

VJERA KATALINIĆ

HRVATSKA AKADEMIJA ZNANOSTI I UMJETNOSTI

ZAGREB AT THE OPERATIC CROSSROADS IN THE 1860s: THE WINDING ROAD TOWARDS THE NATIONAL OPERA*

The National Opera and its ensemble were founded in Zagreb in 1870. At that time, Zagreb was the small capital of the Triune kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia,¹ within the Hungarian part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, with some 20,000 inhabitants.² However, operas and other shows with music in Zagreb can be traced back to the late eighteenth century, first staged in the adapted theatre at the palace owned by the counts Kulmer, Pejačević and, from 1807, Antal Amadé de Várkonyi.³ Later, in 1834, the merchant Kristofor Stanković erected a theatre building on land given to him by the city magistrate, investing a sum that he had won on the Viennese lottery. In 1852, when he found it unprofitable, he sold it to the magistrate and it became the Zagreb City Theatre.⁴ However, it continued to function as a *stagione* theatre with visiting companies. A permanent ensemble could not be established, due partly to political oppression from the neo-absolutist regime and partly to the lack of trained actors and musicians. Only occasionally, mostly on ecclesiastic occasions, could a sufficiently large group of professionals and amateurs

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- 1 Dalmatia – except for Dubrovnik – was mostly under Venetian, French and Austrian administration from the fifteenth century. Parts of Dalmatia were united with Croatia Proper and Slavonia only in 1918, and finally in 1945, after almost five centuries.
- 2 Although the city was well known as Zagreb (Ger. Agram) from the Middle Ages, the administration of the city as a whole only started in 1850, when four municipalities and two villages were united, with some 16,000 inhabitants. Up to 1900, the population rose, although the city did not expand.
- 3 When the theatre moved out, the palace became a pro-Hungarian casino. After the death of Amadé de Várkonyi, it was bought by Count Alexander Drašković who continued to support the casino.
- 4 The so-called Stanković theatre, built by the architects Anton and Cristofor Cragnolini of Ljubljana, was in use until the earthquake of 1880 and sporadically later, until the new Fellner and Helmer theatre was opened in 1895. Today it is a part of the magistrature building, without any traces of its previous function.

be gathered to perform a large-scale work.⁵ Even later, after a permanent ensemble had been established (in the 1860s) and an opera company founded (in 1870), military musicians from regiments posted near Zagreb usually participated in various types of musical productions in the capital,⁶ as in other regional theatres, including Graz. So even after 1852, regular theatrical productions continued to depend on itinerant theatre/opera companies from various parts of the Habsburg Empire, mostly performing standard repertoire in German or Italian. At the same time, a small group of amateurs started to organise a national ensemble, led by the poet Dimitrija Demeter.

The cultural situation in Croatia was strongly marked by the Croatian National Revival movement in the mid 1830s, when the Croatian language was about to gradually repress German and conquer the theatre stage. That movement reached its first climax in 1846, when the first so-called national opera, *Ljubavi i zloba* [Love and malice] by Vatroslav Lisinski (1819–54), was performed there. However, the 1848 revolution and the ensuing neo-absolutism put the national issue on ice, and so operatic life was again dependent on imported performances. German companies were not well received by audiences instilled with national ideas, and because their performances were not of a high standard. Consequently, their directors sometimes sub-contracted an Italian opera company. In order to trace the origins, performers and repertoire of these companies, it was necessary to investigate the related documentation; for their reception, advertising material and reports in the contemporary press were examined. However, the documentation is scattered, incomplete, largely uncatalogued and only partly explored.⁷ What is more, the newspapers of that time did not always show much interest in music and the stage, and even if they did, the reviewers did not always give an expert view, because they were mostly not music professionals but historians or writers.

This paper's titular crossroads is primarily geographic. I will explore where the opera companies came from, how they responded to the demands of the theatre board and how they met the expectations of the Zagreb audience. I focus on the decade 1860–70, when Croatian political and cultural life was undergoing important transformations that influenced its general development and, even more so, its theatrical image. That period was marked by crucial events in political life that can be related to national, institutional and immanently musical changes.

5 For example, on 4 March 1819, during a Mass for a deceased canon of Zagreb bishopric, a group of professional and amateur musicians staged Mozart's *Requiem*, and for Christmas 1821, Haydn's *Die Schöpfung* was performed in the theatre (cf. Antun Goglia, *Hrvatski glazbeni zavod 1827–1927*. [The Croatian Institute of Music 1827–1927], separate off-print from *Sv. Cecilija*, Zagreb 1927, p. 2).

6 Only from 1895 was the opera orchestra no longer dependent on military musicians.

7 The most reliable publication is *Enciklopedija hrvatskoga narodnoga kazališta u Zagrebu* [Encyclopaedia of the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb], edited by Pavao Cindrić (Zagreb 1969), a lexicon of selected individuals linked to the theatre and several introductory texts. However, the data on opera companies and their performances is incomplete.

MILESTONES

The national movement in Croatia during the 1830s was inspired by the German model based on the Herderian idea of language and culture defining the nation and by ideas of Slavism.⁸ However, an immediate paradox was that the so-called Illyrian movement (encompassing all Slavs within the Triune Kingdom – Croats, Serbs, and other Slavic minorities like Czechs and Slovenes) was directed against Germanisation.⁹ The members of the National Revival group (as it was also called) belonged to the nobility, the clergy and the bourgeois intellectual elite.¹⁰ The growing national group believed that national integration was possible without a state. The movement reached its peak in 1848, with Parliament issuing a series of demands concerning national and social-liberal issues. Some political parties (mostly consisting of members of the Hungarian petit nobility who lived on their estates in Croatia) wanted closer links with Hungary, whilst others (mostly members of the highest nobility) declared strong and direct connections with Austria. Their balance often shifted, according to the policies and goals of the Habsburgs, who used the method of divide and rule to achieve them.¹¹

Towards the end of the neo-absolutist era and after the unsuccessful war with Italy (1859–60), the Austrian Empire was weakened and Franz Joseph I was forced to make concessions to the crown lands. The first step was the abolition of neo-absolutism (imposed after the quashed 1848/49 revolutions), followed by the authorisation of regional parliaments in October 1860 and February 1861.¹² Owing to this political

