

Bürger-Oper and Bourgeois Theatre: The Opera of Hamburg at the Gänsemarkt (1678–1738) as a Culmination of Theatrical Practices Between Courtly Representation and Popular Traditions

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Abstract

The opera at the Gänsemarkt in Hamburg (1678–1738) was the first theatre in the German-speaking world to have a continuous cast, was run by a civic interest group, and was in principle open to everyone. Through the lens of theatre studies, in addition to a trans-regional cultural transfer, the present article focuses on theatre- and cultural-historical processes that have had a lasting effect and which can be also deduced from the eventful history of the opera house. As Hamburg's *Bürger-Oper* it is still rooted in the cultural memory, even though the Gänsemarkt-Oper, as far as its founding impulse and self-image was concerned, owed much to the demands and requirements of a courtly festive and theatrical culture. The repertoire of the opera reflects this: about one-sixth of the 300 operas performed were integrated into courtly aristocratic representations. Paradoxically, however, theoretical as well as practical interactions can be derived from these festive operas which – under the influence of a Protestant culture on the one hand, and in the interplay with popular theatre practices such as those of the Hamburg *opéras comiques* in the tradition of the *Théâtre de la Foire* on the other – foreshadowed in a remarkable manner the definition and fictional concept of the later bourgeois (straight) theatre of the Enlightenment.

The Gänsemarkt-Oper as a culmination of theatre practices and theatre discourses

Anniversaries are a welcome occasion to look back on a continuous tradition that has had a lasting effect up to the present. The commitment of the local bourgeoisie, whose determination and foresight allowed the celebrated institution to develop unimpeded by aristocratic, state or church influence, is indeed something to be celebrated. In 1978 the Free and Hanseatic city of Hamburg had the opportunity for celebrating the past (cf. Jaacks 1977; Wenzel 1978): 300 years earlier, in January 1678, an opera house had opened on the Hamburg Gänsemarkt with the "Singe-Spiel" *Der erschaffene/ gefallene und auffgerichtete Mensch* (Richter 1980 [1678]), a work commissioned from the composer Johann Theile (1646–1724) on the Old Testament story of the creation and the Fall of Man, based on Genesis 1–3. As the earliest theatre institution in the German-speaking world, it hosted local ensembles continuously. Furthermore, it was managed by a civic interest group: for the first time, theatre – a matter of the aristocratic court or the public marketplace until the early modern period, though here and there tied to festive times (cf. Baumbach 2018:

222–230) – could be experienced permanently in a German-speaking and, moreover, a Protestant-oriented city. In principle, the Gänsemarkt-Oper, run as a business, was in an apparently democratic manner open to anyone who could afford the admission – "whether Ketelklopper [worker at a ship's kettle with low social status; translator's note] or respectable merchant" (Mares 1977: 17).

In the late 17th and early 18th centuries the Hanseatic city of Hamburg was undoubtedly an outstanding place in terms of theatre history: in no other city in the German-speaking cultural area was theatre established as a permanent institution so early on. A similar continuity was not granted to other undertakings such as the Leipzig Brühl-Oper (1693–1720), to give a specific example (cf. Maul 2009: Bd. 1, 41), regardless of whether the theatre was privately financed and operated by a civic interest group or subordinate to a solvent royal court and integrated into its festive and representative context. Only in the late stage of the Gänsemarkt-Oper did a financial crisis occur as a result of various changes of tenants, a phenomenon which was, according to contemporary observers, accompanied by artistic decline (cf. Lamprecht 1937 [1736]; Schütze 1794; Rekatzy 2019: 437–445). In March 1738 the

permanent ensemble was dissolved, leading to the termination of regular performances after an astonishingly long period of 60 years and the end of the continuous opera presence in Hamburg, at least for a time. The house subsequently served sporadically as a performance venue for travelling theatre and opera companies. In the six decades of its existence, the Gänsemarkt-Oper hosted a good 300 operas or “Singspiele”, ballets, intermezzi, prologues and epilogues, interrupted only by short periods of closure (cf. Marx, Schröder 1995). In addition to Theile, already mentioned above, renowned composers such as Johann Wolfgang Franck (1644 – c. 1710), Reinhard Keiser (1674–1739), Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767) and Johann Mattheson (1681–1764) were tied to the institution on a long-term basis. Georg Friedrich Händel (1685–1759), who was engaged as violinist and harpsichordist in the Hamburg orchestra from 1703 to 1707, had performed his first four operas here (cf. Leopold 2012). The libretti were partly written by renowned contemporary poets such as Barthold Feind (1678–1721), Christian Friedrich Hunold (1680/81–1721), Barthold Hinrich Brockes (1680–1747) and Johann Ulrich König (1688–1744).

The Gänsemarkt served as a place of passage as well as the culmination of various European musical, theatrical and festive practices, combined in opera performance as “super-theatre” par excellence. From the perspective of a cultural-historically oriented theatre history research, Hamburg’s opera is thus an essential indicator of cultural transfer in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. This transfer, which depended on the general cultural and intellectual historical tendencies and developments of the time, took place as part of a long-term debate between different European countries or regions, and – no less importantly – between courtly representative and popular traditions. The eventful sixty years existence of the Gänsemarkt-Oper forms the basis for outlining decisive theatrical-historical processes and course-settings within the variety of later practices and discourses. Radiating far beyond Hamburg, these processes themselves formed the basic preconditions for later theatre models and their concept of fictionality. This had a lasting effect not only on the genre of opera, but also on the concept of a bourgeois, literature-centered straight theatre developed in the context

of the reforms of the Enlightenment (cf. Rekatzy 2019: 445–462). Based on the Hamburg model of the Gänsemarkt-Oper, the continuity and variance of theatrical practices thus enable us to study not only the essential prerequisites but also the theoretical and practical interactions which produced long-term effects. These interactions determined which kind of theatre and acting was to be elevated to the rank of the recognized arts in the future – namely under the discourse-determining conditions of Protestantism. In a later step this matter is considered with a focus on the tension between courtly-aristocratic and popular practices, or rather discourses on theatre. First, however, the article digresses into the so-called “Erster Hamburger Theaterstreit” (the first Hamburg theatre controversy), which formed the intellectual and cultural-historical framing against which the processes of negotiation and legitimation related to theatre in the environment of the Gänsemarkt-Oper were put into effect not only on a theoretical but also on a practical level.

