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„Music Culture of the Minorite Monastery
in Český Krumlov between 1726 and 1750“

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1. Introduction

The special aim of this dissertation is to investigate new findings concerning the music culture of the Minorite monastery in Český Krumlov between 1726 and 1750. This case study is especially focused on the thorough depiction of the relations of the Minorite order within the monastic, noble and urban environments of Český Krumlov. Although the extensive archival sources of the Krumlov Minorite monastery have been preserved in a very good state, the dominant majority of the sources has not been researched and published yet. Moreover, the Český Krumlov monastery presents a rarity among Minorite convents: Whereas other monasteries were associated with municipal environment, the discussed convent was very closely bounded to aristocratic circles, namely to the local residing family of Schwarzenberg, who represented one of the most prominent noble houses in the Holy Roman Empire. As there is no relevant literature addressing the topic of music relations between an order and a noble family in the 18th century, the present findings provide a unique illustration of this interconnection.

The focus lies on the Minorite order since the Minorite friars were distinguished by special emphasis on music activities in their convents. A number of printed music collections from the 18th century Czech lands prove this statement: whereas Benedictine or Premonstratensian composers occur only rarely, the Minorites are represented by three authors (Vaňura, Černohorský, Peškovic).¹ As the topic of Minorite music in the 18th century has been discussed within the musicological literature only very rarely, this thesis generally reveals new facts and connections in the field of Minorite music culture in the 18th century.

The time span of this thesis is determined by the administration period of the guardian² Hyacinth Sperl (1690-1754) who served in Český Krumlov intermittently between the years 1726 and 1750. As follows from Sperl's obituary, he was certainly interested in music and art as he extended the monastic music collection with the new released prints, supported 16-membered monastic ensemble and according to the period testimony of the Minorite chronicler the level of liturgy and liturgical music in Krumlov was kept solemnly and properly.

¹ Cf. the list of printed music collections of 18th century composers coming from the Czech lands published in Sehnal 1989, p. 211-212.

² The Guardian is the superior of a Franciscan convent.

Concerning the structure of the thesis, the introductory chapters depict the present state of research (list of relevant literature and preserved sources) and provide a description of theoretical concepts and used methods. In order to gain general knowledge about the Minorite order, the characteristic features of the Minorite order history and its organisational division are discussed concisely. The fourth chapter also provides a brief overview of the history of the order up to the 18th century with special emphasis on its development in the Czech lands. The role of music within the Minorite order is further analysed from various points of view, such as the specifics of the order liturgy, the particular Franciscan musical style, the Minorite musicians and composers and their system of music education. Next, the history of ecclesiastical music in Český Krumlov is addressed for the same reason. The target of the thesis is to clarify the position of the Minorite monastery in Český Krumlov in its entirety: therefore the following chapter is dedicated to the description of the history and structural development of the convent from its foundation in 1350 up to the 18th century.

The following division of this research reflects these essential characteristics of Minorite order when the daily personal prayer and the regular common celebration of the Liturgy of Hours and the Eucharist are intimately linked to their Christian ministry in the surroundings of the monastery. Therefore, the first part describes the external music relations of the friars, namely the noble and municipal festivities with the participation of the Minorites held in Český Krumlov and its surrounding, but outside the Minorite convent. This part is divided into three sections: private noble festivities, public noble festivities and finally, municipal festivities. As the connection between the Schwarzenbergs and Minorites represents the overriding relationship described in the chronicle, the noble festivities are divided into two other categories according to the private or public character of the event.

The second part of the research clarifies music culture in the convent itself. The music activities are analyzed in accordance with the abovementioned assumptions and therefore, the focus lies on miscellaneous liturgical festivities. These festivities comprise the common feasts of the Roman Catholic Church, specific feasts of Minorite order and festivities connected with convent life. The fundamental external relations are again reminded in the chapter describing Minorite prayers for the patrona family, Imperial House and Holy See. As the special Minorite mission was to pray for dead, the manifold funeral festivities taking place in the convent are researched too. The position and function of music and musicians in the convent is thoroughly described in its liturgical rules which reveal the material and financial background of convent musicians and determine musicians' benefits and duties. The music

form of the liturgical year and Minorite music preferences and specifics can be observed thanks to the preserved monastic music collection. Since the music prints were printed and purchased in various towns in the Czech lands and Bavaria, the way of connection of the Minorites with the then music centres can be traced. To get the general idea of the Minorite music culture, the findings are compared with the archival and music sources from other Minorite convents, namely in Brno (Moravia) and Vienna.

2. State of Research

2.1 Relevant Literature

The topic of this thesis has been dealt with in relevant scientific literature on a small scale, except for some short references and a few theses written at the Faculty of Education at the University of South Bohemia in České Budějovice.

In 1935, the Prague researcher Emilián Trola was the first to be interested in the music of the Minorite monastery in Český Krumlov. He published a short reference with the title *Hudební památky v Českém Krumlově*³ containing the list of works stored in the monastery (within the piece *Laudetur Jesus Christus* by Bohuslav Matěj Černošský, which has been lost).

The history of the Minorite monastery is also mentioned in Jan Matouš Klimesch's book *Urkunden- und Regestenbuch des ehemaligen Klarissinnen-Klosters in Krummlo*⁴ concerning the archive of the neighbouring Clarissan monastery. He refers to both the material and spiritual conditions of the Clarissan monastery on the basis of quotations from monastic documents, mainly from the convent chronicle called the *Liber magistralis I-III*. He mentions music in connection with liturgy several times (requiem for dead sisters or special religious services). Moreover, some references demonstrate the connection among the Poor Clares and the nobility or other institutions in the Český Krumlov region (the Cistercian abbey of Vyšší Brod or the town of Rychnov nad Malší which constituted the most important agricultural and economic subject of the Clarissan monastery).

A short but significant reference with the title *O minoritské knihovně v Českém Krumlově*⁵ was written by Josef Hejnic. This author was interested not only in the topic of the monastic

³ Trola 1935, p. 88-89.

⁴ Klimesch 1904.

⁵ Hejnic 1995, p. 60–90.

library but also in the cultural history of the convent. In the introduction to his article, the author concisely sums up the sources and relevant literature on the history of the convent. In addition, he highlights the close relations among the Minorites, the ruling Schwarzenbergs, the local Jesuits and the Cistercian abbots of nearby monasteries in Zlatá Koruna and Vyšší Brod. He also mentions the pedagogical activity of the Minorites who ran a school during the entire 18th century. The friars supported a 16-member boy music ensemble playing not only in the spaces of the monastery but in the castle and town environments as well. Josef Hejnic emphasizes this convent music culture several times and he refers to important convent feasts connected with music (the end of the school year and school exams or the celebration of Saint Francis). As the friars offered various funeral services for townsmen or participated in numerous castle and town feasts, the author highlights these various ways of connection between castle, town and monastery. Finally, this researcher notices the presence of two Minorite fraternities.

Josef Hejnic also describes the connection between the Minorites and the nobility in a publication named *Soupis teatrálií zámecké knihovny v Českém Krumlově*.⁶ In the preface, he reprinted a number of quotations from the *Liber magistralis*.

The introduction to the Minorite archival fund comprises a brief summary of order history, explanation of order structure and overview of history of the Krumlov convent.⁷ The collection of essays *Kláster minoritů a klarisek v Českém Krumlově: umění, zbožnost, architektura* incorporates two short studies about the music activities in the local monastery by Martin Horyna⁸ and Stanislav Bohadlo⁹. While Martin Horyna describes and analyses the monastic music collection shortly, Stanislav Bohadlo is interested in the activity of the composer Bernard Artopheus in Český Krumlov. He quotes documents from the convent archive funds in Třeboň and from the Minorite order fund in Prague. On this basis, he publishes a few quotations from the document *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis* and refers briefly to the general state of music in the Český Krumlov monastery during the 17th and 18th century.

⁶ Šimáková / Macháčková 1976.

⁷ Psíková 1975.

⁸ Horyna 2015, p. 241-249.

⁹ Bohadlo 2015, p. 251-259.

The diocesan organologist Vít Honys in his study about organs in South Bohemia describes the circumstances related to the construction, history and specifics of the convent organ.¹⁰

The aforementioned master theses deal with selected pieces of the monastic music collection (*Harmonia duodecatomeria* and *Offertoria Solenniora* by Johann Joseph Ignaz Brentner). The author of one of the theses, Petr Pešek, summarizes his findings on the Minorite music collection in general but only in the form of a catalogue list and an analysis of one of Brentner's arias.¹¹

Concerning music practised in the other Minorite convents in the Czech lands and Austria, a very significant study is presented in the article *Lze chrám vzkřísit z mrtvých?*¹² written by Vladimír Mañas, a musicologist from Brno (Moravia), who similarly analysed the Minorite music culture in Brno at the same time. Based on references in the order's chronicle recorded by guardian Stephanus Christ in 1733, Mañas observed the various functions of music both in the Minorite monastery and in the city of Brno. He followed the period of administration of the former guardian, Barnabáš Freisler, who served in Brno between 1711 and 1732. In this period, the monastery began to prosper among others thanks to its impressive music and liturgy that attracted many believers to the convent. Freisler was aware of this music influence and he took care of these matters in a highly responsible way. Under his administration, a local music ensemble and a new fraternity were established, the remarkable church of Loreto with the marvellous statue of Virgin Mary and Saint Steps with saint relics were built and the liturgy was magnificently broadened. Vladimír Mañas attaches a summarizing table of masses and litanies by the Minorites in Brno in this period. In addition, he mentions the specific liturgy of this order, all the main festivities in the monastery and its connection to the other religious festivals in the town. Moreover, he shows the relation among the Minorites, church dignitaries (in this case represented mainly by Bishop Schrattenbach who was the bishop of Olomouc and a great benefactor of the Brno convent) and townsmen. Vladimír Mañas introduces the term "Market with Soul Salvation" and he places the Minorite services, such as various types of funerals or foundations, into this context. His focus also lies on the activities of three Minorite fraternities.

¹⁰ Honys 1996.

¹¹ Čapková 2006, Pešek 1997, Táborová 2005, Tröstl 2018.

¹² Mañas 2012, p. 41-57.

The conference proceedings *Plaude turba paupercula* was published as a result of a conference devoted to the phenomenon of *opus franciscanum*, i.e. a specific Franciscan musical style. Within this yearbook, Jiří Sehnal researches the music activity of the Minorites in Brno in the 18th century.¹³ In contrast to the study of Vladimír Mañas, the essence of this article lies in a contract between the Minorites and the choirmaster Ignaz Anton Lucas Beer concluded in 1730. As a consequence, it is possible to reconstruct the duties of a choirmaster. The choirmaster had to arrange music in the main church and in the Loreto as well as hire appropriate musicians depending on the type of liturgy. In the contract, two types of music accompaniment of liturgy can be found (so called *Ordinari* and *Extra Ordinari Musik* with precise prescription of the number of musicians). On the one hand, the ordinary music was created by every day liturgy in the usual course of the liturgical year; on the other hand, extraordinary music accompanied the most important liturgical ceremonies divided into three categories according to the participation of trumpets, horns and timpani. On this basis, Jiří Sehnal summarizes all choirmaster's duties concerning the accompaniment of masses, vespers and litanies. He also shortly mentions other music occasions in the convent, highlights the choirmaster's financial evaluation, and discusses Ignaz Beer's compositional style and the preserved composition of his music collection. As a result, it is possible to research the similarity between the liturgy in the Minorite monasteries in Brno and Český Krumlov.¹⁴

Since the Brno music collection has been completely lost since the 19th century, the preserved pieces of the Krumlov music collection are to be compared with the music collection in Vienna, which was thoroughly investigated by Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel.¹⁵ This Austrian collection belongs to one of the most valuable and well-preserved collections worldwide within several uniquely preserved pieces. The music archive was founded in the 17th century, with a majority of the collection comprised of music from the 18th century music. The collection was expanded the most in the times of the well-educated Minorite Alexander Giessel (1694-1766) who was in regular contact with the Imperial court. The present collection contains about 800 pieces (manuscripts as well as prints). The collection includes predominantly sacred works which could be used during the convent liturgy. The authors come from three main geographic areas: the first category is represented by the Imperial composer Johann Joseph Fux, Antonia Caldara and other Viennese authors. Secondly, the fund comprises 16th and 17th century Italian composers such as Giovanni Pierluigi da

¹³ Sehnal 2005, p. 71-83.

¹⁴ Cf. Chapter eight of this thesis.

¹⁵ Riedel 1963.

Palestina, Girolamo Frescobaldi or Alessandro Poglietti. Finally, there are other German speaking composers, like Georger Muffat, Johann Jacob Froberger and Johann Fischer. Besides the liturgical works, the collection includes pieces of secular music as well, like music for keyboard instruments or instrumental music for various ensembles. The treatises on music theory constitute the last part of the collection.

The same author analyses Minorite music activities from another perspective within the aforementioned collection of essays *Plaude turba paupercola*.¹⁶ He follows the philosophical and theological background of this order and focuses on the differences between Minorite, Franciscan and other order music traditions. However, he primarily emphasizes the exceptional influence of the Minorites on music development between the Council of Trent (1545-1563) and the ascension of the age of enlightenment at the end of the 18th century. Furthermore, he describes the various positions of Minorite musicians and composers at noble residences or cathedrals, the outstanding Minorite music study centres in their monasteries, their theoretical works and the spread of Minorite works throughout Europe thanks to the activity of numerous publishers. Next, he discusses a unique Franciscan music concept called *opus franciscanum*. In addition, Riedel refers to the teaching activity of the Minorites (inter alia he mentions Bohuslav Matěj Černohorský and his influence on the Czech organists in the 18th century or composers Hubert Peškovic from the Silesian Krnov monastery and Česlav Vaňura serving in Prague). Finally, he deals with the extensive Minorite composition activity concerning various types of sacred music. All these findings are used within this dissertation, mainly in order to clarify Minorite music specifics.

The Brno musicologist Jana Franková deals with the Schwarzenberg activities at Český Krumlov castle in the frame of her dissertation thesis and related article.¹⁷ Franková's dissertation contains a thorough French resumé of her research in the second part of the thesis. The castle music performances are also discussed in a brief article of the Austrian teatrologist Otto Schindler.¹⁸ The Olomouc historian Martin Elbel follows the Franciscan order and its activities in the Czech lands in the 18th century in general.¹⁹ As the Minorites form part of the Franciscan family, the majority of findings on Franciscan practices can also be used in connection with the Minorites. Since music events in Český Krumlov were significantly influenced by Viennese music trends, the publications addressing music and

¹⁶ Riedel 2005, p. 51-69.

¹⁷ Franková 2012, p. 159-177 and 2016.

¹⁸ Schindler 1994, p. 61-68.

¹⁹ Elbel 2001 and 2017.

liturgical activities in the Hofburg present a very useful source of information for this research.²⁰

A general summary of the order history with a special emphasis on the situation and development in the Czech lands can be found in the third part of *Encyklopedie řádů a kongregací v českých zemích*.²¹

The entries in *MGG*²² and the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*²³ provide a solid overview of the position of music in the Minorite order.

To gain general knowledge about the Minorite monastery in Český Krumlov and its music, this thesis mainly draws from the official internet encyclopaedia of the town of Český Krumlov²⁴ and employs basic reference from *Encyklopedie českých klášterů*.²⁵

2.2 Main Sources

2.2.1 Archival Sources

The archival material of the Minorite convent in Český Krumlov is stored in *Státní oblastní archiv v Třeboni*, in the section *Minorité Český Krumlov*.²⁶

The most important source for the depiction of monastery life is the convent chronicle called the *Liber magistralis I-V*.²⁷ This five-volume chronicle was led from 1678 until the abolition of the convent in 1950, while the first, second and third part constitutes the most important volumes for the reporting period. It is an interesting fact that the description of Sperl's administration period comprises almost one third of the whole chronicle (the period of 26 years is discussed on about 500 pages).

²⁰ Coreth 1982, Riedel 1977.

²¹ Buben 2006, p. 131-225.

²² Schmidt 1999, col. 820-843.

²³ Berry 2002, p. 175-6.

²⁴ <http://www.encyklopedie.ckrumlov.cz>.

²⁵ Vlček / Sommer / Foltýn 1997, p. 206-8.

²⁶ SOA Třeboň (CZ-TRE), Fund Minorité Český Krumlov.

²⁷ *Liber magistralis I-V*, Inv. Nr. 22/96, Sign. K 2a, F Minorité Český Krumlov, SOA Třeboň. Further I introduce only the abbreviation LM I-III and the corresponding page number, alternatively with the date of an event.

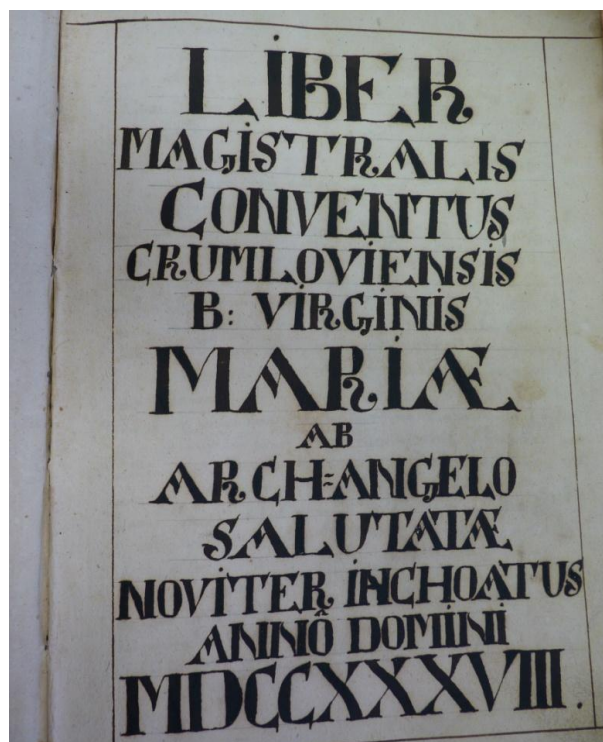


Figure 1: The Title Page of the Chronicle Liber Magistralis II (Photo: Author of This Thesis)

The second and third part of the chronicle contains a foreword addressing the reader; for this reason it is clear the chronicle was written with a representative purpose and was meant to serve as a representative testimony for future generations. The second and third volume is divided into four sections: the first section features a list of monastic foundations, the second includes obligations, and the third lists contracts. The last one, called “*varia et gesta*,” comprises a detailed contemporary description and evaluation of extraordinary social events, or in other words “festivities,”²⁸ taking place both in the monastery and its immediate vicinity and all over Europe. In the beginning of the second part of the chronicle, the author summarily depicts the local custom of celebrating the main feasts over the course of the liturgical year and sketches the building of the monastery including the spaces connected with music and musicians. Although the entries are mainly focused on the depiction of the relationship between the Minorites and the patron Schwarzenberg family, the records also provide a general overview of all the municipal music events taking place in the presence of the friars. On this basis, they may shed new light not only on the music relations between the Minorites and the nobility, but they might also provide a new perspective on the musical culture of the town of Český Krumlov as a whole.

²⁸ Cf. Braun 2001, col. 411–26.

Since the post of chroniclers was held by the guardians themselves, it is highly likely that the records in the chronicle during the following period were written by the guardian Hyacint Sperl himself. The guardian mentioned all unusual events of his period, paying special attention to music performances which he did not only depict but also rated personally. In spite of representative purpose of the chronicle, his observations bring a valuable account of the content of music festivities in Krumlov and reflect guardian's personal taste and way of perception of current events.

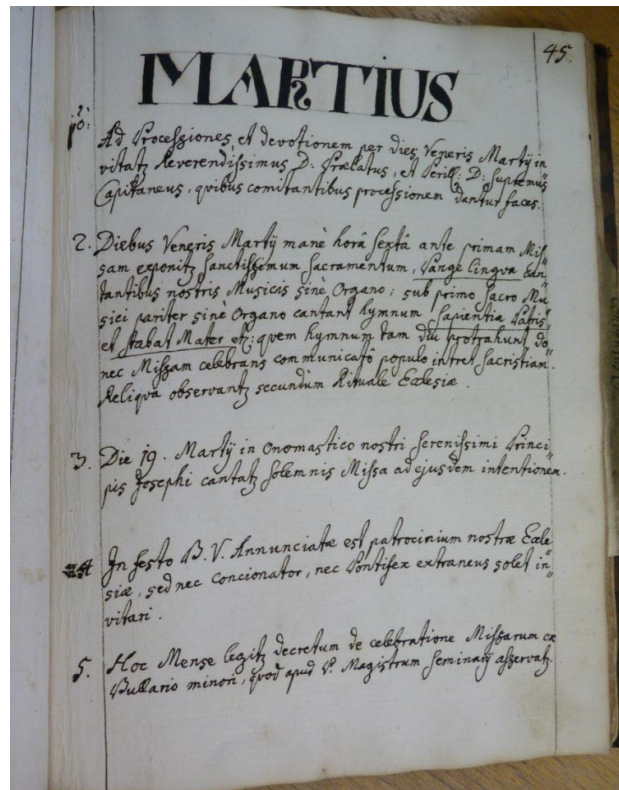


Figure 2: *Directorium Superioris* from 1738, p. 45 (Photo: Author of This Thesis)

The documents called *Novus ordo divinarum in ecclesia nostra*²⁹ and *Procesí o Božím Těle* [*The Corpus Christi Procession*]³⁰ illuminate the period form of liturgy and its connection with music. The document *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*³¹ from 1738 clarifies the material conditions and liturgical customs of the convent. It is divided into three sections: general liturgical rules for the course of the year, special liturgical feasts celebrated in the

²⁹ *Nářizení ke konání bohoslužeb v klášterním kostele*, SOA Třeboň. The complete signature of the archival material is stated in the final bibliography.

³⁰ *Procesí o Božím Těle*, SOA Třeboň.

³¹ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, SOA Třeboň.

relevant month, and a register of convent property. Numerous entries define rules for musicians in the convent and describe the music accompaniment of liturgical ceremonies.

The document *Kniha ceremonií (Rituale Ecclesiae Conventus Crumloviensis)*³² completes the prescriptions for liturgical affairs in the convent. Being divided by month, it depicts the usual form of liturgy in the convent during the liturgical year and provides an overview of a number of foundations, masses with figural accompaniment, and extraordinary days.

Another similar source is represented by the monastic financial fund for serving masses registered in detail in the list of convent mass foundations.³³ The Minorite mission was to hold regular masses for the dead who had paid for a service and these fees for mass foundations provided the main source of monastic income. These funds were divided into various categories according to price and splendour of the liturgy. In addition to this, the Clarissan abbess's foundation note provides a thorough period depiction of the foundation and the form of its realization.³⁴

Although the preserved accounts date back to the year 1751, it is possible to get an idea of the expenses connected to music and thus to research the general position of music in the convent.³⁵ The structural development and general disposition of the church and monastery is clarified within the archival fund as well.³⁶

A significant document illustrating the course of canonical visitation is stored in the Prague National archive.³⁷ Although the source originates from the year 1780 and was intended for the Prague convent, it is highly possible that the same instructions were also maintained in the Český Krumlov monastery 30 years earlier. The Prague archive also contains the period Minorite Constitutions providing rules for each member and convent and bringing the explanation of the form of order life suitable for the 18th century.³⁸ The order register of Czech province from 1738 comprises personal information about friar's date of birth, entrance

³² *Kniha ceremonií*, SOA Třeboň.

³³ *Seznamy mešních fundací kláštera, jmenné seznamy fundátorů, operáty mešních fundací, zprávy o fundacích*, SOA Třeboň.

³⁴ *Příspěvky různých dobrodinců pro klášter k sloužení mši, vystavění klášterních budov a oltářů, odkazy z posledních vůlí, dary a odkazy*, SOA Třeboň.

³⁵ *Kniha příjmů a vydání konventu*, SOA Třeboň.

³⁶ *Historie minoritského kláštera, přehledy klášterů, seznam kvardiánů a provinciálů, papežská statuta pro minoritský řád*, SOA Třeboň.

³⁷ *Instructiones pro Venerabilibus Dominis Curatis Pragensibus*, NA (CZ-Pa).

³⁸ *Konstituce*, NA (CZ-Pa).

into the order, eternal vows and priest ordination and adds a short reference to current place of activity and position in the order.³⁹

To depict the Minorite relations in the widest possible range, this thesis employs documents illustrating the connection between the Minorite Bohemian Provincial and Minorite General Minister residing in Rome.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the Minorite archive contains documents published by the Holy See or the Prague archbishop concerning the special liturgical celebrations in case of the Emperor's death and the birth of a new Habsburg archduke.⁴¹ Special prayers were also commanded during war emergencies⁴² and natural disasters.⁴³ Thanks to the aforementioned sources, the connection between the Krumlov Minorites and the Imperial family residing in Vienna is illuminated.

In order to create a comprehensive image of events taking place in the town and at the castle, the preserved Schwarzenberg accounts concerning the expenses for castle musicians and liturgy in the castle chapel⁴⁴ was also taken into consideration.⁴⁵ The principal source for the castle affairs is the Schwarzenberg private correspondence led between the ruling Schwarzenberg couple and their close friends, the count couple Joseph Gundakar and Maria Dominica of Thürheim⁴⁶. Within these letters both couples thoroughly depicted the preparation and course of birthday performances played in the Český Krumlov castle every year. The original letters are stored in the Český Krumlov castle archive and in the *Oberösterreichisches Landesarchiv* in Linz.⁴⁷ As the correspondence is not available in Český Krumlov nowadays, there are used the transcriptions of these letters published by Helena Kazárová.⁴⁸

³⁹ *Matrica ordinatorum*, NA (CZ-Pa).

⁴⁰ *Generální a konventní kapituly, úmrtí, volba, potvrzení a oslava výročí činnosti řádového provinciála, reorganizace řádové provincie, jmenování řádových definitorů a administrátorů na uprázdněná místa v provincii*, SOA Třeboň.

⁴¹ *Bohoslužby konané při příležitosti úmrtí, svátku nebo jiném jubileu člena panovnické rodiny*, SOA Třeboň.

⁴² *Pobožnosti konané v období války*, SOA Třeboň.

⁴³ *Procesí konaná při žehnání polním plodinám*, SOA Třeboň.

⁴⁴ *Záležitosti kaple and Záležitosti zámeckých hudebníků*, SOA Třeboň, pobočka Český Krumlov (CZ-K).

⁴⁵ Within this thesis, I use quotations of this correspondence published in: Kazárová 2010, p. 301-327 and Kazárová 2013, p. 31.

⁴⁶ The family of Thürheim, originally coming from Bavaria-Swabia, possessed their family estates in South Bohemia (castle Omlenička), Upper Austria (e.g. castle Weinberg at Keffermarkt, Schwertberg and Bergschlössl in Linz), Lower Austria and Bavaria and played a prominent role at the Imperial court.

⁴⁷ *Das Oberösterreichische Landesarchiv in Linz, Herrschaftsarchiv Schwertberg, Aktenband 176 c.*

⁴⁸ Parts of this correspondence were published in: Helena Kazárová, "Divadlo a tanec v životě Schwarzenbergů v zrcadle korespondence s rodinou Thürheimů. Část I.: Dopisy z let 1744–1752" [Theatre and dance in the life of the Schwarzenbergs as reflected in the correspondence with the Thürheim family: Part I: Letters from the years 1744–1752], in *The World of Baroque Theatre: a compilation of essays from the Český Krumlov conferences 2007, 2008 and 2009*, ed. Jiří Bláha and Pavel Slavko (Český Krumlov: Společnost přátel Českého Krumlova,

2.2.2 Music Sources

The basic source for research on the music culture of the local Minorite convent is a music collection stored in the Department of Historical Archives of *Jihočeská vědecká knihovna v Českých Budějovicích* in Zlatá Koruna near Český Krumlov. This source allows reconstructing the form of the liturgical year of that period and its music accompaniment. Moreover, this collection shows the specifics of the musical culture of the Minorite order.

The collection consists of 23 prints from the 17th and 18th centuries; manuscripts are lost. For the period between 1726 and 1750, there are 21 relevant publications that were printed, used or purchased during the administration of the guardian Hyacint Sperl.

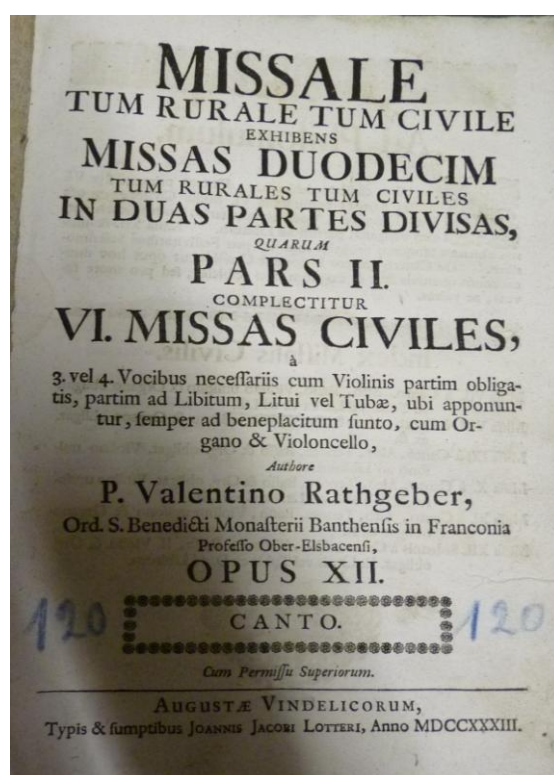


Figure 3: Title Page of Soprano Part of Missale by Valentin Rathgeber from the Minorite Music Collection (Photo: Author of This Thesis)

3 Theoretical Concepts and Used Methods

The study is primarily based on the research of preserved sources stored in the State regional archive in Třeboň (CZ-TRE), mainly in the analysis of the convent chronicle called the *Liber magistralis*. Since the records in the chronicle track every extraordinary day in the convent

2010), p. 301–27. The English version of this article including English translations of the originally French correspondence is available in the same yearbook between the pages 329 and 357. As no other names are mentioned, the English translation was most likely made by Helena Kazárová.

history, the entries provide a detailed overview of all special occasions connected with the monastery. As the chronicle contains the description of extraordinary events, the term “festivity”⁴⁹ represents a key concept for the present study. Therefore, the thesis is not focused only on composers and their works but it presents music as a distinct phenomenon of everyday life in the Minorite monastery.

To put the Krumlov Minorite music culture into the relevant context, the research of monastic culture is carried out in three sequential stages sketched by Alkuin Schachenmayr.⁵⁰ The first category is represented by the festivities celebrated in the whole Roman Catholic Church, the second by the feasts held only in the Minorite order and the third by local habits taking place exclusively in Krumlov.

The present research of monastic festivities is based on the very solid methodology elaborated by the Olomouc historian Jana Oppeltová whose study analyses the festivities in the Premonstratensian Canonry Klášterní Hradisko u Olomouce (Central Moravia) in the 18th century.⁵¹ Oppeltová draws on the preserved monastic diaries depicting in detail the everyday life in the canonry. She also characterizes the Premostransian order, explains the differences between the mendicants and the orders living secluded in the enclosure and clarifies the relations with other institutions in the neighbourhood (the pilgrimage place Svatý Kopeček or the Olomouc university). Furthermore, she analyzes the difference between the ordinary days, feast and festivities and defines the various types of celebrations. She introduces the same categories which are partially employed within this dissertation: the annual festivities in the course of the liturgical year, the festivities connected with the life of order members or the canonry, the festivities on the occasion of the visits of significant personalities, events taking place outside the canonry, the festivities connected with the building development of the canonry or its patronage churches, and the very heterogeneous category of so called “magnificent” festivities (on the occasion of 600 years of the arrival of the Premonstratensians, the translation of saint relics or the marvellous painting of Virgin Mary). Oppeltová also classifies the events according to their publicity: Whereas the first and second type had only the private, internal character, the third one interconnected the “outside” world with the monastery. The penultimate and mainly last type was designed for the large

⁴⁹ In this connection, an extraordinary social event is usually denoted by the term “festivity”. Cf. Braun: “Fest,” in MGG: Braun 2001, col. 411–26.

⁵⁰ Schachenmayr 2018, p. 197-203.

⁵¹ Oppeltová 2000, p. 505–536. The findings from these diaries concerning music are analyzed in Sehnal 2002. A similarly solid research was elaborated by Robert Freeman: *The Practice of Music at Melk Abbey. Based upon the Document 1681-1826*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1989.

audience, and the solemnity was supported by impressive decorations, solemn masses and allegorical scenes. Finally, the special liturgical terms and feasts of the Roman Catholic Church employed in the Krumlov Minorite archival sources (e. g. “Coena Domini”, “missa summa” or “exequia”) were analyzed, clarified and put into context.⁵²

As the monastic music culture did not represent a homogenous phenomenon but differed according to the character of the distinct order, it was essential to examine the Minorite order rules and study the order history and development. Apart from the rules and festivities of the Roman Catholic Church, the Minorites maintained their own specific habits and feasts of saints venerated only within their order.⁵³ The Minorite music culture is precisely characterized by the German musicologist Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel.⁵⁴ Riedel follows the order history and its relation to music from the times of St. Bonaventura who wrote the essential treatises on music in the 13th century. In fact, the Minorites have been very active in music since their foundation and many of them excelled as church music directors, teachers, composers or musicians. Refusing the new trends in the 17th music, the friars even developed their own music style called *opus franciscanum* based on the simple principles of Gregorian chant. Nevertheless, this order tendency was abandoned during the 18th century when the Minorite festivities were distinguished by solemn liturgy accompanied by newest figural⁵⁵ music. In the frame of this research, the author analyses if the music culture of the Český Krumlov Minorite friary corresponds to these general order premises given by Riedel and the MGG.

To investigate the peculiarities of a certain monastery, it is also essential to take into consideration the local habits of each convent. The Český Krumlov monastery is distinguished by a very well preserved archive which includes thoroughful prescriptions for the miscellaneous liturgical events. While the period local norms are reflected inter alia in *Rituale* or *Directorium*, the entries in the chronicle *Liber magistralis* show the differences between the prescriptions and the everyday praxis. The *Liber* can also partially serve as an example of *ego document* since it reflects the guardian’s personal taste and opinion on mentioned events. These assumptions are illustrated by the brief analysis of the convent music

⁵² Cf. Literature on this topic: Adolf Adam: *Das Kirchenjahr: Schlüssel zum Glauben*, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder 1990, Adolf Adam: *Grundriß Liturgie*, Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder 1992, Robert Berger: *Neues Pastoralliturgisches Handlexikon* Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder 1999, Walter von Kasper (ed.): *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd ed., Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder 1993–2001.

⁵³ These Minorite celebrations are listed in the MGG: Schmidt 1999, col. 820-843.

⁵⁴ Riedel 2005, p. 51-69.

⁵⁵ The term „Figural music“ refers to more elaborated polyphonic settings, including instrumental accompaniment.

collection which reflects the principal aspects and tendencies of the Minorite spirituality and reveals the connection to period music centres.

Whereas other monasteries were ordinarily bound to municipal environment, the discussed convent was very closely associated with aristocratic circles, specifically to the Schwarzenberg family who supported the convent and represented one of the most prominent noble houses in the Holy Roman Empire. As there is no relevant literature addressing the topic of music relations between the Minorite order and a noble family in the Habsburg heritage lands in the 18th century, the town of Český Krumlov represents a unique illustration of such interconnection. Since the Schwarzenbergs were in a close connection with the Imperial house, the influence of Viennese trends on the Český Krumlov music culture is analysed too.

The various relationships in the Franciscan monastery are depicted by the Olomouc historian Martin Elbel who very well put the Franciscan spirituality in the historical and theological context of the Czech lands.⁵⁶ Within this book he describes the position of the convent in the town of Olomouc (Moravia) and follows the relations with the patrons and clients. Besides he analyses the monastic environment itself which was also distinguished by different roles of order members or sympathizers. Following this pattern, this research focuses on the analysis and depiction of the manifold monastic interconnections taking place during the liturgical events which include the relationships between the friars and sisters, the position of convent musicians, the relation to the tertiaries and fraternities and ordinary believers. The specific rituals were connected not only with various groups of actors, but also with different and often unusual places in the monastery. According to Vladimír Mañas⁵⁷ who researched the music culture of the Minorites in Brno (Moravia) in a similar way, the Czech Minorite monasteries were distinguished by miscellaneous forms of funeral liturgy which was typical for the Krumlov convent as well. Mañas's and Riedel's researches also serve as a basis for comparison of the Český Krumlov Minorite music culture and the liturgical customs in Brno and Vienna. Thanks all these mentioned studies the Minorite music culture in Český Krumlov can be depicted and evaluated as thorough and comprehensible as possible.

⁵⁶ Elbel 2001 and 2017.

⁵⁷ Mañas 2012, p. 41-57.

4 The Order of Friars Minor Conventual

The Order of Friars Minor Conventual (in Latin: *Ordo Fratrum Minorum Conventualium*, initials: OFM Conv., in German: *Minoriten*, in the British areas *Greyfriars*, in French *Cordelier*) is one of three male mendicant⁵⁸ Orders of Pontifical Right which make up the Franciscan family of today. Community life, or Franciscan fraternity, is at the heart of the religious life of Conventual Franciscans. St. Francis desired that his brothers be called Friars Minor because they would learn from the humble life of Christ and live radically according to the Gospel. On founding the order, Francis of Assisi long for a true fraternity of his companions and the first friars come together as brothers of a single family, joining in the life and work of the community according to each one's abilities. Everyone would have equal rights and responsibilities regardless his education or former social position. They would join a common fraternity, with the goal of achieving greater devotion, a more ordered life, a more solemn Divine Office⁵⁹, a better and deeper formation of candidates, the study of theology and of the other works of the apostolate in the service of the Church of God so that, especially under the guidance of Mary Immaculate, the Kingdom of Christ may be extended throughout the world.⁶⁰ The Minor Friars are thus involved in active closely connected to religious life of profound prayer and contemplation as part of the Franciscan fraternity. Prayer is at the heart of Franciscan vocation as reflected in the Constitution which states that "contemplation of things divine and assiduous union with God in prayer is to be the first and foremost duty of the friars"⁶¹. They live this ideal through the daily observance of personal time for prayer individually and the regular celebration of the Liturgy of Hours and the Eucharist together with the Franciscan fraternity. In the order, contemplative life is intimately linked to apostolic activity. They promote Franciscan spirituality by loving all people, by proclaiming and promoting peace, brotherly love, and the kingdom of Christ among them and, finally, while living in the world, serving the Lord in poverty, humility, simplicity, and gladness of heart. Therefore, Franciscan active ministry is varied: Conventual Franciscans live their day by serving in the Roman Catholic Church in Franciscan ministries that include missionaries,

⁵⁸The term mendicant friars refers to members of those religious orders who take the vow of poverty, thereby giving up all material possessions. Unlike monks, they renounce even collective proprietorship, gaining resources only by means of their own work and the charity of donors.

⁵⁹ To find out more about Franciscan prayer and liturgy, see chapter 7.2 Music relations inside the monastery.

⁶⁰ Cf. Constitutions 1984, p. 34 and Buben 2006, p. 131.

⁶¹ Constitutions 1984, p. 42 and Buben 2006, p. 132.

scholars, educators, artists, composers, lawyers, labourers, social workers, and advocates for the poor and marginalized.⁶²

4.1.1 The Organizational Structure of the Order

The Order is governed by the Minister General (*minister generalis*) who is assisted by the Procurator General (*procurator ordinis* whose task is to arrange the connection with the Holy See), the Secretary General (*secretaries ordinis*) and Assistants General (*assistens generalis ordinis*) who resides in Rome. The highest order body is the General Chapter (*capitulum generale*) which usually takes place once every three years in the period of Pentecost and during which the Provincials and Custodians regularly meet. In 1223 the function of the Cardinal Protector (*Cardinal Patronus*) was introduced. The cardinal represented the Minorites in front of the Holy See, helped to hold the order property in trust and usually belonged to the greatest order benefactors.⁶³

The Order is divided into Provinces to which the friars are affiliated. Each Province is led by the Provincial (*minister provincialis*) with the Secretary Provincial (*secretarius provinciale*) whose term of office lasts three years; the Provinces are divided into Custodies (*custodia*) led by Custodians (*custos*). Each custody is composed of several convents managed by a guardian (*guardianus*) and his deputy – a Convent Vicar (*vicarius conventus*). The guardian is elected at the Provincial Chapter for two years. The Provincial Secretary assists the Provincial in leading the Province. Province delegates - which is to say the Provincial Definitors (*definitores*), who generally provide council and assistance to the provincial superiors, Masters of Theology, Custodians and authorized Delegates of individual convents (*discreti conventuum*) and Guardians - usually meet once every three years at the Province Chapter (*capitulum provinciale*); Convent delegates at the Convent Chapter (*capitulum conventuale*).⁶⁴ If a college belongs to the convent, it is led by a rector (*rector*).

The Order consists of the First Orders represented by priests and lay brothers (*laici professi*), Clarissan sisters joint in the Second Order and members of the Third order (*terciararii*). In the 18th century the applicant for convent life (both for friars, sisters and tertiaries) had to complete a one-year probationary period called “novitiate” during which he received the order habit and shared in community life. The highest level of commitment was exemplified by

⁶²Constitutions 1984, p. 105.

⁶³ Buben 2006, p. 133.

⁶⁴ Psíková 1975, p. 2-3.

those who have taken their solemn, perpetual vows and committed themselves to stay in the convent for life. If a friar was to become a priest, he had to pass three years of philosophical studies and two years of theology. Moreover, the priest's education was to be developed throughout his life.⁶⁵

The history of the Third order dates as far back as the times of St. Francis: as the Minorities were in touch with the public since their origin, Franciscan spirituality became very popular with lay people, too. Therefore, St. Francis decided to create the Third order for all people regardless of their marital status and employment. As a result, this Third Order of Saint Francis, historically known as the Order of Penance of Saint Francis, included both congregations of vowed men and women living standard lives in the world, predominantly married. The members shared duties and benefits of the regular order members such as praying of Divine office, wearing the order habit during order feasts and gaining indulgences.⁶⁶

In the course of the 18th century, the public had two official options for joining the Minorite community: Either they could become members of third Minorite order sharing the same duties and privileges as the convent friars, or they could involve themselves in so-called "archconfraternities". The monastic adherents (men or women regardless of their social position) gathered themselves in small communities called fraternities which regularly met and prayed. The members of these fraternities wanted to deepen their devoutness through the way of St. Francis, live their Christianity more profoundly and consequently, gain the right of plenary indulgencies promising the remission of sins and eternal life. Although each fraternity belonged to a concrete convent, the communities were internationally interconnected. Each member was recorded in the general register and had to observe the constitutions coming from the central seat of all fraternities, which resided in Assisi. Inter alia, the members should have taken part in everyday mass in the convent church, participated in all monastic festivities, been present at the funerals of dead fraternity members and prayed for their salvation. In this way, the archconfraternities represented another type of community, which had a freer form, but which was in regular touch with the convent and still observed some order rules.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Cf. Elbel 2001, Chapter *Život v řádu [Life in the Order]*, p. 50-61.

⁶⁶ Cf. Ibid., Chapter *Patroni a klienti*, Subchapter *Terciáři: františkánská exkluzivita a její export [The Third Order: Franciscan Exclusiveness and Its Export]*, p. 130-138 and Elbel 2001, Chapter *Náboženská bratrstva a třetí řád [Religious Fraternities and the Third Order]*, p. 70-77.

⁶⁷ Elbel 2017, p. 96.

4.2 A Short History of the Order up to the 18th Century

The history of the Order of Friars Minor began in Assisi in Central Italy in 1209 when Francesco Bernadone and his first companions accepted the absolute obedience to the Gospel precepts and decided to follow the poor and humble life of Jesus Christ. The friars-penitents preached life according to the Gospel and they began to expand very quickly throughout Europe. Shortly after, in 1223, and following the Lateran Council IV, Pope Honorius III approved the definitive Rule (so called *Regula bulata*), which is still followed today. This Rule or “form of life” of the Friars Minor is the fundamental law of the whole order, from which the friars draw inspiration and to which they conform their lives. The friars strive to observe the Rules, Constitutions, and Statutes which they take upon themselves at the moment of professing their vows of obedience, poverty and chastity, principally out of love for evangelical perfection according to the spirit of the Order.⁶⁸

Since the foundation of the Order, the conception of evangelical poverty became a matter of controversy. Originally the friars were supposed to live from alms and accept neither property nor money. They did not have stable convents, but peregrinated from town to town, preached in a very simple way, took care of the diseased, especially of lepers, and lived by manual labour or by begging. The problem of poverty was regulated by the papal definitive rule from 1223. According to this document, the Order was not supposed to possess any churches, books or other property. As this rule originated from the papal authority and it could not be modified, the Provincials requested a papal interpretation of this regulation. The Pope Gregory IX cancelled the binding regulations of the original document and transferred the requirement of absolute poverty to the form of “right of use” of entrusted property. As a result, an office of nuncio was introduced who was authorized to administer the Order’s property. In this consequence the friars could establish their own schools and educate both order members and external students. In spite of this interpretation, the discord about the possession of property still continued. The Pope Innocent IV transferred all the Order’s possessions to the ownership of the Holy See and prevented uneducated brothers from entering the Order in 1245. Therefore, the friars were only users of their monasteries, but the real owner was the Holy See.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Buben 2006, p. 134-5.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 146.

Another difficult question of the time was the education of the friars. Although Saint Francis had laid emphasis on purity and virtue, the Minorites decided to engage in teaching at the Paris University in 1230s. This modification was initiated by Alexander of Hales, an excellent theologian and Parisian professor, who endeavoured to be admitted to the Order. Soon after, the friars began teaching at universities throughout Europe.⁷⁰ The turning point came to pass when St. Bonaventura (1221-1274) became General Minister in 1257. This extraordinary personality represented the ideal friar of his era: he studied at the Parisian University under Alexander of Hals and after that he devoted himself to teaching and science. St. Bonaventure, also called *doctor seraphicus*, is considered the most significant theologian of the Order and a Doctor of the Church.

During his administration period, St. Bonaventure vigorously strived for order unity. For this purpose, he created an official interpretation of monastic rule which was adopted at the General Chapter in Narbonne in 1260. On this occasion he also elaborated an official version of St. Francis's biography and ordered all previous versions to be burned. In 1274 he was appointed Cardinal in Albano as the first Minorite and he was one of the leading personalities of the Second Lyon Council. After fourteen years, in 1288, the influential role of the Minorites in the church was affirmed by election of the first Minorite pope Nicolas IV.⁷¹

In 1274, at the death of St. Bonaventure, the order grew ever more divided between the approach of the "Friars of the Community," also called "Conventuals," who had been given permission to have their communities in the cities in order to preach the Gospel and be of service to the poor, and the approach of the "Observants," who professed ideals of absolute poverty and desired the traditional Franciscan life of solitary meditation in rural areas and the ascetical dimensions of Franciscanism. The Order of Friars Minor Conventual sought to spread the ideals of Saint Francis throughout the new urban social order of the Middle Ages. Some friars settled in the urban slums or in the suburbs of the medieval neighbourhoods, where the huts and shacks of the poorest were built outside the safety of the city walls. Since the suburbs were also the place where hospitals were set up, the friars were often commissioned by the city government to facilitate the care of the sick. The friars also helped to construct sturdier buildings, replacing the previous huts, and built churches.

⁷⁰Buben 2006, p. 144.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 147.

In 1517, the Conventuals officially adopted the Order's reform which resulted in the separation from the stricter-orientated Observants (later "Franciscans"). As a consequence, each order was to have its own General Minister and its own interpretation of the concept of evangelical poverty (the Minorites were not required to follow the original rules in a radical way). The Observants became more numerous in proportion to the Minorites: around 30 000 friars followed the stricter branch whereas 20 000 pursued a more moderate way of living. The Minorites confirmed their leading church position in 1585 when a new Minorite Pope, Sixtus V (1521-1590), was elected. This pontiff became a renowned benefactor of art and education: he built four obelisks and a new Vatican library (which was significantly enlarged under his rule) and founded a printing house. During his reign, the construction of the cupola of St. Peter's Cathedral was finished and the Lateran Palace was rebuilt.⁷²

The abolition of the Jesuit order in 1773 under the rule of another Minorite pope, Clement XIV (1705-1774), dealt a heavy blow to the European educational system and obliterated a distinguished part of the church intellectual elite. Furthermore, the gradual secularisation at the turn of the 19th century weakened the decisive position of the church. Not even the Minorites were saved from this development, the consequences of which have continued to this day.⁷³

4.2.1 A Short History of the Order in the Czech Lands up to the End of the 18th Century

The exact year of the arrival of the Minorites in the Czech lands is not clear: the Minorites possibly arrived in the Czech lands in 1225 or 1228 when they settled down in the monastery near St. Jacob's Church in Prague's Old Town. Whereas the order spread spontaneously in Italy, its arrival in the Czech lands from Germany occurred at the invitation of the Czech king Václav I. The Order spread throughout Bohemia and Moravia very quickly: at the beginning of the 14th century, there were already 24 Minorite convents.⁷⁴ As a consequence, the monasteries created a new Czech-Polish province independent from the original Saxon Province. Because of their high theological qualifications, the friars were extremely sought-after in the fight against heretics (principally in South Bohemia), and they were engaged in the Inquisition. For this reason, the order was generously endowed by the Holy See with many prerogatives. These papal privileges constantly provoked riots between the diocesan priests and the mendicant orders (as the Minorites) that were very well received by common people.