- 8 For more on Slavic, Pan-Slavic and Illyrian ideas within the National Revival Movement in Croatia, see Stanislav Tuksar, 'On some concepts of Panslavism and Illyrism in South Slavic peoples, and the idea of national music in Croatia during the nineteenth century', in: *Nation and/or Homeland*, ed. Ivano Cavallini, Milano–Udine 2012, pp. 79–102, especially on pp. 90–91.
- 9 The Viennese government sided with Croats against Hungarians, or vice versa. On some Slovene, Croatian, Serbian and other Slavic tendencies and positions within the Monarchy, see texts by Janez Cvrnj, Iskra Iveljić, Drago Roksanđić and others in: *Der Austroslavismus. Ein verfrühtes Konzept zur Neugestaltung Mitteleuropas*, ed. Andreas Moritsch, Wien–Köln–Weimar 1996.
- 10 For a thorough insight into the national and liberal aspects of the movement and its direct influence on cultural policy see Iskra Iveljić, 'Kulturna politika u Banskjoj hrvatskoj 19. stoljeća' [Cultural policy in civil Croatia and Slavonia during the nineteenth century], *Historijski zbornik* 69 (2016) no. 2, pp. 335–370.
- 11 Arnold Suppan, 'Der Illyrismus zwischen Wien und Ofen-Pest. Die illyrischen Zeitungen im Spannungsfeld der Zensurpolitik (1835 bis 1843)', in: *Der Austroslavismus. Ein verfrühtes Konzept zur Neugestaltung Mitteleuropas*, ed. Andreas Moritsch, Wien–Köln–Weimar 1996, pp. 102–124. Some basic facts dealing with political relations between Hungary and Croatia are indicated in: Pieter M. Judson, *Povijest habsburškog carstva*, Zagreb 2017, p. 298; Eng. orig. *The Habsburg Empire*, Cambridge MA 2016.
- 12 However, the administrative borders of the civil part of Croatia (excluding the still existing Military Border, directly subject to Vienna, which would be demilitarised in the 1870s and attached to Croatia only in 1881), changed several times between 1850 and 1870. For example, the northern Međimurje region was attached to Croatia in 1848, then to Hungary in 1861, as was the town of Rijeka after the Compromise of 1868. The borders of its administrative counties also changed, according to Austrian intentions connected with forthcoming elections. Thus, not only the size of Croatia changed, but also the structure and size of its population and electorate; see: Agneza Szabo, 'Demografska struktura stanovništva civilne Hrvatske i Slavonije u razdoblju 1850–1880' [Demographic development in civil Croatia and Slavonia 1850–80], *Historijski zbornik* 40 (1987) no. 1, pp. 167–223.

turning point, the Croatian Parliament advanced some important initiatives concerning national culture, including the founding of the National Theatre as an institution in 1861. Austria's loss of the Veneto region in 1866 pointed to some organisational weaknesses in the functioning of the Monarchy, which required reorganisation. Two agreements were signed: the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867 and the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise the following year, which – for Croatia – brought much stronger ties with the Hungarian part of the Monarchy than were generally desired. On the other hand, some breakthroughs in economic and industrial ties and the raising of general standards facilitated migration and the organisation of everyday life: the establishment of the first railway connecting Zagreb with Vienna (in 1862) and of a gas company (1863) – both of which would give an additional impulse to the cultural development of the city. Thus, gas was introduced into the theatre in 1864, and the electrification of this old building was carried out in 1894, a year before the company moved to the new theatre building.¹³

After the abolition of neo-absolutism, in 1861, Croatian again became the official language in schools and administration, following the desire to express national aspirations and emotions more freely. In the musical domain, this decisive national event, a milestone in culture, resulted in the founding of choral societies across the country, but at the same time it led to animosity towards the German language theatre, culminating on 24 November 1861,¹⁴ when the audience prevented the German actors from starting their performance. From that evening on, only Croatian plays and Italian operas were welcomed on the stage. However, another problem emerged from this hostility: owing to the lack of experience in the national language, there were few actors fluent enough in Croatian to act and even sing in national shows.¹⁵ Therefore, regular advertisements appeared in the press, calling for potential actors to join the national ensemble.

As already mentioned, the first institutional breakthrough concerning the theatre of that period came in 1852, when the city of Zagreb decided to buy up the theatre from Stanković,¹⁶ turning it into a 'Stadttheater'. It was financed by a foundation as

13 Cf. Nikola Batušić, *Povijest hrvatskog kazališta* [History of Croatian theatre], Zagreb 1978, pp. 224–225.

14 *Ibid.*, pp. 236–237.

15 They were actually actors with some singing ability, while Croatian singers did not have sufficient musical experience on the stage. That was one of the tasks of the Musikverein school, to educate them properly in music and prepare them for the theatre.

16 As a merchant and an entrepreneur, Stanković was not satisfied with the income from his theatrical investment. In accordance with the terms of the contract, signed in 1833, when the municipality allowed him to build the theatre on two plots of their own, the city of Zagreb invoked its right of first buyer. Owing to the initiative of the Banus (the civil ruler of Croatia) Josip Jelačić in proclaiming public donations and loans in December 1851, the city took over the theatre building, including the costumes and library; cf. Nikola Andrić, *Spomen-knjiga Hrvatskog zem. kazališta pri otvorenju nove kazališne zgrade* [Memorial book on the occasion of the opening of the new theatre building], Zagreb 1895, p. 42.

a joint venture until 1861, when it became the National Theatre ('Landestheater'),¹⁷ with financial backing from two sources: the state and the foundation.¹⁸ This was the second institutional milestone – the founding of the National Theatre on the strength of a decision by Parliament (paragraph no. 77) on 17 August 1861, as the first national theatre among the southern Slavs.¹⁹ The Emperor abolished parliamentary sessions in November 1861 and never approved Paragraph 77, but the Croatian government maintained the (often scarce) subsidies. The theatre act provided the formal framework for the status and functioning of the theatre, thus abolishing the 'Theater Ordnung' imposed in 1850 by Alexander Bach. This newly established state institution was governed by a board (as was the previous City Theatre), which from that time on was answerable to Parliament. The board was tasked with controlling the finances, signing contracts with theatre companies, engaging Croatian actors for the national company, organising a school for actors and paying its staff, and 'it had to make efforts to establish a national opera ensemble'.²⁰ The last two tasks would be fulfilled only later – the opera was founded in 1870 and the school for actors only at the end of the century, although there were some earlier short-lived attempts. There were fifteen members of the board, comprising aristocrats and intellectuals (lawyers, writers, historians, politicians, etc.).²¹

With regard to music, until 1860 only foreign singers and singing actors were engaged in opera performances, with two exceptions. The first was a group of actors who could sing (and thus perform some simple musical stage works) in the Patriotic Theatre Company of the 1840s, led by the poet and dramatist Dimitrija Demeter (1811–72). The second was the unique production of Lisinski's 'first Croatian national opera',²² staged in 1846 with the joint forces of professionals and amateurs, foreigners and locals, noblemen and citizens, as well as civilian and military musicians.²³ Since 1829, basic training for singers (as well as for

17 In some theatre almanacs, it can be found under 'königliche Bühne', although it was never 'royal'.

18 The state subsidies were fixed by Parliament (but not always guaranteed by the government) and the sum from the foundation by the Board.

