

TEŽNJE I PREPREKE U INSTITUCIONALIZACIJI NACIONALNE OPERE U ZAGREBU 1860-IH GODINA¹

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Abstrakt: Između 1840. i 1860. godine zagrebačko kazalište mjesto je gostovanja njemačkog kazališta i talijanske opere. Od 1861, kad je saborskom odlukom osnovano Nacionalno kazalište, istovremeno se angažiraju talijanske družine s pokušajima samostalnog davanja glazbeno-scenskih predstava. Financijske ali i kadrovske prepreke otežavale su te napore.

Ključne riječi: Zagreb; 1860–1870; Nacionalno kazalište; opera; opereta.

Kulturna situacija u Banskoj Hrvatskoj (kao dijelu Trojedne kraljevine) 19. stoljeća snažno je obilježena nacionalnim pokretom 1830-ih godina, kada su se na temelju herderovskih postavki o jeziku i kulturi nacije (bez obzira ima li ona svoju državu ili ne)² kao njenih glavnih odrednica počeli stvarati obrisi nacionalnog identiteta, a sve u pretežito germanskom

1

U tekstu su prikazani rezultati istraživanja u okviru projekta IP-06-2016-4476 pri Hrvatskoj zakladi za znanost *Umrežavanje glazbom: promjene paradigmi u "dugom 19. stoljeću"* – od Luke Sorkočevića do Franje Ksavera Kuhača (2017–2021).

2

Brojni su radovi analizirali Herderov utjecaj – bilo posrednim ili neposrednim putem. S obzirom da velik dio populacije u Banskoj Hrvatskoj nije imao mogućnosti, znanja ni interesa baviti se kulturnom politikom, napisi u domaćim novinama u tome su igrali važnu ulogu. Jedine novine na hrvatskom jeziku u to vrijeme – *Novine Horvatzke* (sa svim kasnijim inačicama naziva) pokrenute 1835, imale su kulturni prilog *Danica*, koja je donosila tekstove hrvatskih iliraca, obilno inspirirane pojedinim idejama njemačkih mislilaca, posebno Herdera (1744–1803). O tome više vidi u: Švoger, 1998, 455–478.

kulturnom ozračju govorenog i glazbenog kazališta. U takvim se nastojanjima i ostvarenjima očitovala ne samo gradska uprava, kojoj je još od kraja 18. stoljeća briga za funkcioniranje kazališta značila brigu za kulturni status grada i zabavu njenih istaknutijih predstavnika, nego i politički establishment Banske Hrvatske, osobito u fazi nacionalnih previranja. Uz vojno inicirana kazališta u Karlovcu i Osijeku, zatim građanskim inicijativama pokrenuta kazališta u Varaždinu i Rijeci, i ono zagrebačko (najprije plemićko u palači Pejačević-Kulmer-Amadé, a potom i ono građansko, Stankovićevo) temeljilo se na sezonskim gostovanjima (*stagionama*) inozemnih kazališnih poduzetnika.³ U Zagreb su dolazili prvenstveno njemački impresariji s glumačkim drušinama koje su izvodile govorene predstave i jednostavnija glazbeno-scenska djela pa i opere, a kasnije su im se priključile i talijanske operne družine, bilo u podnajmu ili u samostalnom najmu kazališta.

Dok je u govorenom kazalištu prve polovice 19. stoljeća bilo nekoliko pokušaja uvođenja “narodnog”, “ilirskog” jezika, i to upravo kad je kazalište bilo u rukama njemačkih kazališnih direktora (tako npr. u doba impresarijâ Mayera, Schweigerta ili Börnstaina), koji, međutim, nisu uspjeli u svom naumu,⁴ čini se da je vokalni i vokalno-instrumentalni diskurs u tome bio uspješniji i dinamičniji. Naime, ilirskim idejama nošene lirske, a osobito budničke pjesme, koje su poticale borbu za nacionalnom obnovom i jedinstvom, nisu postale samo važnim dijelom zbornog i koncertnog repertoara, nego su se – katkad

3

Za razliku od većih središta Habsburškog carstva ili europskih metropola, Zagreb, kao ni drugi gradovi hrvatskih zemalja, nisu imali stalne kazališne družine. U Zagrebu će se to promijeniti nakon pada neoapsolutizma, a u drugim hrvatskim gradovima znatno kasnije. Literatura o toj temi vrlo je opširna, a ovdje ističemo tri priloga Nikole Batušića (Batušić, 1968, 1978, 2017). Međutim, Nikola Batušić (1938–2010) istražio je prvenstveno predstave govorenog kazališta, a onog njemačkog do ukinuća njemačkih predstava 1860. godine, dok su “talijanske stagione spominjane tek radi kronološke veze među pojedinim njemačkim drušinama, i fenomen prisutnosti talijanskih opernih pjevača kao i njihov repertoar nije posebno obrađivan. To bi pitanje valjalo opširnije obraditi u povijesnom pregledu razvoja zagrebačke opere” (Batušić, 1968, 444). Poglavlje *Das deutschsprachige Theater in Zagreb* u (Batušić, 2017, 47–110), malo je proširena verzija članka iz 1968. godine, ali i dalje prvenstveno vezana uz neglazbenu scenu (Batušić, 1968).

4

Više u: Katalinić, 2010, 323–340. Takvi su pokušaji ostali bez ikakva rezultata zahvaljujući nepostojanju odgovarajućeg glumačkog kadra.

i kao sasvim tržišni ustupak njemačkih voditelja – umetale bilo u međučinove njemačkih glazbeno-scenskih djela, ili čak u sama ta djela.⁵ Veći su uspjeh postigli prijevodi i adaptacije takvih komada (u početku još na kajkavsko narječje hrvatskog jezika), također s umetnutim “nacionalnim” pjesmama, kao npr. komad Josefa Schweigerta⁶ u prijevodu Dragutina Rakovca (1813–1854), *Ztari zaszebni kuchish Petra tretjega* “z ruzkim i horvatzkim pevanjem vu 1. Zpelaju”, izveden 1833. (Vinković, 1935, 8). Sljedeći je korak bila uspjeta izvedba Kukuljevićeve drame *Juran i Sofija, ili Turci kod Siska*, koju je 1839. dvaput izvela amaterska družina u Sisku kod kraljevske ugarske plemićke tjelesne straže. Predstava je priređena u velikoj dvorani kaptolske gostionice čemu je prisustvovalo gotovo 400 osoba. Na kraju su glumci zapjevali *Nek se hrusti šaka mala* i *Doletiš ptice kukavice*. Jedan od važnih čimbenika i potvrda na putu emancipacije nacionalnog glazbenog kazališta bila je i izvedba “prve hrvatske nacionalne opere”, Lisinskijeve *Ljubavi i zlobe* 1846. Uz domaće profesionalne i amaterske glazbenike i tu su važnu ulogu odigrali članovi njemačke kazališne družine Karla Rosenschöna,⁷ koji je u proljeće iste godine najavio svoj odlazak iz Zagreba (Agramer Zeitung, 1846, 112).

S druge strane, nacionalno-političke težnje svoju su kulminaciju doživjele u “Zahtijevanjima naroda” od 25. 3. 1848. godine, u popisu zahtjeva prema austrijskome caru Ferdinandu II, u kojima se traži niz društvenih i političkih ustupaka i reformi: postavljanje Josipa Jelačića (1801–1859) za bana, odvajanje od Ugarske, ukidanje kmetstva, staleškog poretka i cenzure, sloboda vjeroispovijesti, uvođenje općeg prava glasa i zastup-

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Kao jedan od ranih primjera može poslužiti njemački igrokaz *Das schwarze Kreuz auf der Burg Medvedgrad* Josefa Schweigerta, režisera njemačke družine Carla Mayera, koja je u listopadu 1835. postigla znatan uspjeh, nesumnjivo zahvaljujući i korištenju narodnih instrumenata i nošnji, a osobito umetanjem Gaj-Livadićeve budnice *Još Hrvatska nij'propala* i još nekih popularnih ilirskih pjesama.

6

Godine života i smrti Josefa Schweigerta nisu navedene jer nisu poznate, kao uostalom i za niz drugih impresarija poput Mayera ili Rosenschöna te glumaca i pjevača iz njihovih družina. Sudeći po elementima iz njihovih biografija, većina ih je mogla biti rođena krajem 18. ili početkom 19. stoljeća.

