Performing (Inter)Nationalism:
The Restoration of the Český Krumlov Castle Theatre

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Abstract:

This paper positions the restoration of the Czech Republic's Český Krumlov Castle Theatre as a politicized site upon which UNESCO's internationalism and the State Party's (the term given by UNESCO to the local interests that govern the restoration) competing nationalism are played out. Through the histories of the Castle Theatre's imperial origin, the development of contemporary Czech nationalism, and UNESCO's post-WWII internationalism, this paper explores the roots of UNESCO and the State Party's respective political positions, and how they are performed on the site of the Castle Theatre. These political performances are illustrated through the two parties' debates over tourism and the Revolving Theatre, and complicated by UNESCO's recent acceptance of intangible cultural heritage.

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Dedication

To J – I might have done it without you,
but I also might have starved first.

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Introduction

The preservation and restoration of cultural heritage in the late 20th century and into the 21st century raises many questions; not simply the scientific question of *how* to preserve, but also the more philosophical *why* and *what*. None of these concerns are free from the influence of politics. The field of cultural heritage is dominated by the need to navigate relationships between the nations and parties in possession of heritage objects, and the non-proprietary parties that also have an interest in those objects. Since its creation following WWII, UNESCO has established itself as a considerable force in the international arena of heritage. Coming from an internationalist position, UNESCO aims to preserve heritage for all humanity. Not being in possession of any heritage itself, however, UNESCO is forced to engage with the State Parties – the term it gives to the local organizations and governments that own (and/or control the operations of) a heritage property.

One such property, the Český Krumlov Castle Theatre in the South Bohemia region of the Czech Republic, has challenged UNESCO to negotiate its internationalist position with the unique and complex nationalism of the Castle Theatre's State Party. Given their respective histories and positions, UNESCO and the State Party frequently differ in their approach and attitude toward the restoration and use of Český Krumlov and the Castle Theatre. UNESCO, born out of a post-WWII

internationalist view of culture, declaring itself dedicated to the education and improvement of all humanity, is frequently in conflict with the priorities of the State Party, which is dominated by a centuries-old nationalism that has frequently been limited, suppressed, and controlled by outside forces. Both UNESCO and the State Party are also faced with their own politically-motivated, internal conflicts as they encounter changing conceptions of heritage, on the part of UNESCO, and of nationalism and cultural identity for the State Party.

UNESCO's recent adoption of the category of intangible cultural heritage – the aspects of human heritage that cannot be touched, including song, dance, performances, and cultural practices – was prompted by its internationalism and changes in the wider heritage industry. As UNESCO attempts to broaden and "de-Westernize" the scope of heritage and its protection, these goals must be reconciled with the organization's long-standing practice of emphasizing the monument, and the preservation of same, above all else.[1] The dual presence at the Castle Theatre of the theatre-building and the Baroque performance tradition brings this issue to the fore. As for the State Party, the Czech attitude toward heritage has been heavily coloured by competing influences upon Czech national identity, particularly the Germanic Empire and Bohemia's Slavic neighbors.

[1] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "What is Intangible

The perspectives and backgrounds of the two parties has led them to make the Castle Theatre a site upon which they perform their own political positions. This essay will argue that those positions, informed by the histories of the State Party's nationalism and UNESCO's internationalism, influence their current negotiations surrounding the town of Český Krumlov and the restoration of its Castle and theatre. First, this essay will contextualize the Castle Theatre's Imperial origin, which is at odds with the burgeoning Czech nationalism that heavily influences the State Party today. The theatre occupies a position of conflicted significance, juxtaposed between the national history of the Czechs and the broader human history that UNESCO propagates, and this dichotomy is demonstrated in the complexity of its origin and development. Second, this essay will examine the complex roots of contemporary Czech nationalism that now faces the opposition of UNESCO's internationalist approach to heritage preservation. Third, this essay will examine UNESCO's foundational rhetoric and its resulting approach to preservation and tourism, to demonstrate the conflict in each party's perspective on a theatre's function. Finally, this essay will investigate the effects of UNESCO's recent acceptance of Intangible Cultural Heritage on each party's approach to the preservation of the theatre. This will illustrate the political ramifications – for both a nationalist and an internationalist

approach – of ideological developments in the field upon the Castle Theatre.

In 1967 the Castle Theatre's doors were closed yet again – as they had been for many of the years since its construction in 1719. This time, it was so that the theatre, having fallen into a dire state of disrepair, could undergo a thorough restoration for the first time since its 1765-66 renovation. Those years of closure and the absence of maintenance had contributed to the poor condition of the theatre, but were also symptomatic of its value; its lack of modernization and its protracted disuse meant that its Baroque machinery and decorations were still in place, making the Castle Theatre one of only two Baroque theatres still in existence in such an intact state (the other being Sweden's Drottningholm).[2] The heritage status of the theatre, the Castle, and the town have been recognized by national and international government bodies – the Town Centre and Castle were declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1992 – and the restoration of the theatre was undertaken seriously after the late 1960s.[3] Faced with a theatre that has survived centuries of a highly volatile political context, the parties' negotiation of the Český Krumlov Castle Theatre's present-day restoration accentuates its

[2] To a lesser extent, and from about thirty years later, the theatre at Sweden's Gripsholm castle is also largely intact. See Frank Mohler, "The Court Theatre at Český Krumlov and Its Machinery," *Theatre Design & Technology* Spring (2007): 54-62.
[3] Frank Mohler, "The Court Theatre at Český Krumlov and Its Machinery," *Theatre Design & Technology* Spring (2007): 55.

status as a political object. The primary stakeholders, UNESCO and the State Party, are acting out their dueling internationalist and nationalist positions on the Castle Theatre. The political motivations behind the organizations' differing conceptions of the Castle Theatre's restoration, and the ways that they negotiate their relationships with one another, will ultimately determine the future of this theatre's past.

The Origin of the Castle Theatre

The Castle Theatre was, from its origin, a political object. Constructed in a context of Baroque courtly theatricality, to please an Emperor (Leopold II, 1747 – 1792) who valued the art form, and to stage German-language plays, in its early years the Castle Theatre was a decided contrast to the nascent Czech nationalism that would become a prominent force centuries later. The influence of Imperial culture on theatricality in the period, and on this theatre's origin, heavily coloured its early existence, and its later appreciation. The theatre's Imperial origin creates tension within the contemporary conflict between the nationalism of the State Party and the internationalism of UNESCO regarding the preservation and restoration of the Castle Theatre.

The influence of the Holy Roman Empire (962 – 1806) in Český Krumlov was preceded by an already thriving performance tradition. The town and its performance tradition predated the direct influence of the Holy Roman Empire in the area The Rožmberk, or Rosenberg, family had

possessed the area and the town since 1250, erecting the Krumlov castle in 1253. Ten years before his death in 1611, Petr Vok (1539 – 1611), the last Rožmberk Lord, sold the castle to Rudolf II (1552 – 1612), the Holy Roman Emperor.[4] The first record of theatrical activity in Český Krumlov dates back to 1588, and was the product of the Jesuit monastery in the town; much of central European theatre was performed by students of the Jesuit colleges that were present in most cities at that time. At the time that permanent theatre buildings were first being constructed around the continent, Krumlov's Jesuits built its first wooden theatre, as well.[5] This tradition of itinerant, religious, and finally permanent theatre was established in the latter years of the Rožmberk rule.