The Gänsemarkt-Oper and the Erster Hamburger Theaterstreit (1681–1688) in the process of legitimizing theatre

The fact that the founding of the Gänsemarkt-Oper in the Protestant-dominated Hamburg meant that theatre could be experienced permanently and was not just limited to a few (festive) seasons, did not meet with undivided approval: as early as 1677, when the first plans for the Hamburg opera project came to public attention, there had already been occasional objections from Protestant theologians. For the time being, the secular authorities were still able to contain these protests by a prohibition issued in October 1677 which forbade preaching against opera from the pulpit (cf. Wenzel 1978: 14; Marx 1978: 10; Döhring 1995: 113). In 1681, however, Anton Reiser (1628–1686), who had been the main pastor at St. Jacob’s since 1679 and sympathized with the growing Pietist reform movement, initiated discussions among the Protestant theologians of the Hanseatic city about the legitimacy of theatre with his writing *Theatromania, Oder Die Wercke der Finsterniß* (Reiser 1681). These disputes lasted until 1688 and were later called the Erste Hamburger Theaterstreit. However, the theological

discussions between the Pietists, who regarded all theatrical practices as *opera diabolica*, as works of the devil, and the moderate defenders of theatre on the Lutheran Orthodox side hardly referred to the Hamburg opera practice: neither faction was much concerned with aesthetic or poetic objections to the genre of opera, let alone with moral reservations about the subjects performed. The quarrel among theologians was of a more fundamental nature: the Hamburg dispute in the 1680s did not deal with *what* was being performed, but rather with *the fact that* theatre was being performed at all – let alone almost the entire year by a local ensemble. The theological controversies must therefore be seen in the context of the question, repeatedly discussed in Western culture over about one and a half millennia, of whether Christianity and theatre are compatible in principle (cf. Baumbach 2018: 21–213; Hulfeld 2007: 66–77; Baumbach 2006: 75–81; Rekatzy 2019: 39–75). In this superordinate context, the Gänsemarkt-Oper itself merely provided the opportunity for the theological negotiation process regarding the legitimacy of theatre: by chance, more or less, the first attempt in the North German Protestant cultural area to establish theatre permanently as an institution in a city was an opera house (cf. Döhring 1995: 112). The quarrels were so intense that even the Senate of the Hanseatic city questioned its previously granted opera privilege and, as a result of a domestic and foreign policy crisis, went as far as to decree the closure of the opera house in January 1686. Therefore, before the opera could reopen its doors to the public in November 1687, the Senate had the legitimacy of the Hamburg opera project confirmed by experts from the theological and legal faculties in Wittenberg, Rostock and Jena (cf. Mayer 1693; Wenzel 1978: 15–17): opera and other legitimate theatre practices were considered in the expert opinions – with more or less clearly expressed reservations and limitations – as adiaphoras which, according to Christian theology, are per se neither good nor bad, and whose legitimacy is determined solely by their moderate use (cf. Vinzent 1999). On this condition,

institutional theatre permanently anchored in a city was even seen as an opportunity by Lutheran apologists: the founding of the Gänsemarkt-Oper was linked to the pious hope to finally steer theatre along productive paths in accordance with Protestant ethical and moral concepts and to ban the practices of travelling professional actors once and for all – although at the time they were also, or rather primarily, considered as theatre.

In diesem allein muß ich mich ein wenig aufhalten zu erweisen/ daß nicht ein jegliches Gauckel-Spiel/ Pickelherings- oder Narren-Possen/ die *Scaramuchen*-Striche der Spanier/ die *Jean-Potage*-Gruppen der Franzosen, die Klücht-Spiele der Holländer/ und dergleichen lächerliche und mehrentheils ärgerliche grobe Scherze, derer sich die *Agyrtae*, Marcktschreyer und Quacksalber/ an offenen Strassen/ auf den Märckten gebrauchen/ für *Comoedien* zuachten sein.¹ (Elmenhorst 1688: 20).

Even in recent musicological presentations, the Theaterstreit is sometimes reduced to a rather negligible “opera debate”, which for the “modern reader [...] has only curiosity value” and could “not seriously endanger the rise of the modern art form of opera” (Hinrichsen 2014: 200). Although the theological treatises and academic reports show only few links to the theatrical or opera practices of the late 17th century, one thing above all is left unconsidered concerning this marginalization of the Hamburg controversies in the 1680s: the writings of the Theaterstreit constitute the earliest German attempts to transfer theatre into a theory-based epistemic system, which – with long-term effects beyond Hamburg – defines the further discourse on the legitimacy and area of responsibility of theatrical practices (cf. Rekatzy 2019: 171–300). This is particularly significant in the early opera poetics *Dramatologia Antiqvo-Hodierna*, in which Hinrich Elmenhorst (1632–1704), second pastor at St. Katharinen and, despite his theological office, author of several opera libretti, summarized the positions of the Theaterstreit in 1688: honourable plays and Singspiele would “while introducing

¹ “I have to spend some time on this matter to show/ that no Gauckel-games/ pranks of Pickelhering or fools/ the *Scaramuchen* strokes of the Spaniards/ the tricks of *Jean-Potage* of the Frenchmen, the Klücht-games of the Dutchmen/ and similar ridiculous and mostly annoying rough jokes, which the *Agyrtae*, market crier and quacks/ on open streets/ use in the markets/ are to be considered as *Comoedien*.”

performing and singing persons secretly quote *vera documenta vitae mortalium*, as it happens in fact in human life" (Elmenhorst 1688: 32). Elmenhorst thus already gave rise to later (bourgeois) definitions of theatrical fiction as an image of the big world in miniature, condensed according to the principles of causality and finality (cf. Rekatzy 2019: 301–320). When matching his definition, theatrical practices could be classified as useful and are thus legitimized by him. In the further history of the Gänsemarkt-Oper, which continued for another five decades, no significant theological objections were raised against the opera business – only a smallpox epidemic led to a prolonged closure of the institution in 1715.

"No king, no prince was the sponsor of the opera": the "grand narrative" of the Hamburg Bürger-Oper

It was not without reason that in 1978 Hamburg looked back with pride on the opening of the Gänsemarkt-Oper 300 years earlier: opera, a genre perceived as aristocratic or elitist until well into the 19th century, was established in the north of the German-speaking area – despite vehement and in part existential theological hostility – in, of all places, a Protestant, Free Imperial city, which boasts a civic history that can be traced back a long way. On the occasion of this anniversary, it was therefore necessary to honour the commitment and foresight of a liberal-minded bourgeoisie, which had not founded "a place of courtly merriment or princely representation, but rather a democratic cultural institution based on citizens' initiative" (Mares 1977: 17): "No king, no prince was the sponsor of the opera", stated Walter Scheel, then President of the Federal Republic of Germany. "The citizens of Hamburg wanted their *Bürger-Oper*." (Scheel 1977: 5). Although the Gänsemarkt-Oper has long since disappeared from Hamburg's cityscape, and numerous recent overviews of the history of theatre pass over its six decades of existence (cf. eg. Fischer-Lichte 1999; Kotte 2013), the dictum of the "Bürger-Oper", the so called bourgeois opera, is still anchored in the local cultural memory (cf. Rauhe 2018; Brauneck et al. 1989; Jürgens 1988): "From the viewpoint of the city at the end of the 20th century, as the 'first institutional opera in Germany', it is an object

of local patriotic pride, part of a vaguely defined cultural tradition which, in retrospect, is measured by the yardstick of 'bourgeoisie' and thus viewed in a completely distorted way." (Schröder 1998: 5). As a "grand narrative" (Lyotard 2015 [1982]: 99) it mainly serves as a cultural self-justification from which contemporary "advanced culture" gains its legitimation. In musicology too, the image of a German-language *Bürger-Oper* considered as the expression of an increasingly nationally defined culture has long been established as an institution that had been able to develop largely autonomously and unhindered in the face of influences from the aristocracy or neighbouring European cultures, as well as in the face of theological hostility (cf. esp. Wolff 1957).

