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The Play *Betrug der Allamoda* and Prints Based on Drawings and Designs by Fabián Václav Harovník*

Jana Zapletalová

The article is the first to publish the discovery of seven prints that capture scenes from the play *Betrug der Allamoda*, a copy of which was recently discovered in the collections of the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles (USA). This play, which was staged in Prague in 1660 at the initiative of Jan František Bruntálský of Vrbno (1634–1705), is a German translation of the successful Italian opera *La Moda* by Francesco Sbarra (1611–1668). Drawings by Prague artist Fabián Václav Harovník (active 1644–1683), who, it appears, also created the stage scenery for the production of the play and then the illustrations for the printed copy, served as the basis for a series of copperplate prints created by Jan Kryštof Smíšek and Petr Hoberk of Hendersdorf, known as *Frater Constantinus* (1625–1680). The article identifies the subject matter of the individual prints illustrating *Betrug der Allamoda* and compares them to seven prints from the play *Fatum austriacum* from the workshop of theatre architect and painter Elias Gedeler (1620–1693). It also deals with the question of the selection of scenes, their connection to the text of the play, and how they relate to the 17th-century production of prints on scenographic work at the Vienna Court.

Keywords: Fabián Václav Harovník; *Betrug der Allamoda*; Francesco Sbarra; *Fatum austriacum*; Constante Arzoni; Ernst Adalbert of Harrach; Count Bernard Ignác Martinic; Urban Baltazar Goliáš; The Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles; 17th-century theatre plays; Jan Kryštof Smíšek; Petr Hoberk of Hendersdorf, known as *Frater Constantinus*

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In the early modern era, the portfolio of professional duties that artists, especially architects, painters, and sculptors, might be asked to perform included work of a more ephemeral nature: various *castra doloris*, decorations for the ceremonial arrival of dignitaries, stage sets for religious and secular plays, background scenery for banquettes that featured music and dance, decorations for birthday celebrations, and various other entertaining or celebratory occasions, and not all of this work was for the royal or imperial court. With some rare exceptions, nothing but the occasional print or written record has survived to date of these often very imaginative structures made of wood, painted papier-mâché, and other materials that were not too expensive but were usually of limited longevity. Many artists, nevertheless, devoted a considerable portion of their time to working on ephemeral architectural structures such as these.

Theatrical scenography is a relatively well-documented branch of this type of impermanent artistic work.¹ From around the middle of the 17th century it became increasingly popular and ever more common in central Europe and especially at the Vienna Court to produce printed copies of plays that included illustrations. These illustrations captured selected stage scenes that encompassed the proscenium, scenery, and set pieces, and thus preserved at least something of a performance that was necessarily otherwise ephemeral. Ensuring that a printed stage play was accompanied by quality illustrations was to a large degree a matter of prestige. Organising and watching theatre performances was not just a high-brow pastime reserved mainly, or sometimes even exclusively, for the nobility and invited guests. Organising theatre performances was an expression of courtly prestige among the nobility, and it could often also be employed as an instrument of power and diplomacy in the highest echelons of society. The attention devoted to furnishing a printed copy of a stage play with high-quality prints is therefore understandable, as the printed plays served as a reminder or



1 – Jan Kryštof Smíšek – Petr Hoberk of Hendersdorf, known as Frater Constantinus after Fabián Václav Harovník, *Arión and Truth*, copper engraving. *Betrug der Allamoda*, Prag: Balthasar Goliáš, 1660

memento of the event, of the spectacle of it, and could therefore significantly contribute to the kind of image the patron who organised it sought to present of himself.

Fabián Václav Harovník (active 1644–1683)² was an artist from Prague who in the second half of the 17th century painted and decorated the residences of many of the top nobility in the Czech lands. He is also recorded as the artist who created the stage designs and prints for a play titled *Die Pracht*, which was staged in Prague in 1660, a copy of which was published that same year by the printing works of Urban Baltazar Goliáš († probably around 1679). Two centuries later, however, it was impossible to find these prints, as until recently no illustrated printed copy of the play was known to exist.

In Gottfried Johann Dlabacz's encyclopaedia of creative artists, Fabián Václav Harovník is listed as 'ein Maler in Prag 1660, nach dessen Zeichnung Fr. Constantin und Joh. Christ. Smischek die sieben Szenen für das in fol. gedruckte Lustspiel die Pracht betitelt, in Kupfer gestochen haben'.³ Despite extensive efforts undertaken by much earlier researchers for many dec-

ades, no copies of *Die Pracht* could be found.⁴ In 2014, almost two centuries after the reference to the play appeared in Dlabacz's encyclopaedia, the ongoing process of world libraries digitising their collections turned up one copy of the play. It is in the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles and until recently was the only known copy to exist.⁵

The path to this discovery, however, was by no means direct. Over the centuries the original title of the play became lost in translation. In Czech-language writings the play that Dlabacz listed as *Die Pracht* was in translation titled *Nádhera* (Splendour).⁶ In 1859 Antonín Rybička repeated the information that in 1660 Harovník had created sketches of seven scenes, 'designs which Prague engraver Jan Smíšek engraved in copper in folio format'.⁷ In *Ottův slovník naučný* (Otto's Encyclopaedia) František Xaver Jiřík mentioned the one known work by Harovník, namely, the seven scenes for the comedy *Die Pracht*.⁸ Karel V. Herain drew his information from Dlabacz's encyclopaedia and indicated that the prints were in Strahov Library.⁹ Strahov Library is also cited in connection with Harovník's illustrations



2 – Jan Kryštof Smíšek – Petr Hoberk of Hendersdorf, known as Frater Constantinus after Fabián Václav Harovník, **A Quarrel over Reason and a Purse**, copper engraving. *Betrug der Allamoda*, Prag: Balthasar Goliash, 1660

for the comedy *Die Pracht* in a dictionary of artists edited by Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker.¹⁰ However, all these writers following Dlabacz evidently limited themselves to just copying this information and never held a copy of the play in their own hands. Art historian Marie Závorková, who dealt with Harovník's body of work more extensively in her dissertation, made what proved to be a futile attempt in 1932 to find the copy of the play in Strahov Library.¹¹ Many other scholars have since made mention of the existence of a copy containing prints based on Harovník's designs.¹² Their research, however, did not turn up any new findings and they limited themselves to reproducing the above-cited information obtained from Gottfried Johann Dlabacz and earlier writers.

A major contribution to the effort to find an original copy of the play occurred in 2005 when theatre historian Adolf Scherl convincingly argued that a stage piece called *Betrug der Allamoda* was the same play that Dlabacz had referred to as *Die Pracht*.¹³ Adolf Scherl possessed basic information about

early theatre in the Czech lands that had been carefully collected and published by Ferdinand Menčík, administrator of the Court Library in Vienna (from 1876). The first mentions of this much searched-for play were turned up during research conducted in the late 19th century in the Harrach family archives (e.g. in a letter from the cardinal to his brother, in which he mentions a play with the characters Burlachin and Allamoda), which research from that time then tied in with.¹⁴ A Prague copy from 1660 and its real title, *Betrug der Allamoda*, were mentioned for the first time in 1895 by Johannes Bolte, and this was in connection with productions stated under this title by professional theatre troupes.¹⁵ Later, in 2000, Alena Richterová published a study titled *Teatralia v rukopisné sbírce Roudnické lobkowiczké knihovny* (Teatralia in the Collection of Manuscripts in the Lobkowicz Library in Roudnice), which was a considerable aid to further research on this play. She found a complete and unknown manuscript of the play *Betrug der Allamoda* in the Lobkowicz collections in the

palace in Nelahozeves.¹⁶ It was not, however, an illustrated copy. There was one copy of the play listed in the catalogue of the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz (sign. 4° Xq 6096), but the library records it as having been lost in the war. In 2014 a copy of the play was identified, as noted above, in the library of the Getty Research Institute under the title *Betrug der Allamoda*.¹⁷ In 2020 another copy of the play was discovered, this one from the collection of the former library of the Franciscan order in Hořovice (in the Beroun district),¹⁸ but it was not illustrated with prints, and although it was located in Strahov Monastery it only arrived there in 1995. There is also a four-page playscript of the play in the library of the National Museum in Prague.¹⁹

Sbarra's *La Moda* and *Betrug der Allamoda*

Betrug der Allamoda is not an original play but an expanded translation of the Italian opera *La Moda favola morale* written by Francesco Sbarra (1611–1668), a librettist and imperial court

poet in Vienna. It was first performed at the seminary in Lucca in 1652 and gained considerable popularity.²⁰ Sbarra's moralistic and allegorical opera was translated from Italian into German and partly expanded on by Constante Arzoni (1625–1680), a Barnabite brother originally from Vienna and a preacher at the Church of St Benedict at Hradčany in Prague.

The plot of Sbarra's *La Moda* and its translation, *Podvod Allamody* (Allamoda's Deception), is relatively simple. It is about a poor and ugly girl, the daughter of Idleness and Ambition, who is renamed Moda or Allamoda by her parents, as her original name, Poverty, would not attract a potential husband. A series of scenes unfold between Moda, her family, and a suitor named Extravagance, who ultimately takes the young girl, disguised behind this new name, as his wife. At the end of the play, however, he learns he has been deceived and is awakened to the realisation that in truth he has paired up with Poverty. This is basically a satirical morality play that allegorically deals with the habits and customs of early modern bourgeois families.