19 N. Andrić, op. cit., p. 42.

20 Ibid.

21 As stated by Judson, a new political elite gradually emerged from the legal profession, as was reflected in the composition of the Zagreb Theatre board (P.M. Judson, op. cit., pp. 282–283).

22 Vatroslav Lisinski's opera *Love and Malice* was announced and received with acclamation as a national opera, although – besides the Croatian language – other elements (plot, music) could have been understood as national only to some extent (as was the case with some other 'national' operas – cf. Carl Dahlhaus, *Glazba 19. stoljeća*, transl. Sead Muhamedagić, Zagreb 2007, pp. 216–217; Eng. transl. as *Nineteenth-Century Music*, transl. J. Bradford Robinson, Berkeley 1989). There are quite a number of bibliographical items dealing with this question; one of the more recent publications is Vjera Katalinić, 'How to create a national opera? The Lisinski case. Imaginary memoirist sketches with an epilogue', *De musica disserenda* 12 (2016) no. 1, pp. 67–80.

23 For example, the conductor and director were members of the German opera company, the orchestra consisted of teachers from the Musikverein, as well as amateurs, and the leading female role was sung by Countess Sidonija Rubido Erdödy; cf. V. Katalinić, op. cit.

string players) had been organised at the school of the Croatian music institute (the Musikverein).²⁴ The Societas filharmonica zagradiensis was founded in Zagreb in 1827 as an eminent civic association, typical of the modern society at that time, supported by members of the higher classes (nobility, clergy), as well as by ordinary citizens (intellectuals and artisans),²⁵ in order to organise training for musicians and to gather music lovers as performers and audiences for musical events. The society changed its name several times (first in German, then in Croatian) during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, according to the political situation and government funding for its school. Throughout its history, it balanced between strictly musical demands and political and financial circumstances, and in the mid nineteenth century its production of musicians was insufficient even for domestic needs.²⁶ Nevertheless, it led to further training for some excellent young performers, mostly in Vienna, sometimes also in Prague or Milan. They were usually supported financially by the Musikverein itself, as well as by private donations.²⁷ Some of them returned later to Zagreb as guest performers, but secured long-term engagements in European and American theatres, like Ilma de Murska, Matilda Mallinger, Ema Vizjak, Milka Ternina,²⁸

24 On concert programmes and documents, the name 'Musik-Verein in Agram' was often used, although it was not official. The Croaticised version used in the Croatian press was 'Muzikalno društvo' or 'Glasbeno društvo', while from 1847 its official name was 'Skladnoglasja društvo Zagrebačko', the closest translation of its original name. In 1854, when German was reintroduced as the official language, documents addressed to Austrian or governmental institutions bore the title 'Musikverein in Agram', although local communication continued to be made in Croatian, with its title from 1852: 'Društvo prijateljah muzike u Zagrebu' (obviously modelled on the 'Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien'). In 1861 it was transformed into a state institution, received modest subsidies and changed its name to 'Narodni zemaljski glasbeni zavod', and in 1895 to 'Hrvatski zemaljski glasbeni zavod'. Today it is well known under the title established in 1925: 'Hrvatski glazbeni zavod'; cf. Ladišlav Šaban, *150 godina Hrvatskog glazbenog zavoda* [150 years of the Croatian Institute of Music], Zagreb 1982, pp. 42–43.

25 The first group of 107 supporting members, who paid a monthly fee, included 26 civil servants and high-ranking dignitaries (banus, county secretary, mayors, etc.), two town administrators, 11 senior military officers (generals, colonels), five officers (often with their family members), eight senior church dignitaries (bishops, canons) and five priests, and citizens (four pharmacists, two law students, 16 merchants, three physicians, two professors, engineers, artisans, etc.); cf. L. Šaban, op. cit., pp. 20–21. In the nineteenth century, the Musikverein tended to unite all music lovers, regardless of their national, ethnical or class affiliation. However, after the 1848 revolution, some of its members moved back to Hungary or Austria (cf. Vjera Katalinić, 'Die Musikkultur in Zagreb im Jahr 1848/49', in: *Musik und Revolution*, ed. Barbara Boisits, Wien 2013, pp. 209–219).

26 The Musikverein unsuccessfully sought to organise higher education in music already in the 1860s, but for political reasons only obtained the status of a conservatory in 1916.

27 For example, Lisinski was sent to Prague after the success of his first opera. His main financial supporters were members of the Zagreb aristocracy, linked with the National Revival/Illyrian Movement (V. Katalinić, 'How to create a national opera?', op. cit., p. 70).

28 Cf. Vjera Katalinić, 'Verstummt der süßen Stimme Schall: The destiny of four Croatian singers in the "long nineteenth century"', in: *Diasporas. Musiques nomades: objets, réseaux, itinéraires* 26 (2015), pp. 153–169; also open access: <https://diasporas.revues.org/416>.

Matilda Marlov and Josip Kašman.²⁹ Besides singing, training for string players was organised at the Musikverein school from its founding (1829), while training in some wind instruments was sporadically incorporated between the 1830s and the 1860s.³⁰ There was no targeted education in composition,³¹ so musicians usually made rather amateurish attempts in that field, mostly composing smaller pieces for voice, piano or chamber ensemble. The most gifted composer, Vatroslav Lisinski, who was trained partly in Zagreb and partly in Prague, died prematurely at the age of thirty-five in 1854, and for the next fifteen years there was no creative personality strong enough to raise local musical life to a higher level until 1870, when Ivan Zajc (1832–1914) moved from Vienna to Zagreb. Instrumentalists and conductors from Zagreb were usually engaged in the orchestras of foreign opera companies, and military musicians from locally based regiments contributed mostly with their brass ensembles.³² Along with their primary activity, they sometimes stepped in as teachers, as was the case with Antun Schwarz, violinist and conductor of the small orchestra attached to the theatre. In the 1860s, he also instructed some actors in singing,³³ so they could perform in operettas with this ensemble, which preceded the permanent opera company.