⁷²Buben 2006, p. 151.

⁷³Ibid., p. 154.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 163.

The dispute was eventually solved by the papal bull *Super cathedram* from 1300 entitling the mendicants to confess only with the approval of the diocesan bishop. Moreover, the friars also had to submit a quarter of their funeral income (*quarta funeralia*) and foundations to the local parish priest, and they could preach only in case no sermons took place in the parish church. These restrictions were strengthened after the Council of Trent which emphasized the role of the parish church in the life of each Catholic.⁷⁵ As a consequence, the Minorites were not allowed to grant the initiation sacrament (e.g. baptism, confirmation or marriage) in their convent church. On the contrary, the friars were characterized by praying for dead people, various ways of funeral liturgy and burying of townsmen within their convents.

Many convents were extensively damaged during the Hussite wars in the 15th century and many were never renewed. The only exception was represented by the monastery in Český Krumlov, which remained unimpaired due to the strong defence and sovereign catholic position of this town. In 1517, in the year of the general reorganisation of the Minorite order, the organisational net of provinces changed as well. The form province was separated into two separate Czech and Polish provinces, and consequently the Czech province was newly divided into four custodies: the custody of Prague, Hradec Králové (Eastern Bohemia), Wrocław (Lower Silesia) and Český Krumlov. Among the convents that fell under the custody of Český Krumlov, the richest province in the Czech lands, were the convents of Horažďovice (South-west Bohemia) and Stříbro (West Bohemia).⁷⁶

After the Thirty-Year War, many grievances emerged in Czech monasteries against Italian friars who apparently had difficulties in adapting to their new environment. This situation resulted in a lower level of discipline in convents. As a result, in 1655 Emperor Ferdinand III banned the election of foreigners as provincials or guardians and ordered the expulsion of idle friars from the Czech lands.⁷⁷

In 1733 another matter occurred: Silesian Minorites seemed to occupy the places of Czech friars and novices in the Czech monasteries, and the provincials were also predominantly of German nationality. Czech Minorites complained to Emperor Charles VI and the papal nuncio in Vienna, the general minister in Rome, and the archbishop and governor in Prague and demanded to be separated from the Silesian monasteries. On this basis, the order general sent Order Commissar P. Angelus Miller in 1734 to visit all the convents in the Czech lands and

⁷⁵ Elbel 2001, p. 40.

⁷⁶ Psíková 1975, p. 3.

⁷⁷ Buben 2006, p. 164-5.

Silesia. As a result, a provincial chapter was held in Prague's St. Jacob monastery, which determined a definite number of convent members. The chapter also determined that the subsequent three provincials had to come from the Czech lands and then be alternately substituted by Silesians. The Definitory council would consist of seven Czechs and five Silesians. The Minister General approved and affirmed this agreement. Nevertheless, an independent Silesian province was created in 1754 as a result of the region's devolvement to Prussia.

The Minorites did not avoid the abolishment of monasteries in the Habsburg heritage lands, either: only three convents in Bohemia (Prague, Most and Český Krumlov) survived this period. However, the number of cloister members was reduced to fourteen friars. Secularisation meant the end of the golden era of this Order in the Czech lands.⁷⁸

4.3 Minorites and Music

As the Minorites considered the liturgy a cardinal part of their monastery life, they cared about it in a very diligent way. It is clear music is inseparably related to liturgy; therefore, it was to be developed and studied as well.⁷⁹ As a consequence, the friars established their own music schools in their convents and devoted themselves to studying music both theoretically and practically.

4.3.1 Order Liturgy and its Connection with Music

Observing the connection between music and the Minorite Order, it is obvious that this relationship has been very close. Music was already mentioned within the first Order Constitutions in 1223, concretely in the third chapter called *De divino officio et jejuniis*. On this basis, the Minorites were obliged to maintain the Divine Office in accordance with the order of the Roman Catholic Church.⁸⁰ This prayer was inseparably bound to Gregorian chant and the majority of the Order's music follows from this tradition.

⁷⁸ Buben 2006, p. 182.

⁷⁹ Riedel 2005, p. 51.

⁸⁰ Liturgy of the Hours (Latin: *Liturgia Horarum*) or Divine Office (Latin: *Officium Divinum*) or Work of God (Latin: *Opus Dei*) or canonical hours, publically called the Breviary, designs the prayers "marking the hours of each day and sanctifying the day with prayer". It includes psalms, hymns, readings, prayers and antiphons. Together with the Mass, it represents the principal public pray of the Roman Catholic Church.

The earliest Minorite composers followed the music prescriptions from Benedictine and Augustinian monastic rule which described church chant as the singing not only of voice but even of heart. Also according to St. Francis, the clerics were to pray the Office with devoted heart and united minds. This way of singing with purity of heart connects a human with heaven and delights God whereas a courtly frolicsome voice distracts one's mind from pure thoughts. Subsequent authors avoided extravagance and the courtly way of singing but emphasized devotion to God and simplicity of chant. During its earliest period of the existence, the members of the Franciscan order followed the local liturgy as practised at the places where they currently found themselves. As of 1223, they adopted liturgical rites used by the papal court.⁸¹

Around the middle of the 13th century, the liturgy was reformed by Haymo of Faversham, with an ordinal being put together for the breviary, for graces said at meals as well as for the missal. It was referred to when correcting the liturgical books used by the order. Later it exercised major influence over the Roman rite in most Western countries. In 1251, the gradual was published, followed by the antiphonary issued about three years afterwards. The scribes had to obey a number of detailed instructions when copying those books.⁸² As early as 1274, the Minorite superior St. Bonaventura regarded music as a felicitous form of amusement. According to him, since this art dispelled sadness and desperation replacing them with joy, it was supposed to be developed and studied.⁸³ The Minorite brothers produced a number of treatises relating to chants. These ranged from the simple "Cantorimus" type that contained brief instructions for the intonation of psalms and antiphons all the way to more elaborate prefaces such as the ones written by François de Bruges to his editions of the Roman Antiphonary and the Roman Psalter (1505 and 1507 respectively). Another set of instructions concerning the singing of various types of chants is found in the booklet called *Regula musice plane* written by Bonaventura of Brescia in 1497 who intended them mostly but not only for novices. *Quatuor principalia*, written by a Minorite known as the Friar of Bristol, is yet influential medieval treatise dealing both with plainchant and mensural music. The name of Giovanni Battista Martini (1705 – 1784) from

⁸¹ Berry 2002, p. 175.

⁸² Ibid., p. 176.

⁸³ Riedel 2005, p. 51.

a much later period serves as a good example and evidence of the fact that the Minorites continued to be excellent music theoreticians.⁸⁴

The Constitutions⁸⁵ create the general idea of liturgical life in the convent and these rules of order life illustrate very well the prominent position of liturgy in the Minorite order. According to prescriptions, all members had to meet every day at a fixed time in order to celebrate the convent mass and pray the Office of Hours in their choir. None possessed had permission to omit this duty under any pretence of other work or advantage. In case of necessity, a superior could excuse a friar only for a short time or the Provincial Minister for a longer time. Recitation from the breviary was to be neither too lengthy nor too hurried. One part of the choir was not to commence before the other finished. A pause was to be made in the middle of the psalm verse, marked by an asterisk. Laypeople had no access to the choir, especially during the Divine Office. The same restriction existed for the space of sacristy when a priest prepared himself for the mass. The brothers had to follow the ancient habit of frequent visits to the church and adoration. The superiors were to carefully watch the community to observe the Friday religious service of the Way of the Cross. The special Minorite rosary of the seven joys of Virgin Mary had to be worn on the cincture⁸⁶. As the Minorites have a special respect for the Virgin Mary, they were to pray this rosary daily, if possible.

As was already mentioned, the friars oversaw music education as well. The place of study was to be separated from the community rooms and accessible only for the masters and superiors. The students were not to be allowed in the convent without the supervisor's permission. The novices were to study everything announced and practise reading and singing on the choir loft, in the chapter, or publicly, in the refectory. A friar called *regenschori*, *chori regens* or *chori director* was in charge of music in the convent. This friar was chosen by the Province chapter and was to be an older, experienced and morally excellent man. He should have also been able to play the organ and regularly teach novices and monastic musicians to sing and play (the function of *regenschori* was connected with

⁸⁴ Berry 2002, p. 176.

⁸⁵ *Konstituće*, NA.

⁸⁶The cincture is a rope-like or ribbon-like article sometimes worn with certain Christian liturgical vestments, encircling the body around or above the waist.

the title *magister musices* and *organista* or *pulsator organum* in this case). The choir director could have an assistant who was called *socius*.⁸⁷

4.3.2 Specific Church Feasts and Feasts of Minorite Saints

Apart from the Constitutions, the most distinguished music guidance can be found in files of the General Chapters and in the comments of ancient Minorite scholars on liturgy. These files provide miscellaneous evidence of the development and peculiarity of the Order's music. The Statutes of numerous significant General Chapters⁸⁸ refer to the introduction of various specific order feasts. To exemplify, the magnificent celebration of Trinity Sunday on the first Sunday after the Pentecost was adopted at the General Chapter in Narbonne as early as 1260. As a consequence, Pope John XXII extended this feast to the entire church in 1334.

As St. Francis was a distinguished adorer of Christ's humanity, he even created the first Nativity scene in 1223, held the Passion of Christ in special veneration, and was the first person to receive stigmata. St. Francis also founded the Custody of the Holy Land to guard and promote the devotion to holy places. Their efforts were recognized when Franciscans were officially proclaimed custodians of holy places by Pope Clement VI in 1342. During the 15th and 16th centuries the Franciscans began to build a series of outdoor shrines in Europe to duplicate their counterparts in the Holy Land. The number of stations varied between seven and thirty, but the most common number was seven. These stations were usually placed in small buildings along the way leading to a church. A number of rural examples became attractions in their own right, usually on charming wooded hills. In 1686, in answer to their petition, Pope Innocent XI granted the Franciscans the right to erect stations within their churches. In 1731, Pope Clement XII extended this right to all churches provided that a Franciscan father erected them with the consent of the local bishop. At this time, the number of possible stations was fixed at fourteen. The special feast of the Way of the Cross was celebrated on the first Friday in March.⁸⁹

The friars also had a special respect for the Virgin Mary, and therefore celebrated her feasts in a particular way. The feast of the Immaculate Conception celebrated on the 8th of December spread thanks to the Minorites, especially by virtue of the significant Minorite

⁸⁷ Cf. Bohadlo 2015, p. 251.

⁸⁸ F. i. Statutes of the General Chapters of Narbonne (1260), Pisa (1263), Assisi (1269), Padua (1277), Assisi (1279), Strasbourg (1282), Paris (1292), Padua (1310) and then in the 16th and 17th centuries (1500, 1586, 1600 and 1682).

⁸⁹ Schmidt 1999, col. 825.

scholar John Duns Scotus (ca.1266-1308), who gave the admissible theological definition of this doctrine. It was even constituted dogmatically in 1854 as one of the cardinal church feasts. The Visitation represents another original Minorite Marian feast, which was celebrated on the 2nd of July until 1963. It was first observed by the General Chapter in Pisa in 1263 and imposed on the whole church by Pope Sixtus IV in 1477. Moreover, Franciscans generally celebrated the feast of Our Lady of the Angels of the Porziuncola on the 2nd of August. The Porziuncola is a small Catholic church located within the Papal Basilica of Saint Mary of the Angels in Assisi. This is where the Franciscan movement was founded. It is one of the first places which St. Francis commenced to work and repair and was soon joined by others. Since its origin, the feast was connected with granting of plenary Indulgences. Although plenary indulgences could at first be gained only in the Porziuncola chapel on the occasion of a pilgrimage feast, the Pope Clement X extended this privilege to all churches of the Conventuals in 1670. Thanks to this extraordinary grace, the festivity was extremely popular with the general public. Another Marian feast, dedicated to the Seven Joys of the Virgin Mary, is celebrated on the 27th of August and inspired the creation of a special Seraphic Rosary with seven decades.

The Minorites contributed substantially to the formation of today's Sanctoral Catholic Calendar – they introduced the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus in 1380 (celebrated on the first Sunday after Epiphany) or the Feast of St. Joseph (taking place on the 19th of March) in 1399. Both these feasts were prescribed for the entire church in 1721 and 1621.⁹⁰

Special order feasts started to be celebrated in a spectacular manner as soon as the order founders St. Francis and St. Clare were canonized (on the 4th of October in 1228 and on the 11th of August 1255). In 1235, the Minorite poet Julian of Speyer composed the unique rhymed office to St. Francis and St. Anthony of Padua. Other memorials of saints from the first centuries of the Order were added soon after: St. Anthony of Padua on the 13th of June in 1232, St. Dominic, the founder of the Order of Preachers and friend of St. Francis, on the 5th of August in 1234, St. Elizabeth of Hungary on the 19th of November in 1235, St. Ludwig IX, the king of France, on the 25th of August in 1297, St. Bernardino of Siena on the 20th of May in 1450, St. John Bonaventura on the 14th of July in 1482 and finally

⁹⁰Schmidt 1999, col. 822.

Catherine of Bologna on the 9th of March in 1724. Each of these feasts was supplied with particular antiphons and responsories as well as special lessons and hymns.⁹¹

4.3.3 Specifics of Minorite Music

Not surprisingly, the Minorites were obliged to follow the Franciscan Order rules of poverty even in music composition and performance. On this basis, they created a new Franciscan music concept called *opus franciscanum*. This unique Franciscan style of music started to develop in the second half of the 16th century during the times of the Minorite composer Constanzo Porta (1529-1601), a secretary of the influential Milan Bishop Carolo Borromeo. The friars had to make their music plainer by reducing four voices to unison, simplifying the instrumental solos, and styling solo vocal works for instrumental ensembles. However, when researching in more depth the compositions of the Minorites, it is possible to observe, on the one hand, a strong tendency to meet these demands and, on the other hand, a growing gap between the simplicity of liturgy and the stylistic diversity of music. A brief example clarifies this phenomenon: though the use of instruments was originally considered in contradiction with the ideal of poverty and simplicity, organs began to appear in Minorite churches at the beginning of the 17th century.⁹² Although the order's music had to meet the criteria of the specific Minorite liturgy and music style, the Minorite friars commenced to follow the common music trends of their time. However, if a friar held the position of cathedral choirmaster, his compositions had to fulfil the requirements of the solemn liturgy and had to be appropriate for the students of the Minorite schools in their convents. Over time, the Minorites became famous for their magnificent liturgies in spite of the original prescriptions, as we can see from Mozart's or Burney's references from late 18th century Italy.⁹³

4.3.4 Minorite composers and musicians

While it is true that there were many sequence writers among members of the Franciscan order in the medieval period, their impact on European music and poetry occurred in areas other than liturgy. This is mainly reflected in what is called *laude spirituali*. This term referred to simple religious songs sung in vernacular languages that were very popular at the time with lay people gathering within urban and rural confraternities. Court manners

⁹¹ Schmidt 1999, col. 825. To find out more about the specifics of Minorite liturgy, see the chapter 7.2.2 Special Minorite order festivities.

⁹² Ibid., col. 824.

⁹³ Riedel 2005, p. 68. To find out more about the occurrence of this Franciscan style in the Krumlov convent, see the chapter 7.2.8 Analysis of convent music collection.

with their habit of singing praise to monarchs or objects of love interest undeniably influenced St. Francis who applied similar poetics in worship of God, singing praise and joy. He is author of numerous songs whose lyrics have survived to the present day, the most famous being the *Canticle of the Sun*. He even referred to the friars as *joculatores*⁹⁴ *Domini*, sending them out to the streets to give sermons and worship God not with the primary intention of collecting money, but rather converting hearts and souls to the Lord. This is one of the reasons why the Minorites were very fond of sacred songs in vernacular language sung outside the liturgy. Melodies were often taken directly from amorous songs and lyrics paraphrased or parodied. Some outstanding *laude* were composed by Franciscan friars Jacopone da Todi and Bianco da Siena, the former frequently employing dance forms in his compositions. Many of the pieces featured themes such as penitence or veneration of Virgin Mary. This Franciscan tradition of songs written in folk languages was to have major influence within the development of medieval lyric in the countries situated north of the Alps. The first French *noël* with known attribution was written by friar Jean Tisserand. Similarly, the history of the English Christmas carol is closely connected with the Minorite order. The friars wrote original compositions and translated texts, but also wrote macaronic poetry or parodies.⁹⁵

It would be wrong to assume that the Minorites limited their music activities to popular songs written and sung in their native languages. Minorite friar Philip the Chancellor with his figural works is specifically mentioned in a work by Salimbene de Adam who therein provided a valuable account of the various music activities that took place in Italy in 1284, thus proving that a more complex music was also part of the Minorite tradition. In a later period, one of the most highly appraised Minorite musicians was Giovanni Battista Martini (1706 – 1784) known as Padre Martini, who was active as a teacher, scholar and music composer and whose reputation spread all over Europe during his lifetime. Several members of the order held the positions of choirmasters in court chapels and cathedrals, such as Antonio Valotti (1697-1780) or Bohuslav Matěj Černošský (1684-1742) in Padua.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Joculator was a professional jester or minstrel.

⁹⁵ Berry 2002, p. 175-6.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

4.3.5 Minorite Music Education

Shortly after the Order's formation, the friars founded their own schools where the Order musicians and cantors were educated in both theoretical and practical music subjects, principally in Gregorian chant. In comparison to other orders committed to *stabilitas loci*⁹⁷, the Minorites had the possibility to refer skilled friars or students to a renowned study centre founded for this purpose at Minorite monasteries throughout Europe. The Parisian school became prominent under the administration of music-loving and highly music-educated General Minister Haymo of Faversham, John of Parma and the Minorite poet Julian of Speyer in the mid-13th century.⁹⁸ Together with the Jesuits, who founded their colleges in towns and cities as well, the Minorites gained crucial influence over Catholic ministry and education in the period between the Council of Trent (held between 1545 and 1563) and the ascension of the age of Enlightenment at the end of the 18th century. As both these activities were inherently associated with music, the Minorites' contribution to music development and to the education of musicians in the 17th and 18th centuries was of capital importance.⁹⁹

5 Ecclesiastical Music in the town of Český Krumlov up to the 18th Century

The town of Český Krumlov was founded relatively late, in the second half of the 13th century, though its surroundings were settled as early as the preceding century. The founding of the parish church of St. Vitus by Peter I of Rosenberg falls into the period between 1309 and 1317. The fact that the church is consecrated to this saint seems to reflect Rosenberg's ambition to make allusion to the St. Vitus Church at the Prague Castle. He also founded St. Judoc church (first evidenced in 1317) built within the premises of the then newly established hospital. Last but not least, he was founder of the St. George Chapel at the castle in Český Krumlov; its administrators were chaplains of St. Vitus Church. Catherine, the widow of Peter I of Rosenberg, founded both the Minorite Monastery and the Convent of the Clare nuns within the Church of the Body of Christ.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Basically, this term refers to the promise to spend one's entire life in a particular monastery or remain tied to one place. This promise is typical for the Benedictine order.

⁹⁸ Schmidt 1999, col. 826.

⁹⁹ Riedel 2005, p. 53. To ascertain more about music education and convent music ensemble in Český Krumlov, see the chapter 7.2.6 Position of a musician within the convent.

¹⁰⁰ Prokopová http://www.encyklopedie.ckrumlov.cz/docs/en/mesto_histor_cirdej.xml.

In the medieval period, most of the music life happening in Český Krumlov revolved around the parochial church of St. Vitus, the Minorite Monastery and the castle. Each of these places of course had a different type of orchestra and music production. As of 1443, the local parish became the seat of the archdeaconry containing the total of seven deaneries. Český Krumlov played a crucial role for the Roman Catholic Church throughout the 15th century, as delegations often stopped there on their way to or from Rome. These are known to include such personalities as Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and St. John of Capistrano. The chaplaincy of Český Krumlov ranked among the most influential cultural centres at the dawn of the humanist period in Bohemia. The first documented music event, the Festival of Showing Relics, was introduced to the town around the year 1400.¹⁰¹

Liturgy in the St. Vitus church was accompanied by choir singers led by a teacher or school master. Their duties included the singing of morning masses and afternoon vespers daily as well as participating in occasional funerals and services for the dead. Latin chant formed the core of their repertoire although they also sang contemporary polyphonic hymns (in the late 16th century doing so on a daily basis).¹⁰² Another important group who participated in the liturgy was the Literary Brotherhood established around 1490. It was a community of burghers whose organisational structure resembled that of guilds. The brotherhood used to sing at morning masses on Sundays and holidays, for which purpose a gallery was added to the western side of the St. Vitus church in the late Gothic period. Part of their repertoire has also survived up to the present day. The extant score is a unique source of music from the time of Rudolf II performed in Bohemia and Central Europe in general, containing polyphonic compositions of hymns, vespers and Magnificats.¹⁰³ Orlando di Lasso, Ludwig Senfl, Jacob Vaet, Thomas Stoltzer, Christobal Morales – these are the most influential names of the time. However, Prague was also the home base of important composers such as Franz Salm or Jacob de Kerle, while Jan Simonides Montanus was active in the town of Kutná Hora. By late 15th century an organ had been installed in the church. New instruments were put into the church around 1490, in 1562 and in 1606. By this time an organ workshop had been established in Český Krumlov, a factor that seems to have contributed to the installation of

¹⁰¹ Cf. the Chapter 6.1 Short history of the Minorite monastery in this thesis.

¹⁰² Cf. Martin Horyna: *Hudba a hudební život v Českém Krumlově v 15. a 16. století [Music and Music Life in Český Krumlov in the 15th and 16th Century]*, Master thesis Karlova Univerzita 1980.

¹⁰³ This music collection is stored in SOA Třeboň, pobočka ČK, section *Rukopisy prelátské knihovny [Manuscripts of the Prelate Library]*, sign. III S 17. To ascertain more about this Brotherhood, see Martin Horyna (ed.): *22 vícehlasých hymnů z rukopisu Kaplanské knihovny v Českém Krumlově č. 9 [22 Polyphonic Hymns from the Manuscript of the Chaplain Library in Český Krumlov no. 9]*, České Budějovice: Státní vědecká knihovna 2000.

two instruments in the church around 1600. The early 17th century saw the end of the Literary Brotherhood which was, according to church chronicles, subsequently replaced by four solo singers and later also several professional musicians.

As of 1450 or even earlier, musicians were also employed directly by the Rosenberg family. The ensemble in the service of Ulrich II of Rosenberg is known to include trumpeters and from around 1500 on also a piper. The ensemble was active till 1520 when it was dismissed. Later, Wilhelm of Rosenberg established the Rosenberg Ensemble, which is considered the most significant music ensemble in the services of aristocracy before 1620.¹⁰⁴

The period that saw increasing influence of the Lutheran and Utraquist religious groups was brought to an end by the invitation of the Jesuit order by Wilhelm of Rosenberg. He made the order members the patrons of the parish church of St. Vitus in 1592 and founded the Jesuit College in its vicinity. After the Český Krumlov estates had been sold to Rudolf II of Habsburg in 1602, the Jesuits were put in charge of St. Judoc Church and introduced there services in German language. Their school system incorporated music theatre an inseparable part of the pupil's education and the first regular performances are documented to have taken place at the Jesuit College before 1620. During religious holidays or visits of aristocratic notables, the public of Český Krumlov came to watch allegorical Latin pieces of drama performed to the accompaniment of music. There is a single surviving score of a play from this time, originating in 1750.¹⁰⁵ It brings evidence that some of the plays were based on opera-like compositions featuring instrumental music parts, arias, recitatives, choirs and even ballet parts. The core of music resounding in St. Judoc church seems to have been less elaborate, consisting mainly of German songs accompanied by the organ during the second half of the 17th century.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Horyna http://www.encyklopedie.ckrumlov.cz/docs/en/mesto_histor_hudba.xml.

¹⁰⁵ *Geminus in uno Firmamento Splendor nempe Schwarzenbergicus et Lichtensteinicus*, Schwarzenberský rodinný archiv, Sběrka rukopisů, no. 179.

¹⁰⁶ Horyna http://www.encyklopedie.ckrumlov.cz/docs/en/mesto_histor_hudba.xml.



Figure 4: Music Centres of Český Krumlov between 1726 and 1750
(© Město Český Krumlov /Photo: Libor Sváček).

Most of social life at the castle came to an end in 1602 and was revived only in 1664 when the Eggenberg Ensemble was founded by Johann Christian of Eggenberg who took over the Český Krumlov estate. A music register from 1706 has survived, providing valuable evidence of the orchestra's repertoire.¹⁰⁷ The later period of the Schwarzenberg rule saw the establishment of several important music ensembles. Valuable information on their activity is found in the well-preserved Schwarzenberg music collection. The family also renovated the baroque theatre at the castle, which was re-opened in 1768.¹⁰⁸

A pilgrimage chapel of the Feast of the Cross and Our Lady of Sorrows was built at Křížová hora (Hill of the Cross) situated near the town in the early 18th century and was occupied by Minorite hermits. The Jesuit Grammar School and College were abolished in 1773, which was followed by the dissolution of the Clare Nun Convent nine years later.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ This register is stored in SOA Třeboň, pobočka Český Krumlov (CZ-K) in the section *Rodinný archiv Eggenbergů*, Sign. III 3 H 2 i.

¹⁰⁸ Horyna http://www.encyklopedie.ckrumlov.cz/docs/en/mesto_histor_hudba.xml.

¹⁰⁹ Prokopová http://www.encyklopedie.ckrumlov.cz/docs/en/mesto_histor_cirdej.xml.

6 The Minorite Order in Český Krumlov

6.1 Short History of the Minorite Convent

The convent was founded in 1350 by the order of Catherine of Wartenberg, Peter Rosenberg's widow, and her four sons Petr, Oldřich, Jošt and Jan. However, Peter of Rosenberg who died in 1347 was the initiator of the foundation. He was the second most powerful man in the Czech lands after the king, a significant politician and the ruler of Český Krumlov. He cared for the flourishing of the town in manifold ways and by founding a new town quarter under the castle called *Nové město*, where he erected St. Vitus Church, the castle chapel of St. George and the hospital by the church of St. Jošt, he enabled Český Krumlov to gain urban privilege. The Clarissan convent in the vicinity of the new monastery was established ten years later on the occasion of the province chapter which took place in Český Krumlov in 1361. The quite unusual construction of united monasteries of the Minorites and the Poor Clares mirrors the pattern of the Prague convent founded by Saint Agnes of Bohemia in 1231. The Czech Princess established the first Poor Clares monastery outside Italy and the Rosenbergs wanted to follow this contemporary royal tendency.¹¹⁰ Many Rosenberg noblewomen entered the order, and both new monasteries were richly endowed by the Rosenbergs' and other South Bohemian noble foundations, especially by Wilhelm of Rosenberg in 1588 and his brother Peter Vok in 1597 and 1611. Moreover, the popes and archbishops regularly granted the right of plenary indulgence to the monastery.

The Friars Minor probably came to town to help quell the spreading sectarianism, especially the movement of the Waldensians, with their preaching and exemplary Christian life. The Minorites' main mission was to preach, grant sacraments and generally take care of the spiritual matters of Český Krumlov inhabitants. Moreover, the friars helped local parish priests to celebrate masses in the St. Vitus church and administer parishes. The guardians of the Minorites order were regularly appointed confessors of the Poor Clares. Other members of the convent helped as catechists in Krumlov's principal school or in other learning institutes. The Minorites also employed musicians and ran their own monastery school. As a result, the Minorite convent became a spiritual centre of the new quarter of *Nové město* and even of the adjacent region.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Soukupová 2015, p. 32.

¹¹¹ Psíková 1975, p. 3-6.

The Corpus Christi celebration may well be considered the most majestic monastery feast in Middle Ages. It included a procession that started at the parish church and proceeded down to the Minorite convent. The event is well described in a surviving source, the Minorite obituary¹¹² providing detailed description of the music background of the festivity including such specifics as who was in charge of singing the respective parts and in which places this took place.

In the late 14th century, with the reign of the Roman Emperor and Czech King Charles IV, the veneration of relics gained great significance as a direct result of the monarch's personal example. The fact that sacred relics were displayed in the Body of Christ Chapel in Český Krumlov side by side with the imperial jewels reflected the ambition of the Rosenbergs to match the residence of the ruling family in manifold aspects. The relics were donated not only by the monarch himself, but also by Ludwig I, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Prague Archbishop and others. The relics were embedded in reliquaries and some of them were placed at the Cistercian Monastery in Vyšší Brod founded by the Rosenbergs as their family vault, while others stayed in St George Chapel at the castle in Český Krumlov.

Because of a disagreement with the parish clerics who felt that the celebrations of Corpus Christi were outshined by the Minorite Festival, it became the habit (kept until 1379) to postpone the Corpus Christi and the Relics processions till the octave of the Corpus Christi Day (the celebration of the most important holidays in the Roman Catholic Church takes eight days, so in accord with this tradition the eighth day after the festive one was a logical choice.) The Festival of Displaying Relics was gaining more importance, a trend that culminated toward the end of the 14th century when the Rosenberg family obtained numerous indulgences for it.

As is clear from a description of the festive procession in the obituary of the Minorite friars from Český Krumlov, music played crucial role in this ritual. The Festival followed a fixed pattern that began on the Corpus Christi Day with a procession starting at the Convent Church with the chanting of hymns and proceeding towards the parish church of St. Vitus. The procession was headed by people scattering flowers and grass. They were immediately

¹¹² This obituary is stored in the Czech National Library in Prague in the Manuscripts and Early Printed Books Departement (sign. XIV B 15). To find out more about this festival, see Zlata Gersdorfová: *Theatrum fidei Crumloviensi. Sakrální prostory Českého Krumlova ve světle slavností ukazování ostatků v oktáv svátku Božího Těla [Theatrum fidei Crumloviensi. Český Krumlov Sacral Areas in the Light of the Feast of Displaying Relics in the Corpus Christi Octave]*, Rigorosum thesis Karlova Univerzita 2013.

followed by four Minorite friars carrying the reliquary and other participants with a monstrance containing the relic. Behind them were acolytes with the bells and the procession was concluded by the Abbot of Vyšší Brod who carried the Most Blessed Sacrament under a silken canopy with the figures of the four Evangelists. He was surrounded by the clergy and after them, people followed in the procession. All the time there was singing to the accompaniment of instrumental music performed by the *pueri*, who were most likely students of the Latin School in Český Krumlov. After visiting the parish church, the Abbot proceeded to the monastery cemetery where he displayed the sacred relics while a priest announced them first in Czech, then in German language. Indulgences were bestowed after that and the clerics, together with some of the public, sang a glorious Eucharist. The rest of the procession stayed in the monastery courtyard where sermons in German were given; they could also listen to them standing in the cloisters or the cemetery. After the mass, a feast was held at the castle to which selected guests were invited. After the meal, a sermon on the Body of Christ was heard at the monastery church. In the course of the whole day, a number of priests were available to hear the people's confessions.

1417 was the last time that the festival of Display of Relics took place, which came as a result of the inclination of Ulrich II. of Rosenberg toward the Hussite movement. He made the parish priests convert to Utraquism and had many of them expelled from their parishes. After returning to Catholic faith, Ulrich sold the sacred relics to gather financial resources needed for his fight against the Hussites. Although the relics returned to Český Krumlov during the 1450s and the 1460s, the majestic processions with the carrying of the relics were never revived.¹¹³

The patronage of the monastery was passed from the Rosenberg family to the Schwamberks in the 17th century. Subsequently, the Eggenbergs took it over and in 1719, the patronage right went to the hands of the Schwarzenberg family who possessed it until the year 1948.¹¹⁴

The second half of the 17th century saw a new heyday of the Minorite and the Clare Nun monasteries thanks to the close contact of the orders both with the town and the local nobility.

¹¹³ Hansová http://www.encyklopedie.ckrumlov.cz/docs/en/mesto_histor_slaost.xml. To find out more about this festival in the reporting period, see the chapter 7.2.1.2 Special festivities of liturgical year.

¹¹⁴ Hajná http://www.castle.ckrumlov.cz/docs/en/zamek_oinf_histor.xml.

In 1696, Johann Christian of Eggenberg left a testament that put the Minorites in charge of celebrating masses in the castle chapel of St. George as well.¹¹⁵

In 1692, the prominent Czech composer Bernard Artophaeus (1651-1721) became the head of the convent. He wrote so-called Franciscan Masses, motets and spiritual concerts. Moreover, he came into contact with the Eggenberg Orchestra as evidenced by his compositions of Baletti. Artophaeus was a teacher, protector and superior of the remarkable Czech composer Bohuslav Matěj Černohorský (1684-1742).¹¹⁶

The convent prospered the most during the administration of the order guardian Hyacinth Sperl (+1754) who served in Český Krumlov intermittently between the years 1726 and 1750: According to a contemporary description from 1738-1739, the monastery counted 52 permanent inhabitants – 19 order priests, seven clerics, one novice, four laymen and 22 Clarissan sisters.¹¹⁷ Five years later, there were also 14 students of theology, nine students of philosophy, 21 students of logic and 15 musicians who studied at the convent school. Since that the number of order brothers has decreased.¹¹⁸ The great prosperity was caused by the good organization of the monastery for which Hyacinth Sperl was responsible. He took care of the material as well as spiritual matters of the convent: the monastery library was newly created. The composition of the monastic library reflects Sperl's interests: he was concerned with politics, warfare and current philosophy and theology.¹¹⁹ Sperl was certainly interested in music and art as the Český Krumlov monastery in his times maintained both plainchant and figural choir and employed 16 musicians. During Sperl's administration period the monastic music collection was extended and the level of liturgy and liturgical music in Krumlov was kept solemnly and properly.¹²⁰

Sperl was born in the North-Bohemian town of Lovosice in 1690, entered the Minorite order at the age of 18 and was ordained a priest in Prague in 1713.¹²¹ After that he gained the doctoral degree in theology and published his own collection of sermons in 1726. The fact that he was even elected a President of the Provincial Chapter in 1743, Provincial Minister

¹¹⁵ Prokopová http://www.encyklopedie.ckrumlov.cz/docs/en/mesto_histor_cirdej.xml.

¹¹⁶ Bohadlo 2008, p. 52.

¹¹⁷ LM II, p. 354 and 383.

¹¹⁸ LM II, p. 512 and 540.

¹¹⁹ Hejnic 1995, p. 65.

¹²⁰ Bohadlo 2015, p. 254.

¹²¹ *Matrica ordinatum*, NA.

and General Commissar for the Bohemian Province between 1735 and 1738¹²², proves the speculation of his excellent organisational skills. The subsequent guardian Angelinus Pawliczko depicts Sperl's extraordinary personality on the occasion of his death caused by long-term exhaustion from incessant work and subsequent weakness.¹²³ Pawliczko describes Sperl's nature as solid, the most skilful, very prudent and wise, of an admirable dexterity in administrative work, discrete severity, tender gentleness, wonderful hospitality, amicable and lively conversation and general friendliness. Sperl took diligent and conscientious care of the Krumlov convent from the year 1726 to the day of his death. He stayed in Krumlov even during the period when he held the post of Provincial Minister, leading the Bohemian province from this South Bohemian town. In this way he could stay in contact both with the local convent and with the Schwarzenberg nobility during this period. Thanks to his amiable character he was respected by all people including the Prince of Schwarzenberg. The day after Sperl's death, the burial rites and the Office for the Dead were sung by guardian Pawliczko himself in the presence of Minorite fraternities. Sperl's corpse was carried by eight younger officials and committed to the crypt of the friars. The evidence of numerous people attending his funeral confirms the hypothesis of the guardian's extreme popularity.

¹²² LM II, p. 512.

¹²³ LM III, p. 151-152, 28.5.1754.

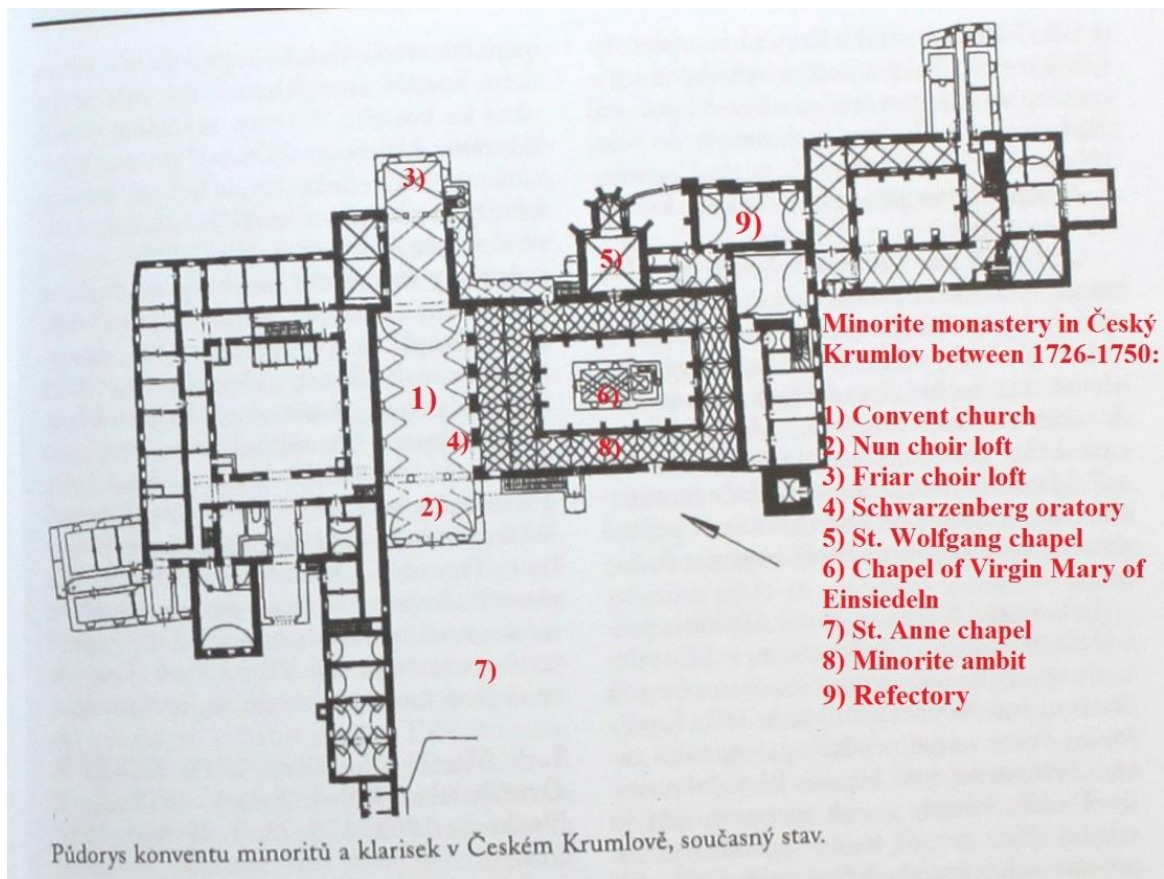


Figure 5: The Krumlov Minorite Convent in the Second Quarter of the 18th century
(Author Pavel Vlček, p. 207)

6.2 The Structural Development of the Convent

The Minorite monastery of Český Krumlov, consecrated to the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, is located in the north-western part of the town of Český Krumlov called *Latrán*. It is situated to the east of the castle, which is connected with the monastery by a covered corridor. The Rosenbergs, who were the founders of the convent, as well as the other noble families of Český Krumlov, naturally had a close relationship to it.

The first building in the extensive monastery compound was the Church of Corpus Christi, conjoint for both orders (the Minorites and Clares), which formed the natural core of the convent. This consecration of the Church of Corpus Christi refers to the most magnificent medieval monastic ceremony: the display of relics held on the pilgrimage day of the monastery. There is also a marvellous statue of Our Lady of Sorrows which dates back to

around 1350 and which then possessed a papal right of indulgences. The construction had to be interrupted due to the Hussite wars, which is why the monastery buildings come mainly from the late 15th century, the era of late gothic style. A unique cloister is still preserved from this period. However, the oldest part of the convent is the convent chapel of St. Wolfgang, which was built before 1491 and used as a chapterhouse as well. The monastery was burnt down at the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, but in 1668 it was completely rebuilt by Eggenberg architects Stefan Perti and Giacomo Antonio de Maggi. Moreover, Prince Johann Christian of Eggenberg himself donated the new main altar of St. Francis to the church. Since that time the church has comprised eight altars: the main altar with the old painting of Annunciation¹²⁴ and statues of Apostles St. Peter and Paul, the altar of St. Francis of Assisi, St. Anthony of Padua, Our Lady of Sorrows, St. Liberius, St. John the Evangelist (also called Coronation of Virgin Mary), Five Holy Wounds of Christ and Fourteen Holy Helpers.¹²⁵ The convent church was also extended by two oratories for the nobility on the right side of the church, the nuns' choir loft above the main entrance and the friars' loft behind the presbytery on the opposite side of the church. Therefore, the way of singing in the space of monastic church provided an interesting sound phenomenon: as there was a spatial separation of the female and male choirs who sang some psalms verses alternately from the opposite sides of the church, the space of the church was filled with sounds coming from different places and thereby creating special polychoral effects.

The princely oratory was equipped with a chapel of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, the sisters' choir with the medieval altar of Infant Jesus and the statue of Virgin Mary, the Mother of the convent. The friars' choir, hidden behind the main altar, was supplemented with a new organ built by the organ makers Nicolaus Christeindl from České Budějovice and Bernhard Wollers from Bremen in Germany in 1682. This quite unusual organ position behind the main altar was typical for the Franciscan order: a similar example can be found in the Franciscan convent churches in Vienna or Slaný (Central Bohemia) where the organ was built as a compound of the main altar.¹²⁶ The organ was also used to accompany the liturgy of the Office of Hours (Divine office) which took place in the friars' choir loft. This extant two-manual instrument with 22 sound stops and unobtrusive pedal represents a unique organ built in South German style.

¹²⁴ This painting was replaced by the picture of Adoration of St. Francis in the second half of the 18th century.

¹²⁵ *Historie minoritského kláštera, přehledy klášterů, seznam kvardiánů a provinciálů, papežská statuta pro minoritský řád*, SOA Třeboň.

¹²⁶ Honys 1996, p. 12.

Simultaneously, the refectory was enlarged and a new pilgrimage chapel of the Virgin Mary of Einsiedeln (*Eremitana*) was built in the middle of the Paradise Court in the Minorite cloister. This chapel was constructed following the order of Princess Marie Ernestine of Eggenberg between 1687 and 1688. The construction was to be a replica of the original chapel in Switzerland with a marvellous statue of the Black Madonna. According to the inventory from 1857, an organ would have accompanied the liturgy but no other specific details about this instrument are preserved.¹²⁷

At the end of the 17th century a new public crypt was caved in the large Minorite cloister, another one was set up by the altar of Five Holy Wounds of Christ. The second burial vault was usually used for the members of the local Confraternity; the municipal people were mainly buried in the large cloister.

In 1727, the guardian Hyacint Sperl had a new third floor built where he arranged a new convent school with extensive art and natural collections and established a seminary for clerics. The new floor was furnished for the needs of the school and the students (including convent musicians) who also lived in this part of the monastery. In 1740, the altar of the new canonized Bohemian Saint John of Nepomuk was erected and the Way of the Cross was consecrated in the large cloister.¹²⁸

A large garden and a great square called *Tramín* were two other parts belonging to the monastery. The Tramín square originally served as a cemetery and a place for displaying a marvellous collection of relics. The Chapel of Saint Anne, the Patroness of Dying Persons, used to be located near the monastic gate in Tramín Square. The Chapel was built in 1583 but it was demolished in the second half of the 19th century.¹²⁹

7 The Music Culture of the Minorite Convent in Český Krumlov

The main purpose of this chapter is to analyse the music relationships in the Minorite monastery of Český Krumlov in the second quarter of the 18th century. Since the key person of the present thesis - the order guardian Hyacint Sperl¹³⁰ - served in Český Krumlov

¹²⁷Honys 1996, p. 18.

¹²⁸ To ascertain more about this festivities, see chapter 7.2.2 Special Minorite order festivities.

¹²⁹ Vlček 1997, p. 206-208.

¹³⁰ To find out more about Hyacinth Sperl, cf. Chapter 6.1 Short history of the Minorite monastery

intermittently between the years 1726 and 1750, his administration period represents the decisive time span for this research.

The Minorite music activities can be divided into two essential fields of research: the Minorite music culture is firstly observed in relation to the noble and municipal environment in Český Krumlov; secondly, there are described the music activities within the Minorite monastery itself. This chapter is, therefore, divided into two extensive categories: its first part addresses the diverse Minorite music relationships outside the convent walls; the second part discusses the various functions of music in the Minorite monastery itself.

7.1 Minorite music culture outside the monastery

In the framework of this chapter, the focal point lies on the wide spectrum of music relationships among the friars, the noblemen and the townspeople in Český Krumlov. Within this town, three social groups can be distinguished: the townspeople, the nobility and the church representatives. As can be observed from numerous entries in the monastic chronicle, the connection with the Schwarzenberg noble founders represented the overriding relation.

7.1.1 The Schwarzenbergs between 1726 and 1750 and their relation to music

In order to create a comprehensive depiction of the music connection between the Schwarzenbergs and the Minorites, it is fundamental to sketch a concise portrait of the ruling Schwarzenberg house during the observed period. This brief illustration also clarifies more precisely the music culture at the castle of Český Krumlov in the second quarter of the 18th century.

The Schwarzenbergs ranked among the most prominent noble families in the Holy Roman Empire during the 18th century: they held eminent positions in the Habsburg politics and significant functions at the Viennese court. The career of Prince Adam Franz of Schwarzenberg (1680-1732) might serve as a good example. At the beginning of his service at the Imperial Court in Vienna, he was *Obersthofmarschall* (Marshal of the Court) of Emperor Charles VI, then he became his *Wirklicher Geheimer Rat* (Real Privy Councilor) and finally, in 1722, he was appointed *Oberstallmeister* (Master of the Stables). At the occasion of the Emperor's coronation in Prague in 1723, he was designated Duke of Český Krumlov. The fact

that the Český Krumlov dominion constituted the only Duchy in the Czech lands shows the prominent position that the Schwarzenbergs held in Central Europe.¹³¹

In spite of his title, Adam Franz spent most of the year in Vienna because of his office at the Imperial Court. He visited his provincial estates only a few times per year, usually during the hunting season.¹³² Concerning his music activities, there is no evidence of him having special music interests or tendencies. Unlike other patricians of the times¹³³, the Prince did not have his own court ensemble, but he employed two horn players throughout his reign. In 1718, he admitted a lutenist to his service followed by two trumpeters ten years later.¹³⁴

The Prince's life and even his death were devotedly bound to the Imperial services; in fact, Adam Franz died after being injured by Charles VI during a hunt near Brandýs nad Labem in Central Bohemia in 1732.¹³⁵ After his death, Český Krumlov became the main residence of his widow, Eleonore Amalia of Lobkowitz. His only son Joseph Adam of Schwarzenberg (1722-1782), who was merely 10 years old at the time, stayed in Vienna. The Emperor himself supervised his education and awarded him with the Order of the Golden Fleece. Until the young Prince reached maturity, his mother Eleonore Amalia and other guardians administered the family property. When his mother died in 1741, Joseph was nineteen years old. Soon after he was proclaimed an adult, he married Maria Theresia of Liechtenstein and took over the management of the family estate.

Joseph Adam, like his father, devoted a certain part of his life to performing various functions and roles at the Imperial Court. First, he held the post of *Wirklicher Geheimer Rat* (Real Privy Councilor), then from 1754 he served as *Obersthofmarschall* (Marshal of the Court) and, finally, he was appointed *Obersthofmeister* (Master of the Court) of Empress Maria Teresa. The sovereign also contributed to the rise of Schwarzenberg prestige: the princely title was extended at her command to all members of the family in 1746. The acquirement of this privilege accentuated the respectability of the entire family.¹³⁶

¹³¹ Zálaha 1995, p. 15.

¹³² Ibid., p. 15.

¹³³ To find out more about aristocratic music in the 18th century in the Czech lands, see Kapsa 2010 or Perutková, 2011.

¹³⁴ Franková 2012, p. 175.

¹³⁵ Hajná http://www.castle.ckrumlov.cz/docs/cz/zamek_o_inf_baroko.xml.

¹³⁶ The appointing decree from the 8th of December 1746 is stored in: SOA Třeboň, pobočka Český Krumlov (CZ-K), R.A.S, listiny, zásuvka 3. The granted title followed the French pattern calling all family members „Prince“ and „Princesse“. Cf. Zálaha 1995, p. 16.

