieth century: it became known as 'the Coliseum of Varieties'. 'Teatre del Circ Barcelonès / Teatre Ristori / Teatre del Poble'. Institut del Teatre. Diputació Barcelona. Accessed 7th November 2022. https://www.institutdelteatre.cat/publicacions/ca/enciclopedia-arts-esceniques/id1299/teatre-del-circ-barcelones-teatre-ristori-teatre-del-poble.htm

[116] Ibid.

until the festival of Mardi Gras in March or April of the following year.[117] During Lent, new administrations and companies were formed for the new season while theatres were closed.[118] This changed in 1850, however; following the *Real Decreto de Teatros* of 1849, a ruling that detailed restrictions and acceptable practice, and which dictated that seasons should run between 1st September and 30th June, seasonal organisation in Barcelona closely aligned with the usual conventions followed throughout Europe.[119]

There were several exceptions to the typical patterns of seasonal organisation, usually occurring during the summer. Performances often started or ended earlier or later than the specified dates. Despite the conventional break, some performances occurred during the summer as these were permitted by the 1849 ruling, facilitated by performers who toured during the summer break,[120] although these were less frequent than during the regular season. Concerts, however, were more common during the summer as these required fewer resources and could take place with less performers. The 1857/58 and 1860/61 seasons were further divided into summer and winter seasons, aligning with the subscription system: seasons ran between 1 October and 31 January and 1 February and 31 May.[121]

Performances at the *Liceu* did not pause for Christmas; in every year between 1847 and 1860, there were performances on Christmas day itself. Although some theatres took a lengthy break, many only paused for Christmas day including Parisian theatres and the *Kongelige Teater* in Copenhagen. Since Barcelona was strictly Catholic, the lack of Christmas break suggests seasonal decisions were not motivated by religious factors.

Performances at the *Liceu* paused for Easter in every year of this period, aligning with the rest of Europe. A compulsory break preceded Easter Sunday, generally lasting nine days, but there were occasions when this break was considerably longer or shorter. Exceptions included 1851, when the Easter break was twenty-four days, which significantly contrasted with 1856 and 1858 which had shorter breaks of five and three days, respectively. After the Easter break, performances at the *Liceu* usually restarted on Easter Sunday[122] although there were some exceptions here as well. In 1850 and 1851, performances stopped nine days before Easter Sunday, as was usual, but did not restart as usual. Instead, in 1850, an extended break was taken until mid-June, whereas in 1851, performances restarted a week later than usual. 1856 offered another

[117] Subías. 'Nineteenth-century Spanish theatre.' 223.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.
[121] *Almanaque del diario de Barcelona.* 61.
[122] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 16.

exception; performances restarted on Holy Saturday with a Passion production of *Passio I Mort de Nostre Senyor Jesucrist* (1855) by Fra Antoni de Sant Jeroni (1730(?)-1802) and Mariano Obiols (1809-1888). In 1857 and 1860, performances restarted on Easter Sunday as was conventional, however in both years a performance on Good Friday interrupted the break.

Although there was some leeway regarding seasonal organisation in Barcelona, demonstrated through occasional performances that interrupted scheduled breaks, the *Real Decreto de Teatros* strictly prohibited performances on religious feast days and during Holy Week. To circumvent these restrictions, companies presented spectacles that were not strictly theatrical; productions on prohibited days usually related to the Passion of Christ and underwent strict censorship.[123] However, performances on Good Friday in 1857 and 1860 were not religious: Edouard Brisebarre (1815-1871) and Marc Michel's (1812-1868) *Un Tigre de Bengala* (1849) – a Spanish translation of the Parisian *Comédie-vaudeville*, *Un tigre du Bengale* (1849) – and Nicolau Manent i Maurent's (1827-1887) ballet *El Carnaval de Venecia* (1859), were performed in 1857 and 1860 respectively. The performance of these works on Good Friday defied conventions: only religious performances were permitted on Holy Days. While the restrictions demonstrated the religious nature of Barcelona, attempts to disregard the rules surrounding Holy Days indicated that the management of the *Liceu* was more interested in selecting repertory that would attract audiences than adhering to strict rules.

Long summer breaks only occurred after the seasonal shift in 1850; their length differed significantly throughout the period, however. 1857 had a scheduled break of only four days, contrasting with 108 days in 1854.[124] However, the summer break at the *Liceu* was usually far longer than the official dates:. A good example occurred in 1859: although the official break lasted throughout August and September, only four concerts, and no other works, were performed in June and July, significantly lengthening the break.

The seasonal organisation of Barcelona between 1847 and 1860 demonstrated connections to other nineteenth-century European theatres. Furthermore, the aligning seasons, and the repertory which will be explored later, indicated that European performers would have performed at the *Liceu*. However, despite many similarities, there were also several differences, especially at the start of this period, indicating that Barcelona enjoyed an independent theatrical culture prior to the establishment of the *Liceu*. With the inauguration of the *Liceu* in 1847, theatre became more aligned with the rest of Europe, although it still maintained strong local traditions.

[123] Subías. 'Nineteenth-century Spanish theatre.' 223.
[124] Tribó. *Annals 1847-1897 del Gran Teatro del Liceu*.

3.3.3 Repertorial Organisation

The *Liceu* performed a contemporary repertory that included a wide range of theatrical genres alongside several other types of performance, including carnival balls and concerts.[125] The *Liceu* had to appeal to its audience to stay financially viable, and therefore the following methods of repertorial organisation indicated, to some extent, the demographics of the audience who attended between 1847 and 1860.

The *Liceu* was privately funded and therefore benefitted from greater freedom compared with the tight, formal repertorial restrictions faced by some state-supported institutions. However, like many nineteenth-century theatres, the repertory was still controlled by some regulations and conventions. One of the most important regulations concerned licencing: the government insisted there should only be one Italian opera house within the city, naturally contributing to competition.[126] What is interesting here, however, is that although both the *Liceu* and *Principal* tried to obtain this privilege, the State offered no final regulation in favour of either theatre.[127] The rivalry was suppressed because both the *Liceu* and the *Principal* were managed by Figueras from the 1850/51 season onwards.[128] Further regulations were dictated by a historic royal order from 1799, which prohibited Spanish theatres from presenting works that were not performed in Castilian and plays not performed by national artists.[129] However, Barcelona refused to adhere to this ruling and instead performed works by foreign and local composers, few of which were performed in Castilian. Barcelona was able to present foreign works, and particularly Italian traditions, largely because of regional privileges.[130]

The *Liceu* had a high frequency of performances during this period, mostly resulting from multiple works performed per day.[131] Entertainment at the *Liceu* usually began between 18:00 and 20:30, lasted about three hours – a reduction from the typical four-hour performances of the eighteenth century – and finished before the city gates closed;[132] this facilitiated multiple works contributing to an extended evening of entertainment. Long works could lead to negative

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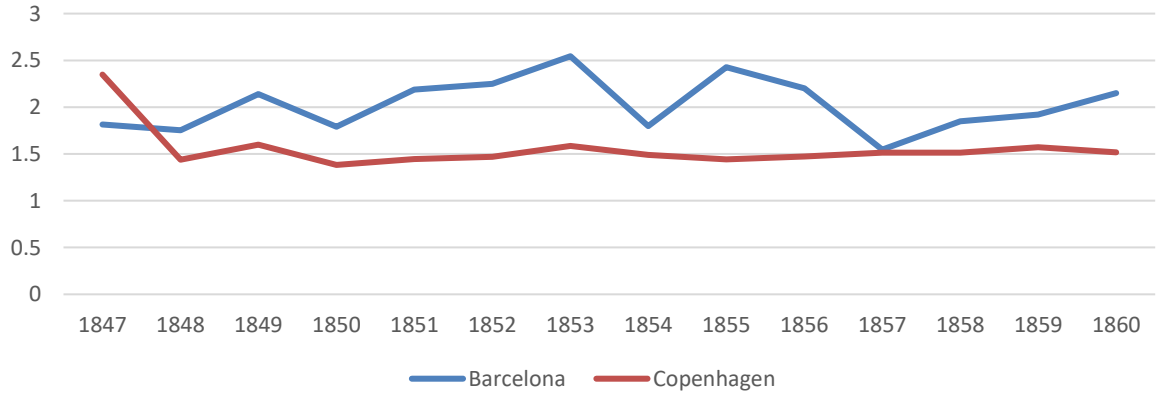
[125] Nieden. 'Symmetries in Spaces.' Abstract.
[126] Theatrical licensing in Barcelona was a softer version of the strict licensing that controlled nineteenth-century Parisian theatres. See Mark Everist. 'The Music of Power: Parisian Opera and the Politics of Genre, 1806–1864.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 67 No. 3 (Fall 2014).
[127] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 22.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Document 'Instrucción para el arreglo de Teatros y Compañías Cómicas de estos Reynos fuera de los Reynos', Madrid, March 2, 1801., in Rodicio. 'Rossini: la recepción de su obra en España.' 39.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Performance frequency has been calculated by dividing the number of performances by the number of days on which there were performances at the *Liceu*.
[132] Subías. 'Nineteenth-century Spanish theatre.' 228-229.

reactions from the public explaining why multiple works were performed in an evening, rather than one long work.[133] On a Sunday – when more people could attend the theatre – there were also additional afternoon performances filling the traditional matinee slot.

Between 1847 and 1860, the frequency of performance at the *Liceu* was inconsistent: 1854 had a low of almost 370 performances compared with a high in 1849 of over 710 performances, with most years fluctuating between 400 and 500 performances. The *Kongelige Teater*, by comparison, had a more consistent, albeit lower, performance frequency: a high of almost 400 performances in 1856 contrasted with a low of just under 290 in 1848. Throughout the period there were an average of two performances per day at the *Liceu*: the lowest performance rate per day was 1.546 in 1857 compared with a high of 2.544 in 1853. This was considerably higher than at the *Kongelige Teater*; the average number of performances per day in the same period was 1.538, with a low of 1.383 in 1850 and a high of 2.348 in 1847. A graph showing the comparative average performances per day at both institutions is shown in figure 2. The higher performance frequency at the *Liceu* demonstrates a greater demand for performances, suggesting a larger audience. This also stemmed from the private nature of the *Liceu*; the theatre was financially independent and could generate a higher income with more performances.

Fig.2. Comparative performances per day at the *Liceu* and the *Kongelige Teater* between 1847 and 1860.

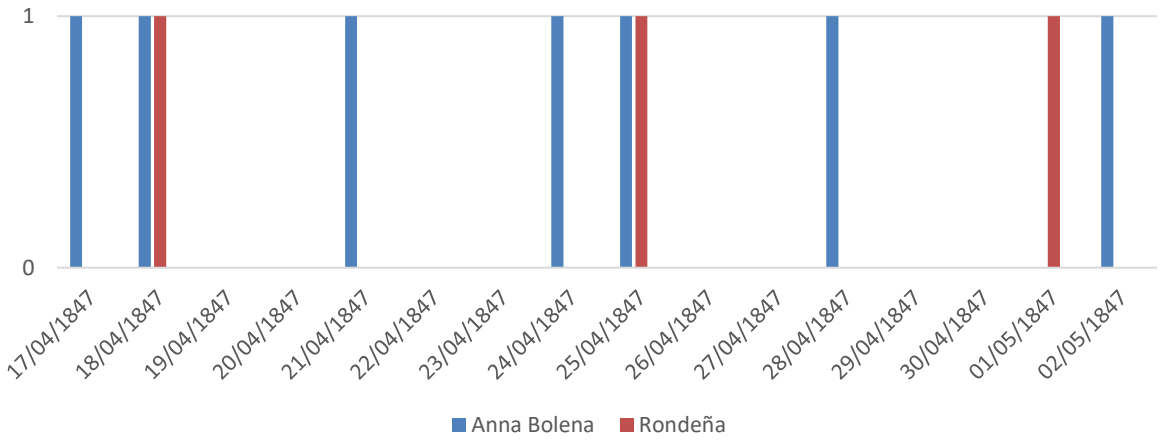


Performances at the *Liceu* were organised in an alternating pattern rather than extended performance runs. This can be identified by tracking several works within the repertory, as shown by figure 3, which visualises how performances of Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* alternated with José Jurch's (1800-1901) *La rondeña* (1847) during a few weeks in April and May 1847. This approximate, alternating pattern exemplified the presentation of theatrical works at the *Liceu*.

[133] Cortés. 'Arnaldo di Erill.' 508.

This method of organisation was more expensive than a traditional performance run because companies and resources were in constant flux; this implies the *Liceu* was financially well-off.[134] However, the alternating programme of performances also demonstrated the desire for novelty held by nineteenth-century audiences.

Fig. 3. Performances of Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* and Jurch's *Rondeña* at the *Liceu* between 17th April and 2nd May 1847.



An evening of entertainment at the *Liceu* often involved several programmed works, one of the major factors contributing to the high frequency of performance during this period. A typical evening usually consisted of a musical introduction, a main work of three or more acts – usually a play, opera, or ballet, all of which were often performed with dance or musical numbers between acts –, a short, usually local, dance piece, and a one-act comedy. There are several examples of this model: on 7 April 1847, performances included Tomás Rodriguez Rubi's (1817-1890) three-act play, *Fortuna Contra Fortuna* (1846), a *Boleras* choreographed by Joan Camprubi (1825-?), and a one-act comedy, *El Peluquero en el Baile* (1850), by Antonio Maria Segovia (1808-1874).[135] Another example on the 29 June 1847 included performances of *Rondeña*, a ballet by Jurch, Joseph Bouchardy's (1810-1870) four-act play, *La Hermana del Carretero* (1845), Saverio Mercadante's (1795-1870) *Il Bravo* (1839), and a concert.[136]

Works at the *Liceu* were performed alongside acts or numbers from other works – often Italian operas – demonstrating continuity with entertainment offered in Spain throughout the previous two centuries.[137] The number and type of additional numbers/acts ultimately depended on the duration of the main programmed work. Only large-scale works, including opera or formal

[134] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 25.
[135] Tribó. *Annals 1847-1897 del Gran Teatro del Liceu*.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Subías. 'Nineteenth-century Spanish theatre.' 227.

ballet, did not include at least one additional work or number.[138] A good example was Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* – the first opera to be performed at the *Liceu* – usually performed as a stand-alone work.[139] On 8 July, Donizetti's *Parisina d'Este* (1833) was performed alongside the final aria from Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835) and violin improvisations on themes from Rossini's *Zelmira* (1822).[140] *Un Paseo a Bedlam, o La Reconciliación por la Locure* (1839), a one-act *Comédie-vaudeville* by Eugène Scribe (1791-1861) and Charles-Gaspard Delestre-Poirson (1790-1859), was performed on 13 July alongside the tenor aria from Act 2 of *Anna Bolena*, the introduction to *Parisina d'Este*, the rondo from *Lucia di Lammemoor*, the soprano arias from Giuseppe Verdi's (1813-1901) *Ernani* (1844) and *Nabucco* (1842), and the tenor duet from Saverio Mercadante's (1795-1870) *Il Bravo* (1839).[141] These additional performances exemplified how single musical numbers were performed alongside programmed works, increasing the spectacle and value of performances and attracting larger audiences, and demonstrated the prominence of Italian operatic traditions, even alongside non-Italian works.