VISITING THEATRE AND OPERA COMPANIES

Even though the national theatre building was available from 1852, a stable national theatre company still had to be established, because Demeter's small group of amateur actors was no more than a stopgap, and the repeated calls for actors were unsuccessful. Therefore, the *stagione* system had to be carried on, and the theatre board found the combination of foreign and Croatian performers to be the best temporary solution. Thus, Rudolf Stefan arrived with his company from Vienna and hired some actors in Zagreb (in 1854–55), including Josip Freudenreich, a member of a family of actors of Czech origins. Still, they were unable to perform more demanding repertoire. After the demise of neo-absolutism, some of them gathered again and formed the core of the new theatre group for spoken plays.

From the end of the 1850s, advertisements in Zagreb newspapers published in German and Croatian offered to rent out the Zagreb city theatre to opera/theatre

29 Marija Barbieri, *Hrvatski operni pjevači 1846.–1918*. [Croatian opera singers 1846–1918], Zagreb 1996.

30 L. Šaban, op. cit., p. 60.

31 The first professional teacher in music composition in Zagreb was Blagoje Bersa, from Zadar, trained in Vienna, who in 1921 joined the newly established Music Academy.

32 Some of the instrumentalists from all these groups often participated in other musical events (soirées, chamber concerts, balls and church festivities) held in the theatre, the local National Hall or various restaurants and churches.

33 Actors such as Plemenčić, Ban and Sajević; cf. N. Andrić, op. cit., p. 84.

SLUŽBENI LIST.

Br. 3142. (21) 3—2

Razpis natiččaja
za zakup kazališta u Zagrebu.

Kazališno poduzetlje u Zagrebu dati će se u zakup na dvie godine t. j. od 1. sèrpnja 1860 do dolla 1862. godine pod sljedećim uvjetima:

1. Poduzetnik je obvezan dok zakup traje i to od listopada do konca lipnja svake zakupne godine predstavljat igrokaze, glume i opere;
2. Što se liče opere stoji poduzetniku na volju držat niemačko ili talijansko društvo i isto uporavit ili u isto doba zajedno s igrokazom ili pako u po volji preduzetnikovoj opredieliti se imajućoj posebnoj kojoj dobi svake zakupne godine;
3. Poduzetnik bit će dužan, za popunjenje napomenutih strukah naći po mogućnosti silah od poznate vjestine i davati nove komade, koji su već drugdie obćinsivu omilieti;
4. Natiččelji imaju se osobito vierođostojno izkazati da posieduju shodnih kazališnih haljinah, knjižnicu za igrokaz i operu, zatim o svojoj ćudorednoj i umietničkoj prošlosti kao i o tom, da su sposobni za upravljanje kazališta a napokon, da su kadri položiti jamčevinu od 2000 fr. a. v. u gotovu ili u 5%^o nim državnim hartijama

Nasproti dati će se poduzetniku kazalište (izim ložah), redutna dvorana i stan u 1. kalu zatim nahodeće se garderoba i knjižnica dok traje zakup na slobodno upotrebljavanje a izvan toga osigurava mu se godišnja podpora od 5000 fr. a. vr.

Konačno jošie se opaža, da se ima svake nedielje danah barem jedan večer za poduzetlje predstavah u hrvatsko-slavonskom jeziku, zašto se natiččelji pojedjno razlučeno razpisuje, držat u slobodi i da će oni natiččelji, koji u isto doba uzmu obzir i na posieduje poduzetlje, dobiti prednost pred inima.

Molbenice neka se izvole najdulje do konca veljače t. g. poslati na ovo c. k. namiestničtveno predsjedništvo.

U Zagrebu dne 6. siječnja 1860.

Od c. k. hrvatsko-slavonskoga namiestničtvenoga predsjedništva.

Figure 1. Advertisement for theatre rental, organising of German plays and the opera in Zagreb (*Narodne novine* 36, 13 January 1860, p. 10).

Br. 3142-Pr. (22) 3—2

Oglas natiččaja
zbog poduzetja hrvatsko-slavonskih predstavah na kazalištu u Zagrebu.

Za predstave u hrvatsko-slavonskom jeziku na zagrebačkom kazalištu traže se stvari vješih poduzetnici za sada na dvie godine od 1. sèrpnja 1860 počemši.

Natiččelji imaju se obvezat, da će za rečene dobe na svoj račun svake godine barem 48 predstavah veshih i ozbiljnih igarah dati tako, da se ili u isto doba s niemačkim igrokazom i operom, ili u jednoj po volji izabrat imajućoj se posebnoj dobi hrvatsko-slavonski komadi, za što će poduzetlje niemačkih predstavah i opere po glasu posebnoga natiččajnoga razpisa u tom obziru barem jedan večer svake nedielje danah imati držat u slobodi, budu predstavljali.

Poduzetnik imat će ponajprije na izbor komadah tako u slavenskim izvornicima kao i u dobrim prevodima osobito upravit svoju pozornost a zatim postarat se za predstavljajuće osoblje dovoljno za popunjenje potrebnih igralačkih strukah. Osobit obzir uzet će se na natiččelje, koji već posieduju svèrsi shodnu kazališnu knjižnicu i risnicu (garderobu) i kadri su položiti jamčevinu od 500 fr. a. vr. u gotovu ili u 5%^o nim državnim hartijama.

U ostalom svaki natiččelji ima se izkazat tako o svojoj ćudorednosti kao i o strukovnoj vještni.

Poduzetnik dobit će izvan bezplatna upotrebljavanja kazališne kuće (izim ložah) i nahodeće se garderobe za dane predstavah i nalazeću se knjižnicu ilirskoga repertoara na razpolaganje a za postupovno umnoženje posljednjega izvornicima i prevodima osobitu podporu kao i godišnju subvenciju od 2000 fr. u gotovu.

Natiččelji neka izvole svoje molbenice na ovo c. kr. namiestničtveno predsjedništvo najdulje do konca veljače t. g. poslati.

U Zagrebu dne 6. siječnja 1860.

Od c. k. hrvatsko-slavonskoga namiestničtvenoga predsjedništva.