3 – Jan Kryštof Smíšek – Petr Hoberk of Hendersdorf, known as Frater Constantinus after Fabián Václav Harovník, *Allamoda on a Cart*, copper engraving. *Betrug der Allamoda*, Prag: Balthasar Goliash, 1660



The play was staged in Prague under the title *Betrug der Allamoda* or *Podvod Allamody* (Allamoda's Deception) at Martinic Palace in Hradčany on 30 September 1660.²¹ Cardinal and Prague Archbishop Ernst Adalbert of Harrach (1598–1667) attended a repeat performance on 25 November 1660 and in a letter to his brother praised, among other things, the 'successful scenery changes'.²² Jan František Bruntálský of Vrbno (1634–1705) was behind the staging of the play and its publication. In connection with the play's staging, a copy was published in Prague's Old Town by the publisher Urban Baltazar Goliáš that contained prints featuring scenes from the play that capture the background scenery as well.

Prints of *Allamoda's Deception* and the artists who made them

The seven copperplate prints that are in the Getty copy of *Betrug der Allamoda* are inserted in such a way as to support the plot, which was the customary practice at that time. [fig. 1–7] The illustrations were probably based on

the stage designs. The prints in *Allamoda* and perhaps also the stage designs were designed by Prague painter Fabián Václav Harovník,²³ an artist who worked in Bohemia in the second half of the 17th century. We mainly know Harovník as an artist who created wall-paintings and over the course of the 1650s and 1660s successively painted the noble residences of Ottavio Piccolomini (1599–1656) in Náchod, of Walter Leslie (1607–1667) in Nové Město nad Metují, and of Václav Eusebius of Lobkovic (1609–1677) in his family palace at Prague Castle. In 1663 he contributed to the work of decorating Loreta at Hradčany and we also have evidence that he did work in stately homes located in Štěkeň, Mníšek pod Brdy, and other locations. He was also the main artist to which the top nobility in Bohemia turned for wall-painting commissions, and he evidently enjoyed a high standing within the Prague guild of painters. He was thus one of the most important painters of his time, despite the not very high quality of his painting work.

Harovník's designs were reproduced as prints by two copperplate engravers who were well established in Prague in the

4 – Jan Kryštof Smíšek – Petr Hoberk of Hendersdorf, known as Frater Constantinus after Fabián Václav Harovník, *Luxury Courts Allamoda in the Garden*, copper engraving. *Betrug der Allamoda*, Prag: Balthasar Goliash, 1660





5 – Jan Kryštof Smíšek – Petr Hoberk of Hendersdorf, known as Frater Constantinus after Fabián Václav Harovník, **Burlachin Falls into the Garden Grotto**, copper engraving. *Betrug der Allamoda*, Prag: Balthasar Goliash, 1660

late 1650s. Jan Kryštof Smíšek²⁴ mostly created religious prints for the Jesuit printing works in Prague, and he also collaborated on books produced by the printing workshop of Vít Jindřich Ettl in Olomouc. He usually signed his works 'Io.[annes] Ch:[ristoph] Smíšek sculp.[sit]'. He produced approximately two dozen prints for frontispiece illustrations, most of them for religious publications. Jan Kryštof Smíšek also created a copperplate print of the coat of arms of Count Bernard Ignác of Martinic (1603–1685), which was published in *Sertum nymphaeae ex heroicis virtutibus* in Prague in 1650.²⁵ For the publication of the play *Betrug der Allamoda* Jan Kryštof Smíšek created a copperplate print of the frame of the stage of the theatre based on a design by Fabián Václav Harovník, and the same stage frame was used in all seven illustrations. The copperplate print is signed on the left side of the face of the stage apron on the bottom left as 'Io.[annes] Ch:[ristoph] Smíšek sculp.[sit] Prag'. Smíšek also created the interior section of the first print, which is a scene at a sea with Arion, and with Truth on a cloud.

The other scenes in this *Allamoda* series were created on the basis of Harovník's designs by Petr Hoberk of Hen-

dersdorf, also known as Frater Constantinus (1625–1680).²⁶ Frater Constantinus lived in Prague as an Augustinian brother in the Monastery of St Wenceslas at Na Zderaze in the city's New Town, and he was one of the first copperplate engravers among the generation that emerged in the early 17th century. Like Jan Kryštof Smíšek he collaborated with the Jesuit printing works in Prague, but he also worked for the printing works of the Prague Archbishopric and other publishers. Frater Constantinus is the artist behind several dozen well-known prints, both individual copperplate prints and series of prints that were used to illustrate various writings, most of them for the Church.²⁷ As well as prints for various religious publications, however, he also created several portrait prints, including a portrait of the Archbishop of Prague, Cardinal Ernst Adalbert of Harrach.²⁸

Frater Constantinus created six prints for *Betrug der Allamoda* based on Fabián Václav Harovník's designs – the second to seventh prints. The fifth print is not signed, unlike the others,²⁹ but on the basis of its execution it can also be attributed to Constantinus. Two engravers thus created the



6 – Jan Kryštof Smíšek – Petr Hoberk of Hendersdorf, known as Frater Constantinus after Fabián Václav Harovník, **Luxury Entertains Allamoda in the Garden Grotto**, copper engraving. *Betrug der Allamoda*, Prag: Balthasar Goliäsch, 1660

illustrations for the play, but it is not clear why. It was certainly not due to the volume of work, which means that it must have been based on some decision or plan. And we can evaluate the quality of the two men's engraving work.

***Betrug der Allamoda* (1660) and the subject matter of the prints**

Each print was created using two plates. The first plate produced a print of the proscenium, which is identical in all seven illustrations. The open, central interior space within the proscenium frame was then filled with a print made from a smaller plate that captured individual scenes. The proscenium window of the stage is framed by an aedicule formed on either side by a column and half-column with acanthus capitals richly decorated with volutes, festoons, and egg-and-dart ornamentation. There is drapery wrapped around the shafts of the half-columns, which are decorated along the lower third of their length to produce a slightly twisting, spiralling impression. The columns support an architrave that features a frieze of acanthus leaves

abutting onto the pediment and cornice. The smooth shafts of the columns, given a slightly convex effect through the use of entasis, terminate in a contoured Attic base and are decorated with acanthus leaves and anthropomorphic mascarons with drapery and a shell. The Martinic coat of arms is located above the right column, in a reference to the family of Bernard Ignác of Martinic, in whose honour the performance of *Betrug der Allamoda* took place. Above the left column is the coat of arms of the Lords of Vrbno, representing Martinic's son-in-law Jan František Bruntálský of Vrbno (1634–1705), who arranged the theatre performance for his father-in-law. In the middle of the gable there are two little cupid figures holding up the arms of alliance of the Martinic and Dietrichstein families, in a reference to the marriage of Bernard Ignác to Countess Zuzana Polyxena of Dietrichstein (1629–1706), whom he married shortly after the death of his first wife, Veronika Polyxena Holická of Šternberk (1625–1659).

The artist decided to break up the surface of the side walls of the proscenium on either side with a niche and a personification standing on a low stool or plinth featuring coin-

shaped ornamentation, and with a circular niche that is filled with a shell and a Classical style of bust in profile. The figure in the left niche, holding a theatrical domino mask, a book, and what appears to be a flute, is probably meant to represent Theatre. Its counterpart is the personification of Music, which holds a violin and sheet music in its left hand, with other musical instruments around the base of the stool. The laureled busts above the personifications represent classical poets or imperial emperors, but they cannot be identified beyond that.

The face of the stage apron is decorated with alternating fruit festoons and drapery ornamentation and with zoomorphic mascarons set in separate rectangular frames.³⁰ On the bottom left side of the apron's face we can see the signature of the engraver, Jan Kryštof Smíšek ('Io:[annes] Ch:[ristph] Smischeck sculp:[sit] Prag'), while on the bottom right side is the signature of the artist who created the designs the engravings were based on, Fabián Václav Harovník ('Fabian. Harownig. deli:[neavit]'). These scenes are described below:

1. Arion and Truth³¹ [prologue – a dialogue between 'two Prologue speakers' / *fig. 1*]

The prologue unfolds at sea. We can see in the foreground a massive rock formation overgrown with vegetation, and on it there is a small building to the left. There are boats afloat on the sea extending in two lines from the centre into the distance. In the lower right corner Arion is pictured on a dolphin, the laurel wreath on his head in an allusion to his role as a poet and songster. He is playing the flute and singing. Truth, settled on a cloud, descends upon the scene from the left and starts speaking to Arion. Truth's head is adorned with a wreath of flowers,³² which in the text Arion refers to as 'an ornament of virtue'. However, Truth says that for her own protection she should enrobe herself in lies, otherwise no one will want to listen to her. She is depicted this way on the right side of the engraving, where she has the same attire and a laurel on her head, but from

7 – Jan Kryštof Smíšek – Petr Hoberk of Hendersdorf, known as Frater Constantinus after Fabián Václav Harovník, *Luxury Leaves Allamoda*, copper engraving. *Betrug der Allamoda*, Prag: Balthasar Goliäsch, 1660



the shoulders down we can see her cloak of lies billowing in the wind. Truth, floating in the air, is pointing in the direction outside the picture and is exiting the scene. Arion decides to leave the sea and head into the city.

2. A debate in the marketplace over reason and a purse³³ [Act One, Scene 1 / fig. 2]

The second scene takes place in an urban marketplace. Rows of diversely decorated palaces and houses extend

from the centre in both directions and the towers of other buildings loom up in the background. In the foreground of this theatrical urban scene four men are in a debate over whether reason is worth as much as a purse. The man in the most ostentatious attire represents Extravagance. The figure standing to his right, who does not have a sword, could be his servant, Caprice. Two male figures, bearing swords and holding their hats courteously in their left hands, could be figures who are not specifically identified in the text, but are men waiting to hear what Extravagance

8 – Mauritius Lang after Elias Gedeler, **Divine Providence**, copper engraving. Johann Rehlin, *Fatum austriacum*, Pressburg 1659





9 – Mauritius Lang after Elias Gedeler, **A Personification of the House of Austria receives the Golden Apple**, copper engraving. Johann Rehlin, *Fatum austriacum*, Pressburg 1659

has to say about reason and the purse. Looking on at the debate from the sides are two smaller figures of pages with submissive expressions on their faces. They are both holding objects in their hands that could be identified as purses. It is at the feet of the pages that the creators of the design and the copperplate print decided to place their signatures. The men in debate come to the opinion that reason and wealth are incompatible, and Extravagance therefore then sends his servant to acquire various luxurious items for him.