A wide variety of works mirrored the high frequency of performances at the *Liceu*; a diverse range of theatrical genres were performed alongside forms of entertainment including masked balls, magic performances, and circus acts.[142] Carnival balls – dating back to the previous century – were common at the *Liceu*; the luxurious nature of the theatre, along with a growing demand for spectacles, facilitated the brilliance of these balls.[143] These were usually performed between January and March – the traditional Carnival period.[144] Magic comedies were also popular at the *Liceu* and were often performed in repeated seasons.[145] The multi-purpose venue reflected its private nature; the *Liceu* performed a wide range of entertainment because it lacked strict restrictions.

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[138] Ibid., 228.
[139] Tribó. *Annals 1847-1897 del Gran Teatro del Liceu*.
[140] Ibid., 40.
[141] Ibid., 39.
[142] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 22. For examples of other entertainment presented in Spanish theatres, see John E Varey. *Los títeres y otras diversiones populares de Madrid, 1758–1840: Estudio y documentos*. London: Tamesis, 1972.; Subías. 'Nineteenth-century Spanish theatre.' 227.
[143] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 23. For more about these carnival balls, see Aureli Capmany. *Un siglo de baile en Barcelona: Qué y dónde bailaban los barceloneses el siglo xix.* Barcelona: Librería Millá, 1947.; Josep Anselm Clavé I Josep Maria Torres. *El Carnaval de Barcelona en 1860.* Barcelona: Librería Española, 1860.; Francesc Curet. *Visions barcelonines, 1760-1860*, Vol. 4. Barcelona: Dalmau i Jover, 1957.; Alícia Daufí I Muñoz. ''El Público Aumentó la Gritería y Llegaron Algunos á Amenazar á los Músicos.' Estudi dels Balls de Màscares de Carnaval al Gran Teatre del Liceu (1863-1963).' *Revista Catalana de Musicologia* xiii (2020).
[144] Muñoz. 'El Público Aumentó la Gritería y Llegaron Algunos á Amenazar á los Músicos.' 217.
[145] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 23.

Alongside the performance of several theatrical genres and additional entertainment, and in common with many other organisations, concerts featuring celebrated musicians, referred to in the contemporary press as music academies,[146] were presented at the *Liceu*, usually towards the end of the season or during the summer.[147] Despite a historic limited concert tradition – concert cycles were rare except during Lent – the *Liceu* significantly contributed to concert life; at the start of this period, concerts were one of the main activities at the *Lice*u, usually performed as matinees on public holidays.[148] Liszt gave several recitals of *fantasies* and other operatic adaptations.[149]

Most concerts performed at the *Liceu* during this period consisted of a programme of unrelated acts based on operatic material. A typical concert programme was performed on 8 April 1847; works included Act IV of Verdi's *Ernani* and Act III of Donizetti's *Gemma di Vergy* (1834), alongside several numbers by Donizetti, Verdi, Fioravanti, and Obiols.[150] Featuring several prominent Italian singers, concerts at the *Liceu* further demonstrated the prominence of Italian opera in Barcelona and indicated the audience preference for Italian traditions.

The *Liceu* delivered its varied programmes through use of different companies and troupes that belonged to the same establishment. Each company at the *Liceu* specialised in their own genre: during any one season, therefore, there were separate companies responsible for opera, dance, spoken theatre, and *zarzuela*.[151] The division of genres between companies was particularly clear for dance: a separate dance troupe existed for formal ballet and national dance until 1851, after which they merged.[152] As well as several permanently employed companies, touring troupes had a significant presence at the *Liceu*. A touring French troupe was active in Barcelona in 1857: although they were predominantly based at the *Circus*, they performed at the *Liceu* on Mondays between February and May.[153] Their repertory consisted of works performed in French, including plays and *comedies vaudevilles*. Plays performed in French constituted almost 15% of all plays performed in 1857. In 1858, several troupes were active at the *Liceu*: a French

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[146] Cortés. 'Arnaldo di Erill.' 507.
[147] Subías. 'Nineteenth-century Spanish theatre.' 227.
[148] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 23.
[149] Ibid.
[150] The full concert programme included Act IV of Verdi's *Ernani*, Act III of Donizetti's *Gemma di Vergy*, the cavatina from Donizetti's *Olivo e Pasquale* (1827), the duet from Donizetti's *Maria Padilla* (1841), the duet, aria and a scene from Fioravanti's *Il ritorno di Columella* (1843), a number from Donizetti's *L'elisir d'amore* (1832), an aria from Verdi's *Nabucco* (1842), and a cavatina from Obiols' *Il regio imene*. Several prominent singers performed, including Fanny Salvini-Donatelli, Luigi Silingardi, Manuel Soler, Giovanni Battista Verger, Clarice Di Franco, Aquiles DI Franco, Adelaida Aleu-Cavallé, Emanuele Testa, and Amalia Brambilla-Verger, for whom this concert was a benefit. Tribó. *Annals 1847-1897 del Gran Teatro del Liceu*. 36.
[151] Subías. 'Nineteenth-century Spanish theatre.' 224.
[152] Bonnin-Arias. 'Spanish ballet school.' 10.
[153] *Almanaque del diario de Barcelona.* 57.

dramatic troupe, a Spanish declamation troupe, an Italian lyrical troupe, and a dance troupe all performed their own repertories.[154] A touring Florentine troupe performed a wide range of works from a variety of genres in 1860, including plays, ballets, and *Sarsuelas*.[155] The acceptance of these troupes demonstrated the willingness to accept foreign influences. More than this, however, the facilitation of performances by touring troupes indicated a cosmopolitan approach to theatre throughout this period.

Methods of repertorial organisation, including seasonal organisation, performance frequency, performance scheduling, companies and troupes, and the ways these contrasted or aligned with other theatres, contributed to a unique theatrical culture in Barcelona. Several important differences between Barcelona and the rest of Europe, including the wider range of performances including balls and additional dance performances, the more expensive method of alternating works, and the far higher performance frequency, further increased by many additional numbers/acts, demonstrated the individuality of theatre in Barcelona, prompted by the private nature of the institution. However, some aspects of repertorial organisation, including the range of touring troupes and companies, demonstrated the cosmopolitan influences that contributed to the formation of theatre during this period, a trend further reflected by the diverse repertory performed between 1847 and 1860.

Theatrical organisation at the *Gran Teatre del Liceu* reveals several important trends regarding the repertory performed between 1847 and 1860. The theatre had political connections: it emerged within a cultural movement dedicated to enhancing the cultural identity of Barcelona, and as such tried to extend theatre to new audiences, aligning with a repertorial shift intended to attract audiences from all social groups. Theatre and society were clearly linked throughout Europe but were particularly important in Barcelona as the *Liceu* was connected to the bourgeoisie.[156] The conception of the *Liceu* partly emerged from this social class; its construction, and the repertory it performed, therefore signalled the type of audience it wanted to attract. This, connected with financial independence, reflected changing social structures and emphasised the importance of the increasingly political middle class. The organisation of entertainment at the *Liceu*, and particularly the production schedule, further reflected the intended audience and their tastes. A major trend emerging from a consideration of theatrical organisation was the dominance of Italian traditions. These were identified at every theatre in Barcelona, but most particularly the

[154] The members of these companies are outlined in *Almanaque del diario de Barcelona.* 57-61.
[155] Tribó. *Annals 1847-1897*. 144.
[156] Allwood. 'The Gran Teatre del Liceu.' 142.

Liceu; the inclusion of additional Italian opera numbers alongside other works, the architecture of the *Liceu*, which adhered to the *teatro all'italiana* form, and the inclusion of high-profile Italian singers within concerts, all indicated the importance of Italian culture in Barcelona. The private establishment and funding of the institution and the organisation of performances had a significant impact on the repertory performed at the *Liceu* between 1847 and 1860.

3.4 Home and Abroad: The Politics of Genre in Barcelona and Copenhagen

The *Liceu* brought together a diverse range of genres and theatrical spectacles which formed a varied repertory that emphasised several prevalent trends, preferences, and political ideas;[157] it was not designed to present opera or any other single genre. The genres performed at the *Liceu* between 1847 and 1860 reveal important factors that controlled not only which works were performed, but also the ways in which they were presented, and the political and cultural urges that contributed to these performance methods. These factors, combined with the methods of theatrical organisation and contemporary political trends previously discussed, contribute to a deeper understanding of how repertory was, to some extent, influenced by political ideas. The history of theatre in nineteenth-century Spain, and throughout Europe, has traditionally been recounted through a small number of canonic works. However, this approach often obscures the realities of theatre and the views held by contemporary audiences.[158] Instead, a more thorough repertorial analysis depicts the cosmopolitan nature of theatre at the *Liceu* between 1847 and 1860; the presentation of a several theatrical genres and styles, albeit with a clear preference for Italian culture, resulted from underlying political motivations.

A comparative approach allows for a consideration of how two peripheral cities organised their repertory. Barcelona and Copenhagen each had a different approach to repertorial presentation, most obviously reflected by the predominant genre at each institution. However, there were similarities; dance genres formed a major part of the repertory at both theatres, for example. These points, and several others, reveal the diversity of theatre in two peripheral cities between 1847 and 1860, which, combined with the comparison in Chapter Two, allows extrapolation to other nineteenth-century cities.

The interweaving genres performed at the *Liceu* throughout this period reflected multiple theatrical influences. Plays were the most highly performed works throughout this period;

[157] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 20.
[158] Gies. *The Theatre in Nineteenth Century Spain*. 1.

performances fluctuated between 40% and 50% of the repertory for most of the period. Dance performances were the second most performed type of work at the *Liceu*, at least for the first half of this period; they were most successful in 1847, constituting almost 35% of the repertory. Despite a small decline, dance performances remained consistently between 20% and 30% of the repertory until 1854, before a significant decline to around 10% in 1856. Performances increased again at the end of this period and reached 25% of the repertory in 1860. Italian opera was the second most performed genre at the *Liceu* between 1855 and 1859. Only a few years prior, however – between 1850 and 1853 – the genre constituted less than 10% of the repertory. Other genres were also present in the Barcelona repertory – including several French genres and German opera – although none reached the same level of success as Italian opera. The lack of consistency in generic presentation led to a diverse repertory, reflecting some of the motivations that inspired the creation of the *Liceu*; the institution was designed to improve theatre, through increasing repertory diversity and widening access.

The inaugural programme at the *Liceu* on 4 April 1847, repeated in full the following day as was customary,[159] was a small-scale representation of the repertory performed throughout the period, and demonstrated the wide range of works that would be performed at the institution in the following years: the programme included a variety of spoken theatre, dance, and music. The evening began with an overture by José Melchor Gomis (1791-1836), the drama *Don Fernando de Antequera* (1847) by Ventura de la Vega (1807-1865), *La Rondeta,* a dance to music composed by Jurch, and *Il regio imene* (1847), an Italian celebratory inaugural cantata by Obiols which replaced the traditional operatic work that would typically be included in an inaugural performance.[160]

The inaugural programme at the *Liceu*, and the presentation of these works, demonstrated important trends present in Barcelona between 1847 and 1860.[161] Firstly, most of the scores used in the inauguration followed an Italian style, demonstrating the microcosmic nature of the inauguration.[162] Italian influence also extended to language; Obiols' cantata was performed in Italian although the original text was Catalan by local author Joan Cortada (1805-1868).[163] This demonstrates how the local culture, including locally created works, coexisted with the dominant Italian culture that was preferred in Barcelona. The inclusion of Obiols' cantata in the inauguration is significant: the cantata genre had a minor presence at the *Liceu* constituting less than 1% of the repertory. Therefore, its inclusion in the programme suggests, firstly, that

[159] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 19.
[160] Ibid., 17-18.
[161] Ibid., 17.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Ibid., 18.

Obiols, as musical director of the *Liceu*, demonstrated his influence and chose his own work for performance, secondly, that there were clear links between Italian and Catalan culture, thirdly, that despite tensions between Catalan and Spanish culture, both were present within the repertory of the *Liceu*, and finally, that genre was less significant than style as a factor influencing repertorial choice.

3.4.1 Local Genres

The drive towards political and cultural autonomy in Catalunya contributed to a wide range of local genres at the *Liceu*. Although locally created plays were one important part of the repertory, they were not performed in isolation and several other local genres were also performed. Dance performances, and particularly local dance styles adapted for the stage, played an important role in the repertory; many days included some form of dance within the programme. *Zarzuela* was another important genre that promoted local style; these works were successful because of their long history in Spain and Barcelona and their conformity to the preferred local style.

A significant focus within mid-nineteenth century Spanish theatre was the creation of national opera.[164] This was not unique to Spain or Catalunya: national opera was considered an excellent way of portraying national character[165] and therefore various national opera genres were created throughout Europe during the nineteenth century. The promotion of local opera resulted, at least in part, from a desire to escape Italian hegemony.[166] However, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, through-composed opera failed to attract Spanish audiences, and, compared with other genres that combined speech and song, the *Zarzuela* genre was poorly received.[167]

National opera enjoyed limited success at the *Liceu* in this period; works were usually reserved for the end of a season and were poorly received.[168] In 1854, the *Liceu* presented the first Catalan opera, *La figlia del deserto* (1854), composed by José Freixas (?-1879). This was a significant failure and was subsequently withdrawn after its second performance.[169] Despite its description as the first Catalan opera, this work followed an Italian style and was written in Italian, showing the preference for Italian language and the connections between Italian and Catalan

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[164] Lamas. 'Zarzuela.' 199. For more on the Zarzuela, see María Encina Cortizo and Michela Niccolai eds. *Singing Speech and Speaking Melodies: Minor Forms of Musical Theatre in the 19th and 19th Century*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2021.
[165] Lamas. 'Zarzuela.' 199.
[166] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 29.
[167] Stein. 'Opera and the Spanish Political Agenda.' 125.
[168] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 30. Cortés. 'Arnaldo di Erill.' 505, 511.
[169] Ibid., 27.

culture, but contrasting with the supposed ideals of national opera.[170] The Barcelona premiere of Temistocles Solera's (1815-1878) *La hermana de Pelayo* (1853), a work acknowledged to have contributed to the creation of Spanish opera, despite the composers' Italian background, greater success as a librettist, and the Italian style of the work, was criticised for a lack of inventiveness and inspiration, ultimately contributing to Solera's return to Italy.[171]

Creating national opera was an important factor influencing the inclusion of *zarzuelas* in the *Liceu* repertory: despite limited progress towards the creation of national opera, other Spanish genres, including *Zarzuela*, have been considered stepping-stones towards achieving this goal.[172] This, however, is dismissive and downplays the significance of quasi-operatic genres that were an important part of the local repertory. In fact, the appropriateness of through-composed opera as a national genre has been questioned, largely because of its elite associations;[173] the promotion of local culture was linked with liberal policies that tried to extend theatre to a wider audience rather than maintaining the status quo. Popular genres like *Zarzuela* were more significant for local audiences, and therefore for local culture – at the start of this period, *zarzuelas* were performed at the *Liceu* instead of local operas –[174] than any attempts to create a national opera. The *zarzuela* genre contributed to a cultural movement that transformed popular musical theatre into mass entertainment and was therefore well suited to the *Liceu.* [175]

The *Zarzuela*, which existed long before the establishment of the *Liceu*,[176] was an integral genre within the repertory of nineteenth-century Barcelona. *Zarzuelas* shared stylistic similarities with other genres that included spoken dialogue; they merged of song, recitative, and dance.[177] *Zarzuelas* can be subdivided by era into two main forms: Baroque (1630-1760), which were formed around Italian conventions, and Romantic (1850-1950). However, at the start of the nineteenth century, the *Zarzuela* was an umbrella term for a wide range of subgenres.[178] The *zarzuelas* performed during this period can be further divided into two main subgenres: *género grande* and *género chico*. The latter were aimed at a wider audience and were shorter than *género grande* which could last up to four hours. Despite this range of subgenres and styles,

[170] Ibid., 29.
[171] Ibid., 26.
[172] Stein. 'Opera and the Spanish Political Agenda.' 125.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 27.
[175] Lamas. 'Zarzuela.' 194.
[176] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 4.
[177] Maria M. Delgado and David T. Gies eds. 'Introduction.' In *A History of Theatre in Spain*. 12-13.
[178] These genres included *zarzuela grande* (large scale zarzuela), *sainete lírcio* (lyric one-act farce), *astracán* (zany farce), *jugete cómico* (comic trinket), and *comedia lírica* (lyric comedy).

several unifying features included alternating speech and song, a local language, Catalan themes, and popular folk songs,[179] each of which were important features of many national opera genres.