On establishing Český Krumlov as his residential town at the beginning of his reign, Joseph Adam initiated the renovation of Český Krumlov Castle: the entire complex of the castle buildings and gardens was transformed in the style of Viennese rococo. The young Prince commenced his activity in Český Krumlov by building the winter riding hall between 1744 and 1746. In the same period, the interior of the summer manor *Bellaria* was reconstructed as well as the castle pond. The rococo arrangement of the court gardens of Krumlov seems to have been adapted following the model of the gardens of the Viennese Belvedere. Afterwards, the Prince ordered the embellishment of the *Masquerade Hall* (1748) with paintings by Viennese painters Joseph Lederer, Hans Wetschl and Leo Märkl. As the Masquerade Hall was designed as a venue for theatrical performances, the main theme of the paintings is a group of aristocrats enjoying themselves. The amusing noblemen are surrounded by various figures from Italian and French *Commedia dell'arte* mingling with people in Spanish, Turkish, or other national folk costumes. Due to the fact that the hall was used during the ball season, it also needed a special gallery for musicians. The Masquerade Hall was directly connected to the castle theatre by a newly built wooden corridor called the Cloak Bridge. Moreover, the Prince had the chapel rebuilt the castle chapel of St. George and added another storey to the castle residence. These extensive reconstructions led to the completion of the architectural development of the castle, which since that time has not undergone any further alterations.¹³⁷ Although the principal manager of this renovation was the Prince of Schwarzenberg, his wife Maria Theresia participated in the remodelling activities as well. According to her own words, she preferred staying in the country to living in Vienna („Je donnerai toujours sans balancer de carnaval pour une été que je puis passer avec tus [!] autres á la Campagne.”).¹³⁸ In 1750, she bought a house called *Villa Favorita* (today *Kvítkův Dvůr*) located about one kilometre north of the castle gardens. The courtyard was transformed into a small castle and decorated with frescos depicting the life of farmers by painter František Jakub Prokyš.¹³⁹

On the basis of references in the preserved correspondence between the count couple of Thürheim and the Schwarzenberg princely couple, it may be assumed that the princely couple showed a favorable attitude towards music, had a good overview of the contemporary Viennese theatre and music repertoire and was well-educated music and dramatic performers. The Prince especially preferred lighter comic genres, such as *opera buffa* or *opéra comique*,

¹²³ Zálaha 1995, p. 17.

¹³⁸ Kazárová 2010, p. 305. English translation of Helena Kazárová: „I would exchange a carnival for a summer spent with others in the country.“

¹³⁹ Hajná http://www.castle.ckrumlov.cz/docs/en/region_histor_tvrkvd.xml.

which he principally attended at the *Burgtheater* and the *Kärntnertortheater*. Due to his fondness for comic genres, he himself considered his taste as quite “depraved”: „Comme vous connoisiez mon gout depreuvé; cela [Comedie francaise] ne m’interesse guere à l’exception des opera comiques; auxquels cependant je prefere les opera Buffa Italiens.”¹⁴⁰

Joseph Adam apparently portrayed a variety of characters in yet another favourite form of entertainment of the time: he repeatedly acted in theatre pieces given by noblemen at the Imperial Court in Vienna.¹⁴¹ He paid special respect to one of his musicians by becoming the godfather of the five children of the horn player Franz Vondráček, who was also the music teacher of the Prince's children.¹⁴² In the 1740s, he hired new musicians to his services: besides the above-mentioned wind players, a lutenist and an organist took part in a new court ensemble called *Cammer Musik*, afterwards enhanced by a tenor and a bass singer in the mid-18th century. Organist Ferdinand Arbesser was also paid for music he either copied or composed. His pieces are preserved in Český Krumlov as well as in the Vienna National Library, several Austrian monasteries and the Eisenstadt Episcopal Archives. From 1772, he held the position of first organist at the Imperial Court and stayed in the Emperor's services until his retirement. As he composed a small opera for the wedding of Joseph Gundakar of Thürheim and Dominica of Hager which was performed at the Imperial Court in 1745, he was apparently close to the courtiers of the Imperial Court even during his service under the Schwarzenbergs.¹⁴³ In this case, the occasional service of a Schwarzenberg musician at the Imperial Court provides evidence of the interconnection between the centre and periphery and the role played by music in the interactions between Vienna and Český Krumlov. Other proofs of the influence of music on the two cultural centres, with special emphasis on the music activities at Český Krumlov Castle, are discussed in the following chapter.

Concerning Joseph Adam's relationship to church institutions, the house of Schwarzenberg was interconnected with the Franciscan order in various ways. According to preserved quittances, the Capuchins and Franciscans in Vienna repeatedly celebrated foundation masses

¹⁴⁰ Kazárová 2013, p. 31. English translation of Markéta Králová: „As you are familiar with my poor taste, this genre [*comédie française*] hardly interests me, with the exception of the *opéra comique*; I nevertheless prefer Italian *opera buffa*.”

¹⁴¹ Kazárová 2010, p. 303.

¹⁴² Franková 2012, p. 169.

¹⁴³ This composition is stored in the Austrian National Library, Music collection, sign. Mus. Hs. 1064. The whole title of the composition is: Die/ Durch Cupido und Hymans Stärke, Glücklich gemachte Trauungs Wercke./ an/ Dem Freuden vollen Verbindungs-Tage/ Ihero Gräflichen Gnaden/ herrn, herrn,/ Joseph Gundacars v: Thirheim./ mit Ihero Gnaden/ Dominica Baronessin v. Hager./ Sr: Königl: Maystät zu Hungarn und Böhheim/ gewesten hof-Dame./ Vorgetragen/ Und in die Music übersetzt, von ferdinand Arbesser./ Ihero durchleucht. fürsten zu Schwarzenberg/ Cammer Musico. 1745. Cf. Franková 2012, p. 164.

for dead members of the Schwarzenberg family.¹⁴⁴ As the Capuchins and Jesuits contributed the most to the renewal of the Catholic Church after the Council of Trent¹⁴⁵, Joseph Adam appointed the Capuchins to be his private confessors.¹⁴⁶ The Prince regularly attended the Minorite liturgical services in the Krumlov friary and invited them to the castle to celebrate the liturgy in the castle chapel.¹⁴⁷ Finally, there is no evidence of any private contacts with the other Krumlov order, the Jesuits, who ran the local college.

7.1.2 The music connection between the Minorites and Schwarzenbergs at the castle of Český Krumlov

As mentioned above, the principal aim of this chapter is to depict the various aspects of music relationships and connections between the Minorites and their patron family, the Schwarzenbergs. The main characteristics of this relationship can be found in the records of the monastery chronicle called the *Liber magistralis*.¹⁴⁸

As the records generally reflect all the music events at the castle in which Hyacint Sperl himself was an active participant, they may shed new light not only on the music relations between the Minorites and the Schwarzenbergs, but they might also provide a new perspective on castle music culture as a whole. The depiction of castle music events in the chronicle falls into two research categories: some of the records reflect the Schwarzenberg family and liturgical festivities in the space of the local castle while the others depicts the festivities associated with the Schwarzenbergs' representation in public, mainly in the town environment of Český Krumlov.

Although significant music events in Český Krumlov were connected primarily with the Schwarzenberg noble house, the inhabitants created their own musical culture as well: in this era the music life was mainly founded on various church festivities, which presented a unique opportunity for music involvement.

¹⁴⁴ *Záležitosti kaple*, SOA Třeboň, pobočka ČK.

¹⁴⁵ Coreth 1982, p. 15.

¹⁴⁶ LM II, 406, LM III, 41, 47, 77, and 82.

¹⁴⁷ LM II, 577, December 4, 1745.

¹⁴⁸ For more about this chronicle, see the Chapter 2.2.1 Archival sources.

7.1.2.1 Schwarzenberg private festivities

In the context of historical research of early modern times, it seems self-evident that the festivities were an essential component of the life of nobility in this period.¹⁴⁹ Noble family festivities constitute a discrete phenomenon, in Český Krumlov primarily represented by the celebration of the princely couple's birthdays. It is a commonly known fact as well that these festivities were closely associated with music: the Schwarzenberg family feasts in the second quarter of the 18th century in Český Krumlov were no exception.¹⁵⁰ The monastic chronicle represents the main source for this information again - the overview table of events with corresponding quotations of LM ordered according to the dates is stated in the final appendices. To complete the image of castle festivities, the preserved Schwarzenberg accounts and correspondence between the Schwarzenbergs and the Upper Austrian family of the Counts of Thürheim were employed.

Within the scope of this chapter, the aim is to reconstruct the course of a typical festive day at the Český Krumlov castle and investigate the role and function of music during these celebrations. As these festivities had a lot of features in common, the following questions arose: When were these celebrations held? For what reasons were these festivities organized and how were they prepared? Who was responsible for the choice of music? Who were the musicians (or participants)? What music was typically played at the festivities of the Schwarzenbergs? Where did these festivities take place?

As noted above, the Schwarzenbergs spent the most of their time in Vienna to fulfil their obligations at the Habsburg court and visited Český Krumlov only rarely. As indicated in the entries of the *Liber Magistralis*, the first evidence of a festivity at the Krumlov castle in the period under discussion occurs on 2nd April 1732, when Franz Adam's daughter Maria Anna, the Duchess of Baden, came to Český Krumlov.¹⁵¹ On the subsequent day the Minorites were invited to a theatrical performance ("actum specialiter") which was played at the castle in the presence of the ducal and the princely couple and many other noble guests. The solemn mass with the *Te Deum*¹⁵² praising hymn followed at the castle chapel being accompanied by the peal of all municipal bells. When the banquet was held in the Great (Mirror or Golden) Hall,

¹⁴⁹ To acquire general knowledge of the festivities in the Czech lands in the early modern era, see Bůžek, Václav / Král, Pavel: (ed.): *Slavnosti a zábavy na dvorech a v residenčních městech raného novověku [Festivities and Entertainment on the Courts and in the Residential Towns of Early Modern Era]*, České Budějovice: Historický ústav Jihočeské univerzity 2000.

¹⁵⁰ To find out more about the methods used in this thesis, see Chapter 3 Theoretical concept and used methods.

¹⁵¹ LM I, p. 175, 2.&3.4.1732.

¹⁵² The *Te Deum* ("Thee, O God, we praise"). is an ancient Christian hymn of praise and blessing.

thirty salvos from cannons were shot during the toast. The festive meal was attended inter alia by the princely couple, the Imperial Commissar, the ducal couple of Baden, the Countess of Kollowrat, the Princess of Lobkowitz and three prelates. In the evening, the whole castle was “most delightfully” (“jucundissime”) illuminated by “splendid festive fire the most artfully celebrated” (“splendisimam ignis festivus artificiosissimus celebratus”).¹⁵³

Having established Český Krumlov as his residential town, Franz Adam’s son Joseph Adam spent a considerable part of the year in his South Bohemian dominion. From the records in the *Liber magistralis*, it is possible to deduce that he repeatedly visited Český Krumlov between the years 1745 and 1750, mainly during the winter season. The Prince and Princess celebrated their birthdays on the 15th and 28th of December respectively and they prepared and performed various performances on these occasions every year. The only exception occurred in 1748 when Johann Nepomuk Karl of Liechtenstein (1724–48), the brother of the Princess, died and her birthday celebration was cancelled for that reason. On the other hand, an extraordinary event took place when the Princess decided to make an exception and celebrated her name day in Krumlov in October 1749. The celebrations generally lasted one day; however, the celebrations of the Princess’s 1747 birthday uncharacteristically began on the day before.

Since the main aim of a birthday celebration was to honor and delight the other partner,¹⁵⁴ the course of the celebrations was prepared carefully and well in advance, and the organization of the day was fully in the hands of the Prince and the Princess and their friends, the Count and Countess of Thürheim. The first evidence of this phenomenon dates back to December 1745 when Princess Maria Theresia informs her friend the Count Gundakar Joseph of Thürheim: „[...] je vous prie de vous hater à venir m’y trouver au plus tôt, parce que j’ai grand besoin de vous, Monsieur, voulant jouer une comédie pour le jour de naissance de mon cher witzerl¹⁵⁵ [...] il est à l’affaire d’un autre côté, à jouer une comédie pour moi...”¹⁵⁶

According to many remarks in the Schwarzenbergs’ correspondence, the Count and Countess of Thürheim were close friends of the Schwarzenbergs and together they arranged theatre and

¹⁵³ All translations from LM were made by the author of this thesis.

¹⁵⁴ For example, LM II, p. 577, 15.12.1745, or LM II, p. 579–80, 28.12.1745.

¹⁵⁵ Witzerl – a tender word for a husband in Upper Austrian dialect.

¹⁵⁶ Kazárová 2010, p. 305. English translation of Helena Kazárová: „I beg you to make haste and appear as soon as possible, because I badly need the company of your Lordship, intending to enact a comedy for the day of birthday of my darling witzerl [...] and he is very busy preparing comedy for me.”

dance performances both in Vienna and in Český Krumlov.¹⁵⁷ A quotation from the letter of Joseph Adam to Count Gundakar Joseph of Thürheim provides another indication of the careful preparation that went into the celebrations, and of the Prince's active engagement: „[...] je suis a cette heure tout affairé pour ma Comedie a la qu'elle nous n'avons que huit jours, et comme j'ai ajouté quelque chose de nouveaux a la Pantomime: je suis d'autant plus occupé.“¹⁵⁸ In the same year, Princess Maria Theresia noted that preparations for her birthday performance had begun at least over one and a half year before the actual day.¹⁵⁹ According to the preserved accounts, a dress rehearsal with trumpeters and drummers took place the day before the performance.¹⁶⁰

The course and location of the birthday celebrations apparently followed the pattern of the Habsburgs in Vienna¹⁶¹: the day was launched by a mass or even two consecutive masses in the castle chapel. The morning mass could also be replaced by reciting of rosary and litanies.¹⁶² In the case of the Prince's birthday, it was a solemn Advent mass called *Rorate* because the Prince's birthday fell into the period of Advent. This special Advent morning mass was always celebrated and sung by Hyacinth Sperl himself at the Prince's desire. In spite of the fact that there is no mention of music accompaniment of the *Rorate*, it is highly probable that the Mass was accompanied by the Minorite music ensemble.¹⁶³ According to Sperl, an Advent morning mass was celebrated twice on the Princess's birthday as well; this assertion is quite strange as her birthday actually took place during Christmas time.

The morning mass, which was usually held at seven o'clock, was followed by a solemn pontifical mass at 11 o'clock, usually celebrated by the Prelate of Český Krumlov, while other prelates from the neighbouring Schwarzenberg towns would be called in to provide their assistance. The convent chronicle also contains a note indicating the presence of the Capuchins.¹⁶⁴ Among other things, Sperl once mentioned the occurrence of „preclarissima

¹⁵⁷ Kazárová 2010, p. 302.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 316. English translation of Helena Kazárová: „Presently, I am completely involved in my Comedy, for which we have no more than eight days, and because I have added something new to the Pantomime.“

¹⁵⁹ Kazárová 2010, p. 316.

¹⁶⁰ *Záležitosti zámeckých hudebníků*, SOA Třeboň, pobočka ČK.

¹⁶¹ The Habsburg ruling couples celebrated their birthdays and namedays (so called *Gallatage*). The celebrations took place not only in the spaces of Hofburg, but in the summer residences Laxenburg and Villa Favorita in the Viennese quarter Wieden. The introduced one-act pieces called *serenada* were performed in the *Theatersaal*, on the stage of amphitheatre in the castle garden or on the adjacent pond. Cf. Herbert Seifert: *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof*, Tutzing: Hans Schneider 1985. I thank Konstantin Hirschmann for this notice.

¹⁶² LM II, p. 644, 28.12.1747.

¹⁶³ The Minorites served regular masses in the castle chapel every Thursday, Sunday and feast day. The detailed about the involvement of the ensemble at the castle are mentioned further.

¹⁶⁴ LM III, p. 77 and 82, 15.10. and 28.12.1749.

musica“ performed on the occasion of a pontifical mass¹⁶⁵; here the presence of Minorite musicians may be presumed again. In addition, “very beautiful” (“valde pulchra”¹⁶⁶) and “agreeable music” (“suavis musica”¹⁶⁷) or “the skillfully performed concert” (“artificiosissimus concertus”¹⁶⁸) with trumpeting and drumming¹⁶⁹ accompanied the festive meal.

As for the afternoon section of the celebrations, it was customary to stage a new theatre piece every year. In the Český Krumlov castle environment, there seem to have been four different genres of afternoon performances: a drama, pantomime, melodrama and serenata. It is hard to assert what Sperl generally meant by the word „comoedia” – this term usually denoted a longer play lasting for about two hours. The piece was ordinarily interspersed with music and distinguished with complicated stage setting.¹⁷⁰ In case of Český Krumlov performances, no closer details are known except for the occasion of the birthday of the Prince’s oldest son. The beautiful drama (“pulchra comoedia”) was performed in the Great Castle Theatre and met with a special response by the Prince.¹⁷¹

However, more details can be found in the case of pantomime. In 1747, Sperl described in the chronicle for the first time a theatre performance called “comedia muta” or “pantomima”¹⁷², which was performed by girls and boys to the accompaniment of “brilliant music” (“praeclara musica”) with two choirs of trumpets and timpani.¹⁷³ This type of play refers to a piece launched in Vienna during the previous theatre season. The Prince of Schwarzenberg comments this innovation in his letter to the Count of Thürheim: “[...] car Jeudy passé je n’ai pu m’empêcher d’aller aux Pantomimes, et quoique je l’ai déjà vu a Francfort, et que les Enfants soit grandes beaucoup. Je l’ai trouvé pourtant charmants, on a joué ce jour Le medicin duppé: si les Pantomimes avoit été à Cromau, j’aurois cru qui vouloit imiter notre Comedie, car Arlequin se feignit malade: Le Theatre est charmant, les décorations manifiques, et les changaments d’une vitesse extreme.”¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁵ LM II, p. 646, 28.12.1747.

¹⁶⁶ LM II, p. 642, 15.12. 1747.

¹⁶⁷ LM II, p. 645, 27.12. 1747.

¹⁶⁸ LM III, p. 77, 15.10.1749.

¹⁶⁹ *Záležitosti zámeckých hudebníků*, 27.12. 1747, SOA Třeboň, pobočka ČK.

¹⁷⁰ Sehnal 1991, p. 209.

¹⁷¹ LM II, p. 600-601, 4.7.1746.

¹⁷² LM II, p. 644, 28.12.1747.

¹⁷³ *Záležitosti zámeckých hudebníků*, 28.12.1747, SOA Třeboň, pobočka ČK.

¹⁷⁴ Kazárová 2010, p. 306. English translation of Helena Kazárová: „ last Thursday I could not help going to the Pantomimes, which I had already seen in Frankfurt, despite having grown up, the children are sweet, the day they enacted The Cheated Doctor; Had the Pantomime been to Krumlov before, I would assume they imitate our

In the excerpt above, the Prince pointed out that he had seen the same pantomime ensemble previously in Frankfurt am Main. On this basis, it can be deduced that the child pantomime ensemble performing in Vienna and described in the Prince's correspondence is the famous children group *Piccoli Holandesi* led by the impresario Nicolini. The pantomime with the Harlequin figure was premiered in the German city on the occasion of the Emperor's coronation in 1745 and later performed in Vienna at the New Market shack from the 27th December 1746 to 29th July 1747. Regarding the fact that the Prince repeatedly visited Nicolini's performances which were played at the *Neuer Markt* shack just in front of the Schwarzenberg Palace, Viennese influence on the theatre activities in Český Krumlov cannot be refuted.¹⁷⁵

In February of the subsequent year, the Prince mentioned having seen the dance performance using "two airs from the hunting ballet from our comedy" ("deux airs du Jäger Ballet de notre comedie"¹⁷⁶) at the court ball in Vienna. The Prince probably used the word "comedie" for all types of comical pieces, including pantomimes, since these airs might have been a dance part of the pantomimes played in Krumlov in December of the previous year. This hypothesis is further supported by the fact that the children's hunting costumes from the performance survive in the collections of the castle theater in Český Krumlov.¹⁷⁷ According to Helena Kazárová, this children's pantomime was created by Niccolo Matteis (1670-1737) or Ignatz Holzbauer (1711-1783) who composed repeatedly this type of *Jäger ballet*.

The following pantomime was launched in Krumlov on the occasion of the Princess's name day on 15th October 1749. The Prince enriched the pantomime with a ballet of gardeners: „J'y ajouté au comencement un Ballet des Jardiniers au quel Leonore ayant porté dans une corbeille des Bouquets des fleurs les a partagé entre Seperl et Hanserl et tous les trois on fait de ses fleurs un vis pyramides les trois lettres M:T:V: quoique j'ai puis idéé que Mardy au matin le Ballet a pourtant fort reusy et les habits ont été feut a tous."¹⁷⁸ As revealed in the

play, for Harlequin pretends illness. The theatre is charming, the sets beautiful and the scenes are altered with maximum speed."

¹⁷⁵ Numerous Prince's receipts for these visits are preserved in the Český Krumlov Castle Archive. Cf. Franková 2016., p. 50.

¹⁷⁶ Kazárová 2010, p. 309.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 309.

¹⁷⁸ Kazárová 2010, p. 315. English translation of Helena Kazárová: „To extend the beginning, I added the Gardeners' Ballet, in which Leonora was carried in a basket overflowing with flowers, which were also carried by Little Joey and Johny, and all three of them created their bunches of flowers the letters of M: T: V: on the top of three pyramids, though the idea did not come to me until Wednesday morning, the ballet was a real success and the costumes were completed for all."

Princess's letter from the spring¹⁷⁹ of the same year, a garden ballet with similar features composed by choreographer Franz Anton Philebois (1712-1753) was introduced at the Court Theatre in Vienna in April 1749. Although the Princess was extremely critical about the dance, it is possible that this very piece inspired the performance in Krumlov.

Further evidence of pantomime in Krumlov can be observed on the Princess's birthday in December 1750. According to Otto Schindler, the pantomime is identical with a play entitled *Das Zauber-Glöckel*.¹⁸⁰ This fairy-tale features the characters of Harlequin and Columbine and was particularly successful due to its technical effects. The performance was interspersed with acts of "Music Interlude Don Quixote" ("Musicalische[s] Zwischen-Spiel Donchisciotte"), which climaxes in the two ballets of miner and glassmaker journeymen. At the end of the performance, these characters congratulated the Princess on her birthday. The play ends with the text: „Drum ruffet all mit: Gott laß Theresia leben. Die Er Euch hat zur Frau, zur Mutter mir gegeben.“¹⁸¹. As this celebration was mainly arranged and performed by the Princess's oldest son Johann Nepomuk (1742–89), it is obvious that this passage was declaimed by the young Prince. Moreover, the costumes of the journeymen are preserved in the inventory of costumes in the Český Krumlov archive.¹⁸² As the autograph of this play was found at the Schwertberg Castle owned by the Thürheim Counts of Upper Austria, it is possible that this play originated in this region. The other two manuscripts of this piece are preserved in the Viennese municipal library and they appear to be part of the repertoire of the *Kärntnertortheater*.¹⁸³ This fact provides evidence of the reciprocal music exchange between the Schwarzenberg residence and the capital city of the monarchy.

Although the celebrations taking place on the Prince's or Princess's birthdays always had a private, familial character, the exception was the celebration on the day before the Princess's birthday in 1747, when the evening was celebrated as a public festivity.¹⁸⁴ The feast took place outside the summer residence called *Bellaria* in the illuminated castle garden where a large stage was set up. The festivity was introduced by a piece which Sperl designates as

¹⁷⁹ Kazárová 2010, p. 315.

¹⁸⁰ Schindler 1994, p. 62.

¹⁸¹ Kazárová 2010, p. 317. English translation of Helena Kazárová: „Hence, all of you, join me calling: Long live Theresa, whom God made your Lady and my mother.“

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 317.

¹⁸³ Schindler 1994, p. 63.

¹⁸⁴ LM II, p. 643, 27.12.1747.

“melodrame”¹⁸⁵. The guardian had probably learnt this term from the Jesuits who performed this genre within their education system.¹⁸⁶

The piece was performed by the Prince of Schwarzenberg, Baron Kfeller (the Schwarzenberg Court Hunter) and the Counts of Thürheim who embodied the parts of the Four Continents. The actors were dressed in “the most precious costumes” (“vestitu pretiosissime”) representing each character, while appropriate music sounded from four different sections of the garden. Hyacinth Sperl described this in Krumlov unprecedented performance as “truly royal” (“vere regium”). In this case, he emphasized an excited admiration and applause of numerous onlookers and added that the performance was given at the Princess’s request.

The serenata represented the last music genre played at the Prince’s birthday.¹⁸⁷ In this period, serenata constituted a typical part of noble celebrations – a serenata was usually a celebratory dramatic cantata for two or more singers and orchestra, customarily performed outdoors in the evening with artificial light.¹⁸⁸ As the Krumlov serenatas were played during the winter season, they were played indoors in the Golden Hall. The score of an anonymous congratulatory serenata composed for the occasion of Joseph Adam’s birthdays survives in the Austrian National Library in Vienna.¹⁸⁹ According to Sperl, the princes and counts were attired comically (“comice”¹⁹⁰) as actors and played in a masterful way (“valde artificiosa”¹⁹¹). The festive atmosphere was emphasized by various specific sounds such as trumpeting and drumming. The festivities ended with cannon shots by the Royal Grenadiers and with fireworks in the evening. The birthday usually reached its conclusion in a splendid masquerade ball which was accompanied by “brilliant music” (“praeclarissima musica”) and lasted until morning.

Regarding the venues of the birthday celebrations, all the performances were generally held at different places in the castle. The overwhelming majority of performances was played in today’s Mirror Hall, at that time called the Golden, Mirror or Great Hall or Small Court Theatre. From 1749, the music performances took place in the newly renowned Masquerade Hall as well. Whilst the unique public festivity in 1747 was held outside the summer

¹⁸⁵ LM II, p. 643, 27.12.1747.

¹⁸⁶ The genre of melodrama refers to a musical and dramatic scenic piece including music, singing, spoken dialogs and dance. The story was usually based on an elaborate sequence of allegorical images and symbols. To ascertain more about Jesuit melodrama in the Czech lands, see the yearbook: Čemus / Čemus 2010.

¹⁸⁷ LM II, p. 642, 15.12.1747 and LM III, p. 82, 15.12.1749.

¹⁸⁸ Talbot 2001, <http://www.grovemusic.com>.

¹⁸⁹ Library mark: A-Wn, Mus. Hs. 1049, cf. Franková 2016, p. 54.

¹⁹⁰ LM III, 82, 15.12. 1749.

¹⁹¹ LM II, 642, 15.12.1747.

residence in the castle gardens, a later comedy was exceptionally performed in the castle theatre, which otherwise remained unused until its significant renovation in 1768. Finally, the Princess of Schwarzenberg celebrated her last Krumlov birthday in the so-called *Villa Favorita*.

To summarize, the birthday festivities in Český Krumlov between 1745 and 1750 were accompanied by different genres of music during the whole day. The celebration began with morning masses, followed by music at the festive meal, while the afternoon and evening were dedicated to theatre and dancing. The course of the birthday was organized principally by the princely couple assisted by their friends, in this case the Count and Countess of Thürheim. The duration of the preparations is not exactly known but they might have taken more than a year. The pantomimes, melodramas and serenades were performed by the Schwarzenbergs and the Thürheims, alternatively by court officials and children. As for the composition of the orchestra, it seems to have been made up of court musicians, and most probably supplemented by external town musicians. The choice of actual pieces depended on the taste and fancy of the princely couple of Schwarzenberg. As implied from the above facts, their choice was principally influenced by the actual trends at the Imperial Court and the latest repertoire of Viennese theatres. In case of the pantomime *Das Zauber Glöckel* we can observe a transfer of an original pantomime from Český Krumlov to the Viennese theatre repertoire. Although the authorship of the original pieces remains unclear, it is highly probable that the pieces were composed or adapted by the Prince's organist, copyist and composer Ferdinand Arbesser.

All things considered, the court birthday festivities were primarily arranged for entertainment purposes since they had a private, non-public character, being attended only by the courtiers, high-ranking church representatives and friends in the private environment of Český Krumlov castle. Regarding the participation of the Minorites in these events, guardian Sperl was one of the regular guests at the family feasts, where he was responsible for celebrating the morning mass.

Besides the participation of the friars in the morning masses during Schwarzenberg birthday celebrations, the liturgical services during Advent and at Christmas presented another significant part of private noble festivities in the presence of the Minorites. Aside from this season, liturgical services took place in this place only irregularly – their frequency probably depended on the presence of the Prince couple. According to preserved Schwarzenberg

expenses for castle musicians,¹⁹² the litanies created the most common kind of worship accompanied by music. Being customary at the Imperial Court, the litanies with music ensued after every second Vespers¹⁹³ and it is most likely that the Schwarzenbergs followed the Habsburg pattern in this case. When the princely couple was present, the Masses were held regularly on Sundays, feast days, and Thursdays at 11 o'clock as well as every day during the Advent and Christmas season. The festive liturgy was apparently accompanied by the Minorite musicians.¹⁹⁴

As the friars paid special respect to the Incarnation of Christ since the times of Francis of Assisi, who had created the first Nativity scene in 1223, Minorite religious services were generally very popular during the Advent and Christmas time.¹⁹⁵ The friars in Český Krumlov were no exception and celebrated everyday masses at the Prince's request during the whole Advent since 1745. The most solemn liturgy during the Advent times was celebrated on feasts, Sundays and Christmas Eve. Sperl and the castle musicians described morning masses as a sung mass *de Rorate*: this term designates a morning votive Mass of the Blessed Virgin, named by its Advent Introit (*Rorate coeli desuper*). This mass had a strong music tradition in the Czech lands, connected with special Advent chants. Guardian Sperl¹⁹⁶ or Václav Měříčka, who was appointed the castle chaplain, usually served the Rorate mass in the castle chapel with the accompaniment of the Minorite musicians. The ensemble was regularly invited to the castle in order to increase the festiveness and attractiveness of liturgical services. The convent accepted 25 florins for this service, the musicians received 15 florins.¹⁹⁷

The New Year's Eve liturgy represented another specific Christmas habit of carol-singing, which showed a very private character. This custom was performed by at least four clerics, a sacristan, the choir master and musicians. After the pontifical liturgy, the guardian with Minorite clerics and musicians visited the Prince at the castle in order to bless the Prince's rooms and cellars and to wish him the happiest New Year. According to Sperl, the Prince responded to the guardian's congratulations in very grateful, agreeable, and affective way ("verbis gratia, affectu et suavitate plenis respondit"). The ceremony of benediction was

¹⁹² *Záležitosti zámeckých hudebníků*, SOA Třeboň, pobočka ČK.

¹⁹³ Riedel 1977, p. 170.

¹⁹⁴ LM II, p. 577, 4.12.1745.

¹⁹⁵ Elbel 2001, p. 40.

¹⁹⁶ The guardian offered the mass on the first and last Advent day.

¹⁹⁷ LM II, p. 577, 4.12.1744, p. 579, 24.12.1744, p. 614, 27.11.1746, p. 641, 8.12.1747 and LM III, p. 40, 1.12.1748, p. 46, 24.12.1748 and p. 80, 30.11.1749.

concluded with a concert¹⁹⁸ (“concertus”) played by distinguished Minorite musicians. In return, the Minorites usually received three florins from the Prince or from the castle officials.¹⁹⁹

The Christmas season concluded with the feast of Epiphany, when the guardian sang a solemn mass at the castle. On this occasion in 1750, the Prince expressed very affectionately the gratitude for the Minorite prayers that were performed for ill Schwarzenberg children, held in the monastery, at the castle and in Kájov, and swore the eternal protection of their monastery.²⁰⁰ The guardian responded to his thankfulness very modestly and promised him perpetual pray for the preservation of the noble house.²⁰¹

The last type of Minorite involvement was represented by the offering of funeral rites for dead Schwarzenberg relatives. These burial services were celebrated in mutual cooperation of many regional church representatives. The ceremonies took place in 1748 and 1749 when Princess Maria Theresia (born Princess of Liechtenstein) ordered to celebrate solemn requiems for her dead brother Johann Nepomuk.²⁰² Various religious services (solemn requiem, private and votive mass, Office for the Dead) were sung by the prelates of Krumlov and Schlägl (Upper Austria) in the castle for three days. Apart from that, other masses were celebrated by the Jesuits, the Minorites and the Capuchins. The anniversary of Liechtenstein’s death was commemorated the following year when a mass was sung by guardian Sperl.

7.1.2.2 Schwarzenberg public festivities²⁰³

In contrast to family noble festivities, the other Schwarzenberg celebrations were set in the town environment (mainly in the parish church of St. Vitus) and open to the public. This category included the funeral of the Prince’s heart, the intercessory and thanksgiving prayers for members of the noble house, festive sledge rides and, principally, triumphal entries of Joseph Adam, the Schwarzenberg Duke.

The interment of Adam Franz (1680–1732), the first Duke of Schwarzenberg, is the first public Schwarzenberg festivity in Český Krumlov mentioned in the chronicle. Whereas the

¹⁹⁸ The type of this concert, the distinct choice of repertoire, and the instrument setting are not mentioned.

¹⁹⁹ L LM II, p. 580, 31.12.1745, p. 617, 31.12.1746, p. 645, 31.12.1747 and LM III, p. 48, 31.12.1748 and 83, 31.12.1749.

²⁰⁰ To ascertain more about Minorite intercessory prayers, see subchapter 7.1.2.2 Schwarzenberg public feasts

²⁰¹ LM III, p. 87 and *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, Notata specialiora per menses, Januarius, § 1, p. 33, SOA Třeboň.

²⁰² LM III, p. 47, 28.&30.12.1748, LM III, p. 82, 13.&23.12.1749.

²⁰³ Relevant original quotations from the convent chronicle are introduced in the appendix again.

corpse of the dead was buried in the Augustinian church in Vienna, the heart was committed to St. Vitus church in Český Krumlov. The ceremony “of great pomp” (“cum magna pompa”) was attended by numerous people, including representatives of the clergy, orders, and guilds as well as students. The entombment was initiated by a procession starting from the municipal gate called *Latranská* to the parish church where the Divine office for the Dead was recited. After that, other ceremonies according to the rites of Roman Catholic Church ensued. Other funeral processions held during the following days were organised by the Jesuits, prelates from neighbourhood, the municipal government or the parish fraternity of Christian Charity. The Minorites and the Poor Clares were involved in their own ways: they built a wooden funeral construction (so-called *castrum doloris*²⁰⁴) in their church, illuminated by 214 lamps and 36 candles, and organized a special sermon, solemn requiem and votive mass. The funeral ceremonies were held not only in the town of Český Krumlov, but the Duke’s death affected the whole region including the royal town of České Budějovice. The Capuchins and the Black Friars sang a requiem and a votive mass in St. Vitus church in Český Krumlov and the municipal government of Budějovice had constructed a magnificent *Castrum doloris*. All these festivities were organized in cooperation with the Minorites of Český Krumlov who also celebrated or assisted at the masses in the parish church.²⁰⁵

The funeral of Adam Franz’s wife, Eleanor Amalia, in 1741 had quite a different course and form, since the Princess demanded only a plain ceremony. Her heart was at first placed in the castle chapel of St. George and then transferred to St. Vitus church, where a requiem and votive mass were celebrated, followed by solemn funeral processions, together with vespers and offices for the dead in front of the displayed Most Blessed Sacrament.²⁰⁶ The sound form of the day was completed by hymns, prayers and bell ringing.²⁰⁷ In this case, the Minorites also celebrated special funeral rites and raised the most magnificent *Castrum* inside their church in order to express their gratitude and devotion to their Patroness and Protector.²⁰⁸

On the other hand, a thanksgiving festivity for a new born Schwarzenberg Prince occurred for the first time in 1742, when the birth of the Schwarzenberg heir, Johann Nepomuk (1742–89),

²⁰⁴ *Castrum doloris* (“Castle of sorrow”) is a festive construction build above the coffin expressing the prestige of the dead. It includes a rich baldachin supplemented with candles, coats of arms, epitaphs and allegorical statues. Most of these funeral constructions were built during the 17th and 18th centuries.

²⁰⁵ LM I, p. 176, 12.6.1732.

²⁰⁶ For this burial the composer Georg Reutter wrote his *Matutinum pro defuncta principista Eleonora Schwarzenberg* for two altos, two tenors and a bass. This composition was found on the choir of St. Vitus church and has been preserved in the parish church music archive. Cf. Trola 1935, p. 87.

²⁰⁷ LM II, p. 422, 7.5.1741.

²⁰⁸ LM II, p. 423-425, 17.-30.5.1741.

was celebrated in various municipal churches in the course of five days. This joyful event was announced by drumming and trumpeting at the castle at five in the morning. A festive procession with all Krumlov church representatives, including the Minorites, went from St. Vitus church across the square to the castle, where the Krumlov prelate celebrated the most solemn Mass. The subsequent ceremonial *Te Deum* was accompanied by trumpeting, drumming, salvos from cannons, and bell ringing. Two days afterward, the celebration continued at the Minorites, where Sperl mentioned the occurrence of “very brilliant music” (“*praeclara musica*”) accompanied by two choirs of trumpeters and timpanists. The final festivity at the Jesuit church of St. Judoc was distinguished by “the most elegant music” (“*elegantissima musica*”).²⁰⁹ Johann Nepomuk’s fourth birthday was also celebrated partially in public and was distinguished by “great pomp, solemnity, joy, and jubilation” (“*magna pompa et solemnitate, gaudia et júbila*”). On this day, the princely couple attended two consecutive solemn masses in St. Vitus church starting at 11 o’clock. The masses and the final *Te Deum* were sung by the prelates of Krumlov, Schlägl, and Borovany and accompanied by 30 salvos from cannons shot by the princely grenadiers.²¹⁰ The birth of other Schwarzenberg children was celebrated by a thanksgiving Mass at St. Vitus church too. Since Český Krumlov was part of the Holy Roman Empire, a thanksgiving liturgy was also celebrated on the birth of the new Habsburg archduke Karl Joseph (1745–61).²¹¹

The friars expressed their sympathies and support for their noble patrons not only in times of joy but also in cases of illness. When the noble children fell ill, the friars sang special intercessions four times a day, usually in the presence of the princely couple. Sperl mentions that the Minorites invoked the order saint Anthony of Padua in this case, and asked Virgin Mary for intercession singing the Litanies of Loreto and praying in front of the displayed Eucharist. Moreover, a procession were organized to the nearby Marian pilgrimage church of Kájov where a mass was celebrated. The ceremony was held in the presence of the Prince, the Prelate, the Jesuits and the Minorites. When the children returned to health, a solemn thanksgiving liturgy was celebrated by the guardian in Kájov again. A similar reference to the thanksgiving solemn Marian mass in Kájov can also be found in the chronicle eleven years earlier when the Princess Eleonora Amalia and her little son got well. On this occasion, musicians from the monastic ensemble were gathered in this pilgrimage place to perform

²⁰⁹ LM II, p. 473, 15.7.1741, and LM II, p. 555, 4.4.1745.

²¹⁰ LM II, p. 601, 4.7.1746.

²¹¹ LM II, p. 551, 1.2.1745.

Salve regina in a figural²¹² manner.²¹³ After that, the most solemn *Deo gratias* took place in the Minorite church with the participation of the Prince, his courtiers and officials.²¹⁴ As has been already mentioned in the connection with Epiphany, Minorite prayers for the children's recovery met with an extraordinary response by the Prince who in return swore perpetual protection to the friars. This fact indicates the Prince's special affection for the Minorites and clarifies their exclusive personal relations.

The cultural transfer between Vienna and Krumlov took place not only in birthdays and liturgy, but also in case of winter sledging. This curious habit ranked among the favorite noble winter entertainments of the Imperial Court in these times and as Joseph Adam of Schwarzenberg participated in the Habsburg sledge rides several times. In Viennese rides, the organizer of the parade took the lead, followed by several dozens of sledges. Although the parade order was determined by the drawing of lots, it was an unwritten law that the more luxurious the sledge looked, the more prestigious the owner's position was. The ride started in the Hofburg or on one of Vienna's main squares and ended in Schönbrunn, Hietzing, or Laxenburg, where a banquet concluded the whole day. The Prince of Schwarzenberg, who owned four gold-plated exemplars of sledges, organized a night ride in Vienna in 1748.²¹⁵ The festive evening ride did not take place only in Vienna but it was repeated in Český Krumlov two years later, starting at the castle and leading out of the town across the town quarter *Latrán* and the main square. The Krumlov sledging was accompanied by the Minorite musicians playing trumpets and timpani.²¹⁶

Finally, the welcoming of nobility represented the most distinguished, extensive and attractive public event which strengthened the relationship between the Schwarzenbergs and the Minorites in the most conspicuous way.²¹⁷ The triumphal entry of Joseph Adam, the Prince of Schwarzenberg, illustrates this statement most aptly: The Prince visited the town in 1743 for the first time and concurrently constituted the Český Krumlov castle as his residence. As was

²¹²The term „Figural music“ refers to more elaborated polyphonic settings, including instrumental accompaniment.

²¹³ LM II, p. 377, 18.2.1739.

²¹⁴ LM III, p. 79-80, 6.-25.11.1749.

²¹⁵ Cichrová / Lipská / Zmeškal 2009, p. 173–175.

²¹⁶ LM III, p. 96, 8.11.1750.

²¹⁷ To find out more about this welcoming ceremonial and about the relationships between a noble founder and Franciscans, see Elbel 2001, chapter *Mezi konventem a světem [Between the Convent and the World]*, p. 62-69. The self-representation of the Servites is illustrated in Veronika Čapská: *Představy společenství a sebereprezentace. Řád servitů v habsburské monarchii (1613-1780) [The Idea of Self-representation of the Servite Order in the Habsburg Monarchy (1613-1780)]*, Praha: Scriptorium, 2011, chapter *Servité a společnost [The Servites and the Society]*, p. 163-228.

customary in this era, the welcoming of the noble patron demonstrated an elaborated ceremony showing the importance of each group in the town and colourfully depicting the importance of each social group of the town.²¹⁸

According to Sperl, this exclusive festivity was prepared thoroughly, magnificently and very well in advance. The feast was introduced by the sound of timpani in the morning, calling the inhabitants together. Deferred until the arrival of the princely couple at eleven, a special parade took place in the afternoon. The parade was divided into nine different sections including soldiers, noblemen of the Schwarzenberg court, church representatives, grenadiers, and municipal cohorts with timpani, wind instruments (“tibicinibus”), and “beautiful music” (“pulchra musica”). The parade concluded with the princely couple, accompanied by trumpeters, timpanists, and other musicians playing “sonorous music” (“musica sonora”²¹⁹), as well as explosions from cannons. The parade went through the town to the castle, having stations at the Jesuit College and on the square. The friars welcomed the Prince with the music of Minorite wind players and drummers, who stood in a newly built triumphal arch erected in front of the monastery. On this occasion, the alley between the monastery and the castle was bridged with a high large wooden arc decorated with flowers and surmounted by an allegorical figure of Fame. This wooden construction also incorporated a pergola with two choirs of trumpeters and an inscription expressing the veneration and devotion of Minorite friars to the pious Schwarzenberg house. The wooden construction also incorporated a pergola with two choirs of trumpet players.

On the following day, the princely couple and court officials went to celebrate the pontifical Mass in St. Vitus church. The Prince’s parade was surrounded with explosions from cannons and three choirs of trumpeters. As soon as the liturgy finished, a banquet at the castle followed, accompanied by “very brilliant music” (“praeclara musica”). Concerning Sperl’s active participation in the festivity, the guardian sang the Sunday Mass on the Prince’s special request at the castle chapel.

The feast continued on the subsequent day, when the Prince received homage and congratulations from the Magistrate and the students of the Jesuit College, who performed “the most beautiful comedy” (“pulchrissima comoedia”) in the castle theatre.²²⁰ This type of

²¹⁸ LM II, p. 503-507.

²¹⁹ As Sperl did not add any closer description of this music, the exact meaning of the term “musica sonora” is not known.

²²⁰ LM II, p. 511.

comedies were usually written in German and Latin and lasted more than four hours. According to Sperl the comedy had great success, although it is apparent from Joseph Adam's correspondence that the Prince preferred lighter pantomimes to long Jesuit plays: "Jeudy au soir nous avons une Comedie des scoliers d'une Allemande moitié Latin, c'étoit la chose la plus enuyante et qui a duré pres de quatre heures."²²¹ This four-day welcoming celebration concluded with the "most masterful fireworks" ("artificiossimus") which were extremely successful, even better than in Vienna. Numerous crowds from the town and the neighborhood watched the fireworks.

Further similar reference to a welcoming ceremony appears in 1745 and 1749²²² when the princely couple arrived in Krumlov together with their relatives. The townsmen welcomed the nobility again with triumphal arcs, bell ringing, salvos from cannons and applauding. Nevertheless, these later festivities did not reach the pomp of the Prince's first triumphal entry.

To recapitulate, music constituted an inseparable part of the triumphal entry – the sounds of trumpets and tympani and salvos from cannons introduced the event and supported its solemnity. In spite of the fact that no closer details are known, it is possible to claim that music was present at all three principal stages of the triumphal entry: the festive parade, the solemn mass and the Prince's banquet at the castle.

Regarding the general position of the Minorites in Schwarzenberg public festivities in Český Krumlov, the above-mentioned facts demonstrate clear evidence of close attachment between an order benefactor and friars. The Minorites expressed loyalty and gratitude to their protector by many symbols or symbolic acts shown in public (e.g. celebrative inscriptions or trumpeting and drumming). In return for this fidelity, the Minorite position at the castle was firmly established: guardian Sperl was among stable guests at Prince's banquets and regularly celebrated masses in the castle chapel. The Minorites and their musicians participated in numerous Schwarzenberg festivities whether it was liturgy, celebratory welcoming or winter jollification.

²²¹ English translation by Helena Kazárová: "On Thursday we had a scholastic Comedy, half in German and half in Latin, the most boring thing and it took almost four hours." Cf. Kazárová 2010, p. 310 and 316. This quotation most likely reflects the Prince's attendance of Krumlov Jesuit college in 1750 when the scholastic play *Geminus in uno firmamento splendor nempe Schwarzenbergicus et Lichtensteinicus* was performed. The completely preserved score of this play is stored in the castle archive in the Manuscript collection under the signature 179.

²²² LM II, p. 576, 22.11.1745 and LM III, p. 67, 5.7.1749.

7.1.3 The music connection between the town of Český Krumlov and the Minorites²²³

Although significant music events in Český Krumlov were connected primarily with the Schwarzenberg noble house, the inhabitants created their specific musical culture as well. As was common in this era, the municipal music life was mainly founded on celebrations of various church festivities, which presented a unique opportunity for music involvement. The first kind of these were festivities connected with the burial of a prelate and inauguration of the new prelate. Secondly, there were festivities in various church institutions within the municipal environment. Thirdly and finally, other religious services were held in the times of war emergency.

The majority of municipal liturgical ceremonies took place in the parish church of St. Vitus. As Český Krumlov was the seat of the prelate²²⁴, it was regarded as one of the most influential parishes in Bohemia. In this consequence, the funeral or installation of a new prelate meant a distinguished celebration both for the town and the whole region. On the occasion of the prelate's death, a pompous procession was lead through the square, followed by the most solemn requiem and a low votive mass²²⁵ in St. Vitus church. The festivity was accompanied by brilliant music ("preclara musica"). The masses were celebrated the Prelate, assisted by thirty-three priests from the vicariate and attended by officials, senators, fraternities and congregations, students, Minorites, Jesuits and numerous crowd of people from the neighbourhood.²²⁶ After the prelate's death, the installation of a new church representative regularly ensued a few months later. This inauguration was introduced with the most festive procession created by the newly elected prelate, the Jesuits and other church representatives. The festive atmosphere was completed by three choirs of trumpet players and the sound of all municipal bells. After that the procession reached St. Vitus church, the prelate sang his first pontifical with the accompaniment of "the most masterful music" ("artificiosissima musica").²²⁷

The showing of the scapular of newly canonized Bohemian saint, John of Nepomuk, presented another extraordinary opportunity for the most grandiose ("pomposissimus")

²²³ Relevant original quotations from *Liber magistralis* are introduced in the appendix again.

²²⁴ A prelate is a high-ranking church representative. The prelate of Český Krumlov even possessed some rights appertaining to bishop and served as the commissar of the Prague archbishop and vicar for the South Bohemian region.

²²⁵ The low mass or *Missa lecta* is a mass in which the priest does not sing the liturgical texts. A sung Mass in turn is a Solemn Mass if assisted by deacon and subdeacon; without them it is a *Missa cantata*.

²²⁶ LM II, p. 378, 8.5.1739 and 565, 19.7.1745.

²²⁷ LM II, p. 390, 31.7.1739 and p. 570, 3.10.1745.

procession. The parade, which led from the castle to St. Vitus church, was held at the presence of numerous church representatives, including the Minorites, Princess Eleanora Amalia of Schwarzenberg and numerous crowds of people. St. John of Nepomuk was one of the protectors of the Schwarzenberg house and generally became the most popular saint of this era.²²⁸ On this occasion, the occurrence of music is not evidenced, but may be assumed.

