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“Die rechte Liebe grünet auf Beständigkeit”, or “Gelosia, filia è d’amor”? Love and Virtue in Two Wedding Operas from the Milieu of the Mid-18th Century Schwarzenberg Court

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Abstract

The article compares two wedding operas, both commissioned by the Prince Joseph Adam von Schwarzenberg: The opera *Die durch Cupido und Hymens Stärke glücklich gemachte Trauungs-Werke* was written by Franz Arbesser for the marriage of prince’s friend, Count Joseph Gundakar von Thürheim in 1745. In full accordance with Baroque poetics, the libretto highlights the principles of love, fidelity and above all perseverance. The buffa *Dove è amore è gelosia* was created in 1768 by Marco Coltellini and Giuseppe Scarlatti for wedding of the prince’s son Johann. Its plot is carried by ironic humor, while the principles of love, jealousy and (in)constancy are seen not as contradictory, but interconnected. A comparison of the two operas invites reflection on their analogies and differences, which reflects shifts in court culture, changes in repertoire and taste, or the context of the performance.

Key words

opera – 18th century, Schwarzenbergs – musical life, Joseph Adam von Shwarzenberg, Joseph Gundakar von Thürheim, Marie Dominica Hager von Allentsteig, Joseph II., Franz Ferdinand Arbesser, Marco Coltellini, Giuseppe Scarlatti, Christoph Willibald Gluck

At first glance, the two operas to be discussed in this contribution have much in common: Both were probably written at the initiative of the same commissioner, who was Prince Joseph Adam von Schwarzenberg (1722–1782); both were intended as part of a wedding celebration; both were probably first performed in the private setting of the Schwarzenberg court; both were intended for a relatively small cast of four singers with a small accompanying orchestra. However, much more separates them than a time gap of twenty-five years. Each of the two operas introduces us to distinctly different worlds, both in terms of subject matter and aesthetics, as well as in terms of music. Comparing these operas is a remarkable testimony to the diversity of eighteenth-century opera and invites numerous questions, in which we will focus mainly on the concepts of love and virtue.

"An Dem Freuden-vollen Verbindungs-Tage..."

The older of the two operas bears the flamboyant title *Die durch Cupido und Hymäns Stärke glücklich gemachte Trauungs Werke* (A Wedding Happily Arranged by the Power of Cupido and Hymenaeus). Its manuscript score (probably autograph¹) is preserved in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. The basic details of the composition, which can be used as a starting point for further commentary, are given in the inscription on the title page: "An | Dem Freuden-vollen Verbindungs-Tage. | Ihro Gräflichen Gnaden | Herrn, Herrn, | Joseph, Gundacars v. Thirheim, | Mit Ihro Gnaden | Dominica Baronessin v. Hager. | Sr. Königl. Maystät zu Hungarn und Böhheim | gewesten Hof-Dame. | Vorgetragen | Und in die Music übersetzt, Von Ferdinand Arbesser. | Ihro durchleucht Fürsten zu Schwarzenberg | Cammer Musico. 1745."

Let us first summarize basic information about the composer of the opera.² Franz Paul Ferdinand Arbesser was born near Vienna, in the Lower Austrian village of Maria Enzensdorf, probably in 1719. His appearance at the Schwarzenberg court is documented as early as in 1743. Assumably his admission was related to the accession of Joseph Adam von Schwarzenberg, who took over the administration of the family estates in 1741. Arbesser is usually referred to in princely documents as an organist, or more generally as a "musician". However, the scope of his actual duties was probably broader and corresponded to the role of musical director responsible for organising the musical needs of the princely court, including the purchase of instruments, sheet music and perhaps the direction of the musical ensemble on at least some occasions. It should be pointed out that Prince Joseph Adam was famous for his fondness for music and theatre, so Arbesser might have been a very important employee for him. Arbesser's abilities are also evidenced by the fact that in 1772 he obtained the highly prestigious post of organist at the imperial court, a role he shared with his more famous colleagues Johann

1 Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung (A-Wn), Mus.Hs.1064. The handwriting of the score is identical to the handwriting of Arbesser's sacred compositions kept in the State Regional Archive in Třeboň (Státní oblastní archiv Třeboň), Satellite Office Český Krumlov (SOA ČR), music collection (CZ-K).

2 FASTL, Christian. Arbesser, Franz Paul Ferdinand. *Oesterreichisches Musiklexikon online*. [accessed on 2023-06-14]. URL: https://www.musiklexikon.ac.at/ml/musik_A/Arbesser_Ferdinand.xml

Georg Albrechtsberger (1736–1809) and Leopold Hofmann (1738–1793). On the 1st of December 1791 Arbesser was retired, and he died in Vienna on the 12th of December 1794.³ Arbesser's known output is relatively small, and the music collection of the Český Krumlov archive is an important source for this composer (it should be added, however, that no exaggerated conclusions can be drawn from this regarding Arbesser's ties to Krumlov; like other Schwarzenberg court musicians, in all likelihood he only visited the town during the annual journeys of the princely court to the Bohemian dominions). Considering that Arbesser probably made his living primarily as an organist throughout his musical career, it is not surprising that these are mostly sacred compositions.