Once Krumlov passed into Imperial hands, the influence of the Emperor on the Castle Theatre was substantial, if second-hand. Ferdinand II gifted the town, castle, and lands to the Eggenberg family in 1622.[6] The Eggenbergs were Imperial Princes from Styria (the present-day Austrian state whose capital city, Graz, was Ferdinand II's birthplace). At the time of the Eggenbergs' acquisition of the South Bohemian town, there was no reason for them to spend significant time there – they had extensive property in their Styrian homeland, and spent most of their time there or

[4] Jiri Hilmera, "The Chateau Theatre in Český Krumlov: The Architectural History of the Krumlov Chateau," in *The Baroque Theatre in the Chateau of Český Krumlov: Miscellany of Papers for a Special Seminar* (Prague and České Budějovice, 1993), 4.
[5] Jan Pomerl, "The Court Theatre of Johann Christian and Marie Ernestine of Eggenberg in the Years 1675-1690," in *The Baroque Theatre in the Chateau of Český Krumlov: Miscellany of Papers for a Special Seminar* (Prague and České Budějovice, 1993), 17.
[6] Hilmera, "Chateau Theatre," 5.

in Vienna with the imperial court.[7] Interest in Krumlov started to revive in 1655, when the Eggenberg lands were split into two; the Bohemian lands went to Johann Christian (1641 – 1710) and the Styrian lands remained in the hands of his younger brother, Johann Seyfried (1644 – 1713). At this time, Krumlov became home to a princely seat once again,[8] and the effects of the Imperial influence would soon be felt there.

Accustomed to the practice of performance at court, Johann Christian encouraged the performing arts in Krumlov from early in his time there; in 1664 he founded an orchestra, which most likely performed at his February 1666 wedding to Countess Marie Ernestine of Schwarzenberg (1649-1719).[9] Marie Ernestine's family, a branch of which would soon take over Krumlov, were also Imperial Princes. While the town was their official residence now, Johann Christian and Marie Ernestine still spent most of their time at court in Vienna, where they would continue to be exposed to the theatrical interests of the Emperor.[10]

Theatrical productions were an essential part of courtly life, playing an important role in weddings and other celebrations, as well as welcoming visiting dignitaries and sovereigns. The Emperor ordered the construction of theatre spaces in all imperial residences.[11] As Johann Christian and his wife eventually began spending more time in residence

[7] Pomerl, "Court Theatre," 17.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.

at Krumlov from the 1670s, the influence of their time at court manifested in extensive renovations and improvements to the castle; they were intimately aware of the standard that they must have felt expected to uphold. Under the supervision of builder Giacommo Antonio de Maggi (d. 1706), the castle successfully transitioned in style and scale from, to use the terms of Jan Pomerl, "Renaissance chateau" into "Baroque seat" between 1682-88.[12] In 1675, Johann Christian had established a professional acting company in residence at the castle, the Prince Eggenberg Court Actors (*Furstlich-Eggenbergischen Hof-Komodianten*). In need of a space for his company to perform, the prince had Krumlov's first "court theatre" built, a wooden stage installed in the pre-existing Deer Hall.[13] For this theatre, the artist Johann Martin Schaumberger (d. 1712), who worked as an altar-painter in and around Salzburg, was brought to Krumlov and commissioned to paint sixteen full scene changes, which he had completed by the end of the summer season.[14] Further work and maintenance were carried out by the resident court painter, but Schaumberger was brought back within the decade to paint for a new theatre at Krumlov.[15]

[12] Pomerl, "Court Theatre," 19.
[13] Pomerl, "Court Theatre," 20.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Pomerl, "Court Theatre," 21.

Figure 1 The Český Krumlov Castle, satellite view.

Early performances in the Deer Hall Theatre were representative of the Imperial preference for the German language. The Eggenberg Court Actors performed mostly dramatic plays, all in German; one of the first four pieces they performed was "Doktor Faust und Wagner," and they also produced many translations of Shakespeare.[16] Overall, their repertoire was very similar to those of contemporary German traveling theatre companies, focusing on Elizabethan drama with some religious plays added in.[17] They also made use of popular German comedic stock characters like Hans Wurst ("Johnny Sausage") and Pickelhaering ("Pickled Herring"). These vulgar comic figures were adapted from characters like Arlechino, or Harlequin, from the commedia dell'arte tradition.[18] Not included in records of the Deer Hall performances, however, despite the medium's popularity in the period, is opera; this was perhaps due to the theatre's small size and presumed technical simplicity,

[16] Ibid.
[17] Pomerl, "Court Theatre," 22.
[18] Martin Esslin, "Foreword," in *Essays on German Theatre,* ed. Margaret Herzfeld-Sander, (The Continuum Publishing Company: New York, 1985), *xi.*

though little is known of its actual appearance and no plans or drawings survive.

Johann Christian, as an Imperial Prince accustomed to life at court in Vienna, was similarly accustomed to, and influenced by, the importance of court theatres to the Emperor. In 1679, the threat of plague forced the court to move from Vienna to Prague; as infection drew closer again, the court left Prague for the town of Linz, near the present-day border between Austria and the Czech Republic, not far from Český Krumlov. The court remained in Linz from 16 June 1680 to 10 March 1681, and one of the first orders the Emperor issued upon the court's arrival there and in Prague was that some sort of theatre space be constructed in the castle.[19] Pomerl suggests that knowledge of this priority, combined with the Emperor's proximity to Krumlov while in Linz, may have been Johann Christian's final motivation to build a full and permanent theatre at his chateau; then he would already be prepared if the plague drove the court to residence at his seat.[20]

So it was that in the summer of 1680, construction finally began on Český Krumlov's first permanent, purpose-built theatre space. In 1682 the painter J. M. Schaumberger was brought back from Salzburg to paint the new sets for the new space.[21] In 1686, the Court Actors officially transferred from the Deer Hall stage to the original theatre built on the

[19] Ibid.
[20] Pomerl, "Court Theatre," 24.
[21] Ibid.

grounds of the surviving Chateau Theatre.[22] Not long after being given a proper home, however, the company's gradual separation from the town began; already, Johann Christian had allowed them to go abroad to perform elsewhere when he did not need them in Krumlov. In 1691, he officially released them from service, but having gained significant popularity in their earlier touring, the company retained their title and proceeded to have a successful career as traveling performers throughout the region.[23] After just six years of regular use, the first Castle Theatre lost its company and began to fall into disuse. There are records of plays being performed infrequently in the theatre in 1694, '95, '99, and 1703 – most likely by the Jesuit students from the town – but the theatre's period of prominence was at an end.[24] Not long after, the Eggenbergs came to an end when Johann Christian died in 1710 without a male heir; upon Marie Ernestine's death in 1719, the duchy and its lands transitioned to her family, the Schwarzenbergs.

The Italian style of theatre architecture and machinery design – popularized throughout Europe by Giuseppe Galli-Bibiena (1696 – 1757) – was preferred by the Emperor and thus through the Empire, and so was also installed in Český Krumlov.[25] The Eggenberg theatre had been partly repaired in 1744, and while reconstruction was considered as a possibility

[22] Ibid.
[23] Pomerl, "Court Theatre," 25.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Hilmera, "Château Theatre," 13.

Figure 2 The Castle Theatre stage today, with a setting in place that continues the styling of the audience space.

in 1760, it was ultimately pulled down and construction of a new theatre began on its grounds under the second Schwarzenberg duke, Josef Adam (1722 – 1782). The resulting theatre was emblematic of what Hilmera calls a "stylistically advanced Late Baroque stage," appropriate for the chateau theatre of an Imperial Prince attentive to the innovations favoured by the Emperor, with a system of painted wings leading in a forced perspective to a backdrop; machinery to facilitate a rapid and synchronized shift between three different scenes; and elaborate pulleys and machinery to shift these as well as ceiling and curtain set paintings.[26] The entire floor of the stage was capable of being removed in pieces to allow for surprise effects, including a whole-stage sea scene involving a number of wave machines. The design of these particular machines was unique to the Krumlov theatre; while a machine that rotated several painted, shaped boards to create the illusion of waves was common, only at Krumlov is there record

[26] Hilmera, "Château Theatre," 9.

of a machine that rotated pegs to push up at a painted piece of canvas to create the illusion of rolling waves.[27] Also preserved at Krumlov were a pair of thunder machines, a pair of flying devices, and all of Hans Wetschel (1734 – 1773) and Leo Merkel's (dates unknown) scene paintings. Having painted both the auditorium and the settings, the artists maintained certain architectural details, such as the style of the painted columns, through both areas. This was in keeping with the style of the time, which encouraged a seamless flow between the two spaces.[28]

As the Baroque style the Castle Theatre embodied fell out of favour in the Empire, the theatre fell, too, into the state of disuse that brought about its preservation. In 1897, the deterioration of the Castle Theatre led to it being closed for the sake of safety.[29] Following WWII, some interest in it was revived, and its renewed usage during the South Bohemian Theatre Festival in the 1950s and '60s caused considerable further damage to the theatre and its trappings; in June 1966, it was closed again.[30] At this time, the theatre was in a dire state, and a rather amateur program of restoration was undertaken: no inventory was taken of the theatre's decorations and machinery before things were removed to various other parts of the castle, and untold items were destroyed or damaged.[31] The

[27] Ibid.
[28] Hilmera, "Château Theatre," 12.
[29] Pavel Jerie, "The Český Krumlov Baroque Theatre from the Point of View of Care of Historical Monuments," in *The Baroque Theatre in the Chateau of Český Krumlov: Miscellany of Papers for a Special Seminar* (Prague and Ceske Budejovice, 1993), 111.
[30] Jerie, "Historical Monuments," 12.
[31] Ibid.

surviving original sets were saved from their rapid deterioration, but the method used to reinforce them made it impossible to raise them using the original machinery. At one point, the stage's raised footlamps were *sawn up* "to make it easier for workers to get under the stage."[32] The Castle Theatre was in the process of being "restored" in only the very loosest sense of the word.

Figure 3 The Castle Theatre's below-stage machinery.

The openness that came to the Czech Republic with the fall of the Iron Curtain brought international attention, to compete with the fledgling nation's struggle to contextualize the site within its new nationalism. In 1989, the Castle complex was declared a national heritage site, and in 1992 the town was inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List. Over the years,

[32] Ibid.

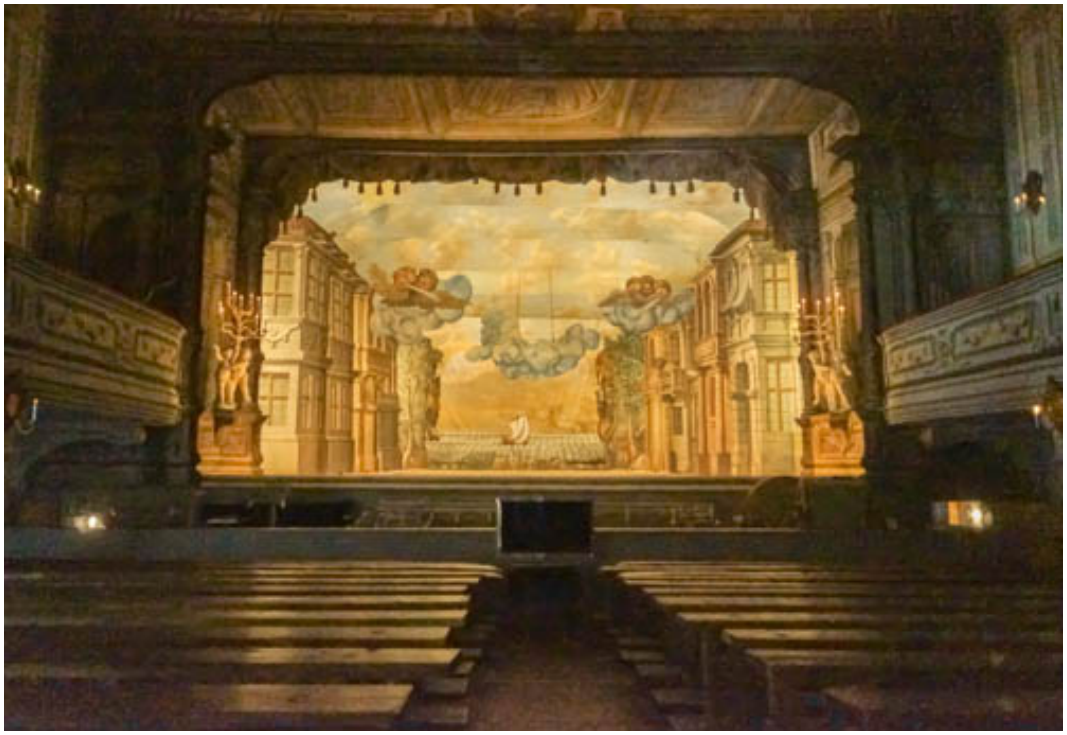

Figure 4 The Castle Theatre, with its elaborate wave machinery upstage.

as the international cultural significance of the town, castle, and theatre were recognized, the expertise and scholarly approach behind the theatre's restoration drastically improved. This new attention brought a new threat to the Castle Theatre, however, as the pressures of visitors and tourism were an additional source of strain on its fragile and deteriorating components. Now the Castle Theatre and its protectors must find a way to strike a balance between accessibility and survival, and between its function and its preservation.

The Roots of Czech Nationalism

Czech nationalism has developed, at each of its stages, in resistance to outside influences, and in Český Krumlov it is now faced with another

external pressure – the internationalist cultural power that is UNESCO. In the contemporary Czech Republic, nationalism is a substantial force with a complex background – a force that exerts great pressure on many aspects of politics, the arts, culture, and most certainly the Castle Theatre. In its own statutes, the Castle Theatre Foundation (founded in 1992) states that its goal is to "support the development of democracy and civil society in the region."[33] This recently-recovered democracy is the latest layer in a nationalism that was heavily influenced by a Communist-era drive to rewrite history, unifying the various disparate aspects of the regional culture into a non-threatening, yet proud, sense of "Czech-ness". The emphasis on democracy is a direct response to the memory of the Communist regime, and similarly, the emphasis on the Czech language that began under that regime – and continues today – came about from a narrative of resistance to "Germanisation" under centuries of Habsburg rule, and then at the hands of the Nazis in the 20th century.[34]

The nationalism of the Czech Republic had little time to develop freely before being subjected to UNESCO's influence. Český Krumlov came to international attention the same year the new nation emerged out of the "velvet divorce," when the town was inscribed on the World Heritage List

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[33] City of Český Krumlov, "*Statutes of the Foundation of the Baroque Theater in Český Krumlov*", Encyklopedie. http://www.castle.ckrumlov.cz/docs/en/zamek_oinf_nbdsta.xml (accessed 29 June. 2013).

[34] James Marston Fitch, "The Preservation of Historic Architecture in Czechoslovakia," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 25.2 (May 1996): 129.

in 1992.[35] Czech nationalism was far from a new idea, however, and had been particularly encouraged by the Communist regime that was in place from 1948 until the 1989 Velvet Revolution that saw democracy return to Czechoslovakia. The Communists pursued a widespread program of state restoration of historical buildings; in a period of government suppression of artistic expression, restoration was a "safe" pursuit in the field of culture, and an effective method of establishing a national identity.[36] This new sense of nationalism was often cast in opposition to the various stages of Germanisation that the Czech lands had been subjected to.[37]

When the Communists came to power, the trauma of Nazi occupation and the accompanying Germanisation was still fresh in the Czech consciousness, and an effective rhetorical tool. The resistance to German influence was closely linked to the act of restoration; it was the same set of laws - the infamous Beneš decrees - that exiled millions of ethnic Germans from their homes on Czech lands, that also brought hundreds of heritage properties throughout the country into the possession of the government, laying the groundwork for the rapid and widespread project of restoration that would soon be undertaken.[38] Often termed today an "ethnic cleansing" of the region, the Beneš decrees came about as a direct result of the very real threat to Czech independence the

[35] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "Historic Centre of Český Krumlov," http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/617 (Accessed 14 July 2013).
[36] Fitch, "Preservation," 129.
[37] Fitch, "Preservation," 128.
[38] Fitch, "Preservation," 122.

presence of those Germans had become under Hitler.[39] The nation of Czechoslovakia had itself existed for only twenty years when Italy, France and Britain signed the Munich Agreement in 1938, without the support or even awareness of the Czechoslovakian government, and ceded the mostly German-speaking Sudetenland to Germany.[40] Hitler's further intentions for Czechoslovakia quickly led to its dissolution by 1939, when parts were absorbed into Germany, the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was formed, and the rest went to Hungary, Poland, or to the new "Slovak State".[41] Former President Edvard Beneš (1884 – 1948) spearheaded a Czechoslovakian government-in-exile, operating out of London, which eventually received the recognition of the Allies.[42] While the government-in-exile oversaw some resistance activity during the war, the severe retribution of the Nazis after the Czechoslovak assassination of Hitler's henchman and Reichsprotektor Reinhard Heydrich (1904 – 1942) discouraged them from conducting open rebellion.[43] The major exception to this was the Prague Uprising, when in the very final days of fighting, starting on May 5, 1945, the citizens of Prague rose up for several bloody

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[39] Frank Hadler, "Germany and the Czech Republic: Getting Away From the Past," *The Polish Review* 54.1 (2009): 80, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25779789 (accessed 14 July 2013.

[40] Gerhard L. Weinberg, "Munich After 50 Years," *Foreign Affairs* 67.1 (1988): 166.

[41] Gerhard, "Munich," 173.

[42] Milan Hauner, "'We Must Push Eastwards!' The Challenges and Dilemmas of President Beneš after Munich,"*Journal of Contemporary History* 44.4 (2009): 620, http://www.jstor.org.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/stable/40542980 (accessed 14 July 2013).

[43] Milan Hauner, "Terrorism and Heroism: The Assassination of Reinhard Heydrich," *World Policy Journal* 24.2 (2007): 88, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40210095 (accessed 14 July 2013).

days against their German occupiers, while they waited for the Allies to arrive and free them. As citizens and Czech police forces took to the streets, they not only fought and built barricades, but also tore down German street and storefront signs, rejecting a linguistic embodiment of their oppression.[44] The Czechs capitulated only after the total destruction of Prague began to seem like a real possibility, but the Red Army arrived to liberate them the next day, on 9 May 1945.[45]

The Communist regime was careful to frame its cultural rhetoric in terms of ancient Slavic nationalism overcoming German oppression, but their accession to power was similarly accompanied by drastic reduction of cultural and political freedoms.[46] The return to a democratic republic of Czechoslovakia after WWII was short-lived; relationships with the Soviets had deepened as a result of their aid and liberation at the end of the war, and in the 1946 election, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSČ) came to power.[47] Two years later, they seized power in the February Coup of 1948, and four decades of Communist rule began.[48] For a nation founded by intellectuals just 30 years before, the onset of censorship and suppression of arts and culture was particularly painful. A programme of

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[44] Radomir Luza, "The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czech Resistance, 1939-1945," *Slavic Review* 28 no. 4 (1969): 574, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2493961 (accessed 14 July 2013).
[45] William M. Mahoney, *The History of the Czech Republic and Slovakia* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenport, 2011): 124.
[46] See Luza, "The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czech Resistance, 1939-1945."
[47] Ivo Duchacek, "The February Coup in Czechoslovakia, "*World Politics* 2.4 (1950): 511, http://www.jstor.org/stable/2008933 (accessed 14 July 2013).
[48] Ibid.

purges, show trials, and aggressive centralization dominated the early years, but as destalinization eventually took hold throughout the USSR, it also progressed to Czechoslovakia from 1956, and the political climate began to relax.[49] Despite their continued focus on industrialization, the Communists did, in 1960, implement a policy of (highly centralized) restoration.[50]

This project of restoration, the first model of Czech restoration policy, faced a key difficulty in dealing with sites that were emblematic of the Germanic past that the Communist regime positioned as antagonist; the Český Krumlov Castle Theatre, constructed by Imperial Princes forty-five years after the Imperial defeat of the Czech protestant Hussites at White Mountain (1620), is an embodiment of this conundrum.[51] In 1960, a new constitution emphasized "the conservation of nature and the preservation of the beauties of the country."[52] According to architect and historical preservationist James Marston Fitch, this policy emphasized the usability of most of the historic buildings to be restored; those on the "second tier" of restoration, which did not have a unique or irreplaceable role in heritage, were modified to a necessary modern function at the time of their restoration, as new offices were needed for the many State

[49] Mahoney, *History,* 194-207.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Hugh LeCaine Agnew, *Origins of the Czech National Renascence*, (Pittsburgh PA.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1994), 6-10.
[52] Qtd. in James Marston Fitch, "The Preservation of Historic Architecture in Czechoslovakia," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 25.2 (May 1996): 127.

agencies that were created within postwar Czechoslovakia. However, one of the particular issues that faced the regime in spite of this policy, according to Fitch, was "modern Czech sentiment… aesthetically as well as patriotically."[53] He is referring, here, to the difficulty presented by buildings that were "Baroque-ized" during the Counter-Reformation, or otherwise showed evidence of the periods of Germanisation; this aesthetic evidence was not only a sore reminder of this sensitive part of Czech history, but in representing that past was also in direct contradiction to the contemporary version of Czech nationalism.

The historicist model of Czech nationalism that the Communist regime propagated was not a Communist invention. Though well-suited to what historian Hugh LeCaine Agnew terms "Marxist historiography," and vigorously adapted "za totáče" (under totalitarianism) to the rhetoric of class warfare, Czech histories had used a similar nationalist model since the nineteenth century *obrození* (revival), or Czech National Renascence.[54] During that movement, the Young Czechs in the Reichsrat maneuvered for increased Bohemian independence, utilizing a growing tendency among historians to frame the past in terms of a "golden age" of the Hussite rebellions, followed by a period of decline under Catholicism, until the eventual "awakening" of the Renascence.[55] Though both groups were reformers, the radicalism of the Young Czechs eventually won out over the

[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Agnew, *Origins*, 3-4.

more conservative Old Czechs. The Young Czechs successfully advanced the notion of Czech independence, over the more traditional idea of increased autonomy within the Empire that the Old Czechs supported.

The idea of nationalism popularized by the Young Czechs, and later adapted by the Communists, relied on a model of Czech history that connected religion and language, and both of those to resistance to the Empire. The Czech lands had played an essential role in the Protestant Reformation, most significantly through the figure of Czech "national hero" Jan Hus (1369-1415). Following Hus's reforms, martyrdom, and the subsequent Hussite Wars, the Czechs had enjoyed relative religious freedom, as Protestants were permitted to practice their religion openly, despite their inclusion in the Holy Roman Empire.[56] This freedom appeared to be threatened, though, with the accession of Ferdinand II (1578-1637) and his policy of suppression of non-Catholic faiths.[57] The Bohemian estates, in defense of their Protestant faith, took the radical step of deposing Ferdinand II and electing as King of Bohemia Frederick V, Elector Palatine (1596-1632), the leader of the Protestant Union. While this action triggered the Thirty Years' War (1618 – 1648), it did not achieve much for the Bohemians; Frederick V held the throne for less than a year, his short-lived reign earning him the nickname "The Winter King."[58] After

[56] Agnew, *Origins*, 12.
[57] Agnew, *Origins*, 14.
[58] Brennan C. Pursell, *The Winter King: Frederick V of the Palatinate and the Coming of the Thirty Years War*, (Burlington VT.: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2003), 72.

the Winter King's defeat at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620, Protestantism was even more harshly suppressed than before; in Bohemia, though, the Protestant faith was closely tied to the Czech language.[59] This was a major setback for fledgling Czech nationalism, as the Czechs' attempts to foster a written form of the Czech language were largely based in translations of the Bible and religious texts.[60] The search for a Czech identity was put on hold.

The previously oral languages that had been codified into written form to facilitate Czech Protestantism were taken up as symbols of nationalist pride. In the 19th century, the back-and-forth game the Bohemians had initially experienced in terms of religion was now being played with their language. The official use of the Czech language was permitted intermittently, but eventually a new emperor or king would come into power and the Czechs would inevitably be required to reinstitute the official use of German.[61] In 1817 and 1818, a pair of documents thought to date to the 13th and 10th centuries, respectively, surfaced; each was, at the time of its discovery, believed to be the oldest written example of the Czech language. These documents, known as the RMZ manuscripts, brought Czech to the same level as the great languages of Europe, particularly German, possessed of a long history and cultural

[59] Pursell, *Winter*, 124.
[60] Mahoney, *History,* 90-100.
[61] Andrew Lass, "Romantic Documents and Political Monuments: The Meaning-Fulfillment of History in 19th-Century Czech Nationalism," *American Ethnologist* 15.3 (1988): 458, http://www.jstor.org/stable/645751 (accessed 14 July 2013).

background.[62] The "ancient" RMZ manuscripts were ultimately discovered to be fakes, but the sense of national and linguistic pride that they had helped to foster remained firmly in place.[63]

During World War I, the nationalist sentiments of the Czechs and Slovaks began to manifest with real consequences for the destabilized Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Czechs in Bohemia and the Slovaks in Hungary were expected to fight on the side of their Austro-Hungarian rulers against the Russians and other Slavs that they saw as much more their own people. In the early years of fighting, it was not uncommon for Czech soldiers to choose the alternative of mass desertion, with an entire unit in Prague simply walking over to the Russians whom they should have been fighting.[64] The deserting units that eventually petitioned for the right to be their own official fighting force came to be known as the Czechoslovak legions, and were the first "Czechoslovak" anything.[65] In spite of some ambivalence, particularly on the part of American President Woodrow Wilson (1856 – 1924), the Allies eventually gave their support to the creation of the fledgling nation, rather than help the Habsburgs to salvage their empire.[66] With the post-WWI redrawing of the maps, the first

[62] Mahoney, *History,* 107.
[63] Mahoney, *History*, 107.
[64] Alois R. Nykl, "Czechoslovakia or Czecho-Slovakia," *Slavonic and East European Review* 3. 4 (1944): 103
[65] Ibid.
[66] Nykl, "Czechoslovakia," 100.

Czechoslovak Republic was created out of the kingdoms of Bohemia and Moravia, and a portion of Silesia.

Communist rhetoric regarding Czech history, as well as the 1960s project of restoration (the first modern project of its kind in the country, and thus an influence on later programs of restoration like those that would eventually reach the Castle Theatre), depended on the move away from Germanic influence that had laid the ground work for the Communist takeover in 1948.[67] This process was aided by the same Slavophilism that was at the core of Czech and Slovak unification, which had spread in response to Russian support during both World Wars. Heavily regulated as it was by the Communists, the project of restoration encouraged a Czech nationalism based on Czech history, which allowed the Communist Party to focus on a narrative that was as non-threatening to them as possible. This narrative emphasized the repeated German "evil" in Czechoslovakia's past that the Soviets and Communism had enabled the Czechs to escape, and turned popular attention backward and away from the lack of a *new* Czech culture and identity; in the words of modern Czech historian Derek Sayer, the restoration project was not only "relentlessly nationalistic" but also "aggressively antimodernist."[68] Czech intellectuals and artists were not content with Communist censorship, however; it was in the later years

[67] Marcel Deyl, *Landmarks in the History of The Czech*, trans. Ivan Vomacka (Prague: Public History, 1994).
[68] Derek Sayer, "The Unbearable Lightness of Building: A Cautionary Tale," *Gray Room* 16 (2006): 12.

of this chapter of simmering resistance in Communist Czechoslovakia that the South Bohemian Theatre Festival underwent a revival, and the Castle Theatre was put to one of its periods of renewed use, starting in 1958. The Castle Theatre was never restored during the Communist restoration project, but instead was damaged further in that period; after hosting dozens of performances during the annual Festival from 1958-65, the theatre was eventually closed again due to the damage it had suffered during its use.[69]

The competing influences of Germanic Emperors and Slavic dictators dominated the development of modern Czech nationalism, complicating the State Party's relationship with the Castle Theatre's past and its present. Ninety-five years have passed since the creation of a democratic republic called Czechoslovakia, but only forty-six of those years have seen true democracy. Following a century of struggle to form a nation, the First Republic dissolved after just twenty years. The postwar state lasted two before the Communist coup put an end to democracy; the Republic had only been free for three years, and the "velvet divorce" was still fresh and the Czech Republic brand new, when the small town of Český Krumlov opened itself up to the input, influence, and interference of UNESCO upon its own preservation. The Czech "state party" (of which the

[69] City of Český Krumlov, "*History of South-Bohemian Theatre Festival in Český Krumlov*", Encyklopedie, http://www.encyklopedie.ckrumlov.cz/docs/en/mesto_histor_jidife.xml (accessed 29 June 2013).

Foundation is a part, as termed by UNESCO), a state built by a people fighting for their own right to self-determination for a thousand years, had just barely regained that right; and now, they would have to negotiate that right with the wishes of an influential international organization, an organization that was primarily concerned with no loftier a goal than the edification of all of mankind.

UNESCO, Tourism, and Český Krumlov

When Český Krumlov was added to the World Heritage List in 1992, UNESCO was a well-established organization that had been developing its philosophy and policies for decades, and though the Czech Republic was a brand new nation, the Czech people had been developing a sense of nationhood for centuries. Perhaps best known for the World Heritage List and their compilation of other lists and registers, UNESCO was founded on, and maintains as its core intent, much loftier goals. Its founding goal of attaining peace through the spread of knowledge and education to all of mankind has given the organization a strongly internationalist attitude that shapes their approach to heritage. This internationalism has affected UNESCO's approach to working with Český Krumlov and its State Party, particularly regarding the use of its heritage monuments. The challenge of balancing preservation and tourism in Krumlov serves to highlight the conflict between internationalist UNESCO and the nationalist State Party. The difficulty of this balance is evident in the ongoing conflict between the

two parties over the Revolving Theatre in the Castle Gardens; representative of a new, local theatrical condition, it is considered by UNESCO to be a threat to the Castle Gardens. This dual presence of a monument in need of preservation, and a performance tradition dependent on the same site, parallels the situation regarding the Castle Theatre.

The founding principles of UNESCO sought to engender peace by means of culture, and in this project often emphasized education through the use of monumental heritage. Influenced by a post-World War II desire for peace through international cooperation, UNESCO's tool of choice was education, and its goals and philosophy were laid out by its first Director-General, Julian Huxley (1887 – 1975).[70] Huxley published the document *Unesco: Its Purpose and Its Philosophy* in 1944. It would be periodically reprinted for years to follow, most recently with a facsimile edition published in 2010.[71] This document played a role in shaping both the development of UNESCO, as well as its first years of official policy-creation and functioning. Huxley lays out, in great cumulative detail, the goals and ideas that drove the organization. In particular, he espouses an approach founded on an Evolutionary Humanism, which, he argues, is necessary to

[70] "Born of war, aimed at peace…" in the words of Franklin Parker, "UNESCO and the Impossible Dream" *The Phi Delta Kappan* 53.3 (Nov., 1971): 150-153.
[71] "UNESCO: Its Purpose and Its Philosophy," Euston Grove Press, http://eustongrove.com/archives/215 (accessed 20 August 2013).

support the ultimate goal of UNESCO: peace.[72] Huxley, a biologist, zoologist, and eugenicist, argues that natural selection goes beyond the purely biological, and that the spread of education was necessary to enable man to "advance" as much as possible, as quickly as possible; this would allow a "unification of man's traditions," thus allowing human progress to speed up to its fullest potential.[73] This rapid advancement was the surest path to peace.

Huxley's vision of the path to peace required the conservation of documents and other objects of heritage as a means to foster human solidarity. Huxley argued that attempting to achieve world peace based solely on political and governmental agreements was inadequate; in its failure to capture the minds and spirits of every last man, such a peace would ultimately fail altogether. For this reason, Huxley wrote, "the peace must be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind."[74] The purview of UNESCO was to foster that solidarity, by 1) "advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples" in part through international agreements that would "promote the free flow of ideas; 2) creating "equality in education opportunity, [preparing] the children of the world for the responsibilities of freedom"; and 3) undertaking to "maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge," a task

[72] Julian Huxley, *UNESCO: Its Purpose and Its Philosophy* (Washington D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1948), 5.
[73] Huxley, *UNESCO*, 8.
[74] Huxley, *UNESCO*, 1.

that Huxley put in largely material terms.[75] For him, this latter goal was mainly to be accomplished through the spread of documents,[76] prioritizing "the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science."[77]

Given Huxley's focus on the spread of knowledge by material means, the gradual increase of monumental preservation – eventually leading to the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage,* or World Heritage Convention (WHC), in 1972 – as part of UNESCO's purview is unsurprising. He also emphasized the "imperative of conserving evidence of diversity,"[78] and each of the directors-general following him seemed to accept this imperative, undertaking the preservation of historical sites in addition to their educational projects, even before the introduction of the WHC.[79] The World Heritage Convention (WHC) led to the development of UNESCO's most well known list, the World Heritage List (WHL). The WHL has been widely criticized for its strongly Western bias that was born of its core standard of "universal value" – as such, the things that made it onto the list were generally "monumentally grand and aesthetic sites and places."[80] The Convention was hugely popular – the only UN convention with *more*

[75] Huxley, *UNESCO*, 2.
[76] Though also, to a lesser extent, the sharing of intellectuals between nations.
[77] Huxley, *UNESCO*, 2.
[78] Glenda Sluga, "UNESCO and the (One) World of Julian Huxley," *Journal of World History* 21.3 (2010): 403.
[79] Parker, "Born…," 151-152.
[80] Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, eds., "Introduction," in *Intangible Heritage* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009).

signatures is the *Convention of the Rights of the Child*.[81] The Convention called for a list of sites (currently 962) of "outstanding universal value," either cultural or natural, and the creation of two subcommittees to oversee their evaluation and inscription.[82] Inclusion on the list is generally considered a great boon to the area or nation that surrounds a site. Anthropologist Vladimir Hafstein has observed that "tourism [is] gradually taking precedence over preservation as its driving concern and principal context of use."[83]

In the case of Český Krumlov, tourism that results from inclusion on the list has given rise to contention between the town and UNESCO. Since its creation, the Czech Republic has embraced the UNESCO system, with twelve Czech sites currently inscribed on the World Heritage List. The State Party has similarly embraced the accompanying tourism, which is a fairly new industry for the region. According to Allan M. Williams and Vladimir Balaz, Communist Czechoslovakia's tourism industry was very limited and internally focused, due to "an ideological legacy, rooted in the Marxist theory of production… [stating that] only the production of material goods could be considered a real and/or efficient form of production. … Tourism was classified as being 'unproductive', and had a

[81] All but three UN member states are party to that convention – Somalia, South Sudan, and the United States. [Vladimir Tr. Hafstein, "Chapter 5: Intangible Heritage as a List: From Masterpieces to Representation," in *Intangible Heritage* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009), 94.]
[82] Pocock, "Some Reflections on World Heritage," *Area 29* 3 (1997): 264, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20003806 (accessed 14 July 2013).
[83] Ibid.

low priority in the national development strategy."[84] What tourism did exist was focused on domestic workers' holidays, as well as some workers on holiday from other communist countries.[85] Interest and investment in foreign tourism developed in the 1980s, but was distinctly one-sided; while the flow of Western tourists was rapidly increasing, there were many administrative barriers in place to prevent the outflow of tourism *to* the West.[86]

The influx of tourism is both a boon and a threat to Český Krumlov. The new market economy, devalued Czech crown, and tourism agreements with the EU made the new Czech Republic a low-cost and desirable tourism destination.[87] Since at least 1995, it has been one of the top 40 tourism destinations in the world in terms of numbers of arrivals, reaching number twenty-four in 1999.[88] Tourism, however, brings traffic, which, though good for the economy, is a serious physical threat to delicate historical monuments and artifacts such as Český Krumlov, its Castle, its Theatre, and their contents. Much like the theatre, so well preserved due to its general neglect, the town of Český Krumlov's geographical isolation had

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[84] Allan M. Williams and Vladimir Balaz, *Tourism in Transition: Economic Change in Central Europe* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2001), 20.
[85] Williams and Balaz, *Tourism*, 21.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Williams and Balaz, *Tourism*, 30.
[88] "Tourist arrivals: Czech Republic (historical data)," NationMaster.com, sourced from World Tourism Organisation, Yearbook of Tourism Statistics, Compendium of Tourism Statistics and data files, http://www.nationmaster.com/time.php?stat=eco_tou_arr-economy-tourist-arrivals&country=ez-czech-republic (accessed 15 July 2013).

enabled it to develop without interference over the past five centuries.[89] The 1992 ICOMOS report that resulted in Krumlov's inscription on the WHL emphasized its "authenticity," which was attributed to the very limited restoration and conservation that had thus far been conducted there.[90] With the wear and tear of 300,000 visitors a year, however, the needs and priorities of the town are being forced to change, as well as be negotiated with the concerns and demands of UNESCO.

The situation surrounding the town's Revolving Theatre (really a revolving auditorium, or audience bank) has served as a testing ground for the conflict between the State Party's use of the town and its heritage, and UNESCO's concern for its preservation. In the late 1950s, the same South Bohemian Theatre Festival that brought about a rare period of use of the Castle Theatre also occasioned the installation of a temporary revolving stage in the Castle Gardens. The Festival, which continued in some form throughout most of the state-socialist years, was an important and uncommon example of a continuous cultural creation. It was in line with the linguistic and historical nationalism that was encouraged by the Communists, as it focused on Czech translations of classic Western European plays (particularly Shakespeare), while at the same time it was a grassroots festival that enabled the establishment of a thriving local,

[89] UNESCO, *Advisory Body Evaluation: Historic Core of Český Krumlov* (Paris: ICOMOS, 1991), http://whc.unesco.org/archive/advisory_body_evaluation/617.pdf (accessed on 1 July 2013).
[90] Ibid.

theatrical culture for the first time in centuries. The Revolving Theatre went through several incarnations, first built in a form like its present one in 1969, but the current structure is from 1998, when the massive, motor operated "revolving audience" was installed in the Castle Gardens, immediately next to the castle's summerhouse, Bellaria.[91] Conceived by architect Joan Brehms (1907-1995), the structure, possibly the first of its kind and still a rare example of it, offers the unique potential to create a filmic "panning shot" in a theatrical performance.[92] Seating 650 people, the theatre is a valuable tourist attraction to the town, as a unique and successful venue for local theatre performance.

Figure 5 The Revolving Theatre's revolving auditorium.

[91] United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization. "State of Conservation (SOC) Historic Centre of Český Krumlov (2006)," United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, (Accessed 1 July 2013) http://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/1203.
[92] Chad Randl, *Revolving Architecture: A History of Buildings That Rotate, Swivel, and Pivot,* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press 2008), 99.

Its location, however, is a serious concern for UNESCO, a concern that they have expressed in repeated, increasingly censorious reports; UNESCO's requests and demands for the removal of the theatre from the location it has occupied for more than 50 years have not yet been heeded by the State Party. In 2005, UNESCO was invited by the State Party to examine the current situation and determine whether the theatre was detrimental to the Castle Gardens. Its report declared that the theatre was threatening the integrity and had already detracted from the authenticity of the site; it recommended that the theatre be dismantled post haste and that restoration of the 17th-century gardens be undertaken.[93] During the intervening years, as that dismantling has failed to take place, UNESCO's urgings (and belief in the severe and exclusively negative influence of the theatre) have become more fervent. They range from "regretful"[94] to "seriously concerned"[95] to suggesting that the town's placement on UNESCO's World Heritage in Danger list is imminent if the appropriate action (removal and repair) is not taken immediately.

The challenge of the Revolving Theatre for the State Party comes from the nationalist pride with which it regards its new theatrical

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[93] UNESCO, *Decisions Adopted By The World Heritage Committee At Its 35th Session (UNESCO, 2011),* (Paris: World Heritage Committee, 2011), http://whc.unesco.org/archive/2011/whc11-35com-20e.pdf (accessed on 1 July 2013).
[94] United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "State of Conservation (SOC) Historic Centre of Český Krumlov (2011)," United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, (Accessed 15 July 2013) http://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/410.
[95] United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, "State of Conservation (SOC) Historic Centre of Český Krumlov (2009)," United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, (Accessed 15 July 2013) http://whc.unesco.org/en/soc/696.

tradition; UNESCO's internationalism allows it much greater ease in determining its priorities. UNESCO has vigorously demonstrated, through the vehemence of its reports, that its clear and primary concern is the preservation of the 17th-century garden and historic summer home that the theatre threatens. That clarity, however, is increasingly out of character for an organization that has, in recent years, drifted away from "universalist" approaches; for example, since the ICOMOS 1994 Nara Document on Authenticity, UNESCO has made a point of challenging its own firmness and sense of universality of truth: the Nara Document emphasizes cultural context and variability of heritage and cultural values.[96] For the State Party, the cultural context here is one of an independent theatre tradition that has survived through a dramatic shift in political regimes, that is a symbol of local pride, and plays a valuable role in the tourism-economy of the town. While it certainly also values the Castle Gardens' and Bellaria's significance to Czech history, it cannot so easily reject the performance tradition that has developed here in favour of the preservation of monuments.

The State Party's position on the Revolving Theatre is one rooted in its own Czech nationally oriented cultural values, while UNESCO's position reflects its internationalist approach to cultural property. Cultural law expert John Henry Merryman discusses national and international

[96] D. Fairchild Ruggles, and Helaine Silverman, *Intangible Heritage Embodied*, (London and New York: Springer, 2009), 6, doi:10.1007/978-1-4419-0072-2.

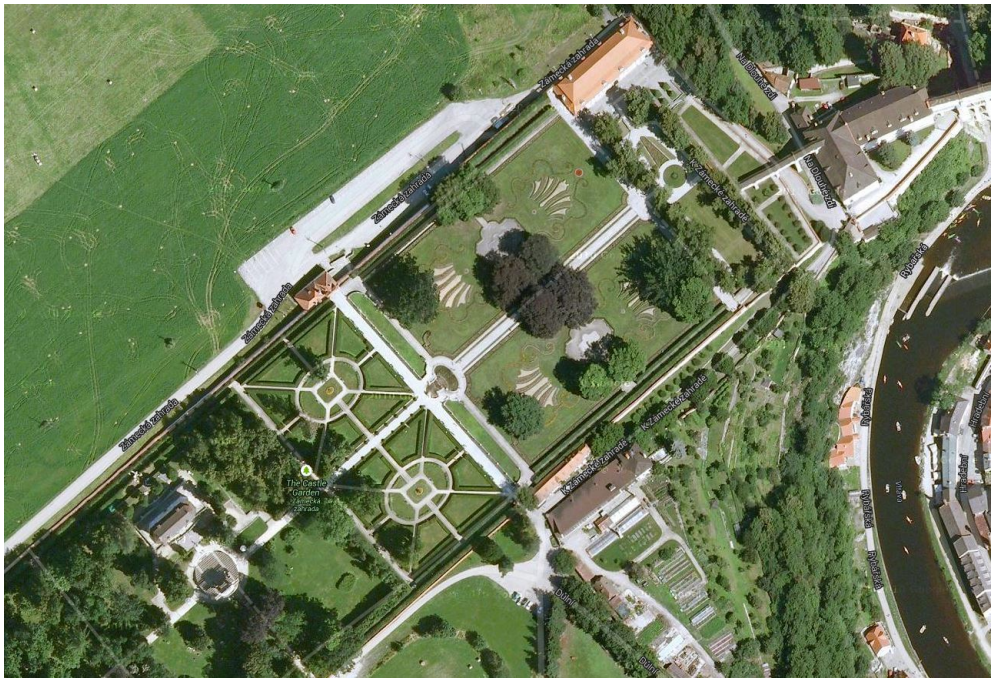

Figure 6 The Castle Gardens, satellite view, with Bellaria and the Revolving Theatre at lower left, and the Castle Theatre at upper right.

Figure 7 The Revolving Theatre in the gardens, with Bellaria and set pieces.

approaches to cultural property in terms of their export and sale, as well as the question of their preservation in case of war; of particular significance to him are the Hague Convention of 1954, which in its preamble states that "damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to the cultural heritage of all mankind,"[97] and the UNESCO convention of 1970, which seeks to protect cultural property from theft or illicit trade out of its home nation.[98] According to Merryman, Hague 1954 characterizes an internationalist approach, whereas UNESCO 1970 evidences a nationalist one; in the case of the former, an object should clearly be removed from its nation of origin if it could be better preserved elsewhere, whereas a nationalist approach would dictate that the priority should be retention of the object by its country of origin.[99] In the case of Český Krumlov, neither the Castle, the Theatre, nor the Gardens are at risk of removal; rather, the question is one of authority over the decisions to be made as to its use and restoration, and how to reconcile the differing positions of the State Party and UNESCO. With both the Revolving Theatre and the Castle Theatre, though, the positions are not as simple as whether to preserve or not to preserve on the whole, but rather, differing stances on what bears preserving.

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[97] John Henry Merryman, "Two Ways of Thinking About Cultural Property," *The American Journal of International Law* 80.4 (1986): 836.
[98] Merryman, "Cultural Property," 845.
[99] Merryman, "Cultural Property," 846.

The Notion of Intangible Heritage

The challenges of honouring and preserving those parts of heritage that are not concrete and physical, but rather, exist in human performance or action, have brought about debate and shifts in policy and philosophy in the heritage industry. In order to stay current with the international discourse on heritage, UNESCO has had to adapt, in recent years, to new ideas and categorizations of cultural heritage. This has led to the implementation of a system of two categories – Tangible and Intangible Cultural Heritage. Unlike the Revolving Theatre and the Castle Gardens, the Castle Theatre and the performed theatre that it housed and served come from the same time, place, and cultural context. In the Castle Theatre, the tangible and intangible do not seem so clearly at odds as in the former case – rather, they are interdependent creations. The building, as a rare example of a monumental piece of theatrical history, is an obvious candidate for preservation. Baroque performance, though, as a method dependent on said rare monuments, is in an equally, if not even more, precarious position; aside from its need for an already rare structure in order to exist, it is also, as more and other than a *thing*, not able to be restored or preserved in quite the same way.

UNESCO's efforts to codify the protection of the intangible were increasingly formalized in response to the shifting expectations of the heritage industry. In 2003 the Intangible Cultural Heritage Convention

was ratified, to come into force on April 20th, 2006. Its reception among the heritage community, according to Laurajane Smith and Natsuko Akagawa, was one of "guarded enthusiasm." There were a number of logistical concerns as to how an organization that had – to some minds – "reduced" world heritage to a list of monuments, would navigate a similar convention that dealt with the intangible heritage of the world. How would it approach human rights? How would it incorporate or create new language to deal with this new category? How would it measure and define "value" with regard to an even less concrete category than before? And ultimately, how would it manage and preserve this "living culture" without freezing it?[100] The ICHC, or *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage*, was not without precedent. UNESCO had approached the task of preserving non-material human culture several times before, with varying levels of dedication and success. In 1993, at Korea's suggestion, a list of "Living Human Treasures" was created to recognize some of the living and breathing sources of world heritage; a number of member states followed suit by creating their own national lists on the same principle.[101] In 1997, UNESCO issued a *Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity,* a compilation of great works of humankind; however, the Proclamation was functionally quite weak. It was not supported by any convention, had no

[100] Smith and Akagawa, "Introduction."
[101] Hafstein, "Intangible," 94.

intergovernmental executive committee, no financial resources were required to be committed by member states, and its jury was appointed by the director-general, rather than elected.[102] Generally, it was regarded as a lame-duck effort; it had the right thought behind it, but was ineffectual.

Although the organization had canonized the WHL, it struggled to define the legitimacy of intangible heritage. With the ICHC in 2003, there was finally a methodology that acknowledged intangible heritage, with the full support of a convention. It was, though, not quite as popular as the WHC; while no one voted against it, Australia, Canada, the UK, Switzerland, and the US abstained from the vote.[103] There was, however, extended debate on the merits of a selective, application-based "list" versus an inclusive "register" that would bring much-needed attention to heritage traditions that may not make it onto a "list of masterpieces." Ultimately, the Committee accepted the need for a list called the *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity* to be used in tandem with the list of ICH in need of urgent safeguarding; as the delegate from Benin suggested, the ICHC risked looking second-rate to the 1972 convention if it neglected to proclaim any masterpieces of its own.[104]

Putting a functional object on display interferes with its ability to function and thus alters its very nature. The first rule of conservation

[102] Ibid.
[103] Smith and Akagawa, "Introduction," 3.
[104] Hafstein, "Intangible," 104.

ethics is "thou shalt not change the nature of the object."[105] But with functional objects (like buildings – particularly theatre buildings, and particularly Baroque ones), the utility becomes tied up with the nature of the object. The dictate not to alter an object's nature demands contextual consideration of the object, and suggests a certain responsibility to maintain the object as a "real" thing, one not artificially repaired or made into something else entirely. Objects, particularly objects dependent on their function, tend to lose or change meaning when "made exquisite" on display, according to historians Spencer R. Crew and James E. Sims.[106] Crew and Sims refer to this tendency as "the mendacity of objects… all too familiar to makers of collections and exhibitions."[107] The display of objects, according to Donald Preziosi, presumes the institution of "narrativity" onto objects; whether they already tell a story or not, one will be made for them, and they will fit into it. He refers to this effect as "the stagecraft and dramaturgy of the modern museum."[108]

Museification and the accompanying tendency to efface function and performance, is a challenge faced by historic theatre restorations and

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[105] According to Suzanne Keene: "At the foundation of the conservation ethic lies the precept 'thou shalt not change the nature of the object." "Objects as Systems: A New Challenge for Conservation," *Restoration: Is It Acceptable?,* ed. Andrew Oddy (London, 1994), 19.
[106] Spencer R. Crew and James E. Sims, "Locating Authenticity: Fragments of a Dialogue," in *Exhibiting Cultures,* ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 159.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Donald Preziosi, "Myths of Nationality," *National Museums: New Studies from Around the World*, ed. Simon J. Knell, et. al., (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 55.

reconstructions. While the Castle Theatre contains objects that have been moved into the fledgling museum next door, the theatre itself, in its lack of use, has been turned into a museum as well. To preserve its material and temporal authenticity, its function – an inseparable part of it – has been largely disregarded.[109] Similar challenges and approaches are apparent in one of the more famous examples of an historical theatre rebuilt, though not original but a reconstruction; Shakespeare's Globe.[110] Much like the Castle Theatre, the Globe project has been scrutinized in the name of authenticity since the project was taken up in the 1970s. Although earlier groups had tried and failed to recreate the iconic structure, it was the undertaking spearheaded by American actor and director Sam Wanamaker that finally succeeded, opening to the public in 1997.[111] Wanamaker eschewed the notion of compromise; his intent was a "faithful replica," but for some minor concessions to fire safety.[112] While conceding

[109] Since its restoration the Castle Theatre has been used for strictly "experimental" performances – performances that do not strive to be period pieces, but rather are explorations of the machinery and its capabilities. New plays are never performed and the experiments are conducted a few times a year, and usually for select audiences. ["Capella Academica," accessed August 21, 2013, http://www.ckrumlov.cz/uk/mesto/soucas/i_capacc.htm.]

[110] While from an earlier period than the Castle Theatre, the work of Shakespeare has held a place of great importance in Bohemian theatre history; many of the works performed at the original Castle Theatre were German translations, but many of the first Czech language productions in the regions were translations of his work, too. The ability of Shakespeare to be translated into Czech became a symbol of the poetic value of the language, and performances of translations of his work remain very common in the Czech Republic. ["William Shakespeare," in *Theatre in Czechoslovakia* (Prague: Theatre Institute, 1967), 60.]

[111] Andrew Gurr, "Shakespeare's Globe: A History of Reconstructions and Some Reasons for Trying," *Shakespeare's Globe Rebuilt*, ed. J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring, (Cambridge: The Press Syndicate of the University of Cambridge, 1997), 32.

[112] Gurr, "Shakespeare's Globe," 34.

to safety, Wanamaker did not give in the temptation of modern conveniences such as toilets, a full roof, or a proportionally larger space (1980s theatregoers were estimated to be 10% larger than the average Elizabethan); his goal was to construct an "educational charity" rather than a "commercial theme park."[113]

Purpose-built as a tourist attraction, the reproduction Globe also highlights the crucial issue of a theatre's *function* – or the loss thereof – that is also faced by the Castle Theatre. The Globe was built to be used, and its current purpose is to stage plays. Elizabethan theatre was significantly less technically complex than Baroque theatre. Performed on a bare, open, thrust stage, just like the originals, the "Globe" performances have, still, a great deal that is missing – including the context that surrounded those original performances, not least of which, the audiences for whom they were performed. Even more problematic in the highly codified, gestural theatre tradition of the Baroque, the theatre is fundamentally changed simply by virtue of who sees it, and how they interpret it; beyond the impossible logistics of determining the details of an unrecorded, centuries old performance, lies the fact that the "intangible" encompasses a great deal more than what was recorded in the very *tangible* documents and artifacts that remain.

For the purposes of its restoration, the Castle Theatre is more than its physical structure and contents; the complications presented by its

[113] Gurr, "Shakespeare's Globe," 35.

intangible heritage are key to understanding the conflict between UNESCO and the State Party. The preservation and restoration of cultural heritage in its tangible form requires decisions of immense complexity that each party tries to simplify through firm philosophies with similar goals but vastly different motivations; UNESCO aims to preserve the object for human heritage, while the foundations of Czech heritage and nationalist pride are the State Party's reasons to do the same. The Castle Theatre's intangible heritage further complicates the theatre's restoration from each party's perspective. UNESCO, struggling to stay current with shifting standards in the heritage field, has legitimized the significance of the intangible with the introduction of ICH; to ignore the intangible in the case of the Castle Theatre risks the organization's own appearance of relevance, currency, and inclusivity. To preserve the intangible here, though, would require the *use* of the monument, increasing the risk of damage and deterioration to the material thing that falls more clearly under UNESCO's traditional purview. From the State Party's perspective, increased emphasis on the rare intangible culture here would increase the sense of uniqueness of the site, which would build the Czech international profile, and thus contribute to both nationalist pride and tourism earnings.

Neither party's position exists in a vacuum, and any action they take will have political motivations and repercussions. UNESCO depends on the State Party's voluntary participation, but the State Party is not free to

determine its own priorities; to alienate UNESCO would be to risk the loss of international acknowledgement and approval, as well as the income that UNESCO's attention has generated. Whatever UNESCO or the Czechs choose to do in Český Krumlov, their conflicting internationalist and nationalist backgrounds will be significant influences.

Conclusion

The Castle Theatre has survived through remarkable extremes of interest: from the Imperial climate of theatricality and performance that surrounded its creation; to the disuse that helped it to survive through the centuries; to the historicist, socialist nationalism and renewed use that almost destroyed it; and finally, the democratic nationalism that values the object as a part of history, for the edification of all its citizens. Despite competing national and international influences in the years since the Velvet Revolution, the ravages of tourism, and the struggling economy that tourism was meant to repair, Český Krumlov has remained a remarkable example of maintenance and restoration of material culture.

The negotiation of nationalism and internationalism by the State Party and UNESCO is taking place in Český Krumlov. It is the internationalism of UNESCO, as the organization is forced to adapt to changing standards and cultural input from all its member nations, which has allowed for the creation and acceptance of new understandings of heritage. The nationalism that the Czech Republic is still developing affects

not only the Czech relationship with international bodies like UNESCO, but also the State Party's core attitude and approach to the competing aspects of heritage that survive in Český Krumlov. The concept of intangible heritage is a useful tool in the reconciliation of these parties, their values, and the irreplaceable items and non-items of heritage that are present in the town, but there is, unfortunately, no simple solution to their conflict. Whatever it may be, any compromise achieved by these two distinct groups will bear the scars of both their individual and shared histories.

Each of the major stakeholders in the Castle Theatre plays out their past upon it. The interplay between the imperial origin of the Castle Theatre and the adamant rejection of the Habsburg Empire that is characteristic of modern Czech identity influences the State Party's approach to the site, while the post-WWII "One World" philosophy that is at UNESCO's foundation determines the pressures that the organization operates under today. Everything that happens to the Castle Theatre is a political action, nationalism giving ground to internationalism and vice versa. There is no neutral action to take here, for either party; any act of preservation or restoration must navigate the deeply-rooted positions of the two parties, as well as their own shifting notions of their own positions.

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