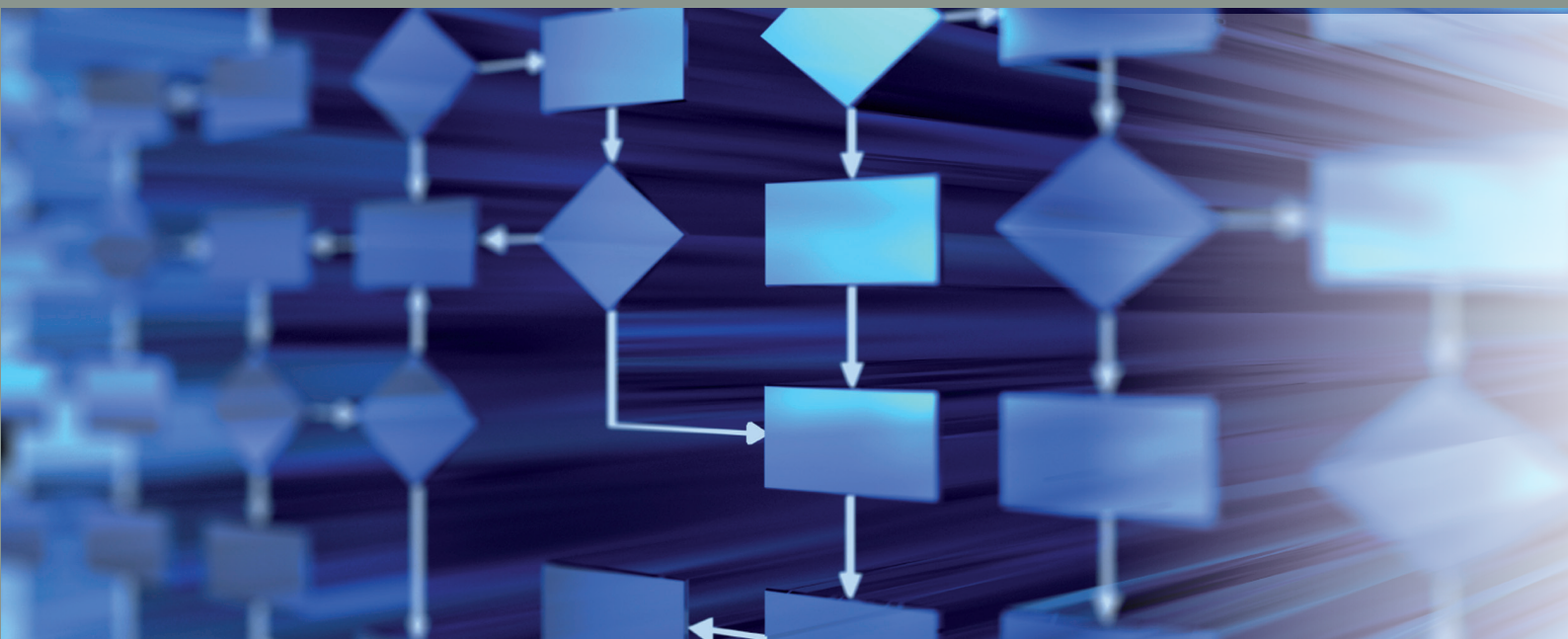


Economic Research Working Paper No. 62

Grand rights and opera reuse today

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October 2020

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Abstract

This article studies the economic role of grand rights in the incentives to stage and reuse works from the opera canon. It complements previous research on the incentives to create new opera in the way it looks at copyright taxing availability and follow-on creativity around works. Based on a unique dataset of global opera performances, we find that changes in copyright status increase the number of total performances individual works receive on stage once copyright expires. Moreover, we provide preliminary evidence on chilling, long-term effects of status around premiering operas and revivals at the beginning of the copyright term. Based on these findings, we discuss limitations of the study and novel options for copyright policy frameworks.

Keywords: copyright, opera, creative reuse, performance, programing

1. Introduction

Opera is exceptional because it relies on a large body of popular public domain works, something that does not apply to many other fields of the creative economy. In the latter, more recent titles are often in the center of publishing

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The author gratefully acknowledges operabase.com for sharing their data. Moreover, the author would like to thank Anastasiya Letnikava and Deyun Yin for excellent research assistance as well as Stefan Bechtold, Thomas Dillon, Carsten Fink, Mike Gibbs, Gundula Kreuzer, Nicholas Payne, Guy Pessach, Cécile Roure, Ruth Towse and seminar participants at ETH Zuerich, the Ninth European Workshop on Applied Cultural Economics (EWACE) and at the 2019 Annual Congress of the Society for Economic Research on Copyright Issues (SERCI) as well as two anonymous reviewers for helpful comments on previous versions of the work.

5 activity and investment (see, for example, research [1] on books, or [2] on music). In the case of opera, however, Velde [3] documents a strong increase in the share of works by dead composers and average age of staged works (some, but not all in the public domain) programmed in Europe's main opera houses between 1750 to 1950. Substantial increases in performers' wages might have caused the
10 canon to change, with more mobile superstars demanding higher wages due to greater competition among opera houses and improvements in transportation technologies across Europe. However, their research also argues for a potential role of copyright in (historic) programming choices and the evolution of what is known as the 'canon' of works as it is today. Whatever the exact reasons, it is
15 striking to see only a single composer from the 20th (Bernstein) listed among the top 50 most performed operas in 2017 worldwide, while new opera composition continued to flourish over time.

Empirical studies of economic history evidence that the introduction of copy-
20 right with a term of up to 30 years successfully incentivized the creation of new, high-quality operas [4]. However, term extensions that followed in 19th century Italy did not further encourage opera production. In theory, copyright grants authors (in the case of opera, multiple authors including composers, librettist) with exclusive rights to exploit works and restrict certain uses, based on a temporary monopoly in markets. Monopoly rents allow authors to recoup their
25 initial investment. In the case of opera, however, this logic might not always hold. Too heavy competition on opera stages could limit the discovery and establishment of works in the canon as well as the collection of sufficient rents by authors, with copyright potentially limiting revenue expectations for some
30 performances where costs for licensing so-called 'grand rights' to performances from authors are too high for opera houses. So, while previous research has focused on the incentives to create among composers, with only few exceptions in popular music reuse and reuse on Wikipedia [5] [6], this article addresses the role of copyright in the incentives to stage and reuse works from the opera
35 canon among opera houses. More specifically, although the literature has iden-

tified various other determinants of opera programing,³ we empirically quantify the effect of copyright status changes on the reuse of works in today’s global programing. Second, we investigate antecedents and historical status effects as potential factors explaining the presence of public domain works in the opera
40 canon.

We find that changes in copyright status increase the number of total performances individual works receive on stage today once copyright expires. Moreover, copyright also taxes the diffusion of works when reused in new stage
45 productions only: Arguably, production premieres are of particular importance for the discovery of new and established works on stages as these works are not part of houses’ standard production repertoires. And, based on historic data from opera revivals in the early 20th century, we also provide evidence that copyright status affects the staging of opera from early on/shortly after premieres, with
50 long-term implications for the diffusion levels of works. In this way, in the case of opera, copyright might act as a barrier to the stage discovery and establish-

³Previous research shows that popular works known as reliable income-earners often cross-subsidize less known modern opera in houses’ programs, as the latter, even at reduced ticket prices, might not break even revenues [7]. In a similar vein, Heilbrun [8] documents a variety decline in repertoires of US opera houses in the 1990s. On similar institutional levels, the role of public subsidy and private funding in encouraging the production of a wider and more risky repertoire has been analysed for the USA [9]. Moreover, programing and new (public) commissions of work might also aim to reflect ethnic and gender diversity, or there might be various other socio-economic factors at play including educational institutions and their effects on audiences and tastes ([10] and [11]) And, more broadly, long-run persistence of a societys preferences for cultural goods continues to have an effect on contemporary measures of cultural activity in regions [12].