3. **Allamoda in a chariot**³⁴ [Act Three, Scene 6 / fig. 3]

Harovnik set a part of this act in the same scenic backdrop. The background is almost identical, but it is printed from a different plate and differs in the details from the second print. Above the marketplace lined with townhouses and a palace, there is a young and opulently dressed woman in a chariot supported by clouds in the middle of the sky. Her chariot is equipped with an unusual type of small protective overhead canopy and is being pulled by two house



10 – Mauritius Lang after Elias Gedeler, **On the Orders of the Holy Roman Empire, the Painter Creates a Portrait of the Emperor's Future Spouse**, copper engraving. Johann Rehlin, *Fatum austriacum*, Pressburg 1659

crows. We can identify the woman from the text of the play as one of its main characters, Allamoda, alias Poverty, dressed in splendid and fashionable clothing, and singing of her desire to enter the garden, allegorically represents marital union with Extravagance. The way in which Allamoda is depicted is reminiscent of the traditional manner in which Venus, the Goddess of Love, is portrayed riding a chariot.

4. Extravagance courts Allamoda in the garden³⁵ [Act Three, Scene 8 / fig. 4]

Allamoda encounters the fancily dressed Extravagance in the garden. He courts her and asks her to view the garden grotto with him. Three men in distinguished attire courteously holding their hats in their hands look on. There are two squires on the sides, shown with purses of money, like in the second print.

The backdrop of this scene is a garden, with an architectural frame in the foreground, figures in niches, and balustrades and other decorations in the upper section of the image. Through an opening in the middle of the background we can see the greenery of the garden with a fountain at its centre.

5. Burlachin falls into the garden where the grotto is located³⁶ [Act Three, Scene 9 / *fig. 5*]

Here, to simplify things, the artist reproduced the basic look of the scenery in the previous scene, but he replaced the middle section of the background with a fountain, inserted the figure of Venus and the personification of Love in the niches above the entrance to the grotto, and added two streams along the sides. While the architectural frame here may look identical to the preceding one, there are some slight differences, which means that Frater Constantin must have – as with the two stage designs depicting urban scenes – engraved a new copperplate from the same drawing. Burlachin is floating through the air above the grotto, hoping to get a ride on a chariot like *Allamoda*, but he plummets into the garden.

6. Extravagance entertains *Allamoda* in the garden grotto³⁷ [Act Three, Scene 10 / *fig. 6*]

In the tenth scene of the third act the backdrop of the previous two scenes is retained, but Harovnik made pragmatic changes to diversify the setting so that the interior of the grotto forms the middle section. *Allamoda* is seated at the centre of the scene on a pillow in front of the fountain and is being courted by Extravagance. He is entertaining her with a spread of varied dishes laid out between the two of them. We know from the play that at the same time he has someone perform a song that he composed himself in her honour. Looking on at this scene are two pages and three men, one of whom – perhaps Burlachin – is enjoying some wine.

7. Extravagance leaves *Allamoda*³⁸ [Act Three, Scene 13 / *fig. 7*]

The last scene takes place in a desolate setting. Cliff formations line both sides of the scene in linear perspective – perhaps in an allusion to the cliff in the first scene – along with Classical architectural ruins. This scenery is in all likelihood meant to symbolise the awakening from a beautiful illusion, that of the deceptive relationship between *Allamoda* and Extravagance. Two figures are depicted on the stage: *Allamoda*, presented as a hunched, homely woman in an ordinary shabby dress is on the left, while on the right the smartly dressed Extravagance is in the process of leaving *Allamoda*. He has discovered and now knows that he was deceived into thinking Poverty, deviously embellished in fancy clothes and jewellery, was *Allamoda*. The performance of the musical drama concludes with the moral of

this story, which is that one must beware of poverty dolled up in shiny clothes.

***Fatum austriacum* (1659) and descriptions of the prints**

The original *favola morale* by Francesco Sbarra, *La Moda*, first published in Lucca in 1652, only had an illustrated frontispiece³⁹, [*fig. 8*] as did the edition published in Venice in 1664. None of the first editions of the play, however, were illustrated with prints. The Italian original could not therefore have been the source of inspiration for Harovnik or for the person who commissioned the work in creating either the scenic designs or the illustrations for the printed copy of the play *Betrug der Allamoda*. I believe, however, that Harovnik was familiar with another play published a year earlier, namely, *Fatum austriacum* by Johann Rehlin, and this may have served as his source of inspiration.⁴⁰ This play, a tribute to Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, was first performed in 1659 at a Protestant secondary school in what is today Bratislava.⁴¹ Here again, seven prints were created as illustrations for the play *Fatum austriacum*, each of which was created using two different plates, while the proscenium print is identical in all seven. The stage is formed on either side by two four-sided columns and a half-column with Corinthian capitals, which support a simple architrave. In the middle of the architrave there is a voluted cartouche with a blank centre and it is being held by two figures seated on the architrave. The inscription space above the cartouche was left empty. There are vases with flowers on the architrave above the capitals of the columns and fruit festoons are tied to the central cartouche above the stage. No decorated elements were applied to the face of the apron. The proscenium in these prints is a much simpler and more elegant design than the one done for *Allamoda*. All the prints are signed in the bottom left corner ‘*Elias Gedeler. archit.[ectus] et pict.[or] Theatri.*’, and analogically on the right ‘*Maurit.[ius] Lang sculpsit.*’. The interior prints are not signed separately, as they are evidently the work of the same artists. Each of these prints is described below:

1. Divine Providence⁴² [Prologue / *fig. 8*]

The first print is an illustration of the play’s Prologue. It captures a view of the sea, with rocky cliffs on the sides, a vista of open water, and boats on the horizon. In the middle of the sky we see Divine Providence, adorned with a star-shaped halo, sitting on a cloud and establishing her reign on earth. She holds a crown and sceptre in one hand and in the other holds a balance with which to weigh the crown and the sceptre. Four beasts of prey are emerging from the sea in the foreground (a winged lion, a winged leopard, a bear, and an animal that does not resemble any known creature) from Daniel’s vision.



11 – Jacob Sandrart after Giovanni Burnacini, **Sixth Scene**, copper engraving. Benedetto Ferrari, *Inganno d'Amore*, Regensburg: Christophor Fischer, 1653

2. Jupiter rains lightning down on Stupidity, Envy, Disunity, Death and Anarchy⁴³ [Act One, Scene 4]

Here we see Jupiter, the chief god of Olympus, riding an eagle and surrounded by other Olympian gods, among whom we can identify Minerva, Mars, Juno, and Mercury, and hurling lightning at a giant hill of piled rock. Naked Titans with green laurels on their heads and around their waists attack the Olympians from the hill trying to overturn the ruling order. They are doing so at the instigation of the five vices: Stupidity, Jealousy, Discord, Death, and Anarchy. The personifications are rendered in remarkable detail in the print. On the left, we can see the personification of Stupidity in a clown's hat and on stilts, next to whom is Jealousy, with a torch and a snake in its hand and on its helmet. On the right we see Discord, its hands clutching its heart, peeking out from behind the rock, and next to it Death is attacking the Olympian gods, and on the far right we see

Anarchy. The artist framed the entire scene with a natural setting made up of trees on both sides.

3. Divine Wisdom imparts wisdom to Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I at night while he sleeps⁴⁴ [Act Two, Scene 3]

The third illustration is a visually extraordinary print as it captures a scene that takes place at night. The scene is set against a backdrop of two rows of townhouses connected at the visual centre of the scene by a bridge with a balustrade that bears the Habsburg coat of arms in the middle of it. The bridge marks the rear section of the scene, where we can see Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I, wearing his crown and flanked by two pages, seated majestically on his throne. On the right descending towards him on a cloud is Divine Wisdom, genuflecting, haloed, and torch in hand, the light from which washes over the central scene. The illustration captures the moment in the play when Emperor Leopold, in a dream at night, is drawing



12 – Sebastian Ilenet after Giovanni Burnacini, **Fourth Ballet Scene**, copper engraving. *La Gara. Opera drammatica rappresentata in Musica* [...], Wien: Matteo Riccio, 1652

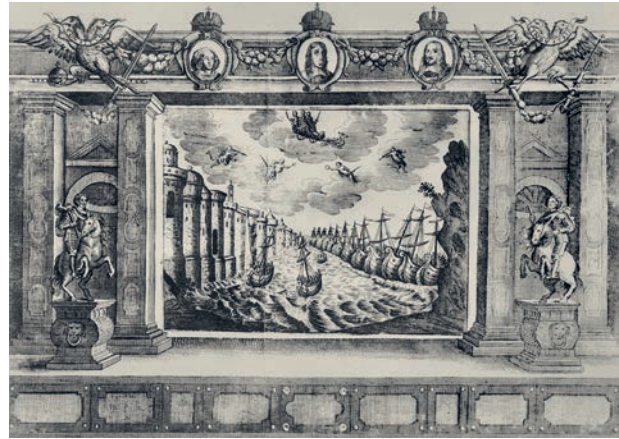
his prudence, wit, and wisdom directly from Divine Wisdom. The four pillars along the sides of the scene with Leopold are an allusion to Solomon's Pillars of Wisdom.