Figure 2. Advertisement for the production of Croatian plays at the Zagreb City Theatre (*Narodne novine* 36, 13 January 1860, p. 10).

companies.³⁴ Although there was a formal change in 1861, when the National Theatre was founded, those advertisements remained quite similar. The main demands and benefits with regard to renting the theatre as advertised on 13 January 1860 (Figure 1) could be summarised as follows: the theatre could be rented for two years, from 1 July 1860 till 30 June 1862; the theatre director/contractor/entrepreneur was obliged to organise dramas, merry plays and operas from October to the end of June every year; the director

34 Before 1858, theatre companies were engaged by direct negotiations with the magistrate or with the Theatre Board. The new system of public appeals was introduced by the new director of the Board, Ljudevit Vukotinović, and the first appeal was published in *Agramer Zeitung* 33, 17 July 1858, p. 161; cf. Nikola Batušić, 'Uloga njemačkoga kazališta u Zagrebu u hrvatskom kulturnom životu od 1840. do 1860.' [The role played in Croatian cultural life by the German theatre in Zagreb from 1840 to 1860], *Rad JAZU* 353 (1968), pp. 395–582, see p. 463.

could decide by himself whether he wanted to include a German or Italian opera company and to perform operas alternately with spoken plays or to group them in a series one after another; the director was obliged to find skilled and established performers and to create a repertoire combining new shows with others already well received in other cities; candidates had to prove that they already possessed adequate theatre costumes, a library for plays and operas, and proof of their moral, artistic, organisational and financial qualities, being able to pay a deposit of 2,000 florins in cash or in five per cent state bills. On the other hand, over the contract period, the director of the company would obtain use of the assembly hall (the ‘redoubt’³⁵) and an apartment on the first floor, the existing costumes and library, and an annual subsidy of 5,000 florins. Finally, an advantage would be secured by applicants who could guarantee that they could organise at least one performance weekly in Croatian, for which an additional advertisement was published next to the first (Figure 2).³⁶

At the time that advertisement was published, a German theatre company led by Anton August Roll was performing dramas and comedies with music.³⁷ For their benefit performances, the soloists even sang some Croatian songs or specially composed quodlibets by local composers based on popular tunes in order to please the audiences, because – with the growth of national fervour – German plays alone could not ensure a full house. For example, it was reported in the Zagreb German press that the singer Miss Emma Lingg had given a successful benefit performance and performed in Anton Langer’s play *Der Werkelmann und seine Familie* [The organ grinder and his family], for which Mr Müller, the local Kapellmeister, composed a quodlibet arranged from Slavic motifs.³⁸

German companies, who were the first to come to Zagreb in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and were still engaged in the 1840s and 1850s (such as the

35 The assembly hall, located on the first floor of the theatre building, was suitable for balls, and it was used for other – primarily political – purposes as well. For example, it was the venue where in 1848 the Croatian Parliament (Sabor) held some of its sessions. Today it is the assembly hall of the municipal administration (cf. N. Batašić, *Povijest hrvatskog kazališta*, op. cit., p. 224).

36 The advertisement ran from the end of February 1860 (cf. *Narodne novine* 26, 13 January 1860, p. 10).

37 Roll started his season with German plays – some of them with music – on 27 September 1859; N. Batašić, ‘Uloga njemačkoga kazališta u Zagrebu’, op. cit., pp. 465–466).

38 ‘Die Lokal- und Vaudeville-Sängerin, Fräulein Emma Lingg, hat zu ihrem am nächsten Donnerstag (22. d.) stattfindenden Benefize das Lebensbild von Langer: “Der Werkelmann und seine Familie” gewählt, wozu Kapellmeister Hr. Müller ein Quodlibet – mit eingestreuten Slavischen Motiven – arrangirt hat’ (*Agrarer Zeitung* 35, 20 March 1860, p. 66). A few days later, the critic concluded that the performance received ‘von der Benefiziantin ausgezeichnet gut vorgetragene Quodlibet eines rauschenden Beifalls. Fräulein Lingg wurde stürmisch gerufen und wiederholte den Schluß des Quodlibets unter andauerndem Applause’ (*Agrarer Zeitung* 35, 23 March 1860, p. 69). Originally, this play was performed in Vienna two years earlier, with music composed by Franz von Suppé (‘Der Werkelmann (Drehorgelmann) und seine Familie: Original-Lebensbild mit Gesang in drei Akten; am 17. April 1858 zum ersten Mal im k. k. priv. Theater an der Wien mit glänzendem Erfolg gegeben’).

companies led by Joseph Ling(g), Rudolf Stefan and Carl Blattner),³⁹ performed Italian, German and French operatic repertoire in German. However, it seems that Italian opera companies were of better quality, so they soon ousted the German singers and conquered the Zagreb stage. Thus, in the spring of 1860, Ulisse Brambilla, from Milan, signed a contract with the Zagreb Theatre Board to perform Italian operas. He brought an ensemble consisting of nine soloists, 16 choir members with *maestro di coro* and an orchestra of some 30 instrumentalists with conductor.⁴⁰ As announced in the press, he also brought 16 new stage decorations prepared by the painter Zuccarelli from Milan and costumes from La Scala. Zagreb audiences already knew this entrepreneur and were quite satisfied with his *stagioni* in the 1850s.⁴¹ Their 1860 *stagione* started, as was usual for the Italian opera, after Easter and lasted for some six weeks throughout April and May,⁴² when Donizetti's *Poliuto*⁴³ and *La favorita*, as well as Verdi's *Il trovatore* and *La traviata* were staged, performed mostly three or four times each, and the soloist gave a few benefit performances. The audience was not very pleased, although some performances were quite well assessed by the critics. They complained that the season was a flop, with the theatre mostly half empty (for which the fine weather was often blamed),⁴⁴ although some singers did try appealing to audiences by introducing Croatian songs into their benefits or in *entr'actes*.⁴⁵ For some thirty opera performances (including those with mixed programme, when acts from various operas were combined), Brambilla received 3,000 florins in subsidies, and it seems that nobody was satisfied – neither the impresario nor the audiences. Brambilla also hired some German and Croatian actors (with Josip Freudenreich at the head of the ensemble) in order to give spoken plays, but the audience rejected the Germans already in November 1860, so Brambilla had to dissolve the German group.

39 On visiting theatre companies and efforts to introduce Croatian-language theatre during the period up to 1846, see: Vjera Katalinić, 'Paralelni svjetovi ili dvostruki identitet? Strane operne družine i nacionalna glazbena nastojanja u Zagrebu u prvoj polovici 19. st.' [Parallel worlds or dual identity? Foreign opera companies and national musical strivings in Zagreb during the first half of the nineteenth century], in: *Musicologie sans frontières. Muzikologija bez granica. Svečani zbornik za Stanislava Tuksara*, eds. Ivano Cavallini and Harry White, Zagreb 2010, pp. 323–340.

40 The Zagreb opera orchestra at that time was a medium-sized ensemble; cf. Gregory W. Harwood, 'Verdi's reform of the Italian opera orchestra', *Nineteenth-Century Music* 10 (Autumn 1986), pp. 108–134, table on p. 110. For more on performance practices of the time, see: Philipp Gosset, *Divas and scholars: Performing Italian opera*, Chicago–London 2006, and on orchestras see especially the chapter 'Instruments old and new', pp. 407–442.