On an individual level, programing choices of opera managers and artistic directors might (also) be subject to enhancing professional reputation in their own peer group, including the staging of less popular repertoire [13]. Finally, opera recordings can be build around superstar singers, with featured individuals reaching larger audiences than in live performances [14]. In this way, it is possible that programing also accounts for the popularity and repertoires of individual singers houses can win and contract with.

ment of less known works at the beginning of the copyright term, including, arguably, the introduction of more avantgarde works to the canon. This is also an interesting finding from industry and policy perspectives. For example, recent discussions focus on preferential rates for online streaming uses of opera as well as streaming as a marketing tool for live performances and teaser for less known works. Arguably, these could help overcome some of the heavy competition from public domain works and limit stage capacity in opera. Moreover, industry stakeholders have proposed to continue collect licensing fees for works once copyright expires (such as Richard Strauss' Rosenkavalier in 2020) and re-invest these in programing of new works by living composers [15].

The article structures as follows. Section two reviews the existing literature and provides background on the opera business and the potential economic role of copyright in opera. Sections three and four describe the data and introduce the empirical strategy aimed to identify copyright status effects. Sections five and six present main results and discuss limitations and extensions of the approach. Section seven concludes with policy implications.

2. Background on opera and the economic role of grand rights

Staging opera performances today requires high fixed investment and 'heavy' physical infrastructure and there is limit capacity to reuse and perform works from the canon as the number of available stages and houses does not vary substantially over time (one exception might be festivals). However, limit capacity has been a concern from early on, including among composers of new works in 19th century France [3]. And, revolutions of 1848 might have put to a sudden end to the construction of new opera houses spearheaded by the European nobility, while 'bourgeois' demand for opera increased around the time [16].

From an economic perspective, the fixed number of 'slots' increases competi-

80 tion among existing works,⁴ in particular for new, incoming works who compete
'uphill', i.e. they are unknown and untested compared to the established body
of popularized works. Moreover, these, arguably, more avantgarde works tend
to decrease attendance, sell at lower ticket prices and hold lower revenue expect-
ations for opera companies [17]. However, even though not all new works are of
85 high quality, they will only be discovered and have a chance to gain popularity,
once they are reused and staged in houses, and not incumbent works from the
back catalogue. Mere copies of the underlying work (say, distributing prints
of the composer's musical scores) might not 'do the job' and help the discov-
ery of the work in often heavily subsidized opera markets:⁵ It is experimental
90 reuse and new opera production on stage that conditions the experience and
ability of audiences and critics alike to reveal and judge on the true quality
of new, incoming works. Moreover, these new productions, arguably, are more
investment-heavy and risky to stage as compared to those from the standard
production repertoires of houses. So, all in all, copyright might tax the diffusion

⁴Professional opera companies usually share the stage with a ballet company, and in smaller theatres (for example, German B houses) with spoken theatre productions as well. This limits the number of possible performances per year and usually the number of different works that can be put on.

⁵In general, professional opera companies are often subsidized and managed by the state authorities as part of their public service. How much finance they receive and what the objectives of the management are strongly influence the choice of repertoire. Those that receive less subsidies are required to raise a higher proportion of their income from ticket sales and private donations; they are likely to chose a more conservative repertoire, which means producing more standard operas and repeating the same *mise en scene* productions (i.e. the same direction, scenery/costumes etc.). In our research design, country-fixed effects are intended to capture and account for some of the variation coming from different degrees of subsidizing of opera production in the various countries. In addition, 'repertoire' and 'stagione' system differences from one country to the next should not matter as we observe and count the number of performances and runs within a single season. In repertoire systems, several operas are performed during the season alternately; in stagione systems, one work is performed over a period of several weeks and then another follows. In between, the opera has to be rehearsed so the company is tied up with that and cannot perform.

95 of works as they are experience goods, in particular the entry and diffusion of
less or unknown works channeled via new productions.

But copyright might also tax a work differently, depending on its lifecycle and
diffusion stages. From an evolutionary economics perspective, new works are
100 randomly drawn from a distribution of talents, independent of their initial qual-
ity. Then, these superstar markets are predicted to lock-in on a few new works
from early on [18]. In these highly uncertain markets, if copyright mainly taxes
discovery and diffusion early on, it will substantially change market outcomes.
Alternatively, copyright's effect might well expand throughout and beyond the
105 life of the composer until terms of protection end and status changes. In the
latter case, extensions of copyright terms would become more relevant [4], while
in the former cases, competitive disadvantage and effects on cohorts of works
exposed to the first introduction and implementation of copyright laws (when
they included rights to performance) would be more pronounced.

110 The opera context and 'grand rights' (rights to performance) are of particu-
lar interest because they are commonly licensed on a case-by-case basis in many
jurisdictions such as the U.S., and are often not collected by collective manage-
ment organizations (CMOs) or governed by blanket licenses in these jurisdictions
115 (an exception is the Société des Auteurs Compositeurs Dramatiques in France).
From an economic viewpoint, this implicates higher transaction costs whenever
works need to be licensed for reuse on opera stages, compared to more stan-
dard transactioning in systems where grand rights are licensed through CMOs.
Moreover, when works might be co-produced across countries and some of the
120 production costs can be shared by several opera houses, houses are still required
to transact, rent or purchase multi-territory licenses to performances when the
work is under copyright in more than one jurisdiction.

Second, licensing costs for these type of rights are substantial and do mat-
125 ter for total performance (and new production) cost: For example, in the U.S.,

composers can typically ask for up to 6 to 9 per cent of the gross revenues of a performance (for example, see the guide of the British Academy of Songwriters, Composers and Authors [19]), next to singers, choreographers, costume designers and make-up artists, and various other costs involved in production. 130 Moreover, next to licensing the rights to performance, it is possible that purchasing costs for copyright-protected music sheets (i.e. all parts of the opera and the full score for the conductor, for each individual musicians in the orchestra and for all singers) is another important factor when it comes to staging certain works or not. Copyright protection granted for these published scores 135 in some cases exceeds terms granted to underlying original works, and publishing new 'critical editions' of the same work is often an important source of revenue for music publishers. The empirical approach makes an attempt to control for such countervailing costs factors in the analysis of opera programing.

140 Third, grand rights to opera composers and their collaborators historically predate so-called 'small rights' for non-dramatic works other than opera in many jurisdictions, often being introduced several decades later. One of the reasons why grand rights were introduced first was because operas were performed in a limited number of venues and were thus easier to monitor [20]. Moreover, 145 France is an early mover in this respect with a system in place for the collection of composer fees for subsequent performances of their works, so-called royal 'privileges', well before copyright frameworks came into existence [21].