Now, however, it has been widely recognized in academic discourse that "the Hamburg opera was at best civic in terms of the organization of its operation and its commercial structure" (Leopold 2006: 314). The enterprise was financed and managed by a civic interest group which was led by the lawyer and councillor Gerhard Schott (1641–1702), who came from a wealthy merchant family. Schott who, apart from brief interruptions, was director of the Gänsemarkt-Oper until his death, probably also provided the bulk of the construction costs, estimated at 20,000 Reichstaler (cf. Marx 1981: 82). However, the actual impulse to found the Gänsemarkt-Oper probably came from the aristocratic side, namely from Christian Albrecht (1641–1695), Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf. As a result of the occupation of the Dukedom by his brother-in-law Christian V (1646–1699), King of Denmark and Norway, he remained in exile in Hamburg from 1675 to 1679 and again from 1684 to 1689. In his Gottorf residence Christian Albrecht had already cultivated a lively and representative courtly festive and musical culture. The Duke could hardly contribute anything financially to the Hamburg opera enterprise since the Danish King had annexed not only his lands but also his property (cf. Marx 1981: 82). But Christian Albrecht served as an idealistic supporter of the project, who had "eagerly visited the opera and had also been able to recruit foreign princes for the company" (Wendt 2002: 24–25). He also provided Johann Theile, his former chapel master at the Gottorf residence, who now composed at the Hamburg Opera (cf.

Leopold 2006: 314). Furthermore, the Duke was addressed more or less directly in some early works. When he was allowed to return to Gottorf from his Hamburg exile in 1689 as a result of the Treaty of Altona, the prologue *Die betrübte und erfreuete Cimbria* composed by Johann Philipp Förtsch (1652–1732) was dedicated to him (Postel 1689; cf. Rekatzy 2019: 328–331) – a farewell gift, so to speak, which marks the starting point of the diverse tradition of Hamburg festive operas.

The building of the Gänsemarkt-Oper also met the requirements of courtly theatre and representative culture. It was built according to the plans of Girolamo Sartorio (died 1707), a court architect from Hanover who came from Venice and was responsible for the expansion of the Herrenhäuser Garden as well as for having the court theatre built in the Leineschloss. The Gänsemarkt-Oper appeared almost modest, though only from the outside. According to an attempt at reconstruction by the musicologist Hans-Joachim Marx, it could hold 1,800 to 2,000 spectators (cf. Marx 1981: 84; Richter 1963: 124): an elongated, bare wooden building, which to anyone looking today at the engravings handed down over the years is reminiscent of a barn, seems at first glance to be insignificant and almost marked by Protestant pragmatism. However, contemporary reports leave no doubt that the interiors were in no way inferior to the splendour of courtly theatres. It was a “spacious building, beautiful according to the taste of the time, where no expense was spared”, as Johann Friedrich Schütze, author of the first civic theatre history of Hamburg and anything but an opera admirer, had to admit (Schütze 1794: 145). Hamburg had received “an opera theatre” within the shortest construction time such as “no residence, no court, no city in Germany at that time” could call its own (Schütze 1794: 134).

Astonished opera goers praised above all the splendid equipment and the sophisticated stage technology, which did not only allow rapid changes of scene: the machinery also made possible the appearance of gods from the upper and lower worlds and the representation of various spheres which – reports from contemporaries leave us in no doubt – sometimes formed the main interest of a visit to the opera on the Gänsemarkt (cf. Das Neu=eröffnete Rüst=Zeug

1704: 46; Ebert 1724: 31). These entrances of the machine gods were particularly popular in the early repertoire which, until about the turn of the century, was based primarily on the tradition of Venetian opera dramaturgy and the *Tragédie lyrique*, on the myths and legends of the gods and heroes of classical mythology as well as on the salvation history of the Bible (cf. Rekatzy 2019: 88–118). Whether these *Dei ex machina* were representatives of the Greco-Roman pantheon or – as in the opening opera – of the Christian God of creation himself did not make much difference: both subjects made it possible to literally set heaven and hell in motion. Occasionally, there was even an overlap between the ancient classical and the Christian tradition to justify further use of the machinery. Apollo, for example, furious that the incarnation of the true god now reaffirmed the pagan twilight of the gods, flew through the air in a fiery chariot in the prologue of Theile’s *Die Geburth Christi*, an opera that deals with the birth of Christ, performed in 1681 (Elmenhorst 1681). The action of various operas may sometimes have receded into the background in comparison with this machine-supported representation of supernatural phenomena and other worlds or spheres, which were increasingly rejected by the bourgeois Enlightenment as “wonderful”, improbable, and unreasonable (cf. Feind 1708: 11–12; Uffenbach 1753: Vorrede; Gottsched 1793: 365–366; Wieland 1984 [1775]: 296; Schütze 1794: 146–148, 165–166).

However, it is worth taking a glance at the libretti from a theatre-historical perspective since they allow us to draw conclusions about the contemporary acting practices that contributed to the constitution of the genre of opera (cf. Charton 2012b: 104–119): in both classical-mythological and biblical operas the rhetorical acting style (cf. Baumbach 2012: 248–265) was used to portray man, created in God’s image, as the ruler of the world and of himself or as the architect of his own failure due to a lack of control of affect (Rekatzy 2019: 119–142). On another level, however, this was questioned, if not parodied, by using relics of the *Comödienstil* (Baumbach 2012: 246–257): servant figures communicated about elementary basic needs of existence and counteracted ideals associated with the civilization project of man. In some

biblical operas burlesque devil figures fulfilled that function, causing a far more reasonable, almost dull impression of the ancient underworld, as seen for example in Franck's *Alceste*, in contrast to the Christian hell (Rekatzky 2019: 142–170).

The early repertoire and, of no less importance, the self-image that led to the founding of the Gänsemarkt-Oper were already largely similar to those of court theatres. Only at first glance does it appear surprising that the free Hanseatic city adorned itself with a "precise imitation of a German court opera", "attempted under the less favorable conditions of the impresario system" (Strohm 1997: 90). The economic conditions and socio-cultural structures that made it possible at all for theatres to be established as permanent institutions in one place seem to have existed in the German-speaking world only in Hamburg in the late 17th century. The city largely escaped the consequences of the Thirty Years' War, since it was able to remain relatively neutral between the confessional fronts and to profit from trade with both factions, resulting in an increase in population: Hamburg, with an estimated 70,000 inhabitants, was the second largest German-speaking city in the late 17th century after the imperial city of Vienna (cf. Marx 1981: 81–82). The port and trading metropolis benefited from its geographical location and was an important junction (Marx 1978: 8): travelling nobles and diplomats residing in Hamburg combined with local wealthy patricians and merchants formed a well-heeled audience that was keenly interested in musical theatrical representation (cf. Schröder 1998: 1). Hamburg, an "attractive place of residence for the North German aristocracy", inevitably enabled a "coexistence of the civic and aristocratic population", which favoured a cultural exchange between the two social classes: "As a result, aristocratic lifestyles and aristocratic behavior, despite some reservations, were often considered as role models by the noble bourgeoisie and were therefore imitated or assimilated." (Loeser 2008: 82). The economic and social situation of Hamburg – despite the theological hostilities in the Theaterstreit and the financial crises – not merely made it possible for the opera to operate continuously for six decades: it also seemed to be a necessity for the city to clearly strengthen its own economic and socio-cultural claim to hegemony. After all, opera

was the most elaborate and costly of all theatrical practices, one which at that time, even at princely courts, could usually only be experienced during temporary festive periods. Even in a civic business form, the opera thus served to represent political strength and power and could be closely interwoven with a "courtly festive and ceremonial culture" in Hamburg (Seebald 2009: 57).