7

O sudionicima i izvedbi opere *Ljubav i zloba* postoji niz članaka. Jedan od novijih je i Katalinić, 2016.

ničkog umjesto staleškog sabora. Jelačić je doista i postavljen za bana, ali je nakon neuspjelih revolucija, oktroiranog ustava 1849. i raspuštanja Banskog vijeća 1850. godine uslijedilo razdoblje neoapsolutizma koje je na 10 godina prekinulo takva samostalna i nacionalno artikulirana nastojanja. Time je završio preporod kao inicijalna faza narodnog pokreta (Iveljić, 2016, 348). Ipak, iako se to razdoblje prepoznaje po snažnoj cenzuri⁸ i germanizaciji⁹, u suglasju s centraliziranom moći, ostvareno je niz manje spektakularnih, ali za Hrvatsku važnih postignuća¹⁰, kao što je prikupljanje statističkih, kulturno-povijesnih i zemljopisnih podataka, zahvaljujući agilnosti Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog (1816–1889) prvenstveno (Iveljić, 2016, 352).¹¹ Unutarnjom akcijom, međutim, ostvareno¹² je i jedno, za kulturu Zagreba i Hrvatske važno postignuće: nakon Stankovićeve zatvaranja kazališta zbog nedovoljnog profita, pokreće se akcija za njegov otkup. Naime, s obzirom da je Kristoforu Stankoviću (1793–1867) Grad ustupio dvije parcele za gradnju, pomogavši mu tako u njegovoj inicijativi ulaganja u gradu prijeko potrebnog zdanja za kulturu i zabavu, prema ugovoru, Grad je imao i pravo prvokupa. Stanković je nudio kazalište za 60 000 forinti, a pregovorima je iznos spušten na 50 000 i to plativo u obrocima. Ban Jelačić je

8

I kazalište je bilo podvrgnuto strogoj cenzuri na temelju Kazališnog zakona i pripadajućih uputa (*Theater-Ordnung, Instruction*) Alexandra Bacha (1813–1893), a osobito su strogo bile preispitivane govorene predstave, dočim se talijanska opera smatrala standardom i u drugim gradovima Monarhije pa tako i neopasnom po režim. Bachov *Theater-Ordnung* bio je u uporabi, uz neke izmjene, sve do propasti Austro-Ugarske Monarhije!

9

Njemački je jezik postao službenim 1854.

10

Iveljić to naziva "modernizacijom odozgo" (Iveljić, 2016, 353).

11

Ovdje valja istaknuti i važno Kukuljevićevo djelo *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih* objavljen u pet svezaka između 1858. i 1860. u kojem je obuhvatio sve vrste umjetnosti, ali i područje južnih Slavena – od Štajerske do Bugarske – ističući, međutim, Dalmaciju kao glavno rasadište umjetnika; više u: Kukuljević Sakcinski, 1858, [6].

12

Kako je Stanković smatrao svoje poduzeće neuspješnim i nedovoljno isplativim, na prodaju se odlučio tijekom 1851. godine, iako je o tome razmišljao i 10 godina ranije, još u doba njemačkog impresarija Heinricha Börnsteina (1805–1892). Grad je također bio nezadovoljan njegovim načinom upravljanja kazalištem, pogotovo njegovim izborom gostujućih družina jer ga je prvenstveno vodila ideja o popularnosti i probitku, a manje o edukativnome momentu odabira kvalitetnijeg repertoara.

1851. započeo poticajnu akciju sakupljanja novčanih sredstava za otkup zgrade, a početkom 1852. godine ona je i otkupljena od Kristofora Stankovića.¹² Iz prikupljenih sredstava za otkup formira se kazališna zaklada, koja će i kasnije, sve do u 1860-e, potpomagati njegovo financiranje. Upravno tijelo – Kazališni odbor odgovoran Saboru – oformljen je još 1840, te je povremeno mijenjalo svoj sastav.¹³ Tako je utemeljeno zagrebačko nacionalno kazalište u organizacijskom smislu uz nabavku lokacije na kojoj će se njegovati prvenstveno “narodni” izričaj.¹⁴ No kazalište je i dalje funkcioniralo na bazi *stagione*,¹⁵ jer nisu bile ispunjene neke druge pretpostavke za njegov samostalan rad: institucionaliziranje kazališta kao ustanove od nacionalnog značenja, ali još više stvaranje jezgre glumačke družine koja bi nosila nacionalni repertoar. Ova prva pretpostavka nije u tom trenutku ni bila ostvariva, jer su nakon revolucije 1848/49. nacionalne težnje bile potisnute i zabranjene. Jedan od zadataka Kazališnog odbora jest da daje kazalište u najam i objavljuje natječaje u hrvatskim, njemačkim i talijanskim novinama i to za održavanje predstava i na hrvatskom i na njemačkom jeziku te za operu, a rezultati su bili promjenjiva uspjeha.

Pitanje kazališta kao institucije i kao izvodilačke družine još je uvijek bilo otvoreno, kao i mnoga druga pitanja od nacionalnokulturne važnosti. Te su potrebne odredbe ostvarene tek nakon ukinuća neoapsolutizma. Naime, nakon neuspjelih ratova protiv Italije, Francuske i Prusije, Franjo Josip morao se ponovno pobrinuti za dotok financijskih sredstava i napuniti

13

U kolovozu 1840. Sabor je izglasao članak XXVII kojim se osniva Kazališni odbor. Imenovao ga je banski namjesnik Biskup Haulik (1788–1869); izabrani su: predsjednik grof Janko Drašković (1770–1856), odbornici: grof Juraj Oršić, Mirko Inkej, Ivan Čoka, Josip Štajdacher, Metel Ožegović, Ludovik Jelačić, Ludovik Sinković. Svi su oni stalni državni odbornici za nadgledanje kazališne glavnice, a blagajnik je postao Ignat Kršnjavi. O tome su izvjestile *Ilirske narodne novine* (Ilirske narodne novine, 1840).

14

I domaće i inozemne novine često će ga već tada nazivati Nacionalnim kazalištem, kao npr. u vijesti od 10. 9. 1854. gdje izvijestitelj piše da Kazališni odbor nije uspio naći zakupca za National-Theater pa će sam organizirati davanje igrokaza i dramskih predstava (Wiener Zeitung, 1854).

15

Oglasi za davanje kazališta u zakup objavljuju se u zagrebačkim, ali i austrijskim i talijanskim novinama.

državnu blagajnu, a za to je krunskim zemljama trebao dati i određene koncesije. Jedna od njih bila je i dozvola rada lokalnih parlamenata. Iako je Hrvatski sabor zasjedao kratko, u nekoliko je mjeseci donesen niz važnih odluka (koje su se nakupile u 10 godina nesastajanja Sabora!), koje će dugoročno usmjeriti i donekle definirati hrvatsku kulturnu politiku. Među njima su pokretanja postupka za utemeljenje Južnoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, modernog Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, a donese su i odluke o utemeljenju Narodnog muzeja, o subvencioniranju škole Narodnog zemaljskog glazbenog zavoda¹⁶ kao važne glazbeno-obrazovne institucije te saborski zaključak br. 77 od 24. 8. 1861. kojim se donosi odluka o utemeljenju Narodnog kazališta Trojedne kraljevine.¹⁷ Međutim, car nikad nije potvrdio zakon, ali je on i dalje sustavno primjenjivan jer je kazalište stavljeno pod ingerenciju Sabora, a ne vlade (što će se promijeniti 10 godina kasnije). Sabor, dakle, putem Kazališnog odbora upravlja kazalištem (zgradom, donacijama i zakladom), dozvoljava da se mjesečno iz zakladinih kamata upotrijebi 1 500 forinti mjesečno, te se obvezuje na mjesečnu potporu od 600 forinti na teret sredstava koja su se i ranije koristila za subvencioniranje kazališta. Pred Odbor i kazalište postavljeni su sljedeći zadaci: održavanje predstava u Zagrebu i izvan njega (gostovanja), raspisivanje natječaja i nagrađivanje najboljih kazališnih djela, hitna isplata Albertu Štrigi (1821–1897) kao preostali dug od 1 700 forinti za otkup opernih partitura Vatroslava Lisinskog (*Ljubav i zloba*, *Porin*), prijenos kazališne nekretnine u zemljišnim knjigama na ime Trojedne kraljevine te nastojanje da se što prije ostvare dva zadatka: stvaranje učilišta za glumu uz plaćanje učitelja te da se “s vremenom ustroji opera” (Batušić, 1969, 88). Sve će se ove odluke provoditi djelovanjem Saborskog odbora za kazalište.

Ni u pogledu glazbenog kazališta nije došlo do naglih promjena: glumačka je družina postupno stvarana, no i dalje su gostujuće kompanije izvodile glazbeno-scenski repertoar. U natječajima

16

To je bilo novo ime nekadašnjeg *Musikvereina*, jer je, zahvaljujući (uvijek nedovoljnim) subvencijama njegove škole, postao nacionalnom institucijom.

17

Tekst Članak LXXVII o kazalištu jugoslavenskom Trojedne kraljevine iz službenih je novina prenesen u: (Batušić, 1969, 88).

za zakup kazališta prepušta se impresariju da organizira opere uz govorene predstave ili naizmjenično, ili u bloku. Češće su se operne predstave davale u bloku, obično njih 30 tijekom šest tjedana nakon Uskrsa i početkom ljeta. Gostovanje dviju opernih družina bilo je rijetko.¹⁸ I 1860. u Zagrebu su gostovale čak dvije: ponovno ona *Ulissea Brambille* (?)¹⁹ iz Milana i Istvána Reszléra (1831? –1874) iz Budimpešte. Brambilla je tijekom 1850-ih godina u dva navrata sa svojom opernom družinom gostovao u Zagrebu, a ovog je puta imao dvogodišnji ugovor ne samo za operu,²⁰ već i za hrvatske i za njemačke predstave i to od 1. srpnja 1860. do 30. lipnja 1862. Prvi, operni dio – 25 predstava s ansamblom od devet solista, 16 zborista i oko 30 orkestralnih glazbenika s kapelnikom J. Davidom (?) – obuhvatio je u to doba uobičajeni repertoar talijanske opere Gaetana Donizettija (1797–1848) s djelima *Poliuto*, *La Favorita*, *Gemma di Vergy* i Giuseppea Verdija (1813–1901) s djelima *Il Trovatore* i *Traviata*. Brambilla je dobio subvenciju i za izvedbu njemačkih i hrvatskih govorenih predstava no s hrvatskima je zakazao, o čemu svjedoče ljutite kritike i komentari, osobito u novinama na hrvatskom jeziku. Ujesen 1860. nezadovoljstvo publike je – potaknuto novim valom nacionalnih sloboda – preraslo u otvorenu pobunu tako da nisu dozvolili glumcima ni da započnu njemačku predstavu. Tako su se od 24. studenog 1860. na sceni zagrebačkog (a od 1861. i formalno Narodnog) kazališta prikazivale samo predstave na hrvatskom jeziku i talijanska opera.