Finally, there might also be a systematic link between historic diffusion levels and the presence of opera works in today's canon. The international legal 150 regime (for example, the Berne Convention) only slowly and sequentially unfolded across European countries, with bilateral and multilateral agreements being signed one after the other [22]. In turn, this might have given some cohorts of pre-Berne born operas greater chances than others to disseminate and popularize in foreign jurisdictions and manifest in the national canon of 155 works. And, this also includes the unauthorized trading of works to foreign

stages. A good example of the phenomena is the wide-spread adaptation and repeated performances of foreign opera pieces on stages in 19th century London well before U.K. copyright started granting protection to foreign works [23], i.e. foreign works by German, Italian and French composers such as von Weber's Freischuetz, Rossini's *Barbiere di Siviglia* and Boieldieu's *Jean de Paris*. At the time, unauthorized reuse of foreign works generated a competitive cost advantage over copyright-protected alternatives because foreign works only gradually became eligible for domestic protection. In contrast, 'native' works on stage would require opera houses to license from domestic composers.

If copyright as a policy instrument is part of the explanation of today's manifestation of the opera canon on stage, it warrants cautious implementation as the standard underproduction-underutilization trade-off still seems to apply [24]: In the case of opera, copyright's potentially chilling effect on access to new works and their diffusion on national and international stages might have limited the full unfolding of the incentives to create as originally intended by those defining terms in the first place.

3. Data and descriptives

We build the empirical work on unique dataset of global opera performances from operabase.com. It records more than 33,000 runs (equating a total of more than 142,000 performances) and new productions of individual opera works on city level for more than 200 countries over a period of six seasons, 2012-13 to 2017-18.⁶ New productions account for approximately 20 per cent of all performances recorded in the data. Operabase marks productions as 'new' on their

⁶Performances are fairly equally distributed across seasons. Around 5 per cent of all performances are semi-staged opera or concert performances which make limited use of props, costumes, etc.

Moreover, the geography and coverage of performances is global, even though performances in European and US cities are the most frequent: More than 85 per cent of performances are staged in Europe and Central Asia, another 9 per cent is staged in North America. Countries

first outing anywhere in the world (i.e. first appearance in the database).⁷
In this way, they are the main point of entry for any material previously not
staged, new or old. Furthermore, operabase data contains information on more
than 1,400 individual composers and close to 3,000 unique opera works, at least
185 performed once across the six seasons. An individual work, on average, had
22 performances on stage in the 2017-18 season, while the median number of
performances was 9 times. The top 50 most performed opera works accounted
for more than half (55 per cent) of all runs in the same season, Verdi, Mozart
and Puccini's works being among the most cited in this list. In general, more
190 than 90 per cent of composers are male and around 40 per cent/most composers
are born after 1950 in the database.⁸ Accordingly, for more than 30 per cent of
all composers that record birth dates there is no death date, either because the
data is not available, or, composers are still alive.⁹ Where data on composers'
nationality is available,¹⁰ most composers originate from Italy, Germany, the
195 U.S., the U.K., Russia and France, together accounting for more than 50 per

in East Asia and the Pacific account for close to 3 per cent, countries in Latin America and
the Caribbean account for more than 2 per cent. The Middle East and North Africa as well
as South Asia and Sub-Saharan African countries account for close to 2 per cent.

⁷They are considered as a fresh view of a work by a team of the director, designers and
dramaturg brought into physical being. These productions are not from houses' existing
repertoire of productions, nor are they rentals from other houses.

⁸23 per cent are born from 1900 and until 1950, 12 per cent are born from 1850 and until
1900, close to 9 per cent are born between 1750 and 1850, and yet another 7 per cent are born
before 1750.

⁹We do manual online searches for 26 composers born between 1820 and 1920 - which we
suspect might be changing copyright status in the period of observation - and complete their
missing data (death dates). We find that works of close to 60 per cent of these composers with
initially missing data all have died after 1950 and would still be protected under copyright in
a plus-70-years, postmortem jurisdiction. Around 40 per cent of composers have died before
1950 and are either likely in the public domain or, rarely, change copyright status in the
observation period.

¹⁰Conceptually, operabase defines nationality via the country of birth of the composer, or
as the modern country now covering the composer's birth city when the country ceased to
exist.

cent of all composers. The operabase data gives a comprehensive view on global opera performances and only few caveats apply.¹¹ Figure 3 provides descriptive evidence on the average number of performances by composer birth date and for selected jurisdictions (i.e. jurisdictions receiving the most performances in our data). For 33 per cent of the total observations on work-year-country level (samples in table 1) the data records one or more performances in a given year and country, for 67 per cent of the total works are not staged (zero) in a given year and country. Half of the works that enter stages receive one to five performances, half of them performs five to fifty times in a given year and country. We complement data on performances with data on rental productions from operabase.¹² Data sharing and donation by operabase is gratefully acknowledged by the author.

Moreover, the data we deploy builds on previous data collection and extensive research efforts by others [4] that build on Loewenberg [25] as a 'reference catalogue' for operas created before 1940 including information on the location and date of premiers. Figure 1 in the Annex illustrates premier dates of opera works recorded in the Loewenberg data (i.e. the index of the book). Similar

¹¹For example, the data does not allow to distinguish whether the work performed is an adaption or translation. However, the role of translations has been diminishing since the 1960s, with increasing desirability of fidelity among houses and audiences as well as original (language) works being performed using sur- or subtitle technologies on stage. Moreover, some operas are more expensive to stage than others because they demand more principal and specialized singers, larger chorus, complex sets, or a large orchestra such as Verdi's opera *Aida* and Puccini's *Turandot*. Similarly, some voice types are in shorter supply than others and consequently might receive higher fees, depending on the overall supply of talent and skills in labor markets as well as the general alignment of opera training towards more standard repertoires [7]

¹²Operabase lists a total of 2,207 rental productions of opera, the earliest available production on these secondary markets for productions dating back to 1996. For each season in the six-year observation period, we calculate the stock of rental productions of an individual work produced in the same or in previous years.

to operabase (see Figure 2 for their records on composer birth until 1940), the
215 Loewenberg data seems to well reflect increases of opera production over time,
in particular the increase in opera production between the 1850s and the 1940s.
18 per cent of the total data from Loewenberg match to operabase records (ob-
servations on work-country level based on the sample in table 8).¹³ The other
82 per cent of observations do not match as there are zero performances across
220 the six seasons and hence these represent repertoire that is not part of today’s
opera canon (any more). In addition, we exploit previous research by various
other musicologists and opera experts.¹⁴ For example, this includes research
on opera revivals of works composed by Verdi, Handel and Rossini in the early
20th century [26] and research on unauthorized trade and adaptations of for-
225 eign works in London opera houses in the early 19th century [23]. Based on
these, revivals account for about four per cent of the total sample of 533 operas
in table 8, and 65 per cent of revivals are still performed at least once across
the six seasons in one or more of the 245 countries. All other observations in
this sample (96 per cent) account for premiers and new works in a given year
230 and country, i.e. only about 20 per cent of premiers are still performed today
and match to the operabase data. Furthermore, we complement data from the
International Music Score Library Project (IMSLP), now the Petrucci Music
Library. The Library is a virtual repository of musical scores and recordings,
most of which are in the public domain (or, for some modern composers, pub-
235 lished under a creative commons license) and uploaded by a large community of
online users.¹⁵ This allows to gather opera and publication-level information on
the availability, copyright status and estimated purchasing costs of music sheets

¹³We use stata package `matchit` to run a fuzzy matching of strings, i.e. composer names and opera titles. We manually inspect all matches above a similarity treshold of .5.

¹⁴Where necessary and available, we complement these sources with information from wikipedia or `operadata.stanford.edu`. For example, there is a dedicated wikipedia site for all opera works and revivals written by Handel, see here.