4. The personification of the House of Austria receives the Golden Apple⁴⁵ [Act Two, Scene 4 / fig. 9]

The fourth scene works with a reference to the Judgement of Paris, but the scene's traditional iconography is adapted to the purpose of paying tribute to the House of Austria. In the top part of the scene there are two male figures seated on clouds in the sky; on the left is a judge, engaged in the task of fairly weighing and judging matters, and on the right we see the same judge, this time with a halo of stars, holding a Golden Apple in his hand and a spindle. Cupid, equipped with a bow and arrows, hovers in the sky between them, as though he were intimating to whom the Golden Apple should be given. At the front of the scene there are seven women standing on the ground armed with lances and shields. The woman in the middle stands out, not just because of her position but also because her head is adorned with a small crown signifying victory. She holds in her hand the Golden Apple she has been given, and on her shield we see the Austrian crown with two crossed swords. The Golden Apple symbolises that among the three provinces within the Holy Roman Empire, the emperorship has been entrusted to the House of Austria. The artist has set the entire scene in a frame of natural elements made up of rock formations and trees.

5. Asia, Africa, and America come to pay tribute to Europe and bring her victory palms⁴⁶ [Act Three, Scene 4]

In an urban setting almost identical that in Scene 3, the personification of Europe, wearing her crown, sits regally



13 – Gerard Bouttats (engraver), **Seventh Sheet (Constantine's Fleet Attacks the Walls of Rome)**, copper engraving. Nicolaus Avancini, *Pietas victrix sive Flavius Constantinus Magnus de Maxentio tyranno victor*, Wien: Matthäus Cosmerovius, 1659

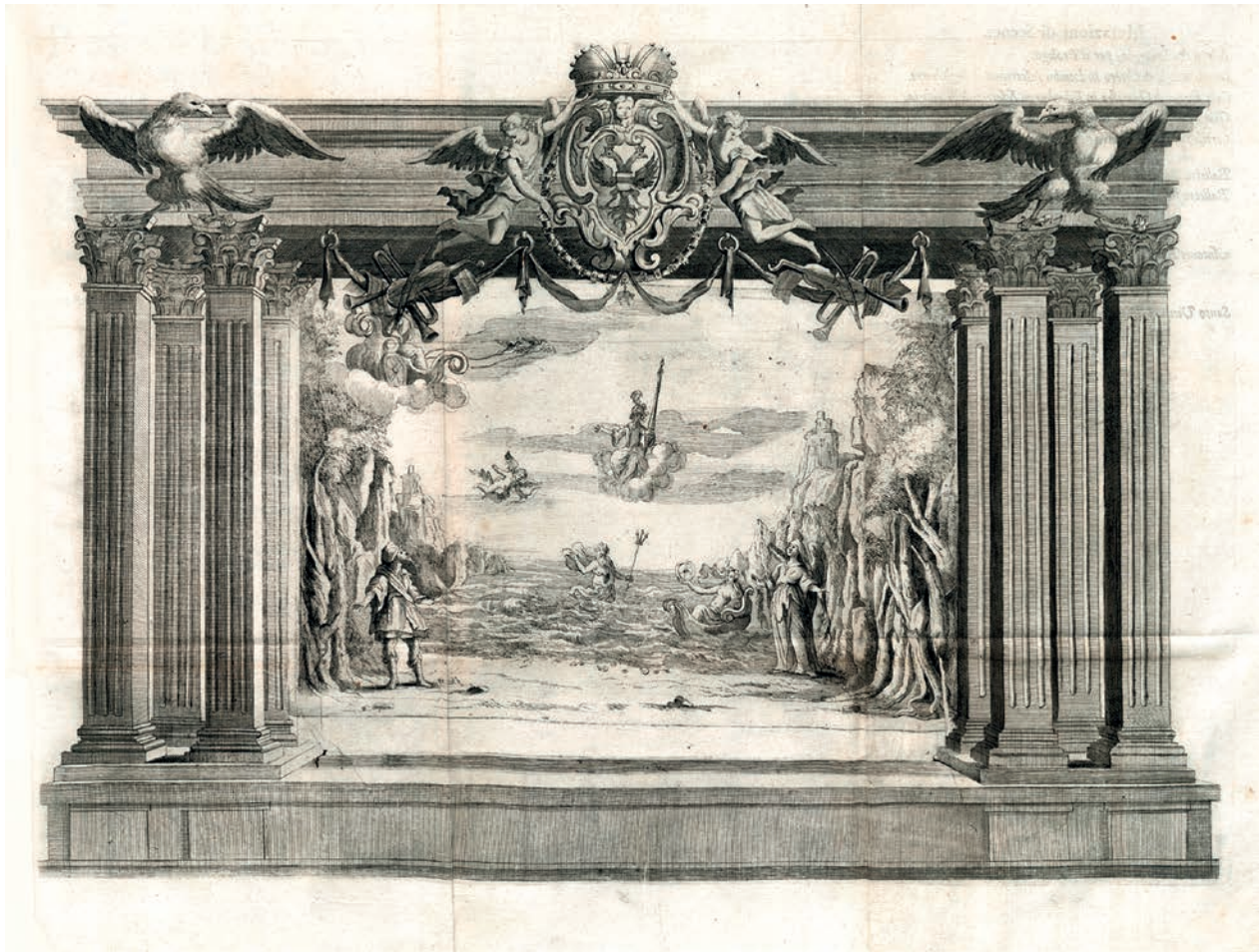
on her throne set in a niche between six Classical columns. She is approached on all sides by the personifications of the remaining known continents, Asia, Africa, and America, who are accompanied by their characteristic animals and attributes and have come to bow down and pay tribute to Europe as the one who has been called upon to rule. In the foreground a circle of six small black dancers with tambourines complete the picture of joyful festivity and celebration.

6. Pluto, king of the underworld, pledges to forever pay the sovereign a generous fee⁴⁷ [Act Three, Scene 5]

Pluto, ruler of the land of the dead, is standing with his royal insignia in the middle of a forest amidst various buildings or structures and a kind of cave or grotto, perhaps symbolising the underworld. In his left hand he is holding a purse full of gold or money. The miners and dwarfs who extract gold from the mines are dancing around in front of him. Nobly attired ladies look on at the scene from the sidelines. The third woman from the left, in the strikingly more opulent robe, may be the personification of Hungary, who through the song and dance of these figures has induced Pluto to forever pay the sovereign a gift in the form of gold mined in the underworld as a sign of the subservience of Hungary as part of the Monarchy.

7. On orders from the Holy Roman Empire an artist completes a portrait of the emperor's future wife⁴⁸ [Act Three, Scene 6 / fig. 10]

The main protagonist in the final scene captured in the prints is the Holy Roman Empire, depicted in the middle of the scene holding the imperial apple, a crown, and a sceptre. The artist portrayed there has completed a portrait of the future wife of the new emperor on orders from the Holy



14 – Sebastian Ienet (?), Gerard Bouttats (?) or Frans van der Steen after Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini, **First Scene**, copper engraving. Aurelio Amalteo, *Il Re Gilidoro. Favola Drammatica Musicale* [...], Wien: Matthäus Cosmerovius, 1659

Roman Empire, and it is being carried away by cupids into the sky to give to Hymenaeus, who is depicted in the sky on the left with a burning torch in his hand, and to Juno, depicted in the sky on the right seated in a chariot pulled by peacocks. These two figures are the guardians of marriage. The scene unfolds within a frame that is comprised of natural elements and architecture and there are five women in dancing poses on each side of the scene.

A comparison of the prints depicting the play *Betrug der Allamoda* and those depicting *Fatum austriacum* in the context of other contemporary print illustrations

Fatum austriacum and *Betrug der Allamoda* differ in terms of their content and each play tells a different story, but there are visual aspects of the prints produced to illustrate them that suggest that Fabián Václav Harovnik may have drawn inspiration from the work in the published edition

of *Fatum austriacum*. The sketches for *Fatum austriacum* were created by theatre architect and painter Elias Gedeler (1620–1693).⁴⁹ They were recreated as copperplate prints by Mauritius Lang, originally from Augsburg, who worked in Vienna, Trnava, and Košice between 1649 and 1667.⁵⁰ *Fatum* and *Allamoda* share seven similar illustrations. In the 1650s this was the number of prints commonly found in printed copies of plays and it usually corresponded to the number of scenery changes. The play *La Gara*⁵¹ (1652), for example, was printed with seven prints, as were the copies of *L'Inganno d'Amore*⁵² (1653) and *Theodosius magnus*⁵³ (1654). The play *Il Re Gilidoro*⁵⁴ (1659) was printed with only five illustrations. From the end of the 1650s, however, the number of illustrations in print versions of theatre works in most cases began to gradually increase and this was evidently due to an increase in the number of scenery changes, which is what the prints were usually based on.⁵⁵

Fatum austriacum, the print illustration for which may have served as the source of inspiration for the illustrations created

for *Betrug der Allamoda*, employed an even distribution of prints throughout the work which was likely based on the play's scenery changes. The Prologue and the first act are illustrated with two prints and the second act contains two prints as well, while the third act, during which the action climaxes, is accompanied by three prints. In contrast, it is not entirely clear what intention guided Harovník or the person who commissioned the work in selecting which scenes from the play to illustrate. Like in *Fatum*, in *Allamoda* the first illustration accompanies the Prologue. The second print is a visual accompaniment to the first act. The other five prints, however, illustrate the third act. The illustrations are thus distributed somewhat asymmetrically in the printed copy of *Betrug der Allamoda*. If we set out from the assumption that the prints corresponded to the number of scenery changes, as was customary at that time, this would mean that the second act was played out in the scenery of the first act. It was necessarily just the painter who selected the scenes and decided which parts of the play would be accompanied by new stage designs, as this could also have been the work of Costantino Arzoni, who in the Lobkowitz transcript copy of the play, which contains stage notes, is named as not only the play's translator but also as having organised a production of the play (*'Erhöher der lustbringenden Gessellschaft, so diese comaedi recitiret'*⁵⁶).