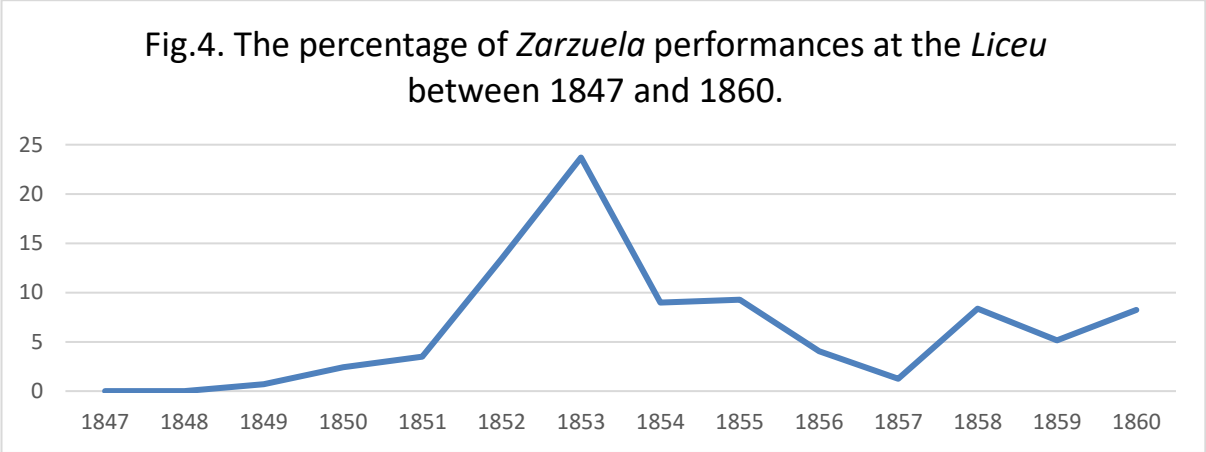
Zarzuelas were a clear indication of the complex relationship between genre and national/regional identity. Spanish war successes, and therefore Spanish nationalism, in the final years of this period, were celebrated by the creation of *zarzuelas*, regardless of the language used for the work or the composers' heritage. *A L'Africa, Minyions* (1859), composed by Francesc Porcell (1813-1890) to a libretto written by José Antoni Ferrer Fernández (1833-1871), recounted the events and Spanish successes during The African War (1859-1860),[180] and three later *zarzuelas* – *Ja Hi Van a L'Africa*, *Ja Tornen!*, and *Minyons, Ja hi Som!* – on the same subject by the same individuals, were composed after the success of the first. The promotion of Spanish political success, combined with Catalan style and heritage, demonstrated the complex relationships between Spanish and Catalan identities.

Zarzuelas, although successful at the *Liceu*, were inconsistently presented throughout this period. Performances first occurred in 1850 – aligning with a period of revival led by several Spanish composers – and were present every year after, as shown in figure 4. The first significant *Zarzuela* season occurred in 1852/53; performances peaked in 1853, constituting around 25% of the repertory. Notwithstanding this exception, performances remained below 10% of the repertory for the rest of the period. A further increase towards the end of this period, prompted by political events, led to greater success that was sustained after this period. Contrasting with the ephemeral nature of plays, musically sophisticated genres, including some *zarzuelas*, had a longer performance life at the *Liceu*, explaining their continued success.[181]

Z*arzuelas* had a conflicting reception in the 1850s and 60s. They were not overly popular, at least with the elite class, because of the long-standing belief that they represented poor taste.[182] This originated from a deep-rooted dislike, that started during the Baroque era and was cemented by the elite class in the nineteenth century, for popular musical theatre genres.[183] This negative reception was promoted by prominent institutions, academies, and individuals; one of the best-known *Zarzuela* composers, Emilio Arrieta (1821-1894), avoided negative connotations by categorising his works as Spanish comic operas.[184] The negative reception contrasted with

[179] Lamas. 'Zarzuela.' 193-194.
[180] This was known as the *Guerra de África* (African War) in Spain, but elsewhere was known as the Hispano-Moroccan War, the Spanish-Moroccan War, the First Moroccan War, or the Tetuán War. Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 31.
[181] Subías. 'Nineteenth-century Spanish theatre.' 231.
[182] Delgado and Gies. 'Introduction.' 13.
[183] Lamas. 'Zarzuela.' 194.
[184] Ibid.

popular European spoken dialogue counterparts, including Italian *opera buffa*, French *opéra comique*, and German *Singspiele*.[185]



A *zarzuela* revival in the 1850s and 1860s, led by a group of Spanish writers including Francisco Barbieri (1823-1894) and Joaquín Gaztambide (1822-1870), aligned with the emergence of the genre at the *Liceu*. These new works resembled historic *zarzuela*s: sung solo numbers and choruses were combined with spoken scenes. Idioms and popular local slang phrases were common within libretti, even though they were often based on original Spanish texts. One of the first performances was Rafael Hernando's (1822-1888) *El Duende* (1850), with a libretto by Luis Olona (1823-1863). This work was so well-received that a sequel with the same title was created a year later.[186] One factor contributing to the *Zarzuela* revival was its resistance to the dominance of foreign traditions: *zarzuelas* were considered an escape from the dominating foreign, and particularly Italian, traditions. Although this revival was predominantly Spanish, the similarities between regional varieties and the links between Spanish and Catalan culture was enough for the works to be accepted and performed in Barcelona.

Zarzuelas were an excellent example of generic fluidity. They have been likened to plays; *zarzuelas* only required a few additional instrumentalists and actors with some singing ability.[187] One major difference, however, regarded music. *Zarzuelas* were lyrical-dramatic works that alternated spoken and sung scenes, often incorporating popular and operatic songs and dance. However, musical numbers which had a dramatic purpose – those incorporated into the plot of the work – contrasted with the incidental music in plays. This more closely aligned with popular European spoken dialogue opera. The *Zarzuela* genre also reflected Italian influences; Italian

[185] Ibid.
[186] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 2.
[187] Ibid., 4.

conventions including the overture, a combination of recitative and arias, and the traditional *da capo* aria structure, were important features of early *zarzuelas*.[188]

3.4.2 Dance and Ballet

Although some local dances were an obvious indication of local culture, many dance styles were performed at the *Liceu* as part of the movement to promote local culture. Many dance performances, and particularly local dances, were regularly performed in-between large-scale works. The first indication of the importance of dance in Barcelona during this period was the inclusion of Jurch's *La rondeña* in the inaugural programme on 4 April 1847, followed by the first French classical ballet on 25 May 1847: Adolphe Adam's (1803-1856) *Giselle* (1841).[189] These early performances were followed by an extensive dance repertory throughout the period.

Although classical ballet[190] typically attracted upper-class audiences because of long-standing traditions,[191] the presence and success of the genre at the *Liceu* was also an indication of the power and aesthetic tastes of the bourgeoisie; classical ballet enjoyed greater popularity than opera in Barcelona.[192] Audiences admired spectacles, which, facilitated by advances in technological stagecraft, contributed to the presentation of complex French romantic ballets.[193] The *Liceu* was an important venue for the development of classical ballet; the dance company and training centre contributed to the establishment of a Spanish ballet school in the early nineteenth century, further supported by the arrival of leading European dancers.[194] These developments helped to align Spanish ballet with the dance traditions of other leading theatres, in terms of both choreographic traditions and the performance of new works shortly after their premieres.[195]

The development of classical ballet was, however, restricted by several factors: persistent identity conflicts and financial difficulties stunted the development of Spanish ballet.[196] The

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[188] Lamas. 'Zarzuela.' 196.
[189] Tribó. *Annals 1847-1897.* 39.
[190] 'Academic ballet', used by Bonnin-Arias, is loosely synonymous with classical ballet or the genre of theatre dance that evolved from 16th and 17th century court ballets, later refined through French, Italian, and Russian national schools. Academic ballet was one manifestation of high culture and was enjoyed by the elite. This does not align with the inclusive ideology of the *Liceu*, however. I instead use 'classical ballet' to differentiate between this and local dance forms. 'Academic dance.' *Oxford Reference*. Accessed 13 October 2021. https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095345613.) Bonnin-Arias. 'Spanish ballet school.'
[191] Bonnin-Arias. 'Spanish ballet school.' 2.
[192] Ibid., 8.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Other important Spanish venues for classical ballet were the *Teatro del Circo* and the *Teatro Real*, both of which had their own companies and training centres. Ibid., 7.
[195] Ibid., 8.
[196] Ibid., 10.

identity conflicts, initially sparked by the conflicts with France at the start of the century, led to a desire for local genres.[197] Furthermore, the financial costs of presenting spectacles including classical ballet, in addition to the costs of employing and retaining foreign artists – because the performance of French ballet was restricted to French artists – may have had a negative impact on the development of classical ballet.[198]

Over 200 local dance styles were recognised in Catalunya alone[199] although not all were performed at the *Liceu*. The most popular dance style in 1847, the *boleras*, was performed in three different versions: *Boleras* (three performances), *Boleras del Capricho* (two performances), and *Boleras Robadas* (seven performances). The style emerged in Spain in the late eighteenth century and was popular in the court and theatres in the nineteenth century. It derived from the *seguidilla* (eleven performances in 1847); the rhythmic accompaniment and movements were modified to create the moderate tempo and triple meter of the *boleras*. The *seguidilla* also emerged from other dance forms including the *fandango*, *polo*, *tirana*, and *cachucha*, and ultimately diverged into several forms itself. The *seguildilla manchego*, which later became the *boleras*, was one of the most prominent styles: it originated from South-East Castile and was the earliest and most influential form of *seguidilla*.[200] Other dances performed at the *Liceu* include the *Malagueña*, a flamenco-style dance that evolved from the *fandango*,[201] the *Zapateado*, a rhythmic, flamenco-style dance, and the *Tarantella*, an Italian folkdance characterised by a frenzy of energy.[202] A popular Catalan folkdance was the energetic *Jota Aragonese*, performed in most years during this period and particularly popular in 1847 and 1848. Other forms of the *jota* were also performed, including the *Jota Valencia* and the *Jota Verbena*. Many of these styles were traditional folkdances that required some modification for the stage. Theatrical versions often added regional costumes with castanet accompaniment, and dances usually performed by a solo

[197] Ibid.
[198] Ibid., 11.
[199] Arcadio de Larrea Palacín, revised by Martin Cunningham and Ramón Pelinski, 'Dance and instrumental music.' In Robert Stevenson, Maricarmen Gómez, Louise K. Stein, Albert Recasens, Belen Perez Castillo, Josep i Martí i Perez, Martin Cunningham, Ramón Pelinski, Jaume Aiats, Sílvia Martínez García, and Arcadio de Larrea Palacín. 'Spain.' *Grove Music Online*, 2001, Accessed 5 October 2021. https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040115
[200] Jack Sage and Susana Friedmann, 'Seguidilla', *Grove Music Online*, 2001, Accessed 5 October 2021, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000025331
[201] Craig H Russell, 'Malagueña', *Grove Music Online*, 2001, Accessed 5 October 2021, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000017519
[202] Erich Schwandt, 'Tarantella', *Grove Music Online*, 2001, Accessed 5 October 2021, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000027507

couple, including the *boleras*, were performed on stage by four to eight couples which increased the spectacle.[203]

Classical ballet and local dance styles combined were most successful in 1847, as shown in figure 5, but slowly declined throughout the period. While local dance consistently declined throughout the period, performances of classical ballet increased at the end of the period, almost reaching the same level as in 1847. This contrasted with local dances which declined to only 3% of the repertory in 1860. This reflects the diversifying repertory that by the end of the period included a wider range of foreign genres. Overall, classical ballet was more highly performed at the *Liceu*, excepting 1856 and 1858 when the genre dipped below local dance performances.

Fig.5. Classical ballet and local dance performances in the repertory of the *Liceu* between 1847 and 1860.

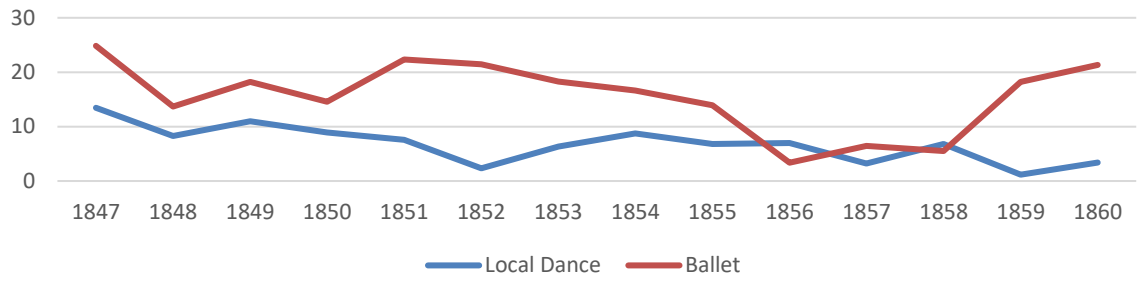
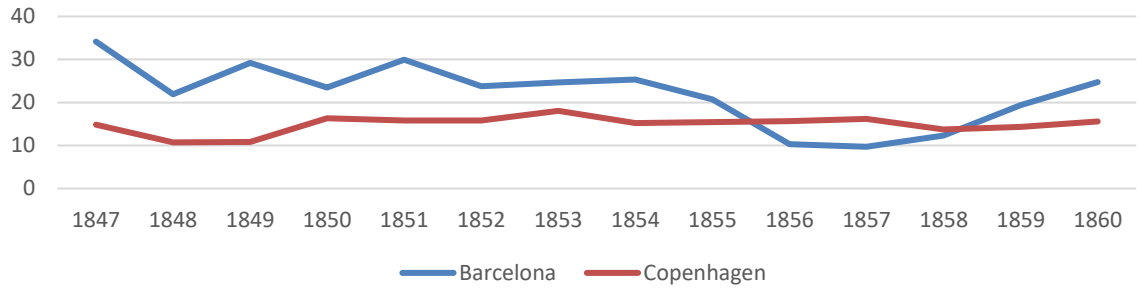


Fig.6. Dance performances in the repertory of the *Liceu* and the *Kongelige Teater* between 1847 and 1860.