¹⁵The website/the repository can be accessed via this URL.

for a composition/work. This approach is not without limitations.¹⁶

240 Finally, we also collect historic, legal information on the expansion of territorial
copyright in the 19th century and the emergence of international copyright
regimes until and beyond the Berne convention. For example, we gather data on
past characteristics of copyright frameworks from Pinner’s extensive Encyclope-
dia [27] and underpinnings on international copyright and the Berne convention
245 from [28] and [29]. This allows us to identify and establish timelines when juris-
dictions first introduce national copyright, when they begin granting copyright
to foreign works and when bilateral or multilateral treaties enter into force as
precursors of authorized, international trade of opera works.

250 We approximate copyright status of all works of a composer in a given year
and jurisdiction of performance by calculating the respective copyright term
granted to the composers postmortem. The way we determine copyright status
accounts for most legal specificities of jurisdictions (including the U.S.) such
as international differences in term length as well as different points of depar-
255 ture for terms. For example, for works performed in the U.S., status changes 95
years after first publication of an opera work published in and after 1925. Works

¹⁶First, Petrucci as a source of information might be biased towards more popular music works/sheets uploaded by users. Second, sheets available on Petrucci may be incomplete, e.g. they might not always include the full score or set of parts for individual singers and musical instruments in the orchestra. Third, and importantly, availability on Petrucci is not a perfect indication that the music sheet of underlying the work is out of copyright: New engravings or typographical arrangements by editors and publishers can give rise to separate copyright protection in certain jurisdictions even when the term protecting the original work of the composer has expired in the same jurisdiction. For more than half of the works changing copyright status in our dataset, music sheets are available on Petrucci, and for close to half of the latter there is also a publication date and publishers recorded for music sheets uploaded to Petrucci. When using UK copyright laws that grant 50 years from the end of the year in which the engraving was first published as an approximation of copyright status of music sheets across jurisdictions, only four per cent of titles/publications are still under copyright.

published before this date are considered in the public domain. Moreover, in order to validate the status proxy across works and across all contributors to a single work, for a subsample of individual opera works, we also search for
260 and include available information on other authors involved in the creation of the work. This is potentially relevant to the assessment of copyright status of the work as the 'last living author' (say, the death of one or more librettists of an opera). In cases where the copyright status of the opera is changing in the observation period, we find that for 81 per cent of individual works and other
265 contributors we can validate this proxy. In cases where works' status are not changing and they are predicted to be in the public domain, we find that for 92.5 per cent this holds true, i.e. false negatives account for 7.5 per cent in the sample.¹⁷ Figure 4 provides preliminary evidence on the average number of performances pre- and post-status changes for a subset of the data and selected
270 countries.

4. Empirical strategy

In an ideal research scenario, we would randomly assign copyright status to a reference catalogue of operatic works and, based on this sample, estimate status effects on the diffusion and prominence of works on stages in different
275 jurisdictions. As a next step, we might consider status effects on the 'intensive' and 'extensive' margins, i.e. investigate the effects on baseline chances of works to be included in stage programming, and the effects on additional performances and runs of a work.

280 However, in reality, there are various sources of potential bias: Quality and popularity of individual works ('quality bias') are largely unobserved. For ex-

¹⁷Here, we draw another 10-per-cent random sample from the total works not changing their status and classified as public domain by the status proxy, i.e. based on the death of the composer alone, and compare these to the latest death of other collaborators in the work, if applicable.

ample, popularity of older, public domain works more than copyright status of operas might explain diffusion levels we observe on national stages. Furthermore, programing choices on national stages, arguably, might favor works by native composers over foreign-born works ('home bias'). And, in composers' anniversary years (for example, the jubilee year of Richard Wagner in 2013 on the occasion of his 200th birthday) chances to see their works staged will systematically increase in the course of annual celebrations ('anniversary bias').

In a first series of panel regressions, we are interested in isolating the effect of copyright status from other confounding factors. We therefore focus on a subset of works that change copyright status over the observation period, an approach based on within-title variation similar to those previously used in copyright research [30].¹⁸ In this way, we can implement individual-work fixed-effect (FE) models where, arguably, on the level of the individual work observed over time and in a specific jurisdiction, the only source of (time-invariant) variation in reuses is copyright status which rules out most of the biases described above. The level of analysis is on work-year-country accordingly. Moreover, we also rerun these work-level FE models for the subset of reuses that are flagged as new productions in our data which, arguably, also more tightly capture 'creative' reuses rather than mere follow-on runs of existing productions of the same work. To set up the standard FE model more formally, let y_{ijt} equal the (log) total number of runs of an opera i in a given year t and country j and let D_{ijt} denote its legal status in that year and jurisdiction.

¹⁸However, in her work, Reimers further accounts for inter-temporal substitution bias as she also uses the effect of copyright extension for her research design. Focusing within-title variation alone (as we do in our approach) can lead to biased estimates: On the supply side, opera houses might want to strategically wait to stage a work that is close to moving into the public domain to avoid the costs to license rights to performances in the near future, or, on the demand side, opera audiences might wait and postpone ticket purchases and attendances, expecting a decay of prices once the status changes.

$$Y_{ijt} = \alpha_i + \lambda_t + \rho D_{ijt} + X_{ijt}\delta + \epsilon_{ijt}$$

where

$$\alpha_i \equiv \alpha + A_i'\gamma$$

and ρ is the causal effect of interest, with other observed covariates X_{ijt} and the unobserved A_i . With repeated observations on performances of individual opera works, the causal effect of status on total performances can be estimated
 310 by treating α_i , the fixed effect, as a parameter to be estimated. The annual effect λ_t is also treated as a parameter to be estimated. Variation in copyright status mainly comes from two sources

- (1) status changes for individual works in a specific country during the observation period; an example is the body of works by Pietro Mascagni (†1945),
 315 an Italian composer; many of whose works changed status in January 2016 in several 70-plus-life jurisdictions.
- (2) differences in status due to differences in jurisdictions' terms of protection, while accounting for the international rule of the shorter term (which only applies in some jurisdictions) [31]; more specifically, the latter rule permits
 320 to shorten the term of protection for incoming foreign works to the (presumably, shorter) term granted in the jurisdiction these originate from (but no less than the Berne minima of 50 years), i.e. while in one country the work might still be protected, it is part of the public domain in another.

In a second series of regressions, we are also interested in the longer-term effects of copyright status on today's performances, in particular status effects at
 325 the beginning of the copyright term on the diffusion and staging of new and incoming works. This is difficult as, typically, all new opera is 'treated' i.e. granted copyright, with very few exceptions.¹⁹ We therefore use historical data

¹⁹Some modern composers such as Godfried-Willem Raes or Joachim Brackx publish most of their works under General Public Licenses (GPL) or Creative-Commons (CC) licenses which then can be performed and reused on stage without houses incurring licensing costs for rights

on opera revivals at the beginning of the 20th century to capture new works out
 330 of copyright status for exceptional reasons, treating opera revivals *as if* novel
 and unknown to audiences and critics at the time of their revival. We define
 ‘revivals’ as those works that shortly after their (first) premiers disappeared
 from stages and were not being performed for several decades, if not centuries,
 ahead. More formally, we select a simple, cross-sectional model on work-country
 335 level allowing us to identify correlation rather than causal effects for treatment
 (status) and outcome variables (performances). Moreover, in order to account
 for potential overdispersion in the count data we also deploy a negative binomial
 regression as an alternative model as well as logistic regression approach. In the
 baseline OLS, however, let Y_{ij} equal the (log) total number of runs of an opera
 340 i in country j (i.e. the sum across all six seasons). More formally, this is

$$Y_{ij} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \beta_3 X_3 + \epsilon$$

where X_1 denotes the legal status of the work in that jurisdiction at the time of
 revival/premier, with 1 if the work is a premier protected under copyright, 0 if
 it is a revival of a work in the public domain, and X_2 denotes the length of the
 copyright term in force at the time of revival/premier. Moreover, let X_3 flag
 345 works performed at least once across the six seasons and equal to 1 if the work
 changes copyright status in that same jurisdiction at the end of the copyright
 term, 0 otherwise, and let ϵ be the error term. Even though we believe that the
 approach is able to deliver meaningful estimates, it is not without limitations.²⁰

to performances.

