II. Scénographes entre centres majeurs et mineurs

Centre and Periphery – Simon Quaglio and the Phenomenon of Inter-Regional and International Exchange in Early Nineteenth-Century Stage Design

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The Italo-Bavarian artist Simon Quaglio (1795–1878) comes from a renowned family of scenic artists from Northern Italy (Fig. 1).[1] For more than six decades, he worked as a scenic painter at the National Theatre in Munich, which was then (and still is) one of the largest and most influential theatres in Germany. He was employed as a court artist at the newly built Hof- und Nationaltheater (Court and National Theatre), which opened in 1818. The auditorium could seat 2000 people. In the nineteenth century, there were about twenty performances a month; the weekly programme included two operas and three plays; shorter plays were sometimes combined with another play or ballet performances.[2] As head of the decoration department, Quaglio was responsible not only for designing but also painting all the architectural stage sets.[3] His work unfolded within important cornerstones of the development of German stage design in the nineteenth century. When Karl Friedrich Schinkel's now-iconic decorations for *Die Zauberflöte* premiered in Berlin in 1816, Quaglio was beginning his training in Munich in the theatre's scenery workshop under the supervision of his father Giuseppe and older brothers Angelo I and Domenico. The time of his retirement in 1876 coincided with Richard Wagner's first Bayreuther Festspiele (Bayreuth Festival). Throughout his career, Quaglio's focus was on theatre work. He never went to an academy and never set out on the Grand Tour to visit Italy. While other artists saw scene painting as a necessity to earn a living while seeking 'real' artistic work in other areas, Simon Quaglio designed and painted monumental stage sets with backdrops as large as approximately 12 × 15 metres. As a member of a family of artists that traced

1 This paper is based on the results of my dissertation thesis published in 2016: Christine Hübner, *Simon Quaglio. Theatermalerei und Bühnenbild in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts,* Berlin/Boston 2016 (Ars et Scientia. Schriften zur Kunstwissenschaft, Vol. 15), pp. 47–57 (biography) and passim. About the Quaglios as a family of artists, see Wolfgang Niehaus, *Die Theatermaler Quaglio. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Bühnenbilds im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, München 1956 (diss. ms.); Jürgen Schläder, *Vision und Tradition. 200 Jahre Nationaltheater in München. Eine Szenographiegeschichte* [exh. cat. Deutsches Theatermuseum München, 13.10.2018–14.04.2019], München/Leipzig 2018, pp. 164–169.

2 See F. Meiser, *Das Königliche neue Hof- und Nationaltheater-Gebäude zu München. Seine innere Einrichtung, Maschinerie und die angeordneten Feuer-Sicherheitsmaßregeln*, München 1840; Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, pp. 221–223; Schläder, *Vision und Tradition*, pp. 10–36.

3 After the retirement of his father and teacher Giuseppe Quaglio (1747–1828) in 1822, Simon Quaglio became responsible for all the architectural stage sets; when his father died, he took over as head of the decoration department. Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, pp. 51f.

Fig. 1. [unknown artist], *Simon Quaglio*, ca. 1835–1845, pencil drawing, 25,2 × 18,7 cm, Deutsches Theatermuseum, München (Photo: Deutsches Theatermuseum München, Inv. Nr. F 1325)

themselves back to their ancestor Giulio Quaglio, who – according to family legend – was a pupil of Tintoretto, he soon enjoyed an excellent reputation, and even young men from abroad wanted to be trained by him.[4] One of his last and most famous pupils was Anton Brioschi (1855–1920), the son of the Viennese theatre painter Carlo Brioschi, who himself came from a family of artists.[5] Despite his international reputation, the court artist Quaglio always had to fight for artistic autonomy and recognition. From the 1850s, he worked closely with his son, Angelo II (1829–1890), who took over as chief decorator in 1860.[6]

Given that the National Theatre was certainly no small theatre, and Munich no provincial city, what contribution can a case study of Simon Quaglio – who worked at one of the most important and largest German stages of the nineteenth century – make to the understanding of theatre scenography in provincial centres?

I. Centre and periphery

This paper explores the relationship between centre and periphery. While the centre is well-developed, the periphery is less-developed and is therefore dependent on help and innovation transferred from the centre.[7] In this case, the centre in question is Munich, where Simon Quaglio was chief scene painter at the Court and National Theatre, and the periphery is the theatres and institutions in the surrounding provincial towns and rural areas. By changing the scale of the model, that is, by zooming out to an international level, Munich as a theatre city seems less significant compared to more influential and innovative centres: Berlin or, on an even larger scale, Paris, the metropole of the Grand Opéra, which was central to the development of scenography in France and reverberated throughout Europe.

4 For Simon Quaglio's biography, see Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, pp. 47–57; for the Quaglios as a dynasty of artists, ibid., pp. 123–127. There are justified doubts as to the authenticity of this family legend. Ibid., pp. 131–136.

5 See Vana Greisenegger-Georglieva, Brioschi, Anton, in *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon* [*AKL*]. *Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker,* Vol. 14: Braun – Buckett, München/Leipzig 1996, p. 248; Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, p. 349.

6 See ibid., pp. 54f.

7 The centre-periphery model has its origins in geography; in the course of the spatial turn, the model has been discussed and adopted in cultural studies and other fields of the humanities to describe processes of exchange and demarcations between centres and peripheries. See *Spatial Turn. Das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften*, ed. by. Jörg Döring/Tristan Thielmann, Bielefeld 2008; Doris Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural Turns. New Orientation in the Study of Culture*, Berlin/Boston 2016, pp. 211–243. For the field of art history, see Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *Toward a Geography of Art*, Chicago 2004; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann/Catherine Dossin/Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, Introduction: Reintroducing Circulations. Historiography and the Project of Global Art History, in *Circulations in the Global History of Art*, ed. by. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann/Catherine Dossin/Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel, London/New York 2015, pp. 1–22, discussing the model of a circulatory history of art, that avoids to "assign superiority to any agents of the encounter, either the 'center' or the 'periphery'." Ibid., p. 2.

So how and in which ways was Quaglio, as a representative of the Munich Court and National Theatre, able to influence stage design in provincial towns and rural areas? And how, on the other hand, did Paris and the Grand Opéra influence Quaglio's own scenographic work? Or, to put it differently, how do scenographic works of art travel from the centre to the periphery? The focus will be on three main types of transfer: the transfer via images, the transfer via travelling works of art, and the transfer via travelling scene painters.

II. "To make use of these patterns" – transfer via images

Since early modern times, prints have been the preferred medium for preserving and distributing impressions of ephemeral theatrical events. Often it was the courtly patrons who wanted to spread the splendour of the magnificent productions, which were usually performed only once or a few times.[8] Later it was the scene painters themselves who produced, commissioned, and distributed printed reproductions of their works. For example, Norbert Bittner etched the stage designs of the Viennese scene painters Joseph Platzer (1751–1806) and Anton de Pian (1748–1851) in *Theaterdecorationen nach den Original Skitzen* [sic] and published them from 1816 onwards. The prints were simple and small-format and thus affordable for other artists (Fig. 2).[9] Friedrich Christian Beuther (1777–1856), who worked in Weimar, Braunschweig, and Kassel, published several portfolios of his designs and *Dekorationen für die Schaubühne* between 1816 and 1836.[10] Around the same time, Karl Graf von Brühl published colour aquatints based on the theatrical designs of the Berlin architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841) – an even more prestigious and exclusive undertaking that transformed the idealised reproductions of the stage designs into true works of art worthy of discussion and critique (Fig. 3).[11] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe reviewed

8 See Friedrich Polleroß, Barocke Feste und ihre Bildquellen, in *Spettacolo barocco! Triumph des Theaters* [exh. cat. Theatermuseum Wien, 03.03.2016–30.01.2017], ed. by Andrea Sommer-Mathis/Daniela Franke/Rudi Risatti, Petersberg 2016, pp. 99–119.

9 *Theaterdecorationen nach den Originalskitzen des k.k. Hoftheatermahlers Joseph Platzer radirt und verlegt von Norbert Bittner*, Wien 1816; and *Theaterdecorationen nach den Original Skitzen des k.k. Hof Theater Mahlers Anton de Pian, gestochen und verlegt von Norbert Bittner*, Wien 1818.

