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Business as Usual?: The Changing Structure of “the Italian company” During their Scandinavian Tour, 1800–1802

This article examines and discusses the changes made to “the Italian company” during their Scandinavian tour of 1800 to 1802, changes regarding leadership, membership and repertoire. Prior to 1800, the peripatetic company had performed all over Europe under the direction of Mr Casorti. While in Scandinavia, the company had several local directors. The changes in leadership were a legal necessity, in order to gain access to a Scandinavian entertainment market otherwise closed to foreigners. While in Scandinavia the company offered their usual mix of theatrical performances and artistic feats. In Sweden and Norway however, their programme expanded. The changes in the repertoire were connected with changes in membership, brought about by marriages, births and business partnerships. Whereas changes in leadership constituted an exception to the norm for the company, the author argues that changes to membership and consequentially repertoire were business as usual. Ellen Karoline Gjervan is Associate Professor at Queen Maud University College in Trondheim, Norway. She received her PhD in Theatre Studies at the University of Bergen in 2010. She has published on Henrik Ibsen’s theatrical career, on dramaturgy, and on political theatre and stagecraft of the long eighteenth century.

Keywords: Casorti, peripatetic performers, popular entertainments c1800, Scandinavia, pantomime, equestrianism, early circus

In the year 1800, between June 18 and July 9, the annual Midsummer fair was held in the Deer Garden just outside Copenhagen in Denmark.¹ A contemporary newspaper reporting upon the fair stated that: “Among the arts that...this year are most acclaimed, are those which the so-called Italian company offers.”² This was the company’s first appearance in Scandinavia. As the 1800 fair in the Deer Garden came to its conclusion, the company continued their

performances in Copenhagen until the end of August, when they left for Sweden. After a series of performances in Gothenburg, they made their way to Norway where the company spent the entire winter season in Christiania (today's Oslo). They would again perform at the Deer Garden fair in the summer of 1801, and then embark on a winter season in Copenhagen before the majority of the company left Scandinavia for good in the spring of 1802.

In this article I examine the company's structure while in Scandinavia. The reason for doing so is that several changes were made regarding the leadership, the repertoire and the membership of the company during their Scandinavian sojourn. "The Italian company" that appeared and performed in the Deer Garden in the summer of 1800 was, for instance, not identical to that which performed under the same moniker in Christiania later that year. Their usual programme of popular entertainments—consisting of rope dancing, acrobatics, ballets and pantomimes—were expanded upon during their Scandinavian tour. While in Scandinavia, at least four different people were promoted at different times to be the company's director. I will examine these changes and discuss how they can be understood. Did these changes constitute a deviation from the usual business of the company?

Context of this study

The Scandinavian tour of the Italian company has been described and discussed before. The first wave of scholars to examine this tour were theatre and cultural historians, focusing on popular entertainments in their respective countries.³ The second wave of scholars were interested in the history of the circus, mentioning the Italian company in the introductory chapter to their respective country's circus history.⁴ Previous research has thus largely focused on the company's performances solely in one country; meaning Danish scholars have chronicled the Danish leg of the tour, Swedish scholars have looked at their stay in Sweden, and Norwegian scholars have documented performances in Norway. The scholarship so far produced on the topic has been published in the Scandinavian languages.⁵

In this article I will zoom out, as it were, and investigate their Scandinavian sojourn through the prisms of membership and leadership. This article will thus give the first systematic presentation of the Italian company's Scandinavian tour as a whole, as well as new information regarding the members of this company and their relationship to each other. The latter is made possible due largely to the Dano-Norwegian census taken on February 1, 1801, recording information concerning these company members that has not been fully explored before now.

While in Gothenburg and Christiania, the company offered what can be understood as early circus performances. This article will thus shed some light on the early circus in Scandinavia as well. The origin of the circus in Scandinavia lay, as elsewhere, at the fairgrounds. Unusual feats of skilled human activity, the display of animals, and trick riding were shown separately at the various fairs before coming together as one cultural form: circus. The earliest performance of

combined feats in this manner to take place in Denmark-Norway, then a joint country, was most likely given by the Italian company while in Christiania. This was, however, not the earliest performance of the combined feats that later would be recognised as circus that we know of in Scandinavia. In 1787 Peter Price with his family and company gave what could be perceived as circus performances; combining riding and rope dance, acrobatics and herculean demonstrations of strength in Stockholm, Sweden.⁶ The Price family hailed from London, where a Mr Price had had great success as a trick rider in Islington between 1767 and 1771.⁷ This rider, either Peter's father or grandfather, made popular entertainments and circus the family vocation for generations to come.⁸ The father of the circus, Philip Astley, most likely knew of this Mr Price and his tricks, thanks to Astley's internship with the fashionable riders of Islington prior to 1768.⁹

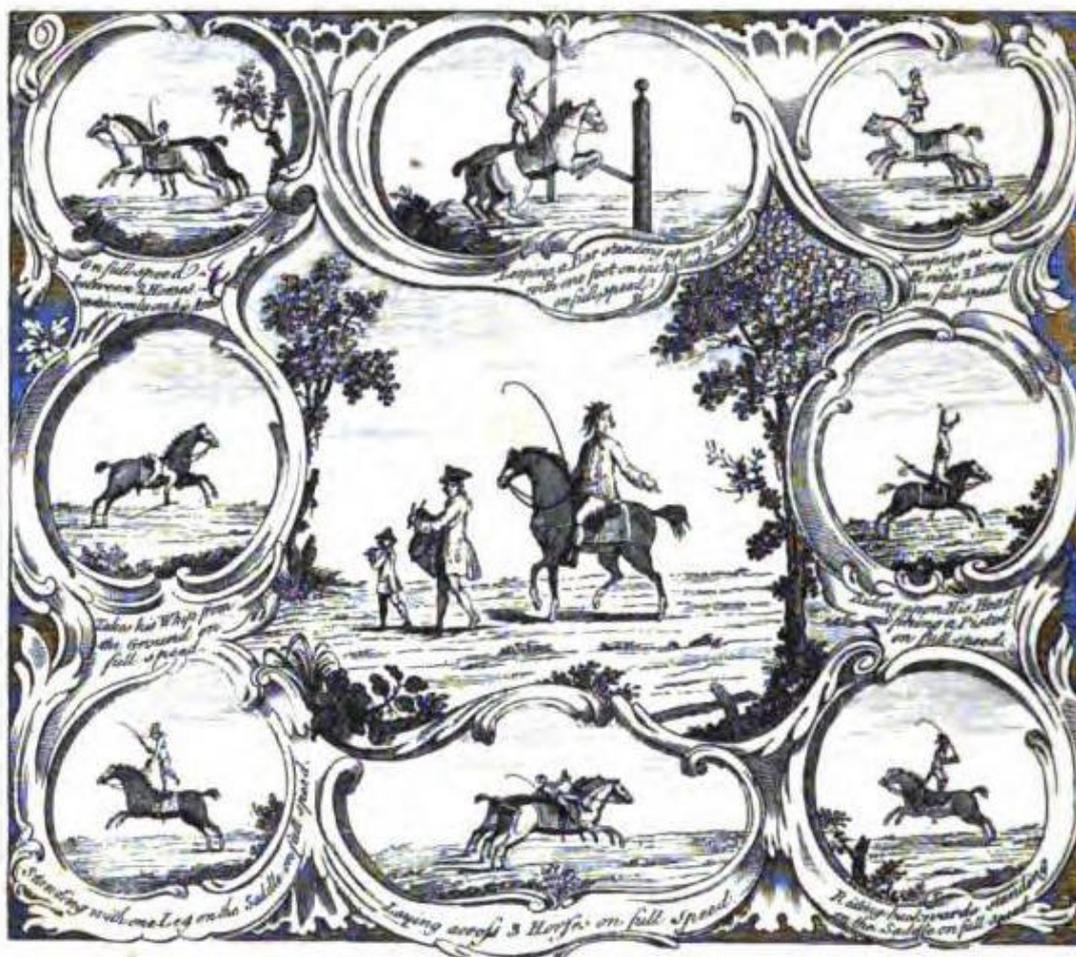


Figure 1. "A representation of the surprising performances of Mr Price"¹⁰

The Italian company—leadership and partnerships

Who were the people of this "Italian company"? According to a newspaper announcement the company was twenty-two people strong when it appeared at the Deer Garden fair during the summer of 1800.¹¹ Upon entering Scandinavia the company was under the direction of Pasquale Casorti. We know a little of the career and travels of the company prior to the summer of 1800. Mr Casorti and his company visited Lille in 1778.¹² In February 1779 Mr Casorti and his company ere