41 Before the 1860s, Brambilla was in Zagreb with his company in 1852, 1853, 1858 and 1859. Cf. N. Batušić, 'Uloga njemačkoga kazališta u Zagrebu', op. cit., pp. 444, 462, 465, 468.

42 To be more precise, it lasted from 9 April to 4 June 1860. The names of the performers, organisers and repertoires of the opera companies from 1840 to 1870 are currently being entered into a database in the NETMUS19 project (<http://hmd-music.org/netmus19/index.php>).

43 That opera was first staged in Zagreb on 9, 10, 12 and 15 April 1860.

44 'bei unserer Oper, die meist bei leeren Bänken gegeben wird' (*Agramer Zeitung* 35, 25 May 1860, p. 121).

45 'Die Benefize-Vorstellung der Prima donna, Fr. Raiva-Stella, machte einigermaßen eine Ausnahme hievon, was aber nur der Vortrag von zwei National-Liedern im Nationalcostume bewirkte' (*Agramer Zeitung* 35, 1 June 1860, p. 126).

Over the next ten years (from 1860 until 1869), some Italian impresarios came to Zagreb with their singers, but some applicants were rejected by the magistrate, as Table 1 demonstrates:

Table 1. Italian impresarios in Zagreb (from 1860 until 1869).

Year	Impresario	Provenance of the company	Comment
1860	Ulisse Brambilla	Milan	
1861	Rafaele Burlini		
1862	Rafaele Burlini		
1863	–		
1864	–		Rejected: widow Brambilla, ⁴⁶ Giovanni Battista Andreazzi (from Udine), Giuseppe Bernasconi (from Milan) and a certain Roggi ⁴⁷
1865	Giovanni Battista Andreazzi	Udine	
1866	Andreazzi		Rejected: Dottore Gardani (from Rijeka/Fiume)
1867	–		Rejected: Francesco Tirini (from Padua), Cambiaggio (from Milan) ⁴⁸ , Johann Radler (from Vöslau)
1868	–		
1869	Allessandro (?) Betti; taken over by Andreazzi, with Faber becoming executive director	Milan	Rejected: Vernici from Bucharest

According to Italian library sources (mostly from printed libretti), the majority of them were singers, active in the 1840s and 1850s, who were seeking success as impresarios. The subsidies had increased in the meantime, and Betti received 5,000 florins at the end of the period. However, from 1861, when the Croatian National Theatre was founded, the subsidies for Italian opera *stagione* were not secured by the government, but had to be guaranteed by the Theatre Board, mostly from selling theatre boxes. Therefore, when the finances were insufficient (and they have never been sufficient!), Italian opera could not be staged. It seems that some influential citizens protested, so the city council sometimes even jumped in with its support, securing additional sums, such as the 1,000 florins for Betti in 1869.⁴⁹ However, that was likewise not enough, so the prices of boxes had to be raised in order to cover the shortfall.

46 Possibly the singer Giuseppina Brambilla (1819–1903).

47 Some names could not be found in any sources.

48 This may have been Carlo Cambiaggio (1798–1880), a Milanese violinist, singer, impresario and librettist, active in theatres in Milan, Torino, Genoa and elsewhere, mostly during the 1850s.

49 *Narodne novine* 35, 8 February 1869.

The repertoire of all Italian companies was rather uniform. As already mentioned, the calls for impresarios demanded that they ‘create a repertoire combining new shows with others already well received in other cities’. From the musical point of view, the opera directors had to strike a balance between their desires, the size of the company and the potential income. Usually they came – as did Brambilla – with a group of 9–12 soloists, a choir of some 15 members and 25–30 instrumentalists (sometimes even fewer, in which case they counted on local musicians). They rarely performed Rossini (*Il barbiere di Siviglia*), or Bellini (*Norma*, *La sonnambula*, *I Capuleti e i Montecchi*), but preferred Donizetti (*Lucia di Lammermoor*, *L’elisir d’amore*, *Lucrezia Borgia*, *Maria di Rohan*, even *Poliuto*) and above all Verdi (*Un ballo in maschera*, *Ernani*, *Il trovatore*, *Rigoletto*, *La traviata*, even *Luisa Miller*). Only exceptionally did they offer something quite new to audiences: for example, Betti staged Errico Petrella’s opera *Jone, ossia L’ultimo giorno di Pompei* and Andreazzi staged Pedrotti’s *Tutti in maschera* and Giuseppe Apolloni’s *Ebreo* in 1866. A special task for Andreazzi was the production of the opera *La madre slava*, composed by Nicolò de Stermich/Nikola Strmić (1839–96), a nobleman from Zadar/Zara. Andreazzi staged it in Trieste in the spring of 1865, and the Zagreb Theatre Board wanted to have it on its stage that same year, when Andreazzi was due to give his *stagione* there. The opera director required additional funding, and the Zagreb Assembly was even prepared to provide it, but the organisation was too complicated because of some specific stage decorations. Finally, on 26 May 1866, that work was premiered in Zagreb, before being repeated three times. The popular topic of the Montenegrins’ fight for freedom against the Ottoman Turks, as well as the ‘domestic’ origins of the composer (even though he composed it in Italian), and especially the fact that he included two rousing Croatian songs, secured a full theatre.⁵⁰ This Verdian *grand opéra* in three acts with a grand finale was well suited to the Italian repertoire of the company on one hand and to the national strivings of the Zagreb audience on the other.

Speaking about exceptions in the choices of opera companies, the period under consideration started with one such occurrence. The year 1860, when the pressure of neo-absolutism weakened, brought a rise of national fervour not only in Croatia, but also in other crown lands of the Habsburg Empire. A unique event in the history of the Zagreb theatre was a series of guest performances given by a Hungarian operatic and theatre company. István Reszlér from Budapest arrived in Zagreb at the beginning of July 1860 and over the following six weeks performed 10 operas – some of them three or four times⁵¹ – two dramas and three comedies with singing and dancing. Reszlér

50 For a thorough analysis of the opera and its performances, see: Caterina Brugnera, *Illirismo e tradizione melodrammatica italiana ne ‘La madre slava’ di Nikola Strmić (1865)*, Trieste 2000–2001; Caterina Brugnera, ‘La madre slava di Nikola Strmić: un tentativo di incontro tra illirismo e opera italiana’, *Musica e storia* 12 (2004) no. 3, pp. 591–610.