10 For a list of these publications, see Otto Jung, *Der Theatermaler Friedrich Beuther (1777–1856) und seine Welt. Vol. 1*, Emsdetten/Westfalen 1963 (Die Schaubühne. Quellen und Forschungen zur Theatergeschichte, Vol. 54/1), pp. 371–376. The copies of Beuther's publications from Goethe's private collection have been digitised: https://haab-digital.klassik-stiftung.de/viewer/toc/3573545491/ (01.03.2023).

11 Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *Decorationen auf den beiden Königlichen Theatern in Berlin unter der General-Intendantur des Herrn Grafen von Brühl. Nach Zeichnungen des Herrn Geheimen Ober-Baurath Schinkel u. a.*, Berlin 1819–1840; Ulrike Harten, *Die Bühnenentwürfe*, ed. by Helmut Börsch-Supan/Gottfried Riemann, München/Berlin 2000 (Karl Friedrich Schinkel Lebenswerk, Vol. 17), pp. 60–67.

Fig. 2. Anton de Pian, *Egyptian Temple*, stage set for *Die Zauberflöte*, 1818, etching by Norbert Bittner, 13,1 × 15,4 cm (plate), private collection, Leipzig (Photo: Marion Wenzel, Leipzig)

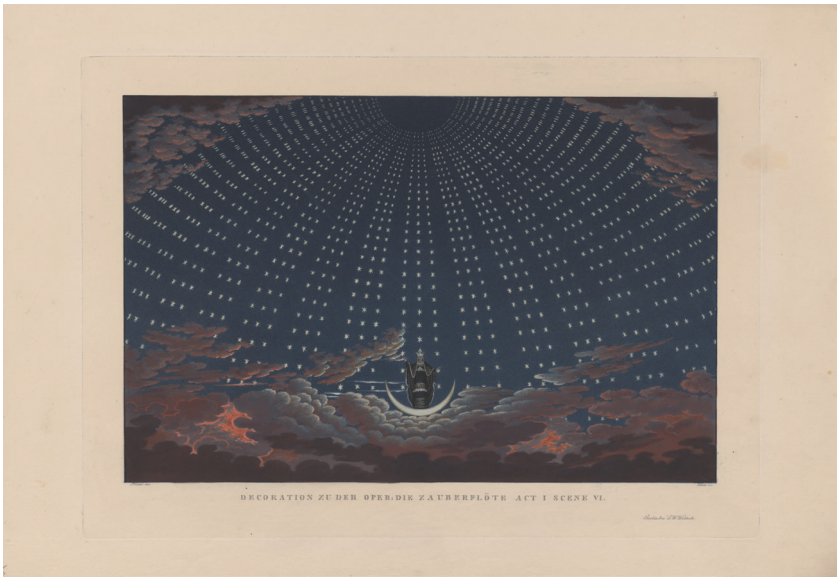

Fig. 3. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, *The Arrival of the Queen of the Night*, stage set for *Die Zauberflöte*, 1816/1823, hand-coloured aquatint by Ludwig Wilhelm Wittich, 23,7 × 36,7 cm (image), Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett (Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett / CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)

Beuther's and Schinkel's print publications and related them to Alessandro Sanquirico's *Raccolta di varie decorazioni sceniche […] per l'I. R. Teatro alla Scala* in an essay on theatre painting in the journal *Kunst und Altertum* in 1820.[12] He valued Sanquirico's outline etchings as perhaps "the best that the present age is capable of delivering in such a subject." Goethe considered the major benefactor of these collections of stage designs to be the theatre painter "who wants to make use of these patterns".[13]

Since the first half of the nineteenth century, the standards set for stage design had been rising. Scene painters were expected to have

> [t]horough knowledge of the general and specific history of architecture of all times and peoples; the greatest skill and accuracy in perspective; even archaeological knowledge; exact acquaintance with all branches of painting, especially landscape painting and colouring; even botany, etc., so that the appropriate forms of trees, herbs, rocks, and mountains can be given to each country […].[14]

Theatre decorations should no longer simply please the audience but should also be 'historically correct'. In Germany, Schinkel became the role model; his stage sets for *Die Zauberflöte* were based on conscientious studies and the latest scientific findings.[15] In order to meet these demands, theatre painters needed other visual materials in addition to printed reproductions of stage sets. Scene painters collected drawings and reproductions by other scenic artists as well as architectural and topographical drawings and prints, which they studied, used, and incorporated into their own inventions.

Only little is known or documented about the collections of scene painters. The Austrian Michael Mayr (1796–1870) had more than 3000 prints, drawings, and architectural treatises in his possession, such as early editions of works by Vitruvio, Vignola, Albrecht Dürer, Andrea Pozzo, and Ferdinando da Galli Bibiena. He also bought, copied, and exchanged drawings of stage sets by his fellow scene painters working in Vienna at the same time: Antonio de Pian, Joseph

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12 The copy from Goethe's private collection has been digitised: https://haab-digital.klassik-stiftung.de/viewer/image/147663159X/2/ (01.03.2023).

13 "[…] dürfte besagtes Werk [by Sanquirico] leicht unter das Beste gehören was die gegenwärtige Zeit in solchem Fach zu liefern vermag"; "[…] dem Decorationsmaler, der sich dieser Muster bedienen will". Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Theater-Mahlerey, in *Über Kunst und Alterthum* 2/3, 1820, pp. 117–131, here pp. 117f. and 129, all translations by the author, revised using artificial intelligence (DeepL.com and DeepL Write).

14 "Gründliche Kenntniße in der allgemeinen und speciellen Geschichte der Baukunst aller Zeiten, und Völker die größte Fertigkeit und Genauigkeit in der Perspective, selbst archaeologische Kenntniße, genaue Bekanntschaft mit allen Zweigen der Malerei, vorzüglich der Landschaftsmalerei und des wahren Colorits, ja selbst Pflanzenkunde u. s. w., damit jedem Lande die anpassenden Formen der Bäume, Kräuter, Felsen und Berge gegeben werden können, sind unerläßliche Erfordernisse für einen Decorateur, wie er seyn soll." [Karl Graf von Brühl], Vorwort, in Schinkel: *Decorationen*, p. [2]. See also Harten, *Die Bühnenentwürfe*, p. 63.

15 See Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, pp. 31–34.

Fig. 4. Carl Wilhelm Gropius after Simon Quaglio, *The Piazza San Marco,* stage set for the opera *Catharina Cornaro*, 1846, colour lithograph by Wilhelm Loeillot, in *Album der Oper*, Staatsbibliothek, Berlin (Photo: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz)

Platzer, Lorenzo Sacchetti, and others.[16] In the Quaglio family, on the other hand, there was a collection of sketches, drawings, and prints that had grown and been handed down over generations. Eugen Quaglio (1857–1942), the last active theatre painter in the family, sold the collection to the Munich Theatre Museum in 1923, where it resides today.[17]

However, Simon Quaglio himself never seemed to be interested in reproducing his own inventions and stage designs, although he did successfully make artistic etchings and lithographs alongside his theatre works.[18] The only known reproduction of his work can be found in the *Album der Oper […] Catharina Cornaro* (Fig. 4), published by the former Munich theatre director Karl Theodor von Küstner on the occasion of the new Berlin production of the opera.[19]

16 See Peter Weniger, Zur Ausstellung Die Sammlung Mayr, in *Die Sammlung des Theatermalers Michael Mayr 1796–1870. Architektur- und Theaterblätter*, ed. by Peter Weniger/Gerhard Winkler [exh. cat. Niederösterreichisches Landesmuseum Wien, 15.05.–08.07.1984], Wien 1984, pp. 4–8; Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, pp. 146f.

17 See ibid., pp. 137–144, 147f.

18 See ibid., pp. 57–69.

19 *Album der Oper. Costüme und Decorationen der Oper Catharina Cornaro von Franz Lachner auf dem Kön. Theater zu Berlin aufgeführt unter der General-Intendantur des Herrn von Küstner*, Berlin 1846; Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, pp. 297–299.