²⁰More specifically, coefficient estimates for legal status may be biased because of the selection of specific works into revivals. On the one hand, chances of more or less popular composers and their works to be revived after their death or disappearance of the work might differ in the first place. For example, Mendelssohn’s *Juvenilia*, or revivals of early Verdi works, due to the popularity and brand of the composer seem more easy to sell to audiences in the first place. On the other hand, arguably, it may be that revivals are of systematically lower quality compared to other works by the same composer and her (non-revival) works that continued to be performed on stages without interruptions. Yet in other instances, it seems revival opera was an outcome of works by the same composer cannibalizing each other at the time of (first)

We define all new works referenced in Loewenberg [25] premiering in the same
350 period and same jurisdictions as revivals as treated observations. Moreover, we
can also exploit variation in treatment measures as historic copyright terms [27]
granted to the sample of copyright-protected, premiering works differs from one
jurisdiction to the next.

5. Main findings

355 5.1. Short-term status effects on reuse: Status-changing opera at the end of the copyright term

Table 1 presents results for a first series of FE OLS and Poisson regressions
where the dependent variable is the (logged) total number of runs of a work in
a given year and country. In column (1) and (2), estimates are shown for the
360 baseline FE OLS specifications: At the core, this includes an interaction term
capturing the effect of copyright status on the level of the individual work, for
all works changing status in the observation period (please refer to the data
section for a description of how we approximate status and table 2 in the annex
for sample descriptives). Works are either changing status in their country of
365 origin or they are staged abroad and exposed to a distinct legal regime (term
length), thus changing status in that jurisdiction. The changing status sample
of performances builds on a total of n=179 unique works by 38 composers, while
the overall sample of performances builds on a total of n=2,748 works by 1,310
composers. Columns (3) and (4) present estimates for (FE) Poisson regressions,
370 better accounting for the underlying count data. All specifications include bi-
nary controls for foreign work status, works performed in their anniversary years

premiers.

Moreover, arguably, estimates might be influenced by the rise and competition from musical
theatre and composition in the early 20th century. However, it is not clear to us why revivals
and new works of opera created in that period should have been affected in very different
ways. If anything, it seems that new works might have been less subject to these changes.
Composers of new works might have attempted to better accomodate contemporary changes
in tastes and evade some of the new competition imposed by musical theatres at the time.

Table 1: FE OLS and Poisson regression table

DV:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
total performances of an individual work	ln	ln		
copyright status x changing sample	-0.08121 (-1.94)	-0.09455* (-2.08)	-0.1037** (-2.85)	-0.1496*** (-4.32)
foreign work	-0.3554*** (-21.26)	0.03039 (0.06)	-2.2415 (-1.86)	-0.8391*** (-89.65)
anniversary	0.1118*** (4.75)	0.1119*** (4.82)	0.1477*** (10.02)	0.1424*** (9.65)
age/birth cohort			.0011*** (3.97)	
year FE	yes	yes	yes	yes
country performance FE	yes			yes
country performance-origin FE		yes	yes	
work FE	yes	yes		yes
Observations	50406	50406	50406	50406
<i>AIC</i>	124697.9	123732.5	277303.4	263661.2
<i>BIC</i>	125430.7	129347.1	284171.5	264385.1

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

and (performance) year FE. Models (1) and (4) contain performance country-level, and models (2) and (3) include interacted FE for the country of origin and the country of performance of the work. Because the model with work
375 FE does not always converge, model (3) includes a further age control for the type of work, i.e. a proxy based on the composers year of birth. Notably, the copyright status interaction term is negative in all and significant in three out of four specifications. More specifically, as models (3) and (4) suggest copyright status decreases the total number of runs a work receives by around 10 to 15
380 per cent. Foreign work status, where the country of performance differs from the nationality of the composer, also decreases the number of runs a single work receives, but as expected renders insignificant once interacted FE are added.²¹ Furthermore, works are more often performed in anniversary years.

385 We do several tests to check robustness of results and account for potential confounding factors. First, rather than studying effects on the level of the individual work, in table 3, we rerun models on the level of the individual composer and the number of runs she receives across all her works. Results are largely confirmed in models, i.e. the baseline OLS (1) and Poisson models (2) and (3).
390 Second, table 4 confirms the basic intuition of our results for a subset of performances classified as new productions in the data, productions that do not build on the standard repertoire and (past) productions in opera houses. As argued above, new stage productions may play an important role when it comes to the diffusion of new works unknown to audiences and critics and their process
395 of gaining of popularity over time. At this important 'point of entry' for new works into current programming, status effects seem slightly more pronounced and visible.

²¹This might be due to various factors including 'home bias' in consumption and demand preferences for domestic/native composers' works, or because works in many instances first diffuse domestically before they are shipped/exported to opera stages abroad. Even though interesting, this question is not the focus of our inquiry.

Moreover, secondary markets for opera productions and the trading of stage
400 productions could affect results. Rental productions generate higher returns
when they are successful, and, in a similar vein, co-productions of several opera
houses share total production costs from early on [32]. In this way, when a
production is available for rent and staged in more than one house, it might
also affect the presence of underlying works in domestic programing. For ex-
405 ample, some works might be more likely to enter rental productions and trade
than others. In table 5, we thus include information on accumulated rental
productions (stocks) available over time into models which approximates well
the level of trade an individual work receives on secondary markets for pro-
ductions. Next, we segregate status effects for works below and above median
410 stocks of production rentals. Models (2) and (3) present Poisson estimates, next
to the baseline OLS results in (1). Results indicate that status effects are more
pronounced for works that have more rentals around them. Arguably, once
productions are collaborative and several houses share total cost (savings) over
time, the relative contribution of grand right licensing increases, in particular
415 when this involves licensing and transacting rights in more than one jurisdiction.

In addition, estimates might not only reflect economic effects from grand
right status but they might as well capture economic effects from other rights
granted around opera works such as rights to reproduce works. For example,
420 rental or purchasing conditions of music sheets under copyright from publishers
might affect overall costs of production houses face and so their programing
choices might change accordingly. In table 6, models exploit variation in the
availability of individual works on Petrucci (yes/no) and we thus further segre-
gate status effects for changing samples in baseline OLS (1) and Poisson regres-
425 sions (2) and (3).²² It becomes clear that negative and significant status effects

²²These results continue to hold when we deploy tighter criteria on the copyright status of
music sheets, i.e. we limit to publication titles/music sheets published before 1900 and their

for grand rights largely persist, whether or not the individual work is available on the Petrucci repository of public domain works. However, when opera houses have to continue to rent scores from publishers because access to some scores is artificially limited even after the work’s copyright expires (i.e. only publisher
430 hold exclusive copies of the scores), negative status effects should continue to apply in models. Our estimates seem to confirm this intuition. For scores of works not accessible online and where houses will have to afford score rentals, negative effects on programming are more pronounced and these works are even less often performed than other public domain works.