The opera (or rather serenata) under discussion is the only known exception in this regard. Its creation was undoubtedly conditioned by the close friendship that Prince Joseph Adam and his wife Marie Theresa von Schwarzenberg (1721–1753) had for the newlyweds, Count Joseph Gundakar von Thürheim (1709–1798) and Baroness Maria Dominica von Hager Allentsteig (1721–1793). Based on correspondence between the two couples, Helena Kazárová suggests that Prince Joseph Adam may even have played a mediating and diplomatic role in establishing the relationship between the future spouses.⁴ His friend Joseph Gundakar allegedly did not feel he was rich enough, and secondly feared the disfavour of Empress Maria Theresa, as the Thürheims had briefly supported Duke Karl Albrecht during the early stages of the War of the Austrian Succession. If the Count was indeed in such a state of ill grace, his marriage may have constituted a symbolic act of forgiveness. The ceremony took place in the Hofburg on the 24th of January 1745 in the personal presence of the Empress and members of the Imperial Court (it should be remembered that Maria Dominica was a court lady of Maria Theresa).⁵

We do not know for sure what role Arbesser's congratulatory opera played in the wedding celebrations, nor on which day and with what cast it was performed. However, it can be deduced that it was probably performed either on the day of the wedding itself or on one of the days immediately following. This is suggested by the chronologically organized Schwarzenberg account book for 1745, which first lists two fees that are probably also related to the Count's wedding: The Prince's musician, the horn player František Vondráček, received 32 florins for "Tafel Music", performed on the 24th of January, and then another 46 florins for the music for the ball, which took place on the same day in the princely palace (let us add that these relatively high sums paid to Vondráček likely covered also hired musicians⁶). Immediately following is the record for 70 florins paid to "*Dem Ferdinand Arbesser, Fürstl. Organisten, wegen bey der Hagerischen Vermehlung*

3 Ibid.

4 KAZÁROVÁ, Helena. Divadlo a tanec v životě Schwarzenbergů v zrcadle korespondence s rodinou Thürheimů: Část I: Dopisy z let 1744–1752. In *Svět barokního divadla: Sborník přednášek z konference v Českém Krumlově 2007, 2008, 2009*. Jiří Bláha – Pavel Slavko (eds.). Český Krumlov, 2010, pp. 301–328.

5 WURZBACH, Constantin von. Thürheim, Joseph Gundakar. *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich*, vol. 44, Wien, 1882, p. 300–301. Available online, URL: https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/BLK%C3%96:Th%C3%BCrheim,_Joseph_Gundakar_Graf [accessed on 2023-06-14]

6 For example, for the music for the prince's dance entertainment held on the 15th of February 1744, Voráček received 28 florins 18 kreutzers "*zu Belohnung deren Extra Musicanten*". SOA ČK, fond Ústřední pokladna (ÚP), book 165, 1744, record 919.

producirten Serenade" (the term "Serenade" in this case may in fact be understood in the sense of "serenata", i.e. a short wedding opera).⁷ Another celebration at the Schwarzenberg Palace is evidenced by the diary entry of the Imperial Hofmeister, Prince Johann Joseph Khevenhüller-Metsch (1702–1776), that on the evening of 25 January he visited "*die Gesellschaft zu den Fürst v. Schwarzenberg (welche denen während unserer Abwesenheit neu verheiratheten Eheleuthen, den Gundacker Thürheim und der gewesten Hoff Dame Freiin Minerl Hagerin, zu Ehren gehalten wurde)*".⁸ However, given that Arbesser's congratulatory serenata is attributed to a "joyful wedding day" (and Khevenhüller-Metsch makes no mention of any performance), it is more likely to be assumed that its performance took place already on the 24th of January. The piece is modest in scope, comprising an overture, seven solo arias and a closing ensemble with a total length of about 45 minutes.⁹ Given the length and the minimal staging requirements, therefore, it might have been a relatively short entertaining intermezzo rather than the highlight of the wedding festivities.