To create the illustrations for *Betrug der Allamoda* Fabián Václav Harovník used, as he was the custom at the time, the proscenium as an architectural frame, which is identical in all seven prints. Into this the central part of the print depicting the individual scenes on the changing stage was then printed.⁵⁷ All the illustrations are composed using a simple linear perspective with a single vanishing point towards which the lines of rock formations, buildings, garden architecture, or cliffs and Classical ruins in the scene converged. Although it cannot be ruled out that some of the minor violations of the rules of perspective that are apparent mainly in parts of the urban architecture in the second and third prints could have been caused by the engraver, Frater Constantin, a closer study shows that Harovník's knowledge of perspective was more empirical in nature. Although the proscenium in *Allamoda* abounds in varied elements and decorative features, it is lacking in spatial depth, and it thus ultimately comes across as somewhat flat. These qualitative differences particularly stand out in a comparison with the brilliant work that was produced by scenographers active in the Vienna Court in the second half of the 17th century.

As noted above, the primarily source of inspiration for the illustrations Fabián Václav Harovník created to capture the changing stage scenes was likely the prints that were created a year earlier for the play *Fatum austriacum*. Harovník used and eclectically combined different elements from those prints to which he added his own ideas to create a new composition, which was the same approach he typically applied to create his wall paintings.⁵⁸ Gedeler and *Fatum* were no doubt the source of Harovník's idea to depict the first scene, with Truth and Arion,

in a sea setting accompanied by rock formations and vegetation along the sides. Water scenes of this type, however, can also be found in a print created for the play *Inganno d'Amore* (1653). A certain parallel to the way the personification of Truth has been placed on a cloud in the middle of the sky in *Allamoda* can be seen in the way Divine Providence is positioned in the middle of the first print for *Fatum* or in the position of the Judge in the fourth print.⁵⁹ [fig. 11] These scenic components were evidently made possible on the stage with the use of stage rigging. However, Harovník may have drawn the motif of the ships lined up side by side in a tight row, which does not appear in *Fatum*, from another source, such as the copy of the play *Pietas victrix* from 1659, even though that would not have been a direct source of inspiration.⁶⁰

Fabián Václav Harovník probably drew inspiration for his visualisation of the townhouses in the second and third prints for *Allamoda* from the similar treatment of the townhouse façades in the third and fifth prints for *Fatum*. Viewers will also be certain to notice the pragmatically economic approach Elias Gedeler applied in using the same design for the line of townhouses in the background in the third and fifth scenes; the first time, however, is for a scene at night, and the second time for a daylight scene, as a result of which it is not as obvious that an almost identical background is used in both. Fabián Václav Harovník was even more obviously practical in that he made no attempt at all to conceal the fact that he was using the same background. The second and third scenes share the same urban frame, just as the fourth, fifth, and sixth scenes employ the same motifs and are diversified only by the different central components in these scenes.

Harovník modelled the harnessing in the third scene of *Allamoda* on the last print in Gedeler's series for *Fatum*. We should note, however, that there were many plays that used this motif of a team of harnessed creatures in the sky. This element came from Giovanni Burnacini (circa 1610–1655) and likely made its way into Harovník's work through Gedeler.⁶¹ Elias Gedeler was no doubt very familiar with the work of this theatrical stage designer from Bologna, who by no later than August 1651 was already working at the Vienna Court.⁶² Burnacini's stage designs and consequently also the prints produced from them by various engravers employ linear perspective with a single vanishing point, which we can see, for example, in the prints for *La Gara*⁶³ (1652) and *L'Inganno d'Amore*⁶⁴ (1653). Burnacini's designs, however, reveal the artist's erudition and skill in working with perspective. When we compare Burnacini's prints to *Fatum austriacum*, we can see there are various parallels between them, which could represent direct variations in *Fatum* on Burnacini's prints, or they may just be indicative of a certain general trend and fashion in stage design at the time. There are clear parallels to the way in which the rock formations, the sea, and the gods on clouds are depicted when we compare the fourth print for the play *La Gara* (1652) [fig. 11] with the first print for *Fatum austriacum* (1659).

The author of the prints for *Fatum austriacum* could not have been unfamiliar with Burnacini's prints for the play *Inganno d'Amore* (1653). This play was moreover published – like *Fatum austriacum* – in Bratislava and similarly contained seven illustrations. For the seventh print in his series Elias Gedeler drew from Burnacini the idea of depicting Hymenaeus on a cloud in the sky holding a torch and of having Juno approach on the right on a chariot pulled by peacocks. [fig. 13] There are also clear but more generally similarities that can be observed in the depiction of the rock formations and vegetation between the second and sixth prints for *Inganno* and the first print for *Fatum*. There is no ruling out the possibility either that Elias Gedeler's inspiration for depicting the night scene in the third print for *Fatum* was Giovanni Burnacini's first print for *Inganno* with the Goddess of Fortune.

Similar general principles in fashion at the time guided the composition of the prints for printed copies of a play called *Theodosius magnus* (1654) by Jacob Bruynel († 1690), but no direct connection to *Fatum* or *Allamoda* can be observed in them.⁶⁵ Similarly, there is a copy of a play called *Il Re Gilidoro* (1659) [fig. 14] that contains designs/drawings of scenes by Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini (1636–1707), but again they do not exhibit a direct connection. It is possible, however, to observe a certain similarity in Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini's drawings, however much it may be an indirect one, in the architectural frame in the fourth scene by Harovnik and the fourth image illustrating the play *Pelope Geloso* (1659). While this is a somewhat more remote parallel, it is indicative of a certain general tendency to use an architectural frame as a scenic backdrop and break up the surface of the architecture with niches containing Classical statues or with protruding columns or other architectural elements.

Based on an analysis of the illustrations accompanying the plays discussed above I believe that Fabián Václav

Harovnik's primarily inspiration for the designs he created to illustrate the play *Betrug der Allamoda* was Gedeler's illustrations for *Fatum austriacum*. We are not able to demonstrate his direct knowledge of the other plays solely on the basis of formal elements, even though it is likely that this painter from Prague had at the very least an elementary familiarity with scenographic work that was being produced in his day at the Vienna Court and with the work of Giovanni Burnacini and his son Lodovico Ottavio. The design and the execution of the prints for *Fatum* are of much higher artistic quality than the prints for *Betrug der Allamoda*. They are characterised by a great lightness of hand, a certain playfulness, a better grasp of perspective, and the better deployment of variability and rhythm than the somewhat more heavy-handed and bulkier depictions in *Allamoda*, which devote more attention to the quantity of details, minutiae and individual things and inclines towards greater repetitiveness, especially in the way the architectural elements and natural scenery that create the linear perspective are executed. Nor does *Allamoda* particularly shine in comparison with other prints based on stage designs produced around the same time, especially at the Vienna Court, where from the middle of the 17th century many Italian artists – in particular members of the Burnacini family from Bologna – were responsible for creating high-quality work for the most exacting clients at court and especially for members of the imperial family. Despite this, the prints created to illustrate the print copy of the play *Betrug der Allamoda* are a highly valuable source of evidence of a singular cultural event that took place in Prague's theatre scene early in the second half of the 17th century. They no less importantly also provide us with an opportunity to experience Prague painter Fabián Václav Harovnik in the role of theatre artist and the creator of stage designs.

Translated by Robin Cassling

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Notes:

⁶⁵ This article was written with the support of the Czech Science Foundation as part of work on the project Podvod Allamody – pražská divadelní událost roku 1660 (Allamoda's Deception – the Theatre Event of 1660 in Prague) (no. GA19-04939S). I would like to thank Alena Jakubcová for her valuable contributions and comments on the text. I am also grateful to Miroslav Kindl for help in obtaining many prints of theatre plays and literature on the subject.

¹ From the literature cf. Herbert Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert*, Tutzing 1985. – Karl Möseneder (ed.), *Feste in Regensburg. Von der Reformation bis in die Gegenwart*, Regensburg 1986. – Michael Ritter, „Man sieht der Sternen König glanzten“. *Der Kaiserhof im barocken Wien als Zentrum deutsch-italienischer Literaturbestrebungen (1653 bis 1718) am besonderen Beispiel der Libretto-Dichtung*, Wien 1999. – Andrea Sommer-Mathis, *Feste am Wiener Hof unter der Regierung von Kaiser Leopold I. und seiner ersten Frau Margarita Teresa (1666–1673)*, in: Fernando Checa Cremades (ed.), *Arte Barroco e ideal clásico. Aspectos del arte cortesano de la segunda mitad del siglo XVII*, Madrid 2004, pp. 231–256. – Eadem, *Fest und Festung.*

Die Wiener Burgbefestigung als Bauplatz von Tanzsälen und Opernhäusern im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* 64, 2010, pp. 83–92. – Alfred Noe, *Geschichte der italienischen Literatur in Österreich. Teil 1: Von den Anfängen bis 1797*, Wien 2011. – Andrew H. Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III. Representing the Counter-Reformation Monarch at the End of the Thirty Years' War*, Oxon – New York 2012. – Andrea Sommer-Mathis – Daniela Franke – Rudi Risatti (edd.), *Spettacolo barocco! Triumph des Theaters*, Petersberg 2016. – Andrea Sommer-Mathis, *The Imperial Court Theatre in Vienna from Burnacini to Galli Bibliena*, *Music in Art* XLII, 2017, nos. 1–2, pp. 71–96. – Rudi Risatti (ed.), *Groteske Komödie in den Zeichnungen von Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini (1636–1707)*, Wien 2019. Among Czech-language sources on court festivities, cf., e.g., Miroslav Kindl – Kateřina Fajtllová (edd.), *Koně v piškotech. Slavnosti na dvoře císaře Leopolda I.*, Olomouc 2017. – Rostislav Smíšek, *Slavnosti a zábavy na dvoře Leopolda I.*, in: ibidem, pp. 11–19. – Miroslav Kindl, *Maškaráda a díl komedie... Slavnosti, ceremonie a jejich obrazové a grafické dokumentace na habsburském dvoře ve střední Evropě v 17. století* (dissertation, FF UP), Olomouc 2018. Further literature is cited in the text.

