

Otto G. Schindler

Harlequin in Bohemia: Pantomime and Opéra Comique at Krumlov Castle under the Princes of Schwarzenberg

In this article Otto G. Schindler provides an overview of research into the Castle Theatre at Český Krumlov, where theatrical entertainments are first recorded in the late seventeenth century, and adds some contributions of his own. After a short period of renewed activity in the rebuilt theatre inaugurated in 1768, benign neglect has preserved for us intact an authentic monument of late baroque theatre building. In the Castle Theatre, Hanswurst, traditionally the sole comic performer, formed part of a *commedia*-derived comic ensemble, and pantomimes regularly accompanied birthday celebrations until the late eighteenth century, when major travelling companies were visitors to the theatre, and *opéra comique* was also in vogue. Otto G. Schindler was University Assistant, Lecturer, and Head Librarian at the Drama Department of the University of Vienna, and has been a Research Fellow at the State University of New York. He was active in the Theatre Collection of the Austrian National Library and the Institute for Audience Research at the Austrian Academy of Science, where he is a member of its Commission for Cultural Studies and Theatre History. He has published extensively on Austrian and Central European theatre history with special reference to early modern theatre companies and the reception of *commedia dell'arte*. The festschrift *Theater am Hof und für das Volk* (Vienna: Boehlau, 2002) was recently published in his honour.

THE SUBJECT of my article¹ is the Castle Theatre of Český Krumlov from the late baroque period. Having been neglected for a long time, this historical theatre in Southern Bohemia has lately become something of an Eldorado for theatre scholars. As the restoration of the building and the stage proceeded, our knowledge of scenery, costumes, and technical equipment made spectacular progress; but many questions remain, especially so far as the history of the repertory is concerned. I want to give a summary of the results of research in this field, and to offer some contributions of my own.²

The Princes of Eggenberg erected the forerunner of today's building, and entertained a theatre at Český Krumlov from 1675 to 1691. Only two dramatic texts dating back to that period have been preserved: *Romio und Julie* after Shakespeare³ and *Die wieder Erkante Freundschaft oder Der Mayestättische schlav aus Assirien* (*The Recognized Friendship, or The Majestic Slave from Assyria*), presumably

going back to the Italian libretto by Giacinto Andrea Cicognini.⁴ We have documentation of performances of both plays at the Krumlov theatre in the 1680s, and the manuscripts, preserved in Viennese libraries, have also been published.

When the Eggenberg line died out in 1719, the castle and territory of Český Krumlov were inherited by the Princes of Schwarzenberg. By then the theatre built by Johann Christian of Eggenberg between 1680 and 1682 had not been used for many years. Even during the time of Adam Franz, the first owner of Krumlov in the Schwarzenberg family, we hear only of performances at the Jesuit theatre of Krumlov. In 1732, however, a splendid opera festival was planned as the climax of the visit of Emperor Charles VI to Bohemia. The performance was to take place on the so-called Augustinitag (St Augustine's Day), the birthday of the Empress.

For the production of this 'Augustini-opera', Metastasio-Caldara's *L'asilo d'Amore*,



View of the castle of Český Krumlov: a nineteenth century lithograph by A. B. Kunike.

an open-air stage had been erected in the gardens of the castle according to the plans of Giuseppe Galli Bibiena, theatre architect at the court of Vienna. The performance, however, had to be cancelled because the Emperor, stag-hunting on the riverside of the Elbe at Brandys nad Labem (Brandeis), had by accident shot dead his host – an incident which would have made an ideal topic for a baroque tragedy on the rise and fall of a heroic vassal. The birthday opera was later performed at the Upper Austrian capital of Linz, and that event is counted among the last great baroque festivals in the history of Austrian theatre.⁵

After the tragic death of its owner, the theatre of Český Krumlov was not used until 1735 when an allegorical festival play was produced to celebrate the thirteenth birthday of the hereditary Prince Josef Adam of Schwarzenberg. Its author was Johann Heinrich Lorenz, who was then playing with his

company at Krumlov, and later became well known as the leader of the *Hochfürstlich-Weimarische Hofkomödianten* (Prince of Weimar's court actors). At Krumlov, however, his troupe's stay was cut short by the widowed Princess Eleonore of Schwarzenberg because of the actors' 'excessive behaviour'.⁶

When Prince Josef Adam of Schwarzenberg, the son of the Prince Adam killed in the hunting accident, along with his wife Maria Theresia, Princess of Liechtenstein, took up residence at Český Krumlov in 1743, the Castle Theatre began its second period of activity. About ten stage manuscripts dating back to that time are still to be found at Krumlov, as well as in Viennese libraries.⁷ Nearly all are dominated by *Hanswurst*, the central comic figure in German-speaking theatre at that time.

In the interim, however, some fundamental changes had taken place in the theatre of Central Europe, as depicted in the frescoes at

the 'Hall of the Masks' at Krumlov Castle painted at that time. Although not, strictly speaking, theatre paintings, these demonstrate that the character of Hanswurst is not, as in the past, the sole comic performer, but now part of a comic ensemble taken entirely from the cast of the Italian *commedia dell'arte*.⁸

Hanswurst Plays and Aristocratic Amateurs

This change is also demonstrated by the Krumlov repertory at that time. No more so-called 'Haupt- und Staatsaktionen' (grand historical state events), no more classical heroes and heroines provoking fear and terror by their passions and tragic lives inhabit the stage: instead the plots are dominated by cheerful lovers, drawn from the gentry and simple townsfolk, going about their everyday affairs.

As a rule these plays are performed *all'improvviso*, so most of the texts which we have are more or less coarse-meshed scenarios. The plays performed at the Castle Theatre of Český Krumlov, however, are 'literary' texts in every detail – not written for a professional improvisatory ensemble but for amateur players of aristocratic descent.⁹

From some of the titles of these plays it is clear that Hanswurst is the main character. In the case of *Die Betrügereien des Hansß Wursts* (*The Deceits of Hanswurst*)¹⁰ – the title also encapsulates the plot – the play is one of the most significant examples of its genre.¹¹ Purgantius, a doctor by profession, wants his daughter Leonora to marry Bernardon, son of the well-to-do chemist Clistorell. Leonora, however, has fallen in love with Valerio, son of a merchant. Valerio's servant Hanswurst, who is in love with Leonora's maid Colombina, helps with his 'deceits' to thwart the father's plans.

The comic character Bernardon, created by Joseph Felix von Kurz at the Viennese Kärntnertheater and to be soon imitated on stages throughout Central Europe,¹² here represents this role in its original version of a clumsy young man who is mocked by everybody. In his very first scene (I, xi, which copies the entrance of Thomas in Molière's *Imaginary Invalid*, II, vi), Bernardon lives up

to his reputation. His father has made him learn by heart all kinds of high-flown phrases for a meeting with Purgantius to seek his daughter's hand in marriage, but in his nervousness he constantly misuses them, mixing them up with the insults the father had heaped on his stupid son – which he proceeds to address to Leonora.