Dance performances – classical ballet and local dance performances are combined to enable a direct comparison – had a similar presentation at both the *Liceu* and the *Kongelige Teater*, as shown in figure 6. Although there were more dance performances at the *Liceu*, these dropped significantly between 1856 and 1858. There was greater variance at the *Liceu*, suggesting that

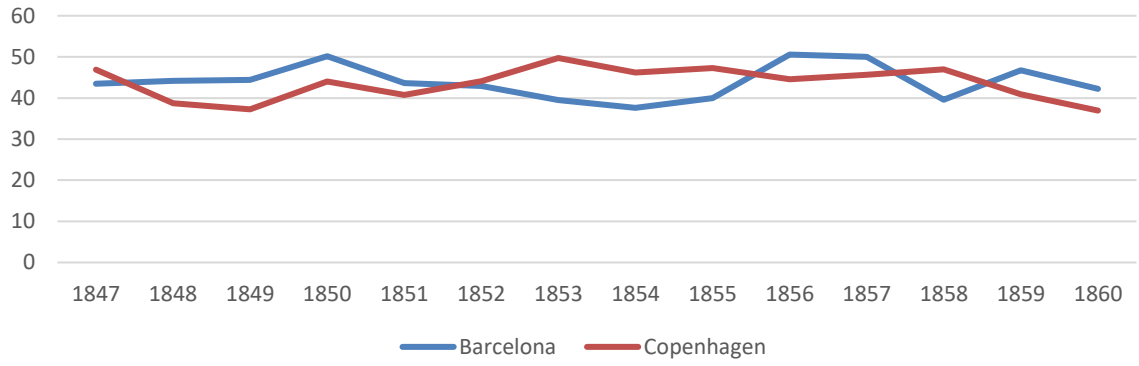
[203] Willi Kahl and Israel J. Katz., 'Bolero', *Grove Music Online*, 2001, Accessed 5 October 2021, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000003444

dance performances relied on the success or failure of other genres; the fluctuations in Barcelona contrasted significantly with the more consistent rate of performance at the *Kongelige Teater*.

Plays were prominent throughout this period; in most years they dominated the repertory by a considerable margin and were always the most highly performed work. At least 40% of the repertory in every year of this period were plays, increasing to 50% in 1850, 1856, and 1857. Unlike other genres performed in this period, plays had a consistent presentation and did not considerably fluctuate throughout the period.

The presentation of plays was similar at the *Liceu* and the *Kongelige Teater*; performances were consistent in both cities and did not significantly change because of the success or failure of other genres. Plays constituted between 40% and 50% of the repertory in both cities, as shown in figure 7. This, however, contrasted with the presentation of plays at the start of the nineteenth century; there was a change from largely spoken drama to a more equal mix of lyric and spoken works. However, this decline slowed by the period studied in this chapter, largely because the repertory was already saturated with musical genres.

Fig.7. The percentage of plays performed at the *Liceu* and the *Kongelige Teater* between 1847 and 1860.



Local plays were popular for several reasons. Firstly, plays – and especially plays created locally – required fewer resources and were therefore cheaper to perform. At the *Liceu*, the musical numbers included within plays were performed by a small orchestra formed of a few instrumentalists.[204] This was cheaper than assembling the full orchestra required for some musically sophisticated genres. As a self-funded institution, cost was an important factor for repertorial choice. A constant demand for new works encouraged the production and performance of plays throughout this period. However, this demand also contributed to the ephemeral nature of most plays; works had a short life in the repertory with some only receiving

[204] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 4.

one performance before a later revival.[205] This was not unique to the *Liceu*, however; throughout Europe, apart from a few exceptional works, plays had a limited run before their removal from the repertory. Therefore, the success of plays, in every year of this period, relied on the constant production of a wide range of new plays. Furthermore, local plays usually reflected important, relatable issues: many plays featured plots and characters centred around familiar, historical events.[206] Local plays, many of which were written during the Catalan renaissance, reflected the political views held by Catalan citizens, contributing to their inevitable success.

The presence and success of several local genres, including some opera, *sarsuelas*, several dance forms, classical ballet, and plays, all reflected local culture. However, these genres were not simply a manifestation of the Catalan desire for political and cultural autonomy; even without considering the foreign genres performed at the *Liceu* during this period, these local genres demonstrate several foreign influences. Italian trends were included in some dance traditions as well as in the *sarsuela* genre, and French traditions, despite hostility, were observed in classical ballet. Spanish traditions were also identified in some Spanish *zarzuelas*.

3.4.3 Foreign Genres

The presence of several foreign genres in the repertory of the *Gran Teatre del Liceu* between 1847 and 1860 demonstrated important trends: the dominance of Italian opera, the popularity of individual works contributing to the success of an entire genre, and the ways in which some foreign genres were so ingrained in the local culture that they were sometimes received as local. Most significant were the ways in which local and foreign genres coexisted within the repertory; this was particularly significant in Barcelona because they were often performed as part of the same programme. This demonstrated the cosmopolitan nature of theatre at the *Liceu* between 1847 and 1860, particularly because many of these foreign genres, works, and influences were politically motivated to develop cultural movements within the city.

Italian opera had an extensive history in Barcelona, Catalunya, and Spain; Italian influences dated back to the 1600s when sung recitative was introduced to Spanish genres.[207] More immediately, though, Italian influences stemmed from Rossini's presence and success in the first few decades of the nineteenth century.[208] For many years, Italian culture in Spain *was*

[205] Subías. 'Nineteenth-century Spanish theatre.' 231.
[206] Cortés. 'Arnaldo di Erill.' 515-516.
[207] Stein. 'Opera and the Spanish Political Agenda.' 127.
[208] Rossini is the most represented foreign composer in the Catalan archives. Rodicio. 'Rossini: la recepción de su obra en España.' 41.

Rossini.[209] His operas were first performed in Barcelona in 1815:[210] performances in theatres, salons, and cafes, including the Spanish premiere of *L'italiana in Algeri* (1813) at the *Teatre Principal* in 1815 – the first opera composed by Rossini to be performed in Barcelona – partly resulted from his success throughout Europe.[211] Barcelona had a significant Italian tradition throughout the nineteenth century, far exceeding that of Madrid: many of Rossini's works were performed in Barcelona before the Spanish capital. Twenty-six of Rossini's operas were performed in Barcelona, some even before they were performed in Paris, including *L'italiana* performed in 1815 and *Il Barbiere* (1816) performed in 1818 – these performances were therefore the first away from the Italian Peninsula.[212] The arrival of Rossini's works, performed in Castilian until 1821 and then in Italian,[213] filled a significant gap for lyrical theatre within the local repertory. This not only ensured his lasting success, but also the continued success of Italian opera in Barcelona.

Five Italian operas were performed at the *Liceu* before the end of July 1847.[214] The historic presence of these operas – the first four had been performed in Barcelona before the establishment of the *Liceu* – demonstrated existing connections between Italian opera and Catalan theatre. The inclusion of five prominent Italian operas, by three important Italian opera composers, at the start of the *Liceu's* first season set an important precedent, to some extent, for the prevalence of Italian opera throughout the period and demonstrated the important role Barcelona played in the Italian cultural sphere and the dissemination of Italian opera.[215]

While Italian opera was generally well received by contemporary audiences, Rossini was hyperbolically presented in the press, much like his reception throughout Europe. This criticism was both positive and negative: while he was described as a universal genius,[216] Rossini was also likened to a disturbing element whose works were seen as an invasion.[217] Critical opinions first

[209] 'Por muchos arios y hasta avanzado el siglo XIX, hablar de italianismo en España es hacerlo de Rossini.' Ibid., 55.
[210] Ibid., 39-40.
[211] Ibid., 38-39.
[212] Ibid., 41.
[213] Ibid., 39, 41.
[214] These five operas were: Donizetti's *Anna Bolena* (1830), performed on 17th April 1847, Verdi's *I Due Foscari* (1844), on 12th May 1847, Mercadante's *Il Bravo* (1839) on 29th May 1847, Donizetti's *Parisina d'Este* (1833) on 26th June 1847, and Verdi's Giovanna d'Arco (1845) on 28th July 1847. Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 19-20.
[215] Nieden. 'Symmetries in Spaces.' 324.
[216] '*…es un genio universal*.' This quote originates from a brief biography published in 1872 which highlights the importance of Rossini in nineteenth-century Spain. However, although this directly relates to Rossini's presence in Spain, he also received similar critical responses elsewhere in Europe. Rodicio. 'Rossini: la recepción de su obra en España.' 36.
[217] This aligned with elsewhere in Europe: in Dresden, Rossini was likened to a fever or disease. Rodicio. 'Rossini: la recepción de su obra en España.' 40.

emerged in the late 1820s, mostly regarding a lack of novelty.[218] Criticism was also motivated by the growing national feeling in Barcelona.[219]

Italian opera was perhaps the most significant foreign genre performed at the *Liceu*; although inconsistently presented throughout the period, Italian opera was successful between 1847 and 1860. Until 1848, the genre constituted around 20% of the repertory, declining to significant low point of only 7% in 1853, before increasing to a peak of 25% in 1858, as shown in figure 8. Italian opera was the most highly performed operatic genre at the *Liceu* and maintained this status throughout the period.

Fig.8. The percentage of Italian opera performances at the *Liceu* between 1847 and 1860.

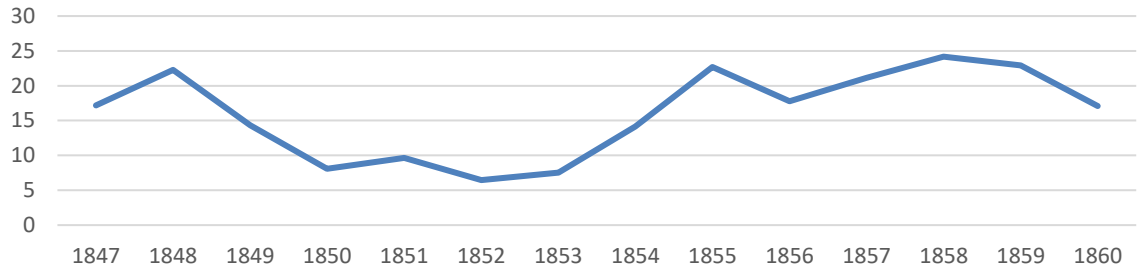
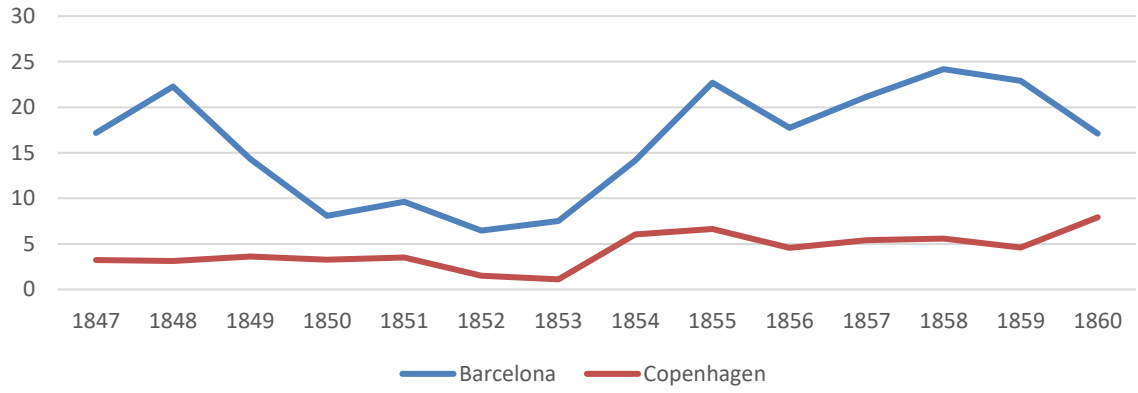


Fig.9. Italian opera performances in the repertory of the *Liceu* and the *Kongelige Teater* between 1847 and 1860.



The presence of Italian opera at the *Liceu* contrasted the *Kongelige Teater*; Italian opera was more successful at the *Liceu* for the entire period, as shown in figure 9. However, the sustained dip in performances at the *Liceu* between 1849 and 1854 also aligned with the lowest point at the *Kongelige Teater*, although this had no obvious cause. Although performances of

[218] Ibid., 50.
[219] Ibid.

Italian opera in Copenhagen remained consistent, with a variance of only 7%, its presence at the *Liceu* was more varied, ranging from just over 5% in 1852 to around 25% in 1858.

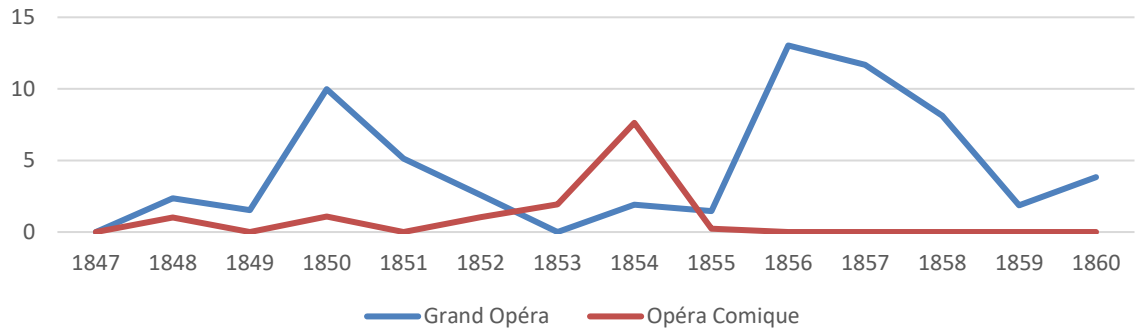
Historic connections between Barcelona and Italian opera were one major cause of the success of the genre; preserving and maintaining traditions was an important priority throughout the nineteenth century. However, the desire for novelty also contributed to the success of Italian opera; many Italian operas were produced quickly and attracted new audiences. Italian operas also attracted audiences because of their brevity and frequent set changes. These stylistic elements ensured the genre was well-suited to the *Liceu*; a substantial theatre was needed accommodate the large audiences attracted to Italian opera performances.[220]

Despite deeply rooted conflicts with French politics at the start of the nineteenth century, several French genres were performed at the *Liceu* between 1847 and 1860. These included *opéra comique*, *grand opéra*, *Comédie-vaudeville*, and *opérette*.[221] However, these genres were inconsistent during the period, demonstrating the lack of significant French traditions at the *Liceu*. Historically, French theatre had a limited presence in Barcelona: *opéra comique* first arrived in 1802 as part of a royal visit but received a poor welcome.[222] The lack of French performances during this period partly originated from this poor reception, ongoing hostility towards French culture, and the preference for Italian theatre that contributed to a lack of interest in French traditions. This was reflected in the performance of French works: an Italian translation was

[220] Nieden. 'Symmetries in Spaces.' 324.
[221] *Comédie-vaudeville* and *opérette* had little success in this period and have therefore been omitted from the following analysis. There were only four *comédie-vaudeville* performances in this period: one each in 1847 and 1848 and two in 1857. All were by Eugène Scribe (1791-1861): *Philippe* (1830) was performed in 1847, 1848 and once in 1857, and *La Pensionnaire Mariee* (1835) was performed once in 1857. Only one *opérette* was performed in this period: Jacques Offenbach's (1819-1880) *Les Deux Aveugles* (1855), performed in 1860.
[222] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 9.