in Brussels where they were given permission to perform rope dance and *ballets pantomimes*.¹³ During Lent, 1793, “Compagnia Acrobatica di Pasquale Casorti” appeared in Modena.¹⁴ Later in the spring of 1793 the company stayed in Casalmaggiore, then in the Duchy of Milan, performing acrobatics and rope dance—“Saltatori, e Funamboli.”¹⁵ Just before Christmas the same year, the company performed the same feats, this time in neighbouring Cremona.¹⁶ In 1795/96 they performed in Vienna.¹⁷ In 1797 they performed for three months in Prague before appearing at the *Hoftheater* in Dresden.¹⁸ In 1798 they visited Hamburg.¹⁹

In Italy during the 1790s the company was recorded as being under the direction of “Sig. Pasquale Casorti.”²⁰ Later, we find it promoting itself as the Casorti family, such as in Calais in 1816 and Breslau in 1826.²¹ During their Scandinavian sojourn, however, they were known as “the Italian company.” How did the new company byname come about, and why did the company promote themselves under this title while in Scandinavia?

On the continent there would have been several peripatetic companies for which the appellation “Italian” would be fitting, whereas there was only one at the Deer Garden fair during the summer of 1800. Although the majority of the company members purportedly were Italians, making the designation quite fitting, they did not choose the name themselves. As the fair began, a Joseph Regoli advertised that an Italian company under his direction would appear at the Deer Garden.²² This company was then referred to in the press as “the so-called Italian company” and as “the Italian Regoli’s company.”²³ Mr Regoli’s company was identical to Mr Casorti’s, so why did it appear under a different name?

The answer lies in Danish theatre legislation. By a Royal decree of 1738, any public display of theatre, as well as various artistic feats, was prohibited.²⁴ The decree was principally aimed at peripatetic performers and at restricting the admission of foreigners to the land.²⁵ There were also financial reasons for the debarment of foreign entertainers. These reasons were specified in a decree of 1773, stating that foreigners only sought to gain other people’s money and then export the gains out of the country.²⁶ Money should be spent and kept within the land.

The prohibition against public theatre performances for monetary gain was, however, not absolute. Performers could still seek a livelihood touring the land if they were equipped with a Royal privilege or a local permit. In May 1798, Mr Casorti applied for permission to perform in Copenhagen.²⁷ The application was turned down. Still, the company was able to appear at the fair two years later without incurring trouble with the authorities. The reason for this was that the company, in 1800, performed on a permit granted to Joseph Regoli, a naturalised Italian living in Copenhagen. Mr Regoli had first applied on behalf of Pasquale Casorti. When that application was turned down, he quickly followed up by applying for a permit to perform with a company himself.²⁸ This application was granted. Regoli, a Danish citizen, could succeed where the foreigner Casorti was bound to fail.

Armed with Regoli's permission, Casorti and his company could appear at the fair, as Mr Regoli's company. The change of director seems to have been in name only, in order to gain access to the business opportunity such a fair presented.²⁹ After the fair, Pasquale Casorti immediately re-emerged officially as the director of the company as it was reported that his company had been granted permission to perform in Copenhagen.³⁰

Later that year, while touring in Sweden and Norway, the director of the company would be reported as someone else again: namely Jean Lustre. Mr Lustre was a peripatetic riding master who made Copenhagen his home between 1799 and 1803/4, becoming a Danish citizen in 1800.³¹ Mr Lustre made his first appearance in Denmark at the Deer Garden fair in 1799.³² Lustre and Casorti were thus competitors at the fair in 1800, so when did they join forces?

As the Deer Garden fair came to an end in July 1800, the Italian company had not exhausted their appeal with the Danish audience. The company took their business closer to town as they moved their performance venue to the courtyard of Jean Lustre's abode in Copenhagen.³³ His courtyard must have been of some size, as a newspaper report states that the Italian company gathered close to 3000 spectators there for one of their Sunday performances of rope dance and acrobatics.³⁴

At some point during the company's five performances here in July and August, Casorti and Lustre might have decided to embark on a winter season together. The newspaper *Fyens Avis* reported on July 23, that Mr Lustre was rumoured to be intending to visit Norway, and then, on August 20, the paper reported the Italian company's intentions to travel to Sweden and then onwards to Norway.³⁵

Lustre left first, bound for Sweden. To go via Sweden if your intention was to tour Norway might seem odd today, but Lustre followed a well-established travel route for peripatetic performers. Early in August, Lustre applied for and was granted a license to perform trick riding and other physical feats in Gothenburg, Sweden.³⁶ Later in August he received a new permission, which now included the license to perform pantomimes and ballets with the aid of his associates: the Italian company.³⁷ The decision by Lustre and Casorti to embark on a season together could thus have been reached per post sometime during August. The performances in Gothenburg by "Mr Lustre's Italian company" commenced early in September and ran for a month.³⁸ Lustre then travelled on and arrived in Christiania late in October. Between October 25 and November 9 he exhibited waxworks in a suite of rooms.³⁹ The Norwegian theatre historian Jørgen Huitfeldt assumes that Lustre arrived ahead of the remainder of the company.⁴⁰ His assumption is supported by the fact that performances of any kind did not commence until November 13.⁴¹ It is possible to understand Lustre as the company's advance man, travelling ahead to arrange permissions, performance venues and advance publicity for the coming suite of performances. The Christiania winter season of the Italian company lasted from November 1800 until the end of April 1801.⁴²

Why did Lustre and Casorti decide to join forces? Again, one reasonable explanation for this partnership—as with Regoli—has to do with Danish legislation. Being a citizen of Denmark, which at the time included Norway, Lustre could apply for permissions that Casorti would not necessarily be granted. At the same time, and somewhat different to the partnership with Regoli, this union was not a mere formality, as it meant equal opportunities for both parties involved to ply their trade and thus capitalise on the variety of performances they could jointly offer. Where Regoli was a gypsum maker, whose main asset to the Casortis appears to have been his Danish passport, Lustre was not only a citizen but also a riding master. Lustre and his company of riders had skills that Casorti and his company lacked, and vice versa. By pooling their resources, the possibility of offering a varied program for a longer period of time in one town with sustained financial success was more likely.