18

Tako je 1852. nakon Uskrsa u Zagrebu djelovala družina Domenica Scalarija (?) iz Venecije, a u zimskoj sezoni (najveći se dio predstava održao pa i najveća zarada ostvarila nakon Božića tj. u karnevalsko vrijeme) družina impresarija *Ulissea Brambille* iz Milana.

19

Ulisse Brambilla je predstavnik istaknute glazbeničke obitelji, najmlađi brat poznatih pjevačica: sopranistice Amalije (1811–1880), Emilije i Erminije. Nažalost, podaci o Ulisseovim datumima rođenja i smrti nisu poznati.

20

Mađarski su izvođači i jednom ranije gostovali u Zagrebu, ali ne s opernim predstavama. Izvjesni Balog(h) boravio je sa svojom družinom u Zagrebu 1827. godine, no o kojoj se osobi i repertoaru radi, nije poznato. Možda je to bio glumac i kazališni direktor István Balog (1790–1873), ili pak – možda i vjerojatnije – manje poznati János Balogh (?), koji je djelovao u prvoj polovici 19. stoljeća na pokrajinskim scenama. Osim toga, bilo je nekoliko mađarskih glazbenih sastava koji su gotovo svake godine gostovali u Zagrebu, najčešće ljeti, i u vrtovima poznatih restorana zabavljali goste.

Samo jednom (još prije kazališnog zakona iz 1861) publika je oduševljeno prihvatila i jedinu mađarsku družinu, onu Istvána Reszléra,²⁰ koja se isticala kvalitetnim pjevačima i glumcima, ali i više zbog izvedbe mađarske nacionalne opere *Hunyadi Laszló* Ferenza Erkela (1810–1893). U to je doba zagrebačka publika pokazala i svoju solidarnost s mađarskom borbom za emancipaciju svog jezika i kulture, što se više neće ponoviti, osobito nakon Hrvatsko-ugarske nagodbe iz 1868. Osim Erkelova nacionalno obojenog djela, ta je družina izvela standardni repertoar s djelima Donizettija (*Poliuto*, *La Favorita*, *Gemma di Vergy*) i Verdija (*Rigoletto*, *Ernani*, *I due foscari*, *Il Trovatore*), a osvrli na izvedbe svjedoče o promjenjivoj, ali ipak pozitivnoj ocjeni kvalitete ansambla i solista. I tu je dodatni aplauz zaslužila jedna od mađarskih primadona, Roza Dalnoki (?), koja je na svojoj korisnici pridodala i hrvatski prijevod poznate češke Škroupove pjesme *Gdje je stanak moj* te je “za ovo našoj narodnosti učinjeno poklonstvo [bila, op. aut.] obasuta cviećem i viencima” (Narodne novine, 1860a, 4). Osim toga, u okviru ovoga gostovanja, po prvi je put u Hrvatskoj prikazano još jedno mađarsko glazbeno-scensko djelo, opera *A kunok* [Kumani] Györgyja Csaszara (1813–1850), za koje je, međutim, kritika zaključila da je sastavljena od “preobilja melodijah većom stranom po talijanskom kalupu udešenih” (Narodne novine, 1860a, 4), iako vrlo vješto pa ju je publika odlično prihvatila (Narodne novine, 1860b, 4).

Natječaji za operne družine redovito su se raspisivali sa zahtjevom da impresariji dovedu kvalitetne pjevače i provjereni, u velikim kazalištima prihvaćeni repertoar, no kritike su često opovrgavale ta nastojanja, a publika je – sudeći po kritikama – opetovano zahtijevala promjenu solista. Tijekom 1860-ih godina u Zagrebu se svega u šest sezona mogla slušati talijanska opera. Nakon Reszléra i Brambille, 1861. i 1862. opernu *stagionu* vodi tršćanski impresario Carlo Raffaele Burlini (?), koji će se nakon toga vratiti u Trst i sklopiti trogodišnji ugovor (1864–1867) za operne izvedbe u tamošnjem Komunalnom kazalištu.²¹ I njegova je družina predstavila Donizettijeve (*Lucia*

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Cijela se dokumentacija o Burliniju čuva u arhivu Kazališnog muzeja Carlo Schmidl u Trstu, u fasc. 114–116. Nažalost, njegove godine rođenja i smrti ni tamo nisu navedene.

di Lammermoor, Lucrezia Borgia, Elisir d'Amore) i Verdijeve (*Il Trovatore, Norma, Ernani, Louise Miller*) opere, pridodavši uspješnicu *Barbiere di Siviglia* Gioacchina Rossinija (1792–1868), koja je kao jedina opera tog majstora povremeno davana na zagrebačkoj sceni u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća.

Nakon dvije godine operne stanke, uz rijetke govorene predstave, domaća družina Josipa Freudenreicha (1827–1881) otvorila je kazališnu sezonu 4. listopada 1863. U nedjelju, 8. studenog 1863. operetom *Mariage aux lanternes* [Svatba kod svjetiljakah] Jacquesa Offenbacha (1819–1880) započela je s izvođenjem opereta i srodnih glazbeno-scenskih djela u hrvatskom prijevodu, o čemu će još biti govora u ovome tekstu. Tek dvije godine kasnije, 1865, ponovno je angažirana jedna talijanska operna družina, i to ona Giovannija Battiste Andreazzija (?) iz Udina, prvenstveno zbog jedne “slavenske” opere. Naime, 1864. godine se na natječaj za najam zagrebačkog kazališta javilo nekoliko impresarija, među njima Giuseppe Bernasconi (?) iz Milana te Andreazzi, ali su, kao i ostali kandidati, bili odbijeni. U proljeće 1865. u doba sporova tršćanskog kazališta s Burlinijem, Andreazzi je 4. travnja 1865. u Teatro comunale praižveo operu *La madre slava* zadarskoga skladatelja plemića Nikole Strmića (1839–1869), kako novine izvještavaju, s velikim uspjehom i pred prepunom dvoranom.²² Andreazzi je dva dana kasnije oglasio u *Agramer Zeitung* da je iznajmio zagrebačko kazalište za ljetnu *stagionu* 1865, da uskoro dolazi u Zagreb sa šest solista koje je okupio iz raznih talijanskih kazališta (*Agramer Zeitung*, 1865, 4), da je dogovorio 24 predstave u toj kasnoproljetnoj sezoni te sezonu počinje Verdijevim *Il Trovatore*. Nakon toga družina je prikazala Donizzetijeve opere *Lucia di Lammermoor, Lucrezia Borgia*, zatim *Montechi e Capuletti* Vincenza Bellinija (1801–1835) te *L'Ebreo* Giuseppea Apollonija (1822–1889). Pokušaji da se Andreazzija navede da i u Zagrebu predstavi Strmićevu operu nije urodila plodom jer je impresario tražio dodatna sredstva zbog skupe inscenacije (Blažeković, 1988, 292–293). To je, međutim, uspjelo iduće godine, kad je uz četiri izvedbe Strmićeve *La madre slava* (Blažeković, 1988, 294),

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O izvedbi *La madre slava* i kontaktu Andreazzija i Strmića sa zagrebačkom sredinom, vidi: Blažeković, 1988. O analizi i kontekstu nastanka opere *La madre slava* usp. Brugnara, 2000–2001. i Brugnara, 2004.

ista družina višekratno izvela i po jednu Verdijevu (*Rigoletto*), Pedrottijevu (*Tutti in maschera*), Bellinijevu (*Sonnambula*) i Riccijevu (*Crispino e la comare*) operu. Strmićeva je opera primljena s burnim odobravanjem zbog aktualne tematike – crnogorske borbe za slobodu, ali i zato jer je autor u operu vješto ubacio i dvije hrvatske budnice.

Nakon Andreazzine druge sezone ponovno slijedi uprava kazališta koja sama pokušava organizirati pojedine predstave, a 1869. zadnji se put raspisuje natječaj za impresarija kazališta. Prihvaćen je Alessandro Betti (?) pjevač i impresario iz Milana, no nakon nekoliko predstava njegovo poduzeće propada, kao i pokušaji njegovih nasljednika Andreazzija i Fabera (?). Tako završava polustoljetna prisutnost talijanskih opernih poduzetnika u Zagrebu. Oni će i dalje biti aktivni čimbenik u obalnim gradovima i kazalištima Rijeke, Zadra i Splita i to sve do u rano 20. stoljeće.