Opera at the service of diplomacy: Hamburg's festive operas in the tradition of courtly representation

It may seem paradoxical that, in the free Hanseatic city of Hamburg, from the 1690s onwards some 50 festive operas integrated into the context of courtly representations in honour of aristocratic potentates were performed at the Gänsemarkt. After the moral legitimization of the genre of opera in the Theaterstreit, its classification as a compilation of the honourable, free arts and the consideration of it as useful in its own Protestant culture (cf. Rauch 1682: 17–18; Elmenhorst 1688: 118–120, 134), it could now serve as a proven instrument of diplomacy. It was a vivid demonstration of Hamburg's solidarity with its changing political partners, some of whom were enemies of one another, regardless of whether they were the Roman-German Emperor in Vienna, the Russian Tsar in St. Petersburg, the Kings of England, France and Denmark, or smaller northern German duchies. The occasions were flexibly chosen and could range from birthdays or name days through weddings, births of potential heirs to the throne and coronations to peace treaties (cf. Schröder 1998: 1). The Senate also honoured itself with the occasionally performed so-called Council operas at which, instead of the princes or their envoys, the Senators took their seats in the large middle loge, which formed the centre of the festive and representative ceremony (cf. Schröder 1998: 70). The actual performances were often followed by banquets, balls or stage fireworks, since these costly and ephemeral spectacles, in which "birth and death meet at one go" (Schramm 2003: 184), served to illustrate the hegemonic claim represented in each case. Especially the stage fireworks caused increasingly daring constructions – sometimes they were set aflame by the guest of honour or his representative from the middle loge – but miraculously the wooden

opera house never burned down. No wonder, on the other hand, that the opera director Schott died of a heart attack on October 25 in 1702 following the second performance of Keiser's *Sieg der fruchtbaren Pomona*, which was followed by fireworks in honour of the Danish king (cf. Schröder 1998: 64–66). Due to the clearly apparent nature of this latent danger, from 1714 onwards stage fireworks were increasingly replaced by illuminations for which the English envoy Thomas Lediard (1685–1743), who was also the head of the decoration department at the Gänsemarkt-Oper from 1722 to 1730, was primarily responsible (cf. Lediard 1730).

This Hamburg affinity for festive operas in the context of courtly representations is largely due to an interplay of various socio-cultural, political and theological factors. The academic reports on the Theaterstreit in principle confirmed the morality of opera at a theoretical level. The early repertoire performed on the stage at the Gänsemarkt, however, aroused the considerable displeasure of both the theological and legal faculties, so that the experts of the University of Jena bluntly criticized that “inter obscoena & turpia” was to be expected (as cited in Wenzel 1978: 17). Above all, it was difficult to justify the numerous entrances of the machine gods and the associated representation of different spheres in the theoretical discourses shaped by Protestant theology, which was initiated in the North German cultural area by the Theaterstreit (cf. Elmenhorst 1688: 155–159; Rekatzy 2019: 301–320). As a result of the Theaterstreit, operas from the realm of classical mythology and the Christian Bible disappeared almost completely from the Gänsemarkt stage at the turn of the century (cf. Haufe 1994: 55–57). From then on, the Hamburg repertoire was dominated to a large extent by works which – based on historical subjects (cf. Seebald 2009) – followed the dramaturgy, the social status of the characters and the concept of fictionality of the *opera seria* (cf. Charton 2012a), as constituted at about the same time by the libretto reform initiated by Apostolo Zeno (1668–1750). In the specific case of the Hamburg festive operas they were also integrated into a courtly representative ceremonial (cf. in particular Schröder 1998).

In addition, the Hanseatic city repeatedly found itself in serious domestic as well as foreign policy

crises in the 1680s and 1690s; occasionally these led to conditions similar to civil war, which even culminated in a temporary complete defeat of the Council after disputes between the citizens and the Senate. Sieges by the Danish king intensified social and economic tensions. Hamburg was “endowed with sovereign pride and self-confidence due to its immense financial power” while the Gänsemarkt-Oper existed, but a “more precise, clearer view of Baroque Hamburg and its opera [...] [reveals] a city in the realm of tension between local and European politics dependent on emperors, kings and princes” (Schröder 1998: V). The theological trench warfare between the representatives of Lutheran Orthodoxy and Pietism did not diminish at all after the end of the Theaterstreit. The quarrel culminated in 1693 in the dismissal and banishment of the Pietist pastor Johann Heinrich Horb (1645–1695) (cf. Brecht 1993: 349–350). Leopold I (1640–1705) finally intervened from Vienna after repeated threats by sending an imperial commission which started to work in Hamburg in 1695 (cf. Rückleben 1970: 268–275; Schröder 1998: 94–96).

Reinhard Keiser's *Der bey dem allgemeinen Welt=Friede von dem Grossen Augustus geschlossener Tempel des Janus* as a representation of the ideal social order in this world

In view of the political situation, an imperial festival in January 1698 provided a welcome opportunity to express Hamburg's loyalty to the emperor in Vienna. The opportunity was the celebration of the peace treaty of Rijswijk, which had ended the Pfälzische Erbfolgekrieg [the Nine Years' War, also known as the War of the Grand Alliance; translator's note] between the Holy Roman Empire and France three months earlier. This occasion was honoured in Hamburg with a four-day festival of thanksgiving, culminating on January 30th in the evening performance of a festive opera, Reinhard Keiser's “Singe-Spiel” *Der bey dem allgemeinen Welt=Friede von dem Grossen Augustus geschlossene Tempel des JANUS* [The temple of JANUS closed by the Great Augustus due to general world peace] based on a libretto by Christian Heinrich Postel (1658–1705).

“Trumpets and drums [sounded] from the towers” of the five main churches in Hamburg,

and the peace treaty of Rijswijk was the subject of Sunday's sermons. "The pieces on the ramparts" from which salutes were fired could be "heard clearly" after the church service (Steltzner 1733: 240). Originally, a public fireworks display on the Alster had been planned as the grand finale. But the city treasury had refused to finance it with reference to the general "bad times" (see Schröder 1998: 96). To start the festive performance, the high-ranking guests were assembled and welcomed – led by the imperial resident, since Leopold I had not come from Vienna – which undoubtedly provided a theatrical spectacle even for that large part of the population that did not belong to the very limited audience.