When the Italian company returned to Denmark in 1801, they once again performed at the Deer Garden fair. Just as the previous year, they did so on Joseph Regoli's permit.⁴³ After the fair, they embarked on a winter season at the former Court Theatre in Copenhagen, performing for nearly eight months between August 13, 1801, and April 5, 1802.⁴⁴ For the duration of their season at the Court Theatre the company promoted themselves as "Cetti & Comp., Casorti."⁴⁵ The Danish cultural historian, Eiler Nystrøm, states that "just as when the company performed at the Deer Garden, [Casorti] had to join forces with a citizen of Copenhagen in order to get the Court Theatre season started."⁴⁶ The Italian company's new business partner was Antonio Cetti (c1760–1835), another naturalised Italian living in Copenhagen where he was a maker of barometers.⁴⁷

As their season at the Court Theatre came to an end, the majority of the company left Denmark for good. Pasquale Casorti applied for, and was granted, permission for the company to perform and earn their living on their way out of the country. Equipped in this manner, they performed in Odense in May 1802.⁴⁸ This is the last venue on their Scandinavian tour that we currently know of. These final performances appear to have been one of only four instances during the company's sojourn in Scandinavia when Mr Casorti, a foreigner, was given permission to perform.⁴⁹ The exemptions seem due to a combination of Royal patronage and general popularity gained through the quality of the company's performances. For the majority of their stay, however, they performed on permissions granted to someone else—a Danish citizen who then formally took on the role of director.

The changes in leadership were a legal prerequisite. Without a permit, which only a Danish citizen could hold, the Scandinavian entertainment market would be inaccessible for foreign companies to do business. Hence, I understand the changes in leadership rather as business partnerships. Current regulations regarding the appearance of foreign artists in the land necessitated local business partners if the all-important permits were to be gained by international, itinerant companies. The company toured Scandinavia, performing as the Italian company, after the first partnership with Regoli, who had coined the appellation, ended. One possible explanation as to why the company continued to promote themselves in this manner was that the byname was coupled with very positive reviews in the

media. The company might have wanted to capitalise upon these reviews, thus continuing to use the name themselves.

Repertoire during the Scandinavian sojourn

During their Scandinavian tour, the company offered a mix of theatrical performances and artistic feats, and this was quite the norm for itinerant companies at the time. Their theatrical repertoire largely consisted of pantomimes.⁵⁰ The artistic feats they offered were rope dancing and acrobatics, acts that over time would belong to the circus. The company had proficient musicians and dancers in their midst, performing pieces that garnered positive attention. Did the changing partnerships while in Scandinavia result in changes to their repertoire?

The partnership with Lustre, beginning in Gothenburg in 1800 and ending in Christiania in April 1801, led to the inclusion of trick riding in the programme at these venues. Lustre had, with his company of nine, performed trick riding and equestrian drama in Gothenburg prior to the arrival of his Italian associates.⁵¹ When the Italian company joined Lustre and his company in Gothenburg, the trick riding was interspersed between the feats offered by Casorti's company.⁵² During their Scandinavian sojourn their usual programme thus expanded into what can be understood as early circus performances, thanks to their partnership with Lustre and his company of riders. The other two partnerships they entered into while in Scandinavia did apparently not lead to any changes in their repertoire. This is unsurprising, as the partnerships both with Regoli and Cetti seem to have been of a nominal nature, motivated by legal necessity rather than artistic motives.

Changing partnerships were not the only reason for alterations to the company's programme while in Scandinavia. In August 1800, in Copenhagen, no pantomimes or ballets were performed, as the open-air performance space was unsuited for their presentation.⁵³ In Sweden, the Italian company had to omit one of their usual feats from the programme, because the Swedish permit pointed out that rope dancing was "absolutely forbidden in the land."⁵⁴ Whereas the omission of pantomime and ballets from the playbill in Copenhagen was due to limitations in the venue, the lack of rope dances in Gothenburg was due to Swedish legislation.

During the company's winter season in Norway, the full array of feats and accomplishments possessed by the company members were exhibited and profited from. Rope dancing, trick riding, acrobatics, ballets and pantomime drew audiences throughout their six-month stay in town.⁵⁵ While in Christiania, the company even expanded their repertoire and offered three concerts.⁵⁶ Although the company had talented musicians in their midst who performed during performances, Christiania is the only place where an attempt was made to profit exclusively from these talents during the Scandinavian tour. This change in repertoire was not due to changes in partnership, nor due to legislation; rather it was to do with the current, local situation of supply and demand regarding musical entertainment.

In 1801, Christiania had a population of approximately 9000 and was neither Norway's largest town nor its capital. There was one orchestra which served the amateur dramatic society of 1799.⁵⁷ The few professional musicians residing in town would often help out here, just as the amateur orchestra would assist the professionals at their public concerts.⁵⁸ Between August 1800 and July 1801, Huitfeldt has found evidence of only two public concerts being held, besides the ones offered by the Italian company.⁵⁹ The current cultural situation in Christiania thus opened up a business opportunity for Casorti's company, as there was what can be construed as a vacancy in the local music entertainment market and it looks like the Italian company took advantage of this.

Membership and skills

Repertoire was connected with the skills possessed by the company, which were in turn connected with who the members of the company were at given points in time. Whereas the company was reportedly twenty-two people strong when it appeared in Denmark during the summer of 1800, the company roster changed during the Scandinavian sojourn. Who were the new members and what did they do? In order to answer that question, it would be helpful to know who its regular members were. Although newspapers reported upon the company's number when it arrived in Scandinavia, they did not mention all its members by name. Danish annals documenting the company's activity during the summer of 1800 names the leader, Pasquale Casorti, and his two sons Giuseppe and Johan.⁶⁰ Who were the others?

The reason why one can pose such a question with any hope of getting an answer is the Dano-Norwegian census taken on February 1, 1801. This was the first census where the name of each individual was recorded alongside information regarding his or her age and occupation.⁶¹ Censuses provide a snapshot, as it were, of who is where at a given point in time. As itinerant companies are peripatetic, and their residency anywhere tends to be of an ephemeral nature, it is a glorious coincidence if they should happen to be caught in a census. By pure serendipity this is the case for the Italian company, as the 1801 census caught them during their winter season in Norway. So far, forty-five persons registered in this census have been identified as company members.⁶² To the best of my knowledge, this cache of information about the members of the Italian company has not been extensively tapped. The information that can be gleaned about the company from this census, together with other historical sources on its members—such as applications for permission to perform, playbills or advertisements for performances, passport protocols, newspaper reports, church records and ship's manifests—makes it possible to identify and discuss more company members than previous scholarship has done.

As the company were known as the Casorti company, or as the Casorti family, both before and after their Scandinavian sojourn, I will in the following section focus on the people in the census who were part of this family, assuming them to be the backbone of the company. Of the forty-five company members listed in the census, eleven share the surname Casorti, spelled in a wide variety of

ways. However, as I am about to show, more than twenty of the company members listed in the census were related to each other through the Casorti line.

The core of the Casorti family

The company leader Pasquale Casorti and his wife Theresa are both listed in the census as 80-year-old equilibrists.⁶³ This might not have been their actual age. It could have been the best estimate they had, or they might have added some years in order to impress their audience.⁶⁴ According to the census, the *mater-* and *paterfamilias* were living at Vognmannsgaden together with their daughter, son-in-law and grandson. The daughter, Francesca Damore (40), was listed with the same profession as her parents, she was an equilibrist. Her husband Antonio Damore (42) was not listed with any profession, only as “their son-in-law.”⁶⁵ Their son, listed as Titta Piloni (18), had no profession according to the census.⁶⁶

In the census we find more children of Mr and Mrs Casorti senior, all married and with children of their own. Yet another daughter was living with them at the same address in Christiania, although she is not listed as their offspring in the census.⁶⁷ The census focuses on the widow Rosalia Vidali (45) as the mother-in-law of Carl J. Pettoletti (43) and the mother of his second wife Victoria Pettoletti (22).⁶⁸ The marriage between Carl and Victoria was a recent one that took place in Copenhagen in the summer of 1800.⁶⁹ Pettoletti’s two sons from his first marriage, listed as Chillipie (16) and Govanie (9), were also part of the household. Elsewhere these boys are known as Filippo (1783/84–1845) and Giovanni/Jean (c1790–1830).⁷⁰ The artistic collaboration between members of the Pettoletti household and various members of the Casorti family would be of long duration.