² Among the sources on Harovnik, cf., e.g. Michal Šroněk, *Pražští malíři*

1600–1656. *Mistři, tovaryši, učedníci a štolíři v Knize Staroměstského malířského cechu. Bibliografický slovník*, Praha 1997, p. 44. – Adolf Scherl, Fabián Václav Harovník, *Divadelní revue XIV*, 2003, no. 4, p. 72. – Vendula Prostředníková, *Nástěnné malby Fabiána Václava Harovníka na zámku v Novém Městě nad Metují* (bachelor's thesis, FF UP), Olomouc 2015. – Radka Norková, *Ve společenství bohů a hrdinů. Mýty antického světa v české a moravské nástěnné malbě šlechtických venkovských sídel v letech 1650–1690*, Praha 2016, pp. 22–63. – Vendula Prostředníková, *Studie o malířských realizacích Fabiána Václava Harovníka* (master's thesis, FF UP), Olomouc 2017 (with an overview of earlier literature on Harovník). Among recent sources on painting dating after the middle of the 17th century in Bohemia, cf. Martin Mádl (ed.), *Tencalla I. Statě o životě a díle ticinských freskařů, o objednavatelích a o umělcích z jejich okruhu*, Praha 2012. – Martin Mádl (ed.), *Tencalla II. Katalog nástěnných maleb Carporora a Giacoma Tencally na Moravě a v Čechách*, Praha 2013. – Idem, *Nástěnná malba v kontextu barokní architektury*, in: Petr Macek – Richard Biegel – Jakub Bachtík (edd.), *Barokní architektura v Čechách*, Praha 2015, pp. 652–675. – Štěpán Vácha – Radka Heisslerová, *Ve stínu Karla Škréty. Pražští malíři v letech 1635–1680. Antonín Stevens – Jan Bedřich Hess – Matěj Zimprecht*, Praha 2018.

³ Srov. Gottfried Johann Dlabacz, *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexikon für Böhmen und zum Theil auch für Mähren und Schlesien*, Vol. I, Prag 1815, p. 565.

⁴ This effort was made in particular by Marie Závorková, Adolf Scherl, Alena Jakubcová, and the author of this text. Cf. Marie Závorková, Fabián Václav Harovník, *Památky archeologické* 38, 1932, pp. 62–69. – Scherl (note 2), p. 72. – Idem, *Favola morale Francesca Sbarry jako pražská divadelní událost roku 1660*, in: Ladislav Daniel – Jiří Pelán – Piotr Salwa – Olga Špilárová (edd.), *Italská renesance a baroko ve střední Evropě. Příspěvky z mezinárodní konference Olomouc 17.–18. října 2003. Renesans i barok wloski w Europie Środkowej. Materiały międzynarodowej konferencji Olomuniec 17–18 października 2003*, Olomouc 2005, pp. 227–232, quote on p. 227. – Adolf Scherl, Fabián Václav Harovník, in: Alena Jakubcová a kol., *Starší divadlo v českých zemích do konce 18. století. Osobnosti a díla*, Praha 2007, pp. 226–228.

⁵ The Getty Research Institute, Library, Special Collections, ID 2868-812. I had an opportunity to study the material in person during the time I spent at the Getty Research Institute in 2018. I am grateful to Tracey Schuster at the Getty Research Institute for accommodating my request in 2014 to have the album scanned and made accessible online.

⁶ For example, Jan Kollár noted that Fabián Václav Harovník drew seven scenes for the comedy *Die Pracht*, but mistakenly gave the year as 1160 instead of 1660. Cf. Jan Kollár, *Cestopis obsahující cestu do horní Italie a odtud přes Tyrolsko a Baworsko, se zvláštním ohledem na slawjanské živly roku 1841 konanou a sepsanou od Jana Kollára. S Wyobrazeními a Přílohami též i se Slovníkem slawjanských umělcův všech kmenův od neystarších časův k nynějšímu věku, s krátkým životopisem a udáním znamenitějších, zvláště národních, wýtvorův*, Pešť 1843, p. 300 (reprint Bratislava 1957).

⁷ Cf. Antonín Rybička, *Pomůcky k životopisnému slovníku českých malířů, Památky archeologické a místopisné III*, 1859, p. 139. – [Antonín Rybička], in: František Ladislav Rieger – Jakub Malý (edd.), *Slovník naučný*, Vol. 3, Praha 1863, p. 651.

⁸ František X. Jiřík, Harovník Fabián Václav, in: *Ottův slovník naučný*, Vol. 10, Praha 1896, p. 901.

⁹ Karel V. Herain, *České malířství od doby rudolfínské do smrti Reinerovy. Příspěvky k dějinám jeho vnitřního vývoje v letech 1576–1743*, Praha 1915, p. 62.

¹⁰ Anonym, Harovník (Harovign), Fabian S., in: Ulrich Thieme – Felix Becker (edd.), *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Vol. XVI, Leipzig 1923, p. 49.

¹¹ The paper by Marie Závorková was published in 1932 in the journal *Památky archeologické*. Cf. Závorková (note 4), p. 66. Marie Závorková noted that the text of the play was 'not accessible at that time'.

¹² E.g. Prokop Toman, *Nový slovník československých výtvarných umělců*, Vol. I, Praha 1947, p. 297. – Pavel Preiss, *Das Bühnenbild im Böhmischen Barock*, in: Oldřich J. Blažiček – Pavel Preiss – Dagmar Hejrová, *Kunst des Barock in Böhmen. Skulptur, Malerei, Kunsthandwerk, Bühnenbild*, Recklinghausen 1977, pp. 403–429, pp. 405–406. – Michal Šroněk, *Barokní malířství 17. století v Čechách*, in: Jiří Dvorský – Eliška Fučíková (edd.), *Dějiny českého výtvarného umění. II/1. Od počátků renesance do závěru baroka*, Praha 1989, pp. 324–356, especially p. 352. – Petr Svojanovský, *Freska Fabiána Václava Harovníka*

v zámku ve Štětkni, *Zprávy památkové péče* 57, 1997, pp. 79–82, especially p. 79. – Šroněk (note 2), pp. 45–46.

¹³ Cf. Scherl, *Favola morale* (note 4), p. 228. – Scherl (note 2), p. 72. – Scherl, Fabián Václav Harovník (note 4), p. 227.

¹⁴ Ferdinand Menčík, *Příspěvky k dějinám českého divadla. Rozpravy České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění v Praze IV*, no. 1, Praha 1895. – Katrin Keller – Alessandro Catalano (edd.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel des Kardinals Ernst Adalbert von Harrach (1598–1667)*, Wien 2010.

¹⁵ Johannes Bolte, *Das Danziger Theater im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen, XII), Hamburg – Leipzig 1895, p. 118.

¹⁶ Lobkowicz Collections, sign. VI Eb 6, 122 pp. Cf. Alena Richterová, *Teatra- lia v rukopisné sbírce roudnické lobkowiczské knihovny*, in: Jitka Radimská (ed.), *K výzkumu zámeckých, měšťanských a církevních knihoven. Pour une étude des bibliothèques aristocratiques, bourgeoises et conventuelles* (Opera romanica, 1), České Budějovice 2000, pp. 123–133, especially p. 125.

¹⁷ Cf. note 5.

¹⁸ The library of the Royal Canonry of Premonstratensians at Strahov, sign. Kl 1003/11. The library collection of the Franciscan house at the Church of the Holy Trinity in Hořovice was given to Strahov Library by Franciscan order, to which the collection was returned in restitution after 1990. I would like to thank Hedvika Kuchařová for providing me with information on the provenience of this copy.

¹⁹ Praha, Národní muzeum, knihovna, sign. 57 A 18.

²⁰ Francesco Sbarra, *La Moda, favola morale*, Lucca 1652. Cf. Scherl, *Favola morale* (note 4), pp. 227–232. – Adolf Scherl, *Die deutsche Rezeption von Francesco Sbarra La Moda auf der Prager Bühne und im Repertoire der deutschen Wanderbühne*, in: Jill Bepler – Helga Meise (edd.), *Sammeln, Lesen, Übersetzen als höfische Praxis der Frühen Neuzeit. Die böhmische Bibliothek der Fürsten Eggenberg im Kontext der Fürsten- und Fürstinnenbibliotheken der Zeit*, Wiesbaden 2010 pp. 107–113.

²¹ Scherl, *Favola morale* (note 4), pp. 230–231.

²² Keller – Catalano (note 14), no. 7, p. 207. – Scherl, Fabián Václav Harovník (note 4), p. 227. According to some researchers, Cardinal Harrach may have been the person who initiated the translation and the Prague staging of the play. For more on this see Scherl, *Favola morale* (note 4), p. 230.

²³ Cf. note 2.