Hanswurst and Colombina concoct a number of 'deceits' which in the beginning, of course, fail altogether – as in their first coup, when they disguise themselves as musicians but are betrayed by their empty sheets of music (I, xiii). In another scene Hanswurst dresses up as a sick man who has come from Constantinople, attracted by the renown of the famous doctor Purgantius (I, xiv). After singing an aria he gives bizarre descriptions of his various diseases, for which Purgantius has equally eccentric diagnoses and therapies. For an initial enema, Bernardon has to clean the syringe 'from the dirty leftovers of the last patient', who unfortunately had died undergoing the procedure. The quack doctors are discovered, and the first act ends on Bernardon's complaint: 'Auwed! schad um die Clistier' ('Oh dear! what a waste of the enema'). Bernardon continues to encounter all kinds of accidents and difficulties, and is finally threatened with capital punishment, but in the end he goes free, of course, and both couples are united.

All the transformation scenes of the play are characteristic of that type of improvised burlesque comedy which had originated in Vienna, with its roots in the Italian *commedia dell'arte* as well as its French offshoot, the *Comédie Italienne*. In Vienna the musical element became very important, mainly in the form of the so-called 'comedy arias', associated with the episodes of disguise. Nearly all the arias in *The Deceits of Hanswurst* had already been used in performances at the Viennese Kärntnertheater, and this is true also of the other Krumlov comedies.¹³ For a long time the few arias which have come down to us with their music preserved were thought by musicologists to be compositions by Josef Haydn.¹⁴

But the Krumlov plays as such were for long neglected by scholarship. Including the



The Hall of the Masks at Krumlov Castle, with wall paintings by L. Merkel, 1748 (photo: V. Skrabánek).

manuscripts we have in Vienna, there are in all eight Hanswurst plays, one Harlequin pantomime, and a pastoral play, all dating back to the period of the revival of Krumlov Castle Theatre under Prince Josef Adam of Schwarzenberg. The manuscripts have the watermark of Krumlov's own paper mill, and allusions to local particularities also affirm their origin from Český Krumlov.

Theatre historians examining the copies in Viennese libraries¹⁵ took them for characteristic examples of the peak period of the Viennese 'popular comedy'. Now we have to proceed on the assumption that these plays were not written for Vienna's popular theatre, but for the Castle Theatre of Český Krumlov – that is, for an amateur theatre played by and for the feudal Austrian and Bohemian aristocracy.

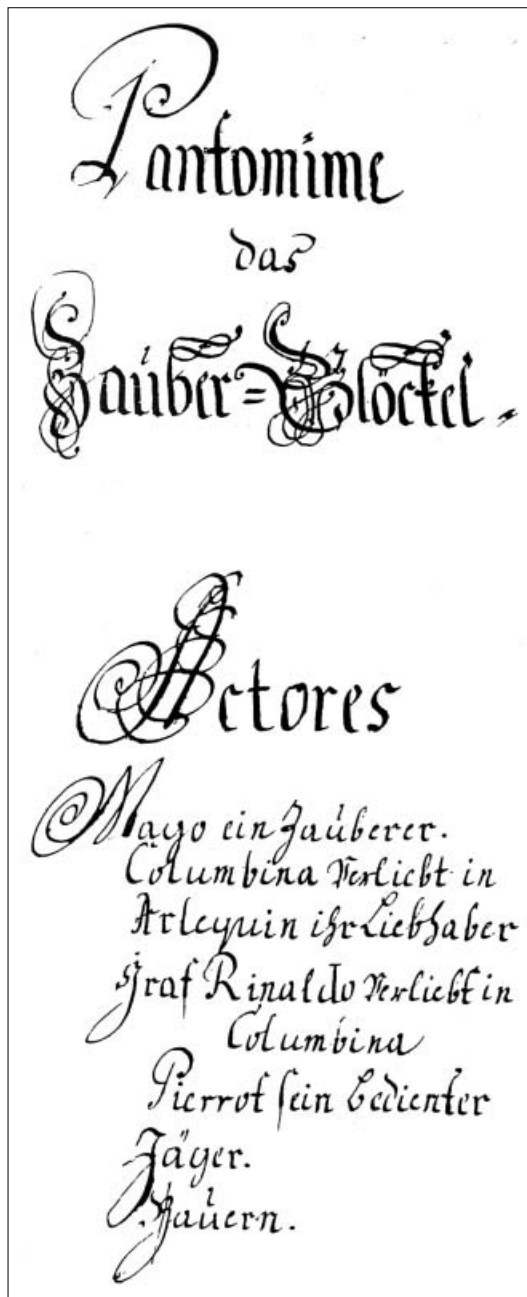
Harlequin Pantomime

Among the Krumlov manuscripts preserved in Vienna we find the scenario for a panto-

mime called *Das Zauber-Glöckel* (*The Magic Bell*),¹⁶ which also tells us the occasion of the performance. At the start, Arlequin has to present the libretto to the Prince and the Princess attending the production, but he has difficulty bridging the gap between the apron and the audience. Finally Mago, a magician, makes an eagle descend onto the stage, who then carries Arlequin into the auditorium, 'where he presented the booklet'. Then the eagle soars back into the sky, 'and Arlequin starts the pantomime'.

He and his lover Colombina have run away from Pantalone and are hiding in a wood, where Count Rinaldo and his servant Pierrot track them down during a hunt. Arlequin is able to escape, but Colombina is carried off to Rinaldo's castle. Full of despair, Arlequin is going to kill himself, but Mago, the magician, appears just in time and presents him with 'a magic bell which can make every wish come true'.

Riding on a roebuck (conjured by the bell), Arlequin arrives at the castle, where



Title page and dramatis personae for *Pantomime das Zauber-Glöckel* (*The Magic Bell*). Photo: Österreichisches Theatermuseum, Vienna.

Rinaldo is trying to seduce Colombina. The following scenes and their mixture of turbulent and grotesque transformations and other stage effects are in the familiar tradition of harlequinade, pantomime, and 'machine-comedy'; and so, thanks to the magic bell,

Arlequin and Colombina always succeed in outwitting Rinaldo and his servant Pierrot.

The pantomime is full of surprise effects. Pierrot kills Arlequin with a shot from his gun and covers the corpse with a canvas nailed to the floor, from which Arlequin's legs still peep out: but when the canvas is removed only a cat emerges. In another scene Pierrot is serving a delicious lunch to Rinaldo and Colombina. Arlequin, hidden under the table, steals the food from their plates – and Pierrot (in an old *lazzo* from *commedia dell'arte*) is punished for the theft. Finally 'Arlequin sticks his head out of a pie', whereupon the horrified guests take to their heels.