There are no reports of Rosalia Vidali performing while in Scandinavia. Her son-in-law Carl Johan Pettoletti, also known as Carlo Giovanni, was the company’s musical director.⁷¹ According to the playbills in Christiania, Madam Pettoletti (Victoria) performed the role of Columbine and Pettoletti was Harlequin in the company’s pantomimes.⁷² Which Pettoletti was this, the father or the oldest son? Risum states that it was Pettoletti senior who performed Harlequin in Casorti’s troupe around 1800.⁷³ The Danish theatre historian, Alette Scavenius, claims that his son Filippo also specialised as Harlequin, although she does not specify at which point in time he did so.⁷⁴ While in Christiania, Filippo performed playing the violin.⁷⁵ During the 1801–02 winter season in Copenhagen, Filippo acted at least once as the company’s strong man, performing herculean feats.⁷⁶ Filippo would go on to make a career for himself as a theatre manager, opening various summer theatres that would pave the way for private theatres in Denmark.⁷⁷ Giovanni Pettoletti would become a rope dancer.⁷⁸

A third Casorti family unit was housed at Tolbod Gaden. The father of this household is listed as Penol Karsiøtti, he was 50 years of age according to the census, married for the first time, and “of the Italian company.” His wife Anthonette Karsiøtti was 48, married for the first time, and likewise “of the Italian company.” Their two, unmarried daughters are listed as Charlotte Karsiotti (8) and Tarise Karsiaati (12).⁷⁹ The person recorded as Penol Karsiøtti, in the census was in fact Giuseppe Casorti (1749–1826).⁸⁰ My assertion that Penol was

Giuseppe is based on the latter being married to Antoinette, and having two daughters named Therese (c1789–1873) and Charlotte (c1793–1816).⁸¹ What skills did this family unit contribute to the company? Giuseppe Casorti was the company's Pierrot and he was also a skilled equilibrist. He would subsequently become a key figure in the development of Danish pantomime, so quite a lot is known about him and his career from 1800 onwards.⁸² His skills as a performer of the Pierrot-character and his knowledge of pantomimes enabled him and his family unit to settle in Copenhagen when the remainder of his extended family left Denmark in 1802.⁸³ His wife Antoinette was not a performer, but their two girls were on stage from an early age.⁸⁴ Both daughters would continue in the peripatetic family business and would later marry within the profession. Therese became an excellent dancer and rope dancer,⁸⁵ while her sister Charlotte performed acrobatics.⁸⁶

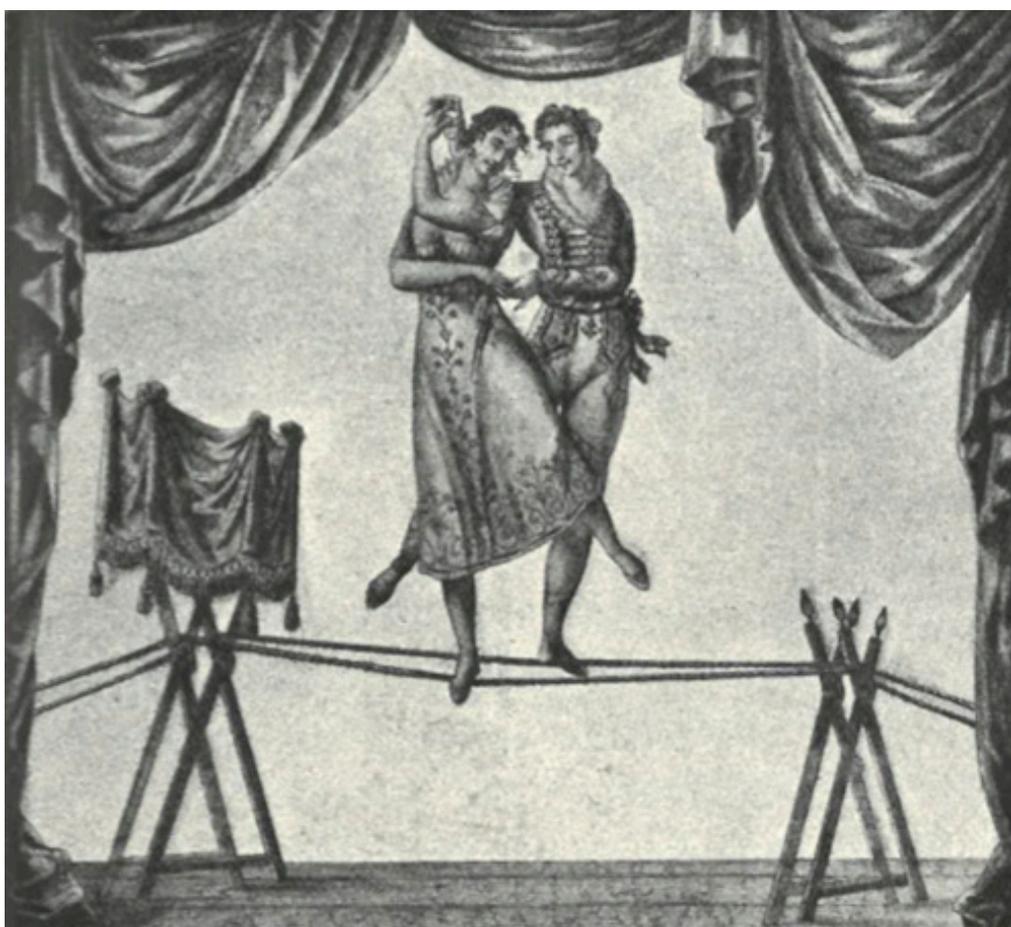


Figure 2. Dancing on parallel ropes, possibly Therese Casorti and her husband Giovanni/Jean Pettoletti.⁸⁷

At the address Nedre Slottsgade we find what was most likely a fourth branch of the Casorti family. Peder Bissi (55) was staying at this address with an expanding family unit. He was married to Maria Kasorti (53), possibly yet another daughter of Pasquale and Therese Casorti. Peder and Maria had three daughters and a son-in-law living with them. Two daughters were unmarried: Theodora, aged 19, and Barbra, aged 16. The oldest daughter, listed as Ansila in the census, was married to Josep Koko and both were 24 years old.⁸⁸ Their marriage had

recently taken place in Copenhagen on July 14, 1800, and in the wedding registrar's records their names were given as Joseph Cocco and Angela Bissi.⁸⁹

According to the census, Mr Bissi and his son-in-law Joseph belonged to the same profession as they both were listed as "a comedian."⁹⁰ The designation is not necessarily helpful, as the term had different implications around 1800 to what it has today. In Norwegian parlance of the time, any actor could be described as a comedian, just as any theatrical activity could be referred to as comedy.⁹¹ On at least one occasion in Norway, Signora Bissi performed as a singer at one of the concerts given by the company.⁹² In March 1801, Mr Bissi allegedly "for the first time" performed on the rope,⁹³ and the company's advertisements also reveal that he performed the role of Cassander in their pantomimes.⁹⁴ On April 14, 1801, the company gave a concert in Christiania as a benefit performance for Mademoiselle Theodora Bissi.⁹⁵ Later that year, in Copenhagen, Theodora was performing on the rope as well as singing an arietta at one point.⁹⁶ During the company's winter season in Copenhagen, 1801–02, Angela Cocco is reported to have danced in genuine, Spanish manner, accompanying herself on castanets.⁹⁷