435

Finally, opera programing could be linked to (public) funding criteria. For example, criteria might require programs to stage a certain number of new works in each season or reflect gender/ethnic diversity. In order to address this bias, we again segregate status effects for changing samples, this time exploiting varia-
440 tion in public versus private funding models (or approximations of such models) across countries. We flag all performances hosted in the U.S. as a prime example of a system of operatic production mostly based on private funding/donations and market incentives alone. We compare its effects to those arising in systems where opera is primarily based on a model of public funding, i.e. we limit to
445 performances hosted in all other, mostly European countries. This approach builds on previous research [33]. This suggest that public funding at large follows either the German or European or American model. In the former, up to 80 per cent of income, sometimes more, come from public funds. In the latter, 85 to 90 per cent are donations and box office income. Such a model allows to
450 introduce and implement above funding criteria more broadly in the system.

As table 7 shows main results and claims continue to hold in this set-up. At large, effects are negative across OLS and Poisson models (1) and (2). However, funding criteria might play a moderating role in programming choices in EU countries as size and significance of the interaction term is substantially lower

respective works (results not shown, available upon request from the author).

455 there. As public funding is very uncommon in the U.S., funding criteria are
less likely to bias status estimates. In turn, as many countries follow the EU
rather than the market-driven U.S. model, which in principle allows for the in-
460 troduction of funding criteria, our overall estimates might be slightly downward
biased.

460 *5.2. Longer-term status effects on reuse: Revival of opera versus new and in-
coming opera*

In this section, we address longer-term effects of (historic) status in today's
reuses on stage. We study the effects of copyright status on incoming work,
i.e. we exploit a sample of Handel and Rossini revivals of opera as instances of
465 market entry of *new* public domain works unknown to the public, competing
with new, incoming works under copyright from the same year cohorts. We
limit the observation period from 1916 to 1938. This is because the wave of
revivals only launches in 1916, with a first revival of Rossini's *L'occasione fa il*
ladro in Pesaro, Italy, more than 100 hundred years after its first premier, and
470 because data from the Loewenstein catalogue only covers all premiering operas
up to 1940 (including new works not performed any more). In table 8, column
(1) presents model estimates for the OLS baseline; (2) and (3) give negative
binominal model estimates for the total number of runs of a work *across* all six
seasons; (4) and (5) give results for a logistic model with a binary DV rather
475 than the count data, i.e. status effects at the extensive margin of the canon.
The two main variables across specifications are (historic) copyright status and
copyright terms at the date of revival/premier and the work's jurisdiction of
performance.

480 All specifications include country of origin FE (except (5)) and premier year
FE for cohorts of works first performed in the same year and a dummy variable
for status-changing works in the current observation period (see models in the
previous section). In addition, we include a control for the age of the work at its
revival based on the time elapsed since the initial premier of the work, while all

485 other works premiering for the first time are set to zero. In models (1), (3), (4)
and (5) we also insert performance country-level FE. And, models (3), (4) and
(5) include binary controls for foreign status of a work and country of origin FE
(4 only). Adding these substantially reduces sample size because information
on composer nationality is only available in operabase. Accordingly, composers
490 from Loewenstein whose entire repertoire of works is never performed on stages
in the six-season observation period are excluded from the sample in (3), (4)
and (5).

We find that negative and significant (historic) status effects at the begin-
ning of the term persist across any specification. If selection into revivals does
495 not bias estimates (see the discussion in the strategy section), copyright status
taxes the diffusion of works from early on, and, effects from historic status on
today's reuse persist in the course of several decades, if not a century, after
works first enter stages. In contrast, differences in copyright terms across ju-
risdictions (which range from life of the author plus 15 to plus 80 years, with
500 a median and Berne minima of plus 50 years) do not seem to generate similar
longer-term effects but indicate smaller effects, if any. Controls for foreign works
status show the expected negative sign; the dummy for status-changing works
in the observation period yields a positive effect on the number of performances.
More than the effect of copyright-status change, the latter captures the higher
505 average popularity of works still present on stages today compared to those
works not performed any more. The older the work is at its revival, the fewer
performances it receives on stages. However, this age effect is relatively weak
and not consistent across specifications.

510 **6. Discussion and limitations of approaches**

This research is not without limitations and several questions arise for fu-
ture research in this area. First, while the evidence we provide can indicate
how far the exclusivity granted by copyright restricts follow-on reuse, it does

not allow for an assessment of welfare effects. Put differently, results are not
515 informative on whether or not changes in copyright and reuse levels constitute a
welfare improvement and thus are limited in their ability to address the standard
underproduction-underutilization trade-off [24]. It would require richer data on
pricing and total revenues with regard to stage reuses as well as information
on to what extent production of new works builds and borrows from existing
520 (public domain) opera to allow for normative conclusions [34].

Second, even though meaningful, quantitative approximations we deploy in the
analysis are often imperfect measure of the underlying phenomena. For exam-
ple, in the analysis, copyright status effects around the publishing of musical
525 scores builds on the availability of works on Petrucci. However, similar to the
approaches by Reimers [30] and Li et al [35], an alternative assessment would
require monitoring commercial strategies of publishers in greater detail, i.e. the
exact timing in making available, changes in pricing and (re-)editioning of works
around the expiry of copyright. Furthermore, in an alternative setting and with
530 additional data, we could monitor and analyse the more immediate effect from
funding and licensing expenditure levels in opera houses on their programing
choices rather than limiting the analysis to legal status effects. This is also in-
teresting because it would allow to account for differences in the ability of opera
management when it comes to bargaining licensing and funding deals.

535
Third, more research in economic history needs to be conducted in the area
of opera and copyright which may provide with lessons on the functioning of
copyright and with new insights for today's policy reform. In our research, we
have only began to fully understand the effects of emergence of national and
540 international copyright regimes and the implications this holds for the diffusion
and emerging trade of works created in these periods as well as the value that
can be extracted from the harmonization of international laws. In addition, as
illustrated in previous work [4] it is possible that establishing copyright also
had an impact on artist migration and location choices, yet another interesting

545 question to be addressed in future research.

Finally, one way to interpret our results is to understand copyright - while incentivizing the creativity of composers - also as a hindrance to follow-on creativity in reuse on stage. In this way, granting neighboring rights to performers or mechanical rights as it is common practice in many legal frameworks might 550 help reduce potential adverse effects and reintroduce incentives further downstream. However, granting more rights runs the risk of 'royalty stacking' and fragmentation of rights with possible adverse effects on the staging of works, for example, hold up problems [36]. Again, that is a question for future research to 555 better understand complementarities or substitution of effects in these bundles of rights granted across the value chain.

7. Conclusion and implications for copyright

We find that works under copyright today are less often performed on global opera stages than works that are out of copyright. Based on within-title variation, 560 copyright status reduces the average number of performances a work receives by around 10 to 15 per cent. Arguably, this is due to costs opera houses incur for licensing rights to performances (grand rights) for original works from composers or their heirs. So, while moderate copyright terms may induce the creation of additional opera when the composer is still alive [4], it also restricts 565 reuse and follow-on creativity on stage.