III. Working on commission – stage sets for smaller towns and parishes

Although there are no reproductions or visualisations of his stage designs, Quaglio was certainly well-known and respected beyond the city limits of Munich. Smaller, often newly built community theatres soon wanted him to paint for them. Accepting these commissions provided Quaglio with a welcome opportunity to increase his income. But it was not without its difficulties; as a court artist, his salary was so tightly calculated that he was almost dependent on additional income from outside commissions or other independent work. This was only possible if it did not interfere with his work for the National Theatre. Large commissions, such as designing and painting decorations for other theatres, required the approval of the director. Quaglio did not have a private workshop, so he needed the space of the theatre's workshop, too. This type of work had to be carried out outside the official working hours: at night, during the weekend, during the annual leave, or during unpaid leave.[20] A well-documented commission was the set design for the new Nuremberg Theatre, which Quaglio and his fellow scene painters Michael Schnitzler and Johann Georg Fries carried out in March 1833.[21] Even the Bavarian king Ludwig I was involved in specifying the strict conditions under which the work would be carried out, such as police supervision to ensure that no materials or tools belonging to the theatre were used.[22] To make matters worse, the theatre painters had to design and paint for a theatre building that they had never seen from the inside. It is unclear how much information was given to them by their patron, the municipal authorities of the city of Nuremberg, or how detailed it was. According to the theatre's chronicler, the sixteen new decorations that Quaglio and his colleagues had created were of the wrong dimensions, which significantly compromised the overall impression:

> A few days before the opening of the new theatre, a rehearsal of all the decorations took place in the evening with full lighting; to our shock it appeared that all the new scenery was much too low in relation to the height of the theatre. The same was true of most of the new decorations, so the new work was patched up from the start. You could see the naked wooden gangways of the rigging loft, which had to be fixed by the attachment of decorations and scenery. This in particular makes a very unpleasant impression on the audience as it breaks all the illusions.[23]

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20 See ibid., pp. 81–84.

21 München, HSTA, Intendanz Hoftheater, 706, *Personalakte Simon Quaglio* (21–24); Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, pp. 83f., note 143.

22 Materials and tools such as canvas, paint, glue, and brushes belonged to the theatre. It was feared that scene painters would try to use these materials to improve their profit margin. This dire situation changed in the 1840s, when Quaglio campaigned for a revision of the contract system that gave him greater entrepreneurial freedom. Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, pp. 82–84.

23 "Einige Tage vor Eröffnung des neuen Theaters, fand Abends bei vollständiger Beleuchtung, Probe der sämmtlichen Dekorationen statt; da stellte es sich zu unserem Schrecken heraus, daß sämmtliche neue Coulissen im Verhältniß zur Höhe des Theaters viel zu niedrig waren. Ebenso ging es mit den meisten neuen Dekorationen, so, daß das neue Werk schon von vorne he-

The Nuremberg scenes are an interesting example of how the transfer from the centre to the provinces was not necessarily marked by success. Quaglio was much more fortunate with commissions for rural Catholic parishes that asked him to paint scenes for their *teatri sacri*, ephemeral installations of the Holy Sepulchre or nativity scenes that were erected in churches and are still in use in some rural Catholic areas. Since the eighteenth century, temporary illusionistic architectures have been set up during the Passion and Christmas seasons using the means of the theatre stage: wooden frames covered with canvas and painted backdrops formed the architectural framework, painted panels of figures formed the static personnel of the biblical episodes. In Vienna, the architect and theatre painter Giuseppe Galli Bibiena (1696–1757) had designed such apparatuses for the imperial court. Subsequently, they were also adopted in the provinces, where they were often created by local artists or dilettantes.[24] In the course of the Enlightenment, *teatri sacri* were temporarily banned and generally fell out of fashion. Many of them were destroyed or disappeared as a result of the dissolution of monasteries. The tradition survived in the provinces, however, so that in the nineteenth century, small communities wanted to have their Holy Sepulchre scenes renewed.[25]

Just like the magistrate of Nuremberg, parishes and provincial communities had to submit a request to the head of the court theatre and ask for approval. On 3 January 1832 the magistrate of the Upper Bavarian town of Wolnzach wrote to the theatre director: "The local citizens want to erect a depiction of the Mount of Olives and the Holy Sepulchre in the local church. A request has been made to Mr. Quaglio, who has also declared himself willing, if he receives your highest permission to do so."[26] Quaglio was allowed to take over the assignment. In March 1833,

rein geflickt wurde. Man sah nämlich die nackten hölzernen Schnürböden-Gänge, welchem Uebel durch Anstücken der Dekorationen und Coulissen abgeholfen werden mußte. Gerade dieß macht einen sehr unangenehmen Eindruck auf das Publikum, da ja alle Illusion dadurch verloren geht." Franz Eduard Hysel, *Das Theater in Nürnberg von 1612 bis 1683 nebst einem Anhange über das Theater in Fürth*, Nürnberg 1863, p. 243.

24 On the Baroque tradition of *teatri sacri* in Austria and Bavaria, see Andrea Feuchtmayr, *Kulissenheiliggräber im Barock. Entstehungsgeschichte und Typologie*, München 1989 (Schriften aus dem Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität München, Vol. 38); Ewald M. Vetter, Erit sepulchrum ejus gloriosum. Materialien zur Geschichte der Heilig-Grab-Dekorationen in der Barockzeit, in *Ruperto-Carola* 21/47, 1969, pp. 113–136; Thomas Kamm, *Sein Grab wird herrlich sein. Heilige Gräber als Zeugen barocker Frömmigkeit* [exh. catalogue Stadt- und Spielzeugmuseum Traunstein, 08.03.–27.04.2003], Traunstein 2003, pp. 11–89; Christine Hübner, Römische Vorbilder und regionale Umsetzung. Zu einem Kulissenheiliggrab der Galli Bibiena in Wien, in *Architektur- und Ornamentgraphik der Frühen Neuzeit. Migrationsprozesse in Europa*, ed. by Sabine Frommel/Eckhard Leuschner, Roma 2014, pp. 313–325.

25 See Peter Wegmann, "Öfters mehr ein Theater …" Bemerkungen zu barocken Heiligen Gräbern, in *Grenzbereiche der Architektur (Festschrift Adolf Reinle)*, ed. by Thomas Bolt, Basel 1985, pp. 243–258, here pp. 243f.

26 "Die hiesige Bürgerschaft will eine Ölbergs und heiligen Grabes-Darstellung in der Kirche dahin errichten. Zur Ausführung hat man an Herrn von Quaglio das Anrufen gestellt, welcher sich auch bereitwilligt erklärt hat, wenn er die höchste Erlaubniß hierzu erhält." München, HSTA, Intendanz Hoftheater, 706, *Personalakte Simon Quaglio* (20).

the citizens of the small community thanked him in an advertisement in the journal *Die Bayer'sche Landbötin*. According to this, Quaglio himself was present at the unveiling of the Mount of Olives scene. The reaction of the people of Wolnzach, who had presumably never attended a performance at the Munich Court and National Theatre, was exuberant, heartfelt, and direct:

> When the curtain went up, the assembled masses expressed their joyful astonishment aloud. On the second Thursday, the church could by no means hold the crowd. […] Mr. Quaglio receives our heartfelt thanks for his great effort, our high veneration for his artistic talent. […] Where art forms the sacred in such a sublime way, the path is opened through the eye to the heart.[27]

Unfortunately, the Holy Sepulchre in Wolnzach has not been preserved. However, twenty scenes from the theatrical altar stage for the Bavarian parish church of Bad Tölz are still in use up to today (Fig. 5). Citizens, private individuals, and farmers from surrounding villages had initiated and jointly financed the project. Quaglio designed and painted the scenes in 1830, and they are now displayed from Advent to Corpus Christi in the stage-like opening in the church's neo-Gothic altarpiece built in 1866.[28] The high esteem in which Quaglio's work was held may also have led to the decorations being preserved and maintained over such a long period of time. While all the sets designed and painted by Quaglio for the Munich stage have long since been destroyed or lost, these are the only ones of his works that survived. They are therefore a unique testimony to his art. They also give an idea of how effective his decorations might have looked on the grand stage.