The last group of Casortis that can be identified in the census were lodging in Prinsensgade. This family unit consisted of three children: Alexander (4), Figtoria (3), Josep (1) Carserti and their parents Johan Casorti (34) and Atola Fersi (26).⁹⁸ Johan Casorti was sometimes referred to and billed under this name, and elsewhere at other times he was referred to and billed as Jean Casorti.⁹⁹ His given name was, however, Giovanni.¹⁰⁰ He was renowned for his skills as an acrobat and was also reported to perform and teach dance.¹⁰¹ His wife did not perform during the Scandinavian tour and neither of them appear to have been involved in the family's performance of pantomimes. Of the three children listed in the census we know that Alexander Casorti performed diverse tumbling and balancing acts the following winter season in Copenhagen.¹⁰² He thus began performing at the age of 4 or 5.¹⁰³

The company roster—newcomers and fluctuations

Having thus established who was, in all likelihood, the backbone of the company, we can now consider who the newcomers were that swelled its ranks while in Scandinavia. One addition while touring Sweden and Norway was Jean Lustre and, as mentioned above, the partnership between Lustre and Casorti enabled an extension of the usual programme of "the Italian company." It is likely there were other skilled riders who joined Lustre in the merger with Casorti's company, but we find only one person listed in the census as belonging to "Lustre's company": Schank Frohem (38).¹⁰⁴ Could any more of Lustre's riders be identified in the census?¹⁰⁵ Four company members were staying at Storgaden but were seemingly unrelated to any other members of the company. They are thus an exception to the family units that the company was otherwise comprised of. Their names and ages are recorded in the census as Ludwig Rivalta (28), Joseph Bianke (28), Antoni Bassi (21) and Joseph Matti (16),¹⁰⁶ and all four lodgers are listed in the census as "comedians." What they actually contributed to the company is presently unknown. As none of these names have so far resurfaced in connection

with the Casorti family, it is tempting to assume that at least some of them were riders who merged with the company by way of Lustre.

A final clue to any additions to the company by way of Lustre is possibly found in the Christiania household of Lustre himself. The census records him as Jean Luztrie (36), living in Raadhuusgaden with his wife Lovise Elisabeth Luztrie (37).¹⁰⁷ His wife is not listed with a profession, so from the census alone it is difficult to ascertain with any certainty if she participated in the performances. Living at the same address was an apprentice, listed as Johan Frisch Meyer (13). In July 1801, while performing in Stockholm, a J. Fredrik Meyer was named as a member of Lustre's troupe.¹⁰⁸ This could very well have been the same person, meaning that through the census we might have identified six members of Lustre's company.

There were fluctuations in the line-up of the company's performances due to issues other than partnerships. Events such as marriages and childbirths also influenced what feats could be performed when and by whom. Atola Fersi, the wife of Johan Casorti, was for instance not performing while in Norway, perhaps not for the whole Scandinavian sojourn. One reason for this is found in the baptism records of the Cathedral of Oslo. On November 28, 1800, a Joseph Rocco Johansen was baptized with his parents listed as Johan Casorti and Luiggia Angolla Casorti.¹⁰⁹ According to Nystrøm, she was not the only company member that went into confinement during the Scandinavian tour: the company claimed they needed to stay put in Copenhagen during the winter of 1801–02 as several members were unfit to travel due to recent childbirths.¹¹⁰

As previously mentioned, the marriage between Angela Bissi and Joseph Cocco in the summer of 1800 might have introduced new performers and skills to the company as well, at least in Christiania. Joseph is not the only performer by the surname Cocco to be found in the census. Concieto Coco (40) is listed as a "comedian" in the census, elsewhere his given name is spelt Concetto and he performs as the company's strong man.¹¹¹ In addition to Mr Coco and his wife Catarine Agardi, the census also lists two acrobats: Kamilio Maria Coco (24) and Anthonis Coco (18). These four Cocos share the surname, but they stay at three separate addresses while in Christiania.¹¹² What relationship was there between them, if any? If they were a family unit, they too—by Joseph's marriage to Angela—were part of the extended Casorti family. As I have been unable to find any references to the Cocos in connection with the Casorti after 1802, I assume that the two families went their separate ways once they departed Scandinavia. Mr Concetto Coco may even have left earlier, as Filippo Pettoletti is reported to have performed as the company's strong man during the Copenhagen winter season 1801–1802.¹¹³

Perhaps not all of the company members who performed in Denmark in 1800 participated in the northernmost leg of the tour either. A Mr Lorentz Ferzi performed as a rope dancer with the Italian company during its stay in Copenhagen in 1800, as he would again in Copenhagen in August 1801.¹¹⁴ However, Mr Ferzi is not to be found in the census from Christiania.¹¹⁵ According to Nystrøm, Ferzi left the company for good in 1801,¹¹⁶ but Nystrøm's assumption

is incorrect, as a Miss Seraphina Ferzi performed with the company during their Copenhagen winter season 1801–1802, and both Mr and Madame Ferzi performed with the company in Odense 1802.¹¹⁷ As Angela Casorti's maiden name was Ferzi, Mr Ferzi could well have been a relative of hers.¹¹⁸

Concluding remarks

While in Scandinavia, the Italian company officially changed leadership several times. Compared to what we know of the company structure before 1800, we can say that the changes made during their Scandinavian sojourn were an exception to their usual order of business. As discussed above, I understand these changes of leadership as a legal necessity in order to access the business opportunities inherent in the Scandinavian entertainment market at the time. Permissions to perform were coupled with citizenship, which none of the company had. The changes made to the leadership of the company while in Scandinavia seem to have been a mere formality and should rather be viewed as business partnerships. The actual leadership most likely remained in the hands of Mr Casorti throughout the stay.¹¹⁹

Regarding the changes in the company roster, the fluctuations appear to have been caused by marriages and births, as well as business partnerships. Lustre and his riders, for instance, merged with the Italian company for as long as they saw fit. This coming and going of performers seems to have been business as usual. Most itinerant entertainment enterprises would have an ever-changing company roster, with diverse family nuclei as the most consistent units. As I have shown, this was also the case with the Italian company while in Scandinavia.

Due to changes in membership, the repertoire changed as well. While in Sweden and Norway, the company offered what can be understood as early circus performances. These performances were exclusive to their partnership with Lustre and ended as soon as he and his riders left.

The Scandinavian sojourn became a breaking point for the company core, as the Casorti family divided into two companies that went their separate ways at the end of the tour. When the majority of the Casortis left Scandinavia behind in 1802, Giuseppe Casorti and his family stayed put in Copenhagen. The remainder of the extended family company continued their peripatetic business throughout Europe, albeit under the direction of Giuseppe's brother Giovanni.¹²⁰ Although Giuseppe Casorti and company would later leave Scandinavia twice, only to return

again, we do not know whether he and his company re-joined the peripatetic branch of the Casorti family during these periods.¹²¹ The break-up of the company core in 1802 would have meant a recasting of the pantomimes in their repertoire as well as changes to the types of feats that could be presented by both branches of the Casorti consortium.

During the Scandinavian tour, the changes in the company structure thus constituted business as usual as well as some unusual business. In Calais 1816, "Le Sieur Cazorti et sa famille" would present some of their performers as "la petite

Danoise et le Norvégien” and one of their dances as “la Suédoise.”¹²² The Scandinavian sojourn had thus left its mark on both the company and its programme. The reverse could also be said to be true, as the kind of pantomime performed by the company while in Scandinavia would be referred to there as “Casortian pantomime” for decades after their visit.¹²³

¹ Eiler Nystrøm, *Offentlige forlystelser i Frederik den sjettes tid – bind 1: Casorti og forstadsteatrene* (Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendal, 1910), 30. The fair grew up around a spring located in the King’s hunting grounds: The Deer Garden. The spring became a popular target for Sunday outings in the 1750s (Eiler Nystrøm, *Offentlige forlystelser i Frederik den sjettes tid – bind 2: Kildeforlystelser i dyrehaven m.m.* (Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendal, 1913), 14). Soon a fair grew up around the spring at midsummer, attracting various kinds of entertainers with their booths and stalls (ibid., 32–34). The area around the spring transformed into a pleasure garden that is still in operation today.