Main results are robust against a number of confounding factors such as the economic effects from publishing activity around music sheets (as another source of potential production costs for opera houses) and the effects from secondary 570 markets for opera productions. In addition, copyright status can act as a barrier to entry of less known works, in particular when their reuse on stage (as experience goods) is restricted in new productions that are outside the standard production repertoires of houses. Still, there is a moderating effect of public

funding (criteria) on programing that seems to alleviate some of the chilling
575 effect of copyright.

Moreover, in the case of opera, there is preliminary evidence that (historical)
copyright status has longer term implications on the diffusion levels and estab-
lishment of new, incoming works. These effects continue to be visible in the
580 canon as it is today, several decades after premieres of works.

From a dynamic perspective, future revisions of copyright need to account for
the incentives to create (new works) as well as the effects on (creative) reuse
they impose on these works throughout their total lifecycle. This might help
585 improve welfare and the efficiency of the instrument. In cases where there are
high transaction costs, limit capacity for uses and taste for variety is a policy
concern, we thus petition for a copyright framework (and, arguably, comple-
mentary cultural policies) that gives enough leeway to new, incoming works
and finds ways to establish a level-playing field with the body of incumbent
590 works.

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8. Annex

Figure 1: Premier dates (years) of (newly created) opera from Loewenstein[25]

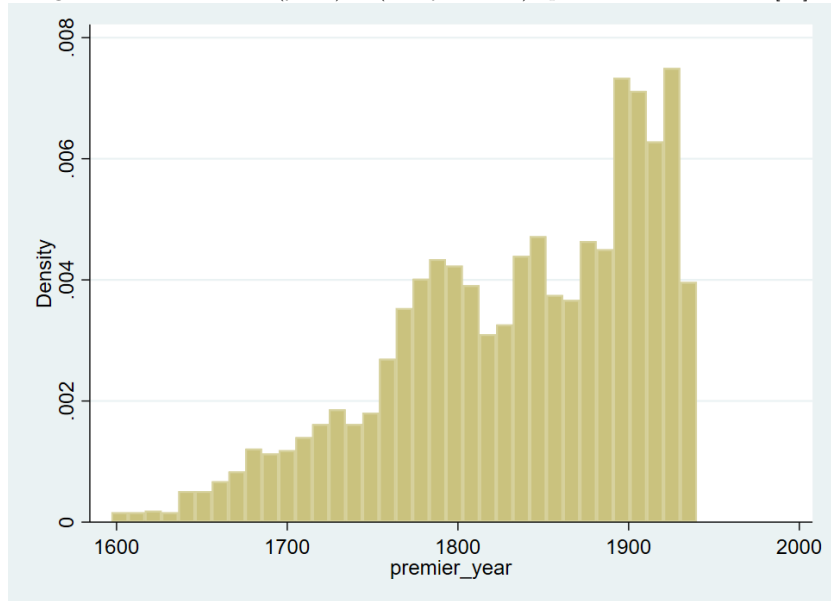


Figure 2: Births of composers recorded until 1940, data from Operabase.com

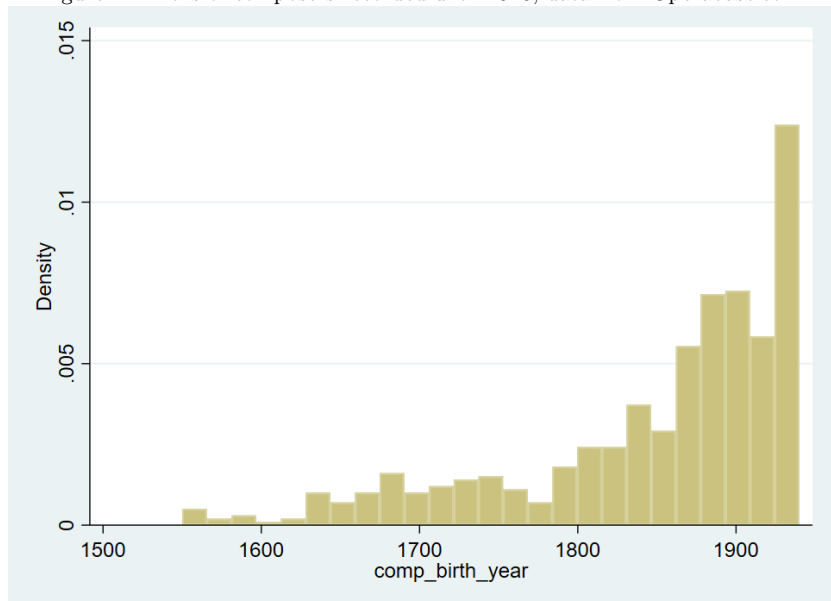


Figure 3: Average opera performances per season and by composer birth year and selected country of performance

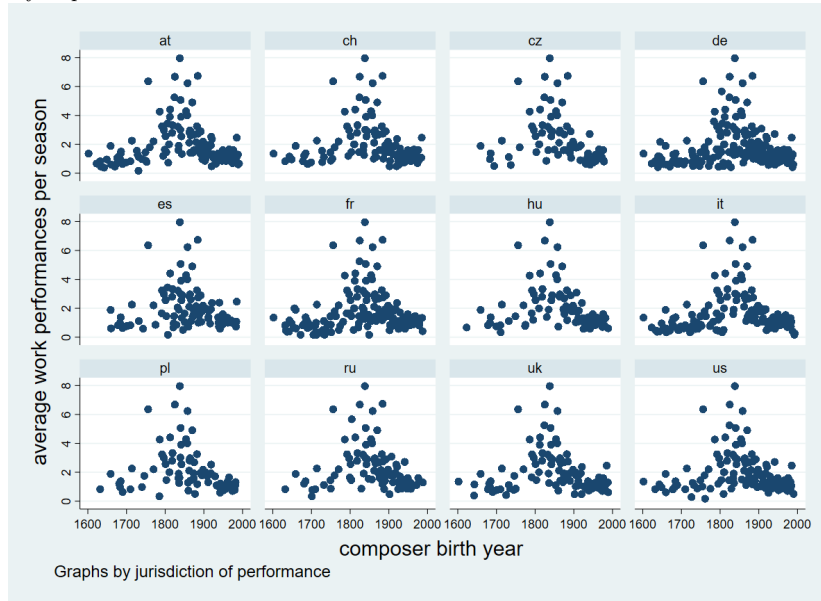


Figure 4: Average opera performances around copyright status change and by selected country of performance, changing sample