IV. "He travelled to Munich to join the master Simon Quaglio as an apprentice in scene painting" – transfer via travelling artists

Simon Quaglio passed on his knowledge and skills by teaching not only his own son but also young men who travelled from as far away as Switzerland and Denmark to learn the craft of scene and architectural painting. These unpaid apprenticeships left hardly any trace in the archives, so there is little information about them.[29] The Danish theatre painter Troels Lund (1802–1867) toured Europe from

27 "Als die Gardine in die Höhe ging, drückte die zahlreiche Versammlung ihr freudiges Erstaunen laut aus. Am 2ten Donnerstage konnte die Kirche bey Weitem die Volksmenge nicht fassen. […] Hr. Quaglio nehme unsern innigsten Dank für seine große Mühe, unsere hohe Verehrung für sein Künstler-Talent. […] Wo die Kunst das Heilige auf so erhabene Weise bildet, da ist die Bahn durch das Aug zum Herzen geöffnet." *Die Bayer'sche Landbötin* 3/31, 12.03.1833, p. 263. A short notice on the erection of the Holy Sepulchre is to be found in *Die Bayer'sche Landbötin* 3/46, 16.04.1833, p. 384.

28 See *Der Bayer'sche Landbote* 6-1/44, 13.04.1830, pp. 475f. So far, there has been no detailed study of the Bad Tölz altar stage. A small, illustrated booklet was published by the parish: *Die Tölzer Altarkrippe*, ed. by Katholisches Pfarramt Maria Himmelfahrt, Bad Tölz [n. d.].

29 See Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, pp. 78f., 346–349.

Fig. 5. Simon Quaglio (stage set) and Franz Anton Fröhlich (figurines), *The Marriage of Canaan, Theatrical Altar Stage at the Parish Church Maria Himmelfahrt, Bad Tölz*, 1830 (Photo: *Die Tölzer Altarkrippe*, ed. by Katholisches Pfarramt Maria Himmelfahrt, Bad Tölz [n.d.], [n.p.])

1826 to 1833 to learn from the most famous scene painters of the time (Fig. 6). In Denmark, the Grand Tour was a prerequisite for membership in the Art Academy, which in turn was a prerequisite for appointment as Royal Theatre Painter.[30] According to his travel diary, he first worked in Munich under Quaglio (1826–1828), then in Vienna under Joseph Platzer, Lorenzo Sacchetti, and Anton de Pian; in Milan under Alessandro Sanquirico; and finally for two years with Pierre-Luc-Charles Cicéri in Paris. In a letter dated 31 January 1828, he reported home from Munich that he had finally been allowed to execute entire parts of the decorations on his own as Quaglio gradually entrusted his apprentices with more responsible tasks. Lund later held his most important position as a theatre painter in another major centre – the Christiania Theatre in Oslo.[31]

Wilhelm Meier/Meyer (1806–1848), a young man from Zurich, began working with Quaglio in 1832. In his obituary in the *Neujahrsblatt der Künstlergesellschaft in Zürich*, his years of apprenticeship were described in detail:

> In 1832 he travelled to Munich to join the master Simon Quaglio as an apprentice in scene painting. A truly uplifting feeling takes hold of us when we read how the former guards officer, who until then had only been accustomed to a comfortable, semi-indolent life, is now in shirtsleeves from early in the morning until late in the evening, applying himself to the extremely arduous work of painting backdrops and devoting himself with firm perseverance to the study of architecture and perspective. Towards the end of his apprenticeship, Quaglio took over the decorations for the newly built theatre in Zurich, in the execution of which the student had a significant share. In March 1834 the apprenticeship was over, and the master gave our artist a most favourable commendation. These two years, dedicated to serious study, were to bear the most beautiful fruit, for the solid foundation for all later achievements was laid here because, apart from the fact that Quaglio constantly pointed the pupil towards the higher part of art, architectural painting, we must probably attribute his later rapid progress in this direction to the deep understanding of perspective acquired here.[32]

30 Another Danish scene painter going on a Grand Tour of Europe was Christian Ferdinand Christensen, who travelled Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, Switzerland, France, Italy, and Tyrol in 1838/1839. See Whitney A. Byrn, The Grand Tour of Europe. The Impact of Artistic Travels on Nineteenth-Century Danish Scenography, in *Nordic Theatre Studies* 32/2, 2020, pp. 71–88, here pp. 72f.

31 See Øyvind Anker, *Den Danske Theatermaleren Troels Lund og Christiania Theater*, Oslo 1962 (Theaterhistorisk Selskap-Skrifter, Vol. 3), pp. 10, 12f.

32 "Im Jahre 1832 wanderte er nach München, um bei dem Meister Simon Quaglio als Lehrling für Theaterdekorationsmalerei einzutreten. Ein wahrhaft erhebendes Gefühl ergreift uns, wenn wir lesen, wie der gewesene Gardeoffizier, der bis jetzt nur an ein behagliches, halbmüßiges Leben gewöhnt war, von Morgen früh bis Abends spät in der Blouse der äußerst mühsamen Arbeit der Coulissenmalerei obliegt und sich mit fester Ausdauer dem Studium der Architektur und Perspektive hingibt. Gegen das Ende seiner Lehrzeit übernahm Quaglio die Dekorationen für das neuerbaute Theater in Zürich, an deren Ausführung der Schüler einen bedeutenden Antheil hatte. Im März 1834 war die Lehrzeit zu Ende und der Meister stellte unserm Künstler ein höchst günstiges Zeugniß aus. Diese zwei, dem ernsten Studium gewidmeten Jahre sollten einst die schönsten Früchte tragen, denn zu allen spätern Leistungen wurde hier der solide Grund gelegt, weil wir, abgesehen davon, daß Quaglio den Schüler beständig auch auf den höhern Theil seiner Kunst, die Architekturmalerei, hinwies, wohl seine spätern so raschen Fort-

Fig. 6. C. A. Jensen, *The Scene Painter Troels Lund*, 1836, oil on canvas, 31 × 23,5 cm, Statens Museum for Kunst, Kopenhagen (Photo: https://open.smk.dk/artwork/image/KMS1557)

schritte in dieser Richtung hin der hier erworbenen, eindringenden Kenntniß der Perspektive zuschreiben müssen." [Jakob Melchior Ziegler], Lebensbeschreibung des Architekturmalers Wilhelm Meier, in *Neujahrsblatt der Künstlergesellschaft in Zürich* 15 (N.F.), 1855, pp. 1–9, here p. 2.

We know that in September 1834, Quaglio took leave to travel to Zurich and work on the decorations for the newly built theatre. In addition to Quaglio, who received 1431 fl. for his work, the company of Friedrich Jäckle from Donaueschingen and Michael Schnitzler from Munich also contributed to the stage decorations.[33] Quaglio's student Wilhelm Meier continued his career as a scenic painter in Nuremberg, Zurich, Bern, Lucerne, and Mannheim and later turned to painting small architectural scenes.

Like Troels Lund, Simon Quaglio's son Angelo II (1829–1890) went on his own Grand Tour in 1855. This journey took him via Dresden to Carl Wilhelm Gropius in Berlin, then to Hanover and finally to the workshops of the Paris scene painters Charles-Antoine Cambon and Joseph François Désiré Thierry. For the trip, he had also been issued an official document that was supposed to grant him free admission to the imperial theatres.[34] As he reported in a letter to the Bavarian king Maximilian II, he brought back "a rich collection of drawings, some from Berlin and some from Paris".[35] In the nineteenth century, scene painters exchanged and communicated on a European level, with the independent Parisian studios influencing the scenographic work of European scene painters by opening their doors to them.

To sum up, Simon Quaglio's influence on stage design outside of Munich was not through the visual reproduction of his work, which he did not seem to care about, but much more through his acceptance of commissions and the training of young artists who in turn carried the knowledge, skills, and imagery into their own careers.