"Die rechte Liebe grünet auf Beständigkeit"

If in this paper we want to focus mainly on the concepts of love and virtue, we will of course focus on the libretto of Arbesser's serenata. The identity of the librettist, however, is surprisingly not explicitly stated on the opera's title page, although in the practice of the time it was usually the name of the author of the text (who was understood as the poet and creator of the drama) that was more prominently mentioned, and only then the name of the composer (who "merely" set the librettist's words to music). We speculate with some caution whether the composer in this case might not also have been the librettist. In fact, the author's attribution assigns two roles to Arbesser, with the formulation "*vorgetragen und in die Music übersetzt von Ferdinand Arbesser*", i.e. literally "presented and set to music by Ferdinand Arbesser". It is therefore difficult to clearly conclude whether this "presented" refers only to Arbesser's significant personal contribution to the performance of the opera or also to his role as poet-librettist. If we consider the rather mediocre poetic qualities of the text, then it should not be ruled out that Arbesser actually created it himself. Perhaps the slightly surprising use of German might also suggest this, since in the time and social environment a preference for operas in Italian would have been more likely (for this reason it is also unlikely that the word "Vorgetragen" means "translated" from another language). At any rate, the character of Arbesser's music is

7 SOA ČK, ÚP, book 168, 1745, records 946, 948 and 949.

8 KHEVENHÜLLER-METSCH, Rudolf – SCHLITTER, Hans (eds.). *Aus der Zeit Maria Theresias: Tagebuch des Fürsten Johann Josef Khevenhüller-Metsch, Kaiserlichen Oberhofmeisters, 1742–1776*. Vol. 2 (1745–1749), Vienna/Leipzig: Adolf Holzhausen/Wilhelm Engelmann, 1908, p. 18. Available online, URL: <https://www.digital.wienbibliothek.at/wbrobv/content/titleinfo/3310488> [accessed on 2023-07-07]

9 The composition was performed by the Capella Regia Praha ensemble under the direction of Robert Hugo at the Český Krumlov Castle Theatre on the 24th and 25th of June 2020 as part of the Festival of Chamber Music Český Krumlov. Cast: Braut – Sylva Čmugrová, Bräutigam – Martin Javorský, Cupido – Marie Fajtová, Hymenaeus – Ivo Hrachovec. Available online <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1Vlzs7o2nyY&t=33s> [accessed on 2023-06-15].

in no sense related to the simplified vocal forms of later German-language singspiels, aimed mainly at a burghers' audience. In this case, Arbesser's musical language clearly refers to the influences of late Italian Baroque opera, with which he mixes elements of the Gallant style and the emerging musical classicism.

As the libretto of this serenata has never been published, and because of its relatively short scope, quoting a substantial part of it is possible and very useful at the same time. In accordance with Baroque poetics, the text does not aim at a realistic depiction of the narrative plot, but at highlighting the allegorically conceived principles and virtues, in this case love, fidelity and above all constancy ("Beständigkeit"), which enable the couple to overcome doubt and all the adversities of their future life. The simple plot serves more as a basic frame for the solo performances of the individual characters, who essentially represent and comment on the various forms and aspects of love (with the exception of the closing ensemble, these are da capo arias introduced by short secco recitatives): The Bride feels doubts before the forthcoming wedding and compares her mind to a boat, tossed by a storm of feelings and fears. Thus, in her character, love is associated with the principle of impermanence or fickleness that has often been associated with women in theatrical and literary stereotypes:

BRAUT [soprano]

Rec.

Ein Braut! Ja! Ja!

Ein Nam, der Gold und Zeder wert.

Jedoch macht das Schifflein der Gedanken
mir der Sturm des Gemüts stets wanken.

Solt ich? Oder solt ich nicht?

Doch ja? Die Liebe spricht.

Aria

Wer den Glückes-Port nachjaget,

sparet keine Müh noch Zeit,

sich so lang ans Ruder waget,

bis er sich an G'statt erfreut.

Bei mir pflegt der Liebs-Gedanken,

auf den Kummer-See zu wanken.

The god of love, Cupido, who has heard her words, reminds the Bride that he is not accustomed to releasing his captives. Love, in his concept, means the loss of freedom, but it is balanced by the pleasure:

CUPIDO [soprano]

Rec.

[...] Sind die Fesseln dir nicht angenehm,
mit welchen ich dich belegt?

Sag, ob einer zu finden,
der selbe schöner Trägt?
Drum halte sie.

Aria

Cupido ist es nicht gewöhnt
Gefang’ne los zu lassen,
mein Pfeil, der bindet mehr als Gold.
Wer einmal meiner Herrschaft zollt,
der muss die Freiheit hassen,
und wird davor mit Lust belohnt.

Next comes the Bridegroom, the most pronounced bearer of the principle of constancy and fidelity and in a sense the counterpart of the Bride’s fickleness:

BRÄUTIGAM [tenor]

Rec.

Wie? Was seltsames Geschrei
kommt mir hier bei?
Fort mit dem Wankelmut,
ergieb dich mir, mein liebstes Gut,
und höre mit Aufmerksamkeit,
was Treuherz, Sinn und Liebe spricht,
du bleibst mein Licht.

Aria

Hertz und Seele
an der Stelle
sehnen sich allein nach dir.
Meiner Liebe heißes Quälen
kann gar bald die Ruh herstellen,
wann mein Schatz bleibt b’ständig mir.

Confusion then summons the god of weddings, Hymenaeus himself, from the heavens. His reasoning is largely analogous to Cupid’s – love, sealed by the bonds of marriage, sublimates and transcends partial difficulties:

HYMENEUS [bass]

Rec.