The pilgrimage feast of St. Vitus parish church represented the most magnificent festivity in the town. The pilgrimage Pontifical Mass in St. Vitus was attended by most distinguished guests: the princely couple with their court or regional representatives of nobility and church (e.g. the Cistercians from the Zlatá Koruna monastery, the Augustinians from Třeboň, the Premonstratensians from Schlägl, the Minorites and Jesuits of Český Krumlov, two Capuchins from the Prince's retinue and deans from neighbouring parishes). After that, a banquet at the prelatore followed.²²⁹ In this context, a mention of canonical visitation²³⁰ from Prague suggests extraordinary popularity of parish feasts among public: on the occasion of the granting of the sacrament of Confirmation the church was visited by 5090 believers.²³¹

Regarding the everyday liturgy in St. Vitus, almost no closer details can be found except for Christmas and Easter season. The Nativity was celebrated similarly like at the castle when Minorite clerics went to the Krumlov prelate on the Epiphany eve to sing carols. The musicians played pastorals or other delightful songs (called "strophulas") and obtained three florins in return. After that, the Minorite preachers, sacristan, regenschori and musicians went through the whole town and suburbs till they received 48 florins. The convent got 20 florins and the participants of the carol-singing the remaining 28 florins (out of which the regenschori received 36 kreutzers while the musicians obtained one florin and 24 kreutzers).²³²

As the chronicle mainly depicts events connected with the Schwarzenbergs, the guardian mentions the liturgy of Easter, which Joseph Adam celebrated in Český Krumlov in 1748 and 1750²³³. The Prince came to St. Vitus church on Palm Sunday and Good Friday, when a solemn procession through the square was held, and on Easter Saturday and Sunday. On the contrary, he spent Wednesday and Maundy Thursday at the Minorites. On Easter Monday, the

²²⁸ LM I, p. 175, 19.3.1732.

²²⁹ LM II, p. 406, 15.6.1740, p. 564, 15.6.1745 and LM III, p. 64, 15.6.1749.

²³⁰ A canonical visitation is the act of an order superior who in the frame of his function visits persons or places with an intention of questioning and listening to the friars, solving the problems and correcting the abuses.

²³¹ LM I, p. 183, 8.4.1733.

²³² *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, Notata specialiora per menses, Januarius § 2, p. 33-35, SOA Třeboň.

²³³ M III, p. 9, 15. 4.1748 and LM III, p. 89, 22.-29.3.1750.

sovereign invited the friars to celebrate a mass in the castle chapel. This evidence of the Prince's attendance at parish liturgical services seems to reflect the phenomenon of *Pietas Austriaca*. The Habsburg Emperors held the Holy Cross in special reverence, which is why they took personal part in public liturgical services during the Holy Week, e.g. the processions on Palm Sunday.²³⁴

The pilgrimage feast of Jesuit saints (St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier) was celebrated at the neighbouring Jesuit College. As a Minorite friar gave a festive sermon on this occasion, this festivity gives an evidence of close cooperation between the Jesuits and the Minorites.²³⁵ This hypothesis is confirmed by the fact of reciprocal contract signed in 1727 between both orders²³⁶: the Jesuits committed themselves not to give a German sermon in St. Judoc church on the feasts of Minorite saints St. Anthony and Francis, Porziuncola and other order festivities providing they fell on Sundays. Thanks to this agreement, numerous people attended the feasts in the Minorite church to listen to the preaching. In return, the Minorites obliged themselves not to preach on Jesuit feasts falling on Sunday.

The Minorite guardian also participated in the benediction of the newly renewed St. Martin chapel at the municipal cemetery where a solemn procession was held starting from St. Vitus church.²³⁷ The pilgrimage feast of St. George was distinguished by the involvement of various municipal church representatives: whilst the pontifical pilgrimage mass was celebrated by the Prelate of Český Krumlov, the solemn mass was sung by a Jesuit. On the other hand, the festive sermon was given by a Minorite preacher, while both Vespers were the responsibility of the guardian. The liturgy was accompanied exclusively by parish musicians.²³⁸ Being connected with the privilege of plenary indulgences, this feast belonged to the prime church festivities in the town.²³⁹

Finally, the feast of the Corpus Christi presented another very festive day both in the town and in the Minorite monastery. This feast was celebrated in St. Vitus Church 60 days after Easter Sunday²⁴⁰ when the most solemn mass was sung in the presence of all municipal church

²³⁴ Riedel 1977, p. 25.

²³⁵ LM II, p. 369, 31.7.1738, p. 566, 31.7.1745 and LM III, p. 41, 3.12.1748.

²³⁶ LM I, p. 157.

²³⁷ LM II, p. 375, 23.11.1738.

²³⁸ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, Notata specialiora per menses, Aprilis, § 1, p. 49, SOA Třeboň.

²³⁹ LM III, p. 58, 24.4.1749.

²⁴⁰ For more on a typical form of celebration see Alexander J. Fisher.: *Music, Piety, and Propaganda, The Soundscape of Counter-Reformation Bavaria*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2014, chapter *Music, Sound, and Processional Culture*, subchapter *The Corpus Christi procession in Munich*, p. 253-266.

representatives. A procession that followed was led through the town in the most spectacular way.²⁴¹

The ordinary course of the liturgical year was interrupted in cases of wartime emergency as during the wars against the Ottoman Empire or the Wars of Austrian Succession (1740-1748). As the Habsburgs felt a strong sense of belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, the Minorites supported the Imperial war campaigns with its prayers. As the Habsburgs felt a strong sense of belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, the Church supported their war campaigns with its prayers. The procession with Most Blessed Sacrament was the most frequented religious service during these wartimes. This evidence again reflects the piety of the Habsburgs who felt special respect for God's presence in the Eucharist, being convinced of His most sovereign majesty, power and magnificence. This characteristic feature clarifies the depiction of the Eucharist sheltered by the monstrance in the shape of Sun which substantiates God's sovereignty and His being the source of light. Demonstrating the hope for victory, the Eucharistic Sun represented a direct adversary to the Ottoman Moon.²⁴² The implementation of a 40-Hour Devotion by the Capuchins in case of wartime emergency and other disasters constituted a typical expression of this reverence, being extensively supported by Archbishop's, Papal and Imperial orders.²⁴³

A similar intercessory procession took place in Český Krumlov as well: it was led from St. Vitus past the Jesuit church of St. Judoc to the Minorite monastery and comprised clerics from the region, students, confraternities and guild members with standards. If the princely couple was present in Český Krumlov, they and their court participated in the procession as well. In this case, the procession alternatively went from the Castle chapel to the parish church. Except of Eucharist, the friars bore a painting of the Mother of Sorrows or a statue of Virgin Mary. The Blessed Virgin was also called *Generalissima* or Our Lady of Victory in these times: the Mother of God traditionally protected the Christian people against the Turkish armada in the battle of Lepanto and against all heretics in general. The procession was concluded in the Minorite church in front of Most Blessed Sacrament where various prayers were recited. After that, a solemn mass with benedictions was sung in St. Vitus Church.²⁴⁴ In case of victory, similar glorious liturgical services, including 40-Hours Devotions,

²⁴¹ LM II, p. 406, 16.6.1740, p. 563, 20.6.1745, p. 600, 9.6.1746, LM III, p. 12, 13.6.1748 and p. 62, 5.6.1749. To ascertain more about the form of celebration of this feast in the Minorite monastery, see the chapter 7.2.1.2 Peculiar festivities of liturgice year.

²⁴² Coreth 1982, p. 29.

²⁴³ Riedel 1977, p. 27.

²⁴⁴ LM I, p. 207, 1.6.1738, LM II, p. 380, 10.5.1739 and p. 391, 16.8.1739.

demonstrated the gratitude to the Lord for His benediction.²⁴⁵ Since the town was imperilled by the Prussian invasion during to the Wars of the Austrian Succession, the penitent and thanksgiving processions and devotions continually took place in St. Vitus, in the Minorite monastery and in the Jesuit church of St. Judoc until the year 1746.²⁴⁶

The Minorites took active part in all church events in the town, both in the parish church and at the Jesuits or at the castle and therefore constituted a natural part of municipal church life. This collaboration apparently showed no tendency to conflicts thanks to reciprocal agreements between the Minorites, the Jesuits and the parish church which firmly determined the position of each institution in the town. The most glorious occasion came with the pilgrimage fests in the local churches accompanied with distinguished music performed by either parish, or monastic musicians. The liturgical services in Český Krumlov followed the pattern of the customs at the Habsburg court in Vienna (reverence for the Eucharist, the Holy Cross and Virgin Mary), especially during wartime emergency. These means strengthened the close connection between the Minorites and the Schwarzenbergs and encouraged the order's attachment to the ruling house of the Habsburgs.

7.2 Music relations inside the monastery

As follows from the characteristics of the Minorite Order dealt with in the fourth chapter of this thesis, the focal point of the Minorite activities lay in the close interconnection of active ministry and profound prayer and contemplation in imitation of the humble and poor Christ. They promoted Franciscan spirituality by loving all people, by proclaiming and promoting peace, brotherly love, and the kingdom of Christ among them, and finally, while living in the world, by serving the Lord in poverty, humility, simplicity, and gladness of heart. Among other things, they achieved this aim by leading a fraternal community life involving common liturgical prayer, theological education, preaching, and the other works of the apostolate in the service of the Church.

As has already been mentioned, the Minorites considered the liturgy a cardinal part of their monastery life, and they cultivated it in a very diligent way. As music was inseparably related to liturgy, it was also supposed to be developed and studied. This relation had obviously very intensive since the foundation of the order in 1223: music was already mentioned in the third

²⁴⁵ LM II, p. 494, 6.1.1743 (liberation of Prague from Prussian occupation), p. 495, 19.3.1743, p. 511, 24.8.1743 and p. 544, 11.12.1744 (avoiding the Prussian army of Český Krumlov).

²⁴⁶ LM II, p. 480, 4.10.1742, p. 544, 11.12.1744, p. 569, 19.9.1745 and p. 607, 21.8.1746 (the French retreat after the battle of Rottofreddo).

chapter of its constitutions. On this basis, the Minorites were obliged to regularly and solemnly celebrate the Eucharist and Divine Office in accordance with the rules of the Roman Catholic Church. This prayer was inseparably bound to Gregorian chant, and the majority of the order's music reflects this tradition.²⁴⁷

The aforementioned spiritual aspects fundamentally influenced the daily rhythm in the convent, including liturgy and its music. Like other orders, the Minorites strengthened their connection to God by maintaining regular everyday liturgy (the Eucharist and the Liturgy of the Hours) and observing all feasts of the common liturgical year in accordance with the Church. Moreover, they celebrated their own special feasts, such as the feast of St. Francis or St. Anthony of Padua. Life in the community naturally also included festive moments in the lives of their members, such as the admission of a new friar to the order or festivities of the Minorite fraternities. As the Minorite mission is active ministry in the world and promotion of peace and brotherly love, the order was interested in external events²⁴⁸ as well. The friars prayed for peace in times of war emergency and interceded on behalf of the Schwarzenberg family, who assumed patronage over the monastery. In return, they were supported and regularly visited by their noble protectors. Since the Minorites were required to pray for dead people as well, the convent also celebrated as a significant place for funerals in the town. Preserved accounts of funerals and other archival documents provide a means of reconstructing the position of a musician in the monastery. The form of the musical accompaniment of the liturgy can also be ascertained on the basis of the partially preserved monastic music collection. All these aspects of Minorite convent life are investigated within the subsequent chapters.

7.2.1 Festivities of the liturgical year

As mentioned, the liturgy constituted the cardinal part of Minorite Order life. The Minorites observed the liturgical order of the Roman Catholic Church and heeded and supported good liturgical music in their convents, and the monastery of Český Krumlov was no exception in this tendency. The archival sources of the Český Krumlov convent also contain elaborate directions for various forms of worship and devotion and thus provide valuable clues about the forms of liturgy in the 18th century (especially those related to specific liturgical periods or ceremonial processions). The directions also clarify to a great extent the connection between

²⁴⁷ Cf. Chapter 4.3 of this thesis, Minorites and music.

²⁴⁸ To find out more about Minorite intercessory prayers outside the monastery, see chapter 7.1.

liturgy and music of that period. The convent chronicle *Liber magistralis I–III*, the liturgical manual *Rituale Ecclesiae Conventus Crumloviensis*, and the general book of directions *Directorium superioris* represent the principal sources of information. This archival material reflects the ordinary course of the liturgical year, including the festivities and the practices of their musical accompaniment. Special attention was paid to the feasts attended by the Prince of Schwarzenberg. Apart from the chronicle, the document *Procesí o Božím Těle* illuminates in detail the course of the feast of Corpus Christi. The document *Novus Ordo Divinorum in Ecclesia nostra* defines a new liturgical order for the Holy Week before Easter. Relevant original quotations from the convent chronicle and other archival documents are introduced in the Appendix to 7.2, Music Relations inside the Convent, on page 141 of this thesis.

A direct statement that conveys the crucial message about the purpose of music and the circumstances of its performance can be found in the *Liber magistralis*:²⁴⁹ according to the writer, the guardian Hyacinth Sperl, the convent liturgy was celebrated for people's edification and the friars' own spiritual solace. Although no permanent foundation was constituted for this purpose and its maintenance depended only on the will of superiors,²⁵⁰ a good quality of music ("bona musica") was maintained in the convent with great care in order to manifest God's glory and pay Him tribute. In return for their effort, the friars expected only God's benediction.

As has just been suggested, the friars' main liturgical and musical aims were to praise God and educate the believers. Nevertheless, the friars were very conscious of the appeal of music for church visitors: large numbers of people were attracted to the convent thanks to the beautiful music ("pulchra musica"). As a result of the friars' thoroughness, the public held the friars in high esteem and supported the monastery more generously than the parish church. The monastery founder and patron, the Prince of Schwarzenberg, made no exception and shared the public opinion when he expressed his great satisfaction with liturgical services, attended them regularly, and pledged that he and his family would protect the convent forever.

This statement is substantiated by a quotation from the Prague convent chronicle from 1741: the Minorite Order chronicler Mathias Kollnberger reported that the divine services were held solemnly and properly both with plain and figural (polyphonic) chant, the latter sounding

²⁴⁹ LM II, p. 366.

²⁵⁰ More findings about convent financial aspects are presented in 7.2.6, Position of a musician within the convent.

during the whole first night²⁵¹ before principal church feasts. The writer emphasized the fact that the friars sang in an outstanding manner that had no parallel in any other convent.²⁵² It is therefore obvious that the high quality of convent music contributed to the extraordinary popularity of the convent both with the noble house and church representatives.

7.2.1.1 Everyday liturgy in the convent

Music was used primarily as an accompaniment to convent liturgy: each friar was obliged to celebrate a Mass every day and to sing or recite the Liturgy of the Hours, which was celebrated seven times a day. The day was always opened with a Mass at six in the morning. Since concelebrating²⁵³ was not allowed and each of the 19 order priests²⁵⁴ had to celebrate his own Mass, the Masses took place until circa nine in the morning. One of the Masses was considered the convent Mass, at which the entire community was present, including the sisters of St. Clare. The first evidence of the existence of this Mass comes from the year 1737 and shows that it was celebrated both in plain and figural chant.²⁵⁵ Since the convent was both female and male, the liturgy was celebrated by both the Minorites and the Poor Clares on several occasions. The sisters listened to extra choral Masses on Wednesdays and Sundays at half past nine in the morning; this practice first appears in the Advent season of 1739 and follows the custom from the Prague convent. As the Matins and Lauds were celebrated in the evening of the previous day, the Liturgy of the Hours was opened by the office of Prime, which began during the Elevation of the first Mass. The Terce, Sext, and None started at eight, and after that the last Mass was celebrated. Further liturgy ensued in the afternoon, when Vespers were celebrated at 2 p.m. (except in the Lent season), followed by a compline at 4 p.m., concluding with the sung antiphon to the Virgin Mary.

Table 1: The Ordinary Liturgical Schedule in the Minorite Convent

Time	Liturgy	Note
6 a.m.	First Mass + Prime	On Wednesdays and Saturdays, plainchant Mass by the Poor Clares
8 a.m.	Terce	Last Mass was held after Terce
		On Sundays, a sermon and sung Mass after Terce , solemn Mass at 11

²⁵¹ The expression *night* denotes in all probability the rites on the eve of the feast, such as Vespers, Compline, Matins, and Lauds.

²⁵² Bohadlo 2015, p. 254.

²⁵³ The concelebration is a type of a Mass celebration when a priest leads the ceremony whereas the other priests assist.

²⁵⁴ This figure reflects the number of priests in 1738, available in *Výkazy personálního stavu v klášteře a provincii*, SOA Třeboň.

²⁵⁵ LM I, p. 196, 18.3.1737.

2 p.m.	Vespers	On Sundays at 3 p.m.
4 p.m.	Compline + Matins and Lauds	On Tuesdays, services to St. Anthony of Pauda
		On Fridays, a sung Marian antiphon, procession through cloister
		On Fridays during Lent, a public sermon
		On Saturdays, a sung Marian antiphon and Litanies of Loreto

As usual in these times, the Matins and Lauds took place in the evening and followed just after the compline.²⁵⁶ The Divine Office was recited every day apart from Sundays, extraordinary days, and feast days, when the sung form was practised.²⁵⁷

The ordinary schedule was changed on Tuesday, when a convent Mass was celebrated by the Minorites at the altar of St. Anthony of Padua at half past nine. The Mass was accompanied by the sisters' singing. The compline taking place at the same altar followed in the afternoon and was concluded by a responsory to St. Anthony and figural Litanies of Loreto. The subsequent hymn, *Salve Sancte Pater Franciscus*, was sung by the friars in their choir.²⁵⁸ This custom might also refer to the customs of the Habsburg court, where Litanies of Loreto followed after every second Vespers.²⁵⁹

On Fridays, a special ceremony took place after the sung compline, when the procession of the Holy Way of the Cross was introduced: it proceeded to St. Francis and St. Anthony altar, where the responsory *Si quaeris miracula*²⁶⁰ was sung. The procession continued through the large cloister to the Way of the Cross or to the chapel of the Five Holy Wounds, accompanied by singing of the hymn *Vexilla regis*.²⁶¹ After that, a solemn benediction with the Most Blessed Sacrament was given. The procession was later enriched with an implement of perpetual adoration and the hymn of *Trisagion*²⁶² with organ accompaniment. Although the sisters were not allowed to leave the enclosure, Sperl mentions that they sang with brothers in alternation. In 1738, the rite took place earlier and was concluded with figural Vespers.²⁶³ The procession was not permitted during the Octave of Nativity, Resurrection, Pentecost, and

²⁵⁶ Cf. Sehnal 2015, p. 245–272.

²⁵⁷ All these descriptions of monastic liturgical order are included in LM II, p. 61–65. Therefore, I do not mention other references to the source in the footnotes.

²⁵⁸ *Kniha ceremonií*, SOA Třeboň.

²⁵⁹ Riedel 1977, p. 170.

²⁶⁰ This responsory is a very well-known prayer to St. Anthony of Padua. This 13th-century Minorite saint was very famous for his numerous marvels.

²⁶¹ This Latin hymn lauds the mystery of the Cross and symbolically refers to other sacraments, such as baptism or confirmation.

²⁶² The *Trisagion* means "Thrice Holy" and is a part of every Mass liturgy.

²⁶³ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, § 20, p. 10–11, SOA Třeboň.

Corpus Christi. Special veneration of Christ's Passion was among the typical features of Franciscan spirituality.²⁶⁴

On Saturdays, a convent Mass was held at the altar of the Virgin Mary, because Saturday was dedicated to the Mother of Christ, who was especially venerated within the Minorite Order. The accompaniment of the Mass and the course of the afternoon was the same as on Tuesdays.²⁶⁵

The liturgy was distinguished by a more solemn character on Sundays and feast days, being sung completely and accompanied by figural music. Whereas the first Mass was announced by the peal of the big bell, the Mass at nine was announced by the ringing of all bells. The Terce and a sermon followed immediately after the morning Mass. On this occasion, the Terce as well as Vespers were sung together with the Clarissan sisters. A solemn Mass took place at 11 a.m., accompanied by figural music. At the end of the Mass, the benediction with the Most Blessed Sacrament was granted. The afternoon part of Sunday continued at 3 p.m. with Vespers, which were performed in a figural way. The Litanies of Loreto were sung in front of the Eucharist. Finally, the Eucharistic benediction was granted again.²⁶⁶

7.2.1.2 Special festivities of the liturgical year

Hyacinth Sperl's chronicle entries also provide valuable information on other liturgical feasts held in the convent. Since the church year starts on the first Sunday of Advent, the description of the liturgical year in this chapter is organized according to this usual liturgical order.

Regarding the Advent season,²⁶⁷ Sperl mentions a new custom that had arisen in Prague and had been maintained in other principal convents of the province: except for the ordinary solemn Advent Mass called "Rorate",²⁶⁸ a conventual Mass was sung after the morning Divine Office. A special religious service called the Day of Wisdom ("Sapientia"²⁶⁹) took place on 17 December. This special antiphon, "O, Sapientia", before the Marian canticle *Magnificat*, was sung during the Vespers; it was followed by a panegyric speech about

²⁶⁴ Cf. Charter 4.3.2 Specific church feasts and feasts of Minorite saints.

²⁶⁵ *Kniha ceremonii*, SOA Třeboň.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, SOA Třeboň.

²⁶⁷ LM II, p. 397, 2.12.1739, and LM III, p. 80, 30.11.1749.

²⁶⁸ The tradition of *Rorate* Mass is depicted in chapter 7.1.2.1, Schwarzenberg private festivities.

²⁶⁹ This denotation is derived from special Advent antiphons for the last week before Christmas.

uncreated wisdom. Festive evening refreshments (“collatio”) with a portion of wine and two portions of beer were prepared in the refectory.²⁷⁰

The Minorites were also invited to celebrate Advent and Christmas Masses at the castle chapel. Therefore, the religious services as well the musicians had to be in two places.²⁷¹ As Christmas was celebrated with great enthusiasm by St. Francis in admiration of Christ’s humility; the Minorites followed the pattern of their founder and celebrated these winter feasts in a very special way.²⁷² The feast of Nativity began already on Christmas Eve, when the solemn Prime from the martyrology²⁷³ was celebrated at 6 a.m. The solemn figural Vespers took place at 3 p.m. and were celebrated by a Minorite priest. The Matins of the feast were held at 11 p.m. Before the ceremony, the organist played a prelude (“preambulum”) until the priest reached the main altar and sang the verse *Domine, labia mea aperies*.²⁷⁴ During the Matins Mass, three pulpits were situated in the presbytery: the first one for the Antiphony, the second one for the Breviary, and the last one for the Lectionary. Whereas the psalm *Venite exultemus* from the invitatory²⁷⁵ was intoned by two cantors and continued by friars in the presbytery, the first Nocturn (a part of Matins) and the canticle *Benedictus* were sung by the sisters on their loft on the opposite side of the church. The hymn was performed alternately by the friars and sisters with organ accompaniment. The organist played a prelude after each Nocturn. The second and third Nocturns were sung by the friars, the ensuing responsory by the sisters. The Matins concluded with the praising hymn *Te Deum*, which was sung by the friars with organ accompaniment.²⁷⁶ This form of Matins was also practised on Easter Eve and All Souls’ Day.²⁷⁷ The solemn midnight Mass was usually celebrated by the guardian himself with the accompaniment of monastery musicians.²⁷⁸ The musicians celebrated Christmas Eve as well: they obtained a big beer tankard and had to stay silent in the convent until the singing of midnight Mass.²⁷⁹

Although a solemn Mass and second Vespers were sung in the Minorite friary on the Nativity as well, Sperl in his chronicle focused primarily on the attendance of the Prince, who was

²⁵⁶ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, Notata specialiora per menses, December, § 2, p. 79, SOA Třeboň.

²⁷¹ LM II, 24.12.1747.

²⁷² Cf. Chapter 4.3.2, Specific church feasts and feasts of Minorite saints.

²⁷³ The martyrology is a list of saints or martyrs venerated within the Roman Catholic Church.

²⁷⁴ The verse *Domine, labia mea aperies* (“Open Thou, o Lord, my lips”) opens the Matins.

²⁷⁵ The invitatory is the psalm used to start Nocturns in the Liturgy of the Hours, the Catholic Church's Divine Office. It is usually Psalm 95, which begins *Venite exultemus* in Latin.

²⁷⁶ *Kniha ceremonií* SOA Třeboň.

²⁷⁷ LM II, p. 61.

²⁷⁸ LM II, 24.12.1747, p. 644, and LM III, 24.12.1748, p. 46.

²⁷⁹ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, Notata specialiora per menses, November, § 3, p. 79, SOA Třeboň.

surprisingly always present at the Pontifical Mass in the parish church of St. Vitus. It is obvious that the Prince regularly attended liturgy during the principal church feast in the parish church: this tendency is also observed in the case of Easter liturgy and demonstrates with a high level of probability the influence of the Emperor's custom of attending public religious services during the main church festivities.²⁸⁰ However, in 1748 the Prince requested for Sperl to celebrate the morning Nativity Mass at the castle and visited St. Vitus's church only in the afternoon to listen to two Masses. Concerning the Minorites, the Lauds of Nativity were recited in a loud voice ("alta voce"), and a sermon was given at 2 p.m.²⁸¹ The festive church services continued on 26 December (the feast of Apostle Stephen the Protomartyr), 27 December (the feast of St. John the Evangelist), and 28 December (the feast of the Holy Innocents).

The custom of carol-singing represented a peculiar tradition in the Minorite convent during the Christmas season. The round began at the castle on New Year's Eve and was performed by at least four clerics, a sacristan, the regenschori (music director), and musicians.²⁸² On the eve before Epiphany, the carol-singing continued at the prelatore, in the town, and in the suburbs.²⁸³ This tradition was kept in the convent itself as well: the confessor visited the Clarissan convent, where he gave a sermon and blessed the rooms. The musicians simultaneously played some pastorellas²⁸⁴ or songs ("strophulas") on the figural loft.²⁸⁵ The friars with musicians went carol-singing to the sisters and blessed the spaces outside the enclosure. In return, the musicians received light refreshments, and the friars obtained some delicacies for supper. On the same day, carol-singing was also held at the superior's room, and the whole convent was blessed.²⁸⁶

The rites of Epiphany commenced with the figural first Vespers on the eve of the feast. A special custom of blessing of gold took place during the figural Mass with confraternity

²⁸⁰ Riedel 1977, p. 25.

²⁸¹ *Kniha ceremonií*, SOA Třeboň.

²⁸² Cf. Chapter 7.1.2.1, Schwarzenberg private festivities.

²⁸³ Cf. Chapter 7.1.3, The music connection between the town of Český Krumlov and the Minorites.

²⁸⁴ The names pastorella and strophulas designate a piece of vocal and instrumental music which was very popular in the Czech lands during the 18th century. The pastorella usually includes elements from the Nativity scene, such as shepherd's horn calls, a song of angels announcing the divine birth, or the appearance of three kings. The pastorellas are a combination of the aforementioned local Christmas observance and the omnipresent influence of Italian music. For more, see Robert G. Rawson, *Bohemian Baroque: Czech Musical Culture and Style, 1600–1750*, chapter Christmas Pastorellas, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013, p. 107–143.

²⁸⁵ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, Notata specialiora per menses, § 3, p. 35, SOA Třeboň. The convent had a choral and figural choir loft for performing various types of music.

²⁸⁶ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, Notata specialiora per menses, Januarius, § 4, p. 35, SOA Třeboň.

representatives.²⁸⁷ The solemn figural Vespers were celebrated before the second Sunday after Epiphany.²⁸⁸

The Christmas season concluded on the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (on 2 February). This feast was launched with the solemn first Vespers on the eve of the feast. The blessing of candles followed after the sermon on the subsequent day. The friars initiated a solemn procession intoning the Marian hymn *Ave Maris Stella*. The chant was continued by the sisters, who sang from their choir loft. The procession with the blessed candle went through the large cloister and concluded with a sung Mass.²⁸⁹

A special festivity was held on the 6th February on the feast of St. Dorothea. Both solemn Vespers and the solemn morning Mass were celebrated with the accompaniment of figural music. The Terce was sung on this day as well. The Clarissan sisters customarily donated three florins to the musicians.²⁹⁰

The Lent season, especially the Holy Week before Easter, represented another special liturgical occasion. As St. Francis held the Passion of Christ in special veneration and was the first person to receive stigmata, the Lent ceremonies of the Minorites were very profound and elaborate. This season was launched on Ash Wednesday, when ash was blessed and distributed after the Liturgy of the Hours.²⁹¹ Whereas this rite was accompanied by sisters' singing, the subsequent Mass was sung by friars. Every Friday of Lent, the Most Blessed Sacrament was displayed before the first Mass. On this occasion, the friars sang Lent hymns and adored the Cross.²⁹² The Eucharistic hymn *Pange lingua*, the Lent hymn *Sapientia Patris*, and the Lent Marian sequence *Stabat Mater* were sung by the musicians until the priest left the presbytery. The hymns were performed with no instrumental accompaniment.²⁹³ Furthermore, a public sermon took place every Friday. The subsequent procession with the Most Blessed Sacrament was performed by the prelate, accompanied by the Schwarzenberg

²⁸⁷ Water, frankincense, chalk, and gold are blessed during this Mass in commemoration of gifts given to little Jesus by the biblical Magi.

²⁸⁸ *Kniha ceremonií*, SOA Třeboň.

²⁸⁹ LM II, p. 62, *Kniha ceremonií*, SOA Třeboň.

²⁹⁰ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, Notata specialiora per menses, Februarius, § 3, p. 41, SOA Třeboň, *Kniha příjmů a vydání konventu*, 6.2.1751, SOA Třeboň, *Kniha ceremonií*, SOA Třeboň.

²⁹¹ *Kniha ceremonií*, SOA Třeboň.

²⁹² *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, Notata specialiora per menses, Februarius, § 4, p. 41, SOA Třeboň.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, Notata specialiora per menses, Martius, § 2, p. 45, SOA Třeboň.

officials and Minorite confraternities.²⁹⁴ In the afternoon, the monastic musicians sang the compline in alternation with the friars.²⁹⁵

The liturgical year culminated in the rites of Holy Week. The first day of this most sacred time was Palm Sunday, when a sermon and a benediction with the Most Blessed Sacrament followed after the morning Divine Office. The rite concluded with the hymn *Vexilla regis*, sung by the sisters to the accompaniment of all convent bells ringing. After that, a procession similar to the one held on Purification took place, this time with blessed palm branchlets instead of candles. This procession went through the large cloister and continued over the cemetery to the main church door. There, two cantors introduced and repeated the Palm Sunday antiphon *Gloria, laus et honor*, while the sisters followed in the subsequent strophes.²⁹⁶ On condition of the presence of the Schwarzenbergs in Krumlov, the course of the ceremony did not change, because the Prince attended the religious services in the parish church of St. Vitus on this day.²⁹⁷

The most solemn ceremonies commenced the rites of the subsequent Wednesday at half past three in the afternoon, when a special *Tenebrae*²⁹⁸ service followed the recitation of the compline, concluding with the solemn Marian antiphon *Ave Regina Coelorum*. The performance of the Nocturns consisted of several different types of music sung by different performers from various places: while the psalms of the first Nocturn were sung by two cantors and friars in alternation with the sisters, who performed the individual psalm verses, the responsories after the Lamentations were played and sung figurally by monastic musicians, who stood at the lattice (*letner*) in front of the presbytery.²⁹⁹

Although the second and third Nocturns as well as the psalms of the Lauds were recited by the friars, the most solemn part of the Lauds, the *Benedictus* canticle, was sung in alternation with the sisters again, who concluded the rite with the Gradual *Christus factus est*. At the very end,

²⁹⁴ To find out more about Minorite confraternities, see chapter 7.2.1, Festivities connected with monastic life, which includes a description of the other festivities of Minorite confraternities.

²⁹⁵ *Kniha příjmů a vydání konventu*, 26.3.1751, SOA Třeboň.

²⁹⁶ LM II, p. 62, and *Nářízení ke konání bohoslužeb v klášterním kostele*, SOA Třeboň.

²⁹⁷ For more about noble habits at Easter and the connection with *Pietas austriaca*, see 7.1.3, The music connection between the town of Český Krumlov and the Minorites.

²⁹⁸ *Tenebrae* (a Latin term for *darkness*) was a religious service consisting of Matins and Lauds of the last three days of Holy Week (Maundy Thursday, Good Friday, and Holy Saturday), celebrated on the evening of the previous day. *Tenebrae* included three Nocturns, each consisting of three psalms, a short versicle and response, a silent Pater Noster, and three readings ("lessons from *Lamentations*"), each completed by a responsory. The subsequent Lauds consisted of five psalms, a short versicle and response, and the *Benedictus* Gospel canticle, completed by *Christus factus est*, a silent Pater Noster, a devotional recitation of Psalm 50 (51), *Miserere*, and the appointed collect prayer.

²⁹⁹ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, § 19, p. 10, SOA Třeboň.

the friars devotedly recited the usual psalm *Miserere*.³⁰⁰ Provided that the Prince of Schwarzenberg was present at the ceremony, the friars and the representatives of the confraternities approached the Prince's oratory and accompanied the Prince to his carriage. The Prince's visit on the subsequent day had an identical course.³⁰¹

The ceremony of Maundy Thursday (*Coena Domini*) started very early in the morning: the first mass was celebrated at six o'clock. The friars recited the Divine Office at half past seven, and after that another solemn Mass was celebrated. The Mass was performed figurally until *Gloria*, when all bells began to ring. The rest of the Mass was sung only by the sisters with no accompaniment of instruments, which were not allowed to sound until the Vigil of Resurrection. At the end of the Mass, the altar was covered with a cloth and the Most Blessed Sacrament was transferred from the main altar to the chapel of the Virgin Mary of Einsiedeln in the monastic Garden of Eden, representing the Garden of Gethsemane on this day. The traditional custom derived from the Lord's Supper; the Washing of the Feet was accompanied by the chant of sisters. The day was completed by the serving of *Tenebrae* again.³⁰²

Good Friday (*Parasceve*) was opened by a procession transferring the Eucharist to the Holy Sepulchre built in the large cloister. While the procession was accompanied by the sisters' chants, the friars sang the Passion hymn *Jesu Christe Crucifixe*³⁰³ at the sepulchre. The subsequent praising hymn *Sanctus Deus*³⁰⁴ was performed in alternation with monastic musicians. The recitation of the Vespers followed, being completed by the *Tenebrae* in the afternoon.³⁰⁵ The Holy Sepulchre was visited by the Prince, who attended the other religious services in the parish church of St. Vitus on this day.³⁰⁶

The Holy Saturday services commenced with a Mass at half past eight in the morning. The Mass was traditionally opened by the benediction of fire, accompanied by three exclamations of *Lumen Christi* with the response of three clerics. The first part of the Mass was sung only by the sisters, while the second was performed figurally. At half past three in the afternoon, a sung compline took place, followed by figural litanies. The rites of the Feast of the Resurrection, the highest Christian festival, already began at half past seven in the evening on the day before. The priest came with the friars and confraternity representatives to the Holy

³⁰⁰ *Nariadení ke konání bohoslužeb v klášterním kostele*, SOA Třeboň.

³⁰¹ LM II, p. 555, 14.&15.4.1745, LM III, p. 9, 15.4.1748, and LM III, p. 89, 25.&26.3.1750.

³⁰² *Nariadení ke konání bohoslužeb v klášterním kostele*, SOA Třeboň.

³⁰³ The hymn *Jesu Christe crucifixe* is a specific Minorite chant.

³⁰⁴ The main regular use of this exalting hymn, called *the Trisagion*, is on Good Friday, when it is sung throughout the ceremony of the Adoration of the Cross.

³⁰⁵ LM II, p. 64, and *Nariadení ke konání bohoslužeb v klášterním kostele*, SOA Třeboň.

³⁰⁶ LM III, p. 89, 27.3.1750.

Sepulchre, where the Most Blessed Sacrament was temporarily located, and intoned the solemn Marian antiphon *Regina coeli*, finished by the friars. The pontiff took out the Eucharist and showed it to the people intoning the German Easter song *Christ ist erstanden*, which the musicians completed figurally. While all monastic bells were ringing, the Procession went through the cemetery to the main altar in the church, where the pontiff intoned the Matins sung by the sisters. The ceremony concluded with the solemn figural hymn *Te Deum*, with a benediction with the Most Blessed Sacrament. The Lauds had only a private character, being recited in a moderated voice by the friar's choir.³⁰⁷

Although the guardian sang the solemn Mass on the Day of the Resurrection and on Easter Monday, the Prince usually visited the sung Mass and the morning procession in the parish church of St. Vitus.³⁰⁸ The sovereign attended the Minorite second Sunday Vespers and invited the friars to celebrate a Mass in the castle chapel on the following day.³⁰⁹

The Ascension of the Lord was celebrated 40 days after Easter, and the rites commenced at 2 p.m. During this ceremony, the priest raised the statue of Christ little by little and sang the verse *Ascendo ad Patrem meum et Patrem vestrum* three times in an increasingly lower voice. The sisters sang *Alleluja, Alleluja*, and the musicians played fanfares after each verse. The priest intoned the *Te Deum* praising hymn, which was concluded by the musicians. The feast was terminated with solemn Vespers.³¹⁰

The season of Easter was finished by the feast of Pentecost, coming fifty days after the Resurrection. This feast commenced on the eve with a solemn Mass and evening Vespers sung in the figural way. In 1748 the solemn Mass was sung by the Provincial making his visitation in the Krumlov convent.³¹¹ On the feast day, Masses were celebrated in the morning, and the sermon and ensuing solemn Vespers took place at 2 p.m. Since the pilgrimage feast of Our Lady of Einsiedeln fell on the subsequent day, the Vespers, Litanies of Loreto, and the Eucharistic benediction were held there.³¹²

The pilgrimage feast of Corpus Christi, following on the tenth day after Pentecost, represented another extraordinary liturgical ceremony in the Minorite monastery of Český Krumlov.³¹³ As

³⁰⁷ LM II, p. 64, and *Narižení ke konání bohoslužeb v klášterním kostele*, SOA Třeboň.

³⁰⁸ LM III, p. 89, 29.3.1750.

³⁰⁹ LM III, p. 9, 15.4.1748.

³¹⁰ *Kniha ceremonií*, SOA Třeboň.

³¹¹ LM III, p. 12, 2.6.1748.

³¹² *Kniha ceremonií*, SOA Třeboň.

³¹³ LM II, p. 64. The detailed description of this feast can be found in *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, § 18, p. 8–10, SOA Třeboň.

the parish church of St. Vitus had the priority for this festival, the ceremony in the Minorite monastery had to take place on the subsequent Sunday. If the festival fell on 13 June (St. Anthony of Padua), all proceeded in the usual way. If, however, the festival fell on 15 June (feast of St. Vitus), the celebration took place in the afternoon in order not to disturb the rites of the pilgrimage feast at the parish church. The Krumlov prelate, the Jesuits, the officials of the confraternity, and the mayor and economic administrator were always invited to take part in the liturgy and the ensuing lunch.³¹⁴ When the economic administrator and the mayor entered the monastery, all bells were ringing. If the Princess was present, the superior welcomed her at the church door. Finally, he thanked her for her attendance and accompanied her to the carriage. The local guilds, the mayor, the consul, and the whole municipal government were invited to the solemn procession.

The festivities already began with the first solemn Vespers held on the eve of the feast. The main day of the celebration started in the convent church at eight in the morning, when the Minorite confraternity of the Five Holy Wounds introduced the procession, which included the Minorite friars, the local prelate, the Jesuits, and other church representatives. Six officials bore the baldachin above the Most Blessed Sacrament. This solemn theophoric procession led from the monastery through the municipal quarter called *Latran* towards the castle. The procession was accompanied by the sounds of bells, organ,³¹⁵ timpani, and other instruments. Each of the four evangelic stations was sung by a Minorite priest. The procession terminated in the church presbytery, where the praising hymn *Te Deum* was performed. A festive liturgy (*missa cantata*) followed, and the rites concluded with ceremonial sung Benedictions and second Vespers in the evening. If the weather was bad, the rites were held within the cloister and the convent church. The significance of the festival was emphasized by the granting of plenary indulgences to the whole town. According to Sperl, a large crowd accompanied the procession.³¹⁶ Solemn liturgy took place during the whole Octave of Corpus Christi, lasting until the next Sunday.

As is obvious from the document describing the procession in 1666,³¹⁷ this festival represented one of the most impressive monastic celebrations within the liturgical year. The Eucharist procession was accompanied by three boys playing violas and cymbals, followed by

³¹⁴ The *Directorium* was written in 1738, so the Prince of Schwarzenberg, who ruled between 1741 and 1782, is not yet mentioned among the invited guests.

³¹⁵ An organ portative was used in this case.

³¹⁶ LM II, p. 367, 383, 407, 425, 463, 500, 563, and 600, LM III, p. 12 and 62, and *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, § 18, p. 8–10, SOA Třeboň.

³¹⁷ *Procesi o Božím Těle*, SOA Třeboň.

trumpets, strings, organ, and timpani players (“tres pueri cum violis et cymbalis bene sonantibus [...] et tympano et choro in cordis et organo in tubis”). The boys or the cantors sang the hymn *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, *Ave crux*, *Spes unica*, the Eucharistic hymns *Homo quidam fecit coenam* and *Tantum ergo Sacramentum*, and the intercessory hymn *Audi nos, nam te rogamus*. Although the form of the procession was modified during the 18th century, the main features might have remained unchanged. This assumption of a magnificent music event is supported by a reference to the presence of parish, castle, and monastery musicians at the monastery banquet ensuing after the liturgy.³¹⁸ For this reason, cooperation between the parish, castle, and monastic musicians is highly likely.

The form of celebrating the feast of Corpus Christi in Český Krumlov followed the pattern of usual liturgical festivities in the Austrian monarchy of the period under discussion. This sumptuously celebrated church feast is customarily connected with the term of *Pietas eucharistica Austriae*.³¹⁹ The sovereign House of Habsburg continually claimed its allegiance to the Catholic faith and Church and made the reverence for the Most Blessed Sacrament the focal point of its ruling strategy. The Eucharist was supposed to reinforce the power of the sovereign family and to help it rule over the world.³²⁰ The procession on the feast of Corpus Christi constituted a public avowal to the Catholic faith and an opulent celebration of triumph of the Catholic Church (*demonstratio catholica*) and therefore formed the cornerstone of Habsburg piety.³²¹ On this occasion, the sovereign’s glory yielded to the splendour of God in the Eucharist. The Emperor conspicuously emphasized his subordination to God’s majesty and accompanied the church procession in very modest clothes. The sovereign’s court participated in this festivity as well, being accompanied by wind instruments, timpani, and cannons. A similar phenomenon appears in the case of the town of Český Krumlov as well. The Schwarzenberg princely couple regularly attended the feast at the monastery together with their court and grenadiers, and according to references in the chronicle they accompanied the procession in the most devoted way.³²² In return, the prelate and three Minorites, including Sperl, were invited to join the Prince’s banquet at the castle after the festivity, whereas the other guests were wined and dined in the monastery as usual.³²³ As the Prince and Princess were very well known for their natural brilliant piety (“innata praeclara pietas”) for the

³¹⁸ LM II, p. 500 and 563.

³¹⁹ To find out more about the phenomenon of *Pietas Austriaca*, see Coreth 1982.

³²⁰ Coreth 1982, p. 20.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

³²² Cf. LM II, p. 406.

³²³ LM II, p. 563, and LM III, p. 62.

Eucharist, Sperl was requested to sing the Mass to the Most Blessed Sacrament every day during the octave of Corpus Christi in the castle chapel. If the princely couple was present, he even celebrated a votive Mass in the castle every Thursday.³²⁴ The Prince followed the model of the Habsburgs, who ordered for a Mass to be celebrated in honour of the Most Blessed Sacrament in the Imperial chapel in the Hofburg every week.³²⁵ All these facts support the hypothesis that there were close and frequent relationships between the ruling house and the monastery under its auspices and that this represents another example of interconnection between Český Krumlov and Vienna.

The Easter season was followed by an ordinary time with no special festivities until the November feast of All Souls' Day. Although the feast fell on 2 November, the ceremony already commenced at half past four in the afternoon on the day before with a liturgy consisting of the Vespers, Office for the Dead,³²⁶ and Lauds. The psalms and selected antiphons were performed alternately by the monastic musicians and friars, divided into two groups. It is highly likely that the musicians alternated after each verse. The guardian always intoned the first antiphon *Placebo Domino*,³²⁷ the antiphon to *Magnificat*, the intercessions, and the final prayer *collecta* whilst the musicians continued and finished the Vespers. When the musicians themselves performed the invitatory of Matins and all Matins responsories, the guardian intoned the antiphon of the first Nocturn and sang the Nocturn with its readings (lectures) as well as the first antiphon to the Lauds and to the canticle *Benedictus*, thereby finishing the Lauds. The second and third Nocturns of Matins were sung by the deacon and subdeacon respectively. The festive liturgy lasted about three hours and terminated at a quarter past seven. As the Prince was traditionally present with his court at the ceremony every year as of 1747, the friars welcomed and accompanied him to his oratory with the sound of trumpets and timpani and the ringing of bells. When the rite was finished, the Minorites approached the Prince's oratory, where the guardian and his assistants expressed their respect and gratitude for the Prince's protection and generosity and accompanied him to his carriage to the sound of trumpets, timpani, and bells again.³²⁸ On this occasion, the sisters took care of

³²⁴ LM II, p. 563.

³²⁵ Riedel 1977, p. 27.

³²⁶ The Office for the Dead is a prayer cycle of the office of Hours which always takes place on All Souls' Day for all souls in purgatory. The work is composed of different psalms, scripture, prayers, and other parts.

³²⁷ The funeral responsory *Placebo Domino* (I will please the Lord in the land of the living) is based on Psalm 114.

³²⁸ LM II, p. 638, 1.11.1747, and LM III, p. 31, 1.11.1748.

the ensuing refreshments, comprising a meal and beer.³²⁹ The musicians obtained three quadrants³³⁰ of Hungarian wine for their entertainment.³³¹

The liturgy of the following day was opened with a recitation of the Office for the Dead by the sisters in their choir, while the friars simultaneously prayed the Prime in moderate voices. The sung requiem Mass and the subsequent procession with the sequence *Dies irae*³³² ensued. The procession maintained eight stations: the first one was at the friars' crypt in the presbytery, where the responsory *Libera me* was sung. The other stations were at the various altars in the church, at the public crypt in the large cloister, in St. Wolfgang's and St. Anne's chapels, and in the ossuary. The procession ended at the altar of Our Lady of Sorrows, where the Marian antiphon *Salve regina* was sung to organ accompaniment. While the procession was walking, all bells were ringing.³³³ Finally, the convent Mass was celebrated at 9 a.m. If the Prince came to the convent, the solemn requiem Mass was sung by the guardian. After the Mass, the superior spoke to the Prince in his oratory and accompanied him to his carriage again.³³⁴

On 22 November, the feast of the patroness of musicians St. Cecilia, the guardian sang a solemn Mass. The musicians were supposed to play more festive music and received a bonus in the form of two or three florins.³³⁵

It is obvious that life at the monastery maintained its regular structure, being organized by everyday liturgy: every individual day was divided into several sections by the Eucharist and the Office of Hours, which were recited on weekdays and sung figurally on Sundays and feasts. The forms of liturgical performance were very diverse: some parts were sung only by friars or sisters, while other parts were sung in alternation with monastic musicians. The solemnity of each religious service was also determined by its musical character: while some Masses were sung only in plainchant (especially by sisters and friars) or read quietly with no music, the most festive events always took place with rich figural accompaniment. It is evident that the guardian represented the most important person in the convent, performing

³²⁹ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, Notata specialiora per menses, November, § 1, p. 75, SOA Třeboň.

³³⁰ A quadrant is approximately equal to one litre.

³³¹ *Kniha příjmů a vydání konventu*, 1.11.1751, SOA Třeboň.

³³² The *Dies irae* ("Day of Wrath") was used in the Roman liturgy as the sequence for the requiem Mass and also formed part of the traditional liturgy of All Souls' Day. The authorship of this Latin hymn is often attributed to the Franciscan friar Thomas of Celano (1200–c. 1265).

³³³ *Kniha ceremonií*, SOA Třeboň.

³³⁴ LM II, p. 638, 2.11.1747, LM III, p. 32, 2.11.1748, and LM III, p. 79, 2.11.1749.

³³⁵ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, Notata specialiora per menses, November, § 3, p. 76, SOA Třeboň, *Kniha příjmů a vydání konventu*, 22.11.1751, SOA Třeboň.

the most solemn liturgical events in the convent and intoning the beginnings of hymns or psalms. Although the male and female community led their everyday monastic lives separately, they celebrated the solemn liturgy on Sundays and feast days together. An excellent example of this solemnity was the Holy Week before Easter, which included the most elaborate ceremonies, starting on Palm Sunday and culminating on Resurrection Sunday: the Easter rites featured a rich variety of chants performed in different places at the monastery (church, cemetery, cloister, chapel of Mary of Einsiedeln). The chants came from sundry sources, including the specific Minorite chant *Jesu Christe crucifixe*, a diverse complex of chants in *Tenebrae*, various procession chants, or the German song *Christ ist erstanden* sung in the mother tongue of the inhabitants of Český Krumlov. As the sisters and brothers sang some psalm verses alternately from opposite sides of the church, thus creating special polychoral effects, the mode of singing had to be very attractive for the listeners. The singing was also complemented by the sound of other instruments and bells if the monastery's founder and patron, the Prince of Schwarzenberg, was present. As is clear from a reference to the Advent season of 1741, the liturgy in the Krumlov convent followed the pattern of liturgical festivities in Prague and other significant Czech Minorite convents. These common Minorite characteristics will be examined more closely in the following chapter.