²⁴ On Smíšek cf. especially Georg Kaspar Nagler, *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon oder Nachrichten von dem Leben und den Werken der Maler, Bildhauer, Baumeister, Kupferstecher, Lithographen, Formschneider, Zeichner, Medailleure, Elfenbeinarbeiter, etc.*, Vol. 15, München 1845, pp. 370–371. – Idem, *Die Monogrammist: und diejenigen bekannten und unbekanntenen Künstler aller Schulen, welche sich zur Bezeichnung ihrer Werke eines figürlichen Zeichens, der Initialen des Namens, der Abbeviatur desselben etc. bedient haben [...]*, Vol. IV, München 1871, p. 133, entry no. 415. – Scherl (note 2), p. 72. – Scherl, *Favola morale* (note 4), p. 227. – Petr Voit, *Encyklopedie knihy. Starší knižnická a příbuzné obory mezi polovinou 15. a počátkem 19. století*, Praha 2006, pp. 824–825. – Petra Zelenková, *Barokní grafika 17. století v zemích Koruny české. Seventeenth-Century Baroque Prints in the Lands of the Bohemian Crown*, Praha 2009, pp. 30–33, 168, 174.

²⁵ Coat of arms of Count Bernard Ignác of Martinic, 1650, copperplate engraving 155 × 125mm, published in: Jaroslav Borzita, *Sertum nymphaeae ex heroicis virtutibus illustrissimi et excellentissimi domini, D. Jaroslai Borzitae, S.R.I. comitem de Martiniez [...] contextum, ejusdem in busto, veteri more, velut veris novi et veteris amoris vertigal, deponendum, prima maii, anno MDCL.* Photo in: private ownership, Antikvariát [Antiquarian bookshop] Daša Pahor, <https://www.pahor.de/maps-and-prints/history/martinic-martinitz-martinic-martinitz-omnia-cordis-habet-effulget-titulis-heros.html> (retrieved 25. 8. 2019).

²⁶ On Frater Constantinus and his prints, cf. Dlabacz (note 3), Vol. I, pp. 291–293. – Nagler, *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon* (note 24), Vol. 3, München 1836, p. 67. – Nagler, *Die Monogrammist* (note 24), Vol. II, München 1860, p. 869, no. 2412, p. 878, no. 2453. – Antonín Podlaha, *Materialie k slovníku umělců a uměleckých řemeslníků v Čechách, Památky archeologické XXVI*, 1914, pp. 32–50, cit. p. 39. – Idem, *Materialie k slovníku umělců a uměleckých řemeslníků v Čechách, Památky archeologické XXVII*, 1915, pp. 48–70, quotes on pp. 66, 70. – Toman (note 12), p. 131. – Scherl (note 2),

p. 72. – Voit (note 24), pp. 168–169. – Zelenková (note 24), pp. 24–25, 34–35, 38–41, 166, 172. – Petra Zelenková, *Skrytá tvář baroka. Grafika v 17. století v českých zemích. A Hidden Face of the Baroque. 17th-Century Prints in the Czech Lands*, Praha 2011, pp. 28–31.

²⁷ For a list cf. Dlabacz (note 3), Vol. I, pp. 291–293. For a new and exhaustive treatment, cf. Voit (note 24), pp. 168–169.

²⁸ Frater Constantinus, *Arnošt Vojtěch Harrach*, copperplate engraving, 114 × 70 mm, Praha, Národní galerie v Praze, Collection of Prints and Drawings, inv. no. R 43544. Cf. Dlabacz (note 3), Vol. I, pp. 291–293. – Scherl (note 2), p. 72. – Scherl, *Favola morale* (note 4), p. 230.

²⁹ The prints were signed either *Fr:[ater] Co:[nstantin] s:[culp]sit*, or *Fr:[ater] Con:[stantin] sculpsit*.

³⁰ The description of the proscenium, with some modifications, is drawn from an unpublished text by Vendula Prostředníková.

³¹ The print was created using two plates. The smaller, interior print is 165 × 217 mm and it is signed on the bottom left: [...] *Smischeck. fe.[cit]*.

³² The way in which the personification of Truth is depicted does not correspond to Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*. Its literary or visual source could not be found.

³³ The print was created using two plates. The smaller, interior print is 181 × 227 mm and it is signed: *Fabi:[an] Ha:[rovn]ik d[elineavit]* on the bottom left and *Fr:[ater] Co:[nstantin] s:[culp]sit* on the bottom right.

³⁴ The print was created using two plates. The smaller, interior print is 180 × 216 mm and it is signed: *Fabi:[an] Ha:[rovn]ik d[elineavit]* on the bottom left and *Fr:[ater] Co:[nstantin] s:[culp]sit* on the bottom right.

³⁵ The print was created using two plates. The smaller, interior plate is 178 × 226 mm and it is *Fabian Haro / vnic deli:[neavit]* on the bottom left and *Fr:[ater] Co:[nstantin] s:[culp]sit* on the bottom right.

³⁶ The print was created using two plates. The smaller, interior print is 173 × 221 mm; it is not signed.

³⁷ The print was created using two plates. The smaller, interior plate is 179 × 224 mm and it is signed: *Fabi:[an] Ha:[rovn]ik d[elineavit]* on the bottom left and *Fr:[ater] Co:[nstantin] s:[culp]sit* on the bottom right.

³⁸ The print was created using two plates. The smaller, interior print is 183 × 223 mm and it is signed: *Fabi:[an] Ha:[rovn]ik d[elineavit]* on the bottom left and *Fr:[ater] Co:[nstantin] s:[culp]sit* on the bottom right.

³⁹ Sbarra (note 20). The play was also printed the same year in Milan and Bologna, but without an illustrated frontispiece.

⁴⁰ Johann Rehlin, *Fatum austriacum*, Bratislava/Pressburg 1659. Copies of this little-known play are in the National Library in Prague/Národní knihovna v Praze, sign. 9 A 00024/adl.1, the British Library in London, sign. 1343.h.4.; Staatsbibliothek Berlin, sign. 4" Xf 4634 (lost in the war); in the private collection of Rainer Theobald. The connection between the prints for the play *Betrug der Allamoda* and those for the play *Fatum austriacum* was pointed out by Bärbel Rudin.

⁴¹ Cf. Rainer Theobald, an unpublished typescript on the publication of this copy, 2 pages, the property of Alena Jakubcová.

⁴² The print was created using two plates. The print from the larger plate is 260 × 260 mm. The smaller, interior print is 105 × 160 mm and unsigned.

⁴³ The print was created using two plates. On the print produced by the larger plate cf. note 42. The smaller, interior print is 105 × 160 mm and unsigned.

⁴⁴ The print was created using two plates. On the print produced by the larger plate cf. note 42. The smaller, interior print is 105 × 160 mm and unsigned.

⁴⁵ The print was created using two plates. On the print produced by the larger plate cf. note 42. The smaller, interior print is 105 × 160 mm and unsigned.

⁴⁶ The print was created using two plates. On the print produced by the larger plate cf. note 42. The smaller, interior print is 105 × 160 mm and unsigned.

⁴⁷ The print was created using two plates. On the print produced by the larger plate cf. note 42. The smaller, interior print is 105 × 160 mm and unsigned.

⁴⁸ The print was created using two plates. On the print produced by the larger plate cf. note 42. The smaller, interior print is 105 × 160 mm and unsigned.

⁴⁹ On Gedeler cf. Hans Reuther, Gedeler, Elias (encyclopaedia entry), *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Vol. VI, Berlin 1964, p. 125 [Online-Version: <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd122150031.html#ndbcontent> (retrieved 30. 5. 2020)].

⁵⁰ Cf. <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/pnd123976790.html> (retrieved 30. 5. 2020).

⁵¹ Alberto Vimina, *La Gara, Opera Drammatica rappresentata in musica, per introduzione di Torneo fatto in Vienna [...]*, Vienna 1652 (inventor: Giovanni Burnacini, engraver Sebastian Ienet). The drawings created by Giovanni Burnacini for the prints illustrating the opera *La Gara* have also survived. Cf. Sommer-Mathis, *The Imperial Court Theatre* (note 1). – Kindl, *Maškaráda* (note 1), pp. 161–165. The printed copy had six scenic illustrations and one of the closing tournament in the theatre.

⁵² Benedetto Ferrari, *L'Inganno d'Amore. Dramma di Benedetto Ferrari, dedicato alla S. C. M. dell'Imperatore Ferdinando Terzo*, Ratispona 1653 (inventor of the illustrations: Giovanni Burnacini, engraver Jacob von Sandrart). Cf. Wolfgang Baumann, *Die Oper 'L'inganno d'amore'*, in: Karl Möseneder (ed.), *Feste in Regensburg. Von der Reformation bis in die Gegenwart*, Regensburg 1986, pp. 214–219. – Samantha Santi o De Santi, *Die Burnacini, eine Dynastie von Theateringenieuren. Neue Entdeckungen zu ihrer Herkunft*, in: Rudi Risatti (ed.), *Groteske Komödie in den Zeichnungen von Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini (1636–1707)*, Wien 2019, pp. 39–62, especially pp. 55–57. – Kindl, *Maškaráda* (note 1), p. 168.

⁵³ Nicolaus Avancini, *Theodosius magnus justus et pius Imperator [...]*, Viennae 1654 (inventor of the prints: Jacob Bruynel, engraver: Peter Paul van Milder). Cf. Kindl, *Maškaráda* (note 1), pp. 173–174.

⁵⁴ Aurelio Amalteo, *Il Re Gildoro. Favola Drammatica Musicale [...]*, Vienna 1659 (inventor of the prints: Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini, anonymous engraver).

⁵⁵ For example, the play *Pietas Victrix* (1659) had ten illustrations, the play *Il Pelope geloso* (1659) had eleven illustrations.