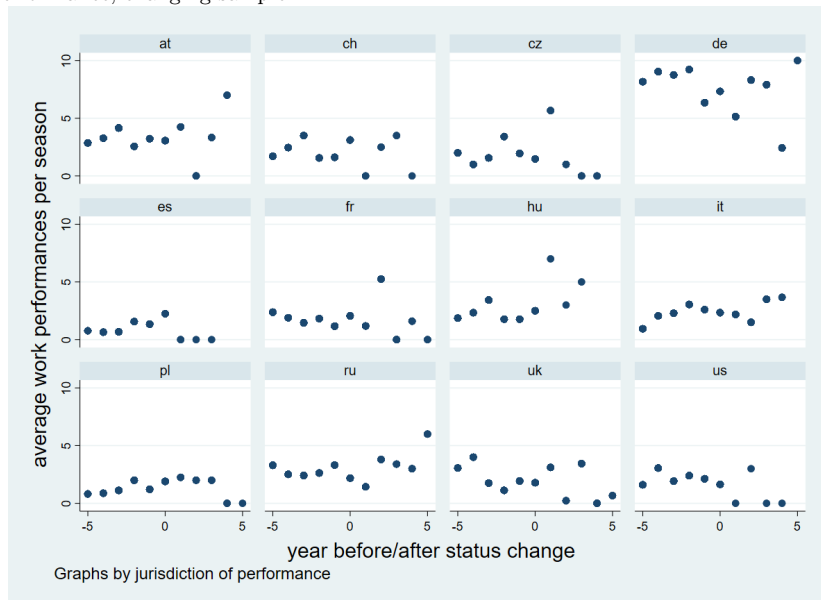


Table 2: Summary statistics, copyright (non-)changing status sample

Variable	Description	Obs.	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
<i>status changing sample</i>						
<i>dependent variables</i>						
total performances of a work	performances per season and country	5,118	2.4525	6.2059	0	89
<i>explanatory variables</i>						
copyright status	work under copyright=1, 0 otherwise	5,118	.7829	.4123	0	1
composer birth	year	5,118	1884.113	8.5476	1858	1913
composer death	year	5,118	1953.904	11.7155	1935	1976
foreign work	country of performance \neq origin of composer=1, 0 otherwise	5,118	.8675	.3390	0	1
anniversary	[performance year = composer birth + (50*n)]=1, n=(1,10), 0 otherwise	5,118	.0748	.2631	0	1
<i>non-changing sample</i>						
<i>dependent variables</i>						
total performances of a work	performances per season and country	45,288	2.8413	9.2994	0	285
<i>explanatory variables</i>						
copyright status	work under copyright=1, 0 otherwise	45,288	.3136	.4640	0	1
composer birth	year	45,288	1833.808	103.1904	1550	1993
composer death	year	35,880	1869.926	82.2222	1602	2014
foreign work	country of performance \neq origin of composer=1, 0 otherwise	45,288	.7665	.4230	0	1
anniversary	[performance year = composer birth + (50*n)]=1, n=(1,10), 0 otherwise	45,288	.0301	.1707	0	1

Table 3: FE OLS and Poisson regression table

DV:	(1)	(2)	(3)
total performances of an individual composer	ln		
copyright status x changing sample	-0.1346* (-2.40)	0.01859 (0.56)	-0.1037** (-2.70)
foreign work	-0.3687 (-0.82)	-1.0837*** (-121.55)	-2.5338 (-1.88)
anniversary	0.1492*** (3.53)	0.1417*** (9.60)	0.1417*** (9.77)
age/birth cohort			0.0073*** (11.35)
year FE	yes	yes	yes
country performance FE		yes	
country performance-origin FE	yes		yes
work FE	yes	yes	
Observations	24438	24438	24438
<i>AIC</i>	63185.0	155312.8	153218.3
<i>BIC</i>	68485.0	155977.3	159523.1

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 4: FE OLS and Poisson regression table

DV:	(1)	(2)	(3)
total new productions of an individual work	ln		
copyright status x changing sample	-0.05758 (-0.69)	-0.2637*** (-4.18)	-0.1523* (-2.50)
foreign work	-0.3803 (-0.77)	-0.4721*** (-27.71)	-2.6065* (-2.45)
anniversary	0.1589*** (4.23)	0.3027*** (12.47)	0.3116*** (12.85)
age/birth cohort			0.0005 (1.67)
year FE	yes	yes	yes
country performance FE		yes	
country performance-origin FE	yes		yes
work FE	yes	yes	
Observations	20382	20382	20382
<i>AIC</i>	52819.5	118449.3	127026.3
<i>BIC</i>	55695.4	118988.0	130567.7

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 5: FE OLS and Poisson regression table

DV:	(1)	(2)	(3)
total performances of an individual work	ln		
copyright status x changing sample above median rentals	-0.06554 (-1.30)	-0.1952*** (-4.63)	-0.1371*** (-3.41)
copyright status x changing sample below median rentals	-0.1064 (-1.72)	-0.08266 (-1.67)	-0.0099 (-0.16)
foreign work	-0.3554*** (-21.26)	-0.8393*** (3.37)	-2.2435 (-1.87)
anniversary	0.1120*** (4.76)	0.1425*** (9.66)	0.1477*** (10.02)
age/birth cohort			0.0011*** (3.99)
year FE	yes	yes	yes
country performance FE	yes	yes	
country performance-origin FE			yes
work FE	yes	yes	
Observations	50406	50406	50406
<i>AIC</i>	124699.6	263659.5	277301.6
<i>BIC</i>	125441.2	264392.2	284178.5

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 6: FE OLS and Poisson regression table

DV:	(1)	(2)	(3)
total performances of an individual work	ln		
copyright status x changing sample available in Petrucci	-1.1367** (-2.73)	-0.1397*** (-3.93)	-0.09445* (-2.38)
copyright status x changing sample not available in Petrucci	-1.0439 (-0.92)	-0.3338* (-2.18)	-0.1488 (-1.74)
foreign work	-3.1389*** (-20.02)	-0.8392*** (-89.65)	-2.2380 (-1.86)
anniversary	0.5620* (2.54)	0.1422*** (9.64)	0.1476*** (10.01)
age/birth cohort			0.0011*** (3.91)
year FE	yes	yes	yes
country performance FE	yes	yes	
country performance-origin FE			yes
work FE	yes	yes	
Observations	50406	50406	50406
<i>AIC</i>	350381.7	263661.6	277305.1
<i>BIC</i>	351123.2	264394.3	284182.0

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 7: FE OLS and Poisson regression table

DV:	(1)	(2)
total performances of an individual work	ln	
copyright status x changing sample U.S. performances	-0.2077* (-2.34)	-0.2805*** (-4.46)
copyright status x changing sample EU performances	-0.06301 (-0.93)	-0.07098 (-1.62)
foreign work	-0.3578*** (-19.20)	-0.7376*** (-71.60)
anniversary	0.09254** (3.17)	0.1230*** (7.41)
year FE	yes	yes
country performance FE	yes	yes
work FE	yes	yes
Observations	35946	36486
<i>AIC</i>	89532.0	191825.6
<i>BIC</i>	89846.1	192131.2

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 8: OLS, negative binominal and logistic regressions, revivals of works and premier of works staged in the period 1916-38

DV:	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
total performances of an individual work	ln			1/0	1/0
copyright status, at revival/premier	-0.1080*** (-9.49)	-5.224*** (-2.34)	-4.528*** (-2.77)	-3.066*** (-3.46)	-5.082*** (-7.48)
term length, at revival/premier	-0.0015*** (-15.80)	-0.0645*** (-4.15)	-0.0715*** (-5.91)	-0.0814*** (-10.63)	-0.0855*** (-12.39)
copyright status x chang. sample, today	0.0286*** (14.54)	3.597*** (10.19)	3.788*** (12.78)	2.709*** (15.38)	2.457*** (17.34)
age at revival	-0.0003*** (-5.33)	-0.0088 (-0.69)	-0.0029 (-0.31)	0.0027 (0.49)	-0.0114*** (-3.15)
foreign work			-3.311*** (-6.43)	-1.175*** (-6.05)	-1.113*** (-5.98)
cohort/premier year FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
country performance FE	yes		yes	yes	yes
country origin FE	yes	yes	yes	yes	
Observations	131839	125714	38475	27218	27218
<i>Adj.R2</i>	0.06	0.07	0.07	0.36	0.35

t statistics in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$