[...] So sollen eure Herzen
nur stets in ungekränkter Wollust scherzen,
merkt aber, was ich euch zu sagen hab.

Aria

Heute hat der Liebe Macht
euch in meine Fessel bracht.

Doch bei solchen Augenblicken,
die das Herz mit Lust erquicken,
Muss euch alle Quall und Pein
angenehm und Liebreich sein.

Somewhat surprisingly, Cupido emphasizes the fidelity, constancy and strength of love in his second aria even more eloquently than Hymenaeus. The librettist, thus, does not further develop the identification of Cupido with the principle of joy or pleasure suggested earlier, which could be confronted or supplemented by the principles identified by Hymenaeus, however, in keeping with the title of the opera, he largely identifies and brings the two divine figures together:

*CUPIDO**Rec.*

All wo der Treuheits *Argos* wacht,
da schlägt die Liebes Flammen
viel¹⁰ herrlicher zusammen,
als wo man auf List ist bedacht.
Dann da merkt erst der Liebe Tyrannei,
wie stark ihr Beistand sei.

Aria

Da B'ständigkeit und Treue wacht
erkennt man erst die Liebes macht.
Sie trotzt den Neid, auch List und Stärke,
und macht Verliebte Wunder Werke.
Wo sich die Liebes Sonn einschleicht,
des Neides Winter gleich abweicht.

The Bride subsequently confesses that the two gods have revealed to her a treasure that will give her heart lasting joy. The allusions to the winter season, which appear elsewhere in the libretto, are worth noting and may very likely be related to the January date of the marriage:

*BRAUT**Rec.*

Ich muss es sagen ohne Scheu,
dass ihr Götter seid gewesen,

10 Orig. „Vill“

welche für mich einen Schatz haben auserlesen,
mit dem mein Hertz
in wahrer Lieb und Treu
stets wird erfreuen sich
und niemals fühlen eine Reu.

Aria

Hier stellet sich das Sprich-Wort ein,
der Winter muss mein Frühling sein.
Die Zärtlichkeit der süßen Lieb
erwählt von andern diese Zeit,
der Zunder innerlicher Trieb
veracht des Frostes Grausamkeit.

The subsequent aria of the Bridegroom can be seen as the central statement of the whole opera, emphasizing the fidelity that rewards the patient. Here, again, the librettist has followed the conventional identification of this virtue with manhood:

BRÄUTIGAM

Rec.

Es prüft der Männer B'ständigkeit
das Frauen Volk zu jeder Zeit,
doch last es keinen Hunger sterben.
Darum lernet von mir, Verliebte,
beständig zu gedulden,
Verfolgung bis nach Leiden
endlich folgen solche Freuden.

Aria

Nur Geduld!
Die rechte Liebe grünet auf Beständigkeit.
Last uns manche schon lang warten,
gibt uns endlich doch ihr Garten
Blumen der Zufriedenheit.

In his final recitative *accompagnato*, Hymenaeus leads the newlyweds through the gateway to their life together in marriage:

HYMENEUS

Rec. acc.

Macht auf das Thor,
werft alle Türen ein.
Der Eintritt muss vor mich Vergrößert sein.

Nach langen Streit nach starker Hitze
 trachte ich solche zu erquicken,
 beschütze Sie vor aller Macht der Feinde.
 Drum auf zur Freud.
 Auf! Auf! Zur Lust ihr Freunde.

Following the conventions of Baroque operas, in the final ensemble the performers then turn to the audience, respectively to the Count's newlywed couple:

CORO

Nun schreiben wir mit gold'nen Zügen
 den Tag ins Buch der Lieb und Treu,
 und opfern vor ein solch Vergnügen
 den hohen Himmel Dank darbei.
 Damit an jeden Orth und End
 die Freude möcht vollkommen sein,
 so findet euch nur feinbehend
 ihr wohlgesinnte G'müter ein.

Without further detailed source research, it is of course difficult to speculate whether the libretto relates to the specific circumstances of the Count's wedding in other ways besides the allusions to the winter season. The Bride's hesitation could hypothetically refer to the aforementioned doubts of Joseph Gundakar of Thürheim and to the mediating role of Joseph Adam of Schwarzenberg. However, it is more likely that it was not the librettist's aim for the newlyweds to identify more strongly with the characters of the Bridegroom and Bride, since the Bride's named fickleness (*Wankelmut*) might have seemed offensive in connection with the personality of Maria Dominica. Probably, then, Arbesser's opera was nothing more than fulfilling expectations associated with the form of the Baroque serenata, that is, a noble entertainment, a diversifying of the wedding festivities and a presentation of allegorically-portrayed virtues.