7.2.2 Special Minorite Order festivities

As already mentioned in the introductory chapters, the Minorites in Český Krumlov not only observed the usual festivals of the liturgical year but also celebrated the feasts of the Minorite saints, expressing the specific nature of the order in a unique manner.³³⁶ All Minorite Order feasts were supposed to be celebrated with figural music and officials from the confraternities. If the feast was connected with the granting of indulgences, the figural first Vespers was performed on the eve of the feast.³³⁷ For the purposes of this chapter, entries from the convent chronicle *Liber Magistralis I–III*, *Directorium superioris*, and *Rituale Ecclesiae Conventus Crumloviensis* serve again to depict the customary forms of selected festivals. Relevant original Latin citations from LM are quoted in the final appendix. The ordering of the feasts in this chapter reflects the course of the liturgical year, and the description therefore begins with the celebration of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary on 8 December in the Advent season and ends with the feast of All Saints of the Minorite Order on 29 November. Some feasts are mentioned annually in the chronicle (such as the feasts of St. Clare and St.

³³⁶ Cf. Chapter 4.3.2, Specific church feasts and feasts of Minorite saints.

³³⁷ *Knihy ceremonií*, SOA Třeboň.

Francis), others only irregularly, probably depending on whether the day took an extraordinary course or special noble guests were present (the pilgrimage feast of the Annunciation or the Holy Name of Jesus). In addition, there were also occasionally unique events in the convent, such as the beatification of a companion of St. Francis in 1739 or the introduction of the Way of the Cross in 1740.

The Marian feast of the Immaculate Conception, celebrated in December, was connected with a wide range of events held in various places at the convent.³³⁸ The day commenced with a Rorate Mass, because the feast took place in the Advent season. As the day held the special festive position, the Rorate Mass was followed by a solemn Mass sung by the guardian or by an invited priest (in 1739 it was the dean from České Budějovice,³³⁹ in 1747 Sperl himself³⁴⁰). Since extraordinary events in the life of the convent usually took place only on the order's significant feast days,³⁴¹ the solemn Mass was connected with two rituals, namely the profession of vows and the entrance into the novitiate.³⁴² The festivity continued in the evening, when the Český Krumlov prelate uttered a solemn oration at 5 p.m. As soon as the oration was finished, the musicians played fanfares and performed a very agreeable concert ("suavissimus concertus") in the refectory, praising the Immaculate Conception. The ensuing Marian Latin panegyric was given by an outstanding student of the local Minorite theological and philosophical institute. This speech on the Immaculate Conception was usually delivered in the refectory (or twice in St. Wolfgang's chapel) in the presence of a large audience including the princely couple with their court and friends, Jesuits, students, officials, the mayor, the prelate, and other regional church representatives. The Marian canticle *Magnificat* was sung figurally after the speech. After that, the guests were invited to a festive meal in the convent and the musicians received refreshments ("collatio") and draught beer.³⁴³

Being closely related to the Christmas season, the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus was celebrated on the first Sunday after Epiphany.³⁴⁴ When the Prince was present, the guardian sang a solemn Mass and intoned the thanksgiving hymn *Te Deum*. In 1750 the Mass was celebrated in the chapel of Our Lady of Einsiedeln (*Eremitana*) and was accompanied by

³³⁸ LM II, p. 397, 8.12.1739, LM II, p. 485, 8.12.1742, LM II, p. 516, 8.12.1743, LM II, p. 544, 8.12.1744, LM II, p. 576, 8.12.1745, LM II, p. 614, 8.12.1746, LM II, p. 643, 8.12.1747, LM III, p. 41, 8.12.1748, LM III, p. 81, 8.12.1749.

³³⁹ LM II, p. 397, 8.12.1739.

³⁴⁰ LM II, p. 643, 8.12.1747.

³⁴¹ Cf. the following subchapter 7.2.3, Festivities connected with convent life.

³⁴² LM II, p. 614, 8.12.1746, and LM II, p. 643, 8.12.1747.

³⁴³ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, Notata specialiora per menses, December, § 5, p. 81, SOA Třeboň.

³⁴⁴ LM II, p. 494, 20.1.1743, LM III, p. 88, 17.&18.1.1750.

brilliant music (“praeclara musica”). As the Prince’s children returned to health around this period, a most festive *Deo gratias* was celebrated on this day as well. When the rites were finished, the friars accompanied the Prince to his carriage to the sounds of trumpets and timpani and the peal of bells. This day was also celebrated by the local Czech fraternity of St. Francis, whose members participated in a special private Mass at eight in the morning.

The day of 25 March was connected with two festivities: the patronage feast of the convent, which was dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary,³⁴⁵ and the introduction of the Way of the Cross in 1740.³⁴⁶ For the patronage feast, a solemn Mass and a solemn compline were celebrated by a Jesuit one year and by the guardian the next year.³⁴⁷ This well-attended festival could also be connected with the festive first Mass, celebrated by a new priest in the presence of the Jesuits and the prelate. The pilgrimage feasts of other convent chapels (Virgin Mary of Einsiedeln, St. Anne, and Wolfgang³⁴⁸) were celebrated with a sung Mass and both Vespers in a figural way. These religious services were held in the spaces of the corresponding chapels.³⁴⁹

The aforementioned unique event took place on this day in 1740, when a special religious service, the Way of the Cross, was introduced into the convent. The Minorites attributed special importance to this prayer and were obliged to carry out this worship every Friday. Guardian Sperl was put in charge of this public ceremony, hereby complying with the urgent order of the Provincial. As it was the first occurrence of the Way of the Cross in Český Krumlov, a ceremony that could be implemented only in the Franciscan Church, the event was intensified by the granting of plenary indulgences. The ceremony commenced as early as eight in the morning by the friars and the sisters singing the Terce together. After that, the friars approached the main altar in the procession with the cross, where they prayed in front of the Eucharist and the provincial commissioner intoned the hymn *Vexilla regis* praising the Holy Cross. In the course of this chant the friars proceeded to the cloister, where the commissioner and the convent vicar blessed all fourteen stations and the cross. The religious service terminated at the main altar with the Most Blessed Sacrament on display, where the friars recited prayers and the commissioner intoned the solemn hymn *Te Deum laudamus*. The purpose of the Way of the Cross was illuminated for the numerous onlookers by the

³⁴⁵ LM II, p. 626, 25.3.1747, LM III, p. 58, 25.3.1749.

³⁴⁶ LM II, p. 403, 25.3.1740.

³⁴⁷ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, Notata specialiora per menses, Martius, § 4, p. 45, SOA Třeboň.

³⁴⁸ The pilgrimage feast of Virgin Mary of Einsiedeln was celebrated on the Monday after Pentecost, St. Anne on 26 July, and St. Wolfgang on 31 October.

³⁴⁹ *Kniha ceremonií*, SOA Třeboň.

subsequent sermon. The ceremony concluded with a solemn Mass with a Eucharistic benediction sung by the commissioner, who was sent by the Provincial to Krumlov especially for this occasion. Since the Clarissan sisters were not allowed to enter the male cloister and participate in the Way of the Cross, the friars blessed their own crosses and devotional objects as well as those belonging to the sisters in order to enable the Poor Clares to carry out this religious service in the female convent. Thus, the introduction of the Way of the Cross ended, to the friars' and sisters' great solace. As the veneration of Christ's passion was the focal point of Franciscan spirituality, it is no wonder that the Minorites attached great importance to this religious service in their convent. The special reverence for the Stations of the Cross was expressed by the later gilding of the stations' frames in the attendance of an invited reformed Minorite from Prague.³⁵⁰ The gilding was made possible by a contribution made by a friar from the monastery in Horažďovice: this example confirms the hypothesis that there was cooperation among the convents in the Bohemian Province.

One of the most magnificent monastic festivities took place on the feast of St. Anthony of Padua on 13 June. This Minorite saint, a famous preacher and a friend of St. Francis of Assisi, was considered one of the main protectors of this order and thus had special liturgical texts assigned to his feast and was deeply venerated in each Minorite convent. The Český Krumlov monastery made no exception in this respect: the friars built a special altar in the church dedicated to this saint and commemorated his feast every year in a singular manner.³⁵¹ A solemn pontifical Mass was celebrated by the prelate, the abbot of Zlatá Koruna monastery, or an invited dean from České Budějovice, customarily in the presence of the princely couple. The importance of the festival could even be enhanced when another coincident festive occasion fell on the same day, such as the first Mass of a newly ordained Minorite priest or the feast of the Holy Trinity.³⁵² The subsequent sermon was given by an order priest (Jesuit, Cistercian, or Minorite) or by a diocesan priest from Český Krumlov and the adjacent region. More than 20 guests usually participated in the festive meal in the refectory or in the large cloister, such as the princely couple with their court and officials and regional church representatives. In 1746, the Schwarzenberg court architect Andrea Altomonte took part in this banquet as well.³⁵³ The festivity concluded with the second Vespers being sung either by

³⁵⁰ LM II, p. 517, 21.2.1744.

³⁵¹ LM II, p. 367, 13.6.1738, LM II, p. 383, 13.6.1739, LM II, p. 406, 13.6.1740, LM II, p. 427, 13.6.1741, LM II, p. 468, 13.6.1742, LM II, p. 500, 13.6.1743, LM II, p. 527, 13.6.1744, LM II, p. 562, 13.6.1745, LM II, p. 600, 13.6.1746, LM II, p. 634, 13.6.1747, LM III, p. 12, 13.6.1748, LM III, p. 64, 13.6.1749.

³⁵² LM II, p. 367, 13.6.1738, and LM II, p. 562, 13.6.1745.

³⁵³ LM II, p. 600, 13.6.1746.

a secular priest or dean from the neighbourhood, a Jesuit, a Minorite, or a Cistercian monk. A problem occurred in the case of feasts celebrated parallel to one another:³⁵⁴ as the ceremonies in the parish church took priority over the monastic ones, the festivity had to be cancelled twice due to the coincident feast of Corpus Christi celebrated in St. Vitus's church on this day.³⁵⁵

An extraordinary event was held in Český Krumlov on the occasion of the beatification of St. Francis's companion Andrea Cacciola de Hispello in 1739.³⁵⁶ This newly canonized friar was a disciple of St. Francis and one of the first Minorite priests. The friars attached notable importance to this festivity, which lasted three days altogether and was very well attended by the wider public. The festival commenced with a solemn Mass, sermon, and Vespers on 28 June, having been introduced by the first Vespers on the day before. All of the day's rites were performed by invited Jesuit priests in the accompaniment of all local students. A similar course can be observed at the feast of the apostles St. Paul and Peter, which took place on the subsequent day: the solemn Mass and preaching were performed by a Servite from the nearby town of Nové Hrady, while the Vespers were the responsibility of Krumlov chaplains. The celebration culminated on the following day, when another solemn Mass was celebrated by the Jesuits. It is quite surprising that no sermon was given on this day. The same priest served the second Vespers. The religious services culminated with the final praising hymn *Te Deum*, which was sung on the most festive occasions.

A concise entry refers to the celebration of the feast of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary and its octave, falling on 2 July, which was held in Český Krumlov. On this solemn day in 1749, a friar's profession of vows took place in the monastery and was accompanied by sacred chant ("sacro cantato").³⁵⁷

However, the most popular festivity by far was the Porziuncola feast on 2 August.³⁵⁸ This fundamental Franciscan feast of Our Lady of the Angels was very popular with the general public due to the privilege of plenary indulgences. The first solemn Vespers were sung by the guardian, regional diocesan priest, or dean from České Budějovice on the eve of the feast. When the princely couple was in Krumlov, they and their court attended the rites in the

³⁵⁴ Cf. 4.2.1 Short history of the Order in the Czech lands up to the end of the 18th century.

³⁵⁵ LM II, p. 500, 13.6.1743, and LM III, p. 12, 13.6.1748.

³⁵⁶ LM II, p. 384, 28., 29.&30.6.1739.

³⁵⁷ LM III, p. 67, 2.7.1749.

³⁵⁸ LM II, p. 369, 2.8.1738, LM II, p. 390, 2.8.1739, LM II, p. 408, 2.8.1740, LM II, p. 428, 2.8.1741, LM II, p. 475, 2.8.1742, LM II, p. 509, 1.&2.8.1743, LM II, p. 529, 2.8.1744, LM II, p. 567, 2.8.1745, LM II, p. 604, 2.8.1746, LM II, p. 637, 2.8.1747, LM III, p. 16, 2.8.1748, LM III, p. 68, 2.8.1749.

monastery on both days. The pontifical Mass was always celebrated by the prelate or the abbot of the neighbouring Cistercian monastery in Zlatá Koruna. The Mass stood out among other feasts because of the high number of visitors it attracted to the convent: about 7000 people received Holy Communion in the Minorite church on this day; in 1749 it was even more; the guardian mentions 9200 communicants and innumerable penitents. Although the festivity took place primarily at the Minorite convent, Sperl notes that a large crowd received the Eucharist in the parish church of St. Vitus, the castle chapel, or the Jesuit St. Judoc's church as well. Since the town of Český Krumlov had only 2762 inhabitants in 1751,³⁵⁹ it is clear that the feast attracted pilgrims from the whole adjacent region and was celebrated in all municipal churches. The sermon that followed was divided into two groups according to the language skills of the churchgoers: while the German preaching was usually held by a Jesuit, Minorite, Cistercian, or local secular priest in the Minorite church, the Czech sermon took place at the monastic cemetery. The evidence of sermons given in two languages fits the bilingual character of the Český Krumlov region, where Czech and German inhabitants were naturally intermingled.

As the Minorite fraternity celebrated its regular monthly procession on the first Sunday of the month, the parade went through the convent on this day as well, being led by a Minorite or Jesuit. A festive meal followed in the refectory or in the garden, with the attendance of approximately 30 noble guests. The feast customarily concluded with the second solemn Vespers, celebrated and sung by a guest priest. In connection with the banquet, a remarkable reference is found in the chronicle:³⁶⁰ Sperl refers to the invitation of external musicians to the table. Therefore, it is highly probable that the liturgy was accompanied not only by the monastic music ensemble but by parish musicians as well. It is also possible that the friars gathered the local musicians on the occasion of principal liturgical feasts in order to intensify the musical accompaniment of liturgy. In this context, another significant reference occurs:³⁶¹ a former monastic musician and current student of philosophy entered the convent at 8 a.m. on this day despite his poor origin. This fact indicates that employment in the convent ensemble meant a unique opportunity for a boy to acquire an education and thereby a chance to improve his social status. In addition, the musicians came into regular contact with the monastic environment, and thus a boy's engagement in music might naturally result in his entry into the convent.

³⁵⁹ Grulich http://www.encyklopedie.ckrumlov.cz/docs/en/mesto_histor_demvyv.xml.

³⁶⁰ LM II, p. 637, 2.8.1747.

³⁶¹ LM III, p. 68, 2.8.1749.

Although the feast of St. Clare, the founder of the Clarissan order, was supposed to be celebrated principally by the sisters, the Minorites organized this festivity as well.³⁶² This evidence can be explained by the fact that the friars had been in charge of the sisters' spiritual and material conditions since the foundation of both orders (e.g., celebrating Masses, hearing confessions, or taking care of various relations and needs outside the sisters' enclosure). Although, as we have seen before, the day was always opened with a Mass, the types of Mass differed from year to year. While the solemn Mass represented the most frequent type (being sung by a Servite from the nearby Nové Hradý monastery, a Jesuit, or a Cistercian from Zlatá Koruna), the other possibility was represented by a *missa cantata*. The pontifical solemn Mass was the most festive variant, being celebrated by a prelate or by a Cistercian abbot from Zlatá Koruna or Vyšší Brod with all insignia of their authority. The Mass was followed by a sermon, again being given by an order member (Servite, Jesuit, or Cistercian) or a regional priest. More than 20 guests took part in the noon banquet, including the princely couple with their relatives and court officials, private Capuchin confessors, and regional church representatives. The noblest guests were wined and dined in the Minorite refectory, the others in the cloister or in the garden. In 1749 the Clarissan abbess was also present at the lunch, thanks to the guardian's special permission. Concerning the festive meal, some significant references to music are contained in Sperl's records: after the preaching, the princely couple went through the cloister to the guardian's room to the accompaniment of two choirs of trumpets and timpani – according to the document called *Directorium*,³⁶³ the princely couple was always supposed to be welcomed with this festive accompaniment. As follows from the chronicle entry in 1743, the Prince was accompanied by a red canopy, trumpets, and timpani during his whole stay in the monastery. During the banquet in the same year, beautiful music (“pulchra musica”) sounded in the small open place (“areola”) outside the refectory: this fact indicates that the monastic music ensemble played not only sacred but also secular music in order to entertain the convent visitors in the refectory.³⁶⁴ The exact place of music production cannot be stated precisely: according to the customs of the period, there was a small room separated from the refectory by a curtain.³⁶⁵ The musicians had another opportunity to play secular music during the morning appointment on 1 May, when the boys played in front of the guardian's windows, at the cemetery, and in the garden at 3 a.m. In return, they obtained a

³⁶² LM II, p. 369, 12.8.1738, LM II, p. 390, 12.8.1739, LM II, p. 409, 12.8.1740, LM II, p. 432, 12.8.1741, LM II, p. 477, 12.8.1742, LM II, p. 510, 12.8.1743, LM II, p. 530, 12.8.1744, LM II, p. 568, 12.8.1745, LM II, p. 605, 12.8.1746, LM II, p. 638, 12.8.1747, LM III, p. 18, 12.8.1748, LM III, p. 68, 12.8.1749.

³⁶³ Cf. 7.2.4, Festivities connected with guests and external event.

³⁶⁴ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, Notata specialiora per menses, Augustus, § 1, p. 65, SOA Třeboň.

³⁶⁵ Bohadlo 2015, p. 255.

small sum of money (one florin and ten kreutzers) for their participation.³⁶⁶ The day came to a close with solemn second Vespers being celebrated by a Jesuit, a Cistercian, or a local priest, who also gave his blessing with the Most Blessed Sacrament. It seems rather unusual that the Mass, Vespers, or sermon were given by an invited church representative but never by a Minorite.

The feast of the founder of the Minorite Order, St. Francis of Assisi, was celebrated in a similar way.³⁶⁷ As was the case on other festive occasions, the feast began with the first solemn Vespers on the eve, featuring a special rhymed office to St. Francis. It was customary that on this significant day, either a young man was admitted to the order and received the Minorite habit, or a newly ordained priest celebrated his first Mass at 7 a.m, being responsible for singing both Vespers too. The solemn Mass was usually celebrated by the prelate with his pontifical insignia, a Black Friar from České Budějovice, a local Jesuit, or a secular priest. As soon as the Mass was finished, the same priest customarily preached a brilliant sermon (“praeclarissima concione”). In this case, evidence of two concurrent preachers appears again: whereas a German speech was given by diverse priests in the convent church, the Czech one was delivered by the prelate at the monastic cemetery. Due to war emergency in 1742 and 1744, a Minorite subsequently prayed for peace, blessing for the Emperor and an end to the fighting. When the religious part was finished, 30 noble guests dined in the refectory, the cloister, or the room near the kitchen. The celebration was regularly concluded by a second solemn Vespers in the evening.

The feast of All Saints of the Minorite Order was held on 29 November, at the end of the liturgical year. The morning Mass at 7 a.m. was attended by all friars and tertiaries, who recited the hymn *Veni creator spiritus*. After that, they all renewed their vows and sang the Eucharistic hymn *Pange lingua*, concluded by a benediction with the Most Blessed Sacrament. The sisters concurrently listened to the Mass and renewed their vows on their choir loft.³⁶⁸ A solemn Mass followed at half past nine, being sung in 1742 by a Cistercian from the distant monastery of Plasy in western Bohemia.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁶ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis, Notata specialiora per menses, Majus, § 1, p. 53, SOA Třeboň, Kniha příjmů a vydání konventu, 1.5.1751, SOA Třeboň.*

³⁶⁷ LM II, p. 371, 4.10.1738, LM II, p. 394, 4.10.1739, LM II, p. 411, 4.10.1740, LM II, p. 433, 4.10.1741, LM II, p. 480, 4.10.1742, LM II, p. 514, 4.10.1743, LM II, p. 536, 4.10.1744, LM II, p. 575, 4.10.1745, LM II, p. 609, 4.10.1746, LM II, p. 639, 4.10.1747, LM III, p. 21, 4.10.1748, LM III, p. 76, 4.10.1749.

³⁶⁸ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis, Notata specialiora per menses, November, § 2, p. 75–76, SOA Třeboň.*

³⁶⁹ LM II, p. 484, 29.11.1742.

In summary, the Minorites in Český Krumlov celebrated several significant feasts of their order in the course of the liturgical year, namely the feast of the order's founders St. Francis and St. Clare, the festivity of the miraculous preacher St. Anthony of Padua, Porziuncola, All Minorite Saints, Holy Name of Jesus, and special veneration to Jesus's Passion (Way of the Cross) and the Virgin Mary, especially expressed on the feasts of the Immaculate Conception, the Visitation, and the Annunciation, when a convent pilgrimage festival took place. Although the feast of St. Clare was primarily a part of the Clarissan's annual festivities, it was organized by the friars as well. On the contrary, there is no mention in the chronicle of celebrations of the feasts of other common Minorite saints (friends of St. Francis, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, or St. John Bonaventura). On the basis of period context, it may be assumed that these festivities were held every year in spite of the lack of annual entries in the chronicle. Other special order events took place only occasionally, including the introduction of the Way of the Cross or the beatification of a companion of St. Francis.

On these occasions, manifold guests were invited to the convent. On the one hand, there were church representatives responsible for serving the liturgy; on the other hand, noble guests were regularly invited to participate both in the religious services and in the festive meal. Since the simultaneous presence of many diverse friars and monks in Krumlov is a fact, different secular and order priests demonstrably cooperated with each other. The church representatives usually came from the nearby surroundings, specifically from the Cistercian abbeys in Zlatá Koruna and Vyšší Brod, Jesuits from Český Krumlov, Augustinians from Třeboň, Servites from Nové Hrady, and Black Friars from České Budějovice. The secular priests came from different parishes in South Bohemia. The presence of priests from more remote areas is nevertheless evidenced too: among them were Minorites from Horažďovice, Hyberns from Prague, or Cistercians from the West Bohemian monastery of Plasy. The guests were undoubtedly invited with the aim of emphasizing the exceptional character of the festivity. As follows from the chronicle, the relevant monastery sent a few friars to Krumlov, who were usually responsible for serving Mass, a sermon, and Vespers during the festive day. The course of the day was generally characterized by some common features: the solemn first Vespers were sung on the evening before the festival. The festive day was opened by a Mass of different grades of solemnity (*missa cantata*, *missa summa*, *missa pontificalis*), with a Czech and a German sermon as well as a banquet for 20 or 30 noble guests following immediately. The festivities concluded with the solemn second Vespers in the evening and a benediction with the Most Blessed Sacrament.

Since the order feasts were considered essential days of the liturgical year, they were usually connected with a significant event in convent life, such as the first Mass of a newly ordained Minorite priest, the profession of eternal vows, or the admission of a young man to the convent. Each part of the day happened in a different place: the liturgy and the German sermon took place in the church, the Czech sermon was held in the convent cemetery, and the festive meal was given in the refectory, the cloister, the room near the kitchen, and the garden. It is apparent that music accompanied all these events: on the one hand, the monastic music ensemble was highly likely to perform figural music during the liturgy; on the other hand, they undoubtedly played secular music during lunch as well. Moreover, the presence of the Prince of Schwarzenberg was always accompanied by the sounds of trumpets and timpani, which expressed and enhanced the exclusive position of the founder. Joseph Adam of Schwarzenberg and his court regularly attended all monastic order feasts – on this basis it is clear that he and his wife stayed in the residential town very often, almost every month. A reference in the convent chronicle demonstrates that the Minorites engaged parish musicians as well in order to strengthen the grandeur of the festive liturgy. From all the above, it is clear that the monastic music ensemble constituted a stable part of the convent: a musician might even enter the convent and become a friar despite his poor origin. In general, involvement in the ensemble meant a great chance to gain a basic education, thereby improving the boy's life expectations.

7.2.3 Festivities connected with convent life

Besides the feasts of the liturgical year, the convent members also celebrated extraordinary days concerning their order life. This aspect was demonstrated by the admission of a new friar or sister to the convent, the ordination of a new order priest, or the taking of solemn perpetual vows. The superior's visitation of the convent represented another type of festivity that had a common ordinary course and was always associated with music. Since the Minorite monastery was closely connected with the town environment and the adjacent region, it constituted a natural spiritual centre for lay people as well. Although these Minorite lay supporters (members of confraternities or the third order) lived in their homes outside the monastery, they had the possibility of participating in monastic life and even celebrated their own feasts.³⁷⁰ The following description of a feast is based principally on the convent

³⁷⁰ For more on the individual aspects and stages of Minorite convent life, see Chapter 4.1.1, The organizational structure of the Order.

chronicle and partially on the document *Directorium* and another document depicting the course of a canonical visitation.³⁷¹

As mentioned above, each friar had to complete a one-year novitiate before taking perpetual vows and pledging himself to stay in the order for his entire life. If a friar found the order life unsuitable, he was allowed to leave the convent any time during this year.³⁷² The solemn rite of the investiture of a new friar was celebrated with the accompaniment of *sacred chant*.³⁷³ On this occasion, the novice received a new order name, the Minorite habit, and a new breviary.³⁷⁴ As the entering into the convent meant one of the most festive days in the monastery, it was always celebrated on the day of special Minorite feasts, such as the feasts of St. Francis, Porziuncola, or the Visitation of the Virgin Mary. As already mentioned, the novice could also come from the monastic ensemble, having been admitted to the monastery in his childhood. In one documented case, a 21-year-old novice and student of philosophy was previously a convent musician with no closer specification,³⁷⁵ while another example might be a student of physics and a former brilliant monastic violinist (“*violinista praeclarus*”) and string instrument player.³⁷⁶ As the Český Krumlov monastery was shared by friars and sisters, it is evident that the Clarissan sisters underwent this solemn rite in a similar way in the female part of the convent.³⁷⁷

The act of profession (taking of perpetual vows) concluded the novitiate and represented one of the most festive events both in the male and in the female convent, usually being celebrated in the presence of local prelates, the Prince, and the Jesuits.³⁷⁸ The document *Directorium* contains a thorough depiction of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of vows of profession. The celebration was chaired by the superior, who intoned the praising antiphon *Jubilate Deo* at the very beginning. The chant was finished by the friars and musicians on the choir loft. This antiphon was repeated again after the end of the canticle of *Benedictus*. The honoured

³⁷¹ *Instructiones pro Venerabilibus Dominis Curatis Pragensibus*, NA (CZ-Pa).

³⁷² LM II, p. 497, 15.4.1742, LM II, p. 614, 8.12.1746. There is a reference to this leaving during the duration of novitiate within the chronicle in LM II, p. 514, 4.10.1743.

³⁷³ LM III, p. 15, 2.7.1748.

³⁷⁴ *Knihy příjmů a vydání konventu*, 4.10.1751, SOA Třeboň.

³⁷⁵ LM III, p. 68, 2.8.1749.

³⁷⁶ LM III, p. 15, 2.7.1748.

³⁷⁷ LM II, p. 482, 29.10.1742, LM II, p. 540, 7.10.1744, p. 536.

³⁷⁸ Clarissan professions: LM II, p. 376, 13.1.1739, LM II, p. 482, 29.10.1742, LM II, p. 540, 7.10.1744, LM III, p. 16, 29.7.1748; Minorite professions: LM II, p. 641, 8.12.1747, LM III, p. 66, 2.7.1749.

friar and the superior together intoned the hymn *Veni, Creator Spiritus*,³⁷⁹ followed by the choir in the same manner. After that, the superior prayed for the celebrated brother who was renewing his vows. The superior subsequently celebrated a Mass, at the end of which the friar intoned the praising Psalm 133, *Ecce quam bonum*. Next, the superior sang the protective oration for the celebrated brother, which was performed alternately with the choir. The ceremony concluded with the praising antiphon *Jubilate Deo*, corresponding to the choir response *Introite, fideles, in conspectu eius*. The superior finally intoned the jubilant *Te Deum* and gave the final benediction. Regarding the celebration of perpetual vows of other Minorites, all friars renewed their commitments on the feast of All Minorite Saints.³⁸⁰

As the convent consisted of both lay brothers and priests, the ordination of a new order priest represented another exceptional event in the life of the convent. This feast was very popular with the public, and the newly ordained priest usually celebrated various religious services, such as Vespers or benedictions, throughout the festive day.³⁸¹

The friars also celebrated their name days, on which occasion each of the honoured friars received a small present (a Mass for their intentions, wine, or beer).³⁸² A sung Mass was celebrated on the occasion of the birthdays and name days of the Clarissan abbess and the convent vicar.³⁸³

If a friar or a sister died, solemn funeral rites were held.³⁸⁴ All bells rang for three days before the funeral, and the Office for the Dead was recited in the choir. On the day of the funeral, the canonical hours were recited at 6 a.m., and the sisters prayed the Office for the Dead at seven. At eight, the whole office with three Nocturns was recited with the officials at the main altar. In the case of an abbess's burial, the first Nocturn and the *Benedictus* canticle were sung by the sisters. After that, a sung requiem Mass followed. When a sister died, the friars entered the Clarissan enclosure in a procession called "conductus" and sang the responsory *Libera me* in their cloister. The subsequent psalm, *Miserere*, was performed by the sisters. The corpse was carried by six or eight priests in a procession to the crypt, where the rites were terminated.

³⁷⁹ This hymn to the Holy Spirit is sung during liturgical celebrations on the feast of Pentecost and at the consecration of bishops, the ordination of priests, confirmation, the dedication of churches, the celebration of synods or councils, the profession of members of religious institutes, and other similar solemn events.

³⁸⁰ LM II, p. 484, 29.11.1742.

³⁸¹ LM I, p. 637, 13.6.1738, LM II, p. 376, 1.1.1739, LM II, p. 407, 29.6.1740, p. 455, 24.2.1742, LM II, p. 497, 15.4.1742, p. 563, 20.6.1745, LM II, p. 585, 6.1.1746, LM II, p. 639, 4.10.1747, LM III, p. 10, 23.4.1748, LM III, p. 58, 25.3.1749.

³⁸² *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, § 22, p. 11, SOA Třeboň.

³⁸³ *Ibid.*, § 5, p. 3, SOA Třeboň.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, § 15, p. 7, SOA Třeboň.

The friars sang the Marian antiphon *Salve regina* with the corresponding verse and collect.³⁸⁵ All dead brothers and sisters were commemorated on All Souls' Day. The commemoration act commenced with the Matins and a requiem Mass at 6 a.m. The priest went to the crypt and sang the responsory *Libera me* and prayed for the brothers. The rite concluded with the antiphon *Salve regina* and a convent Mass at 9 a.m.³⁸⁶

As the Franciscans were generally tasked with Catholic missions and the Counter-Reformation movement,³⁸⁷ the conversion of a Lutheran or a Jew to the Catholic Church was solemnly celebrated in the Minorite convent too.

Some local festivities were connected not only with order life but with the building of the convent church itself. The feast of the consecration of the temple was celebrated on Sunday after the feast of St. Gall:³⁸⁸ both the solemn Mass and the second Vespers were sung by the Jesuits, and numerous other guests were invited to a festive meal.³⁸⁹ A solemn Mass was also sung on the occasion of the installation and gilding of a new altar of St. John of Nepomuk in 1740. This altar was founded and financed by the Prince's private doctor and his wife as a token of their gratitude.³⁹⁰ This newly canonized saint and protector of the town belonged to popular patrons: his scapular was already venerated in the procession through the town in 1732.³⁹¹ It therefore comes as no surprise that a solemn liturgy including a sermon was held in the monastery just as on other festive days.³⁹²

As the Minorite Order has an international character with its central seat in Rome, special liturgical services took place in the case of the death of the General Minister. The solemn Masses were celebrated on two days.³⁹³ In 1746 the friars prayed for the dead Provincial Minister as well and celebrated three masses for the newly elected Provincial.³⁹⁴ The friars had to regularly undergo canonical visitation, which meant a visit of a Minorite superior (a *visitor*). The superior spoke to each convent member in order to correct cases of abuse and to find out the living conditions in the monastery. The aim of his visit was to maintain faith

³⁸⁵ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, § 14, p. 6, SOA Třeboň.

³⁸⁶ *Kniha ceremonií*, SOA Třeboň

³⁸⁷ Elbel 2001, p. 38.

³⁸⁸ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, Notata specialiora per menses, October, § 3, p. 72, SOA Třeboň.

³⁸⁹ LM III, p. 27, 13.10.1748, LM III, p. 76, 12.10.1749.

³⁹⁰ LM II, p. 416, 25.11.1740.

³⁹¹ Cf. Chapter 7.1.2.2, Schwarzenberg public festivities.

³⁹² *Kniha ceremonií*, SOA Třeboň.

³⁹³ LM II, p. 405, 27.&28.4.1740.

³⁹⁴ *Generální a konventní kapituly, úmrtí, volba, potvrzení a oslava výročí činnosti řádového provinciála, reorganizace řádové provincie, jmenování řádových definatorů a administrátorů na uprázdněná místa v provincii*, SOA Třeboň.

and discipline and to resolve potential discrepancies among the convents in the province. When the visitation was finished, the visitor wrote an account which served as an official report on the situation in the convent.³⁹⁵

The first evidence of a visitation in Krumlov occurs in 1734 and is in fact related to national disputes among the Silesian, the German, and the Czech Minorites.³⁹⁶ This controversy resulted in a general visitation of all Czech monasteries, ordered by the General Minister and executed by the General Commissar Angelus Miller and other delegates. As a consequence of this visitation, the situation in the Czech lands was stabilized (among other things, the orders' educational facilities were unified and a special philosophical and theological educational centre was established in Český Krumlov). Another visitation was carried out by the Provincial Minister 14 years later, both of the sisters and the brothers.³⁹⁷ From a document preserved in a Prague archive,³⁹⁸ it is obvious that the visitation had a typical course. When the visitor came, the whole community, accompanied by the public, was waiting at the monastery gate under the peal of all bells. The community went together to the main altar while the organ was playing. After the first oration, the visitor celebrated a private Mass accompanied by figural music. At the end of the Mass, the Eucharistic hymn *Pange lingua* was sung in front of the Most Blessed Sacrament. The visitor added a solemn benediction and gave a public sermon. Next, he checked the whole church, including all of its facilities, such as the baptismal font or sacred relics. As soon as he finished the inspection, the superior intoned the antiphon to Psalm 130, *Si iniquitates observaveris, Domine, quis sustinebit?*,³⁹⁹ and the choir and clerics continued in alteration. The procession went on to the cemetery, where the clerics sang the responsory *Qui Lazarum resuscitasti* from the Office for the Dead and repeated the previous antiphon. In the middle of the cemetery, the choir sang the responsory *Libera me, Domine*⁴⁰⁰ and *Kyrie eleison* and prayed *Pater noster* and other orations for the dead. While the superior was walking back to the church, the choir recited the

³⁹⁵ The reports from Český Krumlov convent for the following period are preserved in the National Archive in Prague and constitute a very useful source of information about the situation in the monastery – NA, ŘMi, fasc. 4, kart. 1, vizitace klášterů, seznamy kandidátů, 1734–1810 (Cf. the findings of Stanislav Bohadlo used in this thesis).

³⁹⁶ Cf. Chapter 4.2.1, A short history of the Order in the Czech lands up to the end of the 18th century.

³⁹⁷ LM III, p. 12, 23.-27.5.1748.

³⁹⁸ *Instrukciones pro Venerabilibus Dominis Curatis Pragensibus*, NA (CZ-Pa).

³⁹⁹ This psalm is traditionally related to funeral rites and prayers for the dead.

⁴⁰⁰ *Libera me* ("Deliver me") is a responsory performed in the Office for the Dead. This prayer for the dead is employed between the Requiem Mass and the entombment. The text of *Libera me* asks God for mercy at the Last Judgment.

penitential Psalm 51, *Miserere mei, Deus*. When the introductory rites ended, a thorough visitation of the convent ensued.

The third Franciscan Order and two lay confraternities represented a specific separate community within the convent. The membership in the third order consisted of a one-year novitiate, as in the first (male) and second (female) Franciscan Orders. The rite of entering the order had a course similar to that of the friars' initiation: the man or woman in question was dressed in the order's habit (or an attire called the *vest of penitents*) and received a new name. An example from 1750 serves as a good illustration of this ceremony: two women (one from Austria, the other from South Bohemia) were admitted to the third Franciscan Order during a private Mass on the feast of the Holy Name of Jesus. The author of the entry emphasized that the tertiaries were also present in their penitent vests at the subsequent solemn Mass celebrated by Sperl.⁴⁰¹ These single women were already in a close connection with the convent before assisting in the property relations of Clarissan sisters.

In the case of the Český Krumlov Minorite convent, there is evidence of two fraternities: one of them was a German fraternity of the Five Wounds of Christ, the other the Czech fraternity of St. Francis.⁴⁰² The members of both fraternities got together on given days, such as for the procession on the first Sunday of the month, representing the most important feast of each month.⁴⁰³ On this occasion, the Most Blessed Sacrament was displayed after the first Mass in the morning, the display lasting until the time of the procession. A sermon followed after the Vespers in the afternoon, concluded with five *Pater noster*, five *Ave Maria*, and five *Gloria Patri*. The procession went to St. Anne's chapel, where the Litanies of Loreto and the hymn *Corda pia*⁴⁰⁴ were sung. While the hymn was performed, the procession went through the cloister to the church, where it stopped at the altar of the Five Wounds of Christ and the Minorite hymn *Jesu Christe crucifixe* was sung. The procession moved ahead to the main altar singing the hymn *Decus morum*.⁴⁰⁵ The devotion terminated with the Eucharistic benediction and adoration. As Sperl states, this religious service was very popular with the public and had the main intention of edifying the crowd. On the day after the feast of St.

⁴⁰¹ LM III, p. 88, 18.1.1750.

⁴⁰² LM II, p. 63. The existence of two different fraternities was determined by the bilingual environment of the Český Krumlov region.

⁴⁰³ LM II, p. 63.

⁴⁰⁴ This traditional Franciscan hymn, *Corda Pia pia inflammatur, dum Francisci celebrantur, stigmatum insignia* ("Gentle hearts are set on fire in the telling of Francis' Stigmata"), refers to the stigmata of Christ and those of St. Francis of Assisi. Through songs, readings, psalms, and prayers, the participants are invited to contemplate Christ's suffering in His Passion.

⁴⁰⁵ This hymn praises the virtuous life of St. Francis.

Francis, the Minorites and the Archconfraternity of the Five Holy Wounds also led a procession to the nearby Marian pilgrimage place Kájov, where a sung Mass with the praising hymn *Te Deum* was celebrated.⁴⁰⁶ The procession started with the triple chant *Salve Sancte Pater Franciscus* performed by the friars.⁴⁰⁷

The fraternity in the wider sense did not consist only of living people but of the dead members of the order as well: therefore, a requiem Mass and the Office for the Dead in remembrance of these brothers and sisters took place every first Monday. Moreover, all living members met every third month in St. Wolfgang's chapel to discuss the current problems together and remedy the current situation. The fraternities consisted of the superior ("rector") and a board of officials who formally represented the community. The principal meeting with the election of representatives took place in St. Wolfgang's chapel on the feast of St. Andrew the Apostle (30 November). When the election was finished, the newly appointed rector recited the Litanies of St. Francis in German and celebrated solemn Vespers and Eucharistic benediction in the convent church. The fraternities were always present on all significant Minorite and Clarissan feasts too.⁴⁰⁸

To recapitulate, the convent comprised various social groups (Minorites, Clarissans, lay tertiaries) interconnected by the spirituality of St. Francis. Although their way of life differed in many aspects, the main features were shared by all three Franciscan orders (male, female, and the third order): their members had to complete a one-year novitiate and then take solemn perpetual vows, which were renewed every year. The 50th anniversary of this festivity constituted an elaborate liturgical ceremony including thanksgiving, praising, and protective hymns and psalms. Since some friars were ordained priests, the celebration of a first Mass represented a special festivity in the convent. It is evident that some friars came from the ranks of the monastic music ensemble and showed extraordinary musical skills. The feasts related to the convent church represented another category of convent festivities: to name two major ones, there was the annual feast of the church consecration and the one-time festive celebration of a new altar being installed. The visit of order superiors also constituted an extraordinary event in convent life and was therefore connected with singular liturgical services. The devotion was distinguished by two remarkable features: on the one hand, it was a distinct Eucharistic reverence manifested in a Mass, hymn, and adoration, while on the other

⁴⁰⁶ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, Notata specialiora per menses, October, § 1, p. 71, SOA Třeboň.

⁴⁰⁷ *Kniha ceremonií*, SOA Třeboň.

⁴⁰⁸ Cf. Chapter 7.2.1, Festivities of the liturgical year.

hand, it expressed respect for the dead through the performance of the Office for the Dead with appropriate psalms and responsories at the cemetery. The lay confraternities constituted special formations with specific rules and meetings of their own. Their inclination towards Minorite spirituality was demonstrated within the monthly processions and annual chapters when distinctive Franciscan hymns were performed either at the altar of the Holy Wounds in the church or in St. Wolfgang's and St. Anne's chapel.

7.2.4 Festivities connected with guests and external events

This section analyzes in depth the external events influencing convent life, primarily the events associated with the Schwarzenberg family of patrons. However, the Minorites not only prayed for their patrons but maintained a strong connection to their superiors, the Pope, and the Emperor as well. Since the Minorites ranked among the Catholic orders, they were obliged to obey papal orders published in relevant edicts. The Český Krumlov convent was part of the Prague Archdiocese, which meant that the friars were subject to the instructions of the Archbishop of Prague as well. As the Franciscan mission generally endeavoured to consolidate and promote peace in the world, the Minorites took charge of special devotions in times of war emergency. Moreover, the Habsburgs claimed themselves the defenders of the Catholic faith, so the friars also prayed for a Habsburg victory in the Wars of the Austrian Succession. Although the Minorite chronicle *Liber magistralis* reflects not only the events taking place in Český Krumlov but also those happening in Europe as a whole (especially in the case of wars and other political affairs), this thesis takes into consideration only the events bearing relevance for the music culture in the town of Český Krumlov. A certain part of the external events with Minorite participation has already been described in the chapter referring to music connections between the Schwarzenbergs, the town, and the Minorites, so this part focuses on the reflection of external events within the monastic environment.

7.2.4.1 The Minorite relationship to the Schwarzenberg family within the convent

As has already been pointed out, the Minorites were very attentive observers of their patrons' personal lives: the friars carefully observed Schwarzenberg feast days, such as birthdays or anniversaries, as well as instances of the protector's illness or decease. In return for the Minorite's fidelity, the princely couple visited the monastery on significant occasions. The Schwarzenberg feasts were primarily celebrated in the attendance of the Minorites at the castle and in St. Vitus's parish church, but special religious services were nevertheless celebrated in the convent on this day as well. A brief example might serve to clarify the

context: the Minorites regularly sang a solemn Mass for noblemen's sake with trumpeting on the occasion of Schwarzenberg birthdays and name days,⁴⁰⁹ and they did so as well as in the case of the noble wedding of Joseph Adam and Maria Theresia of Liechtenstein in 1741, when the *Te Deum* hymn was added at the end of the Mass.⁴¹⁰

The Minorites prayed for Prince Joseph Adam from his childhood on: the friars read Masses in front of the Most Blessed Sacrament and interceded for the health of the six-year-old Prince for four weeks in 1728. When the Prince recovered, the prelate celebrated a thanksgiving liturgy (a solemn Mass with *Te Deum*) for Joseph's recovery.⁴¹¹ The same occurred nine years later, when the Minorites celebrated a special Mass for the sick Prince every Wednesday, Saturday, Sunday, and feast day. When the Litanies of Loreto were performed before the blessing with the Most Blessed Sacrament, they ended with a special protective sung antiphon, *Sub tuum praesidium*.⁴¹² In addition, a special collect for the ill and a responsory *Si quaeris miracula* to St. Anthony of Padua, a favourite Minorite saint and miraculous intercessor in all needs, was sung in plainchant every day, specifically before the blessing and after the convent Mass and the compline.⁴¹³ Since the Prince recovered within a month, the friars celebrated a solemn thanksgiving liturgy with *Te Deum* and the accompaniment of two choirs of musicians. Another *Deo gratias* was celebrated at the castle on the day before.⁴¹⁴ The responsory to St. Anthony was sung in the case of the illness of the Princess Eleonora Amalia (Joseph Adam's mother) as well, with special long-term prayers for the diseased added after the convent Mass in front of the Eucharist.⁴¹⁵ These prayers were also described in detail within the chronicle as being ordered by the Archbishop of Prague and local authorities:⁴¹⁶ the Litany of the Saints was supposed to be recited daily in the morning, when a special collect to All Saints as well as the penitential and intercessory verses *Salvos fac servos tuos*, *Domine exaudi orationem*, and *Mitte ei, Domine, auxilium* were added. The Litanies of Loreto were prayed in the native (German⁴¹⁷) language after the first public Mass, followed by three *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Sub tuum praesidium*, also recited in German. It is

⁴⁰⁹ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, § 4, p. 2, SOA Třeboň.

⁴¹⁰ LM II, p. 433, 22.8.1741.

⁴¹¹ LM I, p. 162, 13.1.1728.

⁴¹² *Sub tuum praesidium* (in English, *Beneath Thy Protection*) is the oldest extant hymn to the Blessed Virgin Mary and is very popular not only in the Roman Catholic Church, but also in Orthodox Churches.

⁴¹³ LM I, p. 196, 18.3.1737.

⁴¹⁴ LM I, p. 196, 9.4.1737.

⁴¹⁵ LM II, p. 376, December 1738.

⁴¹⁶ LM II, p. 421, 12.4.1741.

⁴¹⁷ As the majority of inhabitants of Český Krumlov were of German origin in the 18th century, the German language was the predominant language in this town. In contrast, the villagers in the surroundings usually spoke Czech: therefore, the monastic sermons were given in both languages.

remarkable that the Litanies were recited in the native language – this fact seems quite unusual in these times, when the whole liturgy was celebrated in Latin and folk singing was permitted only as an exception. The Eucharist was displayed after the convent Mass and concluded with the usual chant, *Pange lingua*,⁴¹⁸ during final benediction with the Most Blessed Sacrament. The Litanies of the Holy Name of Jesus were prayed in front of the Eucharist at noon and after the compline at 4 p.m. This was followed by *Pater noster* with the collect to the Holy Name of Jesus and benediction. A special devotion took place on Sundays and feast days, when three *Pater* and *Ave* were prayed after the sermon. Moreover, all friars were recommended to bear the ill Prince and Princess in their minds and pray for their health every time. Part of the ceremony of the Princess's funeral took place in the convent too, but this rite has been already depicted comprehensively in the chapter dealing with the Minorite relationships to the Schwarzenbergs.⁴¹⁹ The prayers for the recovery of Joseph Adam's children were illuminated similarly within that chapter.⁴²⁰

The Minorites also interceded for dead members of the Schwarzenberg family. Prince Joseph Adam commemorated the anniversary of his ancestor Johann Christian of Eggenberg's death each year.⁴²¹ A solemn requiem Mass was celebrated at 11 a.m. at the monastery in the presence of the Prince, who was welcomed with the peal of bells and the sound of trumpets and timpani. If the Prince was absent, the low requiem Mass was celebrated in the chapel of Virgin Mary of Einsiedeln. The requiem, the responsory *Libera me*, and the Marian antiphon *Salve regina* were sung by the friars at the main altar and the altar of the Most Holy Trinity and Most Holy Father.⁴²²

As has been indicated in the previous chapters, the princely couple regularly visited the convent on various occasions. The first mention of such a visit can be found in 1735, when Princess Eleonora Amalia, her heir Joseph Adam, several members of the Lobkowitz⁴²³ noble family, and church representatives visited the convent.⁴²⁴ The author of the entry in the chronicle refers to the tradition of the preceding noble house of Eggenberg, which was

⁴¹⁸ *Pange Lingua Gloriosi Corporis Mysterium* is a Latin hymn written by Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) for the Feast of Corpus Christi. The last two stanzas (*Tantum Ergo*) are sung at the Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament. The hymn expresses the belief that the bread and wine are transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ during each Eucharistic celebration.

⁴¹⁹ Cf. Chapter 7.1.2.2, Schwarzenberg public festivities, page 55.

⁴²⁰ Cf. Chapter 7.1.2.2, Schwarzenberg public festivities, page 56–57.

⁴²¹ LM III, p. 44, 13.2.1748, LM III, p. 82, 13.2.1749.

⁴²² *Kniha ceremonií*, SOA Třeboň.

⁴²³ The Schwarzenberg Princess Eleona Amalia was born of Lobkowitz.