V. The iconic Zauberflöte *in Berlin and the reaction in Munich*

Munich was certainly an important and influential theatre city, but compared to Berlin or Paris, its theatre scene was somewhat less developed, which situated the Bavarian capital and its scene painter Simon Quaglio on the receiving side of the cultural-transfer model. In Germany, Karl Friedrich Schinkel's decorations for the Berlin *Zauberflöte* in 1816 were certainly formative for the development of stage design in the nineteenth century. No other production received comparable media attention. The press described the sets for *Die Zauberflöte* in detail. The articles also discussed the role that set design should play within the stage arts. It suddenly became a question of what kind of knowledge and skills the theatre painters who

33 See *Theater in Zürich. Bücher und Bilder aus 150 Jahren* [exh. cat. Zentralbibliothek Zürich, 21.05.–06.07.1985], Zürich 1985.

34 See Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, p. 320; München, HSTA, *Gesandschaft Paris* 11482.

35 "[…] eine reiche Sammlung von Dekorationsskizzen theils aus Berlin, theils aus Paris". München, HSTA, Intendanz Hoftheater, 705, *Personalakte Angelo Quaglio* (15), Letter by Angelo II Quaglio to Maximilian II, 14.04.1855.

designed and executed the sets should have. Rarely before had there been such detailed public discussion of stage sets and their creators.[36]

Schinkel's stage designs for Berlin had had a major impact on Munich, too. The new production of *Die Zauberflöte*, staged shortly after the inauguration of the Court and National Theater in 1818, is the first work with which the young Simon Quaglio presented himself as a scene painter. He designed and executed all twelve scenes for the opera. The production can be described as Bavaria's cultural and political response to Schinkel's *Zauberflöte*. As it was not until 1823/1824, in the third and fourth volumes of Schinkel's *Decorationen*, that the now iconic stage sets were reproduced in print, Quaglio's designs did not imitate or adopt motifs and visuals of the Berlin production.[37] Rather, he based his artistic approach on Schinkel's. While he did incorporate the principle of symbolic scenes discussed vividly in the reviews of the Berlin production, for Quaglio, there was an even more obvious source of inspiration than the architect, namely "the latest and best sources":[38] the sumptuously illustrated French publications of Napoleon's Egyptian expedition, such as Dominique Vivant Denon's *Voyage dans le Basse et Haute Égypte* (1803) or Antoine Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy's *De l'architecture égyptienne* (1803). While Schinkel took great liberties with this richness of material, transforming it into the fantastic, timeless Egypt of the *Zauberflöte* (Fig. 7), the younger Quaglio in Munich stayed very close to the originals, which promised historical authenticity (Fig. 8). However, it was in the staging of the first scene of the Queen of the Night that Quaglio achieved his greatest creative freedom. Here he arrived at a completely independent pictorial invention that, in its dynamism and menacing darkness (Fig. 9), is conceptually completely different from Schinkel's "Sternendom" (Fig. 3).[39]

The printed reproductions of Schinkel's theatrical work, which appeared in several editions as well as simplified versions throughout the nineteenth century, contributed to its popularity, which continues to this day.[40] Some theatre painters

36 See Harten, *Die Bühnenentwürfe*, pp. 117–132; Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, pp. 31–34, 149–154.

37 The first edition of the print reproductions of Schinkel's theatre designs was published between 1819 and 1824 in five volumes ("Hefte") of six aquatints each. Eight decorations from the *Zauberflöte* were published in the third and fourth volumes in 1823/1824. Harten, *Die Bühnenentwürfe*, pp. 60–62, 117.

38 The author E. T. A. Hoffmann said approvingly in his review of *Die Zauberflöte* in Berlin: "That is why the Egyptian nature in the landscapes and the style of ancient Egyptian architecture, according to the latest and best sources, also form the basis of the buildings." ("Daher liegt denn aber auch mit Recht ägyptische Natur den Landschaften und Styl der alten ägyptischen Architektur den Bauwerken, nach den neuesten, besten Hülfsmitteln, zum Grunde.") [E. T. A. Hoffmann], Ueber Dekorationen der Bühne überhaupt und über die neuen Dekorationen zur Oper die Zauberflöte auf dem Königl. Opern-Theater insbesondere. (Beschluss), in *Dramaturgisches Wochenblatt* 2/9, 02.03.1816, pp. 65–69, here p. 66. See also Harten, *Die Bühnenentwürfe*, pp. 122–130.

39 See Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, pp. 149–151, 155–158, 209–211; Schläder, *Vision und Tradition*, pp. 90–105.

40 See Harten, *Die Bühnenentwürfe*, pp. 85f.

Fig. 7. Karl Friedrich Schinkel, stage set for *Die Zauberflöte*, opening scene, 1816/1823, hand-coloured aquatint by Ludwig Wilhelm Wittich, 23,7×36,7 cm (image), Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett (Photo: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett / CC BY-NC-SA 4.0)

Fig. 8. Simon Quaglio, stage set for *Die Zauberflöte*, opening scene, 1818, watercolour and pen drawing, 34,5×45,5 cm, Deutsches Theatermuseum, München (Photo: Deutsches Theatermuseum München, Inv. Nr. IX Slg. Qu. 524)

Fig. 9. Simon Quaglio, *The Arrival of the Queen of the Night*, stage set for *Die Zauberflöte*, 1818, watercolour and pen drawing, 34,6 × 45,8 cm, Deutsches Theatermuseum, München (Photo: Deutsches Theatermuseum München, Inv. Nr. IX Slg. Qu. 526)

Fig. 10. Theodor Presuhn, stage set for *Sakuntala* in the illustrated inventory of the Oldenburg theatre, ca. 1872, pencil drawing, 31 × 20 cm, Deutsches Theatermuseum, München (Photo: Deutsches Theatermuseum München, Inv. Nr. Slg. Albert Köster 1925, Inv. 1686)

used the reproductions as direct models and quoted them in their own designs. The boundaries between an appreciative quotation, which stimulated the aesthetically educated public, and plagiarism sometimes are blurred. In 1872, for example, the Oldenburg theatre painter Theodor Presuhn the Elder (1810–1877) used Schinkel's fantastic Egyptian temple from the first scene of *Die Zauberflöte* (Fig. 7) for the "royal palace" in the fourth act of the ancient Indian drama *Sakuntala* (Fig. 10).[41] Presuhn, however, has changed the scene, placing the palace turned by 90° on the shore of a sunlit lake. Schinkel's demonic winged beasts, on whose backs the pillars of the temple rest, have been transformed into friendly winged elephants with huge ears. The question here is whether the bourgeois audience at the Oldenburg Court Theatre recognised the quotations from Schinkel's *Zauberflöte* or whether they simply enjoyed some splendid scenes.[42]

VI. "But they have not seen anything abroad and must not be left behind any longer" – Simon Quaglio on a visit to Paris

The availability of texts and images describing and reproducing scenes and decorations was even more developed in Paris, where the phenomenon of the Grand Opéra influenced scenography and staging on a European scale.[43] The Parisian theatre business and the visual culture of the nineteenth century are closely linked.[44] For economic reasons, Parisian theatre agencies provided sheet music, librettos, printed reproductions of sets (Fig. 11), costumes, role portraits, and even complete stage direction books of particularly successful operas. These *livrets de mise en scène* contained floor plans of the stage, movement diagrams for the direction of characters and groups, and technical arrangements for the stage. They were based on the principle that the productions of the Parisian theatres could

41 The ancient Indian play *Śakuntalā* by Kālidāsa was performed in Oldenburg in 1872 in a modern German adaptation: Alfred Freiherr von Wolzogen, *Sakuntala. Schauspiel in fünf Aufzügen, frei nach Kalidasa's alt-indischem Drama*, Schwerin 1869.

42 See Christine Hübner, Inventur eines Inventars. Antiken im Dekorationsbuch Oldenburg, in *Die andere Antike. Altertumsfigurationen auf der Bühne des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Friederike Krippner/Andrea Polaschegg/Julia Stenzel, Paderborn 2018 (Anfänge [in] der Moderne), pp. 211–232, here. pp. 229–232.