Arlequin changes into a hanging clock, and when the clock is smashed by Rinaldo jumps into a cabinet full of porcelain and emerges from a china pot. Transformed into a marble statue, he makes all kinds of mischief. In the end, when Arlequin has lost his magic bell, he and Colombina are taken prisoners, and Arlequin is in danger of being beheaded. Mago appears as *deus ex machina*, the scaffold is turned into a royal throne, the judge's seat into a dungeon, and Rinaldo is released – after formally renouncing his claim on Colombina.

The pantomime is interrupted after each act by a 'musical intermezzo' provided by Donchisciotte, and (in a burlesque of the Pygmalion story) has as sub-plot Lucrine's love for the statue of Adonis. Donchisciotte takes the statue of Adonis for the lover of his Dulcinea, and is about to fight a duel with him. In the end Lucrine is cured from her passion for the statue, and Donchisciotte prepares for the decisive duel with Panda Filando, who has imprisoned Dulcinea. He is defeated and locked up for a year in a bird-cage. There he laments his fate in an aria.

After each act there is a ballet of miners and glass-blowers who extend their birthday wishes in the form of a chorus; and the youngest Prince Schwarzenberg recites a birthday poem for his mother, Princess Theresia.

Productions of pantomimes at Český Krumlov are also documented in archival records, among them productions for the birthday celebrations for Princess Theresia.



Masked ball with characters of the *commedia dell'arte*. Wall paintings by L. Merkel, 1748, in the Hall of the Masks. Photos: O. G. Schindler.



As early as the winter of 1747–48 such a pantomime was staged in the old Eggenberg theatre,¹⁷ and the day before an allegorical play representing the four continents had been performed on an ‘enormous stage’ set up in the castle gardens (presumably Galli Bibiena’s theatre erected in 1732). The Prince himself represented the part of Asia, with the Count and Countess of Thürheim and the Baron Kfelíř ze Zakšova of Bohemia (Kfeller von Sachsengrün) taking the other parts.

Never before – says the chronicler – had anything like that been seen at Český Krumlov; and a numerous crowd admired the ‘opus vere regium’ in Krumlov’s wintery (perhaps snow-covered) gardens with ‘summa admiratione et applausu’. An exquisite dinner at the Bellaria was the closing event of this last baroque theatre festival in Southern Bohemia. On the following day the Prince and the Princess, the Thürheims, and Baron Kfelíř again took the leading parts in an ‘arteficiosissima comoedia’ represented at the great Court Theatre. After this central piece the pantomime was performed, with music (‘comoedia muta sine recitatione ad sonum praeclarae musicae pantemim dicta’) and presented by children (‘iuvenibus et puellis’).¹⁸

To have children as actors in a pantomime was a new fashion in Vienna which had caused a sensation during the most recent carnival. The Schwarzenbergs took the first opportunity to introduce this novelty at their own theatre at Český Krumlov. The then best known pantomime troupe were the Piccoli Hollandesi, whose leading player was Philipp Nicolini.¹⁹ On tour through Europe, they reached Vienna in December 1746, and there gave their performances in a fit-up theatre on the Neuer Markt in close proximity to the Schwarzenberg Palace.

The Viennese nobility adored them. The Emperor Franz I arranged for a box of his own in their hut, and attended each of their performances. Before this, in 1745, at the time of his coronation at Frankfurt, the Emperor had visited their performances several times, an honour which probably made the company famous. At Frankfurt the Prince and the Princess of Schwarzenberg were among

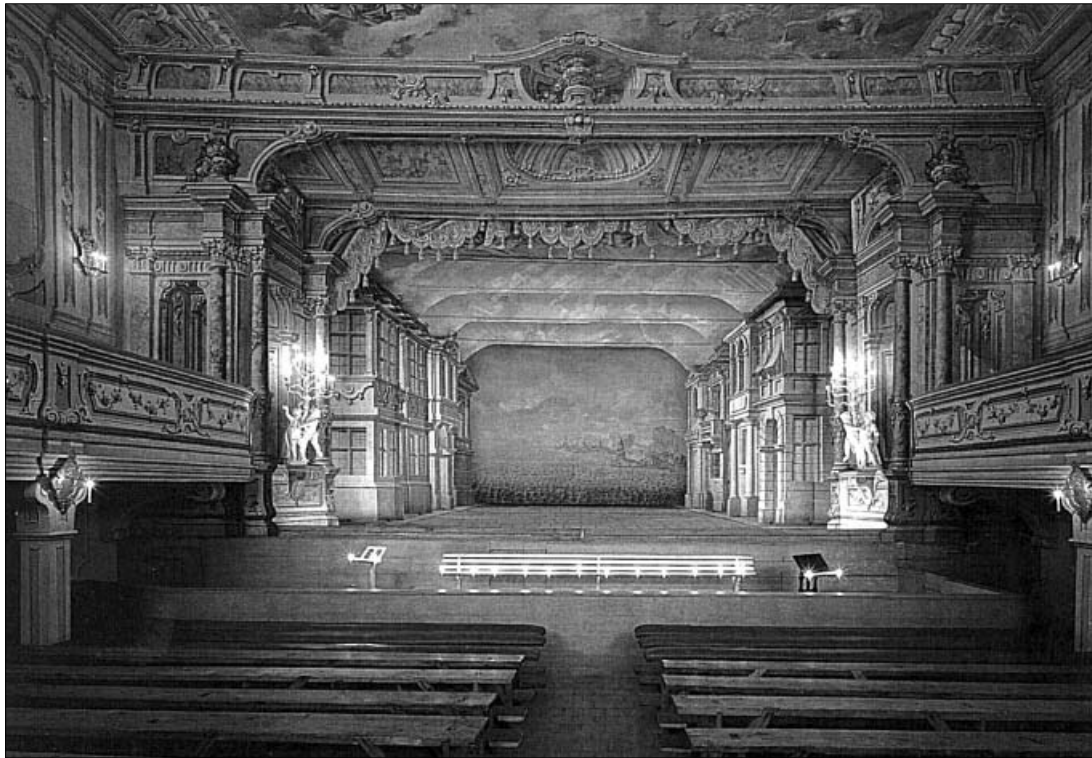
the Emperor’s party, and when Nicolini’s company appeared in Vienna the Princess kept telling her friend the Countess Thürheim about her visits to the pantomime. When the members of Nicolini’s troupe were infected with smallpox all Vienna feared for the life of the children; and when Nicolini left, the Emperor and his family came mounted on horseback from Schönbrunn into the City to take leave and present them with a purse of 1,000 gold ducats.²⁰