In contrast to all these courtly preparations and arrangements, the plot of Keiser's "Singe-Spiel" seems unspectacular to today's spectators at first glance: after the war has ended victoriously, the Roman emperor Augustus wants to close the temple of Janus ritually as a sign of peace. On the occasion of this peace festival, his daughter Julia, born in his first marriage, is to marry Tiberius, the son of his second wife Livia, in order to ensure succession and stability in the empire. Tiberius, however, pledges eternal loyalty to Agrippina – she too has fallen in love with him and has forgotten her promise of marriage to Valerius, who has returned from the war. This does not only threaten the continuance of the Roman dynasty but also creates the danger of incest since Tiberius and Agrippina are twins, a fact known only to their mother Livia at this stage of the plot. Without further ado she has her own daughter Agrippina kidnapped and spreads the rumour that she has drowned in the Tiber. A dream sequence of the imperial couple at the beginning of the second plot reveals that Livia's intrigue is motivated by an altruistic plan which serves not only private interests but also – supported by divine providence – the ideal social order: Augustus has just slipped into the sphere of dreams when his great posthumous fame is augured – and the link between the historical Roman Empire to the present Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation is completed.

² *Liv., Aug.* "Let the eyes close and Morpheus, god of dreams, take the limbs gracefully. Let the eyes close - - -" (After Augustus and Livia have fallen asleep a quiet music of flutes can be heard, which changes into a lively music of *Haut-boit*. The *Fama* flies through the grotto. The Austrian emblem rises from the earth, carried by an eagle, and the grotto opens up and the sky can be seen. The eagle carries the emblem to the sky. Afterwards a hidden voice is singing:)

Voice "August, you will live as a half-god that brings peace to Germany."

(Everything disappears and August and Livia wake up.)

Aria à 2.

Liv., Aug. Legt/ legt ihr Augen nieder
Den Schlummer=reichen Schein.
Laß Morpheus deine Brüder/
Die Schlawf=ergebne[n] Glieder
Mit Anmut nehmen ein.
Legt/ legt ihr Augen nieder
Den Schlummer - - -

(Nachdem Augustus und Livia eingeschlaffen/
höret man eine stille Musick von Flöten/
welche sich in eine frische Musick von *Haut-boit* verändert/ worauff man die *Fama* siehet durch die Grotte fliegen. Nachmahls steigt das Oesterreichische Wappen von einem Adler getragen aus der Erden auff/ und die Grotte eröffnet sich/ daß man den Himmel siehet/ wohin der Adler das Wapen trägt/ und nachdem solches geschehen/ höret man einer verborgenen Stimme nachfolgende Worte singen:)

Stimme. Du solt August in einem Halb=
GOTT leben

Der Deutschland wird den theuren
Frieden geben.

(Wie nun alles verschwunden/ erwachen August und Livia wiederum.) (Postel 1980 [1698]: II/1, 293).²

Despite the prophecy made by the machine goddess *Fama*, Livia's attack does not achieve its aim for the time being and only just avoids the final catastrophe: Tiberius, competing with his friend Valerius in mourning for Agrippina, does not want to cling to the throne or his own life. Only when Livia resolves her intrigue on the occasion of the closing of the temple does everything vanish into thin air: Tiberius and Agrippina enjoy being allowed to love each other as brother and sister in the future, and soon passions for their intended partners arise. The immediate new regulation of emotions – according to the standards of the rhetorical acting style in this case – coincides with the reason of state in a *lieto fine*, the genre-constituting *happy ending* of the *opera seria*. Therefore nothing prevents the closing of the Temple of Janus and the honouring of the Roman

Emperor Augustus as guarantor of eternal peace any longer.

However, in the festive performance of January 1698 the *Tempel des JANUS* was followed by an epilogue: after “the opera has ended, FAMA comes down in a cloud and sings the following in honour of LEOPOLD the Great Emperor. Afterwards the FIREWORKS start”³ (Postel 1698: n. p.). In contrast to Hamburg’s earlier machine gods of classical antiquity and Christian provenance who actively intervened in the events, Fama’s entrance is limited to an exaltation of the ideal ruler: the Roman goddess of glory glorifies Leopold’s realpolitik, especially his role as protector of the empire in the ongoing conflicts with the Ottomans, like an apotheosis “in place of the loyal Hamburg” (Postel 1698: n. p.). The glorious Leopold ruled as the new Augustus over an even larger, more peaceful empire. Legitimized by divine right, he guaranteed the ideal social order in this world only through his rationality and the disciplining of himself, represented in the rhetorical acting style. This order was realized in theatrical fiction – prototypical and auspicious for reality – as a secular image of the divine plan of creation working secretly. This created a suggestion of stability in times in which Hamburg’s political condition and social structure were fragile.

Fama. Wer kan mehr Ruhm in aller
Welt gewinnen/
Als wann der grosse LEOPOLD
Verewigt durch der Sternen Schriffte von Gold/
Steht Sonnen=gleich dort an *Olympus* Zinnen?
Hör Hamburg hör und mercke mit Erstaunen
Den Schall der rühmenden Posaunen.

Aria.
Laß die Sonn’ am Himmel fählen/
Deutschland wird sich drum nicht quählen
Wann sein LEOPOLD nur scheint.
Er besiegt Leib und Gemüthe/
Unterthanen durch die Güte/
Und durch Tapferkeit den Feind.

Wo ist der Krieg der Erden=Pest zu schauen?
Wo ist die Noht die Deutschland hat gedrückt?
Durch seinen Arm ist sie hinweg gerückt.
Es blühen die versängten Auen/
Die wüsten Dörffer sind bewohnt/
Die vorbestürmten Städte stehn
In Ruh und süßen Frieden.
Auf Himmel laß nicht deine Hülff ermüden!
So werden wir auch bald mit Freuden sehn/
Daß des abnehmenden Mondes Spitzen
Nicht mehr Europens Saum besitzen.

Aria.
Verheere der Türcken blutdürstiges Heer/
O Teutschlands Arm und Seule!
Mach Ungarn von Nattern und Höllenbruth
leer
Zerknirsche Schwert und Pfeile/
Auff LEOPOLD! Siege du Sonne der Deinen
So wird hinfort kein Mond mehr scheinen.

Dis wünschet Hamburgs treuer Mund
Der Oestreichs Haus in Stamm und Zweigen
preiset/
Es freuet sich die frohe Stadt/
Daß sich der Fried aus solchen Händen weiset/
Daraus sie Schutz und Wolfahrt hat.
Und was darin/ bekräftigt diesen Bund:
So lange man kan Hamburg nennen/
Sol LEOPOLD darinnen Weirauch brennen.
Zündt an dann was zu seiner Ehr
Ich seh vor Augen schweben/
Und wünschet/ daß er mehr und mehr
Siegs=Kronen mög erleben.

Aria.
Steiget ihr Flammen mit LEOPOLDS Glantz
Wolcken und Himmel hinan/
Windet ihr Sternen den prächtigsten Krantz
Der ihn verewigen kan.
Laß ihn O Sonne dein güldener Wagen
Rühmlich und ewig am Himmel umtragen.⁴
(Postel 1698: n. p.).

³ Nach “geendigter Opera fährt FAMA in einer Wolcken herab/ und singet dem Grossen Käyser LEOPOLD zu Ehren Nachfolgendes. Auff dessen Beschluß folget das FEUER=WERCK”.