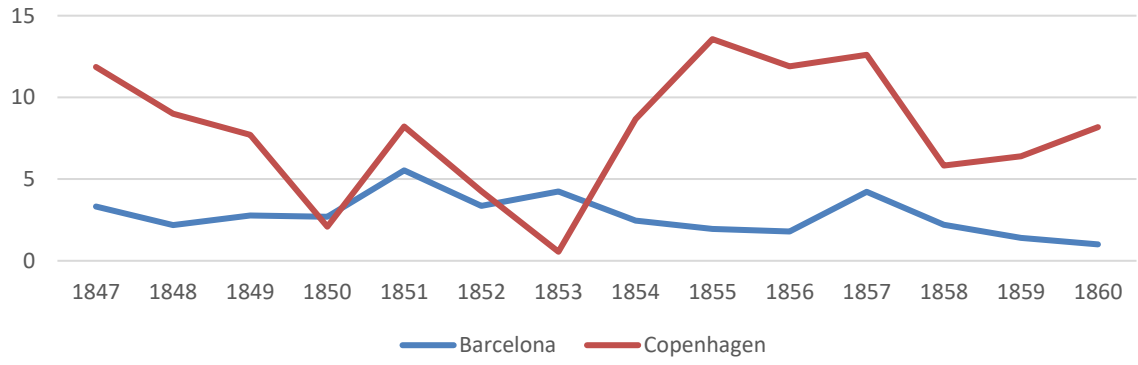
traditionally used.[223]

Fig.10. *Opéra comique* and *grand opéra* performances at the *Liceu* between 1847 and 1860.



The presentation of *opéra comique* and *grand opéra* were inconsistent throughout this period, as shown in figure 10. There were no performances of either genre at the start of this period. Apart from a peak of success in 1854, when *opéra comique* performances constituted 8% of the repertory, the genre remained below 2% for the entire period. *Grand opéra* was more successful, although it still had limited success; the genre only constituted around 13% of the repertory at its peak in 1856. There was another, albeit smaller, peak of performances in 1850, when the genre constituted around 10% of the repertory.

Fig.11. The percentage of *comédie-vaudeville* performances in the repertoires of the *Liceu* and the *Kongelige Teater* between 1847 and 1860.



The peak of *opéra comique* in 1854 consisted primarily of performances of Daniel Auber's (1782-1871) *Fra Diavolo* (1830) and Xavier Boisselot's (1811-1893) *Ne touchez pas à la reine* (1847),[224] both with libretti by Scribe. The dominance of these two works suggests that the success of the genre solely depended on a small number of popular works. This is somewhat

[223] Ibid., 26.
[224] This work had a Spanish plot and a Spanish Queen was portrayed in the work.

surprising, however, given the similarities between *opéra comique* and other popular genres including *zarzuelas* and plays. In contrast, *grand opéra*, despite a lack of similarities with other genres, was more successful. These differences may have contributed to its success: audiences demanded new works to fulfil their desire for novelty. In 1850, *grand opéra* performances primarily consisted of Donizetti's *Les martyrs* (1840), indicating the popularity of individual works. In 1856-57, performances were more evenly divided between several operas, suggesting the entire genre enjoyed popularity. Many *grands opéras* had already been translated into Italian, and it was the Italian version that was performed in Barcelona, further contributing to their success.

The limited success of French genres at the *Liceu* did not align with the French hegemony at the *Kongelige Teater*. Comparison between *Comédie-vaudeville* performances in Barcelona and Copenhagen, as shown in figure eleven, exemplifies how French genres were consistently less frequently performed in the Catalan city. *Comédie-vaudeville* remained below 5% of the Barcelona repertory throughout this period; performances consisted of several works which were often performed once or twice in a season. These works were usually performed in Spanish translations. *Comédie-vaudeville*, although significant, fluctuated considerably in Copenhagen throughout this period: the variance between a low point of less than 1% in 1853 compared with a high of almost 15% in 1855, demonstrated the short-lived success of individual works. *Comédie-vaudeville* was the most performed French genre at the *Kongelige Teater*, except for 1853, and was the most performed genre overall in 1847, 1855, 1856, and 1857. *Grand opéra* was also more highly performed at the *Kongelige Teater*, except for a peak of performance at the *Liceu* in 1854, as shown in figure 12. *Opéra comique* was also more highly performed in Copenhagen, as shown in figure 13; despite the small peak of performances in 1854 at the *Liceu*, *opéra comique* at the *Kongelige Teater* fluctuated between 3% and 11% of the repertory. The higher performance frequency of French genres at the *Kongelige Teater* stemmed from the historic connections with French theatre which dated to before this period. These connections, and adherence to preferred aesthetic style, contributed to the positive reception of French genres, and particularly *opéra comique*, as local, as explored fully in Chapter One.

Fig.13. The percentage of *Opéra comique* performances in the repertory of the *Liceu* and the *Kongelige Teater* between 1847 and 1860.

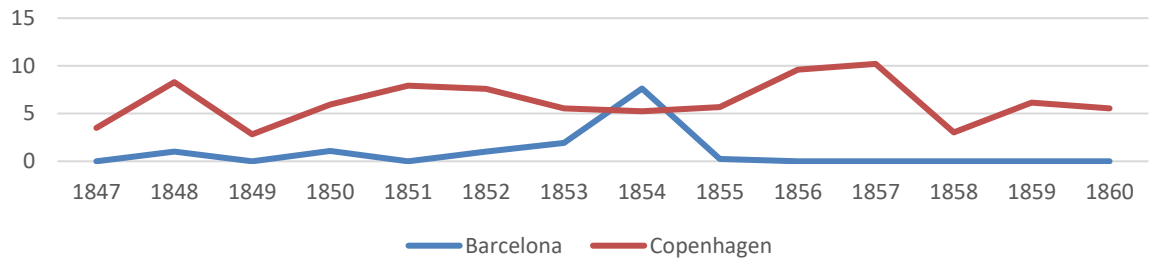
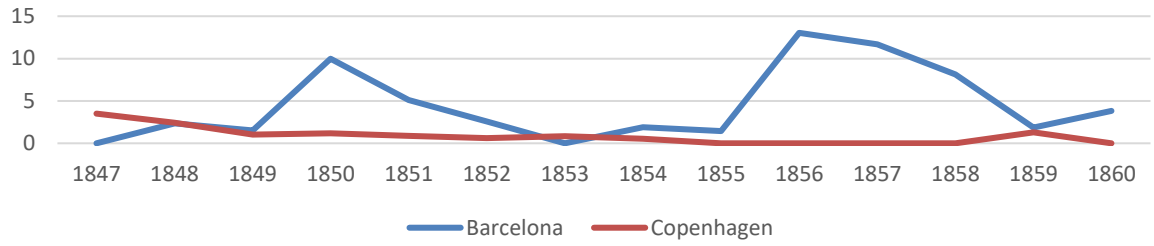


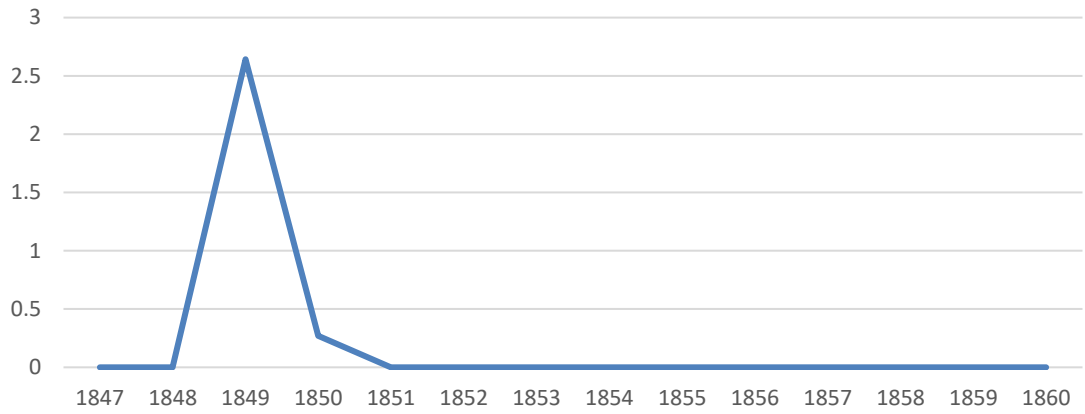
Fig.12. The percentage of *grand opéra* performances in the repertory of the *Liceu* and the *Kongelige Teater* between 1847 and 1860.



German opera had little significance at the *Liceu* and performances were restricted to 1849 and 1850, as shown in figure 14. Nineteen performances in 1849, and one in 1850, of Carl Maria von Weber's (1786-1826) *Der Freischütz* (1821), demonstrated the popularity of this single work. However, this only constituted about 2.5% of the repertory in 1849 which was insignificant compared with most other genres. The success of *Der Freischütz* stemmed from its novelty; this explains both the immediate success of the work and its subsequent decline. The short-lived nature of these performances ultimately indicated its poor reception.[225] Despite being an important example of German national opera, *Der Freischütz* was performed in Italian at the *Liceu*, as was normal throughout most of non-German speaking Europe.[226] While this was traditional, it also exemplified the significance of Italian theatre in Barcelona.

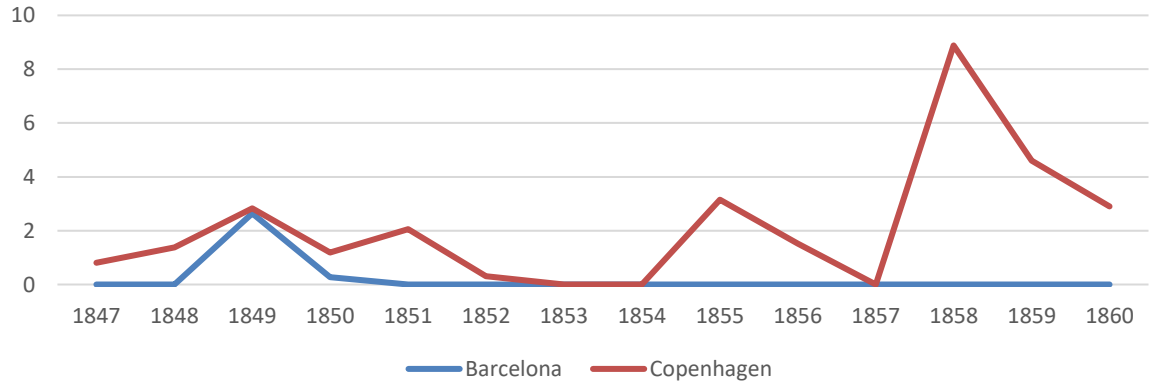
[225] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 26.
[226] Ibid.

Fig.14. The percentage of German opera performances in the repertory of the *Liceu* between 1847 and 1860.



The presence of German opera at the *Liceu* contrasted with performances at the *Kongelige Teater*, as shown in figure 15. German opera was more successful at the *Kongelige Teater*, although it still held limited significance; there were several peaks of success, including one in 1858 that almost reached 10%, compared to one smaller peak of success in Barcelona. German opera was inconsistent in both cities; in Copenhagen, Barcelona, and elsewhere in non-German speaking Europe, there were peaks of success rather than continued prominence. This indicated the immediate success – that quickly declined once the novelty had expired – of German opera performances.

Fig.15. The percentage of German opera performances in the repertory of the *Liceu* and *the Kongelige Teater* between 1847 and 1860.



3.4.4 Presenting Repertory: The Power of Language

The ways in which theatrical genres were performed at the *Liceu* indicated several important political factors that influenced repertorial selection and performance. Performance languages used in this period – many of which did not align with the origin of the works – were an important

indication of dominant theatrical trends including censorship, important influences, and touring troupes. Additionally, performance languages highlighted the complexity of the conflicting identities that existed in Barcelona throughout the nineteenth century and demonstrated how these had a practical influence on theatre.

There were two distinct periods in the evolution of theatrical language in nineteenth-century Barcelona; from the second decade of the nineteenth century until 1860, Italian was the main performance language at the *Liceu*.[227] After this, and beyond this period, several theatrical languages, including French and German, were present within the repertory.[228] Despite the shifting linguistic landscape at the *Liceu*, the prominence of foreign languages demonstrated the external influences that controlled theatre in Barcelona. However, this also demonstrated the subsidiary position held by local culture compared with the prominent foreign influences.

The dominance of Italian as a performance language originally stemmed from the popularity of Rossini. Even after this declined, as it did elsewhere in Europe, Spanish authors, including Ramón Carnicer (1789-1855), Tomás Genovés (1805-1861), Baltasar Saldoni (1807-1889), Hilarión Eslava (1807-1878), and Emilio Arrieta (?-1894), composed operas with Italian libretti, demonstrating Rossini's lasting influence.[229] Italian was used for both newly composed works and some existing foreign works. It was invariably used for *grands opéras* and *opéras comiques*, as well as some German opera. This was further demonstrated through the presentation of libretti which were almost invariably published in Italian. Even the names of artists and orchestra members were written in Italian and the names of non-Italian individuals were Italianised.[230] This differed from the parallel translations that were included in many nineteenth-century libretti produced elsewhere in Europe.

Italian considerably overshadowed the French language during this period; there were few occasions when the French language was dominant in Barcelona. However, there were thirty-one French performances in 1857, performed by a French company present in Barcelona between February and May.[231]

Despite the importance of the Catalan language within emerging cultural movements, it remained insignificant at the *Liceu* for most of the century. A major milestone occurred in 1849 with the staging of *La Passie*, the first play to be performed in Catalan at the *Liceu*. Despite this

[227] Cortés. 'Arnaldo di Erill.' 505.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Rodicio. 'Rossini: la recepción de su obra en España.' 55.
[230] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 19.
[231] *Almanaque del diario de Barcelona.* 57.

moment of prominence, however, the work was withdrawn from the repertory because of a lack of religious tone, suggesting some degree of censorship at the *Liceu*. Tribo and Aixala and Mata present contradictory claims about the staging of this play: there is no record in Tribo's source while the latter document its performance, and subsequent withdrawal and censorship. If, as Aixala and Mata claim, the play was staged, Tribo may have omitted it from his records because it was considered inappropriate.[232] 1859 was another important year for the Catalan language; the premiere of *Arnaldo di Erill* (1859) by Nicolau Guanyabens i Giral (1826-1889) with a libretto by Cortada reflected medieval Catalan history despite being centred around Italian models.[233] Despite this shift towards the production of local works, these were still performed in Italian.

In 1847, several dramas were performed in Castilian. Although Tribo omits these details, he does mention other performance languages, including Castilian performances later in the period.[234] Furthermore, Auber's *Fra Diavolo* was performed in Castilian, although there is no obvious cause for this.[235] These performances reflected an earlier trend for performances in Castilian – before the shift towards Italian culture dictated the primary performance language.[236]

3.5 Individuals and Agents

Theatre in Barcelona was driven by individuals who existed within a network that extended far beyond the borders of Barcelona, and even Catalunya. The individuals present between 1847 and 1860 – both physically at the *Liceu* and within the repertory – articulated the motivations that drove repertorial construction and presentation, while also reflecting contemporary conventions. Individuals had personal and political motivations and by homing in on some of these, we gain a greater perspective of how tensions – between foreign and local, high and low register, and cultural identities – played out at the *Liceu*. Individuals were a vessel in which contrasting styles and identities collided; local composers used dominant foreign models – including Italian opera – to promote Catalan identity and culture.