Faced with such marks of imperial favour, the nobility were quick to offer their own approval, and the pantomime remained the prevailing dramatic genre at the theatre of the Schwarzenberg family at Český Krumlov until the end of the eighteenth century.²¹ Children were also kept as actors, and on one occasion it is reported that Prince Schwarzenberg ordered his Viennese riding instructor ‘to select the required children for a pantomime and a contre-dance and to drill them’.²² And Prince Schwarzenberg included actors even from the children of his own family. Princess Eleonore, for instance, was carried onto the stage in a flower-basket by her brothers and sisters at the age of eighteen months.²³

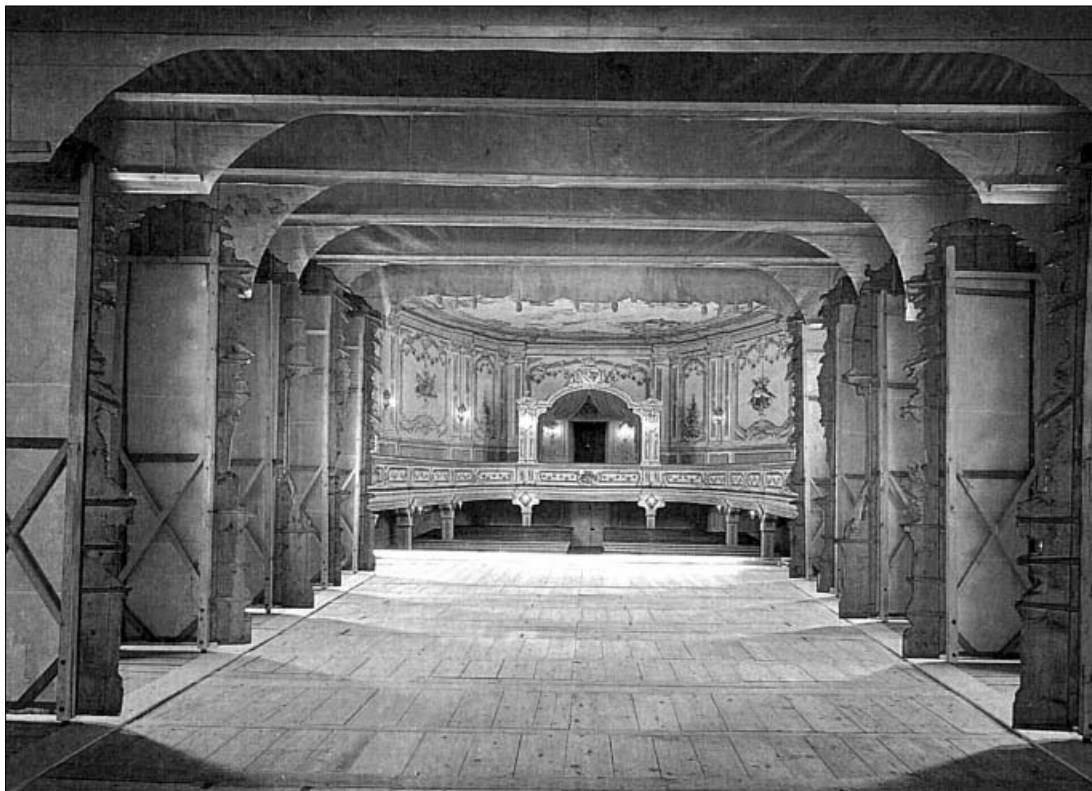
Travelling Companies

But theatrical life at Český Krumlov was to be interrupted again by a sudden fatality, when the Princess of Schwarzenberg died in 1753 from measles in her thirty-first year. Not until the end of that decade do we again hear of theatre performances at the castle, by which time professional travelling companies were appearing on its stage.

In summer 1758 the company led by the Hanswurst actor Karl Josef Schwertberger played before Prince Josef Adam of Schwarzenberg. We learn this from a certificate issued on 4 August 1758 by the Prince’s office, which Schwertberger produced when in 1759 he asked for permission to act in Brno (Brünn). This confirms that Schwertberger won the favour of the Prince by his performances at Český Krumlov and Hluboká nad Vltavou (Frauenberg), where productions went on for some weeks.²⁴



Views of the Castle Theatre from the auditorium (above) and from the stage (below). Photos: V. Skrabánek.



In the winter of 1759–60 the troupe of Franz Josef Moser gave performances at Český Krumlov. In a letter to the Countess of Thürheim written in January 1760,²⁵ Prince Josef Adam raves about the comic character of ‘Lipperl’, a jolly fellow of rustic attitudes, who later played in the Munich popular theatre the same leading role as the famous ‘Kasperl’ at the Theater in der Leopoldstadt in Vienna. Lipperl was a member of Moser’s troupe in 1759, when he gave performances at Linz and completed there a German adaptation of George Lillo’s well-known ‘domestic’ tragedy, *The London Merchant*.²⁶

Moser played from 1750 to 1759 during the bathing season at Baden, near Vienna; in September 1756 he intends to produce his ‘spectacles, pantomimes, flying machines, and dance-ballets’ in Brno, and announces among his ‘totally new company of 19 persons’ in particular ‘the well-known Lipperl’.²⁷ In the theatre season of 1760–61 in Graz, Lipperl was again Moser’s chief attraction.²⁸

We have documents tracing the activity of another travelling company at the castle in about 1759 or 1760. This was the troupe of Josef Franz von Hadwich, who refers to his activities at Krumlov in his application for the carnival season of 1761 in Olomouc (Olmütz).²⁹ This petition of 9 December 1760 relates that his company had been ‘for two years in the Kingdom of Bohemia’, where it had entertained ‘His Serene Highness of Schwarzenberg’ as well as ‘the Right Honourable Excellency of Kinsky, Count of the Empire’.³⁰

Josef Franz von Hadwich was the son of a Swiss colonel and spent his early youth in the village of Čista (Lauterbach, Litrbachy) in the district of Hradec Králové (Königrätz). As a young man he had been a page at the court of Cardinal Friedrich Count Althann. By marriage he became a citizen of Olomouc, and soon afterwards joined a travelling theatre company. In later years he styled himself a ‘comedian from Olomouc’, where he is mentioned for the first time in 1721 as the owner of a puppet theatre. In 1735 he appeared as Hanswurst at Count Schaffgott’s castle theatre in Bad Warm-