⁴²⁴ LM I, p. 193, 7.8.1735.

distinguished by humility and piety and supported the convent to a considerable extent. The Princess of Schwarzenberg viewed the convent rooms and lunched in the convent refectory, being hosted by the provincial Sperl, who stayed in Krumlov. Her stay concluded with the fanfare of trumpets and timpani while she was leaving the monastery.

As mentioned in the monastic directions, all friars were expected to welcome and accompany the Schwarzenberg family during their entrance and as they left the carriage and proceeded to their oratory. While all bells were ringing, the monastic trumpeters and timpanists were supposed to welcome the patron playing near St. Anne's chapel.⁴²⁵

The Prince always attended a solemn Mass and the subsequent sermon at 11 a.m., which was followed by a splendid festive meal. It is clear that his whole stay in the convent was filled with music: he was welcomed and accompanied by trumpeting and drumming, present at Masses accompanied by a music concert,⁴²⁶ and wine and dined in the refectory while the monastic music ensemble was playing.

However, the friars also celebrated special Masses for the prelate and all Schwarzenberg officials and their relatives (the mayor and his wife, the doctor and his wife, the economic administrator). The sung Mass for the forgiveness of sins ("pro vinculo") was celebrated for their intentions on the occasion of their name days.⁴²⁷ In return for the doctor's work, twelve low Masses were annually celebrated for his intentions.⁴²⁸

7.2.4.2 The Minorite relationship to the Holy See and the Imperial Habsburg house

Although the Minorites primarily expressed their bond to their patrons, they were inseparable from the Holy See in Rome as well. Therefore, they pledged themselves to celebrate two sung Masses for each dead Pope and for the subsequent election of a new pontiff.⁴²⁹ As the order felt a strong sense of belonging to the ruling Habsburg dynasty, they celebrated the birth of the newborn archdukes Joseph⁴³⁰ and Carl Joseph with a solemn thanksgiving mass with *Te Deum* and special intercessions for the preservation of the Emperor's house.⁴³¹ On the occasion of the death of Emperor Carl VI, all Minorite bells rang for two days at 11 a. m.

⁴²⁵ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, § 3, p. 2, SOA Třeboň.

⁴²⁶ LM II, p. 510, 6.8.1743.

⁴²⁷ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, § 5, p. 3, SOA Třeboň.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, § 6, p. 3, SOA Třeboň.

⁴²⁹ LM II, p. 402, 6.2.1740

⁴³⁰ *Bohoslužby konané při příležitosti úmrtí, svátku nebo jiném jubileu člena panovnické rodiny*, SOA Třeboň.

⁴³¹ LM II, p. 553, 7.3.1745

Solemn requiem Masses were celebrated for three days, as well as the psalm *De profundis* and the Litanies of Loreto.⁴³²

The Minorites remained loyal to the Emperor especially in times of war emergency by holding special prayers for peace and Habsburg victory.⁴³³ The first mention appears in 1742 in the case of wars against the Ottomans. The Minorites organized daily public prayers in front of the Eucharist for three years, and the Clarissan sisters added a special plainchant mass at half past ten in the morning.⁴³⁴ The 40-hour devotion represented a particular peaceful religious service held with the Eucharist on display. This service was repeatedly introduced by the Minorites during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), when Český Krumlov was occupied by Prussian soldiers.⁴³⁵ As Český Krumlov fell under the authority of the Archbishop of Prague, and the guardian was obliged to follow his instructions. An ordinance was published during the war, in December 1747.⁴³⁶ The Minorites were supposed to celebrate solemn requiem Masses for the dead soldiers for five weeks. They concurrently prayed and celebrated public sung Masses or private Masses for the intentions of the most pious Empress. All religious services were accompanied by the peal of bells.

According to the Archbishop's order of 1740, a special procession, sermon, a sung Mass, a Eucharistic adoration, and a benediction with the Most Blessed Sacrament were to be held for concord in the Empire and the blessing of harvest. The Eucharistic rites were followed by the Litanies of All Saints or the Litanies of the Holy Name of Jesus, which were sung in the vernacular. In addition, the people were supposed to pray five *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria*.⁴³⁷

Similarly, special intercessory prayers were held when the Czech lands were endangered by a devastating locust invasion.⁴³⁸ A special collect against harm was to be added to each private and public Mass, followed by the Litanies of All Saints and a benediction. The subsequent protective psalm *Deus refugium nostrum et virtus* was sung in a sorrowful mode (in the fourth or sixth one), followed by ordinary intercessions and a collect for the Empress *Ne despicias, Domine*. The Litanies of the Holy Name of Jesus with *Pater noster* were recited at noon. The same collect and the penitential psalm *Misere mei, Deus* were sung in the same mode as in the morning. Grave and sorrowful music accompanied the sung Mass on the feast of St. Martin

⁴³² Bohoslužby konané při příležitosti úmrtí, svátku nebo jiném jubileu člena panovnické rodiny, SOA Třeboň.

⁴³³ Cf. Chapter 7.1.3, The music connection between the town of Český Krumlov and the Minorites.

⁴³⁴ LM II, p. 395, 6.10.1739.

⁴³⁵ LM II, p. 480, 4.10.1742, LM II, p. 518, 16.-18.2.1744, LM II, p. 544, 11.-13.12.1744 .

⁴³⁶ *Pobožnosti konané v období války*, SOA Třeboň.

⁴³⁷ *Procesí konaná při žehnání polním plodinám*, SOA Třeboň.

⁴³⁸ LM III, p. 39-40, 9. 11.1748.

and both adjacent Sundays. As follows from Sperl's reference, cornetts were usually used instead of trumpets and timpani in times of emergency and also in the Lent season. They were supposed to support the woeful atmosphere due to their lower tone ("in Missis cantantis fiat gravior et tristior musica sicut in Quadragesima sine tubis et tympanis: litui tamen profundioris tonis loco tubarum ductilium adhiberi possunt").

To sum up this subchapter, although the Minorites supported the Imperial house and the Pope as well, they were especially attentive to the Schwarzenberg's family life and considered their relationship with the family of patrons as cardinal. For this reason, they showed their devotion to the noble family by many diverse means: they celebrated joyful Schwarzenberg occasions (such as birthdays or weddings) by serving a solemn Mass with fanfares and the praising hymn *Te Deum*. The friars prayed for the noble house in the case of illness as well. They celebrated special Masses for the ill, prayed and sang in front of the Most Blessed Sacrament, recited the Litanies of the Saints, the Holy Name of Jesus, and Loreto, and sang protective hymns to the Virgin Mary and the Minorite protector St. Anthony of Padua. These prayers were celebrated in public, and it is noteworthy that they were recited in the native German language. When the Schwarzenbergs returned to health, the friars expressed their gratitude to God in a magnificent way: they celebrated a solemn thanksgiving liturgy with two music choirs constituted by the monastic music ensemble. The Minorites also demonstrated their respect to their patrons on the occasion of the Prince's visits in the convent, his entire stay being accompanied by diverse music. However, the other mission of the friars that seems to have been of major importance was the prayer for peace and prosperity in the Czech lands: they organized special devotions and expressed the gravity of the situation through musical means too. The psalms were supposed to be sung in sorrowful modes, and the trumpets and drums were replaced in Masses by the bleak sound of cornetts. These adjustments were ordered by the Archbishop of Prague, the Pope, or the Emperor. In this respect, the liturgy in Český Krumlov could be influenced by Prague, Vienna, or even Rome.

7.2.5 Funeral liturgy

As was common in these times, the convent constituted a significant funeral area in the town.⁴³⁹ The friars buried the dead in several places within the monastery, such as the convent church, the large cloister, the crypt, or the convent cemetery. The friars obliged themselves to celebrate Masses for the intentions of a believer, and in return the believer paid a fixed sum of

⁴³⁹ Elbel 2017, p. 212.

money for this private liturgy. The system of monastic burial services worked in a similar manner: the friars celebrated various possibilities for burials divided into several financial categories according to the position of the grave in the convent and the liturgical solemnity. Nevertheless, the friars still prayed and celebrated Masses for the salvation of a dead person after the burial. Therefore, the believers established special funds called *foundations*, which were paid to the convent after the death of a believer and covered the expenses associated with the serving of a funeral liturgy.⁴⁴⁰ The following description of funeral liturgy is again based on entries from the *Liber magistralis*. Another similar source is represented by the monastic fund for serving masses, registered in detail in *Knihovna evidence fundáčních mší*.⁴⁴¹ Moreover, the Clarissan abbess's foundation note provides a thorough period depiction of a foundation and the form of its realization.⁴⁴²

The funerals of Minorite friars represent the first category. The friars were buried in the crypt in the presbytery of the convent church.⁴⁴³ The entries on a friar's death were written very concisely: there is almost no mention of the type of liturgy, the place of the funeral, or the friar's previous life.⁴⁴⁴ The only exception was the records concerning the death of Hyacinth Sperl⁴⁴⁵ and the choirmaster Linus Holoubek, who died in 1741.⁴⁴⁶ The latter was characterized as a man of delicate religious conscience and of the best natural qualities and talent. Although no closer reference can be found, the author pointed out that Holoubek was buried honourably.

The procedures were very similar for the sisters; the most festive rites took place in the instance of the death of a Clarissan abbess, who was buried in the cloister of the Poor Clares.⁴⁴⁷ Whereas the sung solemn requiem was celebrated by the Krumlov prelate with the participation of a large crowd, a private Mass was celebrated by the Jesuit rector. The guardian and the sisters recited the solemn Office of the Dead in front of the main altar.

⁴⁴⁰ Elbel, chapter *Patroni a klienti [Patrons and Clients]*, subchapter *Dary duchovní a světské [Donations Spiritual and Profane]*, p. 84–90. For more on the role of funeral liturgy within the Minorite order, see 4.2.1, A short history of the Order in the Czech lands up to the end of the 18th century.

⁴⁴¹ *Seznamy mešních fundací kláštera, jmenné seznamy fundátorů, operáty mešních fundací, zprávy o fundacích*, SOA Třeboň.

⁴⁴² *Příspěvky různých dobrodinců pro klášter k sloužení mší, vystavění klášterních budov a oltářů, odkazy z posledních vůlí, dary a odkazy*, SOA Třeboň.

⁴⁴³ Hansová / Lancinger 2015, p. 19.

⁴⁴⁴ For more on the liturgy of a friar's or sister's funeral, see chapter 7.2.3, Festivities connected with convent life.

⁴⁴⁵ For more about Sperl's life and death, see chapter 6.1, A short history of the Minorite monastery.

⁴⁴⁶ LM II, p. 419, 6.1.1741.

⁴⁴⁷ LM I, p. 165, 19.2.1728, and LM II, p. 408, 24.1.1747.

Starting in 1749, the Minorites celebrated annual Masses for all dead sisters, during which a plainchant requiem Mass was sung to the plainchant accompaniment of sisters and four private Masses were sung.⁴⁴⁸ For this purpose, the Clarissan abbess appropriated the sum of 100 florins from the Clarissan fund and donated it to the friars. The contract from 1732 reveals the detailed financial relations between the friars and the sisters. That year the Clarissan abbess deposited 140 florins in a Viennese bank to cover her funeral expenses.⁴⁴⁹ The friars obliged themselves to pray for the grace of her good death, specifically to display the Most Blessed Sacrament and sing the responsory to St. Anthony of Padua *Si quaeris miracula* with the appropriate collect and verse three times. In case the abbess turned ill, 40 special Masses were to be celebrated, with 200 successive Masses to follow.

Nevertheless, the convent consisted not only of the friars and sisters but also of members of the third orders, who were entombed in the order habit after their death.⁴⁵⁰ The members of the two confraternities possessed similar privileges: they were buried in the presence of all fraternity members and officials.⁴⁵¹ The members were buried in a special place, namely the crypt at the Altar of the Five Holy Wounds of Christ, which was reserved for the confraternities.⁴⁵² Ordinary people could find their eternal rest within the convent too. The evidence of regular funerals demonstrates that the monastery was a very sought-after place for townsmen (usually Schwarzenberg officials), their wives, and their children. They were generally entombed either in the crypt at various altars (Our Lady of Sorrows and the Five Holy Wounds of Christ), in the crypt in the cloister (at the altar of St. Anthony of Padua or at the last station of the Way of the Cross), or in the outside convent cemetery. The funeral liturgy (*exequia*) was distinguished by diverse types of Masses, including sung Masses, sung solemn requiems, or votive Masses⁴⁵³ (*de angelis* or *solemniter*). The burial started with a procession from the monastic gate or St. Anne's chapel.⁴⁵⁴ The funeral was introduced with the burial responsory *Libera me, Domine*, sung during the procession accompanying the corpse to the place of its final rest. After that the solemn requiem was performed, sometimes

⁴⁴⁸ LM III, p. 79, the beginning of October 1749.

⁴⁴⁹ *Príspevky různých dobrodinců pro klášter k sloužení mší, vystavění klášterních budov a oltářů, odkazy z posledních vůlí, dary a odkazy*, 20.7.1732, SOA Třeboň.

⁴⁵⁰ LM I, p. 168, 1728.

⁴⁵¹ LM III, p. 5, 8.2.1748, LM III, p. 59, 15.5.1749, LM III, p. 81, 11.12.1749.

⁴⁵² *Historie minoritského kláštera, přehledy klášterů, seznam kvardiánů a provinciálů, papežská statuta pro minoritský řád*, SOA Třeboň.

⁴⁵³ A votive Mass (Latin *missa votiva*) is a type of Mass celebrated for a special intention. The Mass has its special form and liturgical texts. The Requiem Mass for the Dead or the wedding mass may serve as a typical example of votive masses.

⁴⁵⁴ St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin Mary, is considered the patroness of a good death.

concluding with a votive Mass and the Marian antiphon *Salve regina* sung figurally by the monastic music ensemble.⁴⁵⁵ The funeral could also be celebrated with the peal of bells.

Since the townspeople were parishioners of St. Vitus, some dead were accompanied by the prelate to the convent gate, where the guardian took charge of the funeral. The price of the funeral depended on the selected type of liturgy and place of entombment and varied between 120 and 6 florins and 60 kreutzers. Whereas the funeral at the altar of Our Lady of Sorrows represented the most expensive possibility, with *exequia*, a votive Mass, and a requiem, the burial with no music in the large cloister constituted the cheapest variant. In one case the entombment was paid for by the Poor Clares, as the dead was the official of the confraternity and a friend of the Clarissan convent.⁴⁵⁶ The musicians usually received the amount ranging between 15 florins and 1 florin and 42 kreutzers, while the friars received two or three florins for chanting during the procession. The regenschori once accepted 15 kreutzers extra.⁴⁵⁷

As has already been mentioned, the faithful established special funds called foundations which reimbursed the expenses for Masses after their death. The prices of foundation Masses differed according to their liturgical solemnity: the simplest form, costing 20 florins, was represented by a low Mass without musical accompaniment; the second type was *missa choraliter* with plainchant (for 23 or 25 florins). The foundation Mass could take place either regularly (usually annually) or only once. The burghers' last wills confirm this statement. For example, a Schwarzenberg account inspector had 60 Masses a year celebrated for the salvation of his soul,⁴⁵⁸ a local landlady 15 Masses altogether.⁴⁵⁹ Nevertheless, the most significant foundation, comprising 5000 florins, was established by the noble family of Eggenberg. These previous owners of the Český Krumlov castle ordered for annual Masses to be celebrated at the castle chapel, in the nearby Marian pilgrimage site Kájov, and in the Minorite convent (in the main church and in the chapel of Mary of Einsiedeln).⁴⁶⁰ The foundation Masses might also be paid for by the descendants of the dead, as was the case with Joseph Adam of Schwarzenberg, who had regular requiems celebrated for his father Adam

⁴⁵⁵ LM II, p. 598, 12.5.1746, LM III, p. 81, 11.12.1749.

⁴⁵⁶ LM III, p. 59, 15.5.1749.

⁴⁵⁷ LM II, p. 427, 6.7.1741.

⁴⁵⁸ LM I, p. 173, July 1730.

⁴⁵⁹ LM II, p. 427, 6.7.1741.

⁴⁶⁰ LM II, p. 356, 1.6.1738.

Franz, for the house of Eggenberg, or for the house of Liechtenstein, to which his wife, Maria Theresia, belonged.⁴⁶¹

The foundation fees sometimes became the cause of quarrels between the Minorites and the parish church. One such argument arose when a convent descant singer died on the grounds of the Poor Clares.⁴⁶² This death was announced by the prelate, who wanted to bury the corpse and receive the descant's foundation. Finally, the boy was interred in the monastic cemetery. On this occasion, Sperl laconically observed: "Who is not a shepherd of living sheep cannot have fleece from the dead" ("cum ergo non fuerit Pastor viva ovicula, cum ergo lanam petat a mortua").

7.2.6 Position of a musician within the convent

As we have seen, the Minorites considered the liturgy a cardinal part of their monastic life, and they therefore cultivated it in a very diligent way. As music was inseparably bound to liturgy, it was supposed to be developed and studied.⁴⁶³ As a consequence, they established their own music schools in their monasteries and devoted themselves to studying music both theoretically and practically. The Český Krumlov monastery maintained both plainchant and figural choirs and employed 16 musicians, ten of whom were supported by the friars themselves, seven by the convent. As the convent had no stable foundation or other form of provision, it was very demanding to maintain this large ensemble. In spite of this fact, the superior considered music to be an important aspect of convent life: thanks to the beautiful music, numerous crowds were attracted to the convent church, including the Prince of Schwarzenberg.⁴⁶⁴ As a consequence, the people did not hesitate to establish their own foundations to support the running of the convent.⁴⁶⁵

Again, the chronicle *Liber magistralis* serves as a valuable source of findings. Moreover, the document *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis* from 1738 depicts and determines the life conditions and rules of convent musicians, including their benefits and duties. The preserved accounts throw light on the everyday life of a musician and illustrate other needs of the convent music ensemble (expenses for music prints or strings).

⁴⁶¹ Cf. Chapter 7.1.2.1, Schwarzenberg private festivities, and 7.2.4.1 Minorite relationship to the Schwarzenberg family within the convent.

⁴⁶² LM I, p. 166, 17.9.1728.

⁴⁶³ Riedel 2005, p. 51.

⁴⁶⁴ The direct quotation from LM: "Per pulchram enim musicam trahitur populus ad nostra Divina, et concipit erga Nos majorem cum aestimatione affectum. Simul etiam habet Dominum Serenissimus ex nostris bene ordinatis Officiis Divinas magna complacentiam".

⁴⁶⁵ LM II, p. 366.

The ensemble may be assumed to have existed in the 1720s, when Sperl mentions the death of a boy who served for some years as a descant in the monastery and lived on the Clarissan estate.⁴⁶⁶ As the convent chronicle also contains a list of musicians playing in the service of the convent, it may be deduced that the number of musicians was 16 on average (15 in 1744, 17 in 1747, when the ensemble was expanded to include an oboist and a trumpeter). The following numbers of musicians sang and played in the ensemble: two or three descants, two altos, two tenors and a bass, five players on string instruments, a violonist (“violonista”), an oboist, three or five trumpeters (or French horn players), and three organists. Minorite friars occupied the posts of violinist and regenschori, the latter of whom served as the organist too.⁴⁶⁷ Four boys managed to play two instruments (trumpet and violin, strings and organ) or play an instrument and also serve as a singer (tenor and strings, bass and trumpet, tenor and strings, descant and organ). In view of the fact that the timpani were regularly used during the convent liturgy, it seems somewhat surprising that the ensemble did not include a timpanist. In all likelihood, timpani players were hired from the parish music ensemble. Since the names of five musicians are mentioned in both lists, it is clear that some of them remained in the convent for a longer period of time. However, the role of a musician could change in the course of time. It is apparent that the descants were not capable of singing their parts for a long time due to their voice break and therefore had to change vocal group or learn to play an instrument: the first descant switched to tenor, the second one to violone, the third one to a string instrument. As the other two musicians played the trumpets and a string instrument, their position remained unchanged. Concerning the boys’ origin and background, no closer details can be found within the monastic archival documents.

Table 2: The List of Convent Musicians

Instrument/Voice	Year 1744 (LM II, p. 540)	Year 1747 (LM II, p. 639)
Descant	Wenceslaus Czapeck	Joannes Wuseck
	Jacobus Seiwald	Joannes Dupplmayer
	Mathias Beyer	
Alto	Antonius Stregezck	Simon Waters
	Joannes Sladkowsky	Josephus Beglowetz
Tenor	<i>Josephus Schmid</i>	Wenceslaus Czapek
	Franciscus Gantzwoil	<i>Joannes Kadrzaweck</i>
Bass	<i>Joannes Kratochwile</i>	Josephus Kleiner
Strings	Rds D: Magister Joannes Pernet	Josephus May

⁴⁶⁶ LM I, p. 166, 17.7.1728.

⁴⁶⁷ LM II, p. 541 and 642.

	<i>Josephus Schmid</i>	Jacobus Sebald
	Sebastianus Scheling	Sebastianus Scheling
	<i>Wenceslaus Marschalk</i>	<i>Johanes Mathauschek</i>
	Leopold Perger	<i>Donatus Blaha</i>
Violone	<i>Joannes Kaspar</i>	Mathias Beyer
Oboe		<i>Johanes Mathauschek</i>
Brass	<i>Joannes Kratochwile</i>	<i>Donatus Blaha</i>
	<i>Joannes Kaspar</i>	Antonius Knechtl
	Josephus Siegl	Josephus Siegl
		Joannes Wendler
		<i>Joannes Kadrzaweck</i>
Organ	<i>Wenceslaus Marschalk</i>	
	Mathias Beyer	
Regenschori+Organ	P. Hermenegildus Smetana	R.P.B. Ubaldus Czermack

The engagement of a musician did not depend on the regenschori's decision or another person's fancy but was completely in the superior's hands. The musicians were not to be accepted due to personal benefits or private fondness but purely on the basis of their musical talent and general skills.⁴⁶⁸ The musicians had two seasons of vacations: the first group was released in September and was free up to the feast of St. Francis, when all musicians played together. After that, the others could leave the convent until the All Saints feast.⁴⁶⁹

It is obvious that the musicians' main task was to accompany the convent liturgy on festive days. Besides, they accompanied funerals in the convent and played for entertainment ("musica pro distractione") during festive meals in the convent refectory. The musicians' income came from various sources, such as fees for performing music to accompany the funerals, special donations from the Schwarzenbergs, or fees for playing on other occasions, such as rounds with carol singing, 1 May music appointments, or St. Cecilia music.

The document *Directorium superioris* contains a thorough and valuable message on the conditions for music in the convent and the rights of a musician. It was the superior's responsibility to support an appropriate number of convent musicians who were maintained for God's glory. The friars were supposed to give their surplus to the musicians' common

⁴⁶⁸ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, § 13, p. 4. SOA Třeboň.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Notata specialiora per menses, September, § 1, p. 69, SOA Třeboň.

bowl and not to support the other external musicians.⁴⁷⁰ The convent musicians lived together with the convent students on the third floor, where the seminar and museum were situated.⁴⁷¹ The music students (“studiosis nostris musicis”) had their own special dining room located behind the convent church, next to the garden and skittle alley.⁴⁷² Those who were nourished by the convent received broth, roast meat, beef, and other victuals for lunch on Sundays, feasts, Tuesdays, and Thursdays. Supper was the same. During Lent season they received a portion of soup as large as the friars, flour products, and other victuals, as well as on Sundays, feasts, Tuesdays, and Thursdays. On the other days, they received three courses for lunch and a small supper (“collatione”) or any available cruciferous vegetables in the evening. They ate fish only on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, on Christmas Eve and the Nativity (if it was Friday), on the Day of Wisdom,⁴⁷³ on Epiphany, and on significant order feasts falling on fasting days and Holy Sunday. The musicians obtained five meals on the main festivals (Sunday of Resurrection, Christmas, Pentecost, Sunday in the octave of Corpus Christi, St. Anthony of Padua, St. Francis of Assisi, Porziuncola, All Saints, Immaculate Conception, Annunciation, Purification, Visitation and Assumption of Virgin Mary, and carnival). If the friars had sweetmeat, the musicians received some apples and nuts. They usually obtained rye bread, except for on Sundays and special feasts, when everyone got a pint of beer. Everyone received a large tankard of beer and, arbitrarily, a pint of wine on major feasts and whenever they played in the refectory. In contrast, the rest of musicians were given what was left of the brothers’ sustenance or that of the priests whom the musicians assisted.

Regarding the convent’s employment of the musicians in general terms, they did not only develop music skills but also received a basic general education, which subsequently enabled them to apply for grammar school.⁴⁷⁴ This fact shows that the engagement in the convent ensemble meant a unique opportunity for a boy to acquire an education and thereby a possibility to change his social status. In addition, the musicians were in regular contact with the monastic environment, so it comes as no surprise that three of these boy musicians later entered the Minorite order.⁴⁷⁵

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., § 13, p. 4, SOA Třeboň.

⁴⁷¹ LM II, p. 384.

⁴⁷² LM II, p. 17.

⁴⁷³ 17 December; the title of this day is derived from a peculiar Advent antiphon, *O, Sapientia*, which falls on this day.

⁴⁷⁴ *Výsvědčení pro studenty působící v klášterním alumnátě*, SOA Třeboň.

⁴⁷⁵ Cf. Chapter 7.2.3, Festivities connected with convent life.

The music director, titled *regenschori*, was usually a Minorite playing the organ as well. As is clear from the accounts, he was responsible for the purchase of strings for string instruments.⁴⁷⁶ The names of three choir directors are known: The first was Linus Holoubek, who (+1741) was characterized as a man of delicate religious conscience and of the best natural quality and talent.⁴⁷⁷ After his death, this post remained vacant for three years until the appointment of another long-standing *regenschori*, Hermenegildus Smetana. Smetana probably entered the convent in 1738, becoming a novice cleric a year later and a student of philosophy and theology between 1741 and 1745/6.⁴⁷⁸ The third music director whose name is known was Ubalduš Czermak, former student of theology in Krumlov, who held the post of *regenschori* in 1747. As the list of convent members is missing for this year, the reason for the substitution of one choir director for another is not clear. In any case, Smetana replaced Czermak a year later again and still held this post in the 1750s.

The other participants in convent music were the cantors, who sang in the presbytery during the Mass. In this context, there is an interesting reference to the function of a cantor: on Christ's Nativity and the Resurrection, three pulpits were arranged in the presbytery – the first one for the lector, the second one for the cantor, and the last one for the prelate. The cantors were usually the officials who intoned the antiphons and psalms.⁴⁷⁹ The liturgy was principally performed by friars and sisters, who sang the mass with Gregorian chant, the Liturgy of Hours (being divided into two choirs), or psalms and conductus accompanying the convent funerals.

7.2.7 Convent music locations

The purpose of this brief chapter is to summarize the places in the convent where music was made.⁴⁸⁰ Although they have already been specified within the previous chapters, it seems sensible to connect the historical findings with the concrete place. Since this chapter sums up the findings of the previous chapters, repeated references to the sources in the footnotes are omitted.

Music was demonstrably made in various places, namely in the convent church, the chapel of Virgin Mary of Einsiedeln, St. Wolfgang's and St. Anne's chapels, the refectory, the cloister,

⁴⁷⁶ *Kniha příjmů a vydání konventu*, 28.6.1751, SOA Třeboň.

⁴⁷⁷ LM II, p. 419, 6.1.1741.

⁴⁷⁸ LM II, p. 393, 457, 515, and 540.

⁴⁷⁹ *Directorium superioris Crumloviensis*, § 16 and 17, p. 7, SOA Třeboň.

⁴⁸⁰ An overview of these places within their history is also mentioned in chapter 6.2, Structural development of the monastery.

and the cemetery. It is logical that the liturgy was primarily held in miscellaneous places in the convent church. The solemn Masses, litanies, Eucharistic adorations, and blessings usually took place in the presbytery in front of the main altar. The liturgy was accompanied from the figural and choral choir loft, which was situated behind the altar. The choir loft represented the principal place of music production. As the choir of friars was located there too, the whole Liturgy of Hours was sung there. The organ was situated behind the main altar and in front of the friars' choir benches. Since the Minorite regenschori held the post of organist too, the musicians probably stood around the main organ.⁴⁸¹ As is apparent from the convent chronicle, the organ was repaired twice during the period under observation. At first the organ builder repaired the portative organ, but he did not manage to repair the main organ. To complete the repairs, the Minorites hired an organ builder from Freistadt in Upper Austria in 1735. As the instrument was in quite a neglected state, the repairer had to take out all damaged pipes and the pedals that were harmed most and played false tones. Moreover, he had to completely change the organ bellows and the machinery of air distribution. In return for his work, he received 45 florins.⁴⁸² According to the report, the main organ had not been used until this extensive repair. It is probable that the liturgy had been accompanied with a smaller instrument during this time. The chronicler also mentioned the occurrence of timpani, which were most likely located next to the organ. These drums were donated to the choir by the Prince's chief huntsman in 1711.⁴⁸³

The Masses and litanies were also held at various side altars. The regular religious services were celebrated at the altar of St. Anthony of Padua on Tuesdays and Fridays or at the altar of the Coronation of the Virgin Mary on Saturdays. The requiem Masses usually took place at the altar of Our Lady of Sorrows or at the altar of the Five Holy Wounds of Christ. In the case of the death of a friar, the burial services were held in the presbytery. If a sister died, she was buried in the Clarissan cloister. The Clarissan sisters sang their liturgy on their choir loft above the main entrance. It is an interesting fact that the sisters and friars sang some psalms from the Liturgy of Hours alternately, and the chant thus resounded from two opposite sides of the convent church.

The adjacent large cloister connected all significant rooms on the ground floor and therefore constituted a suitable place for miscellaneous processions. These processions were held on the

⁴⁸¹ For more about this organ, cf. Honys 1996.

⁴⁸² LM I, p. 189, 17.8.1735.

⁴⁸³ LM II, p. 10. The hunter prefect established a perpetual foundation at the Minorites and was buried in St. Judoc's church in the Minorite order habit.

feast of Purification, Palm Sunday, the Vigil of Resurrection, and All Souls' Day. Since the Stations of the Cross were situated in the cloister too, many religious services revering the Passion of Christ were celebrated there, mainly during the Lent season. This season concluded with the Paschal Triduum, when the Saint Sepulchre was built up in the cloister on Good Friday. As the large convent corridor included the public crypt as well, the funeral liturgy was celebrated there. When the Prince of Schwarzenberg visited the convent, he was accompanied on his way through the cloister by monastic musicians playing trumpets and timpani.

The chapel of Virgin Mary of Einsiedeln (also called *Eremitana*) is situated in the middle of the Minorite Garden of Eden. According to the archival sources, the liturgy was celebrated there only irregularly. It is apparent that the solemn Vespers, the Litanies of Loreto, and solemn Masses were celebrated there on the pilgrimage feast, falling on the Monday after Pentecost. The chapel was also the traditional place of thanksgiving liturgy celebrated after the recovery of Schwarzenberg children from illness. The annual foundation Masses for Prince Johann Christian of Eggenberg, whose wife founded this chapel, were also celebrated there. Finally, the chapel represented a significant place during the Easter Triduum, when the Most Blessed Sacrament was sheltered there.

St. Wolfgang's chapel is located in the south part of the cloister. This chapel was used as a chapter house, where important meetings and elections of friars and fraternities were held. It was also the location of the fourth station of the procession on All Souls' Day and the platform for panegyric speeches on the feast of the Immaculate Conception. The figural Mass and solemn Vespers were celebrated there on the pilgrimage day on 31 October.

These speeches were also performed in the neighbouring refectory, where the monastic ensemble played a *sweet* music concert. However, the refectory was primarily used for various banquets on festive occasions. As is obvious from the convent chronicle and the *Directorium*, the musicians played entertaining music during the festive meals from an unknown open space ("areola") outside the room.

The third convent chapel, the chapel of St. Anne, was located in the cemetery outside the main convent buildings. The chapel actually represented the entrance to the convent, and the Prince was therefore welcomed by Minorite musicians in front of this building. Concerning the regular liturgical services, it is clear that the pilgrimage Mass took place there on 26 July and the Litanies of Loreto were sung there at the end of each monthly procession of the Minorite fraternity. Since St. Anne is considered to be the patroness of good death, the chapel

was also the sixth station of the All Souls' Day procession and represented the starting point for monastic funerals.

The liturgy took place at the adjacent cemetery, where miscellaneous funeral services were celebrated. To pray for the people buried there, the aforementioned procession and the initiating rites of order visitation were held in this area as well. The musicians also played there under the guardian's windows at 3 a.m. on 1 May.

The members of the monastic music ensemble lived in the rooms on the third floor, where the convent's educational facilities were situated.⁴⁸⁴ They ate in a special room behind the main church.⁴⁸⁵

The monastic sound landscape was completed by the peal of bells announcing the commencement of solemn liturgy and welcoming distinguished guests, including the prelate, the court officials, and the princely couple. According to Sperl, the bells were situated in the bell tower from the year 1725 on and emitted *plain* music sounds.⁴⁸⁶

7.2.8 Analysis of the convent music collection

The aim of this subchapter is not to conduct an elaborate musical analysis of individual compositions but to illustrate the music relations in the convent as comprehensively as possible. Therefore, it analyzes various aspects of the collection,⁴⁸⁷ such as the liturgical use of preserved compositions, Minorite preferences of composers, the connection with the convent music ensemble, or the obvious specifics of the collection, including the potential occurrence of a peculiar Franciscan style called *opus franciscanum*.

The collection is stored in three places: All compositions are located at the Department of Historical Archives of Jihočeská vědecká knihovna v Českých Budějovicích. This department is located in the Zlatá Koruna monastery near Český Krumlov. Nevertheless, the soprano and the bass parts of Geisler's *VI Missae* are situated in a private collection, and two trumpet parts of Rathgeber's *Sacra anaphonesis* are found in the Státní oblastní archiv v Třeboni, pobočka Český Krumlov. The collection is neither catalogued nor numbered.

⁴⁸⁴ LM II, p. 384, 16.6.1739.

⁴⁸⁵ LM II, p. 16.

⁴⁸⁶ LM II, p. 14.

⁴⁸⁷ The list of preserved compositions is stated in the final bibliography.

The collection consists of 23 prints from the 17th and 18th centuries; manuscripts are lost. There is no reference to the manuscripts until the 1930s, when the first article⁴⁸⁸ about the collection turned up: for this reason, this loss of manuscripts probably took place during the 19th century. For the period between 1726 and 1750, there are 20 relevant publications that were printed, purchased, or used during the administration of guardian Hyacinth Sperl. According to Trola, the collection included the composition *Laudetur Jesus Christus* by Bohuslav Matěj Černošský. In spite of this statement, the collection does not include this piece today, and it is highly probable that it was lost during the 20th century. Eight compositions have not been preserved as a whole; some of the original parts or title pages are missing. The print of Vaňura's Litanies of Loreto is not stored individually but is instead stuck into the Vespers of Valentin Rathgeber. The print of Brentner's sacred arias *Harmonica duodecatomeria* has survived uniquely in this collection: other versions of this piece have been found only in the form of manuscripts.⁴⁸⁹

The oldest print, *Graduale proprium festorum seraphici ordinis fratrum minorum*, is from 1626; it is a collection of plainchant for specific Minorite feasts. The rest of the collection consists of figural music.

Concerning the choice of composers, all authors were contemporaries of Hyacinth Sperl, and their compositions represented the latest trends on the market. Their works were published either in Bavaria (most frequently in Lotter's printing company in Augsburg⁴⁹⁰) or in the Czech Lands, mainly in Prague. The origin of the authors is the same: they come either from the South German region (the majority from Bavaria) or from the Czech lands. It is an interesting fact that the Minorites principally bought the compositions of other order composers: the most favoured composer seems to have been Valentin Rathgeber, a Bavarian Benedictine, whose four works are included in the collection. Two other works come from another Bavarian Benedictine, Meinrad Spiess, and one composition was written by the Prague Benedictine composer Gunther Jacob. Four works originate from Czech Minorite composers (Česlav Vaňura, Hubert Peškovic, and Bohuslav Matěj Černošský), and two oeuvres are by the Bavarian Austin Benedict Geisler. The Czech composer Johann Joseph Ignatz Brentner ranked among Minorite favourites as well, since his works occurred twice within the collection. The compositions of other authors are represented only once.

⁴⁸⁸ Trola 1935, p. 61.

⁴⁸⁹ Kapsa <http://acta.musicologica.cz/06-02/0602s04.html>.

⁴⁹⁰ The collection includes several editions of Lotter's catalogue of the latest music prints as well.

The collection consists exclusively of sacred pieces; no secular music has been preserved. It is possible to find all the following liturgical genres: Masses, offertories or sacred arias, litanies, and Vespers. The collection includes four pieces of the Litanies of Loreto. The author of one of them, the Benedictine Rathgeber, supplemented his collection *Harmonica Mariano-Musica* with other Marian antiphons for various seasons of the liturgical year (*Alma Redemptoris, Ave Regina Coelorum, Regina coeli laetare, Salve regina*), the solemn hymn *Te Deum*, and the penitent psalm *Miserere*. The Benedictine Meinradus Spiess and the Minorite Česlav Vaňura added litanies to the Most Blessed Sacrament and adapted litanies to diverse Marian feasts (Purification, Annunciation, Visitation, Assumption, and Nativity of the Virgin Mary, Circumcision, Immaculate Conception, Dolorosa and Victorious Rosary).

The various Masses constitute another category of liturgical figural music. Some Masses are distinguished by special attributions. A special type of composition is included in the collection *Philomela pia* by the Czech author František Václav Habermann. The individual Masses are dedicated to various Czech saints and patrons (Saint Wenceslas, Saint Ludmila, Saint Vojtěch, Saint John of Nepomuk, Saint Prokop, and Saint Ivan). Stickl's *Anglipolitana veneratio* is another special work devoted to Christ's suffering (*Christi crucem bajulantis, Christi crucifixi, Matris dolorosae, Septem Verborum, Quinque Vulnerum, Christi morientis*). It is obvious that this collection was used primarily during the Lent season. The last piece worth mentioning is Gunther Jacob's *Acratismus pro honore*, which includes both a Mass for the living and a Mass for the dead (requiem), as well as a Mass to the Most Holy Trinity. The work *Flores verni* by the Prague cathedral regenschori Wentzeli represents a similar type of miscellaneous collection of Masses.

The offertories represented very appropriate accompaniment for every occasion of the liturgical year, so it comes as no surprise that the set includes eight different collections of this genre. The authors dedicated their compositions to an extensive number of feasts, such as the feasts of a virgin, saint, confessor, martyr, or apostle. Some are devoted to various Marian or Christ festivals (e.g., the Holy Name of Jesus), the Most Blessed Sacrament, or specific moments during the Mass ("post elevationem"). Other compositions are simply entitled "(minus) solemne" or "tempore" and were suitable for any occasion. In the case of Rathgeber's *Sacra Anaphonesis*, the handwritten attribute "the most elegant" ("elegantissimae") can be found on the title page. The only printed collection of Bohuslav Matěj Černošský reflects current papal affairs in 1729, when the greeting *Laudetur Jesus*

Christus was introduced for the Roman Catholic Church. Brentner's *Offertoria solenniora* are characterized by a German text. This evidence seems quite unusual, because the liturgy was celebrated exclusively in Latin in these times. This peculiarity can be explained by the fact these German mourning offertories were composed for the Prague Jesuit fraternity of the Mortal Anxieties of Christ and were performed during the funerals.⁴⁹¹ It is highly probable the collection had the same use in the Český Krumlov convent, which was distinguished by a rather diverse funeral liturgy.

The last section of the monastic collection is constituted by Vespers, which have been preserved in two exemplars. Both are designed for non-specified feasts of the liturgical year. The Vespers by the Bavarian author Josephus Münster include special Vespers for Marian feasts and are elaborated *according to new church methods*.

According to handwritten notes made on individual parts, it is obvious that the prints were regularly used by the musicians during convent liturgy. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that the combination of the music scoring⁴⁹² corresponds to the composition of the monastic ensemble in 1747. As the collection contains compositions requiring high interpretational skills, it is highly likely that the ensemble was distinguished by high musical qualities. As a consequence, it is apparent that all pieces could have been performed at the convent. Evidence of period reception occurs in some cases: besides printed lyrics, the last offertory of Brentner's *Offertoria solenniora* and the arias in *Harmonica duodecatomeria* contain another handwritten text which is suitable for other liturgical feasts. This custom was typical of musical praxis of the 18th century, when existing music was provided with new lyrics: this multiple usage of the pieces indicates a special fondness for Brentner's music in the Minorite convent.

On several music prints there are handwritten ownership marks⁴⁹³ with the year of purchase on the title page or individual parts. On this basis, it is obvious that the Minorites bought these pieces of music immediately after their release. The first print was probably bought in the first year of Sperl's guardianship (1726). Twelve pieces, the majority, were printed or

⁴⁹¹ Kramářová

http://www.ceskyhudebnislovník.cz/slovník/index.php?option=com_mdictionary&task=record.record_detail&id=3883.

⁴⁹² Four solo vocal voices, four choir (*ripieno*) voices, two violins, two alto violas, cello, violone, oboe, timpani, trumpets (horn, trumpet, principal, or clarino), and organ. Regarding instrumental settings, the most extensive composition is Stickl's *Anglipolitana veneratio*, which comprises 14 parts.

⁴⁹³ The common text of notification is: *BVM Annun: ff: m: Conventual: Crumlovenii, sub gubernio Ex.P. Hyacinthus Sperl.*

bought during the 1720s, five in the 1730s, and four before 1750. Three oeuvres were purchased in the same year, 1728. The provenance of pieces is known in four cases. According to a note found on the organ part, the print of Münter's *Sacrificium vespertinum* originally belonged to the Augustinian monastery in Borovany. It is not clear how the Vespers found their way to the Minorite convent. The print of Peškovic's *Flores coelestes* was donated in 1735 by Hyacinth Sperl himself, who was serving as a Prague guardian at the time. The collection of Habermann's *Philomela pia* was donated to the convent by the Czech fraternity of St. Francis in 1748. This evidence of a Czech-speaking fraternity clarifies the fact that the collection includes Masses devoted to a Czech patron. The latest print was bought from the contribution of Hermenegildus Smetana, the convent regenschori, in 1750. As a note written on the part of organ informs us, the folders of this print were paid for by a Minorite preacher. Besides these mentioned works, the prices of the prints are generally not known. From the notes on the organ part, we may deduce that the common price was about three florins for a piece. According to Trola, these prints affirm the hypothesis that the convent did not spare money to gain the latest works despite their high cost.⁴⁹⁴

As three composers came from the Minorite order (Česlav Vaňura, Hubert Peškovic, and Bohuslav Matěj Černošský), an opportunity arises to ascertain the features of the so-called *opus franciscanum* and identify whether they are present in each of the works. This unique Franciscan style of music started to develop in the second half of the 16th century during the lifetime of the Minorite composer Constanzo Porta (1529–1601).⁴⁹⁵ The Minorites were obliged to obey the Franciscan order rule of poverty even in music composition and performance. Therefore, they had to simplify their music by reducing four voices to unison, simplifying the instrumental solos, and styling solo vocal works for instrumental ensembles. On this basis, a new Franciscan music concept called *opus franciscanum* was created. The same tendency can be observed in what acquired the designation of a *Franciscan Mass*: its typical feature is a very simple melodic development of the vocal line, usually in small intervals. The voices are led parallel, as in a folk song. The instruments play in the same simple rhythmic values and principally support the harmonic line. The Masses are generally of shorter duration.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁹⁴ Trola 1935, p. 61.

⁴⁹⁵ Riedel 2005, p. 53.

⁴⁹⁶ Herrmann-Schneider 2005, p. 273.

However, an increasing discrepancy can be observed in the course of time: on the one hand, there was an apparent tendency to meet these demands; on the other hand, a gap opens up between the simplicity of the liturgy and the stylistic diversity of music.⁴⁹⁷ This problem emerged especially in the case of Minorite composers: if a friar held the position of cathedral choirmaster, his compositions had to fulfil the requirements of the solemn liturgy and had to be appropriate for the students of the Minorite schools in their convents. As a consequence, the Minorites became famous for their magnificent liturgies in spite of the original prescriptions.⁴⁹⁸

Regarding the works of the Minorite composers preserved in Český Krumlov (Vaňura's Litanies of Loreto and his offertories *Cultus patriae* as well as Peškovic's offertories *Flores coelestes in beatissima virgine Maria*), the Czech Minorites apparently followed the latest trends in music: there are no particular signs of *opus franciscanum* found in their oeuvres, which are not distinguished by shortness or simplicity and contain solos as well as choirs or duets. The setting is common for this period, comprising ten vocal and instrumental parts on average, including trumpets and timpani. A specific Franciscan tendency can be seen in Vaňura's *Litanies*, where three of seven litanies are attributed to special Minorite Marian feasts (Immaculate Conception, Dolorosa, and Visitation).

All things considered, it is clear that the Minorites sang and supported both plain and figural chant. They apparently preferred contemporary authors, buying the pieces immediately after their release. As the purchasing of music prints began immediately after Hyacinth Sperl's appointment, it is clear that music was the focal point of his attention. On this basis, it is possible to ascertain that Sperl was thoroughly acquainted with the musical trends of the time and had a good grasp of what was new on the music market (mainly in Augsburg or Prague). The individual purchases probably depended on the guardian's decision or permission. In all likelihood, his aim was to extend the convent's music collection and acquire new repertory for the purposes of musical accompaniment of the monastic liturgy. Observing the compositions, it is clear that the collection does not include any names famous today like Vivaldi or other Italian composers. As was typical in the Czech lands at the time, the Minorites rather bought smaller masses, litanies, offertories, or Vespers by regional Czech or Bavarian authors which could be performed by the convent music ensemble during the liturgy. The connection with Prague and South Germany is emphasized by the fact that the majority of the pieces were

⁴⁹⁷ Schmidt 1999, col. 824.

⁴⁹⁸ Riedel 2005, p. 68.

printed in the Czech lands or at Lotter's printing company in Bavarian Augsburg. Therefore, it is evident that the Krumlov Minorites were orientated more towards Prague or South German music circles than towards the Habsburg Imperial court or Viennese Minorites. It seems apparent that the Minorites preferred the Benedictine, Minorite, and Augustinian composers. Besides them, the Prague composer Brentner belonged to their favoured authors as well.

The dedication of individual compositions corresponds to the description of the liturgical year in the *Liber magistralis* and *Directorium superioris*. The majority of the pieces are dedicated to the Virgin Mary (Litanies of Loreto, Marian Masses, or antiphons). The works praising the Most Blessed Sacrament reflect the high Eucharistic reverence typical of this period. This fact confirms the connection between Krumlov and the Habsburg trend of *pietas austriaca*, which emphasized the crucial role of the Most Blessed Sacrament and the Virgin Mary. In spite of the absence of typical signs of *opus franciscanum*, the occurrence of a Gradual for the feast of Minorite saints is indicative of a special reverence for order saints in the Český Krumlov monastery and affirms the specifics of Minorite liturgy. Moreover, the Litanies of Loreto by the Minorite composer Vaňura are dedicated to special Minorite Marian feasts such as the Visitation or Our Lady of Sorrows. Besides *pietas austriaca*, another typical feature of Franciscan spirituality is the special veneration of Christ's Passion and the Holy Cross: no wonder the Minorite collection includes Stickl's masses for the Holy Week before Easter. Apart from that, the Český Krumlov collection demonstrates another peculiarity reflecting a specific custom of the local monastery: since the Minorites in Krumlov performed the solemn funeral liturgy, the collection contains German funeral motets too. The activities of the monastic fraternities are evidenced by the donation of a noteworthy patriotic collection of masses.

8 Comparison of Minorite musical activity in Český Krumlov with the music practices of the Minorite convents in Brno and Vienna

The objective of this chapter is to observe similarities and distinctions between the convents in Brno (South Moravia) and Český Krumlov. This will form the basis for a final assessment of Minorite music culture in Krumlov. However, this task is fraught with difficulties as there has been no extensive or detailed research into the Minorite music culture in the Czech lands and Austria in the 18th century. A comparison with the music culture of other orders would be

impossible due to the different characteristics and specifics of each order. The Moravian Minorite convent is the only exception, thanks to Vladimír Mañas and Jiří Sehnal, who have published several shorter articles about this monastery.⁴⁹⁹ In the case of the Minorite convent in Brno, three main archival sources have been preserved: the *Manuale* written by the guardian Stephan Christ, a contract with the regenschori, and the document *Functiones et ceremoniae*. These sources are similar in character to the *Liber magistralis*, *Directorium superioris*, and *Rituale Ecclesia Conventus Crumloviensis*. Since the Brno music collection has been completely lost since the 19th century, the pieces preserved in the Krumlov music collection are compared in the present study with the music collection in Vienna.⁵⁰⁰

In the history of both convents we find a shared and rather striking phenomenon that also plays a significant role in the study of their music life: the period of their flourishing was to a great extent brought about by the extraordinarily strong personalities of guardians living in the first half of the 18th century. The organist and later guardian of the Minorite order Barnabáš Freisler served in Brno between 1711 and 1732,⁵⁰¹ almost at the same time as Hyacinth Sperl in Český Krumlov. According to contemporary reports, many believers were attracted to the convent thanks to its impressive liturgy and music. Both Freisler and Sperl had good knowledge of contemporary music, and they took care of liturgical matters in a highly responsible way. Under their administration, local music ensembles were established and extended and the convent buildings underwent magnificent reconstructions. Music was performed and heard in various places in the convent: in the main church, in the chapels, or in the open air at the cemetery. The Minorite friars had numerous contacts outside the monastery. They regularly cooperated with the municipal environment, local church representatives, and the aristocracy. As was typical for the Minorite order, the friars had an influential noble protector: in Brno it was the Bishop of Olomouc Wolfgang Hannibal of Schrattenbach;⁵⁰² in Český Krumlov the Minorite protectors were Adam Franz and Joseph Adam of Schwarzenberg.