Međutim, zadatak osnivanja opernog odjela u Zagrebu trajno je bio prisutan u djelovanju kazališta, a talijanske su operne družine predstavljale samo nužnu zabavu za publiku dok se glavni cilj ne ostvari. Stoga je ansambl Nacionalnog kazališta povremeno izvodio razne komade s glazbenim brojevima, bilo strane u hrvatskom prijevodu, osobito djela Johanna Nestroya (1801–1862), ili domaćih autora poput Kukuljevića, Josipa Freudenreicha, Janka Cara (1822–1876) i drugih. Scensku glazbu uz ta domaća ili neka inozemna adaptirana djela, za koje se već u naslovu upućuje i na glazbeni sloj, skladali su domaći autori poput violinista, pedagoga i dirigenta Antuna Schwarza (1823–1891) ili Franje Pokornija (1825–1859), violinista, dirigenta i skladatelja. Katkad je preuzeta izvorna glazba uz prevedena i adaptirana djela,²³ a katkada su postojeće skladbe adaptirane i umetnute u predstavu kao u slučaju Kukuljevićeve junačke igre *Juran i Sofija*. Međutim, to područje glazbeno-scenskog izričaja zasad je nedovoljno istraženo.

Za publiku je važan pomak predstavljao i ranije spomenuti početak sustavnog izvođenja opereta od 1863. godine u čemu

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Za neke od takvih slučajeva podaci se mogu naći i u sekundarnoj literaturi, kao za ovdje navedene primjere u *Repertoaru hrvatskih kazališta* (Hećimović, 1990, 36–53).

su sudjelovali glumci stalne dramske sekcije uz pokojeg pridruženog pjevača. Tako su u idućih osam godina, do početka prve domaće operne sezone 2. 10. 1870. stalnog ansambla Opere, u Zagrebu izvedene 24 operete u hrvatskom prijevodu. Na prvom su mjestu izvođena popularna djela (osam) Jacquesa Offenbacha, zatim četiri djela bečkog “Dalmatinca” Franza von Suppéa (1819–1895), jedno djelo Varaždinca Ivana (Johanna) Nepomuka Köcka (1820–nakon 1874) *Serežanin* (izvorno napisana na njemačkom: *Kriegers Heimkehr*) te jedno djelo Ivana Reyschilla (1817–1877), Čeha djelujućeg u Varaždinu i kasnije u Zagrebu, izvorno napisano na hrvatskom jeziku pod naslovom *Mornari i djaci*.²⁴ Pred kraj ovoga razdoblja prvenstvo u broju izvedbi preuzimaju bečke operete (osam) Ivana Zajca (1832–1914), očito u trenutku kada su počeli pregovori za njegov dolazak u Zagreb. U glazbenim se ulogama iskušalo nekoliko glumaca, među kojima se posebno istakla Karolina Norweg (1834–1903), Bečanka, koja se udala za Josipa Freudenreicha. Jezgri budućeg opernog ansambla pristupili su i neki inozemni pjevači poput Poljakinje pod umjetničkim imenom Matilda Dubois (1845–1909), udate za glumca Vilima Lesića (1841–1889), koja će postati primadonom zagrebačke opere (Batušić, 1969, 91). Predstavama je dirigirao Antun Schwarz, inače član kazališnog orkestra i nastavnik violine u školi Hrvatskoga glazbenog zavoda.

Međutim, želja za hrvatskim jezikom na kazališnoj, a osobito glazbeno-kazališnoj pozornici, zahtijevala je i niz zanimanja koja su ranije bila tek u povojima. Osim redatelja – u koju su ulogu sredinom stoljeća često ulazili članovi inozemnih družina, obično i sami glumci ili pjevači – bilo je posebno važno dobro prevesti tekst, kako bi bio u skladu s novim književnim jezikom uvedenim u praksu sredinom 1830-ih godina, a da istovremeno i slijedi akcentuaciju i melodiju glazbenog elementa. Među prevoditeljima su se u toj prvoj, “operetnoj fazi” istakli kazalištu bliski i vični znalci – Josip Freudenreich, Dimitrija Demeter (1811–1872) i Petar Brani (1840–1914),

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Iako se Köckova opereta često smatra prvom hrvatskom operetom, s tim se ne bismo mogli složiti jer je pisana na njemačkom i za inozemna kazališta u kojima su njegova djela izvođena (Bratislava, Beč, Sopron itd.). *Serežanin* je prvi put izveden u Zagrebu 1864. (usp. Ajanović-Malinar, 2009, 462–463), kao, uostalom i opereta Ivana Zajca. Stoga bismo prvom hrvatskom operetom morali smatrati Reyschillovo djelo.

a potom i književnici: Josip Eugen Tomić (1843–1906), August Šenoa (1838–1881) i drugi. Njima su se i kasnije, nakon osnutka opere, priključili i drugi, isto tako predstavnici raznih struka vezanih uz dobro poznavanje literature i kazališta.²⁵

Još 1861. kazališnim kritičarom postaje književnik August Šenoa. Velik zagovaratelj francuske opere, smatra da je opereta nužno zlo koje, doduše, puni kazališnu blagajnu, ali je uglavnom izvođena ispod nivoa. Međutim, u relativno malom gradu poput Zagreba, u kojem se u najboljem slučaju dobra i uspješna opera mogla davati tri do najviše pet puta, trebalo je stalno donositi nova djela, što se često događalo nauštrb kvalitete. Zagrebački trgovac Antun Jakić (1828–1878) u novinskim napisima o kazalištu ističe važnost profesionalizacije, uloge intendanta, obrazovanja glumaca i pjevača. Šenoa je imao razloga napadati česte improvizacije i compromise zagrebačke govorene i glazbene scene, izbor repertoara (poput njemačkih lakrdija i Offenbachovih opereta) te osobito loše prijevode stranih djela. I drugi su kritičari smatrali “da kazalište ne smije biti zabavište već umjetnička i prosvjetna ustanova” (Batušić, 1969, 91), a Jakić je zagovarao pristupačnije cijene kako bi se proširio krug publike (Iveljić, 2016, 354). To se posebno odnosilo na dramski ansambl, dok su strane operne družine uglavnom napadane zbog slabih izvedbi. Nedostatak konkurentnih glumaca koji mogu dostojno predstaviti i glazbene brojeve, ili pak slabe operne družine trajna su tema novinskih izvještaja.

I organizacijsko-financijski aspekt doživljava razne prepreke i promjene. Kazališni odbor²⁶ sastavljen od obrazovane elite, 16

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U tablicama uz tekst Katalinić, 2011, 83–90, navedeni su prevoditelji uz svaki naslov inozemnog teksta.

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Godine 1860. imenovan je novi Odbor u kojem su grof Stjepan Drašković (?) predsjednik, Dragutin Jelačić (?) potpredsjednik, te članovi: filolog i književnik Adolf Veber-Tkalčević (1825–1889), barun Bartol Zmajić (1813–1888) koji će godinu dana kasnije postati veliki župan Riječke županije, odvjetnik Matija Mrazović (1824–1896), pravnik Josip Žuvić Bribirski (1814–1888), književnik i znanstvenik Ljudevit Vukotinić (1813–1893), povjesničar i književnik Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, književnik Josip Vraniczany (?), političar Koloman Bedeković (1818–1889), književnik Jovan Subotić (1817–1886), odvjetnik i publicist Dragojlo (Dragutin) Kušlan (1817–1867), pisac Janko Car, činovnik Filip Taller (?), valpovački vlastelin Gustav Prandau (1807–1885) i gospodarstvenik i publicist Naum Mallin (1816?–1893) kao blagajnik.

plemića i građana – pravnika, liječnika, povjesničara i pisaca – u čijem se izboru nazire novi duh liberalizma, samo upravlja kazalištem, a 1863. raspisuje natječaj na koji se javlja jedino Josip Freudenreich (kao zakupnik na godinu dana kada odbor ponovo preuzima upravu zbog deficita). Uz uvođenje operete, organizirat će plesove, iznajmljivati kazališnu dvoranu za gostovanja glazbenih i plesnih solista te raznih akrobata i drugih neobičnih predstavljača. Na Novu godinu 1864. u kazališnu zgradu je napokon uvedena plinska rasvjeta pa je ono sinulo “kao da je sunce zasjalo!” (Batušić, 1969, 94). Odbor povjerava umjetničko vodstvo Dimitriji Demetru, a 1868. Augustu Šenoi koji angažira nove glumce i sam prevodi kazališnu literaturu. Uloga i sastav Odbora postupno će se sužavati (1867. ima samo 4 člana), osobito početkom 1870, kada će Vlada preuzeti upravu kazališta, dok će Odbor funkcionirati samo kao nadzorni organ (Andrić, 1895, 50). Međutim, financiranje kazališta predstavljalo je trajni problem: Dvorska je kancelarija 1865. ukinula dioničko društvo te naložila da se stope dionice i kazališna zaklada; većina opernih družina završava sezonu u negativnom saldu pa se povremeno povisuju cijene loža da nadoknade manjak, dok nešto više prihoda donose pojedina zvučnija imena solista koji organiziraju priredbe u svoju korist na temelju miješanog programa s gostujućim izvođačima. Tako su se među pjevačima istakli “tenor Carlo Raverta i bariton Josip Kašman, rodom iz Lošinja. Njih su dvojica ostali u Zagrebu, nastavili studijem pjevanja kod Zajca i postali članovi hrvatske opere” (Batušić, 1969, 96).