43 On the phenomenon of the Grand Opéra and its scenography, see Catherine Join-Diéterle, *Les décors de scène de l'Opéra de Paris à l'époque romantique*, Paris 1988; Nicole Wild, *Décors et costumes du XIX^e siècle*, Vol. 1: *Opéra de Paris*, Paris 1987; Rebecca Wilberg, *The 'mise-en-scène' at the Paris Opéra-Salle le Peletier (1821–1873) and the Staging of the First French Grand Opéra: Meyerbeer's Robert le Diable*, Brigham 1990; Anselm Gerhard, *Die Verstädterung der Oper. Paris und das Musiktheater des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart/Weimar 1992; Evan Baker, *From the Score to the Stage. An Illustrated History of Continental Opera Production and Staging*, London/Chicago 2013, pp. 121–160.

44 See Nic Leonhardt, Theater und visuelle Kultur im 19. Jahrhundert. Modi der Relation aus historischer Perspektive, in *Theater und Bild. Inszenierungen des Sehens*, ed. by Kati Röttger/Alexander Jackob, Bielefeld 2009, pp. 233–254.

Fig. 11. Charles Cambon and Humanité René Philastre, *The Duomo of Florence with Underground Crypt*, scene from the opera *Guido et Ginevra*, 1838, lithography by Célestin Deshays, in *Guido et Ginevra*, Paris 1838 (Album de l'Opéra, Vol. 14), 15 × 20 cm, BNF, Département Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, Paris (Photo: Paris, BNF)

be staged in small theatres in a slightly simplified form but as close to the original as possible.[45]

In Paris, business-minded theatre agencies were distributing sheet music, textbooks, visual material and director's manuals to French and foreign theatres.[46] Behind the controlled distribution of Parisian 'model performances', however, was a modern copyright system designed to protect the rights of authorship for librettists and composers – not only in France but also beyond. Performances abroad brought royalties to the authors, who were granted protection for the material and content of their works. The greatest influence was contractually granted to composers such as Giacomo Meyerbeer, who had the right to prohibit unwanted changes in the performance of his works in France.[47]

45 See Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, p. 293.

46 See ibid., p. 295; Baker, *From the Score*, pp. 138f.; Arnold Jacobshagen, Staging at the Opéra-Comique in Nineteenth-Century Paris: Auber's 'Fra Diavolo' and the 'livrets de mise-en-scène', in *Cambridge Opera Journal* 13, 2001, pp. 239–260, here p. 241; Gösta A. Bergman, Les agences théâtrales et l'impression des mises-en-scène, in *Revue de la société d'histoire du théâtre* 8, 1956, pp. 228–240.

47 See Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, pp. 295f.; Gerhard, *Die Verstädterung der Oper*, p. 41. In Munich, the strong influence of French composers was repeatedly circumvented by having successful

Even though the illustrations and images of the Grand Opéra in magazines, prints, and albums were not necessarily reliable reproductions of original stage sets, they aroused the desire of European audiences to experience something similar.[48] Paris set the style: the *Münchener Punsch*, a satirical magazine, wrote in a review in 1853: "Today too much is spent on the decoration of the body; the great opera in Paris is the fashion magazine."[49] In Munich, the reception of the Grand Opéra had begun somewhat cautiously with the premieres of Daniel-François-Esprit Auber's opera *La Muette de Portici* in 1830 and Giacomo Meyerbeer's *Robert le Diable* in 1834. Both operas were hugely popular and remained in the repertoire for decades.[50] Their sets, however, remained largely unaffected by the French models. This was partly due to censorship. In the early Munich performances of *Robert le Diable*, censors did not allow the presentation of clerical characters on stage so that the famous "Dance of the Nuns" in the nocturnal cloister in Act 3 had to be performed by profane spirits. Scenes set in churches were also banned, which resulted in moving the final scene of the opera to the exterior of the building (Fig. 12).[51] However, this was soon to change.

As far as the Grand Opéra was concerned, it was Quaglio who became a travelling scene painter by visiting the French capital. In September 1839, the Munich theatre director Karl Theodor von Küstner, Simon Quaglio, and the machinist Ferdinand Schütz went on a study trip to Paris. The director did not want his theatre to appear provincial or outdated and wanted his artists to be open to the newest developments. The main objective was the study of the various inventions that were responsible for the superiority of the Parisian stages:

French libretti set to music by local composers such as Franz Lachner (1803–1890). Lachner's greatest Munich success, the opera *Catharina Cornaro*, which premiered in 1841, was based on a libretto by Jules Henri de Saint-Georges, a collaborator of Eugène Scribe. The material was simultaneously set to music in Paris by Jacques Fromental Halévy under the title *La Reine de Chypre*. The director Karl Theodor von Küstner had acquired the libretto (and the rights to it) in Paris due to a lack of usable textbooks by German authors. Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, p. 295, note 101; *Macht der Gefühle. 350 Jahre Oper in München*, ed. by Ulrike Hessler, München/Berlin 2003, pp. 212–214.

48 On the problem of interpretation in theatre iconography, see Christopher B. Balme, Interpreting the Pictorial Record. Theatre Iconography and the Referential Dilemma, in *Theatre Research International* 22, 1997, pp. 190–201.

49 "Man verwendet heut' zu Tage zu viel auf die Ausschmückung des Leibes; die grosse Oper zu Paris ist das Modejournal." [Anon.], Artistisch-Literarischer Theil. Kgl. Hof- und National-Theater, in *Münchener Punsch. Humoristisches Originalblatt* 6/16, 1853, pp. 124–128, here p. 124.

50 On the French and European success of *La Muette de Portici* and *Robert le Diable*, see Baker: *From the Score*, pp. 140–145, 151–160; Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, pp. 266–271.

51 See Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, pp. 266–271. Until the mid-nineteenth century, an ecclesiastical code of morals forbade the depiction of church scenes and religious acts on stage. Robert Schuster, *Die kirchliche Szene in der Oper des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Sinzig 2004 (Musik und Musikanschauung im 19. Jahrhundert. Studien und Quellen, Vol. 11), pp. 818f.

Fig. 12. Simon Quaglio, *In front of the Palermo Cathedral*, stage set for the opera *Robert le Diable*, 1834, watercolour and pen drawing, pencil, 198 × 267 mm, Deutsches Theatermuseum, München (Photo: Deutsches Theatermuseum München, Inv. Nr. IX Slg. Qu. 166)

> Anyone who has seen this new type of stage design in Paris, which is now used in almost all new operas and plays, is enchanted by it without being able to explain the technical details and absolutely prefers this Parisian way of scenography to ours, however well the latter may be painted.[52]

Quaglio and Schütz, therefore, had to see and experience the performances for themselves and study the stage, decorations, lighting, machinery, and even the fire-safety measures of the theatre building. Other representatives of major European theatres had also previously travelled to Paris for study purposes.

> Most of the large theatres, such as those in Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Hamburg, have become aware of these decorations through the reports of their scenic artists in Paris [...] and have begun to introduce them. As is customary in art and science, everything should

52 "Jeder, der diese neue Dekorierung in Paris gesehen, die jetzt beynahe in allen neuen Opern und Stücken eingesätzt, ist, ohne sich selbst das Technische genauer erklären zu können, davon entzückt, und gibt dieser Pariser Dekorierungs-Weise unbedingt vor der unsrigen den Vorzug, so gut die Dekorationen auch nach letzterer Stellung gemahlt seyn mögen." München, HStA, Intendanz Hoftheater, 502, *Personalakte Karl Theodor von Küstner,* Cab. Pr. Nr. 3099, Letter by Karl Theodor von Küstner to King Ludwig I, 25.06.1839, transcribed in Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, pp. 344–346, here p. 345.