Nevertheless, the convents differed in many ways. The principal difference was determined by the general character of the towns in which they were located. Whereas no more than 3000 inhabitants lived in Český Krumlov during the 18th century, the population of Brno was about 20,000. For this reason, there were many different parish and order churches, including the

⁴⁹⁹ Mañas 2012, p. 41–57, and Sehnal 2005 p. 71-83.

⁵⁰⁰ This Viennese collection was thoroughly investigated by Riedel 1963.

⁵⁰¹ Mañas 2012, p. 42

⁵⁰² Ibid., p. 45.

Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Capuchins, or the Austin Friars. It is therefore clear that the spectrum of liturgical services in Brno was far more diverse and that the Minorites thus had to adopt a clear stance on other church institutions and emphasize their own position. As their convent was situated in the city centre, the friars were in close contact with the townspeople and participated in all municipal festivities.⁵⁰³

On the contrary, the Krumlov Minorites collaborated only with two other church institutions (the parish church of St. Vitus and the Jesuits, who took care of education in the town). To prevent potential conflicts, the liturgical activities in the town were regulated by a reciprocal agreement. As follows from the entries in the convent chronicle, the contact with the noble house of Schwarzenberg represented the main Minorite relationship with the outside environment. As Joseph Adam of Schwarzenberg stayed at the Krumlov castle almost every month, mutual contact was very frequent and cordial. The Prince attended the church on all significant feasts and regularly invited the Minorites to the castle. It is not known whether such close contact occurred in Brno. However, both communities took part in regular municipal festivities such as Corpus Christi as well as in exceptional events (in Brno it was the coronation of Virgin Mary in St. Thomas church, while in Krumlov there was the extraordinary procession with the scapular of the newly canonized Saint John of Nepomuk). On this basis, it is possible to assert in both cases that the Minorites constituted an established part of the municipal environment.

Owing to the position of the Minorites in Brno, it is no wonder that their liturgical practices were much more diverse there than in Český Krumlov. In accordance with church customs of the period, there were frequent occasions to integrate figural music into church processions, masses, litanies and Vespers. Figural music was performed every day in Brno, mainly in the form of Litanies of Loreto. Liturgy with figural accompaniment was held every Tuesday, Saturday, and Sunday (in Krumlov only on Sundays and feasts); on other days the masses were accompanied by plainchant. In all likelihood, the ordinary masses in Krumlov were celebrated mainly individually and silently. Whereas the solemn liturgy with figural music took place in Krumlov on feast days only, the Brno Minorites concentrated on festive everyday liturgy with no extraordinary liturgical productions during religious festivals. This was also because the Brno friars did not possess their own music ensemble and had to hire external musicians. As these musicians usually played in several places, they were often not

⁵⁰³ Mañas, p. 47.

available during the main Christian feasts, as they were playing in other Brno churches.⁵⁰⁴ During his tenure as the Brno guardian, Freisler ordered the building of new chapels of Loreto, St. Joseph, and St. Ivan and, most importantly, the Holy Stairs in the presbytery of the Loreto chapel.⁵⁰⁵ These new places of worship constituted new platforms for singular religious services, and it is not surprising that the local liturgy was distinguished by very diverse liturgy. To exemplify, the Litanies of Loreto and the Marian song *Sub tuum presidium* were regularly performed in the Loreto chapel, litanies to St. Joseph resounded in the chapel of the same name, litanies to St. Anthony and the song *Si queris miracula* were sung in the convent church at the St. Anthony altar, and the litanies of the Passion of Christ and the song *Sanctus Deus* were performed on the Holy Stairs. In Krumlov, by contrast, the only special instances of a cult were the reverence to St. Anthony of Padua and the marvellous medieval statue of Our Lady of Sorrows, expressed by special religious services and the possibility of gaining plenary indulgences. It is apparent that the aim of the Minorites in Krumlov was not to create new cults and related religious services but to follow the main festivities in the ordinary course of the liturgical year. This might also have been because there were hardly any other church institutions performing the same liturgical services during the religious festivals. On the other hand, the music production in Krumlov was very diverse as well. The local musicians in Krumlov even performed secular music at times, especially during festive meals in the refectory or on the occasion of the 1 May appointment, when the music students played under the guardian's windows.

Although the liturgy always had to be celebrated in Latin, the other religious services could be performed in native languages. As was customary for the Franciscans, the Brno Minorites regularly promoted the singing of folk songs in German during the Eucharistic benediction. On the contrary, there is almost no evidence of this phenomenon in the South Bohemian monastery.⁵⁰⁶ However, the Minorites in Brno and Krumlov both prayed for the dead and celebrated various burial places and many kinds of funeral liturgy within their convent.⁵⁰⁷

Another similarity between the convents was the presence of archconfraternities. Whereas Český Krumlov had two confraternities (German and Czech), the Moravian Minorites initiated the establishment of three groups. The aim and the organizational structure were identical, including the annual feasts and chapters. The purpose of the division into fraternities

⁵⁰⁴ Mañas 2012, p. 50.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 43.

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 49.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 43.

in Krumlov was clearly the members' language skills; the differences between individual fraternities in Brno are not known.⁵⁰⁸

With respect to the economic and material background, the situation in the two observed convents is considerably dissimilar. Whereas the musicians living in Brno were supported by the income from nine foundations for figural music, the members of the Krumlov ensemble were supported with no external monetary sources but only thanks to the guardian's decision and the friars' generosity. In spite of this fact, the Krumlov friars managed to maintain a 16-member music ensemble (even larger than that in Brno). As is apparent from the preserved pieces of the Krumlov music collection, the largest music setting comprised 14 instrumental and vocal parts, and the common ensemble composition involved ten musicians. A similar number of musicians participated in the solemn extraordinary liturgy in Brno: five vocal singers (including two descants), two string players, four trumpet players, a timpanist, and an organist. Less solemn liturgy was accompanied only by French horns; the ordinary everyday figural music was performed by eight musicians, omitting brass instruments and timpani.⁵⁰⁹ The main difference lay in the personality of the regenschori: in Krumlov this post was held by a Minorite who played the organ as well. The Brno organist was an order member, yet the post of regenschori was held by a layman. The reason why the Moravian Minorites employed an external music director is not known. On the basis of a preserved contract concluded between the Minorites and the choirmaster Ignaz Anton Lucas Beer in 1730, it is possible to reconstruct his duties. The choirmaster had to arrange music in the main church and in the Loreto as well as hire appropriate musicians for the type of liturgy to be held, with a precisely prescribed number of musicians. The contract names two types of musical accompaniment of liturgy. Beer was obliged to hire a corresponding number of musicians and give lessons to three boys to sing descant and alto. Moreover, he had to acquire a sufficient number of new compositions, take care of the monastic music collection, and pay for all the necessities connected with the music activities.⁵¹⁰ In return for his work, he obtained an annual salary of 400 florins. The duties of the regenschori in Krumlov were similar in some respects: he probably taught the boys to sing and play, rehearsed new pieces, chose the appropriate repertory, and conducted music productions in the convent. Being an ordinary order member, he received no salary and did not hire an appropriate number of musicians. The potential

⁵⁰⁸ Mañas, p. 51.

⁵⁰⁹ Sehnal 2005, p. 75–76

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

engagement of a musician as well as the purchase of music pieces⁵¹¹ depended solely on the decision of the guardian. The musicians customarily stayed in the convent for an extended period and had board and lodging there. The boys did not only learn music there but obtained a general basic education. On these grounds, it is apparent that the convent fulfilled the function of educational facility as well.

As has already been mentioned, the Brno music collection was completely destroyed. For the purposes of this dissertation, the preserved pieces of the Krumlov music collection are therefore compared with the music collection in Vienna.⁵¹² It is obvious that this comparison is somewhat unequal: whereas the Krumlov collection encompasses only 21 prints and no manuscripts today, the Austrian collection contains about 800 manuscripts, prints, and theoretical treatises, including many from the 17th century, making it one of the world's most well preserved music sources. Still, some similarities provide evidence of an extraordinary interest in music on the part of the Minorites. Both collections were significantly extended in the first quarter of the 18th century and contain several unique compositions or prints. The flourishing of music in the Viennese convent was to a great extent due to the Minorite Alexander Giessel (1694–1766). This friar shares very similar characteristics with Hyacinth Sperl, who was only four years older than Giessel. Both Sperl and Giessel acquired a very good education at the university, had a particular interest in music, and maintained regular contact with noble circles.

The core of both collections consists in the contemporary music of the time. The collections predominantly include various sorts of sacred music which could be used during the convent liturgy. However, music was used not only on liturgical occasions but for entertainment as well: the Krumlov collection apparently included compositions for playing during festive meals, and in Vienna secular music is represented by music for keyboard and various instrumental ensembles. On the other hand, the provenance of authors differs: whereas Giessel collected works of famous Italian, German speaking, and Viennese composers, Sperl preferred smaller works of Czech and Bavarian composers. Although no signs of the *Opus franciscanum* can be found in either collection, the peculiarity of the Krumlov music collection is the presence of pieces by Czech Minorite composers. In any case, both

⁵¹¹ None of the Minorite friars were allowed handle the money on their own. They needed the guardian's permission to do so.

⁵¹² This Viennese collection was thoroughly investigated by Riedel 1963, p. I–XI.

collections show that the Minorites did not hesitate to invest sums of money in music and were very conscientious about how they handled the musical accompaniment of liturgy.

9 Summary and Conclusion

To conclude, the Minorites' festivities can be divided into two cardinal categories. First, there were the festivities with the participation of the friars held outside the Minorite convent. In this context, the connection between the Minorites and the Schwarzenbergs represented the overriding relation, which was enhanced in manifold ways. The guardian of the local convent, Hyacinth Sperl, who ranked among the regular guests at the Schwarzenberg birthday festivities, established himself as an attentive observer and evaluator of these events. The Minorites regularly sang masses in the castle chapel at the Prince's special request and were appointed as the castle chaplains. The Minorite music ensemble played an active role within the space of the castle chapel. On the other hand, the accompaniment of theatre performances was most likely regarded as inappropriate for monastic musicians. The Minorites expressed their loyalty to the family of patrons in public as well: they welcomed their protectors with music or held liturgical services for the dead members of the noble house. The Minorite music ensemble was even a part of the Prince's personal entourage during winter sledge rides. As the Prince expressed his profound gratitude for Minorite intercessory prayers, the connection between the friars and the nobility seems to have been very close. The friars held a firm position within municipal liturgical festivities as well. They took active part in all significant church feasts in the town, together with the other church representatives from Český Krumlov and the adjacent Schwarzenberg dominions. Since the prayer for peace forms a crucial part of Franciscan spirituality, the Minorites participated in the intercessory prayers especially during war emergencies.

As a rule, the majority of Minorite festivities were situated inside the local Minorite convent. As follows from the findings presented above, the Český Krumlov monastery observed the principal Minorite customs and maintained the order rules and constitutions. As was typical of Minorite convents, it was situated in the suburbs. This position enabled the friars to be close to the municipal environment and thus to provide the townspeople with pastoral care. To edify the general public, the convent organized popular sermons and established an educational centre including an extensive library. Like most other European Minorite convents, the Český Krumlov monastery was in its prime in the period between the Council of Trent (1545–63) and the abolishment of monasteries in the 1770s. As was the case in most Minorite convents

in the lands of the Austrian monarchy, the Krumlov monastery was most prosperous in the first quarter of the 18th century, when the convent was led by the extraordinary personality of the guardian Hyacinth Sperl.

In accordance with the constitutions, Sperl and the friars painstakingly cultivated liturgy. As liturgy is inseparable from music, they took care of 16 boy musicians, who acquired a complete education in the monastery. The management of the ensemble was fully in the hands of the guardian and the choirmaster. Since the musicians received board and were lodged within the convent, they celebrated all monastic festivities like the friars. With the aim of improving the level of liturgical music, a monastic music collection was significantly extended. The guardian had a good grasp of the current music trends and purchased the latest Prague and Augsburg prints, including the oeuvres of Czech Minorite composers. The collection includes various compositions of masses, litanies, Vespers, and offertories and thus reflects the main types of liturgy used in the convent. The liturgy was celebrated either with plainchant or in figural way. Religious services were performed by musicians, friars, and Clarissan sisters, who lived in the adjacent monastery. Figural music was played on the principal liturgical order feasts. The Minorites did not create any specific local cult. Similarly to the friars in Brno, they developed an elaborate system of funeral liturgy. The ordinary as well as burial services were held in various places within the convent (at various altars in the church, in three monastic chapels, in the large cloister, and at the cemetery). The religious services were mostly celebrated in Latin, only rarely in the vernacular (Czech and German). In spite of the predominant position of liturgical music, it is obvious that secular music resounded within the convent too, especially during festive meals in the refectory. Two peculiar customs were Christmas carol singing and the 1 May morning appointments. The monastic acoustic environment was completed by the sounds of bells. The monastic liturgy was attended by many distinguished guests, primarily by the princely couple of Schwarzenberg, the court officials, and the prelates from the adjacent regions. Nevertheless, the liturgy and music attracted a wider public too. To exemplify, the August feast of Porziuncola was once celebrated by 9000 believers.

The Český Krumlov convent was influenced by the specific liturgical practices of Rome, Prague, and Vienna. The forms of music and liturgy used in Český Krumlov during this era followed Viennese trends in various aspects, whether it was the Imperial pattern of celebrating birthdays and name days, castle pantomime, or liturgical festivities with elements of *Pietas austriaca*. Since the friars had to observe the papal and central Minorite instructions, the friars

were in touch with the seat of the Roman Catholic Church in Rome as well. As Hyacinth Sperl maintained regular contact with the other Bohemian and Austrian Minorite convents, it is certain that he followed current liturgical and musical affairs too. The Minorites also fell under the authority of the Archbishop of Prague and therefore had to respect his extraordinary liturgical prescriptions.

All things considered, the Minorite convent created a lively organism providing numerous religious and educational services within the church, municipal, and noble environment of the town Český Krumlov and the adjacent South Bohemian region. Thus, this case study of Minorite music activities in Český Krumlov demonstrates the monastic music culture had the extraordinary influence on the development of music in the Czech lands during the 18th century. The further studies on music in other Minorite friaries would specify and confirm present assertions and reveal new connections of Minorite music culture.

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10.1 The List of Feasts in the Minorite Convent and in the Town of Český Krumlov with the
Participation of the Minorites celebrated in 1749

January:

1.1. New Year – Circumcision of Jesus

6.1 Epiphany

8.1. Holy Name of Jesus

February:

2.2. Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary

6.2. St. Dorothea

19.2. Ash Wednesday → Lent Season

March:

25.3. Annunciation of Virgin Mary

30.3. Palm Sunday → Holy Week

April:

2.4. Tenebrae

3.4. Maundy Thursday

4.4. Good Friday

5.4. Holy Sunday

6.4. Easter Sunday → Easter Season

24.4. St. George (Castle Chapel)

May:

1.5. First May

15.5. Ascension

25.5. Pentecost

June:

1.6. Holy Trinity

5.6. Corpus Christi and its Octave (St. Vitus Church)

8.6. Corpus Christi (Minorites)

13.6. St. Anthony of Padua

15.6. St. Vitus (St. Vitus Church)

July:

2.7. Visitation of Virgin Mary

31.7. St. Ignatius (Jesuits)

August:

2.8. Porziuncola

12.8. St. Clare

September:

Musicians' Vacation

October:

4.10. St. Francis

15.10. Name day of Princess Maria Theresia (Castle)

November:

1. & 2. 11. All Souls' Day

22.11. St. Cecilia

30.11. First Advent Sunday → Advent Season

December:

3.12. St. Francis Xavier (Jesuits)

8.12. Immaculate Conception

15.12. Birthday of Prince Joseph Adam (Castle)

25.12. Nativity

28.12. Birthday of Princess Maria Theresia (Castle)

31.12. New Year's Eve

10.2 Original Quotations from the Archival Documents

Appendix to 7.1.2.1 Schwarzenberg Private festivities

2.4.1732⁵¹³

Die 2. Aprilis advenit Crumlovium Serenissimus Princeps Ludovicus Georgius Marchio Badensis cum sua conthorali et Filia Sereniss: Marchioni Badensi 3tia Aprilis Serenissimus Princeps noster cum maxima pompa praesentibus plurimis celsissimis, Excellentissimis, et Illustrissimis hospitibus ad hunc actum Specialiter in pretiosissimo auro fulgente suo cubicolo audientiali sub Baldachino nomine suae Caesarea Majestatus contulit aureum velus. Post hunc actum in Capella aulica Rdiss: D: Praelatus Crumloviensis cantavit Sacrum Solenne et Te Deum Laudamussub pulsu omnium campanarum totius Urbis quo fonito opiparum et regium plane instructum erat prandium. Tabula Principis assedit primo loco Serenissimus Princeps noster tanquam Casereus Commissarium tecto capite Marchiones, Serenissima nostra, Principissavidua Lobkovitiana, Comitissa Kollowratiana, Comes Sallaburg, et Baro Braunhofer Marchionis Badensis Mareschallus: Reliqui de nobilitate utriusque Sexus plurimi, tres Praelati, Superiores Ordine et Consiliarii Principum in magna aula vulgo Spiegel Saal Splendissimo convivio excepti sunt. Ad Sanitatem Ausustissimorum et Ordinis aurei velleris incrementi explosa sunt 30. Tormenta magna. Vesperi post Menam pariter Splendissimam ignis festivus artificiosissimus celebratus, et tota Ara Crumloviensis cum fuori jucundissime illuminata fuit.

15.12.1745⁵¹⁴

Die 15. Solemnissime celebratus est dies Natalis Serenissimi Principis pontificante Rdissimo Dno Praelato Crumloviensi, Missam de Rorate solemniter cum assistentia cantante P. M. Hyacintho Sperl Commissario Conventus. Post prandium Solenne et pomposissimum Serenissima in honorem sui Serenissimi conthoralis pulchram produxit actionem theatralem, ipsa Serenissima primariam personam praestantissime agente.

28.12.1745⁵¹⁵

Die 28. Decembris in festo SS. Innocentium solemnissime celebratus est dies natalis Serenissimae Principis, nostra Theresia quo 24^{um} aetatis annum absolvit, et 25^{um} annum feliciter inchoavit: Pontificale Sacrum in Capella Arcis habuit Rdissimus D: Praelatus Archidiaconus Crumloviensis. Post prandium sumptuosissimum Serenissimus Princeps in honorem Sua Serenissima Conthoralis natalizantis cum quibusdam Illustrissimis de Comitum Stemmate personis, et Aulicus dignioribus pulcherrimam in Sala, quae Aurea vocatus, produxit Comoediam, ipso Serenississimo Principe primariam personam elegantissime. Post coena in Sala majori a Speculis Spigl-Saal dicta fuit Saltus in maschara usque ad horam 5tam alterius diei protractus.

⁵¹³ LM I, p. 175.

⁵¹⁴ LM II, p. 577.

⁵¹⁵ LM II, p. 579-80.

15.12.1746⁵¹⁶

Die 15ta in magna frequentia personarum Illustrium et Rdissimorum Dnorum Praelatorum, Cleriquis tam Saecularis quam Regularis in Aula nostra solemnissime celebratus est die natalis Serenissimi Principis nostri Josephi, quo die 24tum aetatis sua annum felicissime absolvit: mane hora 7tima P. M. Hyacinthus Sperl Commissarius Generalis et Conventus Missam solemnem de Rorate in Capella arcis cantavit. Missa Pontificalem in eadem Capella hora 11ma habuit Rdissimus D. Praelatus Crumloviensis. Mensa Principis copiosissimo accubuerunt hospites epulo plane regio honorati. Hora 5ta pomeridiana fuit comoedia pomposissima in minori theatro aulico a Serenissima Principe nostra agentibus ferme meris personus Illustribus et ipsa Serenissima producta. Hora 10ma noctis ignis artificiosus venustissimus et valde pretiosus a Grenaderyis Principis fuit accensus, sicque tota illa dies inter meras laetitias, clausus et júbila transacta fuit.

28.12.1746⁵¹⁷

Die 28. Cum eadem solemnitate et laetitia in praesentia adhuc curium personarum Illustrium celebratus est dies natalis Serenissima Pincipis ac Domina Maria Theresia quo 25tum aetatis sua annum complevit, Missam de Rorate cantante eodem P. M. Hyacintho, et Pontificante Rdissimo D: Praelato Crumloviensi. Comoediam in theatro majori aulico pomposissimam et artificiosissimam in venerationem sua conthoralis Serenissima produxit, et ipse personam principalem prorsus egregie egit Serenissimus Princeps noster /: plen: Tit:/ loci ignis artificialis fuit, in majori Sala celebratus Saltus duem Baal appellant, ab hora 10ma noctis usne ad horam 6tam matutinam protractus.

15.12.1747⁵¹⁸

Die 15. Decembris in natali Serenissimi Principis quo viegesimum quinto aetatis sua annum feliciter absolvit, Rorate Solemniter in capella Arcis cantavit ad intentionem Principis P. M. Guardianus. Missa Solemnem hora 11ma ibidem habuit Rdissimus D: Praelatus Crumloviensis: Hospites in tabula Principis erant copiosi, musica sub tabula valde pulchra, circa horam 6tam vespertinam in magna Sala producta fuit Serenada valde artificiosa cantante ipsa Serenissima Principe constra cum Comitissa Thierheimiana. Circa horam nonam pulcherrimus ignis artificiosus extra magnum hortum Principis productus fuit, post quem Serenissimi Principes eam aliquot hospitibus dignioribus in Topiatio horti Bellaria dicto coenarunt.

27.12.1747⁵¹⁹

Die 27. Decembris: in festo S: Johannis Evangelista Serenissimus Princeps in gratiam suae Serenissimae Conthoralisin horto maiori arcis pulcherrimam produxit illuminationem: fuit enim non solum totus hortus multis millenis lampadibus et vasis ardentibus gratiosissime

⁵¹⁶ LM II, p. 615.

⁵¹⁷ LM II, p. 615.

⁵¹⁸ LM II, p. 644.

⁵¹⁹ LM II, p. 645.

illuminatus cum Bellaria seu Topiario, sed et agens theatrum iucundissime illuminatum ante Bellariam erectum, in quo quatuor partes mundi in suo quaeque ordinario vestitu pretiosissime vestita et ex 4 angulis horti cum sua consueta usque ad theatrum precedens sua vota melodrammate artificiosissimo elegantissime decantarunt, ipso Serenissimo Principe Asiam representante, Illustrissimo comite de Thierheim eiusdemque conthorali et Illustrissimo barone de Kfellner reliquas orbis partes agentibus et egregie cantantibus ac postea simul in praedicta Bellaria sub suavi musica coenantibus. Ingressus hic ad theatrum, illuminatio horti et ipsa fabrica pretiosissima theatri, nunquam hic Crumlovii adhuc visa et opus vere regium ab innumero populo confluyente cum summa admiratione et aplausu spectabantur .

28.12.1747⁵²⁰

Die 28. Currentis in ipso die natali Serenissimae, quo 27mae aetatis annum felicissime est agressa, Missam Pontificalem in Capella aulica sub praeclarissima musica habuit Rdissimus D. Praelatus Crumloviensis Franciscus Schulpach. Prandium fuit plane regium et magnificentissimum: post prandium Serenissimi et pientissimi Principes cum suis hospitibus cum suis hospitibus devotissime interfuerunt Rosario et Litaniis in capella arcis recitatis, post Rosarium artificiosissima et vere elegantissima comoedia fuit producta in magno theatro aulico ipso serenissimo com comite Thierheim eiusque conthorali Ilustrissima, et Barone de Kfeller, Supremo venationum Praefecto Principis et aliis utriusque sexus officialibus aulica elegantissime agente. Post comoediam principalem alia comoedia muta sine recitatione ad sonum praeclarae musicae Pantemim dicta a meris tenellis juvenibus et puellis artificiosissime simul et iucundissime producta fuit. Post coenam splendissimam in sala maiori, quam Redoutten-Saal appellant, circa horam decimam noctis inchoatus est saltus in pulcherrima mascherra usque ad horem 5tem matutinam alterius diei productus.

15.12.1748⁵²¹

Die 15. Decembris solemnissime celebratus est dies natalis Serenissimi Principis nostri, quo 26tum anum aetatis suae annum complevit: mane hora 7tima P. M. Guardianus in capella aulica cantavit solemnem Missam de Rorate cum consueta assistentia ad intentionem Serenissimi: Pontificale Sacrum hora 11. habuit Rdissimus D. Praelatus Crumloviensis, sub quo tres Rdissimi DD: Praelati, videl: Alto-Vadensis, Trebonensis, et Borovanensis celebrarunt. In tabula Principis exornata et instructa magnificentissime hospites digniores assederunt numerosissimi, praeter illos, qui apud D: Supremum Capitaneum, et in tabula Officialium accomodati fuerunt. Hora sexta vespertina a serenissima in honorem sui coniugis serenissimi agente, ipsa serenissima, Illustrissimo Comite de Thierheim cum sua coniuge Illustrissima et aliis personis nobiles comoedia producta est pulcherrima et velde magnifica in theatro minori, quam secuta est coena opipara. Saltus tamen /: cum haec Solemnitas incuderit in Dominicam tertiam Adventus:/ fuit nullus.

15.10.1749⁵²²

⁵²⁰ LM, p. 646.

⁵²¹ LM III, p. 44.

Die 15a in festo Theresiae onomasticus Serenissima principis nostrae solemnissime celebratus est Missam Solemnem in Pontificalibus habuit in Capella Arcis Rdissimus D Praelatus Crumloviesis. Missas privatas sub cantata legerunt Rdissimus D: Abbas Alto-Vadensis Quirinus Mickl, Rdissimus D. Praepositus Borovanensis Augustinus Dubensky, Illustrissimus D: Baron de Gfellner Parochus Sahajensis, P. Guardianus Crumloviensis, P. Wenceslaus Miercziczka, et P. Hermenegildus Capucinus. Ad tabulam Principis sederunt hospites copiosissimi, inter quos erat Excellentissimus D: Baron de Feuerstein Generalis Locumtenens Artigleria Casaria cum uno Colonello D. de Schrems, Supremo Capitaneo ejusde Artigleria D. De Eingsweiller, et plurimis rei pyrotechnic Officialibus: quatuor Rdissimi Domini Praelati, etc. Sub pradio adpropinatam Sanitatem Serenissima praeter explosionem tormentorum productus est artificiosissimus concertus musicus. Hora 6a vespertina erat artificiosissima comoedia muta, pantomima dicta, hanc pro conclusione huius solemnitatis sequebatur saltus in maschara usque ad horam 6tam alterius diei protractus.

15.12.1749⁵²³

Die currentis solemnissime celebratus est dies natalis Serenissimi principis nostri: mane post horam septimam P. Guardianus cantavit solemniter Missam de Rorate in Capella Arcis ad intentionem Serenissimi: hora undecima in eadem Capella Arcis solemniter pontificavit Reverendis: D: Praelatus Crumloviensis sub artificiosissima musica: Tabula Principam regio plane apparatu fuit instructa, hospites tamen extranei propter inaequilitatem et intemperiem aura copiam ingentem rivium, et vias totalitor destructas compuerunt pauci. Vesperi hora sexta in theatro minori aulico producta fuit serenata musica artificiosissima et magnificentissima applaudente toto auditorio et sibi summe complacentibus principis nostris serenissimus. Actores omnes comice vestiti fuerunt elegantissime et pretiosissime ac summam laudem et honorem reportarunt.

28.12.1749⁵²⁴

28. Decembris solemnissime celebratus est dies natalis Serenissima Principis nostrae: Missam Pontificalem in Capella Arcis habuit Rdissimus D. Praelatus Crumloviensis, sub qua celebrarunt Rdissimus D. Praelatus Plagensis Franciscus /:plen. Titl:/, Rdissimus D. Praelatus Alto-Vadensis Quirinus Mickl /:plen. Titl:/, Vene et Illustrissimus D. Gfellner, L: B: de Sachsengrin Parochus Sahajensis: P. Guardianus Conventus: P. Wenceslaus, P. Hermenegildus Capucinus. Sub tabula pulcherima musica fuit producta. Vesperi agente ipso Serenissimo principe admiranda et artificiosissima fuit comoedia, quam sequebatur saltus in maschara usque ad horam 5tam matutinam sequentis diei protractus.

15.12.1750⁵²⁵

15 In Sublimi Natali Serenissimi Princeps nostri humilliam gratulationem deposuit P. M. Guardianus cum Ex. P. M. Ex-Proali Hyacintho Sacrum cantatum habuit, Crumloviensis

⁵²² LM III, p. 76.

⁵²³ LM III, p. 82.

⁵²⁴ LM III, p. 82.

⁵²⁵ LM III, p. 95.

Rdssus D. Archi-Diaconus. Tabula erat pretiosissima copiosissimis hospitibus cincta. Jejunantes hoc tempore Religios: capatte equisitos habuerunt cibos esuriales. Ad noctem in Favorita villa post magnum hortum arcensem a iuniori serenissimo dominio gratiosissima fuit producta comoedia, deinde insigne opus pyrobularium spectantium oculis cum admiratione exhibitum.

28.12.1750⁵²⁶

Die autem 28. hujus utpote in Sublimi Natali Serenissimae Principis nostra, Solemne Sacrum in Sacello Arcis decantavit Rdssus D. Archi-Diaconus Crumloviensis, Rdissi D.D. Abbates Plagenis, et Trebonensis Missas celebrarunt privatas ministrantibus Clericis nostris. Item P. M. Guardianus et Praes. Wenceslaus et R. P. P. Capucini. Tandem Secuta mensa vere Regia assessu magnae Nobilitatis, praefectorum Rdssorum etc. Ad noctem producta meris nutibus comoedia vulgo Pantomin. Post coenam vero usque in Aeram noctem protendebatur Saltus Balisticus.

Appendix to 7.1.2.2 Schwarzenberg Public festivities and 7.1.3 The Music Connection
between the Town of Český Krumlov and the Minorites

19.3.1732⁵²⁷

Die 19. Martii celebrata fuit Crumlovii magna Solemnitas in honorem S: Joannis Nepomuceni, de cujus Sacra Scapula Serenissima partem sibi a Rdissimo Capitulo Metropolitano cum consensu sua Majestatis Caesarea donatam Crumlovium tulit et cum pomposissima Processione, quam nos in casulis comitati sumus, ex Arce ad Parochiale templum transtulit, comitante Processionem ipsa Serenissima cum magna Cleri, et devoti populi frequentia.

1.6.1738⁵²⁸

Die 1ma Junii incidente in festum SS. Trinitas Crumlovii Solemnis Processio ex Templo Parochiali ad nostrum Templum ducta, et inde ad Templum Parochiale reduta fuit pro impetranda Benedictione coelesti armorum Caesariorum contra Turcas, quam Processionem comitati sumus sub nostro vexillo, praeter nos et clerum etiam comitati sunt hanc Processionem cum ingenti populo omnes Schola, Tribus Civitatis cum suis vexillas, et Confraternitates, praeter nostram confraternitatem S: P: Francisci, quae cum neque Germanica, neque Boehemica Congregatio illi cedere voluerit, sed ante Studiosos procedere ex mente Rdissimi Domini Praelati debuisset non obstante protestatione, contradictione P: M: Guardiani potus ne tam ultus fieret et scandalum in populo, ac praejudicium Archi-Confraternitati, domi remansit.

23.11.1738⁵²⁹

⁵²⁶ LM III, p. 96.

⁵²⁷ LM I, p. 175.

⁵²⁸ LM I, p. 207.

Die 23. Novembris incidente in illam Dominica ultima post Pentecostem Rdissimus D: Praelatus Crumloviensis Ritu Solemni benedixit Sacellum ampiatum et ex integro renovatum S: Martini in coemeterio Urbis situm, ducta foras ex Templo Parochiali Solemni Processione, quam P. Guardianus, proc vie a Magistratu ad hanc Solemnitatem invitatus, cum tribus ad huc Sacerdotibus comitatus est. Praeter Sacrum tamen a Rdissimo Dno Praelato post benedictionem ibidem cantatum aliud Sacrum lectum nullam fuit. Ampliationem hujus Capella in qua alias ob angustiam loci nullam unquam Sacrum legi poterant plurimum promovit D: Vincentius Duck Civis et Pannifex Crumloviensis peculia collecta a Benefactoribus.

31.7.1739⁵³⁰

Die 31. Julii incidente in festum S: Ignatii Loyola novus Praelatus Rdissimus et Amplissimus Dominus D: Josephus Kolani cum magna pompa, et ingenti Populi laetitia solemnissime installatus, et Insignibus Pontificalibus redimitus fuit a Reverendissimo Perillustri et Amplissimo Domino D: Joanne Christine Khun Ecclesia Novo-Domensis Praeposto Infulato per partem aliter deputato Commissario Archi-Episcopali. Functio hac initium sumpsit post dimidiam nonam matutinam, quo tempore ex Residentia Archi-Diaconali praecedentibus vexillis, 24. Faciferis, 24. Studiosis ministrantibus, 6 nostris Clericis in Superpelliceris, vicinis aliquot DD: Parochis, ductus est Rdissimus D: Neo-Praelatus ad Templum Archi-Diaconale S: Viti Eundem comitantibus Ex: P: Rector Collegii tanquam Patrono, et Ex: P: Regente Seminarii, sequentibus vero plurimus ad hunc actum hospitibus invitatis et Magistratu Crumloviensi: dum sub clangore triplicis chori tubam, et plu omnium campanarum Ecclesia Parochialis ad Majus Altare deventum est, et Rdissimus Sponsus in suo faldistorio (*trün*) ex parte Epistola, Ex: P: Rector ex parte Evangelii tanquam Patronus in loco elevatori, Rdissimus D: Comissarius Archi-Episcopalis autem in Supremo gradu Altaris Majoris locum cepit, perlino Archi-Episcopali Instrumento Confirmationis et consueto juramento, et fidei professione deposita Rdissimus D: Neo-Archi-Diaconus installatus et mox infalatus fuit, his finitis V: Dnus Josephus Wimmer Parochus Moldaviensis de S: Ignatio habuit panegyrim ab omnibus audientibus sum mapere laudatam, qua finita Rdissimus Dnus Neo-installatus et infulatus sub Musica artificiosissima primum cantavit Pontificale Sacrum usque ad horam primam fere protractum, quo finito Idem Reverendissimus D: Sponus ordine priori suam Residentiam reintroductus fuit, ubi omnes suos hospites Splendissimo excepit convivio.

25.7.1743⁵³¹

Die 25. Julii incidente in festum S: Jacobi Apostoli post Guam Urbs Crumloviensis ab obitu Serenissima Principis et Domina, Domina Eleonora Magdalena Vidua Principis de Schwarzenberg, Ducis Crumloviensis, nata Principis de Lobkowitz, Ducis Saganensis /:plen. Tit.:/ qua 5ta Maii anno 1741. Vienne Austria piissime vidis excessit, propter continuous motus bellicos, et calamitosos belli subsequos fructus suo Duce et Principe clementissimo *feni*, et ejusden Principis gratiosissima praesentia concolari non potuisset, advent tandem felix

⁵²⁹ LM II, p. 375.

⁵³⁰ LM II, p. 390.

⁵³¹ LM II, p. 503-507.

illud tempus, quo tristitia Urbis conversa est in gaudium, dum sicut post nubila Phœbus sequit, ita Urbi Crumloviensi postinnumera calamitatum, et belli atra nubila exortus est sol clarissimus in solemnibus ac pomposissimum ingressu Serenissimorum Principum et Ducum suorum Josephi et Theresia Principum de Schwartzenberg Residentiam suam magnifice, et felicissime ingredientiam. Et quamvis quidem hic ingressus pridie id est, in privilegio S: Jacobi, prouti ordinatum fuerat, ob continuas plulas celebrari nequiverit, fuit tamen subsequodie festivo, eo festivior quo protractior, cum et coelum ipsum serenitate sua serenissimorum Principum ingressui applaudere, et cum Urbe de lautitia quasi concertare visum fuerit. A primo mane ergo statim coelo ex integro serenata in omnibus Urbis plateis audiebantur tympana, cives et incolam ad festivam hanc solemnitatem convocantia, qui *Bellonam* induti ad suas Stationes cum summa laetitia et hilaritate non solum visi sunt accurere, sed quasi convolare: hospites quoque, et Aulici se tempestive Capschovitium ad beneventandum Serenissimos Principes ibidem circa horam undecimam adventantes se contulerunt, ubi Principes in vividi prato sub tentorio praetioso prandium sumpserunt Magistratu interim omnia pro ingressu solemnibus pulcherrime ordinato et disponente. Post horam tertiam pomeridinam omnibus jam ordinatis, et equitibus, ac curribus congregatis, et ex majoribus aliquot fistulis aeneis Urbe de adventu Serenissimorum Principum ad monita processus incepit ordinis sequente:

1mo: Praecessit cohors equestris civilis in pulcherrimo ordine cum suo capitaneo Domuno Michæle Maÿer viro consulari Crumloviense, Contenante, Vexillifero, Tubicinis, et pulchre phaleratis et ornatis 6. equis sine sessore ductis.

2do sequebantur 46. Venatores Principis pulcherrime vestiti, et pulchris Luis insidentes, quo sequebantur Officiales venatorii cum Venationum Praefecto Perillustri Dno Norberto Gfeller equite de Sachsengrin pretiosissime vestiti, et equis generosissimis insidentes.

3tio: Serenissimi Principis Equisones 14. in pretiosissima rubra et flava liberia latis argenteis solidis limbis ornata equis insidentes, quorum quilibet alium adhuc equam generosissimum, et pretiosissima phaleratum ad lavam ducebat.

4to: praecedentibus copiosis Cursoribus in pretiosissima Liberia, aliisque Aula Principis Ministris, duobus Ephebis, et Illustrissimo D: Comite de Hohenfeld, cum Perillustri Domino de Jungwirth Capitaneo Districtus aequitibus, sequebatur Serenissimus Princeps generosissimus, ac pretiosissime ornato insidens quo, duem Stabuli Praefectus pedestes cum duobus Stabulariis sequebatur.

5to: sequebatur Serenissima Princeps Splendissima equorum Sexiga phaleris auro, *sericoque* ornatis in *curra* pretiosissimo *vecta*, cujus latera duo Heidones mira proceritatis splendidissime vestiti stiparunt.

6to: sequebantur adhuc quinque Sexiga aulicae Principis Reverendissimos DD: Praelatos Trebonensem, et Borovanensem, ac quondam Aula Ministros vehentes.

7tmo: Sexigas aulicas sequebantur 4. Sexiga Rerum DD: Praelatorum Sacra Corona, Trebonensis, Borovanensis et Crumloviensis.

8vo: post curium secundarium Principum sequebantur cum suis Tympanotribis et Tibicinibus Grenadirii Principis novissime vestiti.

9no: Sequebantur adhuc variae quadriagae, et totus peditatus civicus in varias cohortes divisus, qui usque ad Arcis moerorem arcam sequebantur Principes, et totum processum terminavit ordine sequenti: 1mo procedebant Fossores metelici noviter vestiti cum suis luminaribus. 2do Sequebatur cohors Sagittariorum civilium vulgo dicitur *Sesriben*=*Sesützen* cum suo vexillo. 3tio: duae cohortes civiles suis vexillis, tympanotribis et pulchra musica, ordine militari pulcherrime incedentes, qui omnes a fore Urbis usque ad Arcem Ducem suum et Principem Clementissimum cum maximo jubilo, et laetitia sunt comitati.

Principem portam civitatis Superiorem intrante Amplissimus Magistratus Crumloviensis cum humillima traditione clavium Civitas per Syndicum suum D: Hieber erudito Sermone beneventavit, et ulteriorem felicem ingressum ad Residentiam suam Ducalem Eidem advovit.

Ulterius progredienti Principi sub clangore continuo tubarum et tympanorum, et explosione majorum fistularum aenarum AA: RR: PP: Jesuita ante magnificam structuram triumphalem altitudinem Collegii adaequantem occurrerunt, et Serenissimos Principes clangore tubarum, et tympanorum salutarunt. Ad forum Urbis deveniunt ex tubis Serenissimis Cives Bellonam induti, et in pulcherrimo ordine per totum forum collocati sub continuo clangore et resonantia tubarum, tympanorum, et diversi generis musica sonora Principes salutarunt, eiusque sua arma praesentarunt. Ad Ladronam prope Conventum nostrum venientibus Principibus etiam nos in longa linea collocati fecimus reverentiam, et Principes Serenissimos cum Musicis nostris in Porta triumphali a nobis erecta continuo inflantibus et tympana pulsantibus humillime beneventavimus. Tandem ad Arcem venientes Principes a Pereillistri Dno Laurentio de Esscherich Supremo Capitane et omnibus DD: Officialibus reverentialissime sunt beneventati, et ad Residentiam suam Ducalem cum innumeris sinceris votis inter continuam duorum chororum Tubicinum resonantiam, et tormentorum boatum introducti fuerunt. Totum Crumlovium in amoenissimam artem Sylvam, praeter portas triumphales animam tam in Arce, quam intra, et extra civitatem erectas forum, et omnes plateas cum porte intra civitatem et Ladronam arboribus erant venustissime ornatae: Domus in foro omnes, et in plateis plurimae recens calce incrustatae, dealbatae, et potiori ex parte variis coloribus pictae, imotata via, qua Serenissimi Princeps vehebantur ad quadrantem miliaris ab Urbe arboribus, et arcibus ex arborum frondibus affabre extractis erant consita.

Porta triumphalis nostra intra domum Spatzianam et Domini Doctoris per transversum plateam Eróta, et Principibus transitum praebens in magnam ascendente altitudinem, et proportionatam habebat latitudinem, et profunditatem: tota porta hac arborum frondibus diversis floribus intermixta erat exornata, pulchram habens pergulam supra arcum extractam, in qua chorus Tubicinum stetit. In Summitate structura hujus stabat Fama tubam campestris lava manu tenens, in vexillo tuba scriptus legendatur versus votivus sequens:

Annis Nestoreis Josephe, Theresia vive.

In dextra manu Fama cernebatur Scultum Symbolicum, in quo duo corda aurea catena conjuncta, mitra Ducali tecta, et initiales liberas nominum Serenissimorum Principum nostrorum,

videlicet I et T exhibentia conspiciebantur. In postamento Fama legatur inscriptio chronographica sequens:

IosephI, et TheresIae CorDa qVae sInCerVs IVnXIIt aMor perennIter VIVant.

In medio structura supra porticum sub pergula legebatur inscriptio dedicatoria chronographica in magno Scuto expressa sequens:

HonorI, et VeneratIonI pII prInCipIs et DVCI sVI gratIosI Fratres MInores ereXerVnt.

Ex utraque parte portae triumphales collocata erant Charites in utroque engulo arcus supra pergulam stantes, et simetriam Strucurae architectonica perficientes, ac Serenissimis Principibus nostris longoevam vitam, et filicitatem advoventes, hoc voto.

Vivat Iosephus. Vivat Theresia.

Portam triumphalem exornabant quatuor magna Scuta Symbolica ex utraque parte pulchro ordine disposita. In primo Scuto videbantur arbor procem plena floribus, quam copiosae Stellae illustrabant, cum versibus sequentibus:

In secundo Scuto pictus erat thronus in quo Insignia Ducalia jacebant, eum versibus sequentibus:

Tertium Scutum representabat Pictorem Principem depingentem cum versibus:

Quartum Scutum Alveare cum circa circum volantibus apibus representabat, versus subscripti erant suquentes:

26.7.1743

Die 26. Julii in festo S: Anna Serenissimus Princeps in vomitiva totius Aula Suae, et omnium Venatorum, civibus iterum in duabus cohortibus ordine militari in foro comparentibus, et arma sua praesentibus sub explosione tormentorum cum serenissima Coniuge sua Solemniter Templum Archi-Diaconale introit, ibidemque Missa Solemni Rdissimo Dno Praelato Archi-Diacono Crumloviensi Dno Iosepho Kulani solemnissime sub triplici choro tubarum pontificate interfuit. Finita Missa Solmeni Serenissimi Principes cum eadem pompa ad Residentiam Suam Ducalem cum Splendissimo vecti redierunt, ubi hospites suos Illustres, Rdissimum D: Pontificantem, Rdissimos DD: Praelatos Trebonensem, et Borovanensem, Venerabiles DD: Decanos Budvicensem, Prachaticensem, et Netolicensem, Superiores Ordinum Ex: P. Rectorem, Regentem, Guardianum Crumloviensem, P. Guardianum Capucinatorum Budvicensem, et alios Splendissimo et Regio plane convivio sub praeclara musica et ad Sanitates principales boatu tormentorum exceperunt.

28.7.1743⁵³²

Die 28. cadente in Dominicam octavam post Pentecosten ad petitionem Serenissimi Principis R. P. B. Prosper Alt pro concione dixit in Sacello Aulico, et P. M. Guardianus solemnem

⁵³² LM II, p. 508.

habuit Missam musicam facientibus nostris Musicis: Quam devotionem per omnes Dominicas et Festa post nostra Divina domestica in Sacello Arcis, dum Principes adsunt Crumlovii, fieri petiit piissimus Princeps, unde et P. Guardianus ordinavit, ut concitator festivitalis domestici R. P. Prosper Alt in Dominicis, Concitator vero Dominicalis in Festis concionetur in Arce.

29.7.1743

Die 29. Serenissimus Princeps a Magistratu et Communitate Crumloviensi suscepit homagium post Solemnem Missam a Rdissimo Domino Praelato Crumloviensi cantatam: post quod homagium praesentes hospites et Superiores Ordinum lautissimo prandio in Tabula Principis, D: Primator vero et D: Consul in Tabula Aula Ministrorum excepti sunt. Homagium ordine sequenti peractum fuit: Finita Missa Pontificali se Princeps Serenissimus ad suum recepit cubiculum quoadusque Magistratus et tota Communitas companusset in anticamera majori: presente jam tota comunitate Crumloviensi Serenissimus Princeps praecedentibus omnibus cursoribus, heidonibus, Ephebis in pretiosissima Liberia.

18.8.1743⁵³³

Die 18. Augusto: in Theatro aulico pulcherrimam cum magno aplausu comoediam in honorem, et venerationem Serenissimorum Principum produxit Gymnasium Crumloviense.

Die 22. Incidente in Octavam Assumptionis B. V. M. Serenissimi Principes magnificentissime celebrarunt secundum anniversarium sua copulationis in capella Arcis pontificante Rdissimo Dno Praelato Crumloviensi, a quo Serenissimi Principes cum tota Aula sumtuoso convivio excepti sunt. Post prandium in magno horto Principis Splendissimum, ac pomposissimum exercitium Equestera Carosel dictum, pretiosissimis apposis proemiis celebratum est, proemia propter dexteritatem Suam reportantibus Perillustri Dno Norberto de Gfeller Venetionum Praefecto, et Praenobili Dno Stabuli Praefecto.

24.8.1743

Die 24. In festo S: Bartholomai Apostoli celebrata sunt preces 40. Horarum ad impetrandam ulterire benedictionem coelestem pro gloriosis et victoriossomis armis Serenissima Regina nostra, Hora 10ma Solemnis Processio ex Capella Aulica ad Templum Parochiale a Rdissimo Dno Praelato cum toto clero tam Saeculari, quam Regulari ducta fuit, comitantibus illam Serenissimis Principibus cum tota Sua Aula.

22.11.1745⁵³⁴

Hoc mense serenissimus et clementissimus Princeps et Dominus D: Josephus Adamus Sacri Rom: Imperii Princeps de Schwartzenberg, Comes de Sensheimb et Sultz, Landgravius Gleggovia, Dux Crumloviensis, Dominus in Gimborn, Sac: Cae: Majestatis et Imperii Curia Aulica Judex in Rotweil, Aurei Vellens Eques etc.etc. in Principatu Suo Schartzenbergensi cum inexplicabili júbilo et applausu populi a Suis subditis et vasallis solemnissime, et

⁵³³ LM II, p. 511.

⁵³⁴ LM II, p. 515.

magnificentissime suscepit homagium, et fidelitatis Sacramentum: et quidem die 16. In Arce Schwartzbergensi a Satrapiis Arci vicinioribus. Die 18. In eadem Arce a Judais. Et 22. Novembris ab urbe et Satrapia Marckbreitensi, et aliis ad huc vicinioribus Satrapoos et earum Praefectis. Ubiue Serenissimus cum Sua Serenissima magnificentissime fuit exceptus: ubiuque pulcherrima porticus triumphales erant erecta: ubiuques campanum, Tormenta bellica, Celestes, et fistulae minores Civium, et in pagis etiam Rusticorum in acie militari stadium gravis ono suo serenissimos Principes suos beneventarunt, et amicissime Salutarunt: sicque Serenissimis iterum discedentibus cum millenis aggratulationibus, et laetum Vivat acclamationibus valedixerunt.