Istovremeno, još sredinom 1860-ih godina, započeli su pregovori sa skladateljem Ivanom Zajcem, obrazovanim na verdijanskoj tradiciji u Milanu, u to vrijeme relativno uspješnim skladateljem opereta u Beču. Kazališni odbor zatražio je 1869. da se godišnja subvencija s 18 000 forinti (što je zaključeno još 1861.) povisi na 24 000 forinti kako bi se mogla pokrenuti opera. Na prijedlog Sabora, vlada je tu odluku potvrdila u srpnju 1870. s napomenom “da se osnuje opera, a operete da se daju samo dotle, dok se pjevači ne izvježbaju, da uzmognu sudjelovati i u operama. Ali odmah bijaše dodana i klauzula, da se drama ne smije nikada zapostavljati operi” (Andrić, 1895, 50). Zajc, koji je već od početka 1870. boravio u Zagrebu, mogao

je biti angažiran i kao ravnatelj opere, kao ravnatelj kazališta (na čemu se nakon jedne godine zahvalio), ali istovremeno ravnatelj škole Glazbenog zavoda i nastavnik pjevanja. Tako je preuzeo višeznačnu ulogu osobe koja će oformiti profesionalni ansambl, školovati pjevače, stvoriti standardni kazališni repertoar na narodnom jeziku, ali i sam komponirati nacionalne opere. Stalna je opera tako osnovana, no njezini financijski i personalni problemi trajat će i dalje; u njezinu funkciju i repertoar uplitat će se i politika, što će dovesti do povremenih ukidanja stalnog opernog ansambla, 1889. godine, pa i kasnije, početkom 20. stoljeća. Ipak, ovim je postupkom načinjen odlučujući korak i pređen institucionalni prag, čime je omogućen samosvojan razvitak ansambla i ulazak u europski krug profesionalnih kazališta.

U ovom je pregledu značajki, problema i poticaja oko formiranja opernog odjela nacionalnog kazališta moguće odčitati i opće stanje i prepreke u razvoju građanskog društva, sustavnu dvojezičnu²⁷ kulturu imanentnu obrazovanom sloju društva koje respektira njemačku kulturu i tradiciju (u pogledu glazbe to je i talijanska kultura i tradicija), ali teži prema obilježavanju nacionalnog identiteta kroz institucionalne mogućnosti. Istovremeno, u toj se borbi očituje i stav i odnos grada, Sabora i vlade prema svojoj nacionalnoj instituciji koji je bio promjenjiv i često ovisan o političkoj i općoj financijskoj konstelaciji. Isto se tako može pratiti i novi duh građanske kulture u kojoj obrazovani stanovnici na temelju međunarodnog iskustva i spoznaja (kao npr. Jakić) daju prijedloge kako će se i kazalište postaviti na tržišnom i praktičnom principu te se zalažu za kvalitetu i profesionalizam (Iveljić, 2016, 534). S druge strane, visoki ciljevi često nemaju dovoljno snažnu bazu i konkurentni kadar pa potreba da se on stvori polazi i iznutra (obrazovanjem vlastitih stručnjaka) i izvana (importom), koji je ujedno i važan čimbenik ogleđa kvalitete.

U ovaj su pregled utkane i važne ličnosti, koje su, bez obzira na svoje političke stavove, težile zajedničkom cilju – institucionalizaciji kazališta i opere, ali su uglavnom bili glasnogo-

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O snažnoj prisutnosti njemačke komponente u izgradnji zagrebačke kulturne sredine vidi: Deželić, 1901.

vornici bilo tradicionalnih – prvenstveno nacionalnih – vrijednosti i ciljeva, ili pak onih novih, imanentnih liberalnom društvu, ali su oba modela na svoj način težili oblikovanju nacionalnog identiteta. Kroz takve se sukobe kristalizirala i tendencija “konstituiranja i jačanja nacije putem oblikovanja pravih građana koji će odgovarati traženom idealu kulturnih građana (*cultural citizens*) nacije tj. države kao vrlih političkih sudionika koji to postaju kroz vlastiti napredak i poboljšanje” (Yúdice, 2001, prema Iveljić, 2016, 361).

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ASPIRATIONS AND OBSTACLES IN THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE NATIONAL OPERA IN ZAGREB IN THE 1860s¹

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Abstract: Between 1840 and 1860, the Zagreb theatre was a place for guest performances of the German theatre and Italian opera. Since 1861, when the National Theatre was established by a Parliamentary decision, Italian companies had been engaged simultaneously in the attempt to organize musical and stage performances on a national basis. Financial and personnel obstacles made these efforts difficult.

Keywords: Zagreb; 1860–1870; National Theatre; Opera; operetta.

The cultural situation in the *Banska Hrvatska* (Ban's Croatia, a part of the Triune Kingdom) of the 19th century was strongly marked by the national movement of the 1830s. Based on Herder's assumptions about the language and culture of a nation (whether it had its own state or not)² as its main determinants,

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2

Numerous papers have analysed Herder's influence – either directly or indirectly. Given that a large part of the population in Ban's Croatia did not have the opportunities, knowledge or interest to engage in cultural policy, articles in local newspapers played an important role in this matter. The only newspaper in the Croatian language at that time – *Novine Horvatzke* (with all later versions of the name) launched in 1835, had a cultural supplement – *Danica*, which published texts by Croatian Illyrians largely inspired by certain ideas of German philosophers, especially Herder (1744–1803). See more on that in: Švoger, 1998, 455–478.

the outlines of modern Croatian national identity began to be created within a predominantly German cultural atmosphere of spoken and musical theatre. The city administration, which was responsible since the end of the 18th century for the functioning of the theatre as the cultural status of the city and entertainment of its prominent representatives, manifested such strivings and efforts as well as the political establishment of Ban's Croatia, especially during the time of national turmoil. In addition to the theatres established by the military in Karlovac and Osijek, then the theatres in Varaždin and Rijeka launched by civic initiatives, and the Zagreb theatres (first aristocratic in the Pejačević-Kulmer-Amadé palace, and then the civic one, the so-called Stanković theatre) were based on seasonal guest appearances (*stagione*) of foreign theatre entrepreneurs.³ Primarily German impresarios came to Zagreb with theatre companies that performed spoken plays, simpler musical stage works and even operas, and later they were joined by Italian opera troupes, either as subcontractors or as independent contractors of the theatre.

In the spoken theatre of the first half of the 19th century there were several attempts to introduce the “national”, “Illyrian” language, and this was precisely when the theatre was in the hands of German theatre directors (for example during the period of impresarios such as Mayer, Schweigert or Börnstein). However, they failed in their intention of forming a national drama company,⁴ so it seems that the vocal

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Unlike the larger centres of the Habsburg Empire or European metropolises, Zagreb, like other cities in Croatian lands, did not have permanent theatre companies. In Zagreb, this would change only after the fall of neo-absolutism, and much later in other Croatian cities. The bibliography on this topic is very extensive, and here we highlight three contributions by Nikola Batušić (Batušić, 1968, 1978, 2017). However, Nikola Batušić (1938–2010) researched primarily the performances of spoken plays, among them the German ones until the abolition of German performances in 1860, while “Italian stagioni were mentioned only for the chronological connection between individual German companies, and the phenomenon of Italian opera singers as well. Their repertoire has not been specially treated. This issue should be dealt with in more detail in the historical review of the development of the Zagreb opera” (Batušić, 1868, 444). The chapter *Das Deutschsprachige Theater in Zagreb* (Batušić, 2017, 47–110) is a slightly expanded version of the article from 1968, but still primarily related to the non-musical stage (Batušić, 1968).

4

More in: Katalinić, 2010, 323–340. Such attempts were unsuccessful due to the lack of adequate cast.

and vocal-instrumental discourse was more successful and dynamic in that task. Namely, lyrical, and especially rousing songs, stimulated by Illyrian ideas, which encouraged the struggle for national renewal and unity, became an important part of the choir and concert repertoire, and – sometimes as an entirely commercial concession of German impresarios – were inserted between the acts of German musical stage works, or even interwoven into those works themselves.⁵ Translations and adaptations of such pieces (initially in the Kajkavian dialect of the Croatian language) were even more successful, also with inserted “national” songs. That was the case with Josef Schweigert’s play⁶ *Ztari Zaszebni Kuchish Petar Tretjega* [The Old Personal Coachman of Peter the Third] “with Russian and Croatian singing in the 1st act”, translated by Dragutin Rakovec (1813–1854) and performed in 1833 (Vinković, 1935, 8). The next step was the successful performance of Kukuljević’s drama *Juran and Sofia, or the Turks near Sisak*, which was performed twice in 1839 by an amateur troupe in Sisak with the royal Hungarian nobility guard. The play was staged in the large hall of the Chapter inn, with the audience of almost 400 people. At the end, the actors sang rousing songs *Nek se Hrusti Šaka Mala* [Let the Small Fist Crunch] and *Doletiše Ptice Kukavice* [The Cuckoo Birds Flew in]. One of the important factors and confirmations on the way to the emancipation of the national musical theatre was the performance of the “first Croatian national opera”, Lisinski’s *Ljubav i Zloba* [Love and Malice] in 1846. Along with local professional and amateur musicians, members of the German theatre troupe of Karl

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One of the earliest examples is the German play *Das Schwarze Kreuz auf der Burg Medvedgrad* by Josef Schweigert, the director of the German company of the impresario Carl Mayer, which achieved considerable success in October 1835, undoubtedly owing to the use of folk instruments and costumes, especially the insertion of Gaj-Livadić’s rousing song *Još Hrvatska Nij’ Propala* [Croatia Has Not Fallen Yet] and some other popular Illyrian songs.