² *Fyens Avis*, July 2, 1800 in Anders Enevig, *Cirkus og gøgl i Odense 1640-1825. Bind 1* (Odense: Syddansk Universitetsforlag, 1995), 65.

³ See for instance Nystrøm, *Offentlige forlystelser 1*; Wilhelm Berg *Göteborgs äldre teatrar: Andra Bandet 1794–1816* (Göteborg: Wald. Zachrisson Boktryckeri, 1898); and Henrik J. Huitfeldt, *Christiania Theaterhistorie* (Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendal, 1876).

⁴ See Enevig, *Cirkus og gøgl i Odense*; Per Arne Wåhlberg, *Cirkus i Sverige* (Stockholm: Carlssons, 1992) and Hermann Berthelsen, *Sirkus i Norge* (Sandnes: Commentum Forlag, 2010).

⁵ Several members of the Casorti family have been of interest to some dance and pantomime historians publishing in English; see for instance Marian H. Winter, *The Pre-Romantic ballet* (London: Pitman, 1974).

⁶ Wåhlberg, *Cirkus i Sverige*, 18-19.

⁷ See Warwick W. Wroth, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1896), 142 and 150.

⁸ In 1786, for instance, we find members of the Price family performing at Astley’s in Paris (Enevig, *Cirkus i Danmark*, 77). The performances by Mr Price in Islington are somewhere attributed to Thomas Price, elsewhere to John Price (see George Speaight, *A history of the circus* (London: The Tantivy Press, 1980), 21 and “Borgen in Westminster” last modified April 19, 2013, <https://wcclibraries.wordpress.com/2013/04/19/borgen-in-westminster/>). Peter Price and his brother James were sons of John, who in his turn was the son of a Thomas Price (ibid.)

⁹ Speaight, *A history of the circus*, 22.

¹⁰ Warwick W. Wroth, *The London Pleasure Gardens of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1896), 142.

¹¹ See Nystrøm, *Offentlige forlystelser 1*, 30.

¹² Klaus Neiiendam, “The origin of the Tivoli pantomime,” *Theatre Research/ Recherches Théatrales*, vol. XII, no. 2 (1972), 168.

¹³ Jean-Philippe Van Aelbrouck, *Dictionnaire de Danseurs à Bruxelles de 1600 à 1830* (Liège: Mardaga, 1994), 87.

¹⁴ Alessandro Gandini, *Cronistoria dei teatri di Modena dal 1539 al 1871 – parte prima* (Modena: Tipografia Sociale, 1873), 156.

¹⁵ Lorenzo Formenti, *Indice de' teatrali spettacoli di tutto l'anno dalla primavera 1793 a tutto il carnevale 1794* (Milan: Giovanni Battista Bianchi, 1794), 26.

¹⁶ Ibid., 39.

¹⁷ Winter, *The Pre-Romantic ballet*, 238.

¹⁸ Tomislav Volek, *Repertoire Nosticovského divadla v Praze z let 1794, 1796-8* (Prague: Ustav pro Dejiny Hudby pri Universite Karlove, 1961), 102–119; Robert Prölss, *Geschichte des Hoftheaters zu Dresden. Von seinem Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1862* (Dresden: Wilhelm Baensch Verlagshandlung, 1878), 360.

¹⁹ Nystrøm, *Offentlige forlystelser 1*, 29.

²⁰ Formenti, *Indice de' teatrali spettacoli*, 26 and 39.

²¹ See Winter, *The Pre-romantic ballet*, 266, and the playbill for May 11, 1826, Breslau, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden: <https://skd-online-collection.skd.museum/Details/Index/1179442>

²² See Nystrøm, *Offentlige forlystelser 1*, 29-30.

²³ See Enevig, *Cirkus og gøgl i Odense*, 65-66.

²⁴ See Svein Gladsø, *Teater mellom jus og politikk: Studier i norsk teater fra 1700-tallet til 1940* (Oslo: Unipub., 2004), 8.

²⁵ Bent Holm, "Fra pomp til pædagogik," in *Dansk teaterhistorie 1: Kirkens og kongens teater*, eds. Kela Kvam, Janne Risum and Jytte Wiingard (København: Gyldendal, 1992), 105.

²⁶ See Gladsø, *Teater mellom jus og politikk*, 19.

²⁷ Nystrøm, *Offentlige forlystelser 1*, 29. Casorti sent the application from Hamburg.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

²⁹ Other performers at the 1800 fair disliked the competition. They complained to the authorities about the appearance of these foreigners, but Regoli vouched for the whole company when questioned by the authorities, so their performances ran as planned (*ibid.*, 30).

³⁰ See Enevig, *Cirkus og gøgl i Odense*, 67.

³¹ Nystrøm, *Offentlige forlystelser 2*, 4-46. In 1803 he hit a string of bankruptcies, finally serving three months imprisoned for debts. Upon release he left for Hamburg (Wåhlberg, *Cirkus i Sverige*, 50).

³² Nystrøm, *Offentlige forlystelser 2*, 44. A playbill produced for one of his performances in Copenhagen is to be found at: <http://www.kb.dk/images/billed/2010/okt/billeder/object201/en/>

³³ Nystrøm, *Offentlige forlystelser 2*, 32.

³⁴ See Enevig, *Cirkus og gøgl i Odense*, 67-68.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 67-68.

³⁶ Berg, *Göteborgs äldre teatrar: 1794–1816*, 139.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 140.

³⁸ It is currently unclear to me which appellation the company used to promote itself by while in Gothenburg. Wilhelm Berg, the Swedish cultural historian I am relying on for information, refers to the enterprise both as a two-component troupe: Lustre's riding company and Casorti's ballet company, and as a joint venture: Mr Lustre's Italian company (*ibid.*, 141).

³⁹ Huitfeldt, *Christiania Theaterhistorie*, 228.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.* A local newspaper gives the date for the first performance as November 12 (see *Norske Intelligens-Sedler*, no. 46, November 12, 1800).

⁴² Huitfeldt, *Christiania Theaterhistorie*, 228.

⁴³ Nystrøm, *Offentlige forlystelser 1*, 34.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 39-40. Casorti had received permission to perform at the Court Theatre prior to leaving for Sweden and Norway in 1800 but had not been able to use the permit (*ibid.*, 31-32).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁴⁷ Nystrøm, *Offentlige forlystelser 2*, 62. Cetti was born in Como, Italy, and came to Copenhagen in 1797. He was, seasonally, in the entertainment business, showing wax works and optical illusions at the Deer Garden fair (*ibid.*).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 40-41.

⁴⁹ In addition to the performances in Copenhagen after the fair in 1800, and the performances on their way out of Scandinavia in 1802, the company was, by Royal privilege, entitled to perform in Helsingør on their way to Sweden in 1800. This permit was not utilised (see *ibid.*, 34). Neither was the initial permit to perform at the Court Theatre in 1800 (see *ibid.*, 31-32).