⁴ *Fama.* “Who is more famous in the world than LEOPOLD, immortalized by the golden letters of the stars on the battlements of Olympus? Listen, Hamburg, with astonishment to the sound of the praising trombones.” *Aria.* “As long as Leopold shines, Germany will not miss the sun. He defeats body and soul, and subjects through kindness. The enemy he defeats through bravery. Where is the war of the plague to be seen? Where is the German distress? He pushed it ►

Before the machine goddess Fama withdraws into the clouds, she ignites fireworks on the open stage, which were suitable to illustrate Leopold's apotheosis like hardly any other contemporary technique and which undoubtedly impressed the audience of the festive performance in January 1698 most powerfully.

For a long time the festive operas, although they accounted for as much as one-sixth of the total repertoire (cf. esp. Wolff 1957) were largely marginalized: they did not fit at all into the "grand narrative" of the Hamburg *Bürger-Oper*. Only in the last decades, decisively since the meritorious study by Dorothea Schröder (Schröder 1998), has research focused increasingly on this tradition again. However, in the field of tension to other (musical) theatrical practices and theoretical discourses this repertoire in particular shows that the Hamburg operas that were integrated into a courtly-representational festive context – apparently paradoxically – contributed to the constitution of a later, bourgeois concept of theatre and its fictionality. The question of which section of the world or which perspective on the human being may be shown in the theatrical representation seems fundamental in this matter (cf. Baumbach 2006, 2014).

"Reversed, evil opera": Requirements for a (bourgeois) concept of fictionality between (courtly) festive operas and *Théâtre de la Foire* adaptations

Another focus of the repertoire, which seems to contradict the tradition of festive operas, but which considers the theatre and social-historical developments in the Hanseatic city, shows this as well. From the 1710s onwards, subjects and motifs from the context of the *Théâtre de la Foire*, the Parisian fairground theatre (cf. Hauck 2017; Groß 2016; Grewe 1989), were increasingly adopted at the Gänsemarkt. This tendency is

remarkable because librettists and composers – not least in reaction to the Theaterstreit – preferred the *opera seria*. Although the *opera seria* was excellently suited to a vivid representation of the best of all possible social orders, it did not permanently satisfy the viewing preferences of the local (opera) audience: the spectators increasingly went to watch the public theatrical spectacles on the markets again. Schott's widow Anna Caecilia, among others, complained about this in a submission to the Senate in 1702 (cf. Schulze 1938: 159–160). In clear competition with the performances of travelling actors, who were excluded from the theoretical discourse in the writings of the Theaterstreit as well as in early Hamburg opera poetry, but who remained common owing to fairs and markets, it was decided to bring the banned practices back on stage through a back door. *Opéras comiques* like Keiser's *Der Angenehme Betrug/ Oder: Der Carneval von VENEDIG* (Meister, Cuno 1707), *Le BON VIVANT, Oder die Leipziger Messe* (Weidemann 1980 [1710]) and *Der Hamburger Jahr=Marckt Oder der Glücklicher Betrug* (Praetorius 1980 [1725]) were considered the *dernier cri* and were among the pieces that were most frequently performed at the Gänsemarkt (cf. the calendar in Marx, Schröder 1995: 469–507; cf. Rekatzky 2019: 368–436).

Turbulent market and festival scenes made recourse to elements and figures from popular comedic practices such as the *commedia all'improvviso* possible (on the term *commedia all'improvviso* cf. Baumbach 2006: 71), albeit modified into emblematic decorative elements of display. Librettists like Johann Philipp Praetorius (1696–1766) first and foremost pursued a doctrine of virtue and vice in their *opéras comiques*: lies, deception, disguise and concealment with a strong resemblance to real Hamburg conditions were exposed as the "theatre" of everyday life (cf. Münz 1998: 69–70), and general vices – similar to the moral-poetic concept of Gottsched's literary comedy (cf. Gottsched 1973: 337–360) –

away. The dried meadows blossom, people live in the deserted villages, the attacked cities rest in peace. Heaven, please continue supporting! Then we will notice with joy that the moon no longer wears the hem of Europe." *Aria*. "May the German arm and soul bring devastation to the bloodthirsty Turkish army and destroy the vipers and hellspawn in Hungary. Crush sword and arrows. LEOPOLD, sun of your people, win! Then the moon no longer needs to shine. That is the wish of loyal Hamburg that praises Austria. The happy city is pleased because of the peace caused by your hands that give protection and welfare. This confirms the covenant: incense shall be burned by LEOPOLD. Light it in his honour and wish that he will achieve further victories." *Aria*. "Flames, rise with LEOPOLD'S shine to the clouds and sky. Stars, form a magnificent ring to immortalize him. Sun, carry him in your golden chariot glorious and eternal in the sky."

were exposed to purifying laughter. Although these *opéras comiques* sought to tie in with contemporary poetic discourses, they were discredited in theoretical writings on opera – namely for example in Mattheson's *Musicalischen Patrioten* (1728) – as “nasty whores brought into music, and Hahnrei=doctrines” [Hahnrei was a term used for betrayed husbands; translator's note] (Mattheson 1975a: 171–172) and as a corrupt taste that were just “a waste of beautiful notes and good singers” (Mattheson 1975a: 169).

The journey to *Die verkehrte Welt* (The upside-down world) an *opéra comique* by Praetorius and Telemann performed in 1728 illustrates this. It is based on the vaudeville *Le monde renversé* by Alain-René Lesage (1668–1747) and Jacques-Philippe d'Orneval (died 1766), which was first performed in 1718 on the occasion of the Paris *Foire St. Laurent* and was frequently adapted in the years that followed (cf. Hirschmann 2009). This *opéra comique* used the upper machinery at the Gänsemarkt once again: a giant griffin dumps Pierrot and Scaramouche in a steep dive on the island of Merlin, a true wonderland where elementary necessities of life are immediately satisfied. Apparently they have landed in Cockaigne. But these appearances are deceptive, as Pierrot and Scaramouche soon discover: the island of Merlin actually represents an ideal social order in which – as a satirically upside-down guiding principle to this world – a competition of virtues prevails. Therefore, the two travellers are not so sure whether they want to remain permanently in the upside-down world. But Merlin makes the decision for them: After a few waves of his magic wand they too feel virtue stir and join the final chorus.

Coro.

Daß man fix und fertig lügt,
Und die halbe Welt betrügt,
Ist die Mode, wie es scheint.
Daß man Treu und Glauben hält
Und es immer redlich meint,
Das ist die verkehrte Welt.
Das ist die verkehrte Welt.⁵
(Praetorius 1728: n. p.).

Pierrot and Scaramouche resemble their ancestors in the *commedia all'improvviso* only externally at best: presented as Hamburg opera singers, they function as a moral distorting mirror of the general vices and inadequacies of this world, which are alien to the inhabitants of the upside-down world. In this way they pay tribute to a future theory of acting in the bourgeois definition of straight theatre.