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The years of Josef Schweigert’s life and death are not listed because they are not known, as is the case with a series of other impresarios such as Mayer or Rosensohn and the actors and singers from their companies. Judging by the data from their biographies, most of them may have been born in the late 18th or early 19th century.

Rosenschön participated in the performance,⁷ while in the spring of the same year he announced his departure from Zagreb (Agramer Zeitung, 1846, 112).

On the other hand, national-political aspirations culminated in the “Demands of the People” of 25 March 1848, a list of demands towards the Austrian Emperor Ferdinand II. The declaration called for a series of social and political concessions and reforms, such as the appointment of Josip Jelačić (1801–1859) as Ban [viceroy] of Croatia, separation from Hungary, abolition of serfdom, estate order and censorship, freedom of religion, introduction of general voting rights and parliamentary representation instead of estates assembly, etc. Jelačić was indeed appointed Ban, but after the failed revolutions, the octroyed constitution of 1849 and the dissolution of the Ban’s Council in 1850, a period of neo-absolutism followed which interrupted such independent and nationally articulated efforts for the next 10 years. This ended the revival as the initial phase of the national movement (Iveljić, 2016, 348). However, although the period of the 1850s is known for its strong censorship⁸ and Germanization⁹, in line with the centralization of power in Vienna, a number of less spectacular but important achievements for Croatia had been accomplished¹⁰, such as the collecting of statistical, cultural-historical and geographical data, predominantly owing to the agility of the historian Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski (1816–1889) (Iveljić, 2016, 352).¹¹ However,

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There is a number of articles about the participants and performance of the opera *Ljubav i zloba*. One of the recent ones is Katalinić, 2016.

8

Theatre was also subjected to strict censorship, based on Alexander Bach’s (1813–1893) *Theater-Ordnung und Instruction*, and spoken performances were particularly severely re-examined, while Italian opera was considered as a part of the standard repertoire, equally to other cities of the Empire and thus harmless to the regime. Bach’s *Theater-Ordnung* was in use, with some modifications, until the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire!

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The German language became official in Ban’s Croatia in 1854.

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Iveljić calls it “modernization from above” (Iveljić, 2016, 353).

11

Kukuljević’s important work *Slovník Umjetnikah Jugoslavenskih* [Lexicon of South-Slavic Artists] published in five volumes between 1858 and 1860 should be

the internal action also brought one important achievement for the culture of Zagreb and Croatia: after Stanković closed the theatre due to insufficient profits, an action was launched to buy it off. Namely, since the City ceded two building acres to Kristofor Stanković (1793–1867), thus helping him in his initiative to invest in the much-needed city building for culture and entertainment, according to the contract, the City also had the right to the first buy-off. Stanković offered the theatre for 60,000 forints, and the negotiations reduced the amount to 50,000, payable in instalments. In 1851, Ban Jelačić started an incentive to raise funds for the acquisition of the building and at the beginning of 1852 it was purchased from Kristofor Stanković.¹² From the funds raised for that acquisition a theatre fund was formed which would continue to support its financing until 1860. The governing body – the Theatre Board responsible to the Parliament – was named as early as 1840, and occasionally changed its membership.¹³ Thus, the Zagreb National Theatre was founded in the organizational sense, with the purchase of a location where primarily the expression of the “national” issue would be cultivated.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the

highlighted here, covering all types of art, but also the area of southern Slavs – from Styria to Bulgaria – emphasizing, however, Dalmatia as the main nursery of artists; more in: Kukuljević Sakcinski, 1858, [6].

12

As Stanković considered his undertaking to be unsuccessful and insufficiently profitable, he decided to sell it in 1851, although he had thought about it already some 10 years earlier, during the time of the German impresario Heinrich Börnstein (1805–1892). The city was also dissatisfied with his way of managing the theatre, especially of his choice of guest companies because he was primarily driven by the idea of popularity and profit, and less by the educational moment of choosing a repertoire of better quality.

13

In August 1840, the Parliament passed Article XXVII, which established the Theatre Board. It was appointed by the Ban's viceregent, Bishop Haulik (1788–1869); elected were: president Count Janko Drašković (1770–1856), councillors: Count Juraj Oršić, Mirko Inkej, Ivan Čoka, Josip Štajdager, Metel Ožegović, Ludovik Jelačić, Ludovik Sinković. All of them were permanent state councillors for controlling the theatre capital, and Ignat Kršnjavi became the treasurer, as it was reported by *Ilirske narodne novine* (Ilirske narodne novine, 1840).

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Both domestic and foreign newspapers will often call it the National Theatre, as in the news of September 10, 1854, where the reporter writes that the Theatre Board failed to find an impresario for the National Theatre, so that the Board itself has to organize plays and dramas (Weiner Zeitung, 1854).

theatre continued to function on a *stagione* basis,¹⁵ as some other requirements for its independent activity were not met: the institutionalization of the theatre as an institution of national importance, but even more so the creation of a core of actors that would carry the national repertoire. This first assumption was not even feasible at that time, because after the revolution of 1848/49 national aspirations were suppressed and banned. One of the tasks of the Theatre Board was to rent out the theatre and publish calls in Croatian, German and Italian newspapers for performances in both Croatian and German languages as well as for opera performances, and the results were of varying success.

The issue of the theatre as an institution and as a performing body was still open, as were many other issues of national cultural importance. These necessary requirements were realized only after the abolition of neo-absolutism. Namely, after the failed wars against Italy, France and Prussia, Emperor Francis Joseph I had to once again take care of the inflow of funds and refill the state treasury, and for that he had to give the crown-lands certain concessions. One of them was the granting of permission to local parliaments to pursue their own activities. Although the Croatian Parliament [Sabor] sat for a short time, a number of important decisions were made in the space of a few months (which had accumulated during the 10 years of the Parliament's suspension!), which would direct and define Croatian cultural policy to some extent in the long run. Among them are the commencement of the establishment of the South Slavic Academy of Sciences and Arts, the modern University of Zagreb, and decisions on the founding of the National Museum, subsidizing the school of the National Music Institute¹⁶ as an important music education institution, etc. The Parliamentary Conclusion no. LXXVII of 24 August 1861 passed a decision on the establishment of

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Advertisements for the lease of the theatre are published in Zagreb, but also in Austrian and Italian newspapers.

16

It was the new name of the former *Musikverein*, because, owing to (always insufficient) subsidies that were given to support its school, it became a national institution.

the National Theatre of the Triune Kingdom.¹⁷ However, the Emperor never ratified the law, but it was still systematically applied because the theatre was placed under the jurisdiction of the Parliament, and not the Government (which would change 10 years later). The Parliament, therefore, managed the theatre (building, donations and foundation) through the Theatre Board, allowed the use of 1,500 forints per month from the foundation's interest, and committed to a monthly support of 600 forints at the expense of funds previously used to subsidize the theatre. The Board and the theatre were given the following tasks: organizing performances in Zagreb and in other towns (guest appearances), announcing competitions/calls and awarding the best theatrical works. Further, it was urged to pay off Albert Štriga (1821–1897) for a remaining debt of 1,700 for the purchase of scores by Vatroslav Lisinski (of operas *Love and Malice*, *Porin*), to carry out the transfer of the theatrical real estate in the land register under the name of the Triune Kingdom and to make the effort to accomplish two tasks as soon as possible: the creation of an acting school with paid teachers and to “organize an opera over time” (Batušić, 1969, 88). All these decisions would be implemented by the Parliamentary Theatre Board.

There were no sudden changes in the musical theatre either: the cast was gradually created, but the guest companies still had to perform the repertoire for the musical stage. In calls for the lease of the theatre, the impresario was charged with organizing operas along with spoken plays either alternately or in blocks. More often, opera performances were given in a block, usually 30 of them during the six weeks after Easter and early summer. Visiting two opera companies in one season was rare.¹⁸ Exceptionally, in 1860, two guest companies

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The text of the Article LXXVII on the South-Slavic Theatre of the Triune Kingdom was cited from the official newspaper to: (Batušić, 1969, 88).