51 The benefit performances were included in the *stagione* plan.

himself, a tenor, was among the eight singers. Their performances were very well received, the audiences welcomed a company that gave meticulous productions, and the voices of the singers immediately pleased reviewers and opera fans alike.⁵² Along with the standard repertoire of Donizetti (*Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Linda di Chamornix*) and Verdi (*Rigoletto*, *Ernani*, *I due foscari*,⁵³ *Il trovatore*), two Hungarian national operas were performed, which were completely new to the Zagreb audience: Erkel's *Hunyady Laszlo*, premiered in 1844, and György Császár's *A kunok* [The Cumanians], from 1848. The audiences received this company with warmth, and undoubtedly with a sort of solidarity for their national struggle and identification through the music. The critics praised Erkel's well-known national opera as a skilfully composed work and recognised his intention to weave national features into the musical fabric, but concluded that it was obviously a mixture of various schools, with many formulas from Italian and German operatic styles with a touch of Hungarian colour.⁵⁴ Császár's *The Cumanians* was presented in reviews as a work of 'many melodies composed after foreign, mostly Italian, models',⁵⁵ and so the audience liked it even more.

Besides operas, the Hungarian company performed spoken works, although these were played to half-empty houses, because in Zagreb – according to the reviews – few people spoke Hungarian. However, the reviewers encouraged theatre-goers to attend such plays too, and especially the merry plays with music and dance, because they were performed with enthusiasm and excellence, so one could enjoy and mostly comprehend the show even without understanding the text.⁵⁶

Whether this was courtesy or the truth, the performances appear to have been of such a high standard that one critic concluded his general survey of the entire *stagione* with the following words: 'If a national theatre society is ever established here [i.e. in Zagreb], we wish wholeheartedly that it be animated by such a beautiful spirit as rules Reszler's company'.⁵⁷

That was the only Hungarian theatre ensemble to officially give guest performances in Zagreb during the nineteenth century, although Hungarian chamber ensembles, even with folk instruments, often played in restaurants, especially in summer gardens. When the political situation altered in 1868, after the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise, the cultural situation underwent considerable change as well. Under

52 *Narodne novine* 36, 31 August 1860, p. 199.

53 This was the first performance of *I due foscari* in Zagreb. It seems to have flopped, so for the benefit of the singer Leonora Fürst, instead of another performance of *Foscari*, she changed the programme to Halévy's *La Juive* (*Narodne novine* 26, 21 August 1860, p. 191).

54 *Narodne novine* 26, 23 July 1860, p. 168.

55 *Narodne novine* 26, 31 August 1860, p. 199.

56 This claim was made with regard to a performance of the folk play *Csikos* (*Narodne novine* 26, 28 July 1860, p. 173).

57 *Narodne novine* 26, 31 August 1860, p. 199. Regrettably, from the newspaper texts and scarce archival documentation, it is not quite clear how this company came to Zagreb; that is, who invited them, who inspired their guest appearances, how they responded to appeals, etc.

the new circumstances, one would wonder whether Hungarian performances would be met by such a benevolent and friendly Croatian audience.

TOWARDS THE NATIONAL OPERA COMPANY

This brief survey was offered here in order to show what type of operatic repertoire was performed in Zagreb, where the companies came from and, to some extent, how the audiences reacted to the (obviously) varying levels of their performances.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, it was mostly German opera companies that came to Zagreb. With the growth of national awareness in the 1830s, and especially after the performance of Lisinski's *Love and Malice* in 1846, the German language was not received well on the stage. The solution was to hire Italian itinerant groups, which were mostly better in performance and did not cause any national opposition, even during the neo-absolutist period of the 1850s. However, during the following decade, after the founding of the drama section of the National Theatre in 1861, the major project became establishing a group of performers trained in music and in Croatian (including foreigners, possibly of Slavic origin). In this sense, the hiring of foreign, even Italian, performers was considered the least desirable temporary solution necessary to satisfy the audience until a national opera company was established. The repertoire of those foreign companies was mostly Italian. The once popular Rossini operas slowly fell into oblivion, with the exception of *Il barbiere di Siviglia*.⁵⁸ Even Bellini's and Donizetti's operas were less present on stage, in the face of the growing popularity of Verdi's operatic output. Compared to foreign stages, where Wagner's operas were slowly gaining popularity, Zagreb opera audiences would become acquainted with them only from the 1890s onwards. The striking success of the Hungarian company in 1860 manifested the hunger for national expression, the Zagreb audiences identifying with Hungarian national strivings – a feeling that was completely wiped out very soon, already before the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise of 1868. The audiences redirected their sympathies towards Slavic topics, as in Stermich's *La madre Slava* (1867), performed by Andreazzi's company.

Along with the above-described guest performances, it seems that the Theatre Board – not only because of the lack of funds, but also for ideological/national reasons – wanted to encourage the national theatre company to train its own singers and instrumentalists. Therefore, it also hired a domestic company, led by the actor Josip Freudenreich; then, for a while, it tried to manage the theatre company on its own. Nevertheless, almost from the beginning of that period, besides various comedies with singing and dancing, the actors of the National Theatre started to perform operettas, and from 1863 on they performed them only in Croatian. This small group

⁵⁸ Rossini died in 1868, but he wrote his last opera in 1829. He was ousted by the works of more 'modern' composers, such as Bellini, Donizetti and Verdi.

formed the core of the new national ensemble in 1870. Thus, along with Italian opera companies, a series of musical works in the national language were staged. Between 1863 and the end of the 1869/1870 season, they consisted of 24 operettas by Offenbach, Suppé and others, all of them in Croatian (see Table 2).⁵⁹ Among these ‘others’, the most often mentioned name in the repertoire was that of Johann von Zaytz/Ivan Zajc, the Croatian composer born in Fiume/Rijeka, educated in Milan and active at that time in Vienna, where his operettas were performed with varying success. He was chosen by Croatian intellectuals to be invited to the Croatian capital in order to organise and direct the permanent opera ensemble of the National Theatre, to establish a standard repertoire and to create a genuine national operatic output. In 1870, he settled in Zagreb for good and devoted himself to fulfilling these three tasks, especially insisting on the professionalisation of musical life in Zagreb.⁶⁰ Thus, the first season of the new national opera department started on 2 October 1870 with Zajc’s own national opera *Mislav*.⁶¹

Table 2. Operettas performed at the Zagreb National Theatre.