In spite of these ambitious intentions, Mattheson regarded the *Verkehrte Welt* which “could be a good, meaningful comedy that is made for that purpose” as nothing else but a “reversed, evil opera” (Mattheson 1975a: 174), turning all the laws of poetics and a reasonable imitation of nature upside down. He used Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz's (1646–1716) doctrine of the best of all possible worlds as a guideline, presented in 1710 in the *Essais de théodicée*, which were apparently well known at the Hamburg Gänsemarkt. Referring to Leibniz, Mattheson defined opera as a possible, different world in miniature which he saw realized in an excellent way through the model of the *opera seria*, whose genre conventions were followed by the Hamburg festive operas as well.

Wenn man philosophisch vom Theatro reden wollte, so ist solches zweyerley: Ein allgemeines, und ein besonderes. Jenes ist die ganze Welt; dieses eine Abbildung derselben im kleinen. [...] Jenes endlich ist ein Original; dieses eine Copie. Das Opern=Theatrum an sich selbst nun ist eine kleine Kunst=Welt, auf einer ansehnlichen Schau=Bühne von allerhand Bau=Materialien errichtet, und mit vieler Wissenschaft dazu gemacht, daß, durch geschickte Personen und Maschinen, grosse Dinge und rühmliche Thaten musicalisch und angenehm nachgeahmet werden, beiläuffig zwar zur Gemüths=Ergetzung hoher und vornehmer Standes=Personen; hauptsächlich aber zur Nachfolge der Tugend und Vermeidung der Laster. Aus dieser Definition erhellet, daß gelehrte und geschickte Leute zum Opern=Wesen gehören; nicht allerhand zusammen gerafftes Gesindel: daß hohe Sachen, und keine Pickelherings=Possen, auf ein Opern=Theatrum gehören: und endlich,

⁵ Coro. “It seems to be the custom to lie and cheat. In the upside-down world one is loyal, faithful and honest.”

daß dergleichen Ergetzlichkeit nicht für jedermann sey.⁶ (Mattheson 1975a: 117).

The presentation of an *impossible* but *better* world had to appear unpoetic. Therefore practices such as the Hamburg reception of the *Théâtre de la Foire* had to be excluded from the discourse. Mattheson's concept of the fictionality of opera is astonishingly similar to that of poetical professor Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–1766) during the early Enlightenment in Leipzig who, on the basis of the philosophy of Leibniz and Wolff, also defined fictional poetic works as non-real but possible other worlds (cf. Stockinger 2002: 27–31). However, the two philosophers of the Enlightenment differed on one serious point: like Gottsched, Mattheson wanted to keep the distance between the level of reality and fictionality as small as possible; nevertheless, he regarded music as the necessary difference "between the archetype and its depiction" (Mattheson 1975b: 76; cf. Jahn 2005: 93–94), namely the theatrical exaggeration that made it possible to perceive fiction as art separated from everyday life.

Und wenn uns die bloßen Worte schon zu glauben verführen, daß wir die nachgeahmten Helden selbst wirklich vor uns sehen und hören; so erinnert uns der süsse Wohlklang dabey, daß es gleichwohl nur ein Kunstwerk sey, und erwecket so dann auf einmal, durch die wahrscheinliche Handlung, durch deren gescheute Nachahmung, und durch die verschiedene schätzbare Künste der Verfasser ein mehr, als dreyfaches Vergnügen. Poeten, Mahler, Maschinen kommen alle dabey in Betracht, und werden durch die Musik in ein

helleres Licht gestellt. Seht! darum herrschen die Opern!⁷ (Mattheson 1975b: 79–80).

"This world wants to and must be deceived" (Mattheson 1975b: 9–10): Mattheson, the composer and publicist of the Enlightenment, did not doubt this, even with regard to theatre. Gottsched had failed to realize these distinctions: simply because of the singing, he could perceive nothing but an unreasonable, artificial world in the opera in which the heroes would "laugh and cry, cough and snort" according to the notes.

Sie schelten und klagen nach dem Tacte; und wenn sie sich aus Verzweiflung das Leben nehmen, so verschieben sie ihre heldenmäßige That so lange, bis sie ihre Triller ausgeschlagen haben. Wo ist doch das Vorbild dieser Nachahmungen? Wo ist die Natur, mit der diese Fabeln eine Aehnlichkeit haben?⁸ (Gottsched 1973: 367).

Due to this lack of role models in nature, opera could not have a moral-poetic effect at all. Gottsched was already mocked by the next generation of Enlightenment philosophers because of his demand for probability with regard to theatrical fiction.

In the course of the bourgeois theatre reforms, however, opera was excluded from the concept of true, "actual" theatre as the "most dangerous rival of the art of acting for all time" (Devrient 1967 [1848]: 173) – a process that has continued, in part at least, up to the present, favoured by the German-language reform theatre historiography of the 18th and 19th centuries (cf. Hulfeld 2007). The structural and functional transformation of theatre initiated by opera in the late 17th and

⁶ "Speaking philosophically of the theatre, it is two different things: a general one, and a special one. The former is the whole world; the latter is the illustration of it in miniature. [...] The former, finally, is an original; the latter one is a copy. The opera theatre is now a small art world of its own, built on a handsome stage and made of all kinds of building materials, and due to a lot of science, skilful people and machines imitates great things and glorious deeds musically and pleasantly, incidentally for the pleasure of high and noble persons, but mainly for the observance of virtue and the avoidance of vice. This definition demonstrates that learned and skilful people belong essentially to the opera; not all sorts of rabble, gathered together; that sophisticated things belong to an opera theatre, not Pickelhering-pranks; and finally, that such delights are not for everyone."

⁷ "And if the mere words deceive us into believing that we really see and hear the imitated heroes in front of us; so the sweet euphony reminds us that it is nevertheless only a work of art, and then suddenly creates a more than threefold pleasure, through the probable action, through its imitation, and through the various estimable skills of the authors. Poets, painters, and machines are all considered, and the music improves their effect. Behold! Therefore, operas reign!"

⁸ "They scold and lament to the beat; and when they take their own lives out of desperation, they postpone their heroic deeds until they have finished their trills. Where is the model of these imitations? Where is the nature resembling these tales?"

early 18th centuries, which provided decisive foundations for the definition of theatre and the concept of fictionality in the Enlightenment, thus became its own undoing. Consequently, these processes could not be taken into account in the narrative of the subsequent bourgeois straight theatre, which increasingly defined itself as national. Therefore, the sixty years during which

the Gänsemarkt-Oper existed, which have been excellently explored in musicology, often still prove a blind spot even in more recent overviews of general theatre history – although they should actually be one of its most resplendent chapters.

Translation: Judit Baer

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„Kodanlaste ooper“ ja kodanlik teater: Hamburgi ooperimaja Haneturul (1678–1738) teatripraktikate kulminatsioonipaigana õukondliku esinduslikkuse ja populaarsete traditsioonide vahel

Ingo Rekatzky

1678 avas kodanike huve esindav ühendus hansalinna Hamburgi Haneturul (Gänsemarkt) ooperimaja. Siin on tegemist saksa keeleruumi esimese teatriga, kus paiksed ansamblid mängisid peaaegu aasta läbi ja mis pealegi oli põhimõtteliselt avalik: mitte üheski teises saksakeelse ruumi linnas ei suudetud teatrit nii vara, eelkõige aga nii püsivana sisse seada. Kuni korrapärase etendustegevuse peatamiseni aastal 1738 esitati siin ligi 300 teost. Seejuures suudeti ooperimajaga siduda nimekaid heliloojaid, libretiste ja teatrikunstnikke, osa neist pikaajaliselt.