3.5.1 Theatrical Influencers

As a private institution with no royal dependence, the *Liceu* was uniquely – at least by this point in the nineteenth century – financially and artistically situated between shareholders, who

[232] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 21. Tribó. *Annals 1847-1897*.
[233] Tribó. *Annals 1847-1897*.
[234] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 20. Tribó. *Annals 1847-1897*.
[235] Tribó. *Annals 1847-1897*.
[236] Rodicio. 'Rossini: la recepción de su obra en España.' 41.

subscribed by buying seats, and the organising body, the *Liceo Filarmónico*, who managed the conception and construction of the theatre. This caused tensions between stakeholders and encouraged the need for regulation which was finally introduced on 31 December 1854.[237] This dictated that ownership, governance, and direction would be managed and controlled by the shareholders, who were renamed as the *Societat del Gran Teatre del Liceu*.[238] Despite this ruling, they were never directly involved with the running of the *Liceu*. Instead, a Governing Body dictated seasonal organisation and controlled which companies were active. Individual companies were responsible for the resources needed on a day-to-day basis, including costumes, scenery, and the orchestra, in return for any profits not assigned to the *Societat*.[239]

The individuals involved with the day-to-day running of the *Liceu*, and particularly those who controlled artistic and repertorial decisions, demonstrated the interconnectedness of theatre in Barcelona which led to peaceful co-existence. Obiols was the musical director of the *Liceu* between 1847 and 1888, assisted by conductor Gabriel Balart (1824-1893), orchestra director Dalmau, and choirmaster Francisco Porcell.[240] Before this period, Obiols was the first musical director of the *Liceo de Montesien*, the precursor to the *Liceu*, and Dalmau directed the *Teater Nou*. During this period, Figueras became impresario at both the *Liceu* and the *Principal*, linking the two theatres. However, these organisational systems also furthered the careers of some individuals and demonstrated their influence within theatre.

Obiols was perhaps the clearest example of the significant power and influence some individuals had over the repertory. His connections to Italian theatre were widespread, influencing the clear Italian orientation of the repertory. Obiols was first appointed musical director in Barcelona after returning from Italy; his opera, *Odio ed amore* (1837), had its premiere at *La Scala* in Milan. Obiols travelled to European capitals, including Italian cities, to assemble the best singers to perform at the *Liceu*.[241] His personal taste, experiences, and his development of a far-reaching theatrical network was a major factor that determined the repertory of the *Liceu* during this period.

Some individuals held multiple roles within theatrical networks; the financial and organisational responsibility of theatres was often left to one person, who subsequently used

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[237] 'History.' El Gran Teatre del Liceu. Accessed 2nd September 2022. https://www.liceubarcelona.cat/en/gran-teatre-del-liceu-0
[238] Ibid.
[239] Ibid.
[240] Cortés. 'Arnaldo di Erill.' 508.
[241] Ibid., 15.

their influence to promote their own works.[242] Obiols was again an excellent example; he was also an important composer, albeit with few performances during the period, including *Himino a S.M. La Reina* and *Nueva Himno Patriotico*, two cantatas. The inclusion of *Il regio imene* in the inaugural programme was an immediate indication of his influence, despite not being repeated after 1847. The only subsequent performances by Obiols were *Himino a S.M. la Reina*, performed once each in 1847, 1854, and 1860. Of greater repertorial significance was Porcell, an important Z*arzuela* composer whose works were popular at the end of the period. The growth of the Z*arzuela* was likely promoted by Porcell as a way of promoting his own works. Towards the end of this period, Rosendo Dalmau also held multiple roles: he was an actor and librettist while also influencing the works programmed.

Contemporary critics both reflected and drove dominant trends and popular taste. They demanded novelty and modernity and insisted works should not imitate Italian productions.[243] However, there were some exceptions: although the critical reception of Guanyabens' *Arnaldo di Erill* was generally positive, critics suggested the composer should study foreign works to improve his compositional style.[244] Public reception was largely negative, however, showing that critical opinions did not always align with audience opinions.

The dance companies present during this period revealed several other important individuals who influenced the repertory, including those who managed dance companies and choreographed important works. Individuals included Federico Bartotelo, Jean Baptiste Barrez, and particularly Joan Camprubí, whose prominence extended to over 250 performances during the period. Many of these were performed during the years when Camprubí managed the National Dance company at the *Liceu*, as shown in figure 16.

Figure 1: Fig.16. Dance companies at the Liceu between 1847 and 1864.

Period	**Company Type**	**Management**
1847-1848	Classical Ballet	Albert Bellón
1847-1851	National Dances	Joan Camprubí (1825-?)
1849-1851	Classical Ballet	Jean Baptiste Barrez (1792-1868)

[242] Subías. 'Nineteenth-century Spanish theatre.' 223.
[243] Cortés. 'Arnaldo di Erill.' 506.
[244] Ibid., 510.

1852	Classical Ballet & National Dances	Federico Bartotelo
1853-1858	Classical Ballet & National Dances	C. Duchateau, José Nieto and José Puig
1859-1864	Classical Ballet & National Dances	Ricardo Moragas

The presence, success, and demand for dance in Barcelona contributed to increased investment, naturally leading to the promotion of several companies.[245] During the early years of this period, when dance performances were at their peak, there were two distinct companies at the *Liceu*; one performed classical French ballets, *el rango francés*, and one performed local dances, *el rango español*.[246] The support for separate companies partly resulted from the traditional belief that classical ballet could only be performed by French artists, contrasting with local dances which should be performed by local dancers.[247] The separation of dance into separate companies demonstrated the social impact of genre, and indicated tensions between higher and lower register genres. However, the merging of companies in 1852, as shown in figure 16, indicated how the *Liceu* played an active role in the gradual disintegration of social barriers. The merging of dance companies also reflected the decline of Romanticism, an important part of which involved the promotion of classical ballet.[248] However, these decisions were also practical; a lack of finances and an inability to retain foreign dancers contributed to the merge.[249]

Barcelona was no exception to the cult of the singer.[250] This was so important that Obiols travelled around Europe to assemble a high company of the best singers. Audiences demanded high-quality Italian singers; these individuals were cast in soloist roles[251] compared with local singers who were reduced to playing minor roles.[252] Italian singers, however, were not included in performances of local works.[253] The preference for Italian singers again reflected the dominance

[245] Bonnin-Arias. 'Spanish ballet school.' 8.
[246] Ibid., 9.
[247] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 20.
[248] Bonnin-Arias. 'Spanish ballet school.' 10.
[249] Ibid., 11.
[250] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 10.
[251] Cortés. 'Arnaldo di Erill.' 508.
[252] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 30.
[253] Ibid.

of Italian culture, represented through the presentation and performance of both Italian and non-Italian works. The segregation of performers, particularly demonstrated through dancers being divided between companies demonstrated the perceived value of some theatrical genres.

3.5.2 Composers, Librettists, Playwrights, and Choreographers

The success of classical ballet and local dance performances contributed to the prominence of several individuals. Twenty-five dance music composers were present in the repertory of the *Liceu* between 1847 and 1860, many of whom shared a similar level of significance; only six composers had less than ten performances. Cesare Pugini (1802-1870) was the leading ballet composer with almost 70 programmed works, followed by Joan Pujadas, Nicolau Manent (1827-1887), and Jurch with almost 60 performances each. Pujadas was significant throughout this period; however, his works were mostly restricted to the final four years of the period. Performances composed by the other three leading composers were also confined to a few years within the period. Performances by Manent and Jurch were weighted towards the end of the period, contrasting with Pugini, 80% of whose performances were programmed between 1849 and 1851. These individuals demonstrated the success of classical ballet and local dance; Pugini and Manent were linked to the former, whilst Pujadas and Jurch composed local dance music.

Choreographers were significant; twenty-five individuals were present in the repertory, with Camprubi significantly ahead with around 265 performances. The second and third leading choreographers were Jules Perrot and Richard Moragas with around 80 and 75 performances respectively. None of these individuals were significant for the whole period, however: Moragas was only present in the final two years of the period, when he managed the dance company at the *Liceu*. In comparison, works by Perrot and Camprubi were mostly performed in the first half of the period, Camprubi's during his own period of management. Spain was the main producer of choreographers of local dance performances during this period, most of which were Catalan variants on traditional Spanish dance styles, which significantly complicated tensions between Catalan and Spanish culture.[254]

Over 300 playwrights were present in the repertory of the *Liceu* during this period, the only group for whom Italian culture was not dominant. The most performed, by a significant margin, was Scribe: his performances were evenly spread across the period and formed significant competition to Italian opera. Ventura de la Vega (1807-1865) had almost 140 performances, mostly weighted towards the start of the period, and Manuel Bretón de los Herreros (1796-1873)

[254] Daufí I Muñoz. 'El Público Aumentó la Gritería y Llegaron Algunos á Amenazar á los Músicos.' 220.

was the third most performed playwright with almost 130 performances evenly spread across the period. The prominence of two Spanish individuals arose from the success, and ease of performance, of local plays during this period, combined with the lack of foreign plays in the repertory.

While there were over 50 librettists present between 1847 and 1860, most only wrote a few works. Scribe was the most highly performed, closely followed by Salvadore Cammarano (1801-1852) and Francesco Maria Piave (1810-1876), with over 200 performances each. Although Cammarano's performances were mostly weighted towards the end of the period, Piave was prominent throughout. Felice Romani (1788-1865) was also successful, with about 190 performances evenly spread throughout the period. While the prominence of Cammarano, Piave, and Romani were explained by the dominance of Italian opera, Scribe's position was more complicated given his links to French theatre in general, and *Comédie-vaudeville* specifically.

The most performed Italian opera composer – and most highly performed composer overall – was Donizetti; around 470 performances, evenly spread throughout the period, were attributed to him, ensuring his position at the top of the repertory.[255] Other significant Italian composers included Verdi and Rossini, the second and fourth most performed composers during this period. Verdi had almost 400 performances, confirming his position closely behind Donizetti. Since the mid-1850s, Verdi's operas exemplified modernity and were promoted by critics for this reason.[256] Rossini was programmed over 100 times, which although significant, was considerably lower than Donizetti and Verdi, demonstrating his distance from the culture of the 1850s. Verdi's performances, like Donizetti's, were spread evenly across the period, contrasting with Rossini's which were weighted toward the end of the period.[257] This contrasted with other European theatres; Rossini usually received immediate success, while Verdi took longer to be embedded within the repertory, leading to the expectation that Rossini would have fallen out of the repertory while other composers grew in prominence. Giovanni Pacini (1796-1867) and Saverio Mercadante (1795-1870) also contributed to the success of Italian composers during this period.

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[255] Donizetti was also the most highly programmed composer between 1850 and 1851 when considering the combined repertories of the *Principal* and the *Liceu*. This demonstrated his importance throughout theatre in Barcelona, which is further supported by the publication of an edition of *Catalunya música: Revista musical catalana*, (158, 1997: Redescobrir Donizetti), Art-Co: Barcelona, Spain, with articles on Donizetti in Barcelona by Pau Nadal and Ramón Pla i Arxé. Vincenzo Bellini (1801-1835) and Verdi were also highly programmed at both the *Liceu* and the *Principal*, further demonstrating the centrality of Barcelona to Italian theatre. Cortés. 'Arnaldo di Erill.' 506.

[256] Cortés. 'Arnaldo di Erill.' 506.

[257] Although these individuals were the most highly performed composers, some of these performances include *grands opéras*.

Their success was heightened by the speed at which these works were performed; operas by these composers were sometimes performed in Barcelona only a year after their premieres.[258]

Italian composers were also the most highly performed individuals for *grands opéras*, an interesting observation given the fundamentally French nature of the genre. Donizetti was the most significant composer: with around 160 performances, Donizetti composed almost 60% of performances during this period. He was followed by Meyerbeer with around 50 performances, Rossini and Daniel Auber (1782-1871) with around 25 each, and Verdi with around 20. Donizetti's performances occurred throughout this period, increasing his significance, compared with other composers whose performances were restricted to a few individual years. The domination of this genre by Italian composers, alongside the widespread translation into Italian, emphasised the ways in which foreign genres were adapted to align with popular taste.

French composers, much like French genres, had little significance in Barcelona during this period. Auber was the most successful with over half of all *opéra comique* performances. Dominique-François-Xavier Boisselot (1811-1893) was the second most highly performed *opéra comique* composer; his ten performances ensured little significance, however. Donizetti also composed one *opéra comique* – *La fille du régiment* (1839) – which, although popular, had far fewer performances than any other genre. Auber also composed over twenty *grands opéras* but was again insignificant in Barcelona compared to Italian composers.

The repertory of the *Liceu* also featured several Spanish composers. Cristobal Oudrid (1825-1877), with over 160 performances during this period, was the third most highly performed composer, albeit a considerable way behind Donizetti and Verdi. His success largely stemmed from the prominence of the *Zarzuela* and was mostly restricted to the middle of the period, aligning with the first important *Zarzuela* season in 1853.[259] This was true for most successful Spanish composers, including Barbieri with around 75 performances, Gaztambide and Porcell with around 65 and 55 performances respectively, and Mariano Soriano Fuertes (1817-1880) with fifteen performances in both 1852 and 1853. Porcell, unlike many other Spanish composers, was not only prominent during the middle of this period; with almost 30 performances in 1860, he almost single-handedly contributed to the re-emergence of the genre in the final years of the period. Although these composers did not reach the same levels of success as Donizetti and Verdi, the significance of some Spanish composers demonstrated the importance of the *Zarzuela* and indicated how the foreign and local coexisted within the repertory.

[258] Cortés. 'Arnaldo di Erill.' 506.
[259] Aixalà and Mata. *El Gran Teatre del Liceo*. 27.

Rossini's style influenced many contemporary composers, including several local individuals.[260] His influence could be observed within the melodic lines, form, dramatic conception, and orchestration of newly composed local works, including those by Guañabens, Emilio Castelar (1832-1899), Alarcón, and Gaztambide.[261] However, Rossini's influence also extended further: an immediate reaction included the increase in works by Spanish authors with an Italian text. The dominance of Rossini's works in Barcelona, combined with the clear influence within local works, contributed to the increased prominence of Italian culture.

The dominance of Italian styles spread beyond Rossini's immediate influence; the works of Guañabens, although themselves not significant at the *Liceu*, exemplified how local composers adapted the Italian style for their own works. The repertoire of Guañabens exemplified how conflicting genres collided within the repertory, subsequently reflecting links between politics and music for the stage. Guañabens strongly identified with ideas central to the Catalan renaissance while remaining rooted in the Italian style.[262] This could be observed in *Arnaldo di Erill* (1859); the opera aligned with the two-act *bel canto* style of Donizetti and Bellini, featuring differentiated recitatives and arias with distinguishable cavatinas and cabalettas[263] as dictated by Italian conventions and *La solita forma*.[264] Although *Arnaldo di Erill* was only performed twice during this period, on 12 and 13 May 1859, it was the first example of a work incorporating local, medieval elements into an Italian language libretto.[265] Within his later compositions, Guañabens moved towards the style of Meyerbeer, Mercadante, and Verdi, which represented the aesthetic style promoted by critics as desirable and worthy of imitation.[266] However, his melodic development remained indebted to the *bel canto* style that, while still popular, was no longer novel.[267] *Arnaldo di Erill* exemplified how predominant styles, including the popular Italian form, were used by local composers even within attempts to promote a Catalan identity.

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[260] Rodicio. 'Rossini: la recepción de su obra en España.' 70.
[261] Ibid., 54-55.
[262] Cortés. 'Arnaldo di Erill.' 514.
[263] Ibid., 513.
[264] Harold S. Powers. ''La Solita Forma' and 'The Uses of Convention.'' *Acta Musicologica* 59 no. 1 (1987): 65–90.
[265] It is worth noting the error in dates shown by this article. *Arnaldo di Erill* premiered at the *Liceu* in 1859 according to the performance data from the theatre, and not 1857 as is recorded here. Roger Alier. 'Barcelona.' *Grove Music Online*, 2002, Accessed 23 September 2021. https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-5000007637.
[266] Cortés. 'Arnaldo di Erill.' 508, 511.
[267] Ibid., 519.