Intermezzo for Schwarzenberg wedding

The younger of the two operas under discussion, the comic Italian intermezzo *Dove è amore è gelosia*, presents completely different poetics. The circumstances of its creation and its premiere in Český Krumlov have already been repeatedly examined and commented on,¹¹ so only a brief summary of the basic historical context is necessary. As we have already mentioned, this piece was also commissioned by Prince Joseph

11 Cf. in particular ZÁLOHA, Jiří. Premiéra opery Giuseppe Scarlattioho v Českém Krumlově roku 1768. *Hudební věda*, 1972, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 156–159. SCHINDLER, Otto G. „Arlequin“ a „Don Quichotte“ na Šumavě. Rakouské prameny ke krumlovskému zámeckému divadlu knížat ze Schwarzenbergu. *Jihočeský sborník historický*, 1994, vol. 63, pp. 61–68. KAZÁROVÁ, Helena. „Anžto vy znáte můj pokleslý vkus...“ Josef Adam ze

Adam von Schwarzenberg, in this case for the wedding of his son Johann Nepomuk von Schwarzenberg (1742–1789) with Maria Eleonora von Oettingen-Wallerstein (1747–1797). The Prince had the music composed by Giuseppe Scarlatti (1718? /1723–1777), who belonged to the Scarlatti musical family (although exact family relationships are not clear).¹² The Naples-born composer first composed operas for the Italian theatre scenes, and then worked in Vienna beginning in 1759. Unlike Arbesser, he was not one of the Schwarzenbergs' employees, but taught members of the princely family music and singing, in which one of the daughters of the princely couple, Maria Theresa von Schwarzenberg (1747–1788), particularly excelled. The libretto for the Schwarzenberg wedding intermezzo was written by Marco Coltellini (1724–1777). His birthplace was Montepulciano, but for the first part of his life he lived mainly in Livorno, where, among other things, he devoted himself to literary activity and accordingly to the production of opera libretti.¹³ From 1763 he wrote libretti for Vienna (perhaps at Calzabigi's invitation), where he achieved success in this field and was accorded a position as one of the court poets. In 1772 he left for service at the court of Catherine the Great in St. Petersburg.

The wedding of Prince Johann and his bride Maria Eleonora took place in Schönbrunn on the 14th of July 1768. This was followed by a journey to the Bohemian dominions, with the main and most spectacular part of the wedding celebrations taking place in Český Krumlov. It should be noted that the Schwarzenbergs held the title of Dukes of Krumlov, so the Český Krumlov dominion held a special symbolic meaning for them. In addition, there was a grandiose complex of interconnected spaces specifically designed for representation and entertainment, which had been created by Prince Joseph Adam since the 1740s. A significant part of this complex was, of course, the castle theatre, which has survived to the present day and was reopened in 1766 after major reconstruction. It was here that the premiere of Scarlatti and Coltellini's opera took place on the 24th of July (the very next day after the arrival of the nobility to Český Krumlov), followed by a large pantomime, which probably offered a greater opportunity for the use of scenic effects. Theatrical performances were then held every evening until the 4th of August, with the aforementioned intermezzo being reprised twice more.

Productions in the private theatre of the prince were often performed by members of the princely family together with their guests and employees, which was also the case here. The soprano role of the Marquise Clarice was played by the groom's sister, the aforementioned Maria Theresa von Schwarzenberg, while the role of Count Orazio (tenor) was probably performed by Joseph Gundakar von Thürheim's nephew, Count Christoph Ludwig von Salburg (1728–1775),¹⁴ Scarlatti's wife Antonia appeared as Vespetta

Schwarzenbergu a jeho zámecké divadlo v Českém Krumlově v letech 1766–1768: Nové poznatky a souvislosti. *Hudební věda*, 2013, vol. 50, no. 1–2, pp. 23–47.

12 LAZAREVICH, Gordana. Scarlatti, Giuseppe. *Grove Music Online*. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.6002278255> [accessed on 2022-09-12].

13 McClymonds, Marita P. – BALDI, Carolina. Coltellini, Giuseppe. *Grove Music Online*. URL: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.06159> [accessed on 14/09/2022].

14 According to Helena Kazárová, the correspondence confirms that it was not Christoph's brother Rudolf von Salburg (1732–1806). Cf. KAZÁROVÁ 2013, p. 29, footnote 32.

(marquise's maid, lover of Patrizio, soprano), and the librettist Marco Coltellini showed his singing skills in the tenor role of Orazio's servant Patrizio.