⁵⁰ These pantomimes had their origin in the stock characters and scenarios of the *Commedia dell'arte*, but during the first decades of the 1700s it transformed into a genre of its own, existing in parallel to its ancestor. The pantomimes that the Casorti company maintained in its repertoire belonged to a common-European genre; a product of European cultural politics, commercial interests in the entertainment business, as well as artistic exchanges between the theatres of the grand Parisian fairs and London patent theatres. See for instance Thelma Niklaus, *Harlequin Phoenix: or The rise and fall of a Bergamask rogue* (London: The Bodley Head, 1956), 86-142.

⁵¹ Berg, *Göteborgs äldre teatrar: 1794–1816*, 139. Equestrian drama was a form of entertainment born out of the romantic era and the term is used to describe a form of theatrical entertainment

that was enacted by horses and riders (Antony D. Hippisley Coxe, "Equestrian drama and the circus," in *Performance and politics in popular drama*, eds. David Bradby, Louis James and Bernard Sharratt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 109).

⁵² Berg, *Göteborgs äldre teatrar: 1794–1816*, 141–142.

⁵³ Nystrøm, *Offentlige forlystelser 1*, 32.

⁵⁴ Berg, *Göteborgs äldre teatrar: 1794–1816*, 140.

⁵⁵ In addition, the company intermittently offered what can be understood as sideshows, as for instance an exhibition of waxworks (Huitfeldt, *Christiania Theaterhistorie*, 228–230).

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 228–229. At the concert on December 6, 1800, they performed works by Sarti, Viotti, Paisiello, Hofmeister, Anfossi, and the company's own composer, Pettoletti. At the concert on February 2, 1801, works by Cimarosa and Paisiello were performed (*ibid.*, 228). The programme for the third concert on April 14, 1801 is currently unknown.

⁵⁷ Arvid O. Vollsnes, ed., *Norges musikkhistorie: 1 Tiden før 1814: lurklang og kirkesang* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 2001), 339.

⁵⁸ The distinction between professional and amateur at this time should not necessarily be taken as an evaluation of the skill of the performer.

⁵⁹ Huitfeldt, *Christiania Theaterhistorie*, 227. One concert was held in January, the other in May 1801 (*ibid.*).

⁶⁰ See for instance Nystrøm, *Offentlige forlystelser 1*, 33.

⁶¹ See NOS B134: *Folketeljinga 1801 – ny bearbeiding* (Oslo: Statistisk sentralbyrå, 1980), 9.

⁶² The company members in the census was first brought to my attention by Professor Tor Trolie, who made me aware of the historian and genealogist Tore Vigerust's work on immigrants to Christiania. Vigerust identified twelve members of the company in the census (see "Emigrasjon fra Italia til Norge," last modified October 21, 2003: https://web.archive.org/web/20151020174135/http://www.vigerust.net/tore/immigrant/emigrant_italia.html). An extensive list of company members identified in the census has been compiled by the Norwegian theatre historian Liv Jensson (see Liv Jensson, *Teater i Drammen inntil 1840* (Oslo: Gyldendal norsk forlag, 1974), 312–313). I have been unable to find more members of the company in the census than the forty-five persons she lists.

⁶³ See "Vognmandsgaden," Digitalarkivet: <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/census/urban-residence/gf01058232005898> Here their names are recorded as Paschal and Teresa (*ibid.*). I will refer to the addresses as they are stated in the census and will not adjust the spelling to a consequential one for the time, nor to the modern-day spelling of these Oslo addresses.

⁶⁴ This way to 'puff' one's performance was not unheard of. The riding master Didier Gautier, who toured Scandinavia and the Baltics with his own company between the mid-1820s and approximately 1860, provides one example of upping one's showmanship in this manner. In an 1835 letter he claimed to have been born in 1777 (see Wählberg, *Cirkus i Sverige*, 39). His birth was however recorded in 1792 (see *ibid.*, 41).

⁶⁵ See "Vognmandsgaden." Years later, while performing in Gothenburg 1817–18, Mr Damore was promoted as an actor. See Wilhelm Berg, *Göteborgs äldre teatrar: Tredje Bandet 1816–1833* (Göteborg: Wald. Zachrisson Boktryckeri, 1900), 163.

⁶⁶ See "Vognmandsgaden."

⁶⁷ The Danish theatre scholar Janne Risum claims that the Pettoletti family were distant relatives of the Casorti family but does not disclose in what way they were related (see Janne Risum, "Den store teatergalskab," in *Dansk teaterhistorie 1*, 234). However, upon her return to Denmark in 1816, Mrs Vidali was reported to be the sister-in-law of Antonio Damore and thus the sister of Francesca (see Alette Scavenius, *Magiens huse: Danske teatre gennem 300 år* (København: Strandberg Publishing, 2013), 89). Rosalia was thus a Casorti and this was how the two families were related: through the marriage of Rosalia's daughter to Pettoletti (see *ibid.*, 95). Mrs Vidali died in Copenhagen on February 28, 1826 (Nystrøm, *Offentlige fornøyer 1*, 109).

⁶⁸ See "Vognmandsgaden." Elsewhere the surname Vidali is reported as Vitale (see Robert Neiiendam, "Philippo Pettoletti," *Dansk biografisk Leksikon*: http://www.denstoredanske.dk/Dansk_Biografisk_Leksikon/Kunst_og_kultur/Cirkus/Artist/Philippo_Pettoletti).

⁶⁹ Nystrøm, *Offentlige fornøyer 1*, 95.

⁷⁰ Philippo was born in Venice whereas Giovanni was born in Palermo (Nystrøm, *Offentlige fornøyer 1*, 239 and 102).

⁷¹ Huitfeldt, *Christiania Theaterhistorie*, 229.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 232.

⁷³ Risum, "Den store teatergalskab," 231. Carl Johan Pettoletti died in 1838, 90 years old (Nystrøm, *Offentlige fornøvelser 1*, 255). If his age were given correctly in the census, he would have been 80 in 1838.

⁷⁴ Scavenius, *Magiens huse*, 89.

⁷⁵ Huitfeldt, *Christiania Theaterhistorie*, 229.

⁷⁶ Nystrøm, *Offentlige fornøvelser 1*, 38. Later in life Philipppo would play the part of Pierrot, at least during the 1817–18 winter season in Gothenburg (see Berg, *Göteborgs äldre teatrar 1816–1833*, 163).

⁷⁷ Scavenius, *Magiens huse*, 89; Nystrøm, *Offentlige fornøvelser 1*, 239–240.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 102.

⁷⁹ "Toldbod Gaden," Digitalarkivet: <https://digitalarkivet.no/census/urban-residence/gf01058232000751>

⁸⁰ The identification of itinerant artists tends to be tricky. In some families certain first names are repeated, especially among the male line, creating confusion as to who is whose father, son, brother or husband. Widely different spellings of a surname open up for mistakes to be made when trying to follow a performer on his/her journeys. One can overlook alternative spellings of the name, but also merge two or more artists into one. The first name(s) could also be adjusted to fit the given language group the artist was performing to, such as Giovanni becoming Jean and Johan.

⁸¹ According to various scholars, both daughters were adopted (see for instance Nystrøm, *Offentlige fornøvelser 1*, 65). Therese (nee Kombold) was born in Glogau, whereas Charlotte was Danish (*ibid.*).

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ After trying to operate on his own, Giuseppe Casorti joined forces with the family company of James Price in July 1802 (see *ibid.*, 65). His co-operation with various members of the Price family would span several decades, albeit with hiatuses (*ibid.*, 65, 69, 88, 104, 107–109).

⁸⁴ See *ibid.*, 65.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 89. Therese married Giovanni/Jean Pettoletti on October 28, 1816 (*ibid.*, 102).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 66. Charlotte married the rope dancer Johann Friedrich Winther. While on tour in December 1816 their boat capsized in a storm outside Kristiansund, Norway, and a five-months-pregnant Charlotte, together with the entire company sans Winther, met their maker (see *Trondhjems borgerlige Skoles allene privilegerede Adressecontours-Efterretninger*: no.18: March 4, 1817).