Asjaolu, et ooper püsis erakordselt kaua, tervelt kuus aastakümnet püsivalt ühes kodanlikus kaubalinnas, tingis selle, et Haneturu ooperimaja vaadeldi muusika- ja kohaloolises kirjanduses pikka aega Hamburgi „kodanlaste ooperina“: kaugel vürstiõukondadest ja suuresti sõltumatu aristokraatsetest mõjutustest, olevat muusikateater saanud siin areneda iseseisva kodanikukultuuri väljendusena. Muusikateaduses kehtib nüüdseks aga valdavalt arusaam, et Haneturu-ooperi asutamispulss ja repertuaar püüdsid siiski igati vastata õukondlik-aristokraatse esituse nõuetele – seda enam, et ümmarguselt kuuendik etendatud teostest esitati diplomaatilist koalitsioonipoliitikat teenivate pidu-ooperitena erinevate Euroopa vürstide auks.

Siinne artikkel haakub nende muusikateaduslike teesidega ja visandab hansalinna Hamburgi sotsiokultuurilised eeldused, mis mitte ainult ei võimaldanud pidevat ooperitegevust, vaid – majanduslike ja kultuuriliste hegemooniapüüete väljendusena – tegid selle lausa hädavajalikuks. Otseselt teatriteaduslikust perspektiivist vaadeldakse peale selle tugeva järeelmõjuga kultuuriloolisi protsesse, mis leidsid erinevate Euroopa muusika-, teatri- ja peopraktikate ülekandes aset õukondlik-representatiivsete ja populaarsete traditsioonide vahel. Need Haneturu-ooperis teatridiskursuste ja teatripraktikate kogumis toimunud pikaajalised protsessid moodustasid – üksnes näiliselt paradoksselt – jällegi tingimatud eeldused hilisema kodanliku, kirjanduskeskse teatridefinitsiooni jaoks ühes selle fiktiivsuskontseptsiooniga, nii nagu selle püsivalt kehtestasid protestantliku alatooniga saksa valgustuse reformid.

Olulist teetähist selles pikaajalises teatripraktikate debatis kujutab endast seejuures niinimetatud esimene Hamburgi teatritüli, mis puhkes ooperimaja asutamisel. Leidnud aset aastatel 1681 kuni 1688 hansalinna protestantlike teoloogide vahel, nimelt äärmuslikult teatriveenulike pietistide ja mõõdukate teatrikaitsjate, luterlike ortodoksude vahel, viis teatritüli 1686 isegi ooperimaja sulgemise ja napilt kaheaastase mängupausini. Ehkki muusika- ja teatriteaduses teatritüli ja sellega seotud adiafooride-debatti suuresti marginaliseeritakse, vaadeldakse seda käesolevas artiklis teatri legitimeerimisprotsessi otsustava rööpaseadjana. Hamburgi mudeli juures võib nimelt märgata nii teoreetilisi kui ka praktilisi kokkuleppeid, milliseid praktikaid hakati hiljem, protestantismi ja selle eetika- ja moraalisisüsteemi määraval mõjul, teatri või näitekunstina tunnustama – sealhulgas kaugelt väljaspool Hamburgi või ooperižanri piire. Teoloogilistes debatitekstides eritleti ja määratleti legitiimset teatraalset fiktsiooni – hilisemate kodanlik-valgustuslike ideede eelvirvendusena – üha enam kui jumaliku loomisakti ilmalikku peegeldust.

Teatritüli mõjutusi näidatakse artiklis Haneturu-ooperi kahe lahkneva repertuaari-raskuspunkti näitel sajandivahetusest alates, mis mõjuvad Hamburgi sotsiokultuurilises koetises aga vähemasti paradokssena. See puudutab esiteks juba mainitud Hamburgi pidu-ooperite rikast traditsiooni, mis – *opera seria* dramaturgiat järgides – oli põimunud kuluka õukondlik-aristokraatse esituskontekstiga. Kui ka need etendused teenisid eelkõige küll diplomaatilisi eesmärke, näitamaks Hamburgi sidemeid erinevate Euroopa vürstikodadega, siis katsetati siin juba fiktsiooni ideed, mis osutus hilisema, kodanliku valgustuse teatrimudeli jaoks siduvaks. Seda näidatakse Reinhard Keiseri ooperi „Suure Augustuse poolt üldise maailmarahu puhul suletud Januse tempel“ näitel („Der bey dem allgemeinen Welt=Friede von dem Grossen Augustus geschlossene Tempel des JANUS“), mis esitati 1698 Rijswijki rahu puhul keiser

Leopold I auks. Põhjuslikkuse ja lõplikkuse põhimõttel tihendatuna esitletakse siin teatraalses fiktsioonis ideaalset sotsiaalset korda, mille tulevase teostuse peab tagama Leopold I, keda ülistatakse „uue Augustusena“.

Teiseks olid Haneturu-ooperis ütle mata edukad Pariisi laadateatri, *théâtre de la foire*'i traditsioonis *singspiel*'id. Siin oli eesmärgiks moraalipoeetiline mõju, millel on selgeid paralleele valgustusliku kirjanduskomöödiaga – seda aga vanemate praktikate kohandamise kaudu, millele ei olnud teatritüli tulemusena nüüd üha valgustatumas teatridiskursuses enam kohta. Nii nimetas helilooja ja publitsist Johann Mattheson Georg Philipp Telemanni *foire-singspiel*'i „Tagurpidi maailm“ („Die verkehrte Welt“, 1725) „tagurpidi, kurjaks ooperiks“. Haakudes teatritüli tulemustega ja toetudes Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnizi „Teodiike esseedele“ („Essais de théodicée“, 1710), defineeris Mattheson legitiimse teatrifiktsiooni kui mitte reaalse, aga võimaliku maailma väikeses formaadis – ja esindas seejuures sarnast seisukohta nagu Leipzigi poetikaprofessor Johann Christoph Gottsched. Ühes olulises punktis erinevad nende varase valgustuse esindajate vaated siiski: Mattheson tundis muusikas ja laulus ära reaalsuse ja kunsti vahelise, originaali ja kujutise vahelise vajaliku vahe. Seevastu Gottsched, kelle seisukoht jäi valgustuslikus mõttevahetuses peale, nägi siin peamist tõendust ooperižanri ebatõepärasusele ja ebaloomulikkusele, mistõttu tuli ooper edaspidi kodanlikust teatridefinitsioonist välja jätta. Pikas perspektiivis viis see seleni, et legitiimsete teatraalsete praktikate settimisprotsessid, mis toimusid Hamburgi Haneturu-ooperi lähikonnas ja mõjusid kaugelt Hamburgist väljapoole, jäid unustusse.

Tõlkinud Anu Schaper