> be constantly improved. Our Munich theatre has talented painters and machinists. But they have not seen anything abroad and must not be left behind any longer.[53]

In Paris, they attended performances every day "to get a good look at the decorations".[54] They visited the twenty most important theatres in the city, the scene painters' studios, studied the modern gas lighting system, talked to French colleagues, and made notes and sketches.[55]

Back in Munich, Simon Quaglio began work on the stage designs for Jacques Fromental Halévy's opera *Guido et Ginevra ou La Peste de Florence*. Still under the fresh impressions of Paris, Quaglio worked for more than five months, inventing, drawing, and participating in the execution of the paintings.[56] His decorations for the Grand Opéra, like those for *Die Zauberflöte*, were never mere copies of the Parisian stage designs (Fig. 11), but were, as can be seen in the scene from Act 3 (Fig. 13), reworked yet recognisable adaptations of the template, in this case transformed into the two-point perspective and axial rotation of an almost baroque *scena per angolo*.[57]

VII. A scenographic guest performance – L'Enfant prodigue *in Munich*

Paris as a centre has left its mark on stage design in Europe through a variety of transfer routes: through images, exchanges between theatre painters, and – as in the following case – guest performances of stage sets.

However, it should be mentioned that the success of French operas on the German stage also provoked critics who accused the French of having established a "formal provisional government" on the German stage.[58] This conflict came to a

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53 "Die meisten großen Theater, als zu Berlin, Petersburg, Hamburg haben durch Kenntnisnahme ihrer Dekorateure an Ort und Stelle zu Paris […] von diesen Dekorationen Notiz genommen und sie einzuführen angefangen. Wie in Kunst und Wissenschaft alles Vorhandene benutzt und immer fortgeschritten werden muß, sollte auch das Münchner Theater, das wackere Mahler und Maschinisten hat, die jedoch noch gar nichts Auswärtiges gesehen haben, nicht länger mehr in dieser Hinsicht zurückbleiben dürfen ohne Nachtheil für ihre Ehre, ja für ihre Kaste." Ibid., p. 345.

54 "[…] um die Dekorationen gut sehen zu können". München, HStA, Intendanz Hoftheater, 502, *Personalakte Karl Theodor von Küstner*, Cab. Pr. Nr. 609, Letter by Karl Theodor von Küstner to King Ludwig I, 29.10.1839.

55 See ibid.

56 See Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, pp. 271–273.

57 See ibid., pp. 288–292. The *Scena per angolo* is an invention of the 18th century and typical of the baroque stage design of the Galli Bibiena. See Carroll Durand, The Apogee of Perspective in the Theatre. Ferdinando Bibiena's Scena per angolo, in *Theatre Research International* 13, 1988, pp. 21–29, esp. pp. 21, 25–29.

58 "Die französischen Stücke haben über die deutsche Bühne eine förmliche provisorische Regierung errichtet". [Anon.], Vorwort zu den Theaterpfeilen, in *Münchener Punsch. Humoristisches Originalblatt* 3/1, 06.01.1850, p. 4.

Fig. 13. Simon Quaglio, *The Duomo of Florence with Underground Crypt*, stage set for the opera *Guido et Ginevra*, 1840, watercolour and pen drawing, 23,4×30,1 cm, Deutsches Theatermuseum, München (Photo: Deutsches Theatermuseum München, Inv. Nr. IX Slg. Qu. 221)

head when in 1852 original sets commissioned in Paris were brought to Munich.[59] It was the reversal of the situation where Quaglio sent his commissioned decorations to theatres in provincial centres. At that time, Parisian theatre painters were already working for operas all over Europe; Richard Wagner, for example, commissioned Édouard Despléchin to design and paint the sets for the premiere of *Tannhäuser* in Dresden in 1845.[60] In Munich, however, this was a novelty. For Quaglio, it was an unwelcome novelty as he believed that his expertise and skills were being called into question. What had happened?

For the premiere of Daniel-François-Esprit Auber's opera *L'Enfant prodigue* in Munich, director Franz Dingelstedt commissioned Charles-Antoine Cambon, the first scene painter of the Paris Opéra, to design and supply the sets for the second and third acts. These were the most attractive and architecturally demanding scenes in the opera, which were usually Quaglio's speciality (Fig. 14).[61] All other decorations were entrusted to local Bavarian scene painters Simon Quaglio and Michael Schnitzler. However, they were not allowed to create their own designs;

59 See Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, pp. 314–320.
60 See Baker, *From the Score*, p. 158.
61 There are no pictorial sources for the Munich performance.

Fig. 14. Victor Coindre, scene from the opera *L'Enfant Prodigue*, illustration in *Chronique Musicale*, 1850, wood engraving, 21,5 × 24,5 cm (Photo: Catherine Join-Diéterle, *Les décors de scène de l'Opéra de Paris à l'époque romantique*, Paris 1988, p. 247, Fig. 152)

they were given drawings of the Parisian decorations and asked to reproduce them. Simon Quaglio was offended and believed that his honour had been violated. Although he was not afraid of comparison, he felt at a disadvantage because he was given rather undemanding scenes to paint while Cambon was to provide "the two most magnificent and beautiful architectural decorations":

> For if the decorations in question were to be painted exclusively in Paris, leaving me to work on the lesser architectural and landscape decorations, the thought would inevitably arise that my ability was not sufficient for these achievements. Moreover, not only would I lose the opportunity to distinguish myself publicly by my achievements […], but I would also be confined to a subject that is alien to me, namely the treatment of landscape decorations.[62]

62 "[…] die zwei großartigsten und schönsten architektonischen Dekorationen […]. Denn, wenn die fraglichen Dekorationen ausschließlich in Paris gemalt werden, während die geringeren Architektur- und landschaftlichen Dekorationen mir zur Verarbeitung verbleiben, muß unfehlbar der Gedanke die Oberhand gewinnen, dass meine Befähigung zu jenen Leistungen nicht ausreiche. Obendrein würde ich dabei nicht nur die Gelegenheit einbüßen, mich durch meine Leistungen öffentlich hervorzuthun […], sondern auch auf ein Fach beschränkt werden, das eigentlich mir fremd ist, nemlich auf die Bearbeitung der landschaftlichen Dekorationen." München, HSTA, Intendanz Hoftheater, 706, *Personalakte Simon Quaglio* (76), letter by Simon Quaglio to the theatre director.

The Bavarian press recognised the tense situation and interpreted it as an artistic competition. The nationalist journal *Der Bayerische Landbote* turned the affair into a conflict of national interests. After accusing the theatre management of failing to realise that the opera itself was mediocre and of relying on the exaggerated pomp of the sets as a proven guarantee of success, the commissioning of the decorations in Paris was seen as a disgrace and an insult to German scene painters, German scientists, and German art in general.[63]

The more liberal *Münchener Punsch*, on the other hand, took a sceptical view of the growing nationalist tendencies. The *Punsch* called for greater tolerance; the article, published a month before the premiere, was an impassioned plea for the cultural benefits of international artistic exchange:

> The two decorations painted in Paris for the *Prodigal Son* have arrived but remain closed to all premature glances. Some people, however, do not need to see them at all – they make up their minds anyway. Of course, these judgments are not based on observation but on hatred of all that is foreign. But if the nations are not to stand still and stagnate, if the water of human activity is not to dry up but is to be kept in a lively flow, then the people, i. e. their ideas and products, must mix with one another, and it is precisely those ultra-Bavarians in art, science, and politics who are the real enemies of their homeland because they want to board it up and shut it off from the sunbeams of the zeitgeist and the invigorating air of international exchange. How could you live in a room, however beautiful, if you never open a window? Competition is the engine that drives the great million-handed machine of humanity. – The artistic fame of our native master S. Qualio [sic] is so firm that it cannot be shaken, even if Saint Luke himself were to become a scene painter in Paris. But not only we, but also foreign countries appreciate and admire him, and why should foreign art not also claim our attention? Actors, singers, and even opera directors must accept guest roles, however reluctantly, so why shouldn't the visual arts also make their excursions? Or will the paintings of the hundreds of artists from the city of Munich all be sold in Munich? […] It will be an interesting evening, with so many arts competing for the prize […]. People will compare, impressions will be weighed against each other – Quaglio's works will be shown in all their old splendour, and on the other hand, it must be of interest to every educated person to get to know the national art of his neighbour. Anything that stimulates and enlivens the matter is useful; slovenliness is poison to art. So we can only rejoice that the King's approval has made this scenographic guest performance possible.[64]