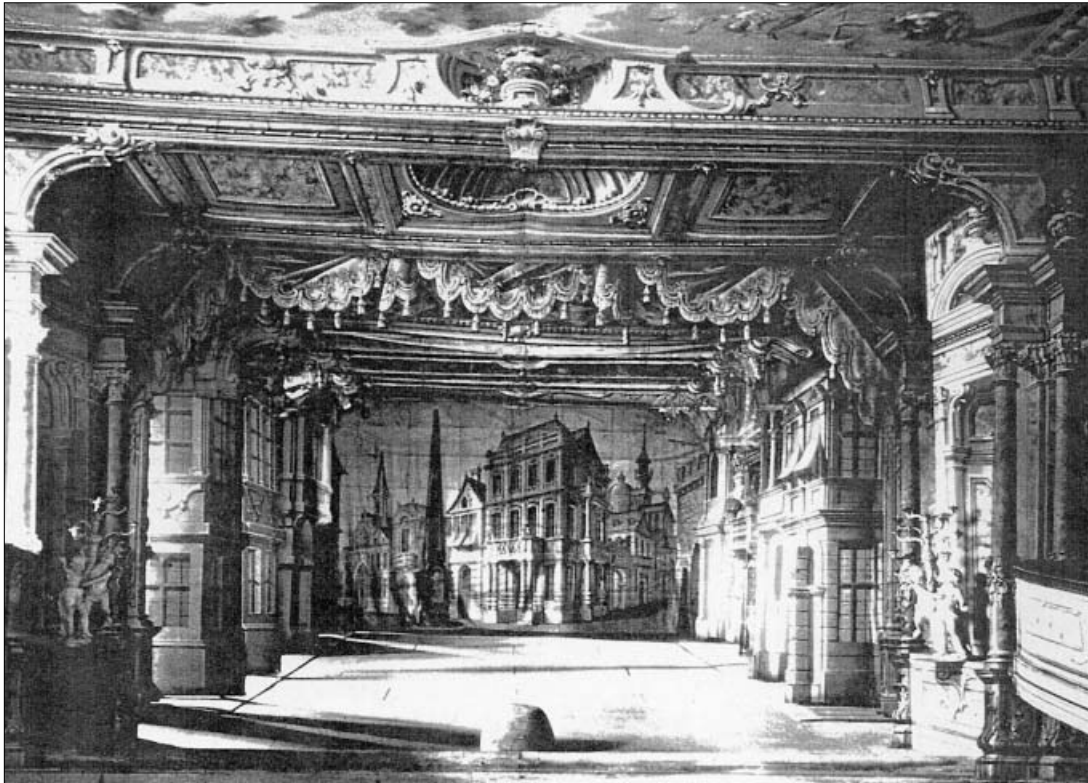
brunn, Silesia (today Cieplize Slaskie Zdroj, Poland), and in 1738 he was to be found in Leipzig, Chemnitz (Saská Kamenice), and Karlsbad (Karlovy Vary).³¹

In April 1760 an actor of his troupe, Karl Richter, wrote at Kolín the scenario of the well-known *commedia dell’arte* piece, *Il Basilisco del Bernagasso*, seen from Naples to London and from Paris to St Petersburg – and in Vienna as late as the *Biedermeier* period.³² From Kolín, Hadwich proceeded to Litomysl (Leitomischl); and in 1761 we meet him for a last time at Olomouc, where he was calling himself ‘Directeur of the German spectacles’, producing ‘various modest verse comedies, well-made burlesques, and musical *Sing-Spiele* with adult persons’.³³ From 1785 and 1790 we have documentation respectively for the activities of the well-known leader of a children’s troupe, Felix Berner, and the company of Philipp Berndt.³⁴

Opera Buffa at a Newly-Built Theatre

In the mid-1760s Prince Josef Adam had the old Eggenberg Theatre pulled down, and replaced with the new theatre which still exists today. It may be assumed that it was designed by the architect Andrea Altomonte who worked at that time for the Viennese Court Theatre as theatrical designer.³⁵ In 1766 the master carpenter Laurenz Mack from Vienna built the stage machinery, while Johann Wetschel and Leo Merkel, also from the Court Theatre of Vienna, painted the decorations. Restored to working order, their efforts are a great attraction for visitors to the theatre of Český Krumlov.

The new theatre was inaugurated as part of the splendid festival which took place at Krumlov in 1768 to celebrate the marriage of Prince Johann of Schwarzenberg to Maria Eleonora, Countess of Oettingen-Wallerstein. Newspapers in Vienna and Prague reported the event in detail.³⁶ The programme of celebrations comprised Italian opera buffa, French *opéra comique*, French comedy, German burlesque, and – again – Harlequin pantomime, to which the splendid decorations and stage machinery alike gave prominence. By order of the bridegroom’s father, Giuseppe



Set designs for street (above) and woodland (below) by J. Wetschel and L. Merkel, 1767 (photos archive).





Scarlatti had composed an 'intermezzo giocoso', *Dovè amore è gelosia*. The actors were the Princess Theresia of Schwarzenberg, an Upper Austrian Count, Salburg, Marco Coltellini, who had written the libretto, and the singer Antonia Scarlatti, the composer's wife.³⁷

The libraries of Český Krumlov and Vienna preserve manuscripts of the score.³⁸ Recently I came across the printed libretto, which enables us for the first time to reconstruct the required scenery.³⁹ Seven different sets were necessary: a little hall ('salotto') in Clarice's house (I, i-iii), a small room ('gabinetto') with table and chairs (I, iv-vi), a garden ('giardino'; I, vii-viii), a gallery ('galleria'; II, i-iii), a room ('stanza') of the servant Vespetta (II, iv-vi), a hall ('sala'; II, vii-ix), and for the final scene (II, x) another gallery, this time in Orazio's house.

In 1770, two years after its first night at Krumlov, Scarlatti's intermezzo experienced a magnificent revival at the Castle Theatre of Schönbrunn in the presence of the courts of Vienna and Tuscany.⁴⁰ As we hear from Count Khevenhüller, Superintendent of the