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Thus, in 1852, after Easter, the company of Domenico Scarlari (?) from Venice was active in Zagreb, and in the winter season the company of the impresario Uliisse Brambilla from Milan. He gave the highest number of performances, mostly after Christmas, and the largest profits were made at that time, i.e. during carnival season.

visited Zagreb: again the one of Ulisse Brambilla (?)¹⁹ from Milan and the other of István Reszlér (1831? –1874) from Budapest. During the 1850s, Brambilla toured Zagreb twice with his opera ensemble, and this time he had a two-year contract not only for opera, but also for Croatian and German spoken performances, from July 1, 1860 to June 30, 1862. The first, opera part – 25 performances with an ensemble of nine soloists, 16 choir members and about 30 orchestral musicians with the conductor J. David (?) – included at that time the usual repertoire of Italian operas by Gaetano Donizetti (1797–1848) with *Poliuto*, *La Favorita* and *Gemma di Vergy* and Giuseppe Verdi (1813–1901) with *Il Trovatore* and *Traviata*. Brambilla also received a subsidy for the performance of German and Croatian plays, but he failed with the Croatian ones, as evidenced by irritated critics and comments, especially in newspapers in Croatian. In the autumn of 1860, the dissatisfaction of the audience – fuelled by a new wave of national freedoms – escalated into an open revolt so that the actors were not even allowed to start a German play. Thus, from 24 November 1860, only plays in the Croatian language and Italian opera were performed on the stage of the Zagreb theatre (from 1861: formally the National Theatre).

Only once (even before the theatrical law of 1861) did the audience enthusiastically accept the only Hungarian company, that of István Reszlér,²⁰ who distinguished themselves with quality singers and actors, but even more because of the performance of Ferenc Erkel's (1810–1893) Hungarian national opera *Hunyadi László*. At that time, the Zagreb audience also showed their solidarity with the Hungarian struggle for the emancipation of

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Ulisse Brambilla is a representative of a prominent musical family, the youngest brother of famous singers: sopranos Amalia (1811–1880), Emilia and Erminia. Unfortunately, data on Ulysses' dates of birth and death are not known.

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Hungarian performers have been guests in Zagreb once before, but not with opera performances. A certain Balog(h) stayed with his company in Zagreb in 1827, but it is not known who he was and what repertoire was then performed. Maybe it was the actor and theatre director István Balog (1790–1873), or – perhaps more likely – the lesser-known János Balogh (?), who acted on the provincial stages in the first half of the 19th century. In addition, several Hungarian bands visited Zagreb almost every year, mostly in summer, and entertained guests in the gardens of famous restaurants.

their language and culture, which would never again happen, especially after the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise of 1868. In addition to Erkel's nationally coloured work, they performed standard operatic repertoire with works by Donizetti (*Poliuto*, *La Favorita*, *Gemma di Vergy*) and Verdi (*Rigoletto*, *Ernani*, *I due foscari*, *Il Trovatore*); the reviews of the performances testify to the changing, but still positive evaluation of the quality of the ensemble and the soloists. Here, too, one of the Hungarian prima donnas, Roza Dalnoki (?), deserved additional applause having added to her benefit performance a well-known Czech song *Kde Domov Můj* by František Škroup (1801–1862) translated into Croatian; thus, “for this gift to our national feelings [she was, Author's note] showered with flowers and wreaths” (Narodne novine, 1860a, 4). In addition, as part of their guest appearances, another Hungarian musical-stage work was performed for the first time in Croatia, the opera *A Kunok* [Cumanians] by György Csaszar (1813–1850). However, critics concluded that it was composed of “an abundance of melodies arranged mostly in the Italian pattern” (Narodne novine, 1860a, 4), although very skilfully, so that the audience received it very well (Narodne novine, 1860b, 4).

Public calls for opera companies were regularly announced in newspapers with a demand that the impresarios should bring quality singers and a proven repertoire, well accepted in large European theatres, but critics often refuted these alleged efforts of the impresarios, and the unsatisfied audience repeatedly demanded for changes of soloists. During the 1860s, Italian opera could be heard in Zagreb for only six seasons. After Reszlér and Brambilla, in 1861 and 1862 the opera season was led by the impresario Carlo Raffaele Burlini (?) from Trieste who afterwards returned home and signed there a three-year contract (1864–1867) for opera performances at the local Communal Theatre.²¹ His company presented Donizetti's (*Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Lucrezia Borgia*, *Elisir d'Amore*) and Verdi's (*Il Trovatore*, *Norma*, *Ernani*, *Louise Miller*) operas, adding the hit *Barbiere di Siviglia* by Gioachino Rossini (1792–1868), which

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All documentation on Burlini is kept in the archives of the Carlo Schmidl Theater Museum in Trieste, in fasc. 114–116. Unfortunately, his years of birth and death could not be found there.

was the only opera of this master occasionally performed on the Zagreb stage in the second half of the 19th century.

After a two-year opera break, filled with rare spoken performances, the local company by Josip Freudenreich (1827–1881) opened the theatre season on 4 October 1863. Already a month later, on Sunday, 8 November 1863, they delighted the audience with operetta *Mariage aux Lanternes* by Jacques Offenbach (1819–1880) translated into Croatian. From that moment on, the National Theatre began performing operettas and related musical stage works in the Croatian language, which will be discussed later in this text. Only two years later, in 1865, an Italian opera troupe was re-engaged, that of Giovanni Battista Andreazzi (?) from Udine, primarily because of one “Slavic” opera. Namely, in 1864, several impresarios applied for the lease of the Zagreb theatre, among them Giuseppe Bernasconi (?) from Milan and Andreazzi, but, like other candidates, they were both rejected. In the spring of 1865, on 4 April (at that time the Trieste theatre had a series of disputes with Burlini), Andreazzi premiered at the Teatro comunale the opera *La Madre Slava* by the Zadar nobleman-composer Nikola Strmić (1839–1896) with great success and in front of a packed hall.²² Two days later, Andreazzi announced in the *Agramer Zeitung* that he had rented the Zagreb theatre for the summer *stagione* of 1865, that he would soon come to Zagreb with six soloists he had gathered from various Italian theatres (*Agramer Zeitung*, 1865, 4). Further, he claimed that he had arranged with the Zagreb theatre to perform 24 plays in that late spring season, starting with Verdi’s *Il Trovatore*. After that, the ensemble performed Donizzetti’s operas *Lucia di Lammermoor* and *Lucrezia Borgia*, further *Montechi e Capuletti* by Vincenzo Bellini (1801–1835) and *L’Ebreo* by Giuseppe Apolloni (1822–1889). Attempts to persuade Andreazzi to present Strmić’s opera in Zagreb did not bear fruit this time, because the impresario asked for additional funds due to the expensive staging (Blažeković, 1988, 292–293). This, however, succeeded the following year, when, in addition to four perfor-

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On the performance of *La Madre Slava* and the contact between Andreazzi and Strmić with the Zagreb organizers, see: Blažeković, 1988. On the analysis and context of the opera *La Madre Slava*, cf. Brugnara, 2000–2001 and Brugnara, 2004.

mances of Strmić's *La Madre Slava* (Blažeković, 1988, 294), the same company performed operas by Verdi (*Rigoletto*), Pedrotti (*Tutti in Maschera*), Bellini (*Sonnambula*) and Ricci (*Crispino e la Comare*). Strmić's opera was received with great approval due to the up-to-date theme – the Montenegrin struggle for freedom, but also because the author skilfully inserted two Croatian rousing songs into the opera.

After Andreazzi's second season the management of the theatre tried to organize individual plays on its own, and in 1869 the call for renting the theatre was announced for the last time. Alessandro Betti (?), singer and impresario from Milan was accepted, but after a few performances his company collapsed, as did the attempts of his successors Andreazzi and Faber (?). That was the end of the half-century presence of Italian opera entrepreneurs in Zagreb. However, they would continue to be active in the coastal cities and theatres of Rijeka, Zadar and Split until the beginning of the 20th century.

Yet, the task of establishing an opera department in Zagreb was permanently present in the functioning of the theatre, and the Italian opera companies were only a necessary entertainment for the audience until the main goal was achieved. Therefore, the ensemble of the National Theatre occasionally performed various stage pieces with musical numbers, either foreign in Croatian translation, especially works by Johann Nestroy (1801–1862), or by Croatian authors such as Kukuljević, Josip Freudenreich, Jan-ko Car (1822–1876), and others. Stage music for these domestic or even some foreign adapted works, was composed by local authors such as by the violinist, pedagogue and conductor Antun Schwarz (1823–1891) or by the violinist, conductor and composer Franjo Pokorni (1825–1859). Sometimes the original music was taken over with translated and adapted works,²³ and sometimes the existing compositions were adapted and inserted into the plays as in the case of Kukuljević's heroic play *Juran and Sofija*. However, this area of musical stage creations has so far been insufficiently explored, especially their musical layer.

23

For some of such cases, the data can be found in the secondary literature, as for the examples given here in *Repertoar Hrvatskih Kazališta* [The Repertoire of Croatian Theatres] (Hećimović, 1990, 36–53).