The musical aspect of Scarlatti's wedding intermezzo is not the central topic of this article, so let us make just a few remarks: Although it was at first sight a casual opera with a clear destination and Scarlatti very probably knew the singing dispositions of the individual performers in advance, the singing demands of the individual roles are not trivial in the least (which is especially true for the relatively demanding part of the Marquise Clarice). The fact that the singing noblemen must have attained at least a semi-professional level is also evidenced by the fact that the intermezzo was later performed in Vienna under the title *L'amor geloso* without major changes. Let us further note that Scarlatti's music testifies to the contemporary search for ways out of the conventions of Baroque opera. The primary model in this case is, of course, the contemporary Italian opera buffa. Scarlatti's and Coltellini's intermezzo retains the basic duality of secco recitatives and musical numbers, but these are distinctly syllabic in nature and encompass a very significant part of the text. The opera contains a high proportion of ensembles, and none of the solo arias are in da capo form. Scarlatti, on the other hand, is strongly averse to returns here; much of the musical numbers are in several parts, with frequent changes of tempo and meter. In this respect too, then, the opera places relatively high demands on the performers, a fact confirmed by the participants in the 2011 modern performance.¹⁵

"Gelosia, figlia è d'amor"

In accordance with the title, the plot of the intermezzo is based mainly on comic themes of love and jealousy: The Marquise Clarice, a young widow, is courted by Count Orazio. Although the Marquise loves him too, she reproaches him for his excessive jealousy. First, the Count catches a fragment of a letter from which he understands that Clarice has left him and decided to marry some other man. However, by adding the second half of the letter, Clarice proves that she had in fact written to the notary about her decision to leave her widowed state and marry Orazio, but now she does not want to hear about it. The pretext for Orazio's second outburst of jealousy is the presence of a mysterious man whom the Count discovers in the Marquise's house. Understandably, however, it is only a masquerade costume of the Marquise's girlfriend. Once again, Clarice concludes that the relationship between her and the jealous Count is definitely over. Meanwhile, Clarice's maid Vespeta is facing the opposite problem: She is insulted by the indifference of her lover, Patrizio, Orazio's servant, who refuses to be jealous of her because he thinks it is foolish to expect fidelity from a woman anyway, so why bother? To pro-

¹⁵ The opera was staged for the purpose of film recording with a cast: Clarice – Lenka Máčková, Orazio – Aleš Bricein, Vespeta – Kateřina Kněžíková, Patrizio – Aleš Březina, Schwarzenberg Court Orchestra conducted by Vojtěch Spurný, direction – Ondřej Havelka, production BVA International. Online stores offer DVDs with subtitles in several languages. Available also online, URL: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pP-nftimj8dU> [accessed on 2023-09-01]

voke Patrizio, Vespetta gets a life-size tailor's puppet and pretends to flirt. The deceived Patrizio actually makes a jealous scene, which convinces Vespetta of his love and the two lovers reconcile. Patrizio proposes an analogous procedure to his master as a way to reconcile with Clarice: Patrizio tells the Marquise and her maid that the disgraced Count is about to marry another woman. To convince them of the validity of his claim, he leaves the entrance to Orazio's garden open to them. The despairing Clarice then confesses to Vespetta her reprobate love for Orazio and the two women go into the garden together. There they actually catch Orazio in a love conversation with a girl whom the costumed Patrizio is impersonating. After uncovering the whole farce, Clarice and Orazio also reconcile and sing the final conclusion together with their servants: "*Se gelosi son gli amanti, | inquietarsi è una pazzia, | dov'è amore è gelosia, | gelosia figlia è d'amor.*"¹⁶

Just as Arbesser's opera is based on the schemes of the wedding serenata, Scarlatti and Coltellini's intermezzo follows the schemes of the Italian buffa. Understandably, it therefore introduces a much more earthy concept of love and virtue, both with the characters of the servants and the roles of the nobles. Clarice's widowhood is not seen as a tragic fate, but rather is the subject of belittling allusions or interpreted in a wholly pragmatic way: At the moment when Orazio reproachfully pulls marquise's love letters from his pocket, he also points to a picture of her deceased husband, saying "*Il caro sposo estinto che per me sol tradì.*"¹⁷ At least at the beginning, Clarice also repeatedly comments quite openly that the undeniable advantage of her condition is freedom (let us add that in the context of the time, it is essentially the greatest degree of freedom in partner relations that a woman of this social level could achieve). She justifies her rejection of Orazio by saying, among other things: "*Perchè mi piace | la mia, la vostra pace, e quella cara | onesta libertà, che mi concede | il mio stato, e l'età.*"¹⁸ Clarice eventually reconsiders her relationship with Orazio out of both love and rather unsentimental motives, when she concludes that amorous adventures do not constitute freedom, and a jealous husband is still better than a polite but oblivious husband: "*Trista è la vedovanza | in giovinetta età, | e se un piacer le avanza | non è di libertà. [...] Non vò più pensare, | non vo star così, | non so che mi fare | di certi mariti | galanti, puliti, | che presa la sposa | la piantano lì.*"¹⁹

In accordance with the title of the intermezzo, one of its central themes is jealousy, a motif that appears very often in the comic works of the period. However, even within these comic genres, which are mostly not positioned as moralities, jealousy is usually seen as a negative, mocked quality. In Coltellini's libretto, however, we encounter a much more sympathetic view, which is also illustrated in the final ensemble quoted