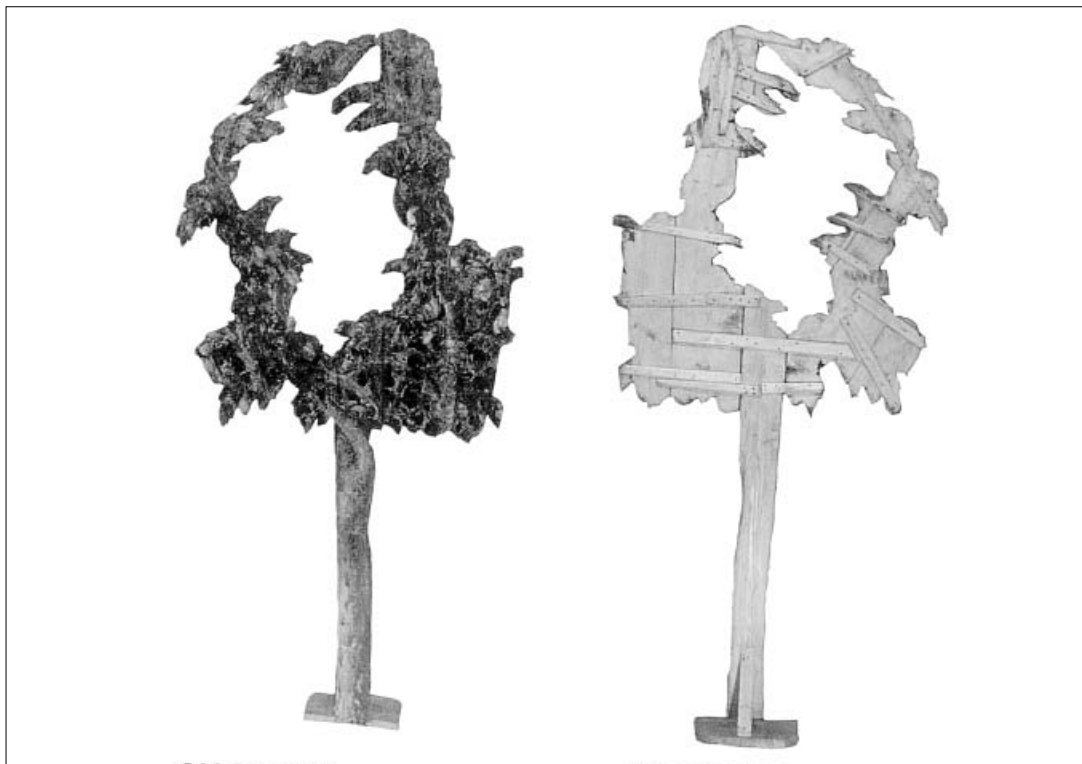
Emperor's Household, in place of the Italian actors on this occasion a daughter of Count Thürheim and Baron Johann of Schilson, Hungarian Councillor of the Exchequer, took part in the production. In 1771 Schilson's play *Die Wilden (The Savages)*, set to music by Anton Zimmermann, was successfully staged by Karl Wahr at Pressburg (Bratislava), and appeared in print together with other works of the dramatist.⁴¹

Gluck's 'L'Arbre enchanté'

The daughter of Count Gundaker of Thürheim, Maria Theresia, who had sung the part of the servant Vespetta at Schönbrunn, was born in Linz in 1751. Her godmother was the Princess of Schwarzenberg. As a young girl she lived with her aunt, the Princess Trautson-Hager, Superintendent of the Household of Empress Maria Theresia. Together with the young princesses of Schwarzenberg, she had music lessons with Giuseppe Scarlatti. From 1772 she lived in a convent for ladies of noble birth at Nivelles (today in Belgium). In 1790 she had to leave because of the Brabant



Opposite page: view from the gridiron of the Castle Theatre (photo: B. Marschall). Above: winch in the gridiron (photo: V. Skrabánek).



Original property tree for Gluck's *L'arbre enchanté* (Krumlov Theatre Depository).

Revolution, retiring to Vienna where she died in 1835, aged 84.⁴²

On the way to her convent at Nivelles, the Countess Thürheim visited the Castle of Český Krumlov, and on 5 and 6 August 1772 she was among the actors who performed Christoph Willibald Gluck's *opéra comique*, *L'Arbre enchanté*. Her partners were her father, Count Gundaker of Thürheim, the young Prince of Schwarzenberg, his sister Therese, a Baronesse Stampach (who took the part of Lubin), and Johann Rudolf, Count of Czernin, later director of the Court Theatre in Vienna. The music collection of Český Krumlov preserves a score of this opera, the Castle Library one of the two different editions of the libretto from 1759.⁴³ The performance as such has remained hitherto unknown, but can be traced in the correspondence of the Thürheim family in the Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv at Linz.⁴⁴

The play is based on the ninth story of the seventh *giornata* in the *Decameron* of Boccaccio. Two young lovers succeed in outwitting an

elderly husband by luring him up into an 'enchanted' pear tree. From there, they make him believe he will become eyewitness of erotic scenes – and the lovers, of course, take advantage of that. La Fontaine passed the story on to the Opéra Comique at the Théâtre de la Foire St Laurent in Paris.⁴⁵ There, as in the later Viennese version, the lascivious element of the story was softened, and in place of the old husband and his young wife only the old guardian Thomas was outwitted by his ward Claudine.

Some of the 'airs nouveaux' composed by Gluck – 'Je prétends que dans ce jour' or 'L'aventure est très-comique' – are regarded by musicologists as 'Bohemian-sounding as anything Gluck ever wrote, and fine characterizations besides'.⁴⁶ The 'enchanted tree' used in the production is to be seen among the props kept at the theatre depository.⁴⁷

For stage activities at Český Krumlov in the last third of the eighteenth century we have evidence also from local sources.⁴⁸ We still encounter the old Count of Thürheim

among the actors, and from the memoirs of Lulu Thürheim we know how intensively the country life of the Thürheims and other Austrian noblemen was shaped by music and theatre.⁴⁹

From all this we recognize that the Castle Theatre of Český Krumlov had a widespread influence also under the Princes of Schwarzenberg. However, it suffered the fate of many such enterprises dependent upon the individual and changing preferences of a feudal lord. As the interests of the Princes of Schwarzenberg turned to their Viennese palaces and other castles in Bohemia, the castle of Krumlov was more and more neglected, and its theatre sank into oblivion. Ironically, the neglect has preserved for us undamaged an authentic monument of a late baroque theatre, with all its technical equipment, stagecraft, scenery, and costume.

Notes and References

1. This paper represents a revised version of a lecture given at the International Conference on 'Patronage, Spectacle, and the Stage' at Charles University, Prague, on 19 June 2003. My thanks to Dr Luzia Nowak for her help with the English translation of my manuscript.