⁵⁶ The original wording is: 'Erhöher der lustbringenden Gessellschaft, so diese comadi recitiret'. Nelahozeves, Roudnická lobkowiczská knihovna, ms, sign. VI Eb 6. My attention was directed to the existence of this transcript copy of the play by Richterová (note 16), pp. 125. – Scherl (note 2), p. 230.

⁵⁷ This was the standard approach used to produce prints of theatre plays at the time.

⁵⁸ Cf. Prostředníková, *Nástěnné malby* (note 2). – Radka Nökkala Miltová, Ex Bello Pax. Oslava Waltera Leslieho v malbách na zámku v Novém Městě nad Metují, *Opuscula historiae artium* LXIV, 2015, pp. 32–49. – Nökkala Miltová (note 2), pp. 22–63. – Prostředníková, *Studie o malířských* (note 2).

⁵⁹ Vendula Prostředníková, to whom I am grateful for this information, noted the similarity between the figure of Truth in the first print of the play *Betrug der Allamoda* and the figure of Ariadna in a wall painting depicting Theseus as he is guided out of the labyrinth by Cupid that is in a pale in Nové Město nad Metují and dates from the same year.

⁶⁰ Nicolaus Avancini, *Pietas victrix sive Flavius Constantinus Magnus [...]*, Wien 1659 (inventor of the prints: Gerard Bouttats). This inspiration here was likely not direct.

⁶¹ E.g. *Inganno* (1653) or *Pietas victrix* (1659).

⁶² E.g. Marialuisa Angiolillo, Burnacini, Giovanni, in: *Saur allgemeines Künstlerlexikon: Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, Vol. XV, München – Leipzig 1997, p. 252. – Flora Biach-Schiffmann, *Giovanni und Ludovico Burnacini*, Wien – Berlin 1931, pp. 29–41. – Manfred Boetzkes, Giovanni Burnacini, in: Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, Vol. III, London – New York 1992, p. 649. – Sommer-Mathis, *The Imperial Court* (note 1). – Santi o De Santi (note 52). Among sources in the Czech language see also Kindl, *Maškaráda* (note 1), p. 161.

⁶³ Alberto Vimina, *La Gara, Opera Drammatica rappresentata in musica, per introduzione di Torneo fatto in Vienna [...]*, Vienna 1652 (inventor: Giovanni Burnacini, engraver Sebastian Ienet). Drawings by Giovanni Burnacini for the prints illustrating the opera *La Gara* have also survived. Cf. Sommer-Mathis, *The Imperial Court Theatre* (note 1). – Santi o De Santi (note 52), pp. 51–54. Among sources in the Czech language cf., e.g., Kindl, *Maškaráda* (note 1), pp. 161–165.

⁶⁴ Benedetto Ferrari, *L'Inganno d'Amore. Dramma di Benedetto Ferrari, dedicato alla S. C. M. dell'Imperatore Ferdinando Terzo*, Ratispona 1653 (inventor of the illustrations: Giovanni Burnacini, engraver Jacob von Sandrart). Among sources in the Czech language cf., e.g., Kindl, *Maškaráda* (note 1), p. 168 (5.5).

⁶⁵ Nicolaus Avancini, *Theodosius magnus justus et pius Imperator [...]*, Viennae 1654 (inventor of the prints: Jacob Bruynel, engraver: Peter Paul van Milder). Among sources in the Czech language cf., e.g., Kindl, *Maškaráda* (note 1), pp. 173–174.

Divadelní hra *Betrug der Allamoda* a grafické listy podle návrhů Fabiána Václava Harovníka

Jana Zapletalová

Sbírkou The Getty Research Institute v Los Angeles vydaly recentně na světlo zatím jediný známý tisk divadelní hry *Betrug der Allamoda*, jenž je vybaven sedmi grafickými listy realizovanými podle návrhu pražského malíře Fabiána Václava Harovníka (činný 1644–1683). Ostatní zatím známé výtisky či rukopisy této hry, kterou přeložil Constante Arzoni (1625–1680) do němčiny z úspěšné divadelní hry *La Moda* od Francesca Sbarry (1611–1668), nemají ilustrační doprovod. Hra byla provedena v Praze pod názvem *Betrug der Allamoda* v Martinickém paláci na Hradčanech dne 30. září 1660. Její reprízy se 25. listopadu 1660 zúčastnil kardinál a pražský arcibiskup Arnošt Vojtěch z Harrachu (1598–1667), jenž se v dopise bratruvi pochvalně vyjádřil o „zdařilých proměnách scény“. Za uvedením hry a vydáním jejího tisku stál Jan František Bruntálský z Vrbna (1634–1705), zeť Bernarda Ignáce z Martinic (1603–1685).

Tento článek se zaměřuje na analýzu ilustračního doprovodu výtisku hry v podobě sedmi mědirytů, o jejichž existenci badatelé věděli zprostředkovaně díky informacím Bohumíra Jana Dlabáče. Text poprvé publikuje dlouhou dobu neznámé ilustrace, určuje náměty a věnuje se jejich výtvarnému ztvárnění. Srovnává sedm Harovníkových grafických listů s o rok staršími sedmi tisky divadelní hry *Fatum austriacum* z ruky Johanna Rehline, které snad sloužily Fabiánu Václavu Harovníkovi jako volná inspirační předloha. Věnuje se vazbě na text hry, otázce výběru scén k ilustrování, včlenění grafik v rámci celého tisku a v neposlední řadě srovnání s dobou grafickou scénografickou produkcí na vídeňském dvoře. Jakkoli Harovníkovy návrhy pro grafický doprovod tisku divadelní hry vykazují ve srovnání s dobou produkcí ve střední Evropě, zejména při vídeňském dvoře, nižší kvalitu, představuje tento nově nalezený vizuální materiál cenný doklad o ojedinelém kulturním počínu na poli divadelní scény v Praze krátce po polovině 17. století. V neposlední řadě nám umožňuje poznat pražského malíře Fabiána Václava Harovníka v roli divadelního výtvarníka a autora scénografických návrhů.

Obrazová příloha: 1 – Jan Kryštof Smíšek – Petr Hoberk z Hendersdorfu, zv. Frater Constantinus podle Fabiána Václava Harovníka, **Arión a Pravda**, mědiryt. *Betrug der Allamoda*, Prag: Balthasar Goliäsch, 1660; 2 – Jan Kryštof Smíšek – Petr Hoberk z Hendersdorfu, zv. Frater Constantinus podle Fabiána Václava Harovníka, **Pře o rozumu a měsíci na rynku**, mědiryt. *Betrug der Allamoda*, Prag: Balthasar Goliäsch, 1660; 3 – Jan Kryštof Smíšek – Petr Hoberk z Hendersdorfu, zv. Frater Constantinus podle Fabiána Václava Harovníka, **Allamoda na voze**, mědiryt. *Betrug der Allamoda*, Prag: Balthasar Goliäsch, 1660; 4 – Jan Kryštof Smíšek – Petr Hoberk z Hendersdorfu, zv. Frater Constantinus podle Fabiána Václava Harovníka, **Přepych se dvoří Allamodě v zahradě**, mědiryt. *Betrug der Allamoda*, Prag: Balthasar Goliäsch, 1660; 5 – Jan Kryštof Smíšek – Petr Hoberk z Hendersdorfu, zv. Frater Constantinus podle Fabiána Václava Harovníka, **Burlachin padá do zahrady s grottou**, mědiryt. *Betrug der Allamoda*, Prag: Balthasar Goliäsch, 1660; 6 – Jan Kryštof Smíšek – Petr Hoberk z Hendersdorfu, zv. Frater Constantinus podle Fabiána Václava Harovníka, **Přepych hostí Allamodu v zahradní grottě**, mědiryt. *Betrug der Allamoda*, Prag: Balthasar Goliäsch, 1660; 7 – Jan Kryštof Smíšek – Petr Hoberk z Hendersdorfu, zv. Frater Constantinus podle Fabiána Václava Harovníka, **Přepych opouští Allamodu**, mědiryt. *Betrug der Allamoda*, Prag: Balthasar Goliäsch, 1660; 8 – Mauritius Lang podle Eliase Gedelera, **Božská Prozřetelnost**, mědiryt. Johann Rehlin, *Fatum austriacum*, Pressburg 1659; 9 – Mauritius Lang podle Eliase Gedelera, **Personifikace Rakouského domu získává zlaté jablko**, mědiryt. Johann Rehlin, *Fatum austriacum*, Pressburg 1659; 10 – Mauritius Lang podle Eliase Gedelera, **Malíř vytvořil na rozkaz Svaté říše římské portrét budoucí manželky císaře**, mědiryt. Johann Rehlin, *Fatum austriacum*, Pressburg 1659; 11 – Jacob Sandart podle Giovanniho Burnacinioho, **Šestá scéna**, mědiryt. Benedetto Ferrari, *Inganno d'Amore*, Regensburg: Christophor Fischer, 1653; 12 – Sebastian lenet podle Giovannioho Burnacinioho, **Čtvrtá baletní scéna**, mědiryt. *La Gara. Opera drammatica rappresentata in Musica* [...], Wien: Matteo Riccio, 1652; 13 – Gerard Bouttats (vyryl), **Sedmý list (Konstantinova flotila útočí na hradby Říma)**, mědiryt. Nicolaus Avancini, *Pietas victrix sive Flavius Constantinus Magnus de Maxentio tyranno victor*, Wien: Matthäus Cosmerovius, 1659; 14 – Sebastian lenet (?), Gerard Bouttats (?) nebo Frans van der Steen podle Lodovica Ottavia Burnacinioho, **První scéna**, mědiryt. Aurelio Amalteo, *Il Re Gilidoro. Favola Drammatica Musicale* [...], Wien: Matthäus Cosmerovius, 1659