16 Text passages quoted from the published libretto. *Dov'è Amore è gelosia: intermezzo per musica a quattro voci*. Wien: Ghelen, 1768. CZ-Pu, MUS Li 0592. Available online, URL: <https://books.google.cz/books?vid=NK-P:1003035629&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false> [accessed on 2022-10-07]. "*If the lovers are jealous, it is foolish to worry; where there is love, there is jealousy, jealousy is a daughter of love.*"

17 "*The dear departed spouse whom she for me only betrayed.*"

18 "*Because I like my own, as well as your peace, and that dear honest freedom, which my state, and age grant me.*"

19 "*Sad is widowhood at a young age, and if a pleasure comes in it, it does not mean freedom. [...] I don't want to keep thinking any more, I don't want to be like this, I don't know what to do with certain husbands, gallant, polite, who when they marry the bride, they do not pay attention to her.*"

above. Jealousy is not only the "daughter of love", but the associated partner quarrels are actually a testimony, an enlivenment, or a test of love, again in the view of both nobles and servants. In reconciling after one of the quarrels, Clarice and Orazio thus agree: "*Oh comme alletta, | dopo seguita | qualche cosetta | d'ostilità.*"²⁰ Love without quarrels and reconciliation, however, does not suit Vespetta either, whom Coltellini puts the following charming statement into the mouth: "[l'amore] *senza questa | alternativa di pace, di guerra, | di smanie, di piacer, di ben, di male, | sarebbe una minestra senza sale.*"²¹

From the above mentioned characteristics, it is evident that *Dove è amore è gelosia* does not significantly diverge from the conventions of contemporary Italian comic operas. However, the choice of this theme and this form for this particular occasion, i.e. for a wedding celebration in the circle of one of the most important noble families of Central Europe, may seem somewhat surprising, especially when juxtaposed with Arbesser's serenata, which at first sight is much more appropriate to the occasion. Of course, we can hardly find an all-encompassing answer to the question of why Prince Joseph Adam von Schwarzenberg chose such a markedly different type of opera for his son's wedding than for that of his close friend. Nevertheless, let us at least briefly discuss this question and try to name some of the circumstances involved.

The first of these is the development of operatic activity on the court stages of Vienna at the time, which was reflected in the choice of operas represented in the Schwarzenberg music collection. If we trace this development within the defined period, i.e. between the 1740s and 1760s, in the 1740s we encounter mainly Italian seria opera (Hasse, Jommelli, Pollarolo, Gluck, Wagenseil), but also the influences of Italian buffa (Galuppi, Pergolesi). Among the Schwarzenberg sheet music, however, we find only minimal echoes of this repertoire, with which Prince Joseph Adam, as a great lover of music and theatre, was certainly well acquainted. There is no space at this point to speculate why this was so, but we can probably surmise that this type of opera made rather large demands on performance, while the Prince also preferred comic operatic genres.²² This seems to be indicated by the much greater presence of French comic operas in the collection, which clearly echo the opening of the French stage in the Burgtheater in 1752. Particularly from the second half of the 1750s onwards, there is an increase in the proportion of Italian comic operas, further increasing during the 1760s, which applies both to the Viennese court scenes and to the Schwarzenberg music collection. For members of the princely family and their wedding guests, therefore, Italian buffas were a familiar and in many cases probably the most popular form of opera in the late 1760s, which was much less true back in the mid-1740s. Of some importance (though probably not decisive) may also have been the fact that while Arbesser's serenata was likely performed in Vienna in the presence of a number of court officials, the wedding celebrations of the prince's son took place far from the centre of the monarchy, at the private residence of the Schwarzenberg family, and perhaps in a more relaxed atmosphere.

20 "Oh, how lovely, when after a little quarrel comes reconciliation."

21 "[love] without fighting and reconciliation, without alternating frenzies and pleasures, moments of good and bad, would be like an unsalty soup."

22 Cf. KAZÁROVÁ 2013.

Generally, the difference between the two wedding operas can probably also be seen as a symptom of broader social changes, which included in particular the continuing emancipation of the social classes and the changing self-conception of the aristocracy. In the context of Viennese theatrical life in the Theresian and Josephine eras, we observe an increasing mutual intermingling and influence of the townspeople and the nobility. As early as the 1740s, the burghers were permitted to attend performances at the Burgtheater to a limited extent, where in the following decades the aristocrats were entertained with French and Italian comic operas, originally aimed at a bourgeois audience (let us add that in the last quarter of the 18th century, nobles were also fond of visiting the Viennese suburban theatres oriented to the lower social classes). Thus, elements of irony and relatively simple comedy may have penetrated the environment of private court culture to a greater extent than one might expect at first sight.

Gluck parodied, Joseph II. secretly mocked?