4.7.1746⁵³⁵

Die 4. Julii incidente in festum S: Procopii pro nuperna victoria jubente Serenissima Principe nostro Solemnes Deo gratia acta sunt in Templo Parochiali Crumloviensi et quia eadem die simul incidit natalis Serenissimi Principelli nostri Joannis Nepomuceni primogeniti Serenissimi Princeps Nostri, haec dies in magna pompa et solemnitate inter mera audia et jubila celebrata fuit: mane enim hora 8va quatuor cohortes militum Provincialis comparuerunt in inferiori arca Arcis bene vestiti et armati: hora 9na Cives Bellona induti pulcherrimo ordine in duas cohortes divisi comparuerunt in Foro Civitatis: circa horam undecimam Serenissimi nostri Princeps cum tota Splendissima Aula, et cum magna, et cum magna Principe digna magnificentia suis Grenadiis stipatus perrexit ad templum Parochiale, Aulam secuti sunt milites Provinciales in Foro Urbis collocantes, et Fistulas suas seu Selopos ad Gloria, Credo, Sanctus, Te Deum Laudamus, et benedictione exactissime, et sine ullo errore explodentes. Missam Pontificalem habuit Rdisimus D. Praelatus Crumloviensis: sub Missa cantata in Parochiali templo praeter alios Sacerdotes plurimos celebravit Rdisimus D Franciscus Plagensis Rdin: Canonorum Regularium Praemonstratensium ex Superiori Austria, et Rdisimus D: Praepositus Borovanensis Augustinus Dubensky Ord: Canon: Regul: Lateranensium. Sub cantato Sacro ad Gloria etc. explosa sunt 30 fistula majores seu tormenta. Finito Sacro Principes eodem ordine quo venerant redierunt ad Arcem Principes comitantibus militibus Provincialibus, et civibus armatis se in duabus arcis majoribus collocantibus, et arma sua Serenissimis Principibus ex fenestris prospicientibus praesentantibus, ac demum ad civitatem in pulcherrimo ordine varios gyros et figuras per Arcis arcam faciendo romeantibus. Hic peractis itum est ad tabulam regio plane Araratu instructam, cui praeter Serenissimos Principes et zrum comensales ordinarios Illustrissimus D. Comes de Thierheimb cum sua Conthorali Illustrissima, DD: Praelatus Plagensis, Coronensis, Crumloviensis, Borovanensis, et alii Superiores Ordinum cum suis beatis assederunt: Sanitates principales, Regina videlicet, armoru Rgiorum victricium et Principum Serenissimorum sub boatu tormentorum, et clangore tubarum ac tympanorum fuerunt promota. Circa dimidiam 5tam pomeridianam Serenissimi Principes cum tota Aula et hospitibus se extra Urbem ad domum jaculatoriam conferre dignati sunt ubi ex una parte in quodam prato miles Provincialis lustrum subiit, et sua exercitia militaria exactissime, et cum omnium approbatione fecit: ex altera parte cives ad Scopum sunt jaculati Serenissimo Principe preciosa proemia Victoribus appomente. Circa horam Septimam in magno theatro

⁵³⁵ LM II, p. 602.

Aulico producta fuit pulchra comoedia a Comoedis specialiter a Serenissimo Principe pro certo tempore susceptis: post comoediam Serenissimi cum quibusdam dignioribus hospitibus opipare coenarunt, post Menam vero saltus sub maskara in maxima hominum frequentia fuit celebratus usque ad horam 4tam matutinam sequentis diei protractus: sicque solemnitas haec sine ulla perturbatione cum gaudio et solatio omnium terminata.

8.6.1749⁵³⁶

Die 8va currentis incidente in Dominicam infra festum SSmi Corporis Christi idem Rdissimus D. Praelatus per Latronem et Arcem notrem Solemnem processionem Theoporicam coelo quidem nubilo, sed sine pluvia, comitante Serenissimo Principe cum Aula sua et Grenaderiis duxit. Post processionem Rdissimus D. Praelatus, Ex: P. M. Commissarius Generalis, P. Guardianus, et P. Wenceslaus convivio excepti sunt in tabula Serenissimi, hospites vero nostri accomodati fuerunt in Refectorio Conventi.

8.11.1749⁵³⁷

Die 8va Rdissimus D. Praelatus Crumloviensis Cajovii in praesentia Serenissima et totius Aula, et Officialium oeconomicorum pro infirmis Principibus pontificale Sacrum habuit, sub quo Ex: P. Rector, P. Praefectus Scholarum, P. Guardianum, P. Praesent: Magnus privatus, Missass pro iisdem Principibus infirmis celebrarunt.

18.11.1749⁵³⁸

Die 18va currenti. Idem Rdissimus D: Praelatus, cum bonus Nuntius attulerit Vienna juniores Principes omnes integerrima Sanitati jam restitutos esse, Cajovia in praesentia Serenissimorum Principu et totius Aula pro gratiam actione Solemniter pontificavit, sub cantato Sacro P. Guardianus, et P. B. Lector Josephus celebrarunt, et ad mensam Principium cum Rdissimo invitati sunt.

8.11.1750

Hoc mense pointer caperunt Solvi nives, qua precedente mense Novembri in tanta ceciderunt copia et firmitate perstiterunt, quod Serenissimus cum Sua Conthorali Serenissima, et Suis Aulicis jucundissimam octavo Novembris post quartam pomeridianam instituerit perrectionem trahalem, quam totus Conventus noster ad plateam penes domos Alt et Spatz consistens Spectavit initiari et finiri. Ad transitum processionis trahalis studiosi nostri strenue inflarunt tubas, tympanas pulsarunt.

Appendix to 7.2 Music Relations inside the Convent

Novus ordo divinatorum in Ecclesia nostra⁵³⁹

⁵³⁶ LM III, p. 62.

⁵³⁷ LM III, p. 80.

⁵³⁸ LM III, p. 96.

⁵³⁹ *Narízení ke konání bohoslužeb v klášterním kostele*, Inv. Nr. 242, Sign. F3A, F Minorité Český Krumlov, SOA Třeboň.

Directio Habendorum Divinorum pro Hebdomaria Sacra

Dominica palmarum: pulsatur hora qua pro Horis et Concione, finita Concione Benedicuntur Sanctissimi juxta ritum Missalis cantabantur a V: V: Virginibus ex recto Hymno in Processione: Vexilla regis etc. Sub Processione pulsantur Campana, et si ad portam Ecclesia perventum fuerit, duo cantores ingrediuntur eam, cantantusque Antiphonam: Gloria Laus et honor etc. qua a V: V: Virginibus assumitur, a quibus porro cantantur Subsequentes otio Antiphonae, et ab ipse Cantoribus denuo (novè) repetitur Gloria, Laus et honor.

Feria 4ta: a meridie Med: 4ta pulsatur omnibus pro Matutino Tenebrarum, 3tio quadrante Campanula choris pro Completorio, quo desuper recitatur, non cantatur antifona Ave Regina etc. Primus Nocturnus Matutini Cantatur simul cum Virginibus, Versiculum illi canentibus. Responsorias post Lamentationes fuit figuraliter, secundus et tertius Nocturnus, uti et Psalmi in Laudibus a fratribus recitantur, Versi et Antiphona ad Benedictus canitur ad isdem, ipsum canticum alternatibus cum Virginibus, a quibus post repetitam Antiphonam canitur Versus Christus factus etc. et profundiori vere recitatur Psalmus Miserere a fratribus tantum (jen).

Feria 5ta: In Coena Domini hora sexta celebratur Missa, Med: 8va recitantur Hora, Sequentur Missa, quo erit Figuralis usque ad Gloria inklusive, sub Gloria pulsantur campana, reliqua canunt VV: Virgines. Post Missam depositam Sanctissimum ad Sacellum Einsidlensi, sequitur Denudatio Altarium, ultim atim Lotio perm. Cantanda canuntur a V: V: Virginibus. Post meridiem Completorium et Matutinum persolvitur eodem Tempore et modo quo procedeni die.

Feria 6ta in Parasceve Hora inchoantur Med: 9na: Sequentur Ceremonia sicut proscribunt Rubrica Missalis, Cantanda cantantur a V: V: Virginibus, deportato ad Sacrum Sepulchrum Sanctissimo cantatur, ibid eam a Fratribus Jesu Christe Crucifixe etc., alternantibus Musicis Sactus Deus etc. Sequentur Vespero quo recitantur. A meridie Completorium et Matutinum ut hieri.

Sabbatho Sancto: Divina inchoantur Media 8va. Coeremonia et Missa sunt juxta Rubricas Missalis. Hora sunt choralis cantanda persolvaruntur a Virginibus, Reliqua a Figuralis. Ad initium benedicuntur ignis, ad Lumen Christi Tres Clerici Comitantes respondent. A meridie Hora 4ta Completorium, quod Cantantur, Sequentur Lythania figuralis, quibus finitis parantur in Presbyterio pulpitus, et Scamna ut in Vigilia Nativitatis Domini.

Ad Noctem datur Signum majori Campana pro Resurrectione Domini celebranda 1mo quo ad 8vam. Med: Octava exit Pontificans cum Ministris et aliis fratribus ad Sacrum Sepulchrum, ubique proincensatur Sancto Sanctissimo intonat Antiphonam Regina Coeli etc. quam Fratres prosequuntur, post quam dicitur Scocus et Oratio, incensatur Sanctissimum, quo deinde sibi porrectam accipi et Conversus ad Populum stonat Antiphonam Christus ist erstanden, Hymno prosequuntur Musici, Ducitur Processio per Cemmeterium dum ad majus Altare pervenitur, Pontificans intonat Matutinum, quod cum V: V: Virginibus cantatur, eo modo, quo in Nativitate Domini, sub Hymno Te Deum, qui erit Figuralis datur cum Sanctissimo Benedictis solemnibus. Laudes recitantur in choru submissa Voce.

Nr. 3: quando Princeps interest Matutino Tenbrarum, hinc in Presbyteris parant tres Pulpitis, nullis tamen velis Superpositis, et Scamna pro fratribus ut in Vigilia Nativitatis Domini. In accesu decessu pulsantur campana, Imo die defertur Aqua Benedikta cum Aspergilio fratribus comitantibus, Superior cum Ministris indutus Paramentis Violacci Coloris procedit obviam eidem.

Contract between the Jesuits and the Minorites signed in 1727⁵⁴⁰

Eodem Anno facta est mutua conventio annuente et aprobante Adm Rdo ac Eximio Patre Mgro Mariano Franckenberg actuali Ministro Provinciali et Commisario Generalis inter Adm Rdum ac Eximium Patrem Franciscum Lechner Collegii Rosensis Crumlovii Rectorem et Adm Rdum et Ex: Patrem Mgru Hyacinthum Sperl Deffinitorem perpetuum et p: t: Guardianum hujus Conventus, videl: promissit Supra nominatus Eximius P. Rector nomine sui Colegii quod, quotiescunque Festum S: Antonii, S: Francisci, et Portiuncula aut alia extraodrinaria et Specialis Solemnitas Ordinis incident in diem Dominicum non sit futura concio germanica ad S: Judocum, ut eo major esse possit frequentia populi in Ecclesia nostra. Econtra etiam supra nominatus P. Guardianus de consilio Patrem Seniorum ob paritatem rationis appromittit deinceps nunquam futuram concionem in Ecclesia nostra in majoribus et Solemnioribus Festivitatibus inclyta Societas incidentibus in diem Dominicum.

The sense of music in the convent⁵⁴¹

Laudes quoque Divinae debite persolvuntur, et Divina Officia, Religiosa exercitia, ac alia functiones Ecclesiasticae pro Gloria DEI, Saecularium aedificatione ac proprio nostro spirituali Solatio cum canto choralis et figurali in magna populi frequentia celebrantur, quamvis quidem Musici, quorum 7 a Conventu, et 10 a fratribus aluntur, multum Conventum constant, cum pro illis nulla prorsus sit fundatio aut alia provisio, sed expectanda sit DEI benedictio, pro cujus majori Gloria, et honora aluntur, et conservantur; poteritque deinceps semper bona musica conservari, si superiores locales diligenter invigilaverint, ne remanentes Fratrum portiones aliis saecularibus et pueris, quam Musicis dispensentur, sed ad comunem Musicorum Scutellam fideliciter conferantur. Per pulchram enim musicam trahitur populus ad nostra Divina, et concipit erga Nos majorem cum aestimatione affectum: unde sit, quo apud Nos, neglecto templo Parochiali Singulis annis plurimae fiant foundationes cum magno Conventus emolumento. Simul etiam habet Dominium Serenissimus ex nostris bene ordinatis Officiis Divinis magna complacentiam et erga Nos affectum, quem junior Princeps Serenissimus stante adhuc, et durante tutela in effectum deducere non potest, exemplo illius Apostoli ad Galat: 4. c: Quanto tempore haeres parvulus est nihil differt a Servo, cum sit Dominus omnium.

The Order of Liturgical Year⁵⁴²

Nun ergo ad antiquas circa Officia Divina observationes, et consuetudines digredior: moderna enim Divinorum Officiorum observantia aucto Fratrum numero pomposior, et frequentior

⁵⁴⁰ LM I, p. 157

⁵⁴¹ LM II, p. 366

⁵⁴² LM II, p. 61-65.

videri potest in Rituali Ecclesia nostra Crumloviensis, quodim Sacrario, seu Sacristia asservari Solet. Nocturnum ergo Officium, quod et Matutinum dicitur, olim per totum annum cum Laudibus orabatur pridie hora quarta post Completorium. In Nativitate, et Resurrectione Domini cantabatur primus Nocturnus cum Monialibus. Similiter in funere Fratrum et Sororum, et in Comemoratione fidelium Defunctorum in Officio Defunctorum primus turnus cum Cantico Benedictus cantabatur cum Monialibus.

Prima dicebatur post elevationem sub primo sacro, quo hora sexta incepit. Tertia, sexta, et nona recitabatur hora octava, post Horas erant ultimum sacrum. Diebus Dominicis autem et Festivis Tertia cantabatur cum Monialibus, post quam erat concio, quam secuta est sacrum cantatum. Vesperae extra Quadragesimam dicebantur hora 2da pomeridiana quae diebus Dominicis et Festivis cantabantur cum Monialibus. Completorium dicebatur hora 4ta, quo Feria sexta cantabatur cum Monialibus, quae etiam Antiphonam de B: Virgine temporis congruentem cantare solebant. Die Sabbathi post Completorium Fratres cantabant Antiphonam Mariae B: Virgine, post quam cantarunt Lytanas Lauretanas.

Omni die Veneris /:excepto infra Octavas Nativitas Domini, Resurrectionis, Pentecostes, et Corporis Christi :/, post Completorium incepti Hymno: Vexilla regis etc: exhibat Processio ad Altare S: P: Francisci /: quia tunc Altare S: Antonii novum erat erectum :/ ubi cantati Responsorio S: Antonii: Si quaris miracula, etc: et dicta Collecta de /: Antonio, prosequatur Processio per ambitum majorem continuatio Hymno Vexilla regis, tandem redibat Processio ad Capellam SS. Quinque Vulnerum, ubi persolvebantur ea, quae habentur in libro Processionali cantum alternatibus Monialibus cum Fratribus.

Diebus Veneris Martii vero, hora 4ta cantato Completorio fuit Exhortatio ad populum, qua finita cum Venerabili Sacramento fiebat Processio comitante Confraternitate Chordigerorum cum cereis accensis.

In festo Purificationis B. Virginis ordinabatur Processio cum candelis benedictis per ambitum majore Conventus.

Similis etiam Processio fiebat cum Ramis palmarum benedictis in Dominica Palmarum, quae ducebatur per ambitum, et coemeterium usque ad portam majorem Ecclesia, ubi fratres alternatibus Monialibus cantarunt: Gloriam, laus, et honor etc:

Die Veneris Sancto processionaliter portabantur Sanctissimum ad Sacru Sepulchrum in ambitu majori Conventus extractum, quo cum eadem solemnitate Die Sabatho Sancto vesperi post horam Septimam cum pulsu omnium campani, et maximo comitatu Saecularium, maxime Officialium Principis reportbatur ad Templum.

In festo Sanctissimi Corporis Christi cantato in Ecclesia nostra hora octava Sacro ordinata fuit Processio solemnitas praecedente Confraternitate SS. Quinque Vulnerum cum luminaribus accensis, quae Processio Superiore Venerabili Sacramentum portante ducebatur ad Templum Parrochiale ubi reposic in medio Altaris majoris Sanctissimo Superior tres collectam primam de Sanctissimo Sacramento, 2dam de B. Virgine, et 3tiam de Sancto Vito cantavit, quibus cantatus Superior cum Suo Venerabili, omne quo venerat, discessit, quem Secutus est D:

Archi-Diaconus cum suo populo innumero pariter Suum Venerabile gestans usque ad Templum nostrum, ubi utroque Venerabili in Altari majori deposito Diaconus cantavit Evangelium, et Archi-Diaconus dixit pariter tres Collectas quibus peractis D: Archi-Diaconus cum populo discessit, et suam Processionem continuavit, nobis domi cum Venrabili nostro remanentibus. Verum haec Processio cum duplici Venerabili Sacramento tanquam indecens prohibitione a Celsissimo et Eminentissimo Principe Cardinale eb Harrach Archi-Episcopo Pragensi AD 1666. Facta merito cassata est, loco cujus illa, quam nunc celebramus, Processio Solemnis per Ladronam et Arcem Dominica infra Ocatavam Corporis Christi ab eodem Eminentissimo Ordinario concessa fuit AD 1668. Ea tamen lege, ut pro hac Processione Solemnizanda loci Archi-Diaconus tanquam sublimionis dignitatis Sacerdos invitentur. Plura circa hanc Processionem vid: Lib: Magist: antiquo a Fol: 50.

In ipsa die Octava SSmi Corporis Christi fiebat olim apus Nos Processio cum Venerabili Sacramento per coementerium, et ambitum Conventus erectis quator Altaribus, cum solito cantu Evangeliorum, et Benedicionibus, quae pariter nunc cassata est quia eadem die in Templo Parochiali eius modi Processio per cementerium ducitur.

Similiter abolita est vetustissima illa Processio, et krabilis devotio, sub qua insignis pars S: Crucis, et alia Reliquia plurima in festo SS. Corporis Christi Alto-Vado ad Nos processionaliter deferebantur, et nostro Processionem ad Parochiale Templum prius comitabantur, et demun in reditu ad nostram Ecclesiam Sacra illa Reliquia publica venerabilioni populi ex tota vicinia non solum, sed et a longinquo confluentis exponebantur, et ostendebantur cum ceremoniis ad risum potius, qaum ad devotionem provocantibus. Ceremoniae hujus Processionis descripta habentur in LM antiquo Fol: 25.

Circa alias observatians et veteros consuetudines nihil ultra notatu repperi: unde his transmissis ad seriem Guardianorum et Superioru hujus Conventus /: quantum ex vetustate eruere potui :/ recensendam progredior.

2.12.1739⁵⁴³

Die 2. Decembris praeter consuetudinem priorem alias observaci solitam incepimus /: quam modum Praga, et in aliis Conventibus principalioribus fit :/ praeter Missam Solemnem de Rorate per Adventum etiam Missam Conventualem post Horas cantare, ad quam cantandam diebus Martis, et Sabbathi etiam VV: Virgines Sorores nostra consenserunt, qua non amplius, uti alias, hora 6ta, sed dimidia 10ma diebus Martis, et Sabbathi chorale Sacrum deinceps cantabunt.

25.11.1740⁵⁴⁴

Die 25. Novembri ex integro parato, et pulchre inaurato novo Altari S. Joannis Nepomuceni pro lignine simul et pro gratiarum actione Praenobili Dnae Catharinae Chrismanin in Excellentissimi Domini Primi Chrisman Sereniss: Principum a Schwartzenberg Archiatri conthorali oblatum, et ad Altare novum S: Joannis Nepomuceni /: cujus patroni sunt piissimi

⁵⁴³ LM II, p. 397.

⁵⁴⁴ LM II, p. 416.

illi nominati conjuges :/ cantatum fuit Sacrum solemne pontificante A. R. P. Magistro, Patre Guardiino tunc cum Serenissima Principe graviter aegrotante Vienna agente.

31.5.1739⁵⁴⁵

Die 31. Maii cedente in Dominicam infra Octavam SSmi Corporis Christi Summam cantavit, et Processionem Theoporicam ex Templo nostro per Ladronam et Arcem duxit Ex: P: Franciscus Gerarl Soc: Jestu Collegii Crmloviensis Rector Solemnissime coelo favente et populo comitante *copiosissimo*.

16.6.1740⁵⁴⁶

Die 16. Junii Solemni Processioni Theophorica in ipso festo SSmi Corporis Christi devotissime interfuit Serenissima Princeps cum sua tota Aula. Processio hac minete licet coelo pluviam feliciter absque pluvia terminata fuit.

19.6.1740⁵⁴⁷

Die 19. Currentis: incidente in Dominicam infra Octavam Ssmi Corporis Christi ad primum quidem Altare cum nostra processione sine pluvia pervenimus, ab inde tamen sub densi imbre ad secundum Altare in Arce erectum processimus, a quo finita benedictione propter continuationem pluvia directe ad templum nostrum properavimus, ubi stationes reliquas ad Altare B. Matris Dolorosa et S: Antonii Paduani absolvimus Venerabile Sacramentum referente Rdissimo Dno Praelato Archi-diacono Crumloviensi qui cum Perill. D: Supremo capitaneo, Ex: P. Ministro, Ex: P: Regente Seminarii, A. R. P. Concinatore Tischler, A. R. P. Sub-Regente Dno Aula Praefecto Laurentio de Wurmans, et aliis quibus dam hospitibus ferculi prandiolo in Refectorio nostro exceptus est.

9.4.1741⁵⁴⁸

Die 9. Aprilis incidente in Dominicam in Albis /: qua propter copiosissimas nives per 6. dies continuos cadentes revera alba fuit :/ ad reddendas Misericordiae Divinae debitas gratis pro clementissime donato nobis haerede masculo, et pro ejusdem haeredis longoeva et perenni incolumitate a Divino Numine exoranda ex ordinatione Reverendissimi et Celsissimi Principis D. D: Joannis Mauritii de Mandersheit Blanckenheim, Archi-Episcopi Pragensis Crumlovii et per totam Archi-Dioccesim extra Pragam Solemne Te Deum laudamus /: sine tamen explosione tormentorum, et festivis ignibus propter gravem informitatem Serenissima Principis nostra :/ celebratum fuit.

4.10.1743⁵⁴⁹

Eadem die hora 7tima matutina Sacro habita nostro ad majorem aram indutus est a P. M. Hyacintho Sperl Ex-Provinciali et Commissario Monialium Basilius annorum 17. Susceptus

⁵⁴⁵ LM II, p. 383.

⁵⁴⁶ LM II, p. 406.

⁵⁴⁷ LM II, p. 407.

⁵⁴⁸ LM II, p. 420.

⁵⁴⁹ LM II, p. 514.

pro Clerico ab Provinciali neo-electo. Quit tamen ad initium Statim anni sequentis Sacrum habitum iterum dimisit.

4.10.1743⁵⁵⁰

Eadem die hora 7tima matutina Sacro habita nostro ad mojorem aram indutus est a P. M. Hyacintho Sperl Ex-Provinciali et Commissario Monialium Basilius annorum 17. Susceptus pro Clerico ab Provinciali neo-electo. Quit tamen ad initium Statim anni sequentis Sacrum habitum iterum dimisit.

4.10.1743⁵⁵¹

Eadem die hora 7tima matutina Sacro habita nostro ad mojorem aram indutus est a P. M. Hyacintho Sperl Ex-Provinciali et Commissario Monialium Basilius annorum 17. Susceptus pro Clerico ab Provinciali neo-electo. Quit tamen ad initium Statim anni sequentis Sacrum habitum iterum dimisit.

4.10.1743⁵⁵²

Eadem die hora 7tima matutina Sacro habita nostro ad mojorem aram indutus est a P. M. Hyacintho Sperl Ex-Provinciali et Commissario Monialium Basilius annorum 17. Susceptus pro Clerico ab Provinciali neo-electo. Quit tamen ad initium Statim anni sequentis Sacrum habitum iterum dimisit.

16.6.1743⁵⁵³

Die 16. Incidente in Dominicam infra Octavam SSmi Corporis Christi Solemniter apud nos pontificavit, et panem Eucharisticum processionaliter per Ladronam et Arcem tulit Rdissimus D: Praelatus Crumloviensis Josephus Kulani coelo, et aere nobis hoc anno favente. Hospites convivio excepti sunt pauci, praeter quator Musicos parochialis Ecclesia, qui inter fratres sederunt, non nisi tredecim adsuerunt. Secundas Vesperas habuit A: R: P: Herz Soc: J: Concionator ad Sanctum Judocum.

4.10.1743⁵⁵⁴

Eadem die hora 7tima matutina Sacro habita nostro ad mojorem aram indutus est a P. M. Hyacintho Sperl Ex-Provinciali et Commissario Monialium Basilius annorum 17. Susceptus pro Clerico ab Provinciali neo-electo. Quit tamen ad initium Statim anni sequentis Sacrum habitum iterum dimisit.

14.&15. 4.1745⁵⁵⁵

⁵⁵⁰ LM II, p. 514.

⁵⁵¹ LM II, p. 514.

⁵⁵² LM II, p. 514.

⁵⁵³ LM II, p. 500.

⁵⁵⁴ LM II, p. 514.

⁵⁵⁵ LM II, p. 555.

Eadem die 14. et 15. April: Serenissimus Princeps noster Josephus de Schwartzenebrg /: qui die 10. Currentis in Sabbatho ante Dominicam Palmarum Vienna Crumlovium venit :/ in Templo nostro interfuit Matutino Tenebrarum, quod ante majorem Aram indati paramentis violaceis cum duobus cantoribus pariter indutis, sicut in Natali, et Resurrectione Domine solemniter celebravimus, quo finito omnes fratres, etiam Officians cum Ministris per Templum et ambitum majorem usque ad Oratorium Principis processerunt, et Principem usque ad currum suum sunt comitati inter pulsum campanarum et sonum tubarum et tympanorum prima die, altera die vero sine pulsu et tubis in exceptus, et comitatus fuit.

20.6.1745⁵⁵⁶

Die 20. Junii pariter in comitiva Serenissimorum Principum nostram consuetam processionem duxit idem Rdissimi D: Prelatus Crumloviensis. Eadem die mane hora septima in Templo nostro primitivit solemniter Rdus: D: Joannes Pernek Boemus Sobieslaviensis Presbyter Ecclesiasticus per tres annos Musicus noster Fidicem et Violista praeclarus. In Refectorio praeter Musicos et Capella Ministrum Arcensem, et Templi Parochialis qui inter Fratres sederunt.

Per totam Octavam Theophoria, excerpta prima die, et Dominica infra Octavam, P. Ex-Provincialis in capella Arcis cantavit Missam de Sanctissimo Eucharistia Sacramento petentibus, et semper praesentibus Serenissimis Principibus nostris. Imo idem Serenissimi Principes, dum Crumlovii sunt praesentes, singulis Feriis quintis ut in capella Arcis Missa Votiva de Sanctissimo Sacramento solemniter cantatur ex sua innata pietate, et Speciali erga hoc Sanctissimum Sacramentum devotione, ac veneratione constituerunt.

24.12.1745⁵⁵⁷

In Templo conventus autem Solemne Matutinum et utramque Missam cantavit A. R. P. M. Amadeus Subert. Musici nostri se utrique dividere debuerunt. Circa horam 11. Serenissimi Principes Pontificali Sacro interfuerunt in Templo Parochiali. In festo autem S: Stephani et S: Joannis P. M. Commissarius finitis Divinis in Templo nostro Sacrum solemnem cantavit in Capella arcis. Musicis vero pro suo labore accepta pecunia liberalissime sunt soluti.

9.6.1746⁵⁵⁸

Die 9. Junii Solemnis Processio Theophorica per civitatem ducta fuit, et simul pro pluvia valde necessaria supplicatum fuit, preces populi supplicantis Deo clementissime exaudiente, et non sequenti die nobis pluviam uberrimam largiente.

Die 16. etiam nos ex Templo nostro consuetam duximus Processione Theophoricam pontificante, et pane Eucahristicum solemniter per quatuor altaria circumserente Rdissimo et Amplissimo Dno D: Francisco Schulpach Archi-Diacono Infulato Crumloviensi. Hospites 25.

1.11.1747⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁶ LM II, p. 563-564.

⁵⁵⁷ LM II, p. 579.

⁵⁵⁸ LM II, p. 600.

Die 1ma Novembris dimidia 5ta pomeridiana Serenissimus Princeps noster Vesperis et Officio defunctorum in templo nostro interesse dignatus est: Principem in paramentis albis sub pulsu campanarum, sine tamen intradis tubarum, beneventavimus, et ad Oratorium suum comitati sumus: deinde P. Guardianus cum Ministris in paramentis nigris processit ad Altare majus, fratribus reliquis se ad parata scamna recipientibus: Vesperas defunctorum et Officium cum Laudibus alternatibus Musicis cantavimus, P. Guardianus intonante primam antiphonam: Placebo Domino. Antiphonas deinceps intonarum, et continuarunt Musici: ad Magnificat iterum P. Guardianus intonavit antiphonam Omne: qui et preces cum collecta cantavit. Finitis Vesperis Musici Invitatorium totum cantarunt, P. Guardianus autem cujuslibet Nocturni prima antiphonam intonavit, et primi Nocturni lectiones cantavit. Secundi et tertii Nocturni lectiones cantarunt Diaconii et Sub-Diaconus, Antiphonam primam ad Laudes, et ad Benedictus intonavit P. Guardianus, qui et terminavit more consueto Officium. Finito Officio P. Guardianus et Ministri ad cornu Epistola in infimo gradu reassumpserunt paramenta alba, et ad Oratorium procedentes oblata aqua benedicta, et gratis Principi actis pro dignativa praesentia Principem deducerunt ad suum carrum.

2.11.1747⁵⁶⁰

Die 2. Novembri: hora consueta VV: Virgines in choro suo recitarunt Officium Defunctorum, et reliqua more solito peracta sunt. Circa hora 11mam vero P. Guardianus in praesentia Serenissimorum Principum aliam cantavit Missam de Requiem pro fidelibus defunctis.

24.12.1747⁵⁶¹

Die 24. In Sacra nocte P. M. Guardianus in Templo domestico sub duplici assistentia habuit Matutinum et cantavit Sacrum solemniter, de die vero Summam habuit A. R. P. M. Praesidens Romanus Glas cum utriusque Vesperis.

11.&15. 4.1748⁵⁶²

Die 11. Interfuit Serenissimus Princeps apud nos matutino tenebrarum publice ante majorem aram cum assistentia Ministrorum et cantorum in paramentis violaceis cantato.

Die 15. Feria 2da Paschatis idem Serenissimus concioni et Summa interfuit apud nos, sicut et secundis Vesperis in ipso die Resurrectionis Domini: qua die Missa cantata et Processioni matutina per forum interfuit in Parochiali. Feria 3tia vero Paschatis concionem in Capella Arcis habuit P. Praesident et Guardianus finitis apud nos Divinis cantavit Sacrum.

2.6.1748⁵⁶³

Die 2. Junii in festo Pentecostes Missas Solemnem cantavit Ex: P. M. Proalis, qui et Processionem menstruam Archi-Confraternitatis habuit a meridie.

⁵⁵⁹ LM II, p. 638.

⁵⁶⁰ LM II, p. 638.

⁵⁶¹ LM II, p. 644.

⁵⁶² LM III, p. 9.

⁵⁶³ LM III, p. 12.

1.11.1748⁵⁶⁴

Die 1ma Novembris a meridie post horam 4tam Serenissimi Principes cum tota Aula sua Vesperis et Officio defunctorum in Templo nostro interesse dignati sunt: officiante, et prima antiphonam ad Vesperas, Magnificat, item primam antiphonam Nocturnum, Laudum et ad Benedictus intinante, ac deinceps preces cantante P. M. Gaurdiano, Musici reliquas antiphonas intonantibus et prosequentibus, ac deinceps Invitatorium cantantibus, et cum Fratribus alternantibus Psalmos; Totam Officium cum Vesperis, totaliter cantatum pravit 7. quadrantibus hora. Primi Nocturni lectiones Diaconus et Sub-Diaconus, Musici vero omnia Responsoria cantarunt. Princeps beneventati sunt ab oficiante et Ministris in paramentis albis. Post Officium Defunctorum depositis ad Altare parament nigris P. Guardianus et Ministri primi paris reassumptis paramentis albis cum Fratribus omnibus processerunt per Ecclesiam usque ad januam Oratorii, ubi P. Guardianus cum Diacono, Sub-Diacono et duobus Accolythis ascendit usque ad Oratorium Principis, et porrecto Serenissimis aspergillo gratia egit et valedixit Principibus, cordem usque ad curium suum comitando. Fratribus vero reliquis inferius ante Oratorium stantibus, et hoangium suum facientibus. Ad ingressum et recessum Principum campanae quidem sunt pulsatae more solito, sed nulla intriada cum tubis et tympanis facta.

2.11.1748⁵⁶⁵

Die 2da in commemoratione OO. Fidelium Defunctorum hora 6ta matutina Sola Moniales recitarunt Defunctorum, sub quo Fratres nostri submissa voce orarunt Officium diei. Finito Officio defunctorum fuit missa cantata de Requiem, et consueta processio per templum et coemeterium. Circa horam undecimam ad Templum nostrum venerunt Serenissimi Principes eodem modo et ordine paramentis albis sicut hieri suscepti: Principibus in Oratorio suo collocatus P. Guardianus assumptis paramentis nigris cantavit Missam solemnem de Requiem, qua finita, sine aliis ceremoniis, ordine hesterno iterum Principes comitatus est ad suum carrum.

24.12.1748⁵⁶⁶

Die 24. In Vigilia Nativitatis Domini Officium cum Missa Sacra noctis domi habuit P. Guardianus.

5.6.1749⁵⁶⁷

Die 5. Junii Processionem Theoporicam per civitatem in absentia adhus Serenissimi Principis nostri coelo pluviam minitante in consueta vomitiva Fratrum nostrorum duxit Rdissimus D. Praelatus Archi-diaconus Crumloviensis, sine tamen comitiva Granadiorium Principis.

8.6.1749⁵⁶⁸

⁵⁶⁴ LM III, p. 31.

⁵⁶⁵ LM III, p. 32.

⁵⁶⁶ LM III, p. 46.

⁵⁶⁷ LM III, p. 62

Die 8va currentis incidente in Dominicam infra festum SSmi Corporis Christi idem Rdissimus D. Praelatus per Latronem et Arcem notrem Solemnem processionem Theoporicam coelo quidem nubilo, sed sine pluvia, comitante Serenissimo Principe cum Aula sua et Grenaderiis duxit. Post processionem Rdissimus D. Praelatus, Ex: P. M. Commissarius Genralis, P. Guardianus, et P. Wenceslaus convivio excepti sunt in tabula Serenissimi, hospispites vero nostri accomodati fuerunt in Refectorio Conventi.

4.10.1749⁵⁶⁹

Prima Dominica cujuslibet Mensis fiebat Processio Archi-Confraternitas SS: Quinquem Vulnerum Christi Crucifixi, et S: P: Francisci concrucifixi ordine sequenti: Mane exponebatur Venerabile Sacramentum, quod manebat expositum usque ad tempus Processionis: a meridie post Vesperas fiebat sermo: seu Exhortatio, qua finita Concitator cum populo oravit quinque Pater, et Ave, addito post quodlibet Pater et Ave Gloria Patri etc: his peractis ordinabatur Processio ad Capellam S: Anna, ubi cantabatur Lytaniae Lauretanae, quibus finitis Officians intonavit Hymnus Corda pia etc: sub quo Processio per ambitum majorem ducebat ad templum, ubi ad Altare SS: Quinquem Vulnerum substituit, et ibidem deposito Venerabili Sacramento, et Salutatis Sacratissimis quinquem Vulneris, quinquem videlicet cantato Jesu Christe crucifixe etc: et dictis quibusdam precibus, Officians intonavit Hymnum: Decus morum, etc: et cum Venerabili Sacramento comitantibus Ministris, et Fratibus processit ad Altare Majus, ubi data cum Sanctissimo more solito Benedictione, et ad Tabernaculu reposito Venerabili Sacramento, terminata fuit haec devotio non sine aedificatione populi copiose confluentis.

Dominicam Menstruam subsequente die Luna Celebratur cantatum Sacrum de Requiem pro Fratibus et Sororibus defunctis hujus Archi-Confraternitatis, sub quo fiebat Offertorium, prompte hodie adhuc fuit.

Singulis Quatuor temporibus convocabantur omnes Confratres ad Capellam S: Wolfgangi, ubi post Exhortationem brevem Officiales Confraternitatis cum Praeside consultabant de remedio oportuno augendi, et extollendi hanc Archi-confraternitatem.

In festo S: Andrea Apostoli ante Vesperas Singulis annis fiebat convocatio Fratrum Chordigerorum ad Suprafatum Sacellum S: Wolfgangi, ubi novus Rector, et Officiales Confraternitatis eligebantur et alia quaedam circa incrementum hujus Confraternitatis ordinabantur, quibus per actis, et Lytaniis de S: P: Francisco Germanico idiomate recitatis Neo-electus Rector facem accensam praestans cum Officialibus ad majus Templum processit, et Vesperis cum Benedictione Sanctissimi Sacramenti celebratis devote interfuit.

2.&3.11.1749⁵⁷⁰

Die 2da Novembris cadente in Dominicam menstruam Archi-Confraternitatis nostra post consuetam Chordigerorum Processionem. Serenissimi Principes nostri cum tota Aula Sua

⁵⁶⁸ LM III, p. 62

⁵⁶⁹ LM III, p. 76.

⁵⁷⁰ LM III, p. 79.

venerunt ad Templum nostrum et interfuerunt devotissime Vesperis et toti Officio defunctorum eodem modo sicut anno praeterito celebrato, quo usque ad primum quadrantem ad horam octavam noctis duravit.

Die 3tia in commemoratione OO: fidelium defunctorum celebratis prius nostris consuetis Sufragiis iidem Serenissimi Principes in comitiva totius Aula hora undecima comparuerunt in Templo nostro, ubi Missa de Requiem specialiter cantata pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis devotissime interesse dignitami sunt, eodem modo quo anno precedente beneventati, et dimissi.

30.11.1749⁵⁷¹

Die 30ma incidente in Dominicam iam Adventus primum Rorate solemne cantavit P. Guardianus, sub Missa de Rorate Sacro habitu nostro in praesentia magna hominum multitudinis indutus est Filius Rotarii Arcis, Clericus Novitius.

⁵⁷¹ LM III, p. 80.

10.3 List of Tables

Table 3: The Course of Schwarzenberg Birthdays

day	month	year	event	Active Participants	Music and Liturgy	Location	Time	Source
15	12	1745	Prince birthday					LM II/p. 577
			Advent morning mass	Hyacinthus Sperl	Solemn	Castle chapel		
			Pontifical mass	Prelate of Český Krumlov	Solemn	Castle chapel		
			Actum Theatralis	Princess			after lunch	
28	12	1745	Princess birthday					LM II/p. 579-80
			Pontifical mass	Prelate of Český Krumlov		Castle chapel		
			Comedy	Prince and noblemen		Golden Hall	after lunch	
			Masquarade ball			Major Hall	after dinner	
15	12	1746	Prince birthday					LM II/p. 615
			Advent morning mass	Hyacinthus Sperl	Solemn	Castle chapel	7 a. m.	
			Pontifical mass	Prelate of Český Krumlov	Solemn	Castle chapel	11 a. m.	
			Comedy	Princess and noblemen	most grandiose	Minor Theatre	5 p. m.	
28	12	1746	Princess birthday					
			Advent morning mass	Hyacinthus Sperl	Solemn	Castle chapel		
			Pontifical mass	Prelate of Český Krumlov	Solemn	Castle chapel		
			Comedy	Prince and noblemen	most grandiose and masterful	Major Theatre		
15	12	1747	Prince birthday					LM II/p. 642
			Advent morning mass	Hyacinthus Sperl	Solemn	Castle chapel	7 a. m.	
			Pontifical mass	Prelate of Český Krumlov	Solemn	Castle chapel	11 a. m.	
			Lunch		with most beautiful music			
			Serenata	Prince and Countess	most masterful	Major Hall	6 p. m.	
27	12	1747	Princess birthday					LM II/p. 645

			Melodrame	Prince and noblemen	most elegant and masterful singing	Castle garden	evening	
			Dinner		with pleasing music	Bellaria		
28	12	1747	Princess birthday					LM II/p. 646
			Pontifical mass	Prelate of Český Krumlov	Solemn, with brilliant music	Castle chapel		
			Litanies, rosary			Castle chapel	after lunch	
			Comedy	Prince and noblemen	most masterful	Major Theatre		
			Pantomime	Girls and boys	with brilliant music			
			Masquarade ball			Major Hall	10 p. m.	
15	12	1748	Prince birthday					LM III/p. 44
			Advent morning mass	Hyacinthus Sperl	Solemn	Castle chapel	7 a. m.	
			Pontifical mass	Prelates	Solemn	Castle chapel	11 a. m.	
			Comedy	Princess and noblemen	most beatiful and very elegant	Minor Theatre	6 p. m.	
15	10	1749	Princess nameday					LM III/p. 76
			Pontifical mass	Prelate of Český Krumlov	Solemn			
			Private mass	Prelates, Minorites, Capuchins	with singing	Castle chapel		
			Lunch		with most masterful concert and salvos			
			Pantomime		most masterful		6 p. m.	
			Masquarade ball					
15	12	1749	Prince birthday					LM III/p. 82
			Advent morning mass	Hyacinthus Sperl	Solemn	Castle chapel	7 a. m.	
			Pontifical mass	Prelate of Český Krumlov	Solemn, with most masterful music	Castle chapel	11 a. m.	
			Serenata	Prince and Princess	most masterful	Minor Theatre	6 p. m.	
28	12	1749	Princess birthday					LM III/p. 82
			Pontifical mass	Prelates, Minorites, Capuchins		Castle chapel		

			Lunch		with most beautiful music		evening	
			Comedy	Prince and noblemen	most skillful and admirable			
			Masquarade ball					
15	12	1750	Prince birthday					
			Mass	Sperl, Krumlov Prelate	with singing	Castle chapel		LM III/p. 95
			Comedy	Young prince Johann Nepomuk	most gracious	Villa Favorita	night	
28	12	1750	Princess birthday					LM III/p. 96
			Solemn mass	Prelate of Český Krumlov		Castle chapel		
			Private mass	Abbots, Minorites, Capucchins				
			Pantomime					
			Ball			Outside		

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Braun, Werner: “Fest”, in: Finscher, Ludwig (ed.): *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, Sachteil, Bd. 3, Register 2, Stuttgart: Bärenreiter 1999, col. 411–26.

As follows from the research done by Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, the Minorites represented one of the most musically active Catholic orders establishing their own music schools in their convents and devoting themselves to studying music both theoretically and practically. Numerous Minorites excelled as musicians, composers and theoreticians (such as Giovanni Battista Martini, Antonio Valloti or Bohuslav Matěj Černohorský). The Český Krumlov convent in the second quarter of the 18th century can serve as a representative sample for Riedel's assertion. The present research was conducted on three various levels: firstly, as the Minorites followed the liturgical rules of Roman Catholic Church, it is necessary to study relevant passages of the Bible and relevant documents determining the period form of liturgical rites. Liturgical terms and feasts such as "Coena Domini", "missa summa" or "exequia" were analyzed, clarified and put into context. Secondly, the Minorites maintained their own specific feasts and habits reflected in the Minorite Constitutions. In accordance with the Constitutions, the Minorites are characterized by diligent care for liturgy and music which they use in manifold ways in their Christian ministry. Thirdly, the crucial role played the local habits of a concrete monastery. The well-preserved archival fund of the Český Krumlov Minorite convent contains the key source for this research, the monastic chronicle *Liber magistralis I-V*. The records, made between the years 1678 and 1948, depict all extraordinary social events ("festivities") taking place in the convent and its surroundings. Moreover, the events are not only described but also personally evaluated by the chronicler. The 500 chronicle pages were written in the course of 26 years by the highly educated superior Hyacinth Sperl (1726-1750). Sperl described not only the festivities held in the Krumlov convent itself, but also the castle and municipal feasts which he participated in. In this respect, the Český Krumlov monastery represents a rarity among Minorite convents: Whereas other monasteries were ordinarily bound to municipal environment, the discussed convent was very closely associated with aristocratic circles, specifically to the Schwarzenberg family who were the patrons of the convent and one of the most prominent noble houses in the Holy Roman Empire. As there is no relevant literature addressing the topic of music relations between the Minorite order and a noble family in the Habsburg heritage lands in the 18th century, this study presents a unique illustration of such interconnection.

The position and function of music and musicians in the convent is also described in its liturgical rules (*Directorium superioris Crumloviensis* or *Rituale Ecclesiae Conventus Crumloviensis*). The music form of the liturgical year and Minorite music preferences and specifics can be observed thanks to the preserved monastic music collection. To get the general idea of the Minorite music culture, the findings are compared with the archival and music sources from other Minorite convents, namely in Brno (Moravia) and Vienna.

Wie sich aus der Forschung von Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel ergibt, stellten die Minoriten einen von den musikalisch tätigsten Orden dar. Sie gründeten ihre eigenen Musikschulen in ihren Konventen und widmeten sich dem Musikstudium sowohl theoretisch als auch praktisch. Zahlreiche Minoriten ragten als Musiker, Komponisten und Theoretiker hervor (z. B. Giovanni Battista Martini, Antonio Valloti oder Bohuslav Matěj Černohorský). Der Konvent in Český Krumlov im zweiten Viertel des 18. Jahrhunderts stellt ein repräsentatives Beispiel für Riedels Behauptung dar. Die vorgelegte Forschung wird auf drei verschiedenen Ebenen durchgeführt. Erstens befolgten die Minoriten die liturgischen Anordnungen der römisch-katholischen Kirche; deshalb war es notwendig, relevante Passagen aus der Bibel und grundsätzliche zeitgemäße Form der Liturgie festhaltende Dokumente zu studieren. Liturgische Fachtermini wie „Coena Domini“, „Missa Summa“ oder „Exequia“ wurden analysiert, erklärt und in Zusammenhänge gegeben. Zweitens bewahrten die Minoriten auch ihre spezifischen, in den Ordenskonstitutionen erhaltenen Feste. Im Einklang mit den Konstitutionen werden die Minoriten durch eine sorgfältige Pflege der Liturgie und Musik charakterisiert, die in der Pastoralpraxis auf vielfältige Art und Weise benutzt worden sind. Drittens spielten die hiesigen Gewohnheiten des konkreten Klosters die essentielle Rolle. Der gut erhaltene Archivfond des Krumauer Minoritenkonvents enthält die Hauptquelle für diese Forschung, die Klosterchronik *Liber Magistralis I-V*. Die Einträge, geschrieben zwischen den Jahren 1678 und 1948, schildern alle außerordentlichen Sozialereignisse („Feste“), die im Konvent und seiner Umgebung stattfanden. Zusätzlich werden die Ereignisse nicht nur beschrieben, sondern auch von dem Chronisten persönlich beurteilt. Diese 500 Chronikseiten wurden im Laufe von 26 Jahren von dem hoch ausgebildeten Vorgesetzten Hyacinth Sperl (1726-1750) geschrieben. Sperl beschrieb nicht nur Feste in Krumauer Konvent, sondern auch Schloss- und Stadtfeste, an denen er teilgenommen hat. Diesbezüglich repräsentiert der Krumauer Konvent eine Rarität unter Minoritenkonventen: während andere Klöster gewöhnlich mit der Stadtumwelt verbunden waren, wurde der behandelte Konvent an adelige Kreise angeschlossen, speziell an die Familie zu Schwarzenberg, die die Klosterpatrone und eine von den hervorstechenden Adelsfamilien in dem Heiligen Römischen Reich war. Da keine die Musikbeziehungen zwischen dem Minoritenorden und einer adeligen Familie in Habsburgs Erbländern im 18. Jahrhundert forschende Fachliteratur existiert, bietet diese Untersuchung eine einzigartige Erläuterung dieser gegenseitigen Verbindung an.

Die Position und Funktion der Musik und Musiker im Konvent werden auch in den dortigen liturgischen Anordnungen beschrieben (*Directorium superioris Crumloviensis* oder *Rituale Ecclesiae Conventus Crumloviensis*). Die Musikform des liturgischen Jahres und Musikpräferenzen und Spezifika der Minoriten werden dank der erhaltenen Klostermusiksammlung untersucht. Um den generellen Sinn zu erfassen, werden die Ergebnisse mit den Archiv- und Musikquellen von den anderen Minoritenkonventen verglichen, und zwar von Brno (Mähren) und Wien.