63 See *Der Bayerische Landbote 28*/76, 16.03.1852, p. 353. Extract in Hübner, *Simon Quaglio*, pp. 317f.

64 "Die beiden in Paris gemalten Dekorationen zum verlornen Sohn sind angekommen, bleiben jedoch allen voreiligen Blicken verschlossen. Manche Leute brauchen indeß gar nichts davon zu sehen – sie geben doch ihre Urtheile ab. Freilich entspringen diese Urtheile nicht aus der Anschauung, sondern aus einem chinesischen Haß gegen alles Fremdländische. Sollen aber die Völker nicht stille stehen und versauern, soll das Wasser der menschlichen Thätigkeit nicht in Pfützen versiegen, sondern in lebendigem Fluß erhalten werden, so müssen sich die Völker, d. i. ihre Ideen und Erzeugnisse mit einander vermischen und gerade jene spezifischen Ultrabayern in Kunst, Wissenschaft und Politik sind die eigentlichen Feinde ihres Vaterlandes, weil sie es mit Brettern vernageln und von dem Sonnenschein des Zeitgeistes und der belebenden Lust des Weltverkehrs abschließen wollen. Wie könnte man in einem noch so schönen Zimmer existiren, wenn Jahr aus Jahr ein kein Fenster geöffnet würde? Konkurrenz ist die Trieb-

While the more regional exchange between the centre and the periphery, which was the subject of the first part of this essay, hardly left any traces, the international exchange between Paris and Munich left its mark in the Bavarian papers. Stage sets and scene painters, which were seldom the subject of detailed press coverage, were brought into the spotlight.

In the following decades, during which Simon Quaglio had to withdraw more and more from scene painting due to his age, the business of touring and the commercial production and distribution of theatre scenery became increasingly important, both nationally and internationally. The Parisian artists continued to lead the way and had the widest geographical reach – right into the Egyptian periphery: Auguste-Alfred Rubé, Philippe-Marie Chaperon, Édouard Desplechin, and Jean-Baptiste Lavastre created the decorations for the premiere of Giuseppe Verdi's *Aida* at the Teatro dell'Opera in Cairo on 24 December 1871. Painted in the Paris workshops, the sets were transported to Egypt by train and ship.[65] From the mid-nineteenth century, theatre painters in Germany and Austria also joined together to form commercial workshop communities based on the French model.[66] One of the most influential workshops was the *Atelier für Theater-Decorations-Malerei* (*Studio for Theatre Decorations and Painting*) of the brothers Gotthold and Max Brückner in Coburg, founded around 1873, which produced the decorations for the performances of the 'Theaterherzog' (Theatre-duke) Georg II of Meiningen and for the Bayreuth Festival.[67] In Vienna, the private studio of theatre painters Carlo Brioschi, Johann Kautsky, and Hermann Burghart catered for

kraft, welche die große millionenhändige Menschheitsmaschine fortbewegt. – Der Künstlerruhm unseres einheimischen Meisters S. Qualio [sic] steht so fest, daß er nicht erschüttert werden kann, und wenn Sankt Lukas selbst in Paris Dekorationsmaler würde. Aber nicht nur wir, sondern auch das Ausland schätzt und bewundert ihn, und warum soll dann umgekehrt auswärtige Kunst nicht auch auf unsere Aufmerksamkeit Anspruch haben? Schauspieler, Sänger, sogar Opernregisseure, müssen sich, wenn auch ungern, Gastrollen gefallen lassen, warum soll die bildende Kunst nicht auch ihre Ausflüge machen? Oder werden vielleicht die Bilder, welche die etlichen hundert Maler Münchens anfertigen, alle in München verkauft? […] Es wird ein interessanter Abend, wo so viele Künste miteinander um den Preis ringen […]. Man wird vergleichen, man wird die Eindrücke gegeneinander abwägen – Quaglio's Verdienste werden sich in ihrem alten Glanze bewähren, und auf der anderen Seite muß es für jeden Gebildeten von Interesse sein, auch die nationale Kunstfertigkeit des Nachbars kennen zu lernen. Alles, was anregt und Leben in die Sache bringt, ist von Nutzen; der Schlendrian allein ist Gift für die Kunst. Wir können uns daher nur freuen, daß die königliche Zustimmung diese Decorationsgastrolle [sic] ermöglicht hat." [Anon.], Münchener Zuschauer, in *Münchener Punsch* 5/8, 22.02.1852, pp. 62–64, here pp. 63f.

65 See Bruno Forment, Staging Verdi in the Provinces. The Aida Scenery of Albert Dubosq, in *Staging Verdi and Wagner*, ed. by Naomi Matsumoto, Turnhout 2015 (Mise en scene, Vol. 2), pp. 263–286, here pp. 265–270.

66 See Edith Ibscher, *Theaterateliers des deutschen Sprachraums im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main 1972, p. 30.

67 See Fabian Kern, *Soeben gesehen. Bravo, Bravissimo. Die Coburger Theatermalerfamilie Brückner und die Beziehungen zu den Bayreuther Festspielen*, Berlin 2010 (Schriften der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, Vol. 79), pp. 69–72.

numerous smaller municipal theatres whose workshops were unable to produce decorations in the desired quality and quantity.[68] The development of the railway network made it possible for whole companies and productions to travel. Between 1874 and 1890, the Meininger company (Meiningen Court Theatre) toured Europe, performing in 38 cities, including Moscow, Copenhagen, Vienna, and London. Costumes and decorations were transported in up to thirty railway carriages.[69] The Meininger also came to Munich, but the guest performances took place in the smaller Gärtnerplatztheater, which opened in 1865.[70] The larger Munich Court and National Theatre still hardly ever hosted guest performances or used decorations not designed and painted in-house in the following years. Richard Wagner had offered the Munich theatre the sets, costumes, and machinery from the Bayreuth Festival for the first complete performance of the *Ring* there in 1878, but the theatre director showed no interest.[71] The *Parsifal* sets, created by the Brückner brothers for the Bayreuth Festival, were first brought to the Munich stage in 1884 for the *Separatvorstellungen* (private performances) of the Bavarian king Ludwig II – albeit hidden from public view: as the king sought to be undisturbed while savouring the operas, the performances were staged and performed for him alone.[72]

VIII. Conclusion

The fact and the various methods of transfer between centre and periphery, with Munich being both an upper and a peripheral centre, were traced in this essay using Simon Quaglio as a case study. The role and motives of those actors who promoted such exchanges, but who could also inhibit and prevent them, proved to be particularly interesting. In the nineteenth century, the Munich Court and National Theatre saw its role in the interaction between the centre and the periphery as that of a giver rather than as receiver. The theatre and its

68 See Vana Greisenegger-Georgila, *Theater von der Stange. Wiener Ausstattungskunst in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Wien/Köln/Weimar 1994 (Cortina. Materialien aus dem Österreichischen Theatermuseum, Vol. 16), pp. 18–22.

69 See Alfred Erck, *1831–2006. Geschichte des Meininger Theaters*, Meiningen 2006, pp. 44–57; *Die Meininger kommen! Hoftheater und Hofkapelle zwischen 1874 und 1914 unterwegs in Deutschland und Europa*, ed. by Volker Kern, Meiningen 1999; Kern, *Soeben gesehen*, p. 156.

70 See, for example, the review of the 1887 guest performance in *Zweite Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* 206, 27.07.1887, pp. 1f.

71 See Kern, *Soeben gesehen*, p. 129; Detta Petzet/Michael Petzet, *Die Richard Wagner-Bühne König Ludwigs II. München – Bayreuth*, München 1970 (Studien zur Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts, Vol. 8), p. 255.

72 See Kern, *Soeben gesehen*, pp. 153f. The Brückner brothers repainted the *Parsifal* decorations for the private performances, as the original sets used in Bayreuth did not satisfy the king's aesthetic demands. On the approximately 200 private performances for Ludwig II, staged between 1872 and 1886: Kurt Hommel, *Die Separatvorstellungen vor König Ludwig II. von Bayern. Schauspiel – Oper – Ballett*, München 1963.

artists, such as the self-confident Simon Quaglio and the changing directors of the theatre, could not escape the international phenomenon of the Grand Opéra and the supraregional cultural exchange. They could, however, control whether the influence of the upper centres and the internationally active independent private studios reached the stage in the form of scenography and productions.