A wide range of individuals were present in the repertory of the *Liceu*. Some were visible, like composers, dramatists, and choreographers, whilst others were invisible but more significant given their control over the repertory, like directors, managers, and financiers. The Italian orientation largely resulted from power wielded by Obiols; his personal preference and wide-reaching network ensured his ability to create a repertory based on popular Italian works that were enjoyed by contemporary audiences. Furthermore, his political affiliations and attitude toward tensions between Catalan and Spanish identities contributed to the ways in which works were performed at the *Liceu* and the methods of theatrical organisation that widened access to bourgeois audiences. The composers, dramatists, and choreographers present within the repertory of the *Liceu* demonstrated the complex interweaving of theatrical genres; works by local individuals imitated, and were influenced by, dominant political and social trends, while works by foreign individuals reflected popular taste. Performers at the *Liceu* also reflected traditional social divisions; audiences were attracted to foreign stars who performed higher register works compared with local artists who were restricted to local performances. The diverse network of individuals at the *Liceu*, and the influence they held over repertory, often triggered by holding multiple roles within one or more institutions, demonstrated how politics, theatrical organisation, and genre were intertwined throughout nineteenth-century music for the stage.

3.6 Barcelona in the Italian Cultural Sphere

Barcelona played a significant role in the European theatrical network between 1847 and 1860: while significantly contributing to the dissemination of Italian repertory, several foreign genres were performed alongside a local repertory which largely consisted of plays, *zarzuelas*, and dance performances. The diverse repertory at the *Liceu* outlined several important trends – the coexistence of local and foreign genres, the promotion of specific genres intended to further local culture aligning with common political views, and the strong Italian influence in Barcelona – that not only influenced how works were performed in Barcelona, but throughout nineteenth-century Europe.

Music for the stage in Barcelona and Copenhagen between 1847 and 1860 differed in several ways, although there were also some similarities. The most obvious difference was that the *Liceu* was privately funded compared with the state-funded Royal Theatre in Copenhagen. However, despite this one major difference, many other organisational similarities, including the same seasonal pattern that aligned with the rest of Europe, the presence of touring troupes, and the multiple works performed each evening, suggests the contrast between state and private was not so significant. However, the private nature of the *Liceu* encouraged a wider range of entertainment – including non-theatrical works – than the more restricted repertory at the Royal

Theatre in Copenhagen. The repertory at each theatre was influenced by a wide range of foreign styles and influences which existed alongside strong local traditions. In both cities, however, the repertory was dominated by plays. In Barcelona, the principal musical influence was Italian compared with French in Copenhagen, but in each city, several other influences were successful within the repertories. Particularly for these two cities, dance genres, including classical ballet, were particularly prominent; local dance styles were popular in Barcelona and were regularly adapted for performance on the stage and classical ballet was prominent in Copenhagen. Both cities exemplified how the European theatrical network operated: the Danish government encouraged and supported composers to travel before embedding foreign practices within the repertory, and in Barcelona, important individuals travelled around Europe to assemble the best performers. This demonstrated how both cities relied on the wider network of European music for the stage and embedded important practices within their respective local cultures.

Barcelona played an important role in the Italian cultural sphere; the city generally, and the *Liceu* specifically, was a crucial part of the nineteenth-century theatrical network.[268] Italian culture was identified in several ways, including the preference for Italian genres, supported by directors and promoted by the local critics and press, the Italian influence within local genres, the significance of Italian individuals in the repertory, and the architecture of the *Liceu* which was fashioned on an Italian model. The repertory was perhaps the most obvious indication of deeply rooted Italian influences; Italian opera was the most highly performed foreign genre throughout this period, and many local genres were influenced by Italian theatre. Furthermore, local composers, including Guañabens, imitated Italian trends to promote their own works. Repertorial presentation further increased the significance of Italian theatre: many works, including *grands opéras*, were performed in an Italian translation. These artistic decisions were made by Obiols whose personal taste, European travels, and influential position contributed to the clear Italian stance of the *Liceu*. However, this also partly emerged through attempts to preserve tradition, an important factor influencing many theatrical decisions. Although repertory began to diversify towards the end of the century, links to Italian culture were maintained.

Despite the obvious preference for Italian theatre, the diverse range of genres performed between 1847 and 1860 revealed several other influences. The political drive behind generic presentation – the promotion of Italian opera to repel French influence, and the use of the Catalan language to promote local culture – ensured the cosmopolitan nature of the repertory. Barcelona was not simply a cosmopolitan city with a repertory that reflected dominant trends, however. Negotiations between local and international identities, complicated by tensions

[268] Muñoz. 'El Público Aumentó la Gritería y Llegaron Algunos á Amenazar á los Músicos.' 214.

between Catalan and Spanish identities, provides a unique perspective on cosmopolitanism that differed from other European cities. Perhaps most significantly, the cohabitation of foreign genres and local works, within the context of conflicting identities, offers a contrasting perspective to that presented in Copenhagen, for example.

Despite the cosmopolitan nature of the *Liceu*, national ideas were prominent because they resonated with the liberal bourgeoisie. The promotion of a local cultural identity was particularly prominent at the start of the century when Bonaparte promoted Catalan culture in an attempt to defeat Spain. These measures had a lasting impact; although autonomy was an important priority, an autonomous state under Spanish rule only began to emerge during this period and was by no means complete by 1860. The interplay of political ideas within theatre in Barcelona were complex and further complicated by the Spanish/Catalan dynamic: Spain was considered both national and foreign in Barcelona. The simultaneous existence of both nationalism and cosmopolitanism was negotiated by the local bourgeoisie – rather than aligning with one or the other – through support for several theatrical genres that aligned with different political trends.

Theatre in this period reflected and drove social development, in line with similar movements throughout nineteenth-century Europe. This was particularly significant in Barcelona. Firstly, the unique nature of the privately organised *Liceu*, complicated by the intentions of the institution that was formed to serve the public, contributed to its significance in theatrical development in Barcelona. The involvement of the bourgeoisie in the establishment of, and continued support for, the *Liceu* also demonstrated its unique nature. Although the bourgeoisie had limited involvement in artistic choices – beyond supporting works – their continued involvement was encouraged by a lack of theatre designed for the middle and lower classes. The bourgeoisie fought the assumption that theatre was solely intended for the elite class; they inspired and funded an institution that performed a wide range of theatrical genres intended to provide equal opportunities for all social classes to enjoy theatre. The *Liceu*, therefore, played an important role in the gradual disintegration of social borders in Barcelona and subsequently demonstrated the power of the growing bourgeoisie, and theatre, as drivers of social change.

The repertory performed at the *Gran Teatre del Liceu* between 1847 and 1860 demonstrated the importance of Barcelona within a wider theatrical network. While Barcelona had unique methods of theatrical organisation, combined with a unique political situation, these contributed to a repertory that resembled many other theatres and reflected several important trends that were not unique to Barcelona. Although the city was not geographically or culturally central, it was a significant propagator of important works and particularly Italian operas which

ultimately cemented the position of Barcelona within the Italian cultural sphere. Within the context of conflicting Spanish and Catalan identities, combined with hostility towards French theatre, the significance of Italian theatre highlighted the importance of director influence, audience preference, and social shifts, on the formation and presentation of repertory between 1847 and 1860.

Music for the Stage: A Decentralised Approach

Music for the stage existed far beyond the confines of centres defined by geography, the cultivation of music for the stage, or scholarly attention. But disrupting the presumed radial geography – which for music for the stage was defined by a steady flow of cultural artefacts outwards from centre to periphery – reveals the importance of peripheral cities in general, and Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona specifically, as rich cultural centres with independent theatre.

This dissertation has provided an alternative historical map of music in the theatre by reframing and disrupting the accepted binary of periphery and centre. Adjusting how we view the landscape of nineteenth-century music for the stage reveals the centric nature of all three cities studied here, especially for their surrounding local areas. These cities, and their principal theatres, did not blindly follow patterns and practices outlined by the centres. Instead, nineteenth-century music for the stage was mobile and constantly in flux; through practices of modification and adaptation, each city developed their own repertory and framed music for the stage in unique ways, demonstrating the agency of individuals within these cities. Recontextualising repertory provides an alternative approach to considerations of canon and shows that everyday examples of music for the stage were more reflective of organisational practices/procedures. The mobility of works was important, and canonic works travelled furthest and most frequently. However, the frequent transformations of foreign into local demonstrates how peripheral cities reframed repertory generally, and the canon specifically. The importance of these cities as rich cultural centres is demonstrated: each was open to international influences while simultaneously maintaining and developing strong local traditions. These points – the overarching aims of this dissertation – all relate, in some way, to cosmopolitanism, and the ways in which cosmopolitanism can be reframed as a decentred concept with different implications for peripheral places.

One of the most important findings that has emerged from this dissertation is the different meaning of cosmopolitanism for each of the three cities studied here, and how we might understand the term more broadly in the context of nineteenth-century music for the stage. In Copenhagen, the governmental practice of sending individuals abroad to train before they returned to incorporate their learning into the local culture was a clear example of directed cosmopolitanism. However, cosmopolitanism could be identified elsewhere, too; the combination of foreign and local within the repertory, the repertoire of one individual, a single work, and the reception of foreign as local all demonstrated the generic blurring that contributed to a

cosmopolitan approach to repertorial presentation. In Dresden, cosmopolitanism could be observed through the provision of increasingly equal support for both foreign influences and the local company, even though this also demonstrated the importance of preserving traditions. In Dresden, like in Copenhagen, cosmopolitanism could also be identified through the inclusion of foreign elements within local works, and most significantly, a work that was widely considered to epitomise German nationalism: Carl Maria von Weber's *Der Freischütz*. Cosmopolitanism in Barcelona could be observed through the integration of politics and theatre, but unlike the other cities studied here, this was further complicated by local tensions and negotiations between local and international identities – specifically between Spanish and Catalan identities. The triangle of national, local, and cosmopolitan is therefore more useful and productive than the dualism of nationalism and cosmopolitanism, and is unique, at least in the context of this dissertation, to Barcelona. The constitution of cosmopolitanism was very different in each city, and by extension, other cities fitting a similar profile would likely have a different presentation of cosmopolitanism too. These different practices suggest that cosmopolitanism was more advanced and complex than we have acknowledged; care should be taken when using the term to describe broad practices, and more precision and context are required to fully understand its significance for nineteenth-century music for the stage.

Nineteenth-century European music for the stage can be realised as a wide-reaching network consisting of places, people (or agents), and cultural artefacts, through understanding the connections and interactions between these. This network is a tool that can identify, explain, and project events and occurrences that ultimately contribute to a deeper understanding of music for the stage.

Repositioning Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona as central points in this network provides an alternative view of music for the stage. Although Dresden was geographically central to nineteenth-century Europe, it has not been treated as a centre, perhaps because the works staged were mostly imported. Copenhagen and Barcelona were far from central, geographically or culturally, and they too mainly imported works – far more than they exported, at any rate. However, despite not being central, music for the stage was presented in a distinct way in each of these cities. Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona, and the principal institutions within these cities – the *Kongelige Teater*, the *Königliche Theater*, and the *Gran Teatre del Liceu* – deserve a closer look because they adopted a centric role for their respective localities. These theatres not only served their city and citizens but also the surrounding areas. A peripheral approach corrects

the distortions that arise from centre-oriented studies and allow a deeper understanding of music for the stage and the network in which it existed.[1]

While Chapter One is a large study of music for the stage at the *Kongelige Teater* in Copenhagen between 1800 and 1860, Chapters Two and Three consider sixteen and thirteen years respectively. A comparative approach, not only between different places but also temporally – aided by the extensive, over-arching period covered in Chapter One – illuminates experiences from across the entirety of the European theatrical network, rather than extrapolating details from high-profile centres or even smaller localities studied in isolation. The significance of these three cities, realised through the comparison of data-driven trends, supports the argument for more decentralising studies including, perhaps, attempts to write a history of music for the theatre from periphery to centre or periphery to periphery.

Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona all played an important role in the development and dissemination of music for the stage within the wider European network. Each institution was a centre for its immediate locality and the surrounding areas. The similar cultural position held by each of city reflected the political pressures of the nineteenth century. Each was affected, to some extent, by the political turmoil of the Napoleonic Wars at the start of the century; each felt the short-term impact but also the longer lasting economic, political, and geographical ramifications that continued long into the century. Partly because of these conflicts, and mirroring other places throughout Europe, national sentiments began to develop, and priority was given to promoting local culture. This had some impact on the repertories in each city – and perhaps most significantly in Dresden – where the emergence of a new genre of national opera was an important part of political and cultural movements. In Barcelona, ongoing tensions between Catalunya, Spain, and France led to the promotion of Catalan culture and identity, although this had little impact on the overall repertory. In Copenhagen, local works were promoted, and the Royal Theatre performed most works in the national language, but again there was little overall impact on the repertory. What emerges most significantly in each of these cities is that although national ideas were developing, and there were significant political tensions during the nineteenth century, these had little overall significance within the repertory of each institution. Instead, repertories – each dominated by plays – consisted of a varied range of foreign and local influences with one dominant foreign influence emerging in each city: French in Copenhagen and Italian in Dresden and Barcelona, reflecting the dual influence of the European network of music for the stage. Despite sweeping generalised similarities, the repertory differed in each city.

[1] Michiel Baud and Willem Van Schendel. 'Toward a Comparative History of Borderlands.' *Journal of World History* 8 No. 2 (1997). 242.

Barcelona had the most diverse repertory when considering the range of entertainment, which included masked balls, magic performances, and circus acts. The variety of entertainment offered at the *Liceu* resulted from the private nature of the institution – directors had greater control compared with the state theatres in Copenhagen and Dresden. The repertory in Copenhagen had perhaps the most diverse range of theatrical genres, largely because several French genres were performed. Dresden, by comparison, had a more restricted repertory that mostly consisted of Italian opera, German works, and local plays. An important observation were the ways in which repertories diversified during the first half of the nineteenth century; a wider range of musical genres were performed, as seen in both Copenhagen and Dresden. A common feature shared between most peripheral cities, including each of these cities, was the lack of locally created performances moving outside the locality. Although a substantial local repertory existed in each city, these works were rarely heard outside their original borders. Other similarities that extended across all three cities – and resembled other European theatres – were largely organisational; similar seasonal patterns were followed and each city benefitted from touring troupes who performed their own repertoire in their own language. The private nature of the *Liceu* was perhaps the biggest organisational difference that sets it apart from the institutions in Copenhagen and Dresden, and while this had an impact on a few minor logistics – slight seasonal alterations, additional entertainment, and greater agency for some individuals – there was no considerable significance as most theatrical patterns were universally accepted. The existence of a separate German and Italian company at the Dresden Royal Theatre was another major difference: Copenhagen and Barcelona had only one permanent company, supplemented by foreign troupes on a temporary basis. The two companies in Dresden – German and Italian – demonstrated the dual nature of repertory in Dresden; the State supported both companies and audiences enjoyed performances by both. Although several genres were supported by the State in Copenhagen and Barcelona, none reached the same level of prominence as in Dresden, where the long-standing historic connections with Italian opera, and the German company that aligned with the desire to promote German identity, were equalised by the State. Each city during this period experienced the extension of theatre to encompass a wider social stratum, namely the growing middle classes, rather than remaining solely in the domain of the upper or aristocratic classes.