⁸⁷ Eiler Nystrøm, *Offentlige forlystelser i Frederik den sjettes tid – bind 1: Casorti og forstadsteatrene* (Kjøbenhavn: Gyldendal, 1910), 101.

⁸⁸ See "Nedre Slottsgade," Digitalarkivet: <https://digitalarkivet.no/census/urban-residence/gf01058232003339>

⁸⁹ See Nystrøm, *Offentlige fornøvelser 1*, 248. Nystrøm thus confuses his own facts when he elsewhere lists "Angola Coco" as married to Concetto Coco (see *ibid.*, 33).

⁹⁰ See "Nedre Slottsgade."

⁹¹ The first purpose-built theatre in Norway, which opened in Bergen in January 1800, was for instance called Komediehuset, that is, the Comedy House (see Knut Nygaard, *Holbergs teaterarv* (Bergen: J.W. Eide forlag, 1984), 62).

⁹² Huitfeldt, *Christiania Theaterhistorie*, 229.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 230.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 232. Cassander supplanted the traditional commedia dell'arte character Pantalone. The Danish theatre historian Torben Krogh claims that in the earliest pantomimes performed by Casorti, Pantalone had still not bowed out to Cassander (Torben Krogh, *Forudsætninger for den Casortiske pantomime* (København: Studier fra sprog- og oldtidsforskningen nr 171, 1935): 82). Annals describing Cassander being the character performed in 1800–1801 might thus have backdated the replacing of the role to this earlier date, or Krogh might be mistaken.

⁹⁵ Huitfeldt, *Christiania Theaterhistorie*, 230.

⁹⁶ Nystrøm, *Offentlige fornøvelser 1*, 36 and 38.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 37–38.

⁹⁸ See "Prinsensgade," Digitalarkivet: <https://digitalarkivet.no/census/urban-residence/gf01058232003515>

⁹⁹ See for instance *Norske Intelligens-Sedler*, no. 47, November 19, 1800.

¹⁰⁰ Jansson, *Teater i Drammen*, 184.

¹⁰¹ See Enevig, *Cirkus og gøgl i Odense*, 75-76.

¹⁰² Nystrøm, *Offentlige fornøvelser* 1, 37.

¹⁰³ Both Alexander and his siblings continued in the business. On a playbill from Breslau 1826, Alexander is listed as the company's Pierrot whereas his brother Joseph is the company's Harlequin (Playbill for May 11, 1826, Breslau: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden). Figtoria, most likely a misspelling of Victoria, is billed as a dancer in Breslau, performing the Allemande à trois with Alexander and their sister Therese (ibid.).

¹⁰⁴ See "Schank Frohem", Digitalarkivet:

<https://www.digitalarkivet.no/census/person/pf01058232000820>

¹⁰⁵ In Gothenburg 1800, prior to the arrival of the Italians, Lustre's company was reportedly nine men strong (see Berg, *Göteborgs äldre teatrar: 1794-1816*, 139). Who these nine company members were is not stated and we do not know if all nine joined Lustre in Christiania.

¹⁰⁶ See "Storgaden," Digitalarkivet: <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/census/urban-residence/gf01058232004543>

¹⁰⁷ See "Raadhuusgaden," Digitalarkivet: <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/census/urban-residence/gf01058232001612>. The Swedish cultural historian Per Arne Wählberg relates that Mr and Mrs Lustre had two children (Wählberg, *Cirkus i Sverige*, 49-50). They are not in the census, although they would have been eight and one year old at the time.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 49.

¹⁰⁹ See *Ministerialbok for Oslo Domkirke/ Vår Frelses menighet 1782-1806*: 483. Mrs Casorti had in all likelihood given birth quite recently, although Joseph was listed as one year old in the 1801 census.

¹¹⁰ Nystrøm, *Offentlige fornøvelser* 1, 37. Giovanni/Johan and Angela Casorti possibly welcomed a daughter while in Denmark, later promoted as "la petite Danoise" (see Winter, *The Pre-romantic ballet*, 266).

¹¹¹ See "Prinsensgade" and Nystrøm, *Offentlige fornøvelser* 1, 33. Huitfeldt confuses his last name, and states that the company's strong man was a Mr Concetto Locco (see Huitfeldt, *Christiania Theaterhistorie*, 230).

¹¹² See "Prinsensgade," "Raadhuusgaden" and "Revierstrædet ," Digitalarkivet: <https://www.digitalarkivet.no/census/person/pf01058232002128>

¹¹³ See Nystrøm, *Offentlige fornøvelser* 1, 53.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 33 and 36.

¹¹⁵ A Lorentz Ferzi displayed "optical theatre" in Christiania, January 1801 (Huitfeldt, *Christiania Theaterhistorie*, 228). Huitfeldt understands him as a member of the company and his display as a sideshow (ibid.). However, the advertisement for his displays are printed separately to the advertisement for the Italian company in the local newspaper (see *Norske Intelligens-Sedler*, January 14, 1801).

¹¹⁶ Nystrøm, *Offentlige fornøvelser* 1, 41.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 7, and Enevig, *Cirkus og gøgl i Odense*, 75-76. Later, in Brussels 1816, we find a continued co-operation as Mr Laurent Ferzi was named as one of the two leaders of the Casorti company while in town (Van Aelbrouck, *Dictionnaire de Danseurs à Bruxelles*, 88).

¹¹⁸ A rope dancer by the name Lawrence Ferzi performed for over a decade in London and also toured the British Isles extensively between 1766 and 1779 (Philip H. Highfill, Kalman A. Burnim and Edward A. Langhans, eds., *A biographical dictionary of actors, actresses, musicians, dancers, managers & other stage personnel in London, 1660-1800*, vol. 5 (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), 234-235). Whether the Lorentz Ferzi that toured with Casorti was a relative, descendant or the very same Mr Ferzi is yet unknown.

¹¹⁹ According to the 1801 census Pasquale Casorti was an octogenarian so he might have left the daily business of running the company in the hands of one or both of his sons. The Swedish cultural historian Wilhelm Berg discusses the company while in Gothenburg as being led by a "Guan Casorti" (Berg, *Göteborgs äldre teatrar: 1794-1816*, 141). Berg discusses this Casorti as Giuseppe, but 'Guan' could just as well be a diminutive for Giovanni.

¹²⁰ When we next pick up on those who left Scandinavia for good, in Brussels 1813, the leadership of the company was reported to have been in the hands of Mr Casorti and Mr Ferzi (Van Aelbrouck, *Dictionnaire de Danseurs à Bruxelles*, 88). The Belgian dance historian Jean-Philippe Van Aelbrouck

claims that this Mr Casorti was Pasquale Casorti, but also claims that Pasquale was the son of Giuseppe and father of Joseph Casorti (ibid, 87–88). Van Aelbrouck thus confuses the facts. All the Casorti performers mentioned on the bill in Brussels are Giovanni's children, making him a likely leader at this point in time.

¹²¹ Giuseppe Casorti's two hiatuses from Scandinavia took place between 1804 and 1812 and again between 1819 and 1821. From 1816 onwards, the families Pettoletti and Damore would leave the itinerant company led by Giovanni Casorti in order to join Giuseppe Casorti's sedentary company in Denmark.

¹²² Ibid., 266. A likely suspect for "le Norvégien" is Joseph Casorti, who was baptized in Christiania in November 1800.

¹²³ See for instance Nystrøm, *Offentlige fornøvelser* 1, 31, and Krogh, *Forudsætninger for den Casortiske pantomime*.