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Abb. 1 Olmütz, Landesarchiv, CO 400, fol. 1r

# Pavol Černý

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## Eine illuminierte Bibelhandschrift schwäbischer Herkunft in Olmützer Kapitelbibliothek

Die jüngste Ausstellung im Erzbischöflichen Museum zu Olmütz (Olomouc), die der geistigen und materiellen Kultur in dieser altwürdigen mährischen Metropole zu Zeiten des Episkopats von Heinrich Zdík (1126–1150) – einer zweifellos der bedeutendsten Gestalten jener Zeit – gewidmet wurde, summarisierte die bisherigen reichen Erkenntnisse und berührte überdies auch manche Probleme, deren sich einige Forscher aus früheren Zeiten teilweise bewusst waren<sup>1</sup>. Ein von diesen Problemen, die heutzutage immer dringender werden, betrifft das Phänomen der Schreib – bzw. Kopistentätigkeit im örtlichen Skriptorium, das von Heinrich Zdík gegründet wurde und das – strikt genommen – die erste eindeutig belegte Institution dieser Art in böhmischen Ländern darstellt. Im Rahmen der elf heute erhaltenen Handschriften, die ohne Zweifel in der bischöflichen Schreibwerkstatt zu Olmütz entstanden waren, sind es Werke der Studienliteratur<sup>2</sup>, die meistvertreten sind, ferner drei Titel der juristischen bzw. kanonistischen Literatur<sup>3</sup>, während die sonst in den mittelalterlichen Bibliotheken dominierenden liturgischen Bücher hier relativ bescheiden vertreten sind und dies mit Texten, die für einzelne bzw. spezifische religiöse Handlungen<sup>4</sup> bestimmt wurden. Auffällig ist hier aber die Absenz der im Früh- und Hochmittelalter meistbenutzter liturgischer Bücher – Sacramentare, Graduale, Antiphonare sowie auch biblische Texte oder Sondereditionen einzelner biblischer Bücher, z.B. Evangeliare, Psalteria oder Apokalypse, bzw. Offenbarung des Hl. Johannes, sowie auch patristische Literatur. Auch wenn mit vielen Verlusten bzw. mit einer nicht-proportionalen Erhaltung entsprechender Bücher zu rechnen ist, die im Olmützer Skriptorium kopiert wurden, kann man nicht den Eindruck los werden, dass der oben erwähnten Erhaltungsstand im ziemlichen Ausmaß durch zielbewusste Selektion von Heinrich Zdík als Hauptauftraggeber bestimmt wurde. Denn es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass diese Auswahl durch den damaligen Zustand der Olmützer Kapitelbibliothek bedingt wurde, obwohl die ersten Informationen über ihre Struktur erst die aus dem 15. Jahrhundert stammenden Kataloge bringen, auch wenn überdies es bis auf einige Ausnahmen nicht möglich ist, die Zeit der Entstehung und die Herkunft entsprechender

<sup>1</sup> „Jindřich Zdík (1126–1150). Olomoucký biskup uprostřed Evropy“ (red. Jana Hrbáčová), Ausstellungskatalog des Kunstmuseums Olmütz – Erzdiozesanmuseum Olmütz (Muzeum umění v Olomouci – Arcidiecézní muzeum v Olomouci), Olmütz 24. September 2009 – 3. Januar 2010, insb. S. 88–147.

<sup>2</sup> Es handelt sich konkret um Handschriften, die sich heute im Landesarchiv (Zemský archiv) in Olmütz befinden: Psalterkommentar, CO 98 II; Kommentar zu den Paulusepisteln von Bruno von Köln, CO 322; Moralia des Hl. Gregor, CO 93 und CO 469.

<sup>3</sup> Namentlich Ordines romanae ecclesiae, CO 135; Liber conciliorum et collecta Purcardi, CO 202; Collectio trium partium von Ivo von Chartres CO 205, Epistolae Bernhardi abbatis de Clara Valle CO 981.

<sup>4</sup> Es handelt sich um bekanntes Kollektar, (sog. Horologium) jetzt in Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 144; und ferner Homiliar CO 24.





Abb. 2 St. Gallen, Stiftsbibl.  
Cod. Sang. 53, S. 223



Abb. 3 St. Gallen, Stiftsbibl.  
Cod. Sang. 53, S. 244



Abb. 4 St. Gallen, Stiftsbibl.  
Cod. Sang. 367, S. 91

Katalogsaufzeichnungen zu bestimmen<sup>5</sup>. Aber in den heutigen Fonds der Olmützer Institutionen sowie in jenen mit dieser kirchlichen Metropole Mährens zusammenhängenden Handschriften, die heute in der Schlossbibliothek zu Kroměříž (Kroměříž) aufbewahrt werden, kann man dennoch einige von diesen elementaren und meistbenutzten liturgischen Büchern finden – beginnend mit 9. Jahrhundert bis zu der Zeit der Tätigkeit des Zdik-Skriptoriums, d.h. bis zum zweiten Viertel des 12. Jahrhunderts – die jedoch fremder Herkunft sind. Auch wenn die Existenz solcher Handschriften in den damaligen Olmützern kirchlichen Institutionen nicht eindeutig zu belegen ist, verdienen sie im Zusammenhang mit der hier untersuchten Problematik eine Aufmerksamkeit. Dies um so mehr, dass einige von ihnen auch mit Illuminationen ausgestattet sind.

Von diesen soll hier einen Teil der alttestamentarischen Texten gewidmet werden, die sich heute im Landesarchiv (Zemský archiv) in Olmütz unter Signatur CO 400 befinden (Abb. 1). Dieser Kodex enthält – stellenweise in unkanonischen Reihenfolge – folgenden Büchern: Jeremia samt seiner Klagelieder, weiterhin Daniel, auf dem sich zwölf kleine Propheten anschließen, ferner das Buch der Sprichwörter, das Hohelied und das Buch Weisheit<sup>6</sup>. Dieser Kodex, der ur-

<sup>5</sup> Dazu: Miroslav Flodr, *Skriptorium olomoucké, k počátkům písařské tvorby v českých zemích*, Praha 1960, s. 162–183; Miroslav Flor, *Olomoucká kapitulní knihovna a její inventáře na počátku 15. stol.*, in: *Sborník prací Filozofické fakulty Brněnské univerzity, Řada historická C 5, VII–1958*, s. 76–96.

<sup>6</sup> CO 400. Pergament; 325 × 250 mm; ff. 111; Lagen: 1 I (fol. 1) + 1 IV (fol. 9) + 1 III (fol. 15) + 7 IV (fol. 71) + 1 III (fol. 77) + 1 III-2 (fol. 81) + 1 IV (fol. 89) + 1 III (fol. 95) + 2 IV (fol. 111). Einband: Holz, hell braunes Leder; auf Aussenseite der Vordeckel grosse in der dunklen Tinte ausgeführte und stark stilisierte griechische Buchstaben Alfa und Omega, auf der Hinterdeckel nur stilisierte Omega; Text zweispaltig zu 34–35 Zeilen. Lateinischen Text in karolingischen Minuskel, rubriziert mit dunkelbrauner Tinte. An fol. 1 altschechische interlineare Glossen, sog. Olmützer Glossen, auf Binnenseite der Oberdeckels der Spiegelabdruck des Textes vom ursprünglich angeklebten Vorsatz: *Explicit prologus. Incipit liber ... Propheta iuxta; Inhalt: Ff. 1r ... Et ait princeps eunuchorum ad da(nielem) (Dan 1,10). Prolog des hl. Hieronymus zum Ieremias, „In xpi nomine incipit prologus...; 1v Verba hieremiae...; 38v Lamentatio Hieremiae...; 41v Incipit prologus Daniel. Danielem...; 42v Incipit Daniel. Anno tertio... de vino potus eius et rogavit eunuchorum praepositum (Dan 1,8); 54r Incipit de Susanna. Erat vir habitans...; 56r Incipit prologus Osee. Liber Osee Verbum Domini...; 60r Incipit Iohel; 60v Verbum Domini...; 62r Incipit Amos. Verba Amos...; 65r Abdias. Visio Abdias...; 65v Ionas. Et factum est... 66v Micheas. Verbum Domini; 69r Nahum. Onus Ninive...; 70r Abbacuc. Onus quod vivis...; 71r Sophonias. Verbum Domini... 72v Aggeus. In anno secundo... 73r Zacharias; 73v In mense octavo...; 78r Malachias. Onus verbi...; 80r Incipit epistola Hieronimi ad chromaticae. Iungat epistola quos... 80v ... Commdata testate suu sapore servavertis; 80v Incipit liber proverbiorum quem hebrei masloth vocant...; 81r Parabola... 93v Explicit liber proverbiorum. Incipit liber Ecclesiastes. Verba Ecclesiastae; 98r Cantica canticorum. Osculetur; 100v Explicit*



Abb. 5 St. Gallen, Stiftsbibl.  
Cod. Sang. 367, S. 97



Abb. 6 St. Gallen, Stiftsbibl.  
Cod. Sang. 367, S. 121



Abb. 7 St. Gallen, Stiftsbibl.  
Cod. Sang. 367, S. 193

sprünglich zu den alten Fonds der Olmützer Kapitelbibliothek gehörte<sup>7</sup>, ist allerdings bescheiden geschmückt – ausserdem zahlreichen einfachen und in Minium ausgeführten Lombarden – mit sieben größeren vegetabilen Federinitialen, die im Text unregelmäßig und offensichtlich ohne jedes System vorkommen. In ihrer morphologischen, formal stilistischen sowie quantitativen Darstellung, zeichnen sie sich auf ersten Blick durch markante Unterschieden aus, die uns erlauben, unter ihnen zwei Gruppen zu unterscheiden. Zu den ersten gehören die Initialen „V“erbum und „V“isio am Anfang der Propheten Hosea und Obadja (ff. 56r und 65r) und ferner die Initiale „Q“uomodo am Anfang der Klagenlieder (fol. 38v), die offensichtlich aus der selben Hand stammen. Für ihre ausgeprägte Formen sind folgende Merkmale charakteristisch: ihre ziemlich gleiche Größe (im Hochformat von 4–5 Textzeilen) sowie regelmäßige Gestaltung, die deutlich aus dem Typus klassischer Initialen hervorgeht, jedoch mit Akzent auf konzentrische Symmetrie ihrer Konstruktion mittels vertikal sich entfalteten Flechtbänder, die den Binnengrund auffüllen. Damit erinnern sie an analogische Gestaltungen, die in der älteren Buchmalerei der karolingischen und vor allem ottonischen Zeit erhalten sind. So die symmetrische Struktur der „V“-Initialen ist kenn-

cantica. Incipit Sapientia. Diligite iustitiam...; 108r Incipit liber sapientiae...; 111v ...ex ipsis gentibus, et sedere. Ausschmückung: Grosse und lavierte Federinitiale: Ff. 1r „H“ieremias; 81r „P“arabolae; kleinere (ursprüngliche) Initiale: Ff. 38v „Q“uomodo; 56r „V“erbum; 62r „V“erba; 65r „V“isio; 73v „I“n. kleinere (nachträglich ausgeführte?) Initiale: ff. 1v „V“erba; 41v „D“anielem; 42v „A“nno; 60v „V“erbum; 62r „V“erba; 65v „E“t factum; 66v „V“erbo; 69r „N“un; „O“nus; 70r „O“nus; 71r „V“erbum; 72v „I“n anno; 73r „Z“acharias; 78r „M“alachias; „O“nus; 93v „V“anitas; 98v „O“sculetur; 100v „D“iligite; 108r „O“mnium. Restaurierungsprotokoll übergibt an 30. 10. 2007 Bei Restaurierung am Vor- und Hinterdeckel jeweils zwei Papiervorsätze eingebunden. Nach Flodr (zit. in Anm. 5, S. 100), „paläographisch fast gleichzeitig mit der Entstehungszeit des Kodexes“; er konstatierte darüber hinaus die Unvollständigkeit der erhaltenen Texte und eine gewisse Unterschiedlichkeit der Kommentare des Hl. Hieronymus von einigen Büchern von anderen (dennoch von ihm nicht zitierten) Handschriften. Der Autor schrieb das Kopieren des Textes drei verschiedenen Schreibern zu – und zwar an x1 an ff. 1–2, 41, und 78; x2 an ff. 2–61; x3 an ff. 61–111v.

<sup>7</sup> Mit der Handschrift CO 400 identifizierte Flodr 1958 (zit. in Anm. 5) die Eintragungen in allen drei erhaltenen Katalogen aus der erste Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts, namentlich aus dem Jahr 1413 („Item liber prophetarum“), aus dem 1430 und 1435 („Item liber Jeronimi in prophetas“). Der Handschrift CO 400 wurde bisher eine relativ bescheidene Forschungsaufmerksamkeit gewidmet. Neben oben angeführten Titel sind es die Erwähnungen in: Jan Bystřický – Miroslav Boháček – František Čáda, Seznam rukopisů metropolitní kapituly v Olomouci, in: Státní archiv v Opavě, průvodce po archiválních fondech 3, pobočka v Olomouci, Praha 1961, s. 137 – Jan Bystřický, Chronologie rukopisů olomouckého skriptoria 12. století, in: Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis, Historica 21, 1981, S. 7–23, insbesondere S. 16, Anm. 68h – Štěpán Kohout, Sběrka rukopisů Metropolitní kapituly Olomouc. Soupis iluminací 10.–18. století, Katalog, Opava 2001, S. 58.

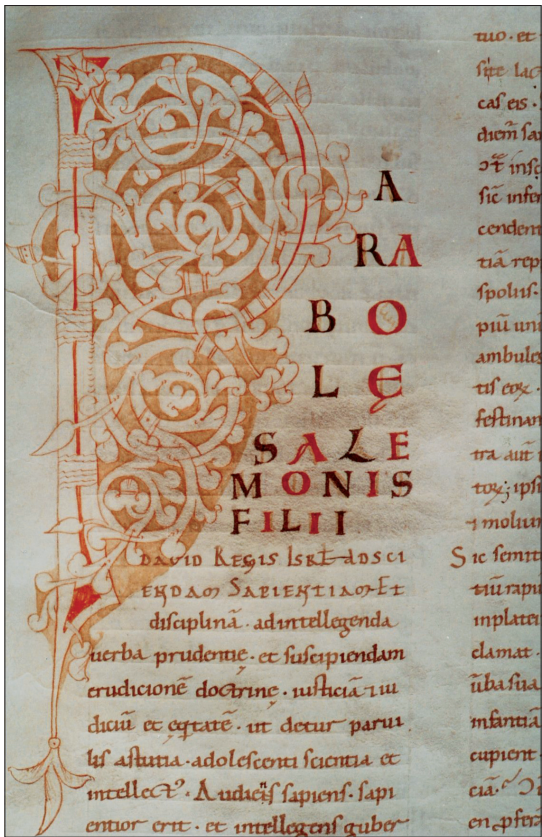


Abb. 8 Olmütz, Landesarchiv, CO 400, fol. 81r

zeichnend z.B. bereits für die reife Phase der karolingischen Illumination der Hofschule des Karl des Kahlen<sup>8</sup> sowie für die Handschriften aus nordöstlichem Frankreich<sup>9</sup>, von wo aus sie als Inspirationsquelle auf die ein wenig jüngere Buchmalerei in St. Gallen<sup>10</sup> (Abb. 2–4, 7), in Norditalien<sup>11</sup> oder – etwa abgeschwächt – auch auf die ottonische Produktion<sup>12</sup> wirken dürften. Der Schöpfer der erste Initialengruppe im CO 400 war offensichtlich eben durch die Vorlagen aus St. Gallen der spätkarolingischen und ottonischen Zeit beeinflusst, wie es schließlich auch die Gestaltung der von ihm durchgeführten Initialen „Q“ umodo belegt, die durch ihre Silhouette bei einer fiktiven Beurteilung in der umgekehrten Lage – d.h. vom oben nach unten – mit unzialen Initialen „D“ der Handschriften von St. Gallen gut vergleichbar ist<sup>13</sup> (Abb. 5, 6). Die Entstehung der Initialen der ersten Gruppe von CO 400 erscheint daher im Verlauf des fortgeschrittenen 10. Jahrhunderts als wahrscheinlich. Jedoch ohne eingehende paläographische Erforschung entsprechender Texte, zu welchen sie sich beziehen, ist es vorerst unmöglich, eine

<sup>8</sup> Beispielsweise Bibel von S. Paolo fuori le mura, c. 870, Nordfrankreich, Rom, Abbazia di S. Paolo fuori le mura, ohne Sign., fol. 224v (Wilhelm Köhler – Florentine Mütterich, *Die karolingische Miniaturen*, Bd. 6. Die Schule von Reims, Berlin 1994, Taf. 290c).

<sup>9</sup> So in Kapitulariensammlung, c. 870–80, New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke-Library, ms. 413, fol. 67 / Köhler–Mütterich (zit. in Anm. 8), Taf. 161c/.

<sup>10</sup> *Evangelistar*, 2/4 9. Jhs., St. Gallen, Stiftsbibl., Cod. Sang. 367, pp. 91, 193 (internet) – *Psalter*, Mitte des 9. Jhs., St. Gallen, Sang. 27, pp. 31, 61, 304, 315 (internet) – sog. *Folchard-Psalter*, Ende des 9. Jhs., St. Gallen, Sang. 23, pp. 184 a 226 (Anton von Euw, *Die St. Galler Buchkunst vom 8. bis zum Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts*. Monasterium Sancti Galli 3, St. Gallen 2008, Bd. 2, Abb. 34).

<sup>11</sup> *Missale*, Bobbio, 9. st., Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana, ms. D 84, inf., fol. 149v (F. Crivello, *La miniatura a Bobbio tra IX e X secolo e i suoi modelli carolingi*, Torino–Londra–Venezia 2002, Abb. 23).

<sup>12</sup> *Bibel* 2/2 11. Jhs., Fulda, Hessische Landesbibl., Aa 29, fol. 219v (Herbert Köllner, *Die illuminierte Handschriften der Hessischen Landesbibliothek Fulda*. Handschriften des 6. bis 13. Jahrhunderts, Stuttgart 1976, I., Abb. 200).

<sup>13</sup> *Evangeliar*, 2/4 9. Jhs., St. Gallen, Stiftsbibl. Sang. 367, pp. 98, 125 (internet) – *Kalendarium-Lektionar*, 10/11. Jhs., St. Gallen, Sang. 342, pp. 52, 56 (internet) – Zürich, Stadtbibl., ms. C 77 (Adolf Merton, *Die Buchmalerei in St. Gallen vom neunten bis zum elften Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1923, Taf. XXVII, Nr. 2), Basel, Univ. Bibl., Cod. B.IV.26, fol. 120r (Merton, Taf. LVI, č. 1). Verhältnismäßig zahlreiche Beispiele derart konstruierter „Q“-Initialen kann man in ottonischen Evangelien aus Köln finden, z.B. von St. Gereon, Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana Cod. C 53 Sup, fol. 120r – Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. 600 – Köln a. R., Sem. Hs. 19, von Sta Maria in Gradus – New York, Morgan Libr., Cod. M 651, fol. 79r, Bamberg, Staatsbibl., Ms. Bibl. 94, fol. 103r (Peter Bloch – Hermann Schnitzler, *Die ottonische Kölner Malerschule*, Bd. I, Düsseldorf 1970, Abb. S. 33, 73, 193, 282, 301, 325).



weitere und wichtige Frage zu beantworten, die sich in dieser Stelle ergibt, und zwar ob es direkt in St. Gallen geschah oder in einem anderen, von diesem Zentrum abhängigem Skriptorium.

Die zweite Gruppe von Illuminationen in der Olmützer Handschrift stellen bloß zwei auch in Miniumfederzeichnung durchgeführten, diesmal jedoch auch beige grundierte Initialen dar – und zwar „H“ ieremia am Anfang des Buches Jeremia (fol. 1r) und „P“ arabolae am Anfang des Buches der Sprichwörter (fol. 81r), die sich von der Ausschmückung der ersten Gruppe in manchen Hinsichte markant unterscheiden. Außer eines viel größeren Formats – auf 15 Textzeilen hoch –, infolge dessen

ein größeres Reichtum der entsprechenden Motiven in einer mehr ausdrucksvoller Gestaltung zur Geltung kommen kann, sind es vor allem ihre ebenfalls spezifische formal stilistischen Formen, die auch dank einer qualitätsvolle Ausführung offenkundig wird. Damit bieten diese beiden Initialen, trotz ihres zahlenmäßig bescheidenen Vorkommens, dankbare Möglichkeiten für ihre komparative Analyse an. Mit ihrer strukturalen Gestaltung stellen sie eine ziemlich reife Form der sog. „Spaltenleisteninitialen“ dar, die für die romanische Buchmalerei während der ganzen Zeit ihrer langen Entwicklung charakteristisch waren<sup>14</sup>. Distinktive Zeichen dieses Typus stellen nicht nur die gespaltenen Buchstabenleisten mit mehr oder weniger ausdrucksvollen Ritzen – die des öfteren auch farbig betont werden – dar, sondern auch vegetabile Ranken, die in mehr oder weniger beblätterten Spiralen mit stilisierten Blumen in verschiedenem Grad beendet werden. Diese Ranken sind in der Regel mit schmückenden Spangen verbunden und zwar entweder gegenseitig oder mit den Körpern der Buchstaben. Die derart gestaltenden Initialen zeichnen sich durch außerordentliche Flexibilität aus, die sich in einer Abwechslung vegetabiler oder abstrakter Ranken oder in deren Beziehung zum Körper des entsprechenden Buchstaben demonstriert.