The comparative approach adopted in Chapters Two and Three not only revealed the diversity and richness of theatre, but also emphasised the importance of a decentralised approach to studying music for the stage.[2] The existence of significant similarities demonstrates the importance of convention, the common-sensical nature of many theatrical patterns, and the

[2] For a full methodology, refer back to the Methodology section within the introduction of this dissertation.

universality of nineteenth-century theatre, even though some differences resulted from the contrasting methods of organisation and funding.

Balancing the National and the Cosmopolitan: Politicising Music for the Stage

In peripheral cities like Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona, nationalism and cosmopolitanism were both identifiable and both influenced how music for the stage was presented. A peripheral context positively complicates the presumed binary between these ideas; cultural peripheries attempted to define their identity during the nineteenth century, amidst tensions with external, dominant powers. Local culture was created, promoted, and defended, often leading to criticism of the foreign, or in some cases, reception of the foreign as local. What emerged from this – the combination of foreign and local influences, often blurred by transformations and reception – was a cosmopolitan repertory. Although both nationalism and cosmopolitanism could be identified within nineteenth-century music for the stage, Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona each presented a unique depiction of these ideas.

The formation of local identities was one of the most significant political developments of the nineteenth century. Motivated by conflicts and external tensions, including the Napoleonic Wars that had a lasting negative impact, and often the dominance of a foreign culture – Italian in Dresden and Barcelona and French in Copenhagen – local culture began to emerge. Dresden was perhaps the most obvious indication of the emergence of a local identity; creating a strong German culture was an important priority throughout the German Confederation during this period. This was promoted throughout everyday life by several important individuals, partly as a way of recovering from the losses suffered at the start of the century. To some extent, the creation of a Catalan identity was similar; Catalunya's geographical position on the edge of Spain led to conflicting identities, further complicated by proximity to France. The cultural renaissance during this period – that prioritised local literature, poetry, and language – demonstrated how local identities were promoted in everyday life. Copenhagen had perhaps the least interest in creating a local identity during this period – perhaps because it was a capital city and saw itself in rather different terms on national and international stages; although there were clear examples of the emergence and promotion of Danish culture, these were not as forceful as the attempts in Dresden or Barcelona, largely because there was less conflict or external pressure.

Promoting local identity often occurred in multiple ways, including within the repertory. In each city, use of the local language, traditional theatrical models, plots based on local, historic events, and often, the alternation of spoken dialogue and music, all contributed to the defence of

local culture. However, local works were often promoted for practical reasons too; ease of access and performance, combined with financial restraints, further motivated their performance. However, the promotion of local culture within the repertory was not always obvious. Foreign influences within works could be received as local, largely due to the processes of cultural transfer that allowed foreign styles to travel and grow in popularity. This was particularly true for Weber's *Der Freischütz* which included several Italian and French stylistic features, even though it was widely received as a national work. The combination of local and foreign within a single work was an example of cosmopolitanism, even though, in this case, *Der Freischütz* was a clear example of nationalism and the promotion of German identity and ideals.

Nationalism, and particularly nationalism in the theatre, partly emerged as a reaction to dominant foreign influences, and therefore could often be identified through criticism of the foreign. In Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona, a local identity emerged against several existing dominant foreign influences which were criticised in defence of local culture, traditions, and repertory. This was perhaps most obvious in Dresden, as could be expected given the emerging German nationalist trends. Although the existence of the German and Italian companies was largely harmonious, Italian traditions, and particularly works composed by Rossini, were criticised in the press whilst German traditions were promoted. Criticism of the foreign also occurred in Copenhagen; towards the end of this period, tensions with the German Confederation led to criticism of the German repertory in favour of local works. In Barcelona too, some foreign genres – including Italian opera, to some extent – were criticised through the promotion of local genres including *Zarzuela*. This was complex, however, because these works often also reflected Italian influence.

Nationalism in the theatre could also be identified by the reception of foreign as local. This occurred primarily through processes of translation and adaptation: works were made to appear local, or at least made to align with the preferred local style. Although these processes were motivated by practical concerns and not a direct result of nationalism, the adaptation of foreign into local demonstrated the significance of local culture and heightened its presence within the repertory. However, the reception of foreign as local sometimes exceeded this. Copenhagen was the clearest example: several French genres, and particularly *opéra comique*, were received as local because of the historic presence in the city and at the theatre. This could also be identified in Barcelona; the creation of local *Zarzuela* by local composers, designed to promote Spanish politics, not only demonstrated how foreign events could be celebrated in the local style, but also further emphasised complications between conflicting identities.

The performance of local repertory was one representation of nationalism, which existed to varying extents in Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona. While promoting national identity was an important political impulse during this period, it had little impact on the repertory. While there was a substantial local repertory in each of these cities, this usually coexisted harmoniously with several foreign genres which often had greater significance. Furthermore, the transformation of several genres that contributed to generic blurring further demonstrated how cosmopolitanism more accurately reflected nineteenth-century music for the stage.

Cosmopolitanism, and its relationship with nationalism, can provide nuance for important nineteenth-century practices; each city presented a slightly different portrayal of cosmopolitanism. However, by looking at the peripheries in practice, cosmopolitanism can be observed in theatrical logistics, compositional style, repertory in its broadest sense, specific works, including some supposedly local or national works, institutions, and agents. The diversifying repertories in Copenhagen and Dresden further represented cosmopolitan tendencies because they were driven by agents trying to balance the foreign with the local. Although the repertory at the *Liceu* did not diversify in the same way, this was likely because the period studied was considerably later and the repertory had already diversified. However, the repertory was still diverse, facilitated by individuals and agents who encouraged the process of cultural transfer, and ultimately encouraged a cosmopolitan approach to performance and the construction of repertory.

Decentralised Organisation: Facilitating Social Shifts

Nineteenth-century music for the stage cannot be separated from the context of social shifts that were influenced by political movements. For these three cities, and any peripheral places, the actions of governments and ordinary citizens in places like Paris encouraged localised social shifts elsewhere in Europe. Music for the stage reflected these social shifts while also acting as an agent for social change. In Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona, institutions facilitated the acceptance of wider audiences, perhaps driven in part by the generic fluidity/lack of hierarchy in some theatres that reflecting the growing power of the middle classes. This was facilitated by the performance of a varied repertory of popular works as well as systems of organisation that opened institutions that were previously closed to the lower classes. The ability of music for the stage to reflect and drive social shifts can be identified through everyday events and day-to-day theatrical organisation. These day-to-day occurrences reveal the longer-term impact, both politically and socially, of music for the stage, while demonstrating the position of these institutions within a united theatrical network that extended across Europe.

Theatrical organisation followed similar patterns throughout Europe – all three cities followed the usual patterns of seasonal organisation – which indicated their participation in the wider European theatrical network. Even the *Gran Teatre del Liceu* in Barcelona followed similar patterns eventually; conventions and logistics were more important than the differences between funding status and private and court theatres. That the *Liceu*, as a private organisation with limited obligations to external parties, chose to follow the usual seasonal patterns, demonstrates the significance of nineteenth-century conventions. Similarities between peripheries and centres, at least in terms of organisational features, suggests that peripheries were possibly dependent on patterns set by the centres. However, perhaps more accurately, these shared features suggest that the patterns followed were universal. There is even a cosmopolitan point that emerges here, too: the shared organisational framework is bought into by different locations from their own local or national standpoint.

Many features of theatrical organisation observed in Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona were not unique. These places were not so far removed from central Europe that they did not share common features with the more conventional theatrical centres. Important singers and troupes, not to mention directors, managers, and financiers, travelled between centre and periphery, between periphery and periphery, and perhaps even from periphery and centre, to share important conventions and traditions, contributing to overarching similarities between these geographically disparate places.

Diversifying Repertories

The repertories performed in Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona between 1800 and 1860 were in many ways representative of the repertory performed throughout nineteenth-century Europe. However, these cities offer a more interesting view on repertorial construction and performance; they simultaneously followed trends set by places we might consider to be operatic centres while also negotiating local traditions and convention, revealing the power of a decentralised approach for studying nineteenth-century music for the stage.

In each city, the repertory was dominated by plays between 1800 and 1860 although their presentation was slightly different in each city. In Dresden, plays constituted over 95% of the repertory at the start of this period, before a quick decline after 1818. A similar decline, at a similar time, was also observed in Copenhagen although this was more gradual. Barcelona was different; there was no significant decline in the presentation of plays, perhaps because by this later period, the repertory had already diversified to include a wide range of genres. The overall success of plays, in three different cities, mostly stemmed from practical motivations; these

works, especially when local, were easier to access, rehearse, and perform than foreign works with considerable amounts of integral music.

This dissertation has revealed the elevated presence of dance genres, particularly in Copenhagen and Barcelona; this demonstrates the importance of ballet outside of France, something that has so far been largely overlooked. The acceptance of ballet in Copenhagen, and the work of August Bournonville who modified the accepted French genre into a form of theatre that was widely accepted as local in the Danish city, show its significance across the continent. While ballet in Barcelona was very much subsidiary to the dominance of local dance genres, its presence and success demonstrate its significance outside of France.

Repertorial presentation cannot be considered without also realising the fluidity of many theatrical genres, facilitated by methods of adaptation. Some methods were widely accepted because they did not fundamentally change the nature of a theatrical work like translation into a local language, as could be observed with almost all foreign works at the *Kongelige Teater*. Other modifications, while still widespread, had a greater impact on the essence of a theatrical work. Spoken dialogue, compared with recitative, was favoured throughout much of Europe during the nineteenth century, except for Italian states and, to some extent, Paris (*grand opéra* only), and therefore transforming recitative was significant. While not as simple as translation, because recitative and spoken dialogue followed different stylistic patterns, transformation into spoken dialogue aligned foreign works with a local style, ensured comprehensibility, and allowed emphasis on certain points, while facilitating the obscuring of other parts if desired by managers and censors. Censorship – and particularly changes to works rather than their omission – was a common practice but less blatant in these cities, possibly because works had already undergone some form of censorship when they reached these cities. While there were a few examples, particularly in Copenhagen with regards to *grand opéra*, most works performed during this period were not significantly altered for performance on the stages of the *Kongelige Teater*, the *Königliche Theater*, and the *Gran Teatre del Liceu*, with the common exception of translation.

Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona all enjoyed a diverse repertory in the nineteenth century. Driven by agents of cultural transfer, several cultural influences could be identified within the genres and works performed at each institution. Overall, there was a duality of Italian and French influences within the repertory, which coexisted with the different local traditions in each place, rather than one dominant trend forming the backdrop against which individual repertories were formed.

Decentralised Networks: Individuals and Agents

Considering nineteenth-century European music for the stage as a network does not simply emerge as a methodological framework within which we attempt to further our understanding. It arises, instead, from connections and social interactions between individuals. These individuals, who can be described as agents of cosmopolitanism because they facilitated this process, strove – successfully – to develop a connected continent of theatrical practices. Directors, managers, financiers, composers, dramatists, librettists, performers, and even government officials, encouraged the development and sustainment of nineteenth-century music for the stage throughout the continent, from its centre or centres to the very edges, however we define these places. What strongly emerges is not how we define these places, but that they existed, and co-existed, within the same theatrical network that was driven by the same individuals.

Not all individuals had equal control over the repertory performed during this period. Some individuals, and particularly those present within the repertory including composers, dramatists, and choreographers, had little control – their influence stemmed from their popularity and that of their works – but were instead a reflection of contemporary trends and popular genres. Of greater significance were the individuals who were largely invisible within the repertory but held greater control, including directors, financiers, and managers who chose which works were performed and in which ways. This latter group exercised control over the repertory through promotion of their personal tastes, their political ideas, and in many cases their own works. By adjusting the accepted landscape of nineteenth-century theatre, this dissertation has revealed that some individuals from peripheral locations had more agency than the centre-periphery narrative might suggest.

In many places across the European theatrical network, and particularly at the *Liceu* in Barcelona, directors had significant influence on the repertory performed. These individuals created a repertory based on their own preferences and political ideas, audience taste, and sometimes even ideas of self-promotion. While this could be observed throughout Europe – a director always had some degree of control over the repertory – in Barcelona, Mariano Obiols (1809-1888), as musical director, had greater significance because of the private nature of the *Liceu*. Obiols used his personal connections with Italian theatre and the Italian cultural sphere to collect important singers and programme Italian works that aligned with his own tastes. However, his directorship went further than this; the inclusion of his own work during the inauguration performances in 1847 reflected in small-scale the influence held by important individuals. Directors also had significant control in Dresden; Weber used his influence, gained through his work towards German national goals and his popular works, to promote his repertoire and the German opera genre in general.

Individuals encouraged and facilitated the movement and performance of several theatrical genres and works. Some can be directly identified, like Obiols, who chose to produce a wide range of theatrical genres with several foreign influences designed to broaden the repertory and introduce new works to the *Liceu*. Others can be identified within the repertory, including Weber, whose work contained several French and Italian foreign influences. Others were less direct but perhaps of greater significance: the Danish governmental practice of sending individuals abroad to train – a practice that actively encouraged the diversification of the repertory and local theatrical style – was perhaps the clearest, and most significant, example of cosmopolitanism during this period.

Re-defining the Centre, Re-sitting the Periphery

Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona each had a thriving theatrical culture during the first half of the nineteenth century; the *Kongelige Teater*, the *Königliche Theater*, and the *Gran Teatre del Liceu* each performed a diverse range of foreign genres alongside a substantial repertory of local works. That they each existed as independent institutions, designed to serve their city and citizens, cannot be doubted. However, they also participated in universal theatrical practices, sometimes following, and sometimes modifying, and therefore demand attention in the same way that central locations continue to do.

The trend of decentralising music for the stage demands further attention; this dissertation considers three non-central places – Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona – but what of other cities with a similar profile? What about Lisbon, St Petersburg, Amsterdam, or other culturally peripheral cities. Even remaining firmly situated within Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona, understanding can be extended through comparison with so-called centres. What, really, are the unnegotiable differences between these places? Can we ever consider peripheries and centres as equal within a network of music for the stage? And if so – or if not – why? Can we create a tangible network that represents these places, and the people and materials that circulated within and between these places, to visually represent what we know about music for the stage – ultimately, that the connections between places, people, and materials, contributed to a rich and diverse cosmopolitan theatrical culture, that while unique in different places, was part of a cohesive network of music for the stage.

While the foundational work set out in this dissertation has revealed the diversity and richness of theatre in peripheral cities, future research should connect with the growing body of work that discusses the mobility of nineteenth-century performers and other important individuals. The presence and agency of these individuals within the network of music for the stage will not simply reveal the richness of peripheral theatre, but also demonstrate its potential

influence beyond the borders of these specific localities. Future research should produce comparative case studies to build on the foundations laid out here, along the lines of the case study presented in Chapter One, in order to explore in greater depth the intricacies of peripheral theatre and the ways in which cosmopolitan ideas reflected these practices. Redefining or reframing cosmopolitanism from a peripheral perspective, and acknowledging that it is more nuanced than has previously been considered, is an important conclusion to draw from this dissertation.

Whether Copenhagen, Dresden, and Barcelona remain on the cultural peripheries of Europe, or are given greater exposure to further our understanding of cultural hubs within the network of nineteenth-century music for the stage, remains to be seen. What is clear, however, are the common aspects of theatrical organisation and repertory, driven by contemporary politics and individuals and agents, shared by not only these cities, but also the rest of Europe. Therefore, an expansion of scholarly discourse to encompass the far reaches of Europe, not to mention the world – with a comparative methodology not only between peripheries but also centres – is not only encouraged, but necessary if we are to truly understand the long-lasting impact of music for the stage.

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