Composer	Original title	Firstly staged	Genuine Croatian or translated into Croatian
Jacques Offenbach	<i>Le mariage aux lanternes</i>	1863–11–08	Translation
Jacques Offenbach	<i>Un mari à la porte</i>	1864	Translation
Jacques Offenbach	<i>Le violoneux</i>	1864	Translation
Ivan Nepomuk Köck	<i>Šerežanin</i>	1864	Croatian
Jacques Offenbach	<i>Pépito</i>	1864	Translation
Jacques Offenbach	<i>Monsieur et madame Denis</i>	1865	Translation
Adolphe Adam	<i>Les pantins de Violette</i>	1865	Translation

59 A complete list and analysis of performed operettas is given in: Vjera Katalinić, ‘Opera and operetta in the late nineteenth-century Zagreb National Theatre: Composers, librettists, and themes – a comparison’, in: *Musical theatre as high culture?*, eds. Vjera Katalinić, Stanislav Tuksar and Harry White, Zagreb 2011, pp. 75–95.

60 Zajc arrived in Zagreb in January 1870. However, the negotiations for his relocation to Zagreb lasted for two or three years. The conditions offered to him were attractive enough, and the decisive factor could have been the indifference of Viennese audiences; cf. Stanislav Tuksar, ‘First performances of Zajc’s stage works in Vienna as reflected in criticism – part II’, in: *Young Zajc, Vienna, 1862–1870*, eds. Vjera Katalinić and Stanislav Tuksar, Rijeka 2003, pp. 129–145.

61 Zajc composed more than a dozen operas in Zagreb of various types, some of them representatively marked as national. Above all, there is his national-historical trilogy: *Mislav* (1870), *Ban Leget* (1872) and *Nikola Šubić Zrinski* (1876). A recent publication on Zajc and his oeuvre is: *Ivan Zajc (1832–1914). Musical migrations and cultural transfers in the ‘long’ nineteenth century in Central Europe and beyond*, ed. Stanislav Tuksar, Zagreb 2016.

Jacques Offenbach	<i>La chanson de Fortunio</i>	1865	Translation
Franz v. Suppé	<i>Flotte Bursche</i>	1866	Translation
Franz v. Suppé	<i>Dichter und Bauer</i>	1866	Translation
Franz v. Suppé	<i>10 Mädchen und kein Mann</i>	1866	Translation
Jacques Offenbach	<i>La Babillarde de Saragosse</i>	1867	Translation
Ivan Zajc	<i>Mannschaft an Bord!</i>	1867	Translation
Ivan Reyschill	<i>Mornari i djaci</i>	1868	Croatian
Franz v. Suppé	<i>Die schöne Galathea</i>	1868	Translation
Jacques Offenbach	<i>Daphnis et Chloe</i>	1868	Translation
Ivan Zajc	<i>Nach Mekka!</i>	1868	Translation
Ivan Zajc	<i>Meister Puff</i>	1869	Translation
Jacques Offenbach	<i>Les Savoyards</i>	1869	Translation
Ivan Zajc	<i>Somnambule</i>	1870	Translation
Ivan Zajc	<i>Die Lazzaroni von Neapel</i>	1870	Translation
Ivan Zajc	<i>Die Hexe von Boissy</i>	1870	Translation
Ivan Zajc	<i>Mädchenträume</i>	1870	Translation
Ivan Zajc	<i>Das Gaugericht</i>	1870	Translation

So the itinerant theatre companies performing in Zagreb over that period were based exclusively in Austrian provinces, mainly in Italy (Udine, Trieste, Milan), with the exception of the Budapest company. However, that phase in the development of the Zagreb musical stage was marked by numerous crossroads: geographical, ideological/national, musical and, last but not least, aesthetic. The lack of relevant newspaper reviews, especially those in Croatian,⁶² and of well-trained music reviewers poses limitations for a thorough study of some of these aspects. This article is the first attempt to put Zagreb and its theatre on the map of migrating musicians and theatre companies in Central Europe. The conclusions point to the slow development of satisfactory theatrical conditions in this capital, especially with regard to musical education and the demands of local audiences. In that development, all types of guest performances (by companies or individuals) played an important role in imposing higher standards on both the performing musicians and the consumers of their art.

62 Analysis of newspaper reviews shows that, generally speaking, critics who wrote for German newspapers were better educated in music and had a broader cultural background. Those who wrote for the Croatian press, although cultivated, highlighted the national before the aesthetic aspect, giving priority to the national language and to home-grown authors and performers.

ZAGRZEB NA OPEROWYCH ROZDROŻACH W LATACH 60. XIX WIEKU:
KRĘTA DROGA DO OPERY NARODOWEJ

W latach sześćdziesiątych XIX w. Zagrzeb nie posiadał stałego zespołu operowego, ale jego załóżek istniał w zespole dramatycznym Teatru Narodowego, ponieważ od 1863 r. mała orkiestra teatralna wykonywała operetki. Teatr Narodowy jako instytucja powstał w 1861 r., jednakże budynek teatru, wzniesiony w 1834 r. i od 1852 r. należący do władz miasta, nieprzerwanie był siedzibą zagranicznych grup operowych, zwłaszcza należących do Habsburgów (Cesarstwa Austriackiego, a od 1867 r. Monarchii Austro-Węgierskiej), pochodzących przeważnie z ich włoskich prowincji.

Artykuł zawiera zwarty opis powstawania teatru oraz omówienie różnych zagranicznych zespołów przyjeżdżających z miast węgierskich, austriackich i włoskich, i ich repertuaru (głównie włoski, sporadycznie utwory niemieckie i węgierskie), a także jego recepcji, w oparciu o publikowaną w Zagrzebiu niemiecko- i chorwackojęzyczną prasę. Podnosi również problem znaczenia lokalnej edukacji muzycznej oraz chorwackich dzieł napisanych w tym okresie w Zagrzebiu jako odpowiedź na wzrost nastrojów narodowych, dla doprowadzenia do powstania stałego zespołu operowego w 1870 roku.

Przekł. Jolanta Guzy-Pasiak

Keywords/słowa kluczowe: National Theatre in Zagreb / Teatr Narodowy w Zagrzebiu, music in Croatia / muzyka w Chorwacji, foreign companies in Zagreb / zagraniczne trupy teatralne w Zagrzebiu.

Vjera Katalinić, scientific advisor and director at the Department for the History of Croatian Music, Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb; full professor at the University of Zagreb, Music Academy. Her fields of interest: musical culture in the 18th and 19th centuries, the mobility of music and musicians and their networks; music archives in Croatia. Leader of the HERA project 'Music migrations in the early modern age' (MusMig, 2013–2016); leader of the Croatian Research Foundation project 'Networking through Music: changes of paradigms in the "long 19th century"' (NETMUS19, 2017–2021). Recent book: *The Sorkočevićs: Aristocratic musicians from Dubrovnik* (2014). fides@hazu.hr