2. For the Castle Theatre of Český Krumlov, cf. Veřa Ptáčková et al., ed., *The Baroque Theatre in the Chateau of Český Krumlov* (Praha: Divadelní ústav; České Budějovice: Památkový ústav, 1993); *Castle Theatres in Bohemia and Moravia*, Czech Theatre, No. 7 (Praha: Divadelní ústav, 1994); Pavel Slavko-Zdena Flašková, *Das Schlosstheater in Český Krumlov*, 4th ed. (Český Krumlov: Stiftung Barocktheater, 2001), and the literature listed there. From my own works I mention only: 'Die erlauchten Komödianten des Herzogs von Krumau: der oberösterreichische Adel gastiert am Schlosstheater der Fürsten zu Schwarzenberg', *Blickpunkte Oberösterreich*, XLIV, No. 2 (1994), p. 32–9; 'Arlequin a Don Quichotte na Šumavě: Rakouské prameny ke krumlovskému zámeckému divadlu knížat ze Schwarzenbergu', *Jihočeský sborník historický*, LXIII (1994), p. 61–8; 'Romeo und Julia auf Schloß Krumau, der Basilisco von Kolin und das Armenspital in Kukus', *Biblos*, XLIV, No. 1 (1995), p. 81–103; 'Arlequin im Böhmerwald: Adeliges Landleben und europäische Theaterkunst: das Schloßtheater des Herzogs von Krumau', in Andreas Kotte, ed., *Theater der Region – Theater Europas: Kongress der Gesellschaft für Theaterwissenschaft, Bern* (Basel: Theaterkultur, 1995), p. 129–50; '"Kaiserliche Augustini-Oper" zwischen Hofjagd und Huldigung: die Verlegung von Calderas *L'asilo d'Amore* von Böhmisches Krumau nach Linz', *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, XLIV (1995), p. 131–74; 'Adeliges Landleben mit dem Wienerischen Hanswurst (Die "Alt-Wiener Volkskomödie" am Schloßtheater von Böhmisches Krumau)', in Václav Bužek, ed., *Život na dvorech barokní*

šlechty (1600–1750), *Opera historica*, V (1996), p. 561–93; 'Smrt na lovu v Brandyse a zmařená divadelní slavnost v Krumlově', *Divadelní revue*, VII, No. 1 (1996), p. 14–35; 'Von Pickelhering zu Lipperl: deutsche Lustigmacher am Schlosstheater von Český Krumlov', in Laurence Kitching, ed., *Die Geschichte des deutschsprachigen Theaters im Ausland*, Thalia Germanica, Vol. II (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2000), p. 219–42.

3. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien [henceforth ÖNB], CVP 13.148; Albert Cohn, *Shakespeare in Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London: Asher, 1865; repr. New York: Haskell, 1971), p. 305–406; Schindler, 'Romeo und Julia auf Schloß Krumau', p. 81–103.

4. Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek [henceforth WSLB], Ia 24.314; Alfred Noe, ed., *Spieltexte der Wanderbühne*, Vol. V, No. 1 (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 1999), p. 325–421.

5. Schindler, 'Kaiserliche Augustini-Oper'; idem, 'Smrt na lovu v Brandyse'.

6. Bärbel Rudin, 'Die "Hochfürstlich Weimarischen Hof-Comoedianten" des Johann Friedrich Lorenz', *Mitteldeutsches Jahrbuch für Kultur und Geschichte*, I (1994), p. 77–94 (p. 81).

7. These manuscripts are preserved in the following collections: State Archive Český Krumlov (Státní oblastní archiv Třeboň, pobočka Český Krumlov, henceforth SOAČK): *Comoedie. Der Baron Wurstelsprung ein zum Edelmann gewordener Strohschneider* (Comedy. *Baron Wurstelleap, the Straw Cutter as Nobleman*) (ms. 444); another copy also in WSLB (Ib 39.540); *Die Betrügereyen des Hanß Wursts* (*The Deceits of Hanswurst*) (ms. 443), another copy also in WSLB (Ib 39.541); *Der gallante Stallmeister* (*The Courteous Master of the Horses*) (ms. 445); *Das Portrait* (*The Portrait*) (ms. 447); *Der schläffrige Valerius* (*The Sleepy Valerius*) (ms. 462); *Die verstellte Liebhabere* (*The Disguised Lovers*) (ms. 446). Castle Library, Český Krumlov: *Die besondere Eigenschaft der Liebe und Das betrogenen Alter* (*The Special Quality of Love and The Deceived Age*) (N 11 2466); *Comoedie betitult Der Schelmische Fasching-Streich* (*A Comedy Entitled The Roguish Shrovetide Joke*) (N 11 2466 adl. 1). WSLB (besides the mss. *Baron Wurstelsprung* and *Die Betrügereyen des Hanß Wursts*, mentioned above): *Die Taube. Ein Schäfferspiell* (*The Dove. A Pastoral Play*) (Ib 39.542); *Pantomime das Zauber-Glöckel* (*Pantomime, The Magic Bell*) (Ia 39.543), another copy in Österreichisches Theatermuseum, Vienna (henceforth ÖTM), (M 1247). The mss. of the Krumlov Archive are listed by Frantisek Navrátil, *Sbírka rukopišů Český Krumlov, 1327–1968*, Státní archiv v Třeboni, katalog II/ČK 24 (České Budějovice, 1972), p. 256–68.

8. Schindler, 'Arlequin im Böhmerwald', p. 135–6.

9. Schindler, 'Die erlauchten Komödianten'.

10. SOAČK, ms. 443.

11. Schindler, 'Von Pickelhering zu Lipperl', p. 227–32.

12. Ulf Birbaumer, *Das Werk des Joseph Felix von Kurz-Bernardon und seine szenische Realisierung* (Wien: Notring, 1971); Jan Hyvňar, 'Johann Josef Felix von Kurz zvaný Bernardon', in František Černý, ed., *Divadlo v Kotcích: Nejstarší pražské městské divadlo, 1739–1783* (Praha: Panorama, 1992), p. 113–26.

13. Max Pirker, ed., *Teutsche Arien, Welche auf dem Kayserlich-privilegirten Wienerischen Teatro . . . gesungen worden*, Vol. I–II (Wien: Strache, 1927–29).

14. Robert Haas, Camillo Schoenbaum, and Herbert Zeman, ed., *Deutsche Komödienarien 1754–1758*, Vol. I–II,

Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, Vol. LXIV, CXXI (Graz: ADVA, 1960–1971).