Let us conclude with one more remarkable moment in Scarlatti and Coltellini's intermezzo. It seems that both composers inserted a sarcastic allusion into their work that was most likely not apparent even to the commissioner. Immediately after the overture, the opera begins with a short arioso by the Marquise Clarice, who sings in French about the advantages and disadvantages of her widowhood:²³

Clarice

Le veu - vage à un cer - tain â - ge ne con - vient que

Basso

ra - re - ment; mais le joug et l'es - cla - va - ge d'un ja - loux, ou

²³ Transcription from the manuscript score of the opera stored in CZ-K, K 11, No. 8. I retain the original notation of the key, where the quoted short opening arioso in E minor is followed by a larger ensemble scene in C major. Soprano C-clef is changed to treble G-clef. "Widowhood at a certain age is seldom convenient; but the yoke and slavery of a jealous, or a fickle man is even more tedious."

d'un vo - la - ge est en - cor plus as - som - mant.

Fig. 1 Aria Clarice.

It is no coincidence that the quoted arioso stands out from the context of the entire intermezzo both in the language used and in the musical character of the arching melody. The opening eight bars are a direct quotation of the aria *Perdo, oh Dio, l'amato bene* from the opera *Il Telemaco, ossia L'isola di Circe*, composed by Christoph Willibald Gluck to a libretto written by Marco Coltellini:²⁴

Asteria
Per - do, oh Dio, l'a - ma - to be - ne, chie - do in - van la li - ber -
Basso
tà, ah, la - sciar - mi al - le ca - te - ne. Que - sta è trop - pa
cru - del - tà.

Fig. 2 Aria Asteria.

24 Transcription from the manuscript score of the opera stored in Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Musique (F-Pn), D-4708. Soprano C-clef is changed to treble G-clef. Available online, URL: [https://imslp.org/wiki/Telemaco,_Wq.34_\(Gluck,_Christoph_Willibald\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Telemaco,_Wq.34_(Gluck,_Christoph_Willibald)) [accessed on 2022-09-12]. "I lose, oh God, the beloved good, I ask in vain for freedom, ah, leave me in chains. This is too much cruelty."

Apart from the identical beginning, both arias have a number of other identical elements. The first of these is, of course, the identical librettist Coltellini. Furthermore, *Telemaco* also was written as a wedding opera: It was performed at the Burgtheater on the 30th of January 1765 in celebration of the marriage of Archduke Joseph (who became the Emperor Joseph II. in the same year) to his second wife Maria Josepha von Bayern (1739–1767). Finally, the aria *Perdo, oh Dio, l'amato bene* also thematises the motif of the abandoned woman: Asteria, captive of the enchantress Circe, here mourns the loss of Telemachus, who is about to leave the witch's island with his father Odysseus. Coltellini and Scarlatti might indeed have had reason to make a rather cynical allusion to the theme of widowhood. Maria Josepha died on the 28th of May 1767 after two years of a marriage that was purely political and entirely cold on the part of the Emperor. Considering that work on the wedding opera for Prince Schwarzenberg must have begun no more than a year later, the Emperor's widowhood could still have been a relatively lively topic and probably also subject of social gossip.

It is at the same time very likely that in the case of Scarlatti's quotation, it was not an accidental reminiscence or the use of a melody that would have become widely known in the meantime. The opera *Telemaco* was for the most part newly composed, but rather unsuccessful, with the only known reprise three days after the first performance. Gluck subsequently used most of the music in his other works. He reincorporated the music for the aria *Perdo, oh Dio* into the operas *Le Feste d'Apollon* (Parma 1769, aria *Tu sei madre*) and *Cythère assiégée* (Paris 1775, air *Le barbare me déclare*), in both cases later than the aria was partially cited by Scarlatti,²⁵ and an incipit search in the RISM database does not indicate that the melody was used by any other composer at the time. It can therefore be assumed that at the time of the Schwarzenberg prince's wedding, the aria from Gluck's opera was not remembered even by those who had the opportunity to hear the performance of *Telemaco* three years earlier. On the other hand, the co-author of both operas, Marco Coltellini, a talented singer and an excellent librettist with an obvious sense of irony, may have remembered the melody quite well. Coltellini's biographical entries generally state that his satires allegedly angered both Empress Maria Theresa and Empress Catherine the Great, but they rely more on contemporary reports or deny rumors of Coltellini's alleged poisoning by order of the Russian Empress. In this case, we would have a fairly clearly documented example of the librettist's satirical joke. Even the use of French in the aforementioned Clarice's arioso is almost certainly a witting allusion (without apparently being a quotation of a specific text). Again, of course, we cannot fully unravel its background, but it is probable that it is a reference to Gluck, who played a very important role in bringing French operas to Viennese audiences in the 1750s and 1760s. However, how (and if at all) Scarlatti and Coltellini explained these circumstances to Prince Joseph Adam of Schwarzenberg will probably always remain a mystery.

25 SHEIN, Yulia. *Telemaco*, Gluck WV 1.35. *Christoph Willibald Gluck. Sämtliche Werke, Gluck WV-online*. URL: www.gluck-gesamtausgabe.de/id/1-35-00-0 [accessed on 2023-09-02].

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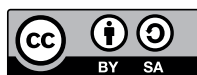
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