An important shift for the audience was the previously mentioned commencement of the systematic performance of operettas in Croatian since 1863, in which the actors of the permanent drama section participated, along with a few associated singers. Thus, in the next eight years 24 operettas in Croatian translation were performed in Zagreb, until the permanent ensemble of the Opera began to initiate the genuine domestic opera season on 2 October 1870. In the first place, popular works by Jacques Offenbach were performed (eight), followed by four pieces by the Viennese “Dalmatian” Franz von Suppé (1819–1895). Then, one work by Ivan (Johann) Nepomuk Köck from Varaždin (1820–after 1874) was given: *The Serežanin* (originally written in German, entitled *Kriegers Heimkehr*) and a piece by Ivan Reyschill (1817–1877), a Czech musician active in Varaždin and in Zagreb, which was originally written in Croatian under the title *Mornari i Djaci* [Sailors and Students].²⁴ Towards the end of this period, the Viennese operettas (eight) by Ivan Zajc (1832–1914) took over the leading position in the number of performances, apparently at the time when negotiations for his arrival in Zagreb began. Several actors tried their voice with musical roles, most notably Karolina Norweg (1834–1903), a Viennese actress who married Josip Freudenreich. The core of the future opera ensemble was joined by some foreign singers, such as a Polish lady under the stage name Matilda Dubois (1845–1909), married to the actor Vilim Lesić (1841–1889), who would later become the prima donna of the Zagreb Opera (Batušić, 1969, 91). Antun Schwarz, a member of the theatre orchestra and a violin teacher at the Croatian Music Institute School, conducted the performances.

However, the desire of the board and the audiences for hearing the Croatian language on the theatre stage, and especially the musical stage, required a number of professions that were previously present only in their spurs. The personality of the director – a role often played by members of foreign companies

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Köck's operetta is often considered the first Croatian operetta, a view which we dispute because the operetta was written in German and for the foreign theatres where his works were performed (Bratislava, Vienna, Sopron, etc.). *Serežanin* was first performed in Zagreb in 1864 in Croatian translation (cf. Ajanović-Malinar, 2009, 462–463), as was the case with operettas by Ivan Zajc. Therefore, we should consider Reyschill's work as the first Croatian operetta.

during the mid-19th century, were usually performed by actors or singers themselves (i.e. non-professionals). Further, it was particularly important to translate the text well, in order to bring it into line with the new Croatian literary language introduced in the mid-1830s, and at the same time, it should follow the accentuation and melody of the musical layer. Among the translators in this first, “operetta phase”, there were experts close to the theatre that stood out, such as Josip Freudenreich, Dimitrija Demeter (1811–1872) and Petar Brani (1840–1914); writers joined them soon: Josip Eugen Tomić (1843–1906), August Šenoa (1838–1881), and others. They were later, after the founding of the opera department, followed by others, all of them representatives of various professions related to a good knowledge of literature and theatre.²⁵

As early as 1861, the writer August Šenoa became a theatre critic. A great proponent of French opera, he believed that operetta is a necessary evil that, undeniably, filled the theatre box office, but that it was mostly performed below the required quality level. However, in a relatively small city like Zagreb, where at best a good and successful opera could be given three to a maximum of five times, new works had to be constantly brought in, which often happened at the expense of quality. In the newspaper articles dealing with the theatre, the Zagreb merchant Antun Jakić (1828–1878) emphasized the importance of professionalization, pointed out the role of the intendant, and the importance of the education of actors and singers. Šenoa had good reasons to attack the frequent improvisations and compromises of the Zagreb spoken and musical theatre, the choice of repertoire (such as German burlesques and Offenbach’s operettas) and especially poor translations of foreign works. Other critics also believed that “theatre should not be a kindergarten but an artistic and educational institution” (Batušić, 1969, 91), and Jakić advocated more affordable prices in order to expand the audience (Iveljić, 2016, 354). This was especially true of the drama ensemble, while foreign opera companies were mostly attacked for poor quality of performances. The lack of competitive actors who

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The tables in the appendix to the text Katalinić, 2011, 83–90, show the list of translators next to the title of each foreign text (libretto).

could present musical numbers with dignity, or weak opera companies, were a constant topic of newspaper reports.

The organizational and financial aspect was also experiencing various obstacles and changes. The Theatre Board²⁶, composed of the educated elite, 16 nobles and citizens – lawyers, doctors, historians and writers – in whose election a new spirit of liberalism can be seen, only managed the theatre. In 1863 it published a call to which only Josip Freudenreich applied as an impresario and rented the theatre for one year only (and then the board took it over again due to deficits). In addition to the introduction of operetta, Freudenreich organized dances, rented the theatre hall to guest musicians, dance soloists, various acrobats and other unusual performers. On New Year's Eve 1864, gas lighting was finally introduced into the theatre building, and it appeared "as if the sun had shone!" (Batušić, 1969, 94). The committee entrusted the artistic direction to Dimitrija Demeter, and in 1868 to August Šenoa, who hired new actors and translated theatrical literature himself. The role and structure of the Board gradually narrowed (in 1867 it had only four members), especially at the beginning of 1870, when the Government took over the management of the theatre, while the Board functioned only as a supervisory body (Andrić, 1895, 50). However, the financing of the theatre posed a permanent problem: in 1865, the court office abolished the joint venture and ordered that the shares and the theatre foundation be merged. Opera companies mostly ended the season with a deficit, so box office prices occasionally had to rise to make up for the shortfall, while some of the more resounding names of soloists who organized benefit performances based on mixed programme with guest performers brought in slightly more profits. Thus, among the singers, "tenor Carlo Raverta and baritone Josip

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In 1860, a new Board was appointed which included: Count Stjepan Drašković (?) as president, Dragutin Jelačić (?) as Vice-President, and members: philologist and writer Adolf Veber-Tkalčević (1825–1889), Baron Bartol Zmaić (1813–1888) who a year later became the great prefect of Rijeka County, lawyer Matija Mrazović (1824–1896), lawyer Josip Žuvić Bribirski (1814–1888), writer and scientist Ljudevit Vukotinović (1813–1893), historian and writer Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, writer Josip Vraniczany (?), politician Koloman Bedeković (1818–1889), writer Jovan Subotić (1817–1886), lawyer and publicist Dragojlo (Dragutin) Kušlan (1817–1867), writer Janko Car, clerk Filip Taller (?), landowner from Valpovo Gustav Prandau (1807–1885) and economist and publicist Naum Mallin (1816?–1893) as treasurer.

Kašman, a native of Lošinj, stood out. The two of them stayed in Zagreb, continued their singing studies with Zajc and became members of the Croatian Opera” (Batušić, 1969, 96).

Simultaneously as early as the mid-1860s, negotiations began with the composer Ivan Zajc, educated on the Verdian tradition in Milan, who was at the time a relatively successful operetta composer in Vienna. The Theatre Board requested in 1869 that the annual subsidy had to be increased from 18,000 forints (which was concluded as early as 1861) to 24,000 forints so that the opera department could be launched. At the suggestion of Parliament, the government confirmed this decision in July 1870, noting “that an opera should be established, and operettas should be given only until the singers have been sufficiently trained, so that they can participate in the operas as well. But a clause was immediately added, that drama should never be neglected in favour of the opera” (Andrić, 1895, 50). Zajc, who had been living in Zagreb since the beginning of 1870, was also hired as the director of the opera, as the director of the theatre (for which he thanked after a year), but at the same time as the director of the Music Institute and a singing teacher. He thus took on the multifaceted role of a person who would form a professional ensemble, educate singers, create a standard theatrical repertoire in the vernacular, as well as to compose national operas himself. The Permanent Opera was thus founded, but its financial and personal problems would continue; politics would also interfere in its functioning and repertoire, which would lead to the two abolitions of the permanent opera ensemble: in 1889, and later, at the beginning of the 20th century. Nevertheless, the procedure of introducing the permanent national opera ensemble meant a decisive step and crossed the institutional line, which enabled the independent development of the ensemble and its entry into the European circle of professional theatres.

In this overview of features, problems and incentives for the formation of the opera department of the National Theatre in Zagreb, it is possible to observe and comprehend the general situation and obstacles on the path to the development

of civil society, within a bilingual²⁷ culture immanent to the educated stratum of society which respects German culture and tradition (in music, specifically, it was the Italian culture and tradition as well) but also tended to mark its national identity through institutional opportunities. At the same time, this struggle reflected the platform and attitude of the city, Parliament and government towards its national institution, which was changeable and often dependent on political and general financial circumstances. It is also possible to track the new spirit of civic culture in which educated residents with international experience and knowledge (such as Jakić) gave suggestions on how the theatre would be established on market and practical principles, and who advocated for quality and professionalism (Iveljić, 2016, 534). On the other hand, high goals put in front of the organisers and officials often did not have an adequate (strong enough) base and a competitive staff, so the need to create it commenced both internally (by educating one's own experts) and externally (by importing them), which was also an important factor in testing its quality.

Important personalities are woven into this review who, regardless of their political views, pursued a common goal – the institutionalization of the theatre and opera. In any case, they were mostly spokespersons for either traditional – primarily national – values and goals, or those new, immanent to the liberal society, but by both models sought in their own way to shape national identity. Through such conflicts, the tendency to “constitute and strengthen the nation by shaping true citizens who will correspond to the desired ideal of cultural citizens of the nation, i.e. the state, as worthy political participants who become so through their own progress and improvement” (Yúdice, 2001, cited in Iveljić, 2016, 361).

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On the strong presence of the German component in the construction of the Zagreb cultural environment, see: Deželić, 1901.

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