15. Cf. above, Note 7.
16. *Pantomime das Zauber-Glöckel*, ms., WSLB, Ia 39.543; ÖTM, M 1247; cf. Otto G. Schindler, *Die Pantomime "Das Zauber-Glöckel" und die Hanswurstspiele von Böhmischem Krumlov: Spieltexte vom Schloßtheater des Fürsten Joseph Adam von Schwarzenberg; Vortrag gehalten am 30. September 1993*, Castle Theatre in Český Krumlov: History and Possibilities of the Baroque Stage, Seminar, Sept. 1993 (České Budějovice: Památkový ústav, 1993); idem, 'Arlequin im Böhmerwald', p. 136–8.
17. Jitka Šimáková and Eduarda Macháčková, ed., *Teatralia zámecké knihovny v Českém Krumlově* (Praha: Knihovna Národního Muzea, 1976), Vol. I, p. 31–3; Schindler, 'Arlequin im Böhmerwald', p. 138.
18. *Teatralia*, p. 31–2.
19. Schindler, 'Arlequin im Böhmerwald', p. 139–40.
20. Emil Karl Blümmel and Gustav Gugitz, *Alt-Wiener Thespiskarren* (Wien: Schroll, 1925), p. 167–8. From this time a receipt for 24 ducats is preserved, paid to Nicolini by the Schwarzenberg cashier's office; [Karl Glossy,] *Fach-Katalog der Abtheilung für deutsches Drama und Theater*, Internationale Ausstellung für Musik und Theaterwesen, Wien, 1892 (Wien, 1892), p. 108, No. 14.
21. *Teatralia*, p. 57; Jiří Zálaha, 'Život v českokrumlovském zámeckém divadle na sklonu 18. století', *Jihočeský sborník historický*, LVI (1987), p. 87–9.
22. Jiří Zálaha, 'Premiéra opery Giuseppe Scarlattioho v Českém Krumlově roku 1768', *Hudební věda* (1972), p. 156–9.
23. Schindler, 'Arlequin im Böhmerwald', p. 140.
24. *Teatralia*, p. 25, 56; cf. Otto G. Schindler, 'Schwertberger, Karl Josef', in Alena Jakubcová and Ondřej Hučin, ed., *Česká divadelní encyklopedie – Biografický slovník*, Vol. I [in preparation].
25. Josef Adam Prince of Schwarzenberg to Dominika Countess of Thürheim, dat. Český Krumlov, 3 Jan. 1760; Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv, Linz [henceforth OÖLA], Herrschaftsarchiv Schwertberg, Kart. 176c: Briefsammlung Schwarzenberg, 1746–81.
26. Otto G. Schindler, 'Die Wiener Bearbeitung von Lillos "Kaufmann von London" (1754)', *Maske und Kothurn*, XX (1974), p. 238–85.
27. Moravský zemský archiv Brno [henceforth MZAB], Gubernium, B 47, kart. II, 539–40, dat. 1 July 1756.
28. Krista Fleischmann, *Das steirische Berufstheater im 18. Jahrhundert*, Theatergeschichte Österreichs, Vol. V, No. 1 (Wien: VÖAW, 1974), p. 67–8.
29. MZAB, Gubernium, B 47, kart. II/145–49, dat. 8 Dec. 1760.
30. Probably Leopold Ferdinand Count Kinsky, Bohemian Grand Master of the Hunt, in his castle Chlumec.
31. Otto G. Schindler, 'Ve škole zvráceného světa zcela neprotřelý Hanswurst' (Německá komedie dell'arte z Čech)', *Divadelní revue*, X, No. 4 (1999), p. 15–28 (p. 20–1).
32. Francesco Coticelli and Otto G. Schindler, 'Per la storia della Commedia dell'Arte: Il *Basilisco del Bernagasso*', in Franco Carmelo Greco, ed., *I percorsi della scena: Cultura e comunicazione del teatro nell'Europa del Settecento* (Napoli: Luciano Ed., 2001), p. 13–342.
33. As Note 29.
34. Wilhelm Kosch, *Deutsches Theater-Lexikon*, Vol. I (Klagenfurt-Wien: Kleinmayr, 1953), p. 129; Otto G. Schindler, 'Wandertruppen in Niederösterreich im 18. Jahrhundert', *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Wiener Theaterforschung*, XVII (1970), p. 1–80 (p. 16).
35. Jiří Hilmera, 'The Chateau Theatre in Český Krumlov', in Ptáčková et al., ed., *The Baroque Theatre*, p. 4–15; for Altomonte in Český Krumlov. Cf. also Schindler, 'Smrt na lovu v Brandýse', p. 29, Note 79.
36. Zálaha, *Premiéra opery*; Schindler, 'Arlequin a Don Quichotte na Šumavě', p. 64–5.
37. Casting according to the Viennese score, cf. following note.
38. *Dovè è amore, è gelosia. Intermezzo giocoso a quattro personaggi posto in musica per commandamento di Sua Altezza il Signor Principe di Swartzemberg dal Sig. Guiseppo Scarlatti nell'estate dell'anno 1768*, P. 1–2, ms.; SOACK, Music Collection, 8 K 17 (ill. of the title page *Teatralia*, Vol. III, p. 66); ÖNB, Music Collection, Suppl. Mus. 1043.
39. *Dovè amore è gelosia. Intermezzo per musica in quattro voci* (in Vienna, nella Stamperia di Ghelen, 1768); Bibliothek der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Wien, 9030.
40. Johann Josef Khevenhüller-Metsch, *Aus der Zeit Maria Theresias: Tagebuch*, ed. Rudolf Khevenhüller-Metsch and Rudolf Schlitter, Vol. VII, 1770–73 (Wien: Holzhausen, 1972), p. 36–8.
41. Jolantha Pukánsky-Kádár, *Geschichte des deutschen Theaters in Ungarn*, Vol. I (München: Reinhardt, 1933), p. 16, 37, 49.
42. Lulu Thürheim, *Mein Leben: Erinnerungen aus Österreichs großer Welt, 1788–1819*, ed. René van Rhyen [Philipp von Blittersdorf], Vol. II (München: Müller 1913), p. 362 (index).
43. Pierre-Louis Moline, *L'Arbre enchanté, ou le tuteur dupé* (Vienne: Trattner, 1759); another edition: Vienne: Ghelen 1759; *Airs Nouveaux de l'Arbre Enchanté, Opera Comique composé par Mrs. le Chevalier de Gluck 1759*, SOACK, Music Collection, 24 1/2 V K 15; cf. Jitřenka Pešková, 'Operas in the Schwarzenberg Music Collection in Český Krumlov', in Ptáčková et al., ed., *The Baroque Theatre*, p. 172–223 (p. 188), another copy in ÖNB, Music Collection, 17.902. New adaptation: Christoph Willibald Gluck, *Der Zauberbaum (L'arbre enchanté)*, Klavierauszug von Adolf Steinbert, ed. Max Arend, Text nach La Fontaine, von Vadé und Moline. Deutsche Übertragung von Käthe Arend (München: Callwey, 1914).
44. Maria Theresia Thürheim to her mother Doménika Thürheim, dat. Český Krumlov, 2 August 1772; OÖLA, HA Schwertberg, Briefsammlung Thürheim, Kart. 160.
45. Jean-Joseph Vadé, *Le Poirier, opéra comique (Théâtre de la Foire S. Laurent, 7 août 1752)*, (Paris: Duchesne, 1752).
46. Bruce Alan Brown, *Gluck and the French Theatre in Vienna* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 244–7.
47. CK 8839/11; another version CK 8839/12. For the 'Magic Tree' painted by Wetschel and Merkel cf. Jiří Zálaha, 'The Chateau Theatre in Český Krumlov', in Ptáčková et al., ed., *The Baroque Theatre*, p. 33–55 (p. 45).
48. Zálaha, 'Život v českokrumlovském zámeckém divadle', p. 87–9.
49. Thürheim, *Mein Leben*, Vol. I–IV (München: Müller, 1913–14).