Aus dieser Sicht kann man versuchen, die Erklärung der morphologischen Charakteristik der zweiten Gruppe der Initialen im CO 400 vorzunehmen. Auf den erster Stelle soll man die Bestrebung nach einer Harmonie des Ganzen und nach kompositorischem Gleichgewicht der entsprechenden Motive betonen. Regelmäßige, beinahe in kreisförmigen Spiralen sich windenden Ranken schaffen ein gleichsam kompaktes Flechtwerk, das sich eindeutig zu der Fläche bindet, an der sich gleichzeitig auch die Körper der Initialen befinden, die mit ihren Proportionen und ihrer Tektonik den klassischen Initialen botmäßig sind. Der Eindruck der Flachmäßigkeit wird nicht einmal durch intensive Verflechtung und Verdeckung der Ranken gegenseitig bzw. mit dem Initialenkörper gemildert, denn es geschieht in imaginär dünnen Schichten parallel zu dem Hintergrund. Im Rahmen dieser morphologischen Zeichen, die mehr oder weniger bei romanischen vegetabilen Initialen geläufig sind, erscheinen jedoch einige spezifische, jedoch im unterschiedlichen Ausmaß indikative Formen, die es ermöglichen, sie in einen engeren genetischen Kontext einzugliedern, samt der zeitlichen – weniger schon örtlichen – Bestimmung ihrer Entstehung. Es sind vor allem die Beendigungen der spiralförmigen Ranken in Gestalt von kleineren, sog.

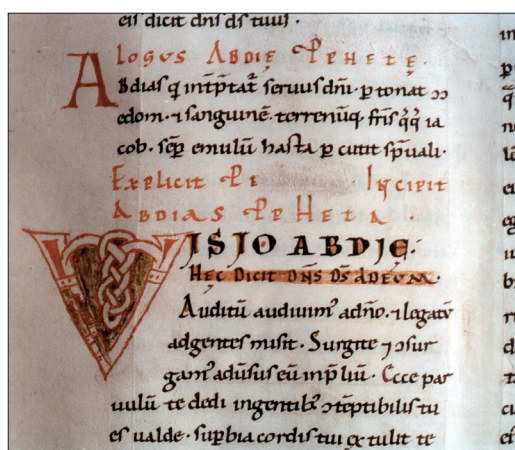


Abb. 9 Olmütz, Landesarchiv, CO 400, fol. 65r

<sup>14</sup> Herbert Köllner, Zur kunstgeschichtlichen Terminologie in Handschriftenkatalogen: Zur Katalogisierung mittelalterlicher und neuerer Handschriften (hrsg. C. Köttelwesch), Frankfurt a/M 1963, s. 147–148.

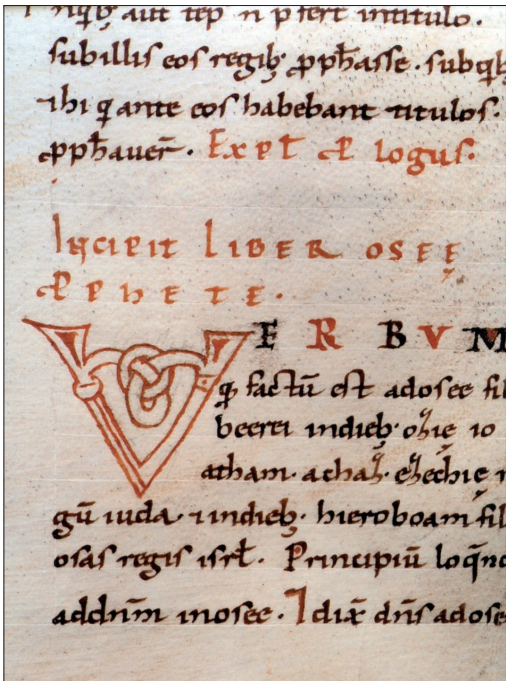


Abb. 10 Olmütz, Landesarchiv, CO 400, fol. 56r

ihr zwei kleineren ungefähr gleich gestalteten Spiralen anschliessen<sup>17</sup> (Abb. 8). In einer anderen Gestaltung betrifft dies ebenfalls die Initiale „H“ ieremias, bei der aus den Innenseiten beider senkrechten Seitenleisten in den oberen sowie unteren Enden die gleichen spiralförmigen Ranken herauswachsen, wobei die beiderseitige Verflechtung der jeweils sich gegenüber liegenden Spiralen die konzentrische Achsialität und damit auch die strikte Symmetrie der gesamten Komposition betont – sowohl in der vertikalen als auch in der horizontalen Dimension (Abb. 1). Die letztgenannte Konfiguration wird überdies durch zwei großen Maskarone akzentuiert, die auf beiden Enden der horizontalen Mittelleiste erscheinen.

Im Rahmen der frühromanischen Bücherproduktion der erwähnten Skriptorien in der schwäbisch-alemannischen Region gegen Ende des 11. und in den ersten Jahrzehnt des 12. Jahrhunderts erscheinen noch einige andere Motive und Details, mit denen man wiederum die

Knollenblättern, die in ihrem Umriss zweiteilig, weniger oft dreiteilig sind<sup>15</sup>. Hier bietet sich der Vergleich mit den Initialen aus der Wende des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts an, die in einigen Skriptorien am Bodensee oder in weiteren Zentren im Südwestdeutschlands wie Schaffhausen oder Weingarten entstanden sind<sup>16</sup> (Abb. 12–17). Mit diesen Werke haben die Initialen des Olmützer Bibel-Fragments nicht nur die konsequent angewandte Technik der Miniumfederzeichnung gemeinsam, sondern auch ihre biegsame und elegante Linearität in regelmäßiger Dichte der Windungen, als unter den Ranken Segmente leeren Hintergrundes erscheinen und zwar ungefähr der gleichen Breite wie bei Rankendicke vorkommen. Das damit zusammenhängende und bereits erwähnte Harmonie- und Gleichgewichtsprinzip demonstriert sich auch noch durch andere Merkmale. Bei der Initiale „P“ arabolae ist dies in der Komposition der aus dem Buchstabenbogen herauswachsenden spiralartigen Hauptranke deutlich, der sich vertikal über und unter

<sup>15</sup> Näher zum Begriff: Christine Jakobi, *Buchmalerei. Ihre Terminologie in der Kunstgeschichte*, Berlin 1991, S. 70.

<sup>16</sup> Beispielsweise das Kommentar von Ambrosius zum Lukas-Evangelium, Weingarten, 1/4 12. Jhs., Fulda, Hessische Landesbibl., Aa 22a, ff. 39v, 110r – Hexameron, 1/4 12. Jhs., Fulda, Aa 22b, fol. 16r), *Miscellanea*, Fulda, Aa 23, fol. 16r /Köllner (zit. in Anm. 12), Abb. 245, 246, 248, 256/. Am meisten jedoch erscheint hier die Produktion von Schaffhausen aus dem Ende des 11. Jhs. und Anfang des 12. Jhs.; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 6251, ff. 31r, 66r, 123v, 138v, 174r /Sigrid von Borries-Schulten, *Eine Schmuckhandschrift aus Cella Sancti Petri de Monte in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Clm. 6251), in: *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 3 F, 25, 1974, S. 27–46, Abb. 1–3, 8, 11)., Schaffhausen, Stadtbibl. Ms. Min. 2, fol. 133v /W. Augustin, *Zur Buchmalerei in Schaffhausen im elften und zwölften Jahrhundert*, in: *Katalog der illuminierten Handschriften aus dem Benediktinerkloster Allerheiligen in Schaffhausen* (bearb. Annegret Butz), Stuttgart 1994, Abb. 19/ – Min.14, fol. 2r (Borries-Schulten 1974, obr. 9) – Min.44, fol. 3r – Min. 54, fol. 3r – Min.16, fol. 1v (Augustin 1994, obr. 33, 37, 57).

<sup>17</sup> In dieser Hinsicht bieten sich zum Vergleich mit der Initiale „A“ an, beispielsweise in: München, Bayerische Staatsbibl. Clm.6251, ff. 66r und 138v /Borries-Schulten 1974 (zit. in Anm. 16), Abb. 1/, oder Schaffhausen, Stadtbibl., Min. 2, fol. 133v /Augustin (zit. in Anm. 16), Abb. 19/.



beiden Initialen der zweiten Gruppe in der Bibel CO 400 vergleichen kann. Es ist vor allem das „Zusammenwachsen“ der Ranken an tangentialen Berührungen entweder unter ihnen gegenseitig oder mit dem Buchstabekörper, wobei die entsprechenden mehr oder weniger breiten „Nähte“ durch eine Reihe kleiner übereinander gestellter Häkchen markiert werden. Dieses Motiv wird ausdrucksvoller – wenn auch nicht regelmäßig – insbesondere im Bücherdekor des Allerheiligenklosters zu Schaffhausen gegen Ende des 11. Jahrhunderts oder um das Jahr 1100 herum belegt<sup>18</sup> (Abb. 14, 15). Auf den Zusammen-

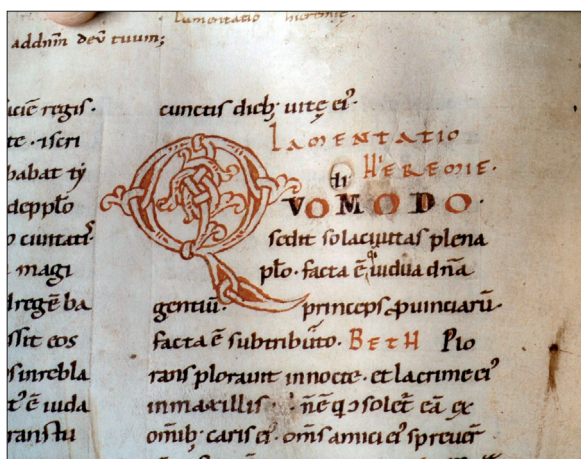


Abb. 11 Olmütz, Landesarchiv, CO 400, fol. 38v

hang mit der frühromanischen Produktion dieses Zentrums weist übrigens auch die Beendigung des unteren Schaftendes der Initiale „P“ arbolae nicht mit einer wagerecht laufenden Serife hin, – wie es geläufig ist – sondern durch einen relativ seltenen spitzigen Auswuchs, der mit einem Dreiblatt beendet wird. Damit ist dies mit einer analogischen Form dieser Buchstabe in einer von den erhaltenen Handschriften von Schaffhausen direkt vergleichbar (Abb. 13)<sup>19</sup>. Diese verhältnismäßig enge zeitliche Begrenzung dürfte auch für die Entstehung der beiden erwähnten Initialen in der Olmützer Zimelie indikativ sein. Eher ist hier jedoch an eine etwa späteren Zeit denken, wie es zumindest aus einigen weiteren Details hervorgeht. Die markanteste davon betrifft die Beendigung einiger Ranken in kleinen tropfenartigen oder herzförmigen Gestalten, die offensichtlich eine vereinfachte Modifikation der ursprünglich ausdrucksvollen sog. Pfeiler- bzw. Herzblätter darstellen. Diese gehörten zu den distinktiven Zeichen der Initialen in den illuminierten Handschriften des berühmten Skriptoriums in Reichenau, das dem Bodenseesgebiet in der vorherigen Zeitspanne, d.h. während der ottonischen Zeit, künstlerisch dominierte, wobei dieses Motiv bis zur Frühphase der romanischen Illumination in der jüngeren Produktion der klösterlichen Skriptorien dieser Region überdauert hatte<sup>20</sup>. Die Ähnlichkeit der hier behandelnden zwei Initialen aus dem CO 400 mit der Buchmalerei des erwähnten Klosters in Schaffhausen kann man auch mit Hinweis auf ein weiteres Motiv bestätigen – und zwar auf die Wiedergabe zweier Löwen-Maskarone, die sonst in das typische Repertoire dieses schwäbischen Skriptoriums nicht gehören, auf jeden Fall ist aber dies angesichts dessen Absenz in anderen deutschen Zentren bemerkenswert<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> Schaffhausen, Stadtbibl., Hs. Min. 2, fol. 133v entstand unter Abt Siegfried (1082–96), ferner sind es Handschriften, die sich heute ebenfalls in Schaffhausen befinden, in der dortigen Stadtbibliothek, die um 1100 oder zu Beginn des 12. Jhs. entstanden sind: Hs. Min. 44, fol. 3r, Min. 16, fol. 244v, Min. 1, fol. 240v / Augustin (zit. in Anm. 16), Abb. 19, 33, 60, 62/, oder Min. 14, fol. 2r / Borries-Schulten (zit. in Anm. 16), Abb. 9/. Dazu sind auch Beispiele aus Weingarten 1/4 12. Jhs. zuzuordnen, namentlich Ambrosius-Kommentar zu Lukas, Fulda, Hessische Landesbibl., Aa 22a, fol. 171v / Köllner (zit. in Anm. 12) Abb. 247/, oder aus Benediktbeuren, München, Bayerische Staatsbibl. Clm. 4507, fol. 4r / Borries-Schulten (zit. in Anm. Abb. 6, oder C. Stuckert, Die Handschriften des 11. Jahrhunderts in der Ministerialbibliothek Schaffhausen, in: Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde, XXV, 1923, S. 115, Abb. 8, 9/.

<sup>19</sup> Schaffhausen, Stadtbibl., Hs. Min. 2, fol. 133v, vor 1096 / Augustin (zit. in Anm. 16), Abb. 19/.

<sup>20</sup> Augustin (zit. in Anm. 16), S. 17

<sup>21</sup> Stuckert (zit. in Anm. 18), Abb. 24.

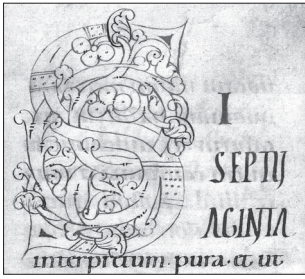


Abb. 12 Schaffhausen, Stadtbibl., Min. 2, fol. 174r



Abb. 13 Schaffhausen, Stadtbibl., Min. 2, fol. 133v

Würden die verhältnismäßig zuverlässigen Indizien, die an den zitierten Analogien oder Übereinstimmungen der Initialen zweiter Gruppe in der Bibel CO 400 mit der Buchmalereiproduktion von Schaffhausen und einigen anderen Zentren in der schwäbisch-alemannischen Region gegründet sind, als die Zeit ihrer Entstehung am ehesten den Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts anzudeuten, so ist in der Frage des Entstehungsortes bzw. der Herkunft ihrer Schöpfer offensichtlich umsichtiger zu verfahren. Denn die erwähnten Ähnlichkeiten mit den Illuminationen aus dem zuerst zitierten schwäbischen Kloster müssen nicht automatisch auch dortige Entstehung beweisen, wenn man einige weitere spezifische Umstände der Entwicklung und Ausbreitung dieses spezifischen Initialenstil um 1100 und zu Beginn des 12. Jahrhunderts berücksichtigt. Diese sind im Zusammenhang mit einigen Aspekten der Klosterreform zu beurteilen, die aus dem älteren Abtei Hirsau im nördlichen Schwarzwald hervorgegangen war. Denn es ist wohl kein Zufall, dass die Klöster, aus deren Skriptorien die meisten Vergleichsmöglichkeiten mit der zweiten Gruppe der Initialen der Olmützer Handschrift stammen, alle in die Oboedienz dieser neuen Reformbewegung des Benediktinerordens gehörten, die sich – auch mit Anlehnung an Cluny – ab der Mitte des 11. Jahrhunderts zu verbreiten begann<sup>22</sup>. Ein nicht zu übersehender Bestandteil der Reform von Hirsau war ebenfalls eine intensive Schreibertätigkeit im Sinne des bekannten Spruches von W. Wattenbach, wonach „jeder neuer Aufschwung der klösterlichen Disziplin mit neuem Eifer im Schreiben begleitet wurde“<sup>23</sup>. Eine Beurteilung der Bücherproduktion des Klosters Hirsau als Reformzentrum jedoch erschweren oder gar unmöglich machen die großen Verluste ihrer Fonds, aus denen lediglich geringfügige und für zuverlässigere Beurteilung der dortige Handschriftentätigkeit wenig indikative Reste erhalten geblieben sind<sup>24</sup>. Die andere, besser erhaltene Quellen bezeugen

aber eine große Sorgfalt des Klosters Hirsau für Schreibertätigkeit und Bücherproduktion, die in der Anfangsphase der Etablierung und Verbreitung der Reform nicht nur für Eigenbedarf bestimmt waren, sondern auch für andere oder neue Klöster, die die Grundsätze der neuen Kongregation akzeptierten, wobei viele von ihnen bald eigene Schreib- und Illuminationstätigkeit

<sup>22</sup> Zuletzt: Felix Heinzer, Hirsauer Buchkultur und ihre Ausstrahlung, in: 700 Jahre Erfurter Peterskloster. Geschichte und Kunst auf dem Erfurter Petersberg 1103–1803. Jahrbuch der Stiftung Thüringer Schlösser und Garten, Bd. 7, Rudolstadt 2004, S. 98–104, insb. S. 98, ferner Harald Wolter von dem Knesebeck, Deutschland, in: Geschichte der Buchkultur. Bd. 4/2, Romanik (hrsg. Andreas Fingernagel), Graz 2007, S. 252.

<sup>23</sup> Wilhelm Wattenbach, Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter, Leipzig 1871, S. 56.

<sup>24</sup> Neben des erwähnten Klosters Allerheiligen in Schaffhausen mit relativ gut erhaltenen Handschriften aus der damaligen Zeit, ist es ferner aus der schwäbisch-alemannischen Region hier auch Weingarten, Einsiedeln, Zwiefalten, Petershausen oder St. Peter in Schwarzwald zu nennen. Zu der Hirsauer Kongregation jedoch gehörten auch mehr entfernte Klöster, in denen sich im größeren oder kleineren Ausmaß illuminierte Handschriften aus der damaligen Zeit erhalten haben. Neben des erwähnten Konvents St. Peter in Erfurt sind es z. B. das südbayerische Benediktbeuren und ein wenig später St. Michal in Bamberg oder in Prüfening bei Regensburg.

entfaltet haben<sup>25</sup>. Es ist eben die Produktion dieser aus Hirsau hervorgegangenen Tochtergründungen, die uns zumindest eine ungefähre Vorstellung über die verlorengegangenen Bücherfonds des Zentrums erlaubt<sup>26</sup>. Davon sind – B. Bischoff zufolge – in dieser Hinsicht eben jene Handschriften meist indikativ, deren Herkunft aus dem Kloster Allerheiligen in Schaffhausen außer jeden Zweifel steht<sup>27</sup>. Die Texte der in den Kommunitäten der Hirsauer Kongregation entstandenen Bücher zeichnen sich durch normativen Charakter aus, der auch weitere Aspekte ihrer äußeren materiellen Gestaltung betrifft, nämlich die Schrift und das Begleitdekor inbegriffen. Den Thesen der jüngsten Forschung zufolge könnte man jedoch über keine „Hirsauer Malerschule“ oder über einen „Hirsauer Stil“ sprechen<sup>28</sup> – im Unterschied zu den architektonischen Denkmäler – denn in den Klöstern dieser Reformgruppe kamen bald verschiedenartige Elemente zur Geltung, die aus älteren örtlichen und auch außerhalb des Reformumkreises kultivierten Traditionen oder auch aus mehr entfernten Anlässen außerhalb der entsprechenden Region stammten<sup>29</sup>. Eine erneute und sorgfältige Berücksichtigung dieses Phänomens erlaubt uns jetzt mehr differenzierte Schlussfolgerungen formulieren: Es scheint nämlich, dass sich die Bücherausschmückung der Hirsauer Reformkongregation im Verlauf der Anfangsphase ihrer Entwicklung, d.h. gegen Ende des 11. und zu Beginn des 12. Jahrhunderts dennoch durch eine bestimmte homogene Wiedergabe – wenn nicht durch eine Uniformität – auszeichnete, die möglicherweise auch durch die bereits oben erwähnte Tatsache bedingt wurde, dass im Interesse der Durchsetzung neuer Reformgrundsätzen die Tochterklöster mit normativen Texten aus Hirsau beliefert wurden. Eine einheitliche Gestaltung der Buchausschmückung ist vor allem im Falle der gut erhaltenen Produktion von Schaffhausen aus der Amtszeit des dortigen Abtes und früheren Mönches von Hirsau Siegfried (1082–1096) und seinen ersten Nachfolgern auffällig. Die Hirsauer Reform beeinflusste im Rahmen ihrer Ausbreitung in der Frühphase zweifellos auch die Buchmalerei in geographisch mehr entfernten Konventen, wie es im Falle des Klosters des Hl. Peter zu Erfurt in Thüringen ganz flagrant nachgewiesen wird. Die dort erhaltenen Illuminationen zeigen mit Schaffhausen weitgehende und unumstrittenen Übereinstimmungen. Diese Lage jedoch änderte sich bald, nachdem die Kommunitäten der Hirsauer Kongregation ihre eigene Skriptoriumstätigkeit aufgenommen haben, die im Geiste eines weiteren Zeichens der Reform – d.h. Beweglichkeit und Adaptabilität – Anregungen auch aus anderen Quellen schöpften, neben der älteren lokalen Tra-



Abb. 14 Schaffhausen, Stadtbibl., Min. 44, fol. 3r



Abb. 15 Schaffhausen, Stadtbibl., Min. 16, fol. 207v

<sup>25</sup> Heinzer 2004 (zit. in Anm. 22), S. 98; ferner Wolter von dem Knesebeck (zit. in Anm. 22), S. 252.

<sup>26</sup> Heinzer (zit. in Anm. 22), S. 102, jedoch ohne nähere Argumentation.

<sup>27</sup> Heinzer (zit. in Anm. 22), S. 101. Mehr explizit zum Problem des „Hirsauer Stils“: Wolter von dem Knesebeck (zit. in Anm. 22), S. 252–253.

<sup>28</sup> Wolter von dem Knesebeck (zit. in Anm. 22), S. 252.

<sup>29</sup> Dazu vor allem Heinzer (zit. in Anm. 22). Pragmatische Notwendigkeit, hier weniger rigorose Kriterien anzuwenden, geht auch aus der Tatsache hervor, dass sich die Architektur des Klosters der Hl. Peter und Paul in Hirsau genauso wie einige andere ähnliche Gründungen durch viele ausdrucksvolle spezifische Charakteristika auszeichnen, die zur Durchsetzung des Terminus „Hirsauer Bauschule“ führten. Dazu Zusammenfassung bei Günther Binding, Hirsauer Bauschule, in: Lexikon des Mittelalters 5, 1990, Sp. 36.





Abb. 16 Schaffhausen,  
Stadtbibl. Min. 16, fol. 226v

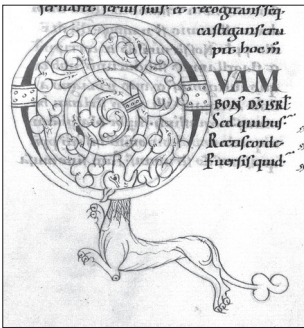


Abb. 17 Schaffhausen,  
Stadtbibl., Min. 16, fol. 140v

dition auch aus entfernten Zentren außerhalb der Reform. In diesem Zusammenhang kann man die These erinnern, die jüngst von Wolter von dem Knesebeck ausgesprochen wurde – nämlich dass „die Buchkultur der Hirsauer Konvente als einen Bestandteil der allgemeinen Entwicklung der Buchkunst und Buchkultur einer Kirchenreform und in Bezug zu entsprechenden geistigen Kontakten zu betrachten (ist), anstatt eine Malerschule von Hirsau zu postulieren<sup>30</sup>“. Dem ist hinzufügen, dass die erhaltene, bzw. bekannte Buchmalerei der Klöster der Hirsauer Kongregation bestimmte gemeinsame Züge auch mit einigen anderen später hervorkommenden Reformströmungen ausweist, in erster Linie mit dem neuen Zisterzienserorden. Zu den gemeinsamen Zügen dieser Bewegungen gehört hauptsächlich die Bemühung um Disziplinerneuerung, die sich nach außen hin durch gewisse Askese äußert, dem dann im Bereich der Buchkultur z.B. die beinahe ausschließliche Benützung einfacher Federzeichnungstechnik entspricht. Dies kontrastiert mit reicher Benutzung von Deckfarben, des Goldes und des Silbers, die für die ältere karolingische und ottonische Illuminationen charakteristisch sind. Mit dieser programmatischer Zurückhaltung gehört zweifellos auch die Beschränkung des Dekors vorwiegend auf vegetabile Initialen zusammen, die auf ersten Stelle ihre praktische Funktion als ein Mittel der visuellen Orientierung des Lesers erfüllen. Dem entspricht auch auffällige Desinteresse an figürlichen Darstellungen oder an großen ganzseitigen Miniaturen, die in der Buchmalerei der vorherigen Entwicklungsphasen geläufig sind.

Jede Bemühung um eine Bestimmung des Entstehungsortes der Initialen der zweiten Gruppe des Olmützer CO 400 bzw. der Herkunft ihres Schöpfers, muss auf dem Hintergrund der oben

angedeuteten Entwicklung und historischen Lage vorgenommen werden. Trotz der erwähnten Analogien und Übereinstimmungen in gesamtter stilistischer Gestaltung sowie einigen spezifischen Motiven und Details, die auf die Buchmalerei in Schaffhausen hinweisen, ist es nicht klar, ob der Schöpfer der Illuminationen, am Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts das ältere und unvollendete Dekor im CO 400 ergänzt hatte, aus diesem schwäbischen Kloster oder aus dessen Töchterkonventen stammte. In der letzterwähnten Hinsicht bietet sich hier zum weiteren Vergleich die erwähnte Produktion des Klosters des Hl. Peter in Erfurt an. Vorläufig jedoch kann man die Hypothese über wahrscheinliche Entstehung der Initialen der zweiten Gruppe im CO 400 im Verlauf des Anfangs des 12. Jahrhunderts in dem schwäbisch-alemannischen Milieu als in einem weiter entfernten Zentrum der Hirsauer Reform auszusprechen, d.h. in östlicheren Regionen deutscher Länder. Darauf würden nicht nur die oben behandelten morphologischen und stilistischen Aspekte bezeugen, sondern auch die Tatsache, dass die Initialen der ersten Gruppe in der Bibel CO 400 – obwohl um mehr als ein Jahrhundert früher ausgeführt – deutliche Beziehungen mit den Illuminationen aus dem Kloster St. Gallen aufweisen. Diese Hypothese zu beglaubigen wäre jedoch erst aufgrund einer eingehenden und breit angelegten paläographischen Analyse möglich, die insbesondere auf fester datierten Handschriften gestützt würde. Die Initialen der zweiten Gruppe in der Bibel CO 400 könnten dann erst ein Jahrhundert

<sup>30</sup> Wolter von dem Knesebeck (zit. in Anm. 22), s. 253.

später erscheinen, und zwar an Stellen, an denen – wie M. Flodr annimmt – der ursprüngliche Dekor entfernt wurde<sup>31</sup>. Aufgrund der neuen und gründlicheren Untersuchung der olmützer Bibel scheint es aber, dass ihre ursprüngliche Ausschmückung gleich nach dem Abschluss der Textabschrift ausgeführt wurde, d.h. im späteren 10. Jahrhundert und zwar im Gestalt der nur vier kleinen und – vielleicht durch Schreiberhand vollgebrachten – Federinitialen (ff. 38v, 56r, 65r, 73v) (Abb. 9–11). Dagegen die leer hinterlassenen Stellen im Textspiegel, die evident zur Ausführung der grösseren, bzw. anspruchsvolleren Dekor beabsichtigt waren, sind mehr als ein Jahrhundert später in diesen provisorischen Zustand geblieben<sup>32</sup>. Erst damals, d.h. am Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts kam es zur Ausführung lediglich zwei grossen Initialen (ff. 1r, 81r) (Abb. 1, 8). Schliesslich noch später – vielleicht während dem fortgeschrittenen 12. Jahrhundert – wurden dann die einfache Silhuetteninitialen mit Minium durch Schreiberhand – zusammen mit einigen neuen Textabschnitten – ergänzt. Wann und unter welchen Umständen die Bibel CO 400 nach Olmütz gelang ist, bleibt näher unbekannt. Ihre morphologisch ausgeprägte Ausschmückung hinterließ jedoch keine sichtbaren Spuren in der jüngeren Produktion der Buchmalerei – weder im Skriptorium des Bischofs Heinrich Zdík, das ihre Tätigkeit im Verlauf des zweiten Viertels des 12. Jahrhunderts entfaltete, noch in den späteren Handschriften der folgenden Ära.\*

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<sup>31</sup> M. Flodr zufolge (zit. in Anm. 5, S. 102) erlauben diese Inventare die Existenz der Bibel CO 400 im Besitz des Olmützer Kapitels bereits im Verlauf des 14. Jhs. vermuten. Der Autor meint, dass „auf eine noch ältere Zeit ... die äussere Gestaltung der Bindung zu deuten (scheint)“, ohne dabei konkretere Argumente vorzubringen. Dem Autor zufolge hat im CO 400 die Korrekturen der Rubrikator „r2“ auf fol. 1 durchgeführt, die er angeblich gänzlich umgeschrieben hat und aufgrund diese Vermutung meint er, dass sich dieser Rubrikator „an der Entstehung des Codices nicht nur als Korrektor beteiligte, sondern auch als dessen Mitgestalter“, d.h. als vermutlicher Autor der Ausschmückung auf ff. 1 und 81, wo die ursprünglichen Initialen beseitigt und durch neue „künstlerisch wertvollere“ ersetzt wurden. Der Autor wies ferner darauf hin, dass die Provenienz des CO 400 nicht zu bestimmen sei, die Entstehung der Initialen aber sieht er in der ersten Hälfte des 12. Jhs., denn sie haben „einen Bezug zu anderen Handschriften der Prager Kapitelbibliothek und nach Olmütz sei der Kodex vielleicht kurz nach seiner Entstehung gekommen“. Die erstgenannte Vermutung gründet M. Flodr auf einem Vergleich mit den Handschriften A IV, 1 und G II der Kapitelbibliothek in Prag, die angebliche Werke „der Schreiber x2“ und „der Schreiber x3“ sind.

<sup>32</sup> Dies ist markant insbesondere auf zweien Stellen, auf dem fol. 80v, wo der Text nur sieben Zeilen oben im linken Spalte und im rechten ganz unten mit Rubrik „Incipit...“ einnimmt; und weiterhin auf dem fol. 98r mit nur vierzehn Textzeilen im linken Spalte oben. Im diesem Zusammenhang ist auch bemerkenswert, dass auf dem fol. 62r heute noch die Vorzeichnung für die runde Unziale „V“erbun sichtbar ist.

\* Alle hier veröffentlichten Photos aus dem Archiv von Autor.

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## Pilgrims' badges from Telč in the context of their origin

In 2011 an archaeological investigation initiated by the reconstruction of Old Town Pond in Telč was carried out.<sup>1</sup> Based on this investigation, two medieval roads with a fording across the local creek, subsequently dated to the turn of the 12th and 13th century on the basis of dendrochronological analysis of wood which had been used for its reinforcement. A series of medieval metal objects<sup>2</sup> were discovered on these roads, dated to the period of the 13th to 15th century when the place was flooded and the Old Town Pond<sup>3</sup> was created.

Besides a large number of coins, buckles and other ornamental metal work of clothes and other type (e.g. fragments of plated book bindings), three fragments of very interesting pilgrim devotional articles were found here as well. All these cases comprise devotional articles which further extend the findings regarding this evidence of spiritual culture of the medieval people, rarely found in our regions, not only in the context of Moravia, but also of Bohemia and beyond the region as well. Besides Olomouc, Opava or Blansko, for example, this is another location which presents us the religious world of the people of medieval Moravia.

Travelling was relatively frequent in the medieval world which was not as static as it seems at first view, in particular when journeys of business or spiritual nature were involved. While religious pilgrimages were at first mainly the matter of merchants and educated people, often of the clergy, this phenomenon became a matter of rich townspeople in the late Middle Ages. In Western European countries, in particular, this situation looked like almost everybody “*ging damals wenigstens einmal im Leben auf Pilgerfahrt!*”<sup>4</sup>.

In the Czech and Moravian environment the laic public was not left “behind” either, although pilgrimage activity was not comparable to their western neighbours.<sup>5</sup> Generally speaking, the most frequently visited place of pilgrimage for the Czechs as well as newcomers (namely German speaking people) was Rome. Until 1518, for example, there is written evidence in Olomouc of 46 pilgrimages to Rome, mostly based on sources of testamentary nature.

In the case of Telč, the badges are of Italian origin. Each one, however, originates from a completely different locality. Despite this fact, it is possible that all three badges could have been

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Mgr. David Zimola, head of the archaeological department of the Museum of Vysočina in Jihlava for having provided some objects, namely pilgrims' badges, for the study and for his very helpful approach.

<sup>2</sup> David Zimola, Archeologický výzkum Staroměstského rybníka v Telči, *Muzeum Factum* 1, 2012, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> According to the authors of the historic atlas of the City of Telč, the crossing of roads had already partially been flooded together with the old settlement in 1372. Jiří Bláha – Josef Hrdlička – Robert Šimůnek, *Historický atlas měst České republiky svazek č. 6. Telč*, Praha 2001, double text sheet no. I. Likewise Josef Bláha – Lubomír Konečný, *K nejstarší historii města Telče*, in: Jaroslav Sedlář (ed.), *Uměleckohistorický sborník*, Brno 1985, p. 151.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Plötz, *Signum peregrinationis. Heilige Erinnerung und spirituelle Schutz*, in: Hartmuth Kühne – Lothar Lammbacher – Konrad Vanja (eds.), *Das Zeichen am Hut im Mittelalter. Europäische Wallfahrtstudien B4*, Frankfurt am Main 2008, p. 53.

<sup>5</sup> Which was rather caused by the fact that the Czech countries were located “*rather at the boundary of the medieval Western European civilization*”. Tomáš Velimský, *K nálezům středověkých poutních odznaků v českých zemích*, *Archaeologia historica* 23/98, 1997, p. 436.

purchased by a single pilgrim during a single journey who had often visited other sanctuaries as well on his journey to reach a sought-after destination. This fact would be supported exactly by the fact already mentioned above, even though the origin of the the third badge is not exactly known and substantiated due to the absence of analogies.

## Pilgrims' badges from Telč and their origin

As far as the formal viewpoint is concerned, today the theory about the progressive formal development of pilgrims' badges from archaic metal plaquettes with relief ornamentation to the by far more effective<sup>6</sup> ones of stamped type, emerging century namely in France during the 14th<sup>7</sup>, has been generally accepted by experts. Therefore, if we respect this generally acknowledged viewpoint, our badges belong to the older Romanesque type.



Badge fragment from Rome (approx. 13th century), Museum of Vysočina in Jihlava, inv. no. Te01/11/747, 18 × 19 mm

The rectangular badge fragment is covered by a large number of grooves on the reverse side, at the face side it is provided with a plastically extruding ornamentation. There is a torso of a figure without a head within the broad frame – inscription section. The figure is dressed in wide clothes – a tunic with pronounced soft folds, holding a sword in its right hand. Only the inscription “UMP/ETRI” has remained from the inscription section running around the whole motive. The original inscription was: “SIGNA APOSTOLORUM PETRI ET PAULI”. Thanks to the relatively large number of preserved pilgrims' badges of this type<sup>8</sup>, the figure with the sword may be identified as St. Paul, there was originally St. Peter on the right side, holding large keys

<sup>6</sup> And basically also cheaper, since the material requirement in case of a stamped piece is not as great as in the solid piece.

<sup>7</sup> Andreas Haasis-Berner, *Das Wallfahrtswesen im 14. Jahrhundert im Spiegel der Pilgerzeichen. Eine These zur Geschichte des Wallfahrtswesens im Heiligen Römischen Reich Deutscher Nation*, in: Hartmuth Kühne – Lothar Lammbacher – Konrad Vanja (eds.), *Das Zeichen am Hut im Mittelalter. Europäische Wallfahrtstudien B4*, Frankfurt am Main 2008, s. 144.

<sup>8</sup> A dozen of these plaquette types produced in the 12th and 13th century are known from the whole of Europe. See Plötz (note 4), p. 56.

from the Kingdom of Heaven in his left hand. Unclear remains the function of the secondarily created engraved motive on the reverse side. Since no signs can be recognized, rather no magic symbol seems to be involved. It is sure that this is not a regular cross symbol either, which I know, for example, from a pilgrim badge from St. Nicholas in Olomouc.

Both apostles were rather separated from each other by a large cross held in the right hand by St. Peter, as in other examples.

According to the place of the letters and clothes stylization, we find the nearest analogy to this badge in the specimen from the Dutch town Dordrecht, today deposited in the collection Van Beuningen in the town of Cothen, inv. no. 1907.<sup>9</sup>

Although, as already mentioned above, Rome was the most popular destination of pilgrimage for the Czechs, not even a single pilgrim badge originating there has been found on our territory yet. So the plaquette from Telč is the first physical evidence of such pilgrimage.

Badges featuring both apostles, the production and distribution monopoly of which had been entrusted to the hands of the canons of St. Peter's basilica<sup>10</sup> by pope in 1199, flourished particularly in the 13th century. According to the description of such badges by the English preacher John Wyclif, i.e. a plaquette showing both apostles, Brian Spencer still reasons that this type may have survived until the 14th century.<sup>11</sup>

Rome has already been the favourite destination of pilgrims since the early Middle Ages, not only thanks to easier accessibility as compared to the Holy Land or Santiago de Compostella, but also thanks to the large number of early catholic martyrs or apostles buried there (especially St. Peter and St. Paul). Until Sacco di Roma (1527) the belief was passed on that the ground of the city was completely sanctified by the blood of martyrs<sup>12</sup>.

Since 1300, among other things, when the first holy anniversary year had been declared by pope Bonifacius VIII, there was the possibility of the so-called "plenary indulgences"<sup>13</sup>. Until then these could be achieved by pilgrims, participants in crusades<sup>14</sup>, the so-called "peregrinatio armata", but also by visitors of the church S. Maria di Collemaggio in today's central Italian town of L'Aquila, with forgiveness of sins being guaranteed by the bull of pope Celestine V who had been crowned there in 1294 (Perdonanza Celestiana).<sup>15</sup>

As already indicated by Massimo Miglio in his study, based on chronicles from the archives of Italian cities, the pilgrim activity was significant throughout the whole anniversary year of 1300. Pilgrims were not only Italians themselves, but large masses were swarming from all over the rest of Europe, namely thanks to the extensive "propagation" by pope's office.<sup>16</sup>

This year was still followed by two other holy years, just the period between them was reduced as the time progressed.

While the first holy year had been declared by Bonifacius VIII with the intent not to have followed it by other years for other 100 years, already one of the "Avignon" popes, Clement VI, cut the period to a half-century. Another reduction occurred in 1389 under pope Urban VI, the

<sup>9</sup> [http://www.pilgerzeichen.de/indices/w\\_orte/1/0/0/Italien/Region%20Latium/1595/0/0/0/0/pz/10-0/0-0/0/](http://www.pilgerzeichen.de/indices/w_orte/1/0/0/Italien/Region%20Latium/1595/0/0/0/0/pz/10-0/0-0/0/), retrieved on 27. 4. 2012.

<sup>10</sup> Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges. Medieval Finds from Excavations in London*, London 1998, s. 248.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 249.

<sup>12</sup> Massimo Miglio, *Pilgerfahrten im Heiligen Jahr*, in: Caucci von Saucken (ed.), *Pilgerziele der Christenheit. Jerusalem, Rom, Santiago, de Compostela*, Darmstadt 2010, p. 57.

<sup>13</sup> "Plenarablass".

<sup>14</sup> Marie Christin Pollak, *Wallfahrten im Mittelalter*, München 2008, p. 23.

<sup>15</sup> See Miglio (note 12), p. 60.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 61–62.



intermediate period being reduced to 33 years according to the achieved earthly age of Christ. It is interesting to note here that the following holy year was not celebrated after 33 years in this case, but in the following year 1390, that is after 40 years.<sup>17</sup> The year 1400 was again a holy year, since it built on the decree of Bonifacius VIII.<sup>18</sup> This example illustrates clearly how important the organization of anniversary years, combined with an extensive pilgrimage program, was for the Holy See and the city itself, in particular from the economic point of view.

Pope Paul II ended this trading with anniversary years by the bull issued in 1470, according to which the holy year should take place every 25 years, effective from 1475.<sup>19</sup>



Badget fragment from Lucca (13th century), Museum of Vysočina in Jihlava, inv. no. Te01/11/1034, 18 × 15 mm

The fragment of a pilgrim badge with two preserved eyes for attachment, originally a cross badge for garments, is without any adornment on the reverse side, provided only with a hollowing in the form of a cross. There is a hand in a long sleeve, plastically ornamented with diagonal bands, on the face side. There is a pearly frame around it. The letters “SIS” of which the last one is the most readable may be identified under the hand.

The fragment originally showed the Crucified, the so-called “*Volto Santo*”<sup>20</sup>, worshiped in the church of the Tuscon town of Lucca located on the famous pilgrim route Via Francigena leading from France to Rome. Thanks to a legend in which the portrait of St. Nicodemus had been imprinted upon the face of one of the angels, this giant crucifix is considered to be part of the so-called “*acheiropoietos*”<sup>21</sup>. The crucified image is thus shown as a living<sup>22</sup> “*four-nail*” type<sup>23</sup> in a long, belted tunic with long sleeves. This crucified figure has its roots in Byzantine art

<sup>17</sup> The Holy See urgently needed rather a “financial injection”.

<sup>18</sup> Norman Foster, *Die Pilger. Reiselust in Gottes Namen*, Frankfurt am Main 1982, s. 209.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 210.

<sup>20</sup> The so-called “*Volto santo*”, from Italian “holy cheek”, was used as a term for a large wooden crucifix, located in the dome of San Martino in Lucca. The legend from the 12th century has it that St. Nicodemus carved it from wood and that it was transferred from Palestine to Lucca in the 8th century. Reiner Hausscherr, *Volto Santo*, in: Engelbert Kirschbaum (Herausg.), *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie. Band IV*, Freiburg 1994.

<sup>21</sup> Images not created by hand.

<sup>22</sup> The so-called “*Christo Vivo*”.

<sup>23</sup> Valid term “*Viernageltypus*”.

and teaching about the second arrival of Christ, associated with the Last Judgement, where “*Kreuzestod und himmlische Herrschaft Christi sind miteinander verknüpft*”<sup>24</sup> According to the Apparition Christ is “*dressed in a gown reaching to the ground, and a golden belt on his breast.*”<sup>25</sup>

According to the pearly edge, letters and considerably schematized folds of the sleeve, I consider the pilgrim badge from Billingsgate, deposited in the Museum of London, or the lead piece deposited there as well, inv. no. 88.467.<sup>26</sup> to be a close analogy. In the second case, the badge has not been provided with eyes nor are there any clear traces of eyes according to the description.<sup>27</sup> Spencer mentions an example from Norway as a similar specimen which had been part of grave inventory dated to the period between 1248 and 1332.<sup>28</sup>



Pilgrim badget of unknown origin, rather from Bari<sup>29</sup> (perhaps 13th century?),  
Museum of Vysočina in Jihlava, inv. no. Te01/11/745, 26 × 24 mm

The third pilgrim badget of rectangular shape with a half-circle termination and lateral eyes serving for attaching to garments is the most interesting one of the three. On the one hand, it is the only one that has been preserved almost entirely, on the other hand it is quite unique with respect to its ornamentation.

It shows a low-relief ship on the face side, being under full sails and with a diagonally inclined mast terminated by a cross. Several figures may be seen aboard the ship, while relief traces may be seen on the lefthand side where we may identify a large face with a beard.

<sup>24</sup> See Hausscherr (note 20), keyword *Volto Santo*.

<sup>25</sup> Revelation 1,13.

<sup>26</sup> See Spencer (note 10), p. 254

<sup>27</sup> [http://www.pilgerzeichen.de/indices/motive/pz/0/0/\\_/Vm9sdG8gU2FudG8=](http://www.pilgerzeichen.de/indices/motive/pz/0/0/_/Vm9sdG8gU2FudG8=), retrieved on 12. 4. 2012.

<sup>28</sup> See Spencer (note 10), p. 254.

<sup>29</sup> For more detail on this location, for example, see Josef Bláha, *Archeologický příspěvek k poznání poutnického života ve středověké Olomouci*, *Historia artium* 2, Olomouc 1998, p. 47–64.

We can, however, speculate about this detail at this moment because the surface of the whole badge is covered by a thick white layer with rusty shades. There is a six-pointed star to the left of the cross, situated on the top of the mast.

In general, such motive is not very common on pilgrims' badges. We have encountered such ship motive only on pilgrims' badges from the place of pilgrimage in Boulogne, popular namely from the 13th century, related to the legend about a discovered sacred madona statuette which reached the city on the river Liane on a ship lacking paddles and sails. Apart from that, this motive was applied on the badges of the former place of pilgrimage in Canteburry where the remains of Thomas Beckett were venerated. Both places, however, as is typical for Western European countries, produced mainly stamped badges. I think that flat, not stamped plaquettes were typical especially for Italian places of pilgrimage. The Italian provenience is also supported by the formal aspect of the image with fully plastic, unsimplified forms.

Bari, apart from Venice, another important port and trading city, was also a favourite place of pilgrimage in the Middle Ages. The relics of St. Nicholas, the archbishop of Myra<sup>30</sup>, called "*Thaumaturgos*" – thaumaturgist<sup>31</sup> – by believers, are buried here to date. These were transferred from the St. Nicholas basilica in Myra, then occupied by Muslims<sup>32</sup>, by Italian merchants into the temporary custody of the Franciscan Order on May 9, 1087<sup>33</sup>, until the construction of the crypt of the future Saint Nicholas Basilica and its consecration on September 29, 1089.<sup>34</sup> In the ruins of the basilica in Myra, there are the remains of a cycle of wall paintings from the deeds of Saint Nicholas, featuring, among other things, the scene as the archbishop rescued a ship and its crew from a storm during the Council of Nicaea, as the legend has it.<sup>35</sup> This episode was not unknown to Jacob de Voragine in the Middle Ages.<sup>36</sup> The oldest evidence of the ships of Saint Nicholas (Nikolausschiff), in the tradition of popular veneration in some countries such as Bavaria and Styria, dates from the late Middle Ages.<sup>37</sup> Saint Nicholas – the patron of sailors – was particularly widely revered in German speaking countries, namely in the northern Hanseatic cities. According to him, miraculous rescues of ships by Saint Nicholas are often mentioned in medieval chronicles<sup>38</sup>.

Although Saint Nicholas is traditionally featured on pilgrims' plaquettes from Bari according to iconographic usus of Byzantine icons, as in the case of the badge featuring Saint Nicholas found in Olomouc near St. Michael Church, also other iconographic aspects such as St. Nicholas and three children in a salt bath, or St. Nicholas and three virgins transformed in three golden

<sup>30</sup> Now Demre in Turkey.

<sup>31</sup> Hynek Rulíšek, *Slovník křesťanské ikonografie. Postavy, atributy, symboly*, nakladatelství Karmášek 2006, keyword Mikuláš (Myrský, from Bari).

<sup>32</sup> Francesco Nitti di Vito: *La Basilica di S. Nicola di Bari*. Guida Storico-Artistica, Bari 1939, p. 10.

<sup>33</sup> Brian Spencer relates this action to the economic crisis of the town of Bari, competing with Venice, the inhabitants also tried to solve it by seeking a strong patron of the town earlier than Venice. St. Nicholas, then endangered by the Muslims, was surely a strong patron, in particular also because of the fact that a favourite saint provided a promise of significant pilgrim activities and thus important financial replenishment of the municipal treasury. See Spencer (note 10), p. 255.

<sup>34</sup> See Nitti di Vito (note 32), p. 11.

<sup>35</sup> L. Petzolt, Nikolaus von Myra, in: Engelbert Kirschbaum (Herausg.), *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie. Band VIII*, Freiburg 1994.

<sup>36</sup> "Once upon a time sailors of a ship were in danger and prayed, crying: 'Nicholas, Servent of God, if it is true what has been told we should try it out on ourselves.' Soon after that someone looking like him appeared and said: 'Hey, I am here, since you called me.' and started helping them with yards, ropes and other ship equipment, and the storm ceased immediately ..." Anežka Vidmanová (transl.), *Jakub de Voragine. Legenda aurea*, Praha 2012, p. 42.

<sup>37</sup> For detail see Leopold Kretzenbacher, *Das Nikolausschiff*, *Blätter für Heimatkunde* 25, 1951, p. 81–92.

<sup>38</sup> Eduard Hemmerle, *St. Nikolaus. Der Schutzpatron der Schiffer*, Stuttgart 1938 p. 25.

balls, are not probably used, according to Spencer,<sup>39</sup> until the beginning of the 14th century. A badge featuring the rescue of a ship from a storm has not been known in connection with pilgrims' badges to date.

This fact, i.e. the absence of relevant analogies, leads us with respect to the possible connection with the pilgrimage to St. Nicholas in Bari to the speculation whether this unique badge is not the result of the anniversary of the translation of the relics of St. Nicholas from Myra, celebrated every year on May 9.

### **Pilgrim's badge as "signum peregrinationis" and its fates after the pilgrim's return home**

It has not to be emphasized that pilgrims' badges became an important part of pilgrimage for the laic public, especially in the culminating and then particularly in the late Middle Ages. The small metal badge, that "signum peregrinationis", may be deservedly called the first "mass media product" in Western Europe.<sup>40</sup>

A badge featuring a saint or a relic purchased at the holy place,<sup>41</sup> subsequently pinned to a bag, cloak or hat, protected the pilgrim against dangers during his return journey. As a "signum", it was a means where the mercy of other people was needed, but it was also often used after returning home for magic and superstitious practices such as healing by personal contact of the badge with the sick, or its "leaching" in beverages etc.<sup>42</sup> They could be placed on altars as votive donations, or they could be included in the grave of the dead. It can be assumed in the case of precious metal badges that they were part of heritage, like chaplets and jewellery.

Recently, a completely different<sup>43</sup> explanation for using pilgrims' badges after the return from a journey may be encountered. Based on new findings in 2006 in Stralsund where during the construction of an oceanarium about thirty pilgrims' badges from the 13th to 15th century were discovered among other small artefacts. According to Jörg Ansorge, a certain "dump from cesspools" which the citizens of Stralsund were building in the late Middle Ages is involved in this case. According to that, pilgrims' badges became part of waste after the death of their owner for whom they were of magic and apotropaic importance, and they were treated as such.<sup>44</sup>

It is also possible that these pilgrims' badges were considered a waste product after the death of their owner and were simply thrown away, or were used as secondary raw material during nonferrous metal processing. This may partially explain the disproportion between written records on pilgrimages in medieval sources and the findings of original pieces of pilgrims' badges.

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<sup>39</sup> See Spencer (note 10), s. 256.

<sup>40</sup> Carina Brumme, *Pilgerzeichen – Erhaltungsbedingungen und Verbreitungsräume*, in: Hartmuth Kühne – Lothar Lambacher – Konrad Vanja (eds.), *Das Zeichen am Hut im Mittelalter. Europäische Wallfahrtstudien B4*, Frankfurt am Main 2008, p. 127.

<sup>41</sup> In Modern Times we often see the purchase of the badge (St. Jacob's shell) already prior to the commencement of the pilgrimage as well. See Plötz (note 4), p. 62.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 69–70.

<sup>43</sup> And also very disputable with respect to the magic nature of the object and the process of its loss. Apart from this, the value of the material proper the badge was produced from may not be neglected, though only a small quantity was involved in this case.

<sup>44</sup> Jörg Ansorge, *Pilgerzeichen sowie religiöse und profane Zeichen aus Stralsund*, in: Hartmuth Kühne – Lothar Lambacher – Konrad Vanja (eds.), *Das Zeichen am Hut im Mittelalter. Europäische Wallfahrtstudien B4*, Frankfurt am Main 2008, p. 89–90.

Apart from that, the majority, as in our case, was found during investigations of streams, ponds and inlets. Tin which reacts strongly especially with the nitric acid  $\text{HNO}_3$ <sup>45</sup> has been found to be relatively stable in water as well as in the air. Some investigators such as Carina Brumme erroneously contribute the instability to oxidation processes.<sup>46</sup> Apart from this, tin is not very resistant to low temperatures due to the modification of its crystallographic structure, thus creating the so-called tin pest which eventually changes tin to grey dust.

## Summary

I think that the new, not yet unpublished discovery of the three pilgrims' badges from Telč deserves great attention of the investigating public, and that right away because of several reasons. An important aspect is the discovery of a small number of pieces on our territory, comprising just several pieces.

This very fact that we encounter original pieces of medieval pilgrims' badges in the Czech Republic relatively rarely during archaeological investigations increases the value of any such discovery, whether it involves relatively frequent findings in the European context or a unique piece of world importance. I consider the almost completely preserved plaquette with relief adornment comprising a ship motive on the face side to be such unique discovery.

The provenance of this noteworthy artefact is not completely clear, from the iconographic point of view the episode from the legend regarding St. Nicholas from Myra could be involved. But even the thought that a topic regarding the transfer of the archbishop's relics from the sanctuary in Myra to Bari may be involved may not be fully discarded, since even this episode does not go without miracles.

Even the two remaining artefacts, though we know more than one of such pieces from European locations – in the case of Rome up to dozen different types – play an important role in the Czech countries when investigating European pilgrimage. They provide not just a piece of evidence of pilgrim tradition in the Vysočina region, but may also furnish evidence about the disposal of such artefacts in the Middle Ages, generally considered to be magic.

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<sup>45</sup> N. N. Greenwood – A. Earnshaw: *Chemie prvků. Sv. 1*, Praha 1993, p. 457–458.

<sup>46</sup> See Brumme (note 40), s. 127.



## Der Meister der Michler Madonna – Wege und Stand der Forschung

Das Werk des anonymen Meisters der Michler Madonna stellte im europäischen Kontext den ersten Höhepunkt der böhmischen Skulptur im 14. Jahrhundert dar. Ende der sechziger Jahre folgten dann das Œuvre von Peter Parler und die Werke der ihm nahe stehenden Bildhauer der Dombauhütte beim St.-Veits-Dom in Prag. Hiernach begann sich im Laufe der achtziger Jahre in Böhmen und Mähren der „Schöne Stil“ zu konstituieren.

Das allmähliche Entdecken der Werke des Meisters der Michler Madonna und seiner Werkstatt ist ein Prozess, der erst relativ spät einsetzte. Die Identifizierung der Statuen des Meisters der Michler Madonna begann in den dreißiger Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts. In der Wiener Zeitschrift *Belvedere* publizierte Anna Spitzmüller 1931 eine monographische Studie über die Madonna aus Znojmo/Znaim. Sie erkannte ihre enge Verwandtschaft mit der „etwas jüngeren“ Madonna aus Michle und der Statue des hl. Florian im oberösterreichischen Stift der Augustiner corherren St. Florian. Weiter stellte sie fest, dass diese drei Skulpturen dank der gemeinsamen Merkmale eine Gruppe bilden, die „*bedeutend die bisherigen Kenntnisse über die österreichische (sic!) Holzsulptur des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts bereichern*“. Sie ging davon aus, dass weitere Funde folgen würden. Fast gleichzeitig bzw. nur wenig später publizierte auch Charlotte Giese eine monographische Studie über die Znaimer Madonna.

In den folgenden Forschungsarbeiten wurden die Erkenntnisse der beiden österreichischen Historikerinnen nicht berücksichtigt. Sie mussten neu entdeckt werden. 1935 erschienen die tschechische Übersetzung und ein Jahr später das deutsche Original des Buches von Josef Opitz „Die Plastik in Böhmen zur Zeit der Luxemburger“. Hier wurde die Madonna aus Michle als eine der drei Statuen erwähnt, welche – neben der Madonna aus Strakonice und der steinernen Madonna aus Osek/Osseg – die Anfänge des bildhauerischen Schaffens der frühen Luxemburger Zeit in Böhmen repräsentieren. Opitz vermutete im Hinblick darauf, dass diese Statuen den Zeittrend der extremen Entmaterialisierung widerspiegeln, ihren Entstehungszeitraum um 1340. Er wählte dafür die Bezeichnung „*Skelettstil*“. Dieser Stil sollte in extrem ausgeprägter Form um 1350 in dem so genannten Přemyslidenkreuz in Jihlava/Iglau („*ein Glanzstück expressiver Darstellung in extremster Form des Skelettstils*“), später in der Madonna im Iglauer Privatbesitz (Eigl-Madonna) seinen Ausdruck finden und sich bis in die 60er Jahre fortsetzen. Er war sich nicht sicher, ob die Michler Madonna aus dem heimischen Milieu stammte, und hielt die Statue der Jungfrau Maria vom Chorgestühl der Marienkirche in Oberwesel für ihre stilistische Vorstufe.

Auf das Buch von Josef Opitz reagierte von tschechischer Seite Albert Kutal (1936). Den Begriff „*Skelettstil*“ für die Bildhauerei des zweiten Viertels des 14. Jahrhunderts hielt er für „*nicht ganz passend*“ und ersetzte ihn durch den akzeptableren Terminus „*abstrakter zeichnerischer Stil*“. Die Gruppe der drei Madonnen – die Znaimer, die Michler und noch eine weitere in „*mährischem Privatbesitz*“ (er dachte an die erst später bezeichnete Madonna aus Prostějov/Prossnitz) – datierte er um 1340. Den allgemeinen stilistischen Ausgangspunkt der Gruppe, zu der auch die Madonna aus Buchlovice zählt, suchte er in der so genannten Mailänder Madonna



Madonna aus Znojmo.  
Jihomoravské muzeum ve Znojmě.  
Foto Ivo Hlobil.





Madonna aus Michle.  
Národní galerie v Praze.  
Foto Vlado Bohdan.



des Kölner Doms (damals wurde sie in die 20er Jahre des 14. Jahrhunderts bzw. noch später datiert). Den österreichischen hl. Florian übergibt Kutal wie auch vor ihm Josef Opitz.

1938 veröffentlichte Kutal die erste Übersicht zur mährischen Holzbildhauerei der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts. Der Gruppe der drei Madonnen – der aus der Pfarrkirche in Michle, der aus dem Städtischen Museum in Znaim und der Madonna aus Prossnitz – widmete er schon elf Textseiten. Detailliert analysierte er ihre Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede. Obwohl er den Aufsatz von Charlotte Giese kannte, folgte er der Ansicht von Josef Opitz und lehnte die Verbindung der Gruppe der drei mährischen Madonnen mit dem österreichischen hl. Florian ab (dies jedoch nur zeitweilig). Die Interpretation der böhmischen Plastik hinsichtlich der Überwindung des abstrakten Stils des zweiten Viertels des 14. Jahrhunderts ergänzte er durch die „*entfernte stilistische Parallele zu den mährischen Statuen*“ am Beispiel der Madonna aus Nysa/Neiße (?) im Landesmuseum Kassel.

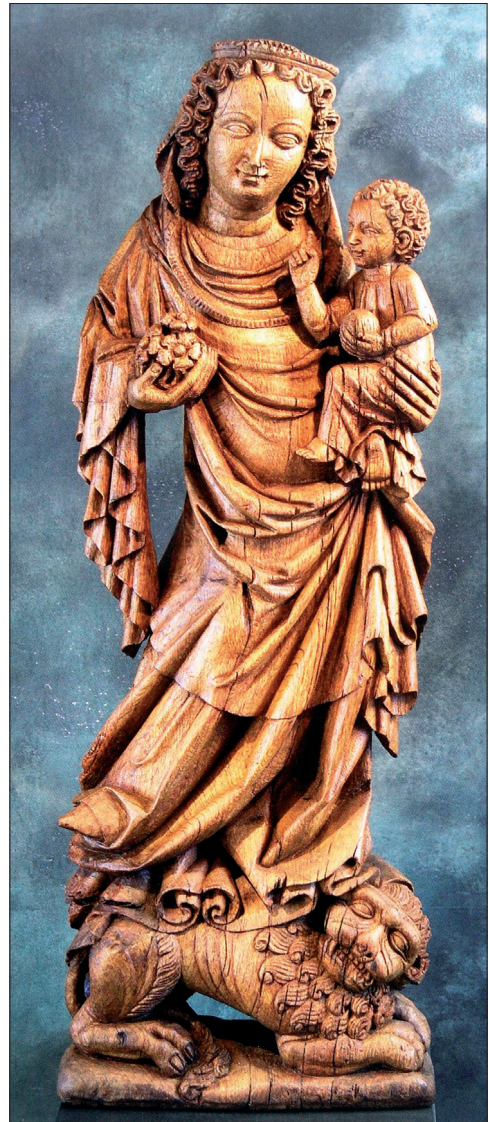
Mit dem Stilvergleich, den Opitz zwischen der Michler Madonna und der Madonna der „*Chorschranken*“ (richtig des Chorgestühls) in Oberwesel anstellte, war Kutal nicht einverstanden. Er machte darauf aufmerksam, dass „*die Statuen in Oberwesel bei weitem nicht die Stufe der Entmaterialisierung erreichten, die den Stilcharakter der drei mährischen Statuen konstituieren*“. Die „*scharfe Faltenzeichnung*“ der Michler Madonna sah er als Parallele vor allem zu dem Charakter der Statuen vom Hl. Grab in Freiburg im Breisgau; des Weiteren nannte er die Madonna in der Klosterkirche in Kaisheim und die Statuen des hl. Johannes und Maria aus der Gegend vom Bodensee im Landesmuseum Stuttgart. Er vermutete nun, dass der Stil der betrachteten Madonnen aus dem Rheinischen stammte, aus dem Umkreis der Bildhauerei in Freiburg im Breisgau, Rottweil und Oberwesel.

Noch zu Beginn des Zweiten Weltkrieges gelang es Kutal (1942) eine kompakte Synthese der gotischen Bildhauerei in Böhmen und Mähren herauszugeben. Neu kam hinzu „*eine zierliche Statue des Erlösers in Brünner Privatbesitz, stilistisch der Michler Madonna zugehörig*“ (der Apostel aus Veverská Bitýška/Eichorn a. d. Bitischke). Ein knapper Aufsatz von ihm aus den Jahren 1941–1942 ist ausschließlich dieser Statue gewidmet. Dieser brachte jedoch eine grundlegende methodologische Veränderung seiner Ansicht über die Gruppe der Michler Madonna. Kutal verließ die vorherige statische Betrachtung und begann die Unterschiede zwischen den einzelnen Statuen als Konsequenz einer Evolution zu sehen. Den gleichzeitig publizierten Hinweis von Oldřich J. Blažíček (1940–1941) auf ein weiteres Glied der Gruppe – eine kleine Madonna in der Klosterkirche in Broumov (Opitz nannte ihre barocke steinerne Replik) – reflektierte er noch nicht.

1943 erschien die umfangreiche, im Vergleich zu Kutals broschiertem Werk aus dem Vorjahr anspruchsvoll ausgestattete Dissertation von Hilde Bachmann „*Gotische Plastik in den Sudetendländern vor Peter Parler*“ (1943). Dies war ein ideologisch belasteter Versuch, die vorausgegangene Monographie Kutals über die mährische Holzskulptur der Gotik sowie seine Übersicht zur gotischen Plastik in den böhmischen Ländern (1940–1942) zu revidieren; beides übrigens Arbeiten, aus denen Bachmann reichlich schöpfte, ohne sie jedoch zu zitieren. Im Vergleich zu Kutal kam sie zu früheren und weit auseinander liegenden Datierungen der einzelnen Skulpturen: die Znaimer Madonna 1315, die Michler Madonna um 1335, die Prossnitzer Madonna Ende der dreißiger Jahre. Den hl. Florian ordnete sie wegen seiner Beziehung zur klassischen Bildhauerei des 13. Jahrhunderts in das erste Jahrzehnt des 14. Jahrhunderts ein (hier übernahm sie die Datierung der älteren österreichischen Forschung) und betrachtete ihn als deutsch-donauländisches Vorbild für die spätere qualitativ minderwertigere böhmische Bildhauerei. Die Michler Madonna interpretierte sie als Beginn einer einheimischen Tradition der „*sudetendeutschen*“ Bildhauerei der dreißiger bis vierziger Jahre des 14. Jahrhunderts. Der Apostel aus Veverská Bitýška sollte



Madonna aus Velké Meziříčí.  
Foto Ivo Hlobil.

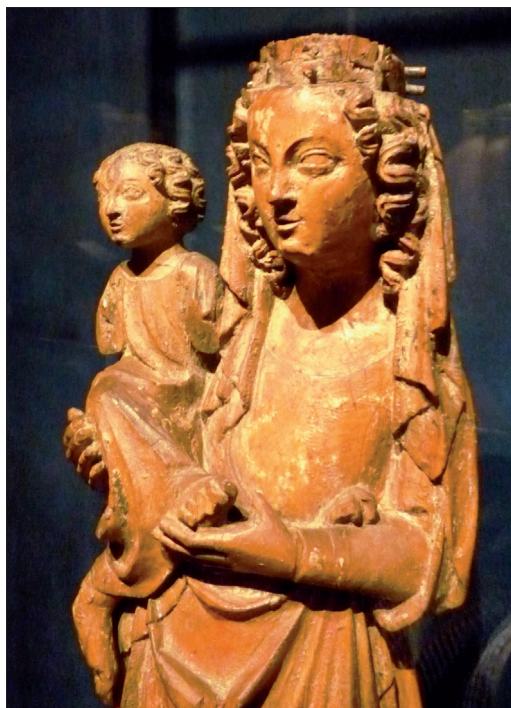


Löwenmadonna aus Klosterneuburg.  
Národní galerie v Praze.

eine Zwischenstufe zwischen dem hl. Florian und den „*sudetendeutschen Madonnen*“ sein, und nicht – wie Albert Kotal dies sah – ein späteres Glied der Gruppe.

Thematisch bereichernd, in den Schlussfolgerungen jedoch problematisch war in der Publikation von Hilde Bachmann die Untersuchung der Beziehungen zwischen der Gruppe der Michler Madonna und dem stilistischen Umkreis der schlesischen Löwenmadonnen, die schon vor dem Krieg – vor allem dank der Publikations- und Ausstellungstätigkeit von Erich Wiese – berühmt waren. Impulsgeber für die Intensivierung der Forschung in diese Richtung war für Bachmann die Madonna im Landesmuseum Kassel, die sie im Gegensatz zu Kotal als das erste Bindeglied zwischen der österreichischen („*donauländischen*“) und der schlesischen Bildhauerei interpretierte. Folgen sollten die Madonnen aus Michle, die aus Dýšina, die Eiglmadonna in Iglau (schon





Madonna aus Hrabová.  
Národní galerie v Praze.  
Foto Ivo Hlobil.



Madonna aus der Klosterkirche in Broumov.  
Foto Ivo Hlobil.

so genannt), die Madonna aus Dolní Kalná und die aus der Jakobskirche in Iglau – zuerst mit überwiegend österreichischem („*donauualpenländisch*“), später dann mit schlesischem Einfluss.

Während der Besatzungszeit wurde das Buch von Hilde Bachmann seitens der tschechischen Forschung nicht rezipiert. Erst 1949 lehnte es Albert Kotal ab, die Gruppe um die Michler Madonna als von der österreichischen Bildhauerei beeinflusst anzuerkennen. Er konstatierte, dass der hl. Florian, „*die einzige Statue, die in Österreich keine weitere Parallele besitzt und deren Datierung an den Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts etwas umstritten ist, kein ausreichender Beweis für den österreichischen Ausgangspunkt der böhmischen Arbeiten sein kann, die eine geschlossene Gruppe bilden und sich durch gemeinsame Merkmale auszeichnen, von denen einige auch in der Gestalt des hl. Florians vorkommen.*“ Gleichzeitig erkannte er, dass die Beziehungen zwischen den einzelnen Statuen der Gruppe den Charakter einer „*direkten Verbindung*“ und nicht nur einer stilistischen Verwandtschaft haben. Er schuf somit die Möglichkeit, die Gruppe als das Arbeitsergebnis einer mährischen Werkstatt zu betrachten. Die Theorie über die Vermittlungsrolle, welche die Gruppe um die Madonna aus Michle zwischen der österreichischen und der schlesischen Bildhauerei gespielt haben soll, wurde somit gegenstandslos.

1953 analysierte Albert Kotal ausführlich das Kruzifix aus dem Kloster der Barnabiten (richtig Karmeliterinnen) auf dem Hradschin in Prag nach dessen Restaurierung in der Prager Nationalgalerie. Er datierte es in die Zeit um 1350 und betrachtete es „*als den bildhauerischen Repräsentanten jener Richtung in der böhmischen Kunst*“ der Zeit, „*die bei uns die Grundsätze des objektiven italienischen Realismus vertrat*“. Bei seiner Datierung stützte er sich auf die Beziehung der Prager Statue zur Gruppe der Statuen um die Michler Madonna, vor allem was das typische System der Gewanddrapierung anbelangt, das von hier „*ohne große Veränderungen*“

übernommen wurde. Mit der mährischen Gruppe, die er mit seiner Beurteilung, es handele sich „überwiegend um Statuen von außerordentlichem Niveau ..., die zu den besten ihrer Art in Mitteleuropa gehören“ sehr hoch bewertete, verband er als weiteres Glied die bis dahin in der Forschung unbekannt Madonna in der Pfarrkirche in Velké Meziříčí. Dieser Statue aus Velké Meziříčí widmete Marie Anna Kotrbová 1956 eine monografische Studie. Darüber hinaus ergänzte sie diese Gruppe noch durch die Madonna des Hauptaltars des Zisterzienserklosters in Oslavany.

1959 publizierte Gerhard Schmidt in Österreich eine Monografie über die Statue des hl. Florian mitsamt der kritischen Beurteilung der Erkenntnisse um die Gruppe der Michler Madonna in der tschechischen sowie österreichischen Forschung. Er bestätigte, dass „*der Ritter von St. Florian*“ unmittelbar mit der Gruppe der böhmischen Madonnen, am engsten mit der Michler verbunden ist. Beide Statuen sollen „*in einem und demselben Atelier*“ entstanden sein, wenn nicht gar von einem und demselben Autor stammen. Er ordnete sie den stilistischen Parallelen in der Bildhauerei des dritten und vierten Dezenniums des 14. Jahrhunderts in Frankreich und am Oberrhein zu (diese waren auch schon von Albert Kotal genannt worden): der Madonna in Notre Dame in Paris, dem Apostel aus dem Hospital Saint Jacques-aux-Pèlerins im Musée Cluny, den Aposteln der Kathedrale in Köln am Rhein, dem Grabmal Peter von Aspelt in Mainz, den Statuen des hl. Grabs in Freiburg und der Katharinenkapelle in Straßburg. Er fügte hinzu, dass man sich im Laufe der Zeit mit einigen Begrifflichkeiten bemüht habe, diesen Stil zu charakterisieren („*Erstarrung*“, „*aufgelegte Form*“, „*Skelettstil*“, „*schwebender Stil*“), die Bezeichnungen jedoch nur jeweils einen seiner Aspekte betroffen hätten. Unter Berücksichtigung der goldschmiedeartigen perfekten Ausführung wählte er den adäquateren Terminus „*preziöser Stil*“.

Es ist darauf hinzuweisen – von tschechischer Seite ist dies bis heute nicht erfolgt –, dass Gerhard Schmidt († 2010) der ideologisch belasteten Auslegung der böhmischen Bildhauerei der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts in der vorherigen österreichischen Forschung nicht folgte und es ablehnte, weiterhin die Behauptung von der vermeintlichen Subalternität der böhmischen Kunst gegenüber der österreichischen Kultur zu akzeptieren. Als Beispiele der Selbstständigkeit der böhmischen Kunst der frühen Luxemburger Zeit führte er die Handschriften der Elisabeth Rejčka, das Passional der Äbtissin Kunigunde, den Hohenfurther Zyklus und nebenbei auch die Statue des hl. Florian an, die nach Schmidt aus Mähren stammt oder von einem sonst in Mähren tätigen Bildhauer in diesem oberösterreichischen Kloster geschaffen wurde. Der von Schmidt respektierte Grundsatz der Objektivität wissenschaftlicher Arbeit, die in historischen Fächern oft fehlt, führte hierbei de facto zu einer kritischen Ausgliederung dieser exquisiten Statue (in der Gruppe der Michler Madonna der größten, qualitativ hochstehendsten sowie originellsten und darüber hinaus, was die schnitzerische Substanz anbelangt, sehr gut erhaltenen) aus der österreichischen Kunstgeschichte. Die Gruppe der Statuen um die Michler Madonna sollte im Hinblick auf ihre Provenienz in einer in Südmähren anzusiedelnden Werkstatt entstanden sein, und zwar in dem Dreieck zwischen Iglau, Znaim und Přerov. Gerhard Schmidt äußerte sich auch zur Frage der stilistischen Entwicklung der Gruppe. Wie dies Albert Kotal bereits 1938 getan hatte, machte er darauf aufmerksam, dass es sehr schwierig ist, die relative Reihenfolge der einzelnen mährischen Statuen zu erfassen. Er gab einer Abfolge von der organischen zur abstrakten Form hin den Vorzug (hier folgte er implizit der Ansicht von Josef Opitz): Velké Meziříčí – Michle – Prostějov – Znojmo; dem hl. Florian wies er den Platz zwischen der Michler und der Znaimer Madonna zu. Er entschied dies auf Grund der theoretischen Überlegung, dass die Entwicklung der manieristischen Kunst im Allgemeinen nicht zu dem klassischen Ausgangspunkt, aus dem sie entstanden ist, zurückkehrt.

1962 erschien die monumentale Synthese von Albert Kotal „*České gotické sochařství 1350–1450*“ / Die böhmische gotische Plastik 1340–1450. Das Werk wurde in der europäischen Wertschätzung der böhmischen Bildhauerei der Epoche Karl IV. und Wenzel IV. zum Meilen-

stein. Albert Kotal gelang es, erstmals die Entwicklung der böhmischen gotischen Bildhauerei der Luxemburger Zeit zu schildern, die sich damals aus der „passiven Abhängigkeit von einer fremden Kunst löste“. Ihre Anfänge setzte er in dem „Ausgangspunkt und Grundlage der böhmischen Bildhauerschule“ genannten Einführungskapitel eben bei der Gruppe der Statuen um die Michler Madonna aus dem zweiten Viertel des 14. Jahrhunderts an. Was die Vorstellung von der Stilentwicklung der Gruppe der Michler Madonna anbelangt, kam er auf Grund seiner besseren Kenntnisse der konkreten historischen Situation zu einer Sicht, die derjenigen von Gerhard Schmidt entgegengesetzt ist. Die bei den einzelnen Statuen beobachteten stilistischen Veränderungen – „die Zunahme an Körperlichkeit und die wachsende Berücksichtigung der organischen Verbindung der Einzelteile“ – interpretierte er als Konsequenz einer von den abstrakten Formen ausgehenden Weiterentwicklung hin zu einem neuen Sensualismus in der böhmischen Kunst um und nach der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts („die Betrachtung der sinnlichen Wirklichkeit“). Für die ältesten Statuen hielt er die Znaimer Madonna und den österreichischen hl. Florian, danach sollte die Madonna aus Velké Meziříčí (dreißiger Jahre) folgen und als jüngste die kleine Madonna aus Broumov (um 1350). Die Michler Madonna (vierziger Jahre), in der sich die vorherige Erstarrung gelöst hatte und eine sichtbare Mutter-Kind-Beziehung entstanden war, ordnete er zwischen die beiden letztgenannten Statuen ein. Er sah in ihr ein Werk des Umbruchs in der Entwicklung der böhmischen Bildhauerei „in Richtung zum Abbild der konkreten Wirklichkeit hin, vom theologischen Begriff zur Darstellung des Gesehenen und Erlebten, zu menschlichen Sorgen und Freuden, von der Vorherrschaft der Theologie zu den Ansichten und Stimmungen der Laiengemeinde hin“.

Nicht unbeantwortet ließ Albert Kotal in seinem Buch von 1962 auch die Frage nach dem Sitz der Werkstatt, aus der die eng verwandten Statuen des hl. Florian, der Znaimer Madonna, der Madonna aus Velké Meziříčí, der Michler Madonna, der Madonna aus Broumov und des Heiligen aus Veverská Bitýška stammten, mit der wiederum die Bildhauer der ein wenig unterschiedlichen Prossnitzer Madonna (um 1340) und des qualitativ nicht so hochwertigen Schmerzensmannes von den Brünner Ursulinen einen unmittelbaren Kontakt haben sollten. Unter Berücksichtigung der überwiegend südmährischen Provenienz siedelte er diese Werkstatt in Brünn an (andeutungsweise hatte er dies schon 1949 zum ersten Mal getan). Mit einer Festlegung auf diesen Ort sah sich Albert Kotal veranlasst, die Schnitzarbeiten die den Stil der Michler Madonna in Böhmen weiter verbreiteten, wie z.B. das Kruzifix aus dem Karmeliterinnenkloster in Hradschin (vor 1350), die Madonna aus Dýšina (vor 1350) und die Statuette der hl. Dorothea (im Pilsener Privatbesitz, heute verschollen), die durch Fundort und Stil etwas weiter entfernte Madonna des Hauptaltars der Wallfahrtskirche in Seč (3. Viertel des 14. Jahrhunderts) und die noch fortgeschrittenere Madonna in Dolní Kalná abzutrennen. Darüber hinaus bemerkte er zum ersten Mal, dass „die Metallbüste – Reliquiar in der Prager Nationalgalerie (die Büste einer Heiligen aus Jezeří) – mit der Gruppe um die Michler Madonna manche gemeinsame Züge hat“ und dass „in die gleiche Schicht auch die Büste der hl. Ludmila im Schatz des [Prager] Veitsdoms gehört“.

Im Kapitel „Die Holzplastik und die Öffnung der sinnlichen Welt“, das dem neuen Stil nach der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts gewidmet ist, verfolgte Kotal den kontinuierlichen Einfluss, den die Gruppe der Michler Madonna in Brünn und Iglau ausübte. Die Iglauer Eigl-Madonna (seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg verschollen) analysierte er als das Hauptwerk des neuen Sensualismus nach der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts, der sich bei der verwandten, etwas jüngeren Madonna aus der dortigen Kirche St. Jakob (um 1370), heute in der Bildergalerie Strahov in Prag, weiter fortsetzt.

Nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg folgten die ersten Bemerkungen zur Rezeption des Stils des Meisters der Michler Madonna – immer noch ohne diese Bezeichnung – außerhalb der böhmischen Länder, in denen nacheinander die mitteleuropäische Bedeutung dieses Anonymus unterstrichen wurde. 1949 publizierte der polnische Kunsthistoriker Josef Edward Dutkiewicz seine grundlegende Monografie über die mittelalterliche Bildhauerei in Małopolsko/Kleinpolen.

Auf der Grundlage der Vorkriegsarbeiten von Josef Opitz und Jaromír Pečírka (Kutals Arbeiten erwähnt er nicht) und der Vergleiche mit den Madonnen aus Michle, Prossnitz, Dýšina und der Kirche St. Jakob in Iglau fand er „böhmische Impulse“ oder „Inspirationen“ in den Madonnen aus Lipnica Murowana, aus dem Kloster des hl. Andreas in Kraków/Krakau, aus Lipinki, aus Prandocin und in der Madonna aus dem Kloster der Karmeliterinnen in Krakau evtl. noch in der Madonna aus Gruszów. 1956 suchte Jaromír Homolka Analogien zur mährischen Bildhauerei in der Slowakei am Beispiel des Kruzifixes in der Kirche des hl. Jakob in Levoča/Leutschau.

1962 kam Albert Kotal nach sicherlich langen Forschungsarbeiten zu einer neuen Auslegung der Genese des schlesisch-preußischen Stils der Löwenmadonnen. Während Hilde Bachmann (1943) die Abhängigkeit der böhmischen Statuen nach der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts vom Stil der schlesisch-preußischen Löwenmadonnen postulierte, bilanzierte Kotal für die Zeit, in der Schlesien durch die Luxemburger mit dem böhmischen Staat verbunden war, mächtige Impulse in umgekehrter Richtung seitens der böhmischen Malerei (Hohenfurter Zyklus u.a., Buchmalerei, Meister Theodorik), aber auch der böhmischen Bildhauerei (beide Iglauer Madonnen u.a.). Als Schöpfer der nun entstehenden Arbeiten des schlesisch-preußischen Stils der Löwenmadonnen – die Löwenmadonna aus der Kirche des Hl. Matthäus in Wrocław/Breslau, die Gruppe der Apostel aus der dortigen Kirche der Hl. Maria Magdalena – betrachtete er einen Schnitzer, der in den 60er bzw. 70er Jahren aus Böhmen, also in der Zeit des Auseinanderfallens des „*linear abstrahierenden Stils*“ der Gruppe der Michler Madonna, nach Breslau gekommen war. In dem neuen, künstlerisch weniger entwickelten Milieu habe dieser einen eigenen, im Vergleich zur zeitgenössischen böhmischen Kunst primitiveren, zeichnerisch flächigen Ausdruck gefunden, der in der Folgezeit durch ihn oder seine Gesellen in östlicher und nördlicher Richtung auf dem weiten Gebiet des heutigen Polens verbreitet worden sei. Warum gerade in Schlesien „*der alte ikonographische Typus der Löwenmadonna*“ aufgegriffen wurde, betrachtete er als eine unlösbare Frage.

Kurz nach dem Erscheinen von Kutals Buch stellte Emilijan Cevc (1963), als er die Madonna aus Radlje an der Sava (Nationalgalerie Ljubljana) unter anderem mit der Prossnitzer Madonna verglich, fest, dass der Einfluss der Kunst des Meisters der Michler Madonna bis nach Slowenien reichte. Jaromír Homolka ging 2001 noch weiter, als er die Madonna aus Radlje als eine bedeutende Erweiterung „*der bisherigen Kenntnisse über die mährische Bildschnitzerei um 1350–1360*“ betrachtete. Er konnte sich lediglich nicht entscheiden, ob es sich um einen Import aus Mähren oder um die Arbeit eines slowenischen Bildhauers handelte, der mit der mährischen Bildhauerei vertraut war.

Jaromír Homolka verband 1963 die Existenz der Brünnener Werkstatt mit der Gönnerschaft der Königin Elisabeth Rejčka während ihres Aufenthaltes in Brünn. Diese „*residierte hier sicherlich seit 1321, besaß ein beträchtliches Eigentum und hatte bis zu ihrem Tod 1335 hier eine kleine Hofstatt. Rejčkas Bedeutung für die Geschichte der böhmischen Architektur und Miniatur ist hinlänglich bekannt. Die Gruppe der Arbeiten des Meisters der Michler Madonna ist im Bereich der Bildhauerei das bedeutendste, was damals in Brünn entstand, und hat in Mähren keine Entwicklungsvoraussetzungen; wie schon Kotal gezeigt hat, kam der Meister aus dem Rheinland. Rejčkas Wallfahrt durch rheinische Heilige Stätten im Jahre 1333 kann man als eine der Möglichkeiten für die Ankunft des Bildhauers in Böhmen sehen; auch bei dieser Reise dachte Rejčka an Kirche und Kloster in Alt-Brünn, die sie zu dieser Zeit errichtete und für die sie auch Reliquien mitbrachte.*“ Homolka baute die Schlussfolgerungen Kutals noch weiter aus. Zum ersten Mal führte er die Bezeichnung der „*Meister der Michler Madonna*“ ein und betonte ausdrücklich, dass der Bildhauer aus dem Rheinland kam. Er war gegen den Ausschluss der Prossnitzer Madonna aus der Produktion der Meisterwerkstatt.



In den 60er Jahren riefen die Überlegungen zur Statuengruppe um die Michler Madonna auch ein negatives Echo hervor. Theodor Müller war 1963 nicht einverstanden, dass diese Schnitzerwerkstatt in Brünn und überhaupt in Mähren gewirkt haben soll, denn dies hätte eine Tradition der Hüttenbildhauerei vorausgesetzt. Die Znaimer Madonna sei ein Import aus Wien, die Statue des hl. Florian betrachte er als einen ausgezeichneten Beleg für die Einflüsse der damaligen Bildhauerei von Ober- und Niederösterreich in Südböhmen und Mähren. (Theodor Müller reflektierte nicht ausreichend die Steinmetzproduktion im damaligen Mähren. Die Steinmetztätigkeit der Klosterhütte in Dolní Kounice/Kanitz, die steinernen Tabernakel für die Statuen an den Pfeilern des Mittelschiffes des St. Wenzel-Doms in Olmütz, die wohl ursprünglich nicht ohne bildhauerische Ausstattung waren, und auch die kürzlich gefundenen steinernen Statuen der Heiligen aus dem Chor bzw. von den Portalgewänden der Probstkirche St. Peter und Paul in Brünn, die für bildhauerische Arbeiten der dortigen Hütte sprechen, waren ihm nicht bekannt.)

Hilde Bachmann lehnte 1969 sämtliche Schlussfolgerungen der tschechischen und österreichischen Forschung rigoros ab. Sie wiederholte ihre Auslegung von 1943, setzte die Vergleiche der formalen Unterschiede zwischen den einzelnen Statuen der Gruppe aus „den vierziger Jahren“ fort und untersuchte deren Beziehung zum hl. Florian. Insbesondere befasste sie sich mit der Charakterisierung der „jüngeren“ Bildwerke (Madonna aus Dýšina, Madonna aus Buchlovice) und weiter derjenigen, die sie stilistisch nach der Mitte des Jahrhunderts datierte (Madonna aus der Klosterkirche in Broumov, Madonna aus Dolní Kalná) bzw. in die sechziger Jahre (Madonna aus Neiße, nah verwandt der Madonna aus Broumov, in Schlesien jedoch fremd, vergleichbar mit der stilistisch etwas älteren Eigl-Madonna). Die erlesene Michler Madonna („die absolut reife Lösung“) stellte sie im Gegensatz zu Kutal vor die archaisch steife Znaimer Madonna. Sie tat dies aus anderen Gründen als Gerhard Schmidt, der die Znaimer ans Ende der Gruppe stellte. Sie vermutete, dass es an der Kunstperipherie, zu der sie im Gegensatz zu Gerhard Schmidt fortfuhr Böhmen und Mähren zu zählen, nun zu einem langsamen Absinken des Niveaus der importierten Kunst gekommen war. Die Unterschiede zwischen den einzelnen Bildwerken der Gruppe begriff sie nicht als Ergebnis einer Stilentwicklung (im Sinne einer Entwicklungsreihe, zu der schließlich schon 1959 Gerhard Schmidt, eindeutig Kutal 1962, geneigt hatten), sondern suchte deren Ursache darin, dass im Laufe der Zeit nacheinander Repliken der anfänglichen Prototypen geschaffen wurden, die in ihrer Qualität immer mehr nachließen. Als Arbeiten eines und desselben Bildhauers war sie nur bereit die besten Statuen – den hl. Florian und die Michler Madonna – anzuerkennen. (Homolka kritisierte 1971 Hilde Bachmann für das Unterschätzen der hohen Qualität der Znaimer Madonna). Die Bezeichnung „Meister der Michler Madonna“ akzeptierte sie nicht und sprach vom Meister des hl. Florians. Kutals Theorie vom böhmischen Ursprung des Stils der Löwenmadonnen ignorierte sie.

1970 erschien wenigstens der tschechische Katalog zu der wegen der politischen Verhältnisse nicht realisierten Ausstellung gotischer Kunst von Böhmen in Frankreich. Vorsichtig übernahm hier Albert Kutal die von Homolka stammende Benennung des Meisters der Michler Madonna, ließ aber Homolkas Theorie von der Brünnener Werkstatt der Elisabeth Rejčka unerwähnt. Den hl. Florian erwähnte er zurückhaltend und meinte, dies sei wahrscheinlich eine Arbeit des Meisters aus einer früheren Periode. Er schloss nicht aus, dass dieser Schnitzer über Oberösterreich nach Brünn gekommen war. Im Falle des Gekreuzigten vom Hradschin schrieb er, dieser sei von seiner Provenienz her aus „irgendeiner Werkstatt des linearen Stils“ nicht jedoch ein Werk des Meisters der Michler Madonna.

In der tschechischen Literatur erklärte er zum ersten Mal und bis heute als einziger, dass ein „Einfluss der Brünnener Werkstatt – vielleicht durch Vermittlung des hl. Florians – auf zwei Grabmäler in der Klosterkirche in Garsten in Oberösterreich (des Markgrafen Ottokar VI. und des heiligen Berthold)“, die vom Ende der ersten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts stammen, festzustellen

sei. Zur Problematik der Beziehung zwischen dem hl. Florian und den Garstener Statuen hatte sich in Österreich vorher 1959 Schmidt geäußert, kürzlich widmete sich dieser Frage Lothar Schultes (2008).

1973 veröffentlichte Albert Kotal seine bedeutendste Synthese zur Problematik des Meisters der Michler Madonna. Er verband sie mit einer Abhandlung über das steinerne Relief der Maria-Schnee-Kirche in Prag. Die bildhauerischen Werke des zweiten Viertels des 14. Jahrhunderts in Böhmen und Mähren sah er nun als „*stilistisch relativ homogen*“, und „– soweit die erhaltenen Statuen ein zuverlässiges Bild des ursprünglichen Zustands geben – in ihrer Mehrzahl zum nachklassischen linear abstrahierenden Stil“ gehörig. In Mähren plädierte er auf Grund stilistischer Differenzierungen für die Existenz einiger Werkstätten, vertreten durch die Madonnen aus Michle, Křtiny, Rouchovany und der Heiligen aus Polná, ähnlich beurteilte er auch die Werkstattunterschiede bei den erhaltenen Kreuzifixen. Zudem räumte er ein, dass In der Brünner Werkstatt der Michler Madonna einige Bildhauer tätig gewesen sein können. Wiederholt erinnerte er an den genetischen Ausgangspunkt des Stils der Brünner Werkstatt im Rheinland und in Schwaben.

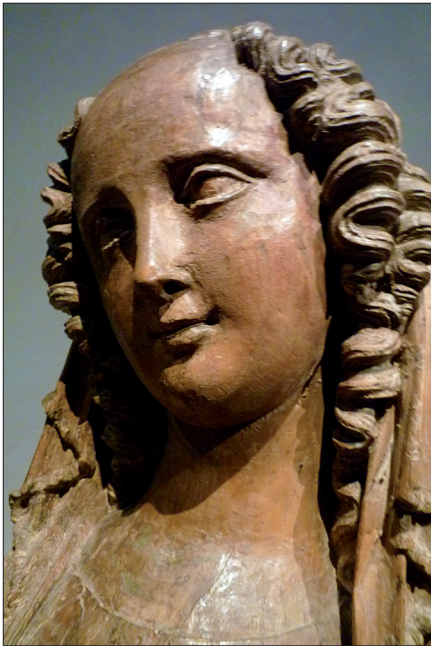
1978 fand in Prag die Ausstellung zum 600. Todestag Karl IV. statt, jedoch in einer wegen der damaligen politischen Verhältnisse oktroyierten Form und schließlich auch ohne den vorbereiteten kunsthistorischen Katalog. Die Einführung und die Katalogtexte zur luxemburgischen Bildhauerei des zweiten Viertels und der Zeit nach der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts hatte Jaromír Homolka vorbereitet. Aus dem erhaltenen Manuskript kann man (– mit Einverständnis des Autors –) eine Vorstellung gewinnen, bis zu welchem Punkt damals seine Forschung zum Meister der Michler Madonna gediehen war. Homolka konkretisierte jetzt zum ersten Mal die Beziehung des Meisters der Michler Madonna zu Frankreich. Er machte „*auf Ähnlichkeiten mit den Grabmäälern einiger französischer Könige in der Abteikirche St. Denis bei Paris*“, bzw. „*auf gewisse Parallelen zu den Apostelstatuen der Spitalkirche St. Jacques-aux-Pèlerins im Musée de Cluny in Paris, Arbeiten Robert de Lannoy und Guillaume de Nourriche aus den Jahren 1319–1324*“ aufmerksam. Konsequenterweise bezeichnete er die böhmische Bildhauerei um die Mitte und nach der Mitte des Jahrhunderts mit dem Begriff „weicher Stil“, was auch heute noch ein treffender Terminus für den neuen Sensualismus vom Beginn der Herrschaft Karl IV. auf dem böhmischen Königsthron (1346) bis in die Zeit um 1365 zu sein scheint.

Seine letzte Übersicht zur Gruppe der Michler Madonna erarbeitete Albert Kotal – und zu diesem Problemkreis kehrte er fast 40 Jahre lang immer wieder zurück – für die akademische Geschichte der böhmischen bildenden Kunst 1984, deren verspätete Herausgabe er nicht mehr erlebte. Auch damals kam er mit einer neuen Erkenntnis, wenn er behauptete, dass die kleinen Statuen der Maria und des Josefs im Klarissinnenkloster zu St. Andreas in Krakau den Stil des Meisters der Michler Madonna in Kleinpolen widerspiegeln würden (Dutkiewicz hatte dies 1949 nicht getan). Eine positive Reaktion auf diese Zuschreibung kam unlängst aus Polen. Marek Walczak analysierte 2003 „*die Krakauer Krippe*“ als ein Werk um 1350 oder kurz danach, das von einem in direktem Kontakt mit der Brünner Werkstatt stehenden Bildhauer geschaffen wurde.

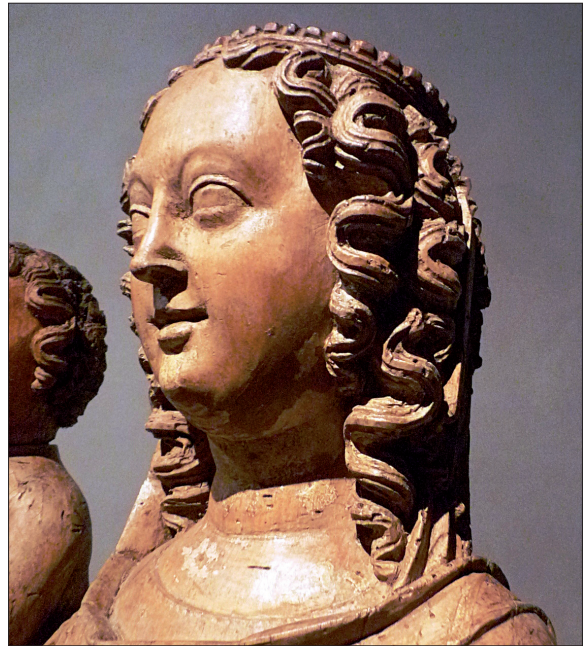


St. Florian, St. Florian Stift – Oberösterreich.  
Foto Ivo Hlobil.





Madonna aus Michle.  
Národní galerie v Praze.  
Foto Ivo Hlobil.



Madonna aus Prostějov.  
Národní galerie v Praze.  
Foto Ivo Hlobil.

Albert Kotal erinnerte merkwürdigerweise später nicht an die Schlussfolgerungen seiner 1962 veröffentlichten kompakten Analyse der schlesisch-preußischen Löwenmadonnen in der böhmischen Kunst des zweiten Viertels des 14. Jahrhunderts, möglicherweise auch wegen der Ablehnung seitens der polnischen Kollegen. (Anna Ziomecka 1990: „*Der Typus der Madonna aus der Pfarrkirche in Iglau wurde in Schlesien früher und öfter formuliert als in Böhmen. Die Beeinflussung verlief in umgekehrter Richtung. Die zum Vergleich herangezogenen böhmischen Bildwerke einer anderen Entwicklungslinie zeigen im Gesichtstypus und im in Schlesien verbreiteten Kompositionsschema der Figur eine Berührung mit dem Umkreis der Löwenmadonnen. Die Madonna aus der Jakobskirche in Iglau ist nur eine weitere Variante dieses schlesischen Typus.*“)

Jaromír Homolka ging 1977–1978 dennoch weiter. Er machte auf die Beziehung der Madonna aus Králíky (Nationalgalerie Prag) zu der Madonna aus der Pfarrkirche in Broumov aufmerksam und verwies auf „*die wahrscheinlich enge Beziehung zu der Prager Bildschnitzerei hin, deren Hauptvertreter wohl die Madonna aus Hrádek bei Benešov und die auf Löwen thronende Madonna aus Krosnowice/Regensdorf*“ (Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nürnberg). Als vermeintlichen Begründer des schlesischen Stils der Löwenmadonnen sah er einen anonymen Nachfolger des Meisters der Michler Madonna bzw. dessen vermutete Werkstatt in Kłodsko/Glatz unter dem Patronat von Ernst von Pardubice. Der Meister sei dann nach dem Tod des ersten Prager Erzbischofs nach Breslau übergesiedelt, habe hier eine Werkstatt geleitet und mit ihr auch seinen persönlichen Stil in eine Richtung transformiert „*die charakteristisch für den Hauptzweig der schlesischen Löwenmadonnen wurde und dessen Hauptrepräsentantin die anmutige Madonna aus Skarbimierz (wohl 70er Jahre des 14. Jahrhunderts) ist, aber auch für den Zweig, der eine konzentrierte und mehr plastisch begriffene Form pflegte*“.

Die tschechischen Kunsthistoriker, die damals in Prag während des aktuellen politischen Regimes ihre eigene Vorstellungen über die Kunst der Zeit Karls IV. nicht vollständig publizie-

ren konnten, nutzten das Angebot der deutschen Kollegen, dies im Rahmen der in Köln 1978 veranstalteten monumentalen Ausstellung zur Kunst der Parler und des Schönen Stils zu tun. Jaromír Homolka machte hier unter anderem das internationale Forum mit seiner Vorstellung von der Kunst, der Werkstatt und der Bedeutung des Meisters der Michler Madonna bekannt, die fast mit seiner vorherigen unpublizierten Synthese für die tschechische Öffentlichkeit identisch war. Er ergänzte, dass dieser Bildhauer in seinen letzten Arbeiten zum malerisch aufgefassten Relief neigte, womit er sich der Meinung über die Stilveränderung um 1350 anschloss. Der höfische Charakter seiner Kunst habe sich am markgräflichen Hof in Brünn (Sitzmadonna der Sammlung Schwartz) und in Prag (Kruzifix aus dem Karmeliterinnenkloster in Hradschin) fortsetzen können, während er in den lokalen Werkstätten in Mähren (Brünn, Iglau und wohl auch Olmütz) mehr die Gestalt der bürgerlichen Kunst angenommen habe. Die für Ernst von Pardubice in Glatz tätige Werkstatt soll die Madonna aus der Pfarrkirche in Broumov (um 1360) und die Löwenmadonna aus Krosnowice/Regensdorf, zwei Grundtypen von Bildwerken, die im Umkreis der schlesischen Löwenmadonnen bevorzugt wurden, geschaffen haben. Darüber hinaus stellte er auch Überlegungen an, inwieweit für die spätere Entstehung des Schönen Stils vom Meister der Michler Madonna ein bedeutender Impuls ausgegangen sei.

1972 ordnete Antonín Dufek, ein Schüler von Albert Kutal, zum Umkreis des „*Meisters der Michler Madonna*“ die bis dahin unbekannte Madonna aus Hrušky (nah Slavkov/Austerlitz bei Brünn) zu, die als einzige aus der ganzen Gruppe das Christkind manieristisch über dem nicht belasteten Spielbein trägt. 1979 gelang es, ein bis dahin unbekanntes Glied der Gruppe der Michler Madonna zu publizieren, nämlich die Madonna aus Hrabová (Hlobil 1979), die dann für die altböhmische Kunstsammlung der Nationalgalerie in Prag erworben wurde. Die Datierung des Fundes wurde durch die auffällige Ähnlichkeit des Gesichtes und der Haarpracht Marias mit dem Bild der Madonna aus Veveří (um 1345) erleichtert, und zwar glaubwürdiger als im Falle der Michler Madonna, auf welche die ältere Forschung (als erster Jiří Mašín, siehe Homolka 1962) hingewiesen hatte. Die neu entdeckte Statue bestätigte die Wiederaufnahme der Tendenz, die bei den jüngeren Vertretern der Gruppe sichtbar war, nämlich eine zunehmende Fülle der Gewandfalten ähnlich derjenigen bei der Sitzmadonna aus der Sammlung Schwartz, einer hervorragenden Stellvertreterin des weichen Stils in Wien nach der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts. Später führte der Fund der Madonna aus Hrabová in Nordmähren zu der Frage, ob die Werkstatt des Meisters der Michler Madonna nicht vielleicht in Olmütz unter dem Schutz des hiesigen Bischofs Jan Volek, eines blutsverwandten Onkels Karl IV., gearbeitet haben könnte. Diese Hypothese wurde jedoch nicht bestätigt (Hlobil 1987).

Weitere Entdeckungen folgten. 1980 fand sich ein Segnender Auferstandener Christus im Zisterzienserinnenkloster Maria Vallis bei Ostritz in der Lausitz (Hlobil 1980), wahrscheinlich ein Export aus der Werkstatt des Meisters der Michler Madonna in ein Nachbarland des böhmischen Staates. 1978 ergänzte Sigmund Benker im Katalog der Kölner Ausstellung die Salzburger Gruppe der Löwenmadonnen um die Sitzmadonna aus Asten (um 1340, Diözesanmuseum Freising), nachdem er eine stilistische Verwandtschaft mit der Gruppe der Michler Madonna, insbesondere gerade mit dieser Statue, gesehen hatte. 1991 verband Hans P. Hilger mit der Gruppe der Michler Madonna eine kleine Löwenmadonna, erworben für das Bayerische Nationalmuseum München („*die offensichtliche Zugehörigkeit der Statuette der Muttergottes auf dem Löwen zu der Gruppe der Muttergottes aus Michle*“) und betrachtete sie als Arbeit aus den 40er Jahren des 14. Jahrhunderts. Er unterstützte die These, dass sie dem Stil des Meisters der Michler Madonna entwachsen war. In Böhmen und Mähren vermutete er die Existenz eines älteren Vorbildes für die Salzburger Löwenmadonnen, und zwar gerade in den nicht erhaltenen Werken des Meisters der Michler Madonna. 2008 versteigerte das Auktionshaus Nagel in Stuttgart (im Rahmen des Verkaufs der Regensburger Sammlung von J. J. Ludwig) einen Gekreuzigten der ehemaligen Sammlung

Kastner von 1911, ohne darauf hinzuweisen, dass 1964 schon Homolka dessen Beziehung zum Meister der Michler Madonna gesehen hatte.

Im Jahre 1996 veranstaltete das Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Tschechischen Republik in Prag zum 650. Todestag von Johann von Luxemburg eine internationale kunsthistorische Konferenz. Unter dem Eindruck der Monografie von Robert Suckale über die höfische Kunst des Kaisers Ludwig des Bayern (1993) kam damals Milena Bartlová mit der verlockenden Vorstellung, dass die Michler Madonna und weitere Statuen auf Bestellung des Markgrafen Karl IV. entstanden sein könnten. Sie argumentierte damit, dass sich Karl am Pariser Milieu orientiert habe, in dem er erzogen worden sei. Seine erste Gattin, Blanche von Valois, habe 1337 in Brünn geweiht und die Tätigkeit des Meisters der Michler Madonna ende um 1350 zusammen mit Karl IV., denn seit dieser ab 1346 böhmischer Herrscher gewesen sei, habe sich der Schwerpunkt der künstlerischen Aktivitäten von Mähren nach Prag verschoben.

Ivo Hlobil trug auf der genannten Konferenz eigene Ansichten zur Datierung der Gruppe des Meisters der Michler Madonna vor. Seiner Meinung nach konnten die ältesten Statuen des hl. Florian und der Znaimer Madonna schon in den 20er und die Michler Madonna schon in den 30er Jahren des 14. Jahrhunderts entstanden sein, wofür einige Indizien gleichzeitig sprächen. Ihre ausgesprochen lineare Gewanddrapierung und präzise Durchführung antizipierten schon die Siegel Wenzel II. aus den Jahren 1283 bis 1297 (noch vor der Königskrönung), nach 1310 die französisch orientierten Majestäts-Siegel Johann von Luxemburgs (zwischen 1311 bis 1322). Bemerkenswert sei die Stilanalogie zwischen der Behandlung des Kopfes des hl. Florian und der Reliquienbüste der hl. Ehrentrudis aus dem Jahre 1316 in Salzburg (Nonnenbergstift). Die frühe Datierung der Gruppe der Michler Madonna werde durch stilistisch nahe Details auf dem mystischen, dem so genannten Přemyslidenkreuz in Iglau unterstützt.

Weitere Forschungen ließen nicht lange auf sich warten. 1996 wurde die westböhmische Bildschnitzerei durch Jiří Fajt ausführlich analysiert, wobei er auf Werke stieß, die mit dem Stil des Meisters der Michler Madonna verbunden sind: die Madonna aus Dýšina und die hl. Dorothea, die erstgenannte bezeichnete er als Arbeit der Werkstatt um 1345, die zweite, die leider verschollen (Ottová 1999) ist, hielt er für ein Werk des Nachfolgers um 1345–1350.

1997 veröffentlichte Jaromír Homolka nach dem Erscheinen des Konferenzsammelbandes seine eigene These über den aktuellen Forschungsstand zur böhmischen Bildschnitzerei des zweiten und dritten Viertels des 14. Jahrhunderts: Er stellt den Meister der Michler Madonna in seinen mitteleuropäischen Zusammenhängen an den Anfang. Hierbei stützte er sich außer auf die Arbeiten des Meisters und seiner Werkstatt auf eine Referenzanalyse von mehr als 30 Bildwerken. In der Folgezeit stellte Jaromír Homolka (1999/2005) seine Erkenntnisse von 1978 darüber vor, dass die Kunst des Meisters der Michler Madonna mit zwei Gruppen der Pariser Bildhauerei der 20er Jahre des 14. Jahrhunderts zusammenhänge, d.h. mit den Aposteln aus der Spitalkirche St. Jacques-aux-Pèlerins (1319–1324, 1326–1327) im Musée de Cluny und mit der Gruppe der vier Grabmäler der französischen Könige aus der Kapetingerdynastie – Philipp IV. des Schönen († 1314), Ludwig X. († 1316), Philipp V. († 1322) und vor allem Karl IV. († 1328). Die angeführten Parallelen sollten zeigen, dass *„der Pariser Umkreis sicherlich ein bedeutender und einflussreicher war und eine außerordentliche Rolle in der Genese des Stils des Meisters der Michler Madonna gespielt hat“*. 1998 nannte Pierre-Yves Le Pogam die Stilzusammenhänge der Madonna aus Michle mit der französischen Bildhauerei vom Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts schon als Tatsache. Demgegenüber lehnte Bernd Carque (2009) einen direkten Kontakt ab. Schon vorher hatte Jiří Fajt (2005) betont, dass eine Beziehung des Meisters der Michler Madonna zum Rheinland, insbesondere zum so genannten goldenen Altar in Oberwesel von 1333 und zum Figurengrabmal des hl. Goar in der Pfarrkirche in St. Goar bestehe. 2006 hat Aleš Mudra auf eine Holzstatue des hl. Reinhold in Dortmund aufmerksam gemacht, die er für die nahestehendste Parallele zu



der Statue des hl. Florian hält. Als Novum erschien in dem genannten Aufsatz von Jaromír Homolka die These, dass der Meister der Michler Madonna Brünn verlassen habe – „irgendwann während der 40er Jahre oder um 1350“ – und nach Prag gegangen sei. Ausgangspunkt für diese Schlussfolgerung – und gleichzeitig eine Bedingung sine qua non – war Homolkas Entscheidung, den Gekreuzigten der Prager Karmeliterinnen den eigenen Arbeiten des Meisters zuzurechnen.

Gleichzeitig mit Jaromír Homolka publizierte Robert Suckale 1999 eine Studie über die Entstehung der Löwenmadonnen. Implizit schloss er sich Albert Kotal und den vorherigen Erkenntnissen von Hans P. Hilger an, welche die Wurzeln der Löwenmadonnen in der böhmischen Kunst des zweiten Viertels des 14. Jahrhunderts gesucht hatten, bewegte sich dann aber in anderer Richtung weiter. Die schlesisch-preußischen und die Salzburger Löwenmadonnen verband er in einen formal-ideellen Kontext mit der böhmischen Plastik des zweiten Viertels des 14. Jahrhunderts, beginnend schon mit der Madonna aus Strakonice (die er ungewöhnlich spät erst um 1335 datierte). Die relativ geringe Stildifferenzierung der damaligen böhmischen Skulptur betrachtete er als weniger relevant, denn gemessen daran propagierte sie jedoch die spezifisch französisch orientierte Kunst der Luxemburger (im Vergleich zu der stilistisch unterschiedlichen bildhauerischen Produktion der Hofwerkstätten Ludwig des Bayern in Deutschland). Er erinnerte daran, dass Brünn, damals die Hauptstadt Mährens, dank der Regierung des Markgrafen Karl IV. nach dessen Rückkehr aus dem Ausland 1334 eine Ära künstlerischer Blüte erlebte (die oben genannte Überlegung von Milena Bartlová zu diesem Thema war ihm sicherlich bekannt). Unter dem Einfluss des jungen Herrschers breiteten sich böhmische Kunstvorbilder („*die Vorbildlichkeit böhmischer Kunst*“) auch in die Nachbarländer der Böhmisches Krone (Schlesien, Lausitz), Salzburg und das benachbarte Niederbayern aus. In der Lausitz führte Suckale die Statue des Christus aus Ostritz und als weitere „*luxemburgische*“ Arbeit den Gekreuzigten bei den Franziskanern in Cottbus, in Schlesien die Apostel aus der Kirche der Hl. Maria Magdalena in Breslau (schon um 1340–1350 datiert) an. Die Salzburger Löwenmadonnen charakterisierte er als vereinfachten Ausdruck des „*böhmischen Stils*“.

Robert Suckale setzte voraus, dass ein nicht erhaltener Prototyp der Löwenmadonnen in Schlesien und Salzburg auf dem Hof des Markgrafen Karl IV. entstanden war und von hier aus schnell Verbreitung gefunden hatte. Als das älteste und wichtigste erhaltene Beispiel dieser Ikonographie bezeichnete er die stehende Löwenmadonna aus Łukowo in Poznań/Posen, die nach Ansicht des Autors in der schlesischen Kunst fremd, aber sehr wohl mit der Madonna vom Altstädter Rathaus in Prag vergleichbar ist (darüber hatte schon vorher Albert Kotal geschrieben). Beide Statuen datierte Suckale wesentlich früher, als es bis dahin üblich war: Łukowo, der französischen Kunst näher, um 1340, die Prager Statue 1350–1360.

Bei den polnischen Kollegen traf die Interpretation von Robert Suckale auf wenig Verständnis. Romuald Kaczmarek fasste 2007 die Gegenargumente zusammen wie folgt: in Böhmen „*kommt der Stil der Löwenmadonnen und auch diese Ikonographie*“ nicht vor, die Statuen, die den Breslauer Aposteln im Stil eng verwandt sind, kommen in Böhmen nur an der Grenze zu Schlesien vor (Madonnen aus Broumov und Králíky). Aber vor allem: „*die Bildwerke und die Werkstätten, die damals in der schlesischen Metropole tätig waren, bildeten ein sich ungewöhnlich rege entwickelndes Zentrum, in dem verschiedenartige Impulse und Vorbilder unterschiedlichster Herkunft zugänglich waren. Die Versuche, ihren stilistischen Inhalt ausschließlich aus der böhmischen oder mährischen Kunst abzuleiten, darüber hinaus aus einer territorial so unbegrenzten Stilschicht wie dem Schaffen des Meisters der so genannten Michler Madonna, sind zum Scheitern verurteilt.*“

Diese Probleme bedürfen weiterer Untersuchungen, insbesondere da es in der Zwischenzeit gelungen ist, für die Prager Nationalgalerie eine vorher vollkommen unbekannte Löwenmadonna aus Wien zu erwerben, die in ihrer Form, ihrer ikonographisch-symbolischen Mitteilung und

Bedeutung in beträchtlichem Maße die Vorstellungen von Kutal, Hilger, Homolka und Suckale über einen nicht erhaltenen böhmischen Prototyp der Löwenmadonna aus der Zeit vor der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts erfüllt. Die Klosterneuburger Löwenmadonna, um 1340–1345, (Hlobil 2004–2005, Hlobil 2005) gehört zu den jüngsten Gliedern der Gruppe des Meisters der Michler Madonna am Übergang vom abstrakten Stil der nachklassischen Gotik zum neuen Realismus des weichen Stils. Sie antizipiert schon die Gruppe der Löwenmadonnen in Salzburg und der Löwenmadonnen in Schlesien und Preußen, beginnend mit der Löwenmadonna aus der Breslauer Kirche des Hl. Matthäus und sowohl der weicheren als auch der jüngeren Madonna aus Łukowo.

Das Meritum des angeführten Aufsatzes von Fajt – Suckale „*Meister der Michler Madonna – das Ende eines Mythos?*“ beruhte auf einer allgemeineren Absicht. Die Autoren entscheiden sich in postmoderner Weise, die Ergebnisse sämtlicher vorhergegangener Forschungen zu dekonstruieren, und erklären die Persönlichkeit des Meisters der Michler Madonna für eine Fiktion. Die stilistischen Übereinstimmungen zwischen der Gruppe der Michler Madonna und anderen Denkmälern aus der bildhauerischen Produktion der böhmischen Länder erlauben es ihrer Meinung nach nicht, die Arbeiten des genannten Bildhauers auszugliedern. Gleichwohl aber beruhe schon der Titel der avisierten Schlussfolgerung auf falschen Prämissen.

Diese Dekonstruktion ist gänzlich inakzeptabel vor allem wegen des unverwechselbaren Ausdrucks und der spezifischen Struktur der sich wiederholenden Motive und Details in der gesamten Gruppe der identifizierten Arbeiten des Meisters der Michler Madonna. Alle erwähnten Madonnen dieses Schöpfers halten das Christkind auf wenig übliche Art auf dem rechten Arm (auf dem linken nur bei der Klosterneuburger Löwenmadonna). Sie stellen die Jungfrau Maria nicht pauschal mit der hohen Krone der Himmelskönigin oder im Gegenteil ganz ohne Krone dar, sondern, was weniger üblich war, mit einem niedrigen Diadem, das oben immer mit Kerben geschmückt ist. Alle Statuen haben von der Schulter bis zur Taille konvex verbreiterte Figuren. Die Gesichter sind immer oval und ausdruckslos, später mit Andeutung eines archaischen Lächelns (Madonna aus Prossnitz und Dýšina). Des Weiteren finden wir eine konvexe hohe Stirn, flache Augen in geometrisch regelmäßig umrissenen Augenhöhlen, einen kleinen gespitzten Mund, kleine, an den Seiten verschlankte Nasen fast ohne Nasenwurzel (unterscheiden sich die Gesichter der Znaimer und der Michler Madonnen sowie der Madonna aus Hrušky, ist dies das Ergebnis einer „nachträglichen“ Verschönerung). Nicht weniger charakteristisch sind die ornamental ondulierten Frisuren. Die Stilisierung der Haare der Muttergottes und des Christkinds unterscheidet sich nicht. Die langen, „fallenden“ Schleier bedecken nur einen Teil von Marias Haaren (am wenigsten bei der Michler Madonna, bei der Prossnitzer und der aus Hrabová die Hälfte, im Falle der Klosterneuburger zwei Drittel des Hinterkopfes, die Madonna aus der Klosterkirche in Broumov ist barhäuptig). Die dicht geführten Haarsträhnen bedecken Marias Ohren und manchmal auch die Ohren des Christkinds (Madonna aus Hrabová).

Die typischen Gewandstatuen des Meisters der Michler Madonna sind jedoch vor allem durch ihr reiches und überlegt drapiertes Gewand auffallend. Dazu gehört der kompliziert übereinander gelegte oder kunstvoll um die Schulter gewickelte Schleier der Madonnen, der beidseitig hochgehobene und an der Hüfte mit den Unterarmen gehaltene Mantel, der nach unten hin in den beliebten kaskadenartigen Falten herabfällt (bei den Statuen des Meisters der Michler Madonna lassen sich bis zu fünf ähnlich gestaltete Faltenformationen samt des aneinander gelegten Schleiers und des langen Hemdchens des Christkinds zählen). Weitgehend alle Statuen des Meisters der Michler Madonna und seiner Werkstatt haben im Grunde nach einem identischen symmetrischen Schema (asymmetrische Modifikationen: die Madonnen aus Velké Meziříčí und Hrabová und der Apostel aus Veverská Bitýška) plastisch ausgearbeitete Rückseiten (mit Ausnahme der reliefartigen Klosterneuburger Löwenmadonna).

Es lässt sich feststellen, dass das allmähliche Übergehen des Meisters der Michler Madonna zu formlockeren und weniger präzise ausgearbeiteten Statuen zu dem allgemeinen Übergang der böhmischen Kunst zum weichen Stil des dritten Viertels des 14. Jahrhunderts in Bezug zu setzen ist. An Stelle des vorhergegangenen abstrakten Idealismus (der hl. Florian, die Znaimer Madonna) setzten sich nun weniger erlesene, dafür aber der Wirklichkeit sichtbar nähere Statuen durch. Sie markierten den Übergang von aristokratischen zu volkstümlicheren, aus heutiger Sicht weniger schönen Gestalten mit breiteren Proportionen und auffällig vergrößerten Köpfen (Madonnen aus Hrabová, Broumov, Apostel aus Veverská Bitýška), inklusive der „hässlichen“ Christkinder mit großen Ohren (Madonna aus Broumov und Klosterneuburger Madonna). Die zuerst statischen Statuen beginnen sich jedoch in der Mehrzahl ihrem ikonographischen Inhalt entsprechend zu bewegen (Madonna aus Hrabová, Klosterneuburger Löwenmadonna). Die durch die starken Erschütterungen und ideologischen Veränderungen der damaligen Zeit hervorgerufene Entwicklung des weichen Stils gipfelte zwei Jahrzehnte später in den Bildern des Meisters Theodorik.

Die tradierten Typen, Motive und Details der Arbeiten des Meisters der Michler Madonna und seiner Werkstatt erscheinen in ihrer Komplexität bei keiner böhmischen oder ausländischen gotischen Statue – inklusive der von Fajt – Suckale angeführten Vergleiche – in einer identischen Auswahl.

Die Übereinstimmungen des Gesamtausdrucks mit der manieristischen Bildhauerei seit dem Ende des 13. und der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts basieren nur auf allgemeiner stilistischer Grundlage. Gerhard Schmidt identifizierte diese 1956 in einem weit gefassten europäischen Raum (Spanien, Portugal, Frankreich, England). Die tschechische Forschung hatte schon längst (Kutal bereits 1963) auf diese stilistische Verwandtschaft im bildhauerischen Schaffen des zweiten Viertels des 14. Jahrhunderts in den böhmischen Ländern aufmerksam gemacht, – um es mit den Worten Robert Suckales (1993–1999) zu sagen, auf „den territorialen Stil“ Böhmens und Mährens während der Herrschaft Johann Luxemburgs, – ohne jedoch zu einer ähnlichen Dekonstruktion der vorausgegangenen Erkenntnisse über den Meister der Michler Madonna zu gelangen. Robert Suckale und Jiří Fajt haben ganz zu Recht nach dem politischen Hintergrund des Einflusses der böhmischen Kunst in den Nebeländern der böhmischen Krone geforscht. Darin liegt auch das Verdienst ihres Aufsatzes, der jedoch in der Bildhauerei während der Herrschaft des ersten Luxemburgers ausnahmslos den Stil des Meisters der Michler Madonna betrifft. Dieser wurde zum Hauptrepräsentanten der böhmischen Plastik während der Regentschaft Johann von Luxemburgs, obwohl er mit dem Königshof direkt eigentlich nichts hätte gemein haben dürfen.

Übersetzt von Sonja Schürmann.

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# Mitteleuropäischer Buchdruck, Grafik und Bauplastik der Frührenaissance am Beispiel von Sachsen und dem Thayatal (1500–1550)

## Buchdruck und Grafik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, die Bedeutung Albrecht Dürers

Das Thema des Artikels knüpft an meine publizierte Studie, in der ich mich mit dem Mischstil im Bereich der Bauplastik der Frührenaissance in Mitteleuropa beschäftigt habe.<sup>1</sup> Buchdruck und Grafik dienten als Mittel zur Verbreitung der aktuellen stilistischen Strömungen. In der mitteleuropäischen Bauplastik dieser Zeit sind in verschiedenen Regionen wohl besondere stilistische Ausprägungen feststellbar, insgesamt ist sie ihren Grundzügen aber eng verwandt, deshalb soll hier der Charakter der mitteleuropäischen Bauplastik der Frührenaissance anhand von zwei ausgewählten Regionen aufgezeigt werden.

Meine Beobachtungen wollen darlegen, welche Beziehungen zwischen Bauplastik, Grafik und Buchkunst in Mitteleuropa bestehen. In einigen Fällen soll hier die enge Vernetzung mit der italienischen Renaissancekunst hervorgehoben werden, um den Stil dieser Kunstwerke klarer zu machen. Wohl gibt es in der mitteleuropäischen Kunstgeschichte wissenschaftliche Studien und Publikationen, die sich mit dem Thema beschäftigen, eine monographische Bearbeitung steht jedoch bis heute noch aus. Die Publikation über Ornamentstiche von Albert Erich Brinckmann<sup>2</sup> sowie jene von Rudolf Berliner<sup>3</sup> konzentrieren sich vor allem auf ornamentale Vorlageblätter.

Im mitteleuropäischen Raum vollzog sich am Ende der Spätgotik und am Beginn der Renaissance in der Beziehung zwischen Grafik und Architektur ein grosser Wandel. In der Hochgotik und Spätgotik (etwa 1350–1520) waren Risse verbindliche Vorlagen für die hochrangigen Sakralbauten. Belege hierfür sind die aus dem Bestand der mittelalterlichen Bauhütten z. B. von Prag, Bratislava und Wien überkommenen Baurisse. Hier werden auch Bauplastik, Kanzeln, Taufsteine, Sakramentshäuschen und Lichtsäulen dargestellt.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Petr Čehovský: Bauplastik im nördlichen Niederösterreich und in Südmähren in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Eine Kunst, die in drei verschiedenen Stilen durchgeführt werden konnte, in: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* Nr. 1, 2008, S. 21–38.

<sup>2</sup> Albert Erich Brinckmann, *Die praktische Bedeutung der Ornamentstiche für die deutsche Frührenaissance*, Strassburg 1907.

<sup>3</sup> Rudolf Berliner, *Ornamentaler Vorlageblätter des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1926.

<sup>4</sup> Für die wichtigste Literatur siehe Hans Koeppf, *Die gotischen Planrisse der Wiener Sammlungen*. Wien – Köln – Graz 1969; Hans Böker, *Architektur der Gotik. Bestandskatalog der weltgrößten Sammlung an gotischen Baurissen im Kupferstichkabinett der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien; mit einem Anhang über die mittelalterlichen Bauzeichnungen im Wien Museum Karlsplatz, Salzburg*. Pustet 2005; Ausstellungskatalog: Michaela Kronberger

Im Zeitalter der Frührenaissance (etwa 1500–1550) war die Beziehung der Grafik, Zeichnung und Architektur viel lockerer, und mit dem Auftreten des neuen Stils in Mitteleuropa fand die Phantasie der Künstler breiteren Spielraum, neue originelle Kunstwerke auszuführen. Ihre Intention war offenbar nicht, an genaue Vorbilder anzuknüpfen, sondern stilistisch neue Kunstwerke durch die Kombination von Motiven und Elementen der Gotik und der Renaissance zu schaffen.

Grafik und Zeichnung erlebten im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert eine besondere Blüte, und viele wichtige Künstler dieser Zeit wie etwa Martin Schongauer, Albrecht Dürer oder Lucas van Leyden waren auch als Grafiker tätig. Mit dem Aufkommen des Buchdrucks und dessen Verbreitung gewinnt der Einfluss der Buchgrafik auf Architektur und Plastik an Bedeutung.

Die überragende Künstlerpersönlichkeit in der Zeit um 1500 ist Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), der sich in den Jahren 1496–1497 und 1505 in Venedig aufgehalten hat, wo er sich mit der dortigen Renaissancekunst auseinandergesetzt hat. Im Unterschied zu der folgenden Generation der deutschen Graphiker hat Dürer eher seltener Architekturrahmungen in seiner Grafik benutzt.

Eine Ausnahme in diesem Sinne ist der 20 Holzschnitte umfassende Zyklus Marienleben von 1504–1505,<sup>5</sup> wo Dürer die Architektur als wichtiges Kompositionselement einsetzt. Die architektonischen Motive benutzt Dürer als Gesamtrahmung seiner Komposition, manchmal aber auch als Kulisse im Hintergrund. Hier scheinen sowohl gotische Motive als auch Renaissanceformen auf.

So ist im Hintergrund in der Darstellung der Beschneidung Christi ein Portal mit rundbogiger Archivolte zu sehen. Die Gewände tragen einen mächtigen Aufsatz, der aus zwei hohen Fialen besteht und in der Mitte ein herzförmiges Motiv aufweist. Die Astwerkbekrönung erinnert an Gesprenge reich dekorierte spätgotischer Altäre. In der Szene des Tempelgangs Mariae verwendete Dürer als kulissenartigen Hintergrund antikisierend wirkende Bauten.

In der Darstellung Joachim und Anna an der Goldenen Pforte (Abb. 1) hat Dürer reiche gotische und Renaissanceelemente eingesetzt. Im unteren Teil der Rahmung hat er das spätgotische dekorative Repertoire angewandt, das aus sich kreuzendem Astwerk besteht. Im oberen Teil der Rahmung geht diese Ornamentik in eine Renaissance Arabeske über. Dass es hier um eine Absicht ging, und nicht um einen Fehler des Künstlers, der die Prinzipien der italienischen Renaissancekunst nicht verstanden hätte, ist wegen seiner zitierten längeren Venedig Aufenthalte auszuschließen. Wenn Dürer gewollt hätte, hätte er reine spätgotische oder reine Renaissanceformen angewandt, das war aber nicht sein Ziel.

Einem ähnlichen Prinzip folgte Dürer im Holzschnitt mit der Darstellung des Wappens des Jacob de Banassis(?) (Abb. 2) aus der Zeit um 1520: das Wappen im Zentrum wird von einer Portalarchitektur umrahmt – mit korinthischen Säulen, deren Schäfte auf den ersten Blick kanneliert erscheinen, die aber tatsächlich durch Astwerk-Stäbe gegliedert sind. Das Astwerk setzt sich in der nach oben hin abschließenden Archivolte fort, deren Kehlung mit Arabesken dekoriert wird; das in den Bogen eingefügte Maßwerk zeigt naturalistische Laubdekoration.

Meiner Meinung nach ist Dürers graphisches Oeuvre ein Beweis dafür, dass der Mischstil, der in der mitteleuropäischen Kunst in der 1. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts verbreitet war, der italienischen Renaissancekunst als durchaus ebenbürtig angesehen werden kann. Und weiter ist Dürer's Oeuvre ein Argument gegen die Auffassung, dass die im Mischstil ausgeführten Werke der Frührenaissance – meistens Bauplastik – ein Missverständnis in Bezug auf nordita-

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(Hg.), *Der Dombau von St. Stephan: die Originalpläne aus dem Mittelalter*, Museum Karlsplatz, 11. März bis 21. August 2011, eine Ausstellung in Kooperation mit Kupferstichkabinett der Akademie der bildenden Künste und der Dombauhütte von St. Stephan, Wien 2011.

<sup>5</sup> Sehr präzise hat theoretisch den Holzschnittzyklus Dürers Marienleben Anna Scherbaum bearbeitet – Anna Scherbaum, *Albrecht Dürers Marienleben*, Wiesbaden 2004.





Abb. 1: Albrecht Dürer, Anna und Joachim unter der goldenen Pforte, 1504–1505. Foto: Archiv des Autors.





Abb. 2: Albrecht Dürer, Wappen des Jacob de Banissis(?), um 1520. Foto: Archiv des Autors.

lienische Renaissance waren.<sup>6</sup> Zwischen den erwähnten Werken Dürers und Beispielen der Frührenaissancebauplastik besteht stilistisch kein prinzipieller Unterschied. Die Verquickung spätmittelalterlicher und Renaissanceformen im Werke Dürers war noch nie Anlass für eine negative Bewertung seiner Kunst. Es gibt eigentlich keinen Grund, warum andere im selben Stil ausgeführte Werke niedriger bewertet werden sollten.<sup>7</sup>

Weitere wichtige Anregungen für die mitteleuropäische Bauplastik der Frührenaissance stellen die Werke der deutschen Grafiker im ersten Drittel des 16. Jahrhunderts, vor allem von Erhard Schön, Hans Spriginklee, Daniel Hopfer, Hans Schäufelein, Hans Burgkmair und Albrecht Altdorfer dar. Ihre grafischen Arbeiten, zu denen auch Buchillustrationen zählen, waren überaus zahlreich. Szenische Darstellungen werden oft von aufwendigen Rahmungen umgeben, die stilistische Parallelen zur damaligen Bauplastik aufweisen. Meist bedienten sie sich in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts des Formenschatzes der italienischen Renaissancekunst.

## Thayatal – Baumeister Leopold Estreicher und seine Werkstatt

Leopold Estreicher ist ein Baumeister und Steinmetz, dessen Oeuvre wissenschaftlich aufgearbeitet wurde.<sup>8</sup> Wie seine signierten bauplastischen Werke zeigen, war er zwischen 1545 und 1586 im südwestmährischen Raum tätig.<sup>9</sup> Obwohl sein Name andeutet, dass er in Österreich geboren ist, oder mindestens aus Österreich gekommen ist, befinden sich die von ihm signierten Werke vor allem in Südmähren – in den Städten Slavonice (Bezirk Jindřichův Hradec) und Telč (Bezirk Jihlava), die damals unter der Herrschaft der Herren von Hradec standen.

Bereits an Estreichers frühesten Werken – beginnend mit der Bauplastik des Schlosses Breitenreich (Bezirk Horn, Niederösterreich) – ist ersichtlich, dass er mit den Formen des Renais-

<sup>6</sup> Zum Beispiel Wihlelm Lübke, *Die Kunst der Renaissance in Italien un im Norden*, Esslingen 1907, S. 81.

<sup>7</sup> Als Beispiel kann das Portal des des Hauses des Tuchmachers Lorenz in Litovel von 1542 genannt werden, dessen Seitengewände dasselbe Spiel mit den Renaissanceformenaufweist wie an den seitlichen Säulen bei Dürers Landauer Altar. Mehr dazu siehe Čehovský (zit. Anm. 1), S. 34–35.

<sup>8</sup> Gute Aufarbeitung des Oeuvres von Leopold Estreichers siehe: Oldřich Rada – Milada Radová, *Mistr Leopold Estreicher a jeho slavonická stavební dílna*, *Umění XVIII*, 1970, S. 358–382.

<sup>9</sup> Leopold Estreicher war bis zum Jahr 1586 mit seiner Werkstatt in Slavonice tätig; dieses Datum findet sich am Renaissanceportal der Gruftkapelle hl. Kreuz in Slavonice, das Portal trägt das Wappen von Zacharias von Neuhaus und Anna von Schleinitz (Rada – Radová zit. Anm. 8, S. 379).



**Abb. 3:** Leopold Estreicher, Teltsch, Schloss, Portal zu Küche, um 1550. Foto: Autor.



**Abb. 4:** Leopold Estreicher, Teltsch, Schloss, Portal im sgn. alten Hof, 1556. Foto: Autor.

sancestils vertraut war, diese aber mit gotischen Elementen vermischt hat. Die Frage nach der Vermittlung der italienischen Renaissancekunst, ob er sie aus eigener Anschauung gekannt hat, bleibt offen.

Als Beispiele seines Schaffens seien zwei Portale, die sich im Schloss Telč befinden, angeführt: die Gewände des Tores zur ehemaligen Küche aus der Zeit um 1550 (Abb. 3), und das Portal im Alten Hof aus dem Jahre 1556 (Abb. 4).

Angesichts der wahrscheinlichen Herkunft Leopold Estreichers wird man annehmen, dass er vor allem von zeitgenössischer Wiener Grafik beeinflusst wurde. Tatsächlich scheinen in der Grafik der Wiener Frührenaissance Werke auf, die mit der Bauplastik von Leopold Estreicher in Zusammenhang zu bringen sind: Analogien finden sich in einem 1512 datierten Holzschnitt (Abb. 5)<sup>10</sup>, der nach Meinung von Hedwig Gollob von einem anonymen Künstler stammt, der ein Schüler des A.-F. Meisters und N. Meisters war. Die Signatur des Holzschnittes weist starke Ähnlichkeit mit einem Steinmetzzeichen auf. Ein Pfeil durchstößt den Buchstaben V.<sup>11</sup> Diese Grafik, ein Titelblatt mit architektonischer Umrahmung erlaubt einen Vergleich mit den erwähnten Portalen im Telč Castle: am Portal von 1556 im Alten Hof und dem Küchentor

<sup>10</sup> In diesem Zusammenhang ist zu betonen, dass diese Grafik von 1512 in engem Zusammenhang mit zeitgenössischen Grabmälern stand; siehe Holdt Epitaph von 1509 an der Westfassade des Wiener Stephansdoms oder das Epitaph des Jobst Truchseß von Wetzhausen in der Deutschordenskirche in Wien von 1526.

<sup>11</sup> Nach der Meinung von Hedwig Gollob hieß dieser anonyme Künstler Pfeil und der Buchstabe W, bzw. V weisen auf seinen Vornamen hin. Hedwig Gollob, *Der Wiener Holzschnitt von 1400–1550*, Wien 1926, S. 64.





**Abb. 5:** Nachfolger der des Grafiks A-F. und Meisters N.,  
Holzschnitt von einer Portalarchitektur von 1512.  
Foto: Archiv des Autors.



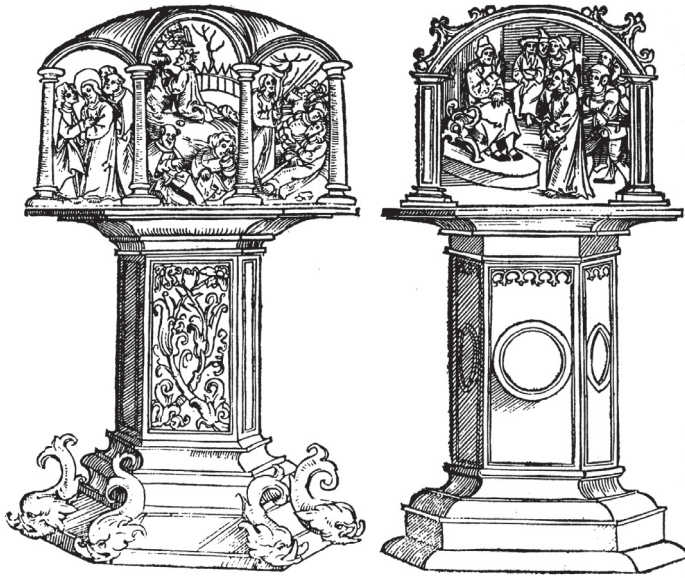
**Abb. 6:** Erhard Schön, Josue in Rüstung  
aus dem Zyklus der Szenen  
aus dem Alten Testament, 1524.  
Foto: Archiv des Autors.

sieht man wie in der Grafik die vorgesetzten Säulen als dekorative Elemente, die jeweils ein Gesimse mit bogenförmigem Abschluss tragen, wobei beim Küchentor wie auch bei der Grafik die Friesausbildung fehlt.

Eine weitere Analogie zum Küchentor im Schloss Telč findet sich im Blatt des Josue (Abb. 6) aus dem 1524 datierten Holzschnittzyklus des Alten Testaments von Erhard Schön. Hier zeigen sich Analogien in der Strukturauffassung und auch im Ornament – balusterartige Vorlagen, die auf hohen Sockeln aufsitzen, mit Stäben verzierte Schäfte der Säulen, einen rundbogigen Aufsatz sowie das Fehlen eines Frieses.

Ein Vergleichsbeispiel für die Portale von Leopold Estreicher im Telčer Schloss können wohl Erhard Schöns Illustrationen für die Geystlich Strass von 1521 (Abb. 7) sein, die Kreuzwegstationen darstellen. In diesem Zyklus verwendet Erhard Schön sehr verschiedene Typen der Rahmungen für die christologischen Szenen. Die Rahmung der Szenen ist ein Zeugnis dafür, dass Erhard Schön die Kunst der italienische Renaissance gekannt hat, und deshalb konnte er verschiedene Renaissancemotive variieren, die vor allem balusterartige Pfeiler, flache Pilaster und skizzenhaft angedeutete Säulchen umfassen.

Es überrascht nicht, dass die Portale von Leopold Estreicher im Schloss in Telč ganz verschieden sind, obwohl sie von demselben Autor ausgeführt wurden: das Portal im Alten Hof besteht



**Abb. 7:** Erhard Schön, Illustrationen für die Geystlich Strass, 1521. Foto: Archiv des Autors.

aus einer Ädikula mit doppeltem Fries<sup>12</sup> und vorgelegten Säulen. Das Portal im Haupthof von 1556 ist eigentlich ein spätgotisches Portal mit Renaissancefries im oberen Teil, das Küchentor ist eine Ädikula mit rundbogigem Aufsatz ohne Fries.

Angesichts der harmonischen Wirkung der Bauplastik von Leopold Estreicher scheint es wahrscheinlich, dass er nicht nur die mitteleuropäische Grafik und Buchillustration der Frührenaissance kannte, sondern auch mit italienischer Renaissancekunst in direkte Berührung kam.<sup>13</sup>

Wenn man Grafik und Bauplastik der Frührenaissance in Mitteleuropa vergleicht, kommt man zu dem Ergebnis, dass beide Kunstgattungen (Bauplastik, Grafik und Buchdruck) sich in diesem Zeitraum gegenseitig beeinflusst haben. In beiden Medien wird ein ähnliches innovatives Spiel mit den Formen von Gotik und Renaissance vollzogen, wobei sich zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts die Renaissanceformen voll etabliert haben.<sup>14</sup> Interessant dabei ist, dass dieser gegenseitige Einfluss fast immer „nur“ als freie Inspiration existierte, nur ganz selten findet man eine Bauplastik, die aufgrund eines graphischen Vorbildes ausgeführt wurde.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Der Ursprung des Motivs des doppelten Frieses sollte – im Unterschied zu anderen Elementen der mitteleuropäischen Bauplastik der Frührenaissance – wahrscheinlich direkt in Italien gesucht werden, weil es in der zeitgenössischen mitteleuropäischen Bauplastik nicht vorkommt.

<sup>13</sup> In seinem Gewölbe im Durchgang des Hauses Nr. 46 in Slavonice ist eine meisterhafte Verbindung der gotischen und Renaissanceformen gelungen, vergleichbar mit der Fuggerkapelle in Augsburg von 1509. Bruno Bushart, kommt in seiner Monographie der Kapelle zum Schluss, dass deren Architekt auch italienische Renaissancearchitektur aus eigener Anschauung gekannt hat. Bushart meint, dass der Autor des Entwurfs für die Kapelle Albrecht Dürer war – Bruno Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle bei St. Anna in Augsburg*, München 1994, S. 366.

<sup>14</sup> In seltenen Fällen ist die frühere Verwendung von Renaissanceformen der Bauplastik in der einheimischen Kunst auch schon feststellbar – siehe z.B. das Epitaph von Urban Schlundt von 1496 im Kremser Stadtmuseum.

<sup>15</sup> Ein sehr gutes Beispiel führt Jan Bialostocki an: das Portal des Schlosses Tarnów in Polen aus der Zeit nach 1505, das offensichtlich von der Rahmung der Szene Die Vermählung Mariens aus dem Holzschnittzyklus Albrecht Dürers von 1504–1505 ausgeht – Jan Bialostocki, *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe*, London 1976, Abb. 24 und 25. Für Abbildung von Dürer's Holzschnitt siehe Scherbaum (zit. Anm. 5), Abb. 7.

## Sachsen

In Sachsen, wo die Renaissancekunst relativ früh einsetzt, hat sich die Bauplastik der Frührenaissance in sehr großem Maße erhalten. Im Jahre 1519 wurde das Portal zur Südsakristei in der St. Annenkirche in Annaberg ausgeführt – ein Werk, das gotische und Renaissanceformen kombiniert.<sup>16</sup> Die kannelierten gedrehten Säulen weisen auf die Bauhütte des Benedikt Ried in Prag hin, wo dasselbe Element beim um 1500 zu datierenden Portal, das den Wladislaw Saal mit der Reiterstiege in der Prager Burg verbindet, vorkommt.<sup>17</sup>

Wenige Jahre später, zwischen 1522 und 1524 wurde das Portal zur Herzog Georg Kapelle im Dom von Meißen (Abb. 8) ausgeführt. Seine doppelgeschossige Struktur verrät die Lust seines Autors, mit den Formen italienischer Renaissance zu spielen und so ein neues originelles Kunstwerk zu schaffen. Soweit mir bekannt ist, kommt das doppelgeschossige Portal in der mitteleuropäischen Architektur nur selten vor, und man könnte es für einen originellen Beitrag des Steinmetzes oder seines Auftraggebers halten. Dieses Portal ist der italienischen Renaissance relativ nahe verwandt, und es war kein Zufall, dass dieses Werk keine Nachfolge in Sachsen gefunden hat,<sup>18</sup> da dieser Stil hier keine Tradition hatte. Näher steht das Portal der Architektur und Bauplastik der venezianischen Renaissance, die eine Vorliebe für die Kombination von verschiedenen farbigen Marmorsorten gehabt hat. Angesichts der stilistischen Qualität dieses Portals ist nicht auszuschließen, dass es sich um das Werk eines italienischen Künstlers handelt.

In der künstlerischen Idee des Portals finden sich Beziehungen zum graphischen Oeuvre von Daniel Hopfer. Ein Beispiel ist Hopfer's Radierung, Entwürfe für drei Lavabos (Abb. 9), wo sich im rechten Becken Analogien zum erwähnten Portal finden, so zum Beispiel die mehrgeschossige Architektur und die seitlichen, vorgesetzten, undekorierten Halbsäulen.

Das 1530/35 zu datierende Portal des sogenannten Georgenbaues des Dresdener Schlosses<sup>19</sup> (Abb. 10) zählt zu den wichtigsten Architektur-Monumenten der Frührenaissance in Sachsen. Es wurde an der Stelle des früheren Eltores erbaut, nach Meinung von Heinz Quinger nach einem Entwurf von Peter Flötner.<sup>20</sup> Die Dichte der Ornamente am Portal ist typisch für die sächsisch-schlesische Renaissance. Was die Autorschaft des Portals betrifft, so ist seine Bestimmung noch



**Abb. 8:** Meißen, Dom,  
Portal zur Georgkapelle, 1522–1524.  
Foto: Autor

<sup>16</sup> Heinrich Magirius sieht den Raum der Annaberger Annenkirche nicht als spätgotisch an – ... Annenkirche ist ein Raumkunstwerk, das von gotischen Konstruktionsprinzipien ebenso weit entfernt ist wie von antiken, aber seine befreiende Wirkung lässt etwas von Wiedergeburt einer auf den Menschen bezogenen Kunst spüren – Heinrich Magirius: Zur Ausbreitung der Renaissance in Mitteldeutschland in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts, in: Harald Marx (Hg.), *Glaube und Macht. Sachsen im Europa der Reformationszeit*, 2. *Sächsische Landesausstellung*, 1. Aufsätze, Dresden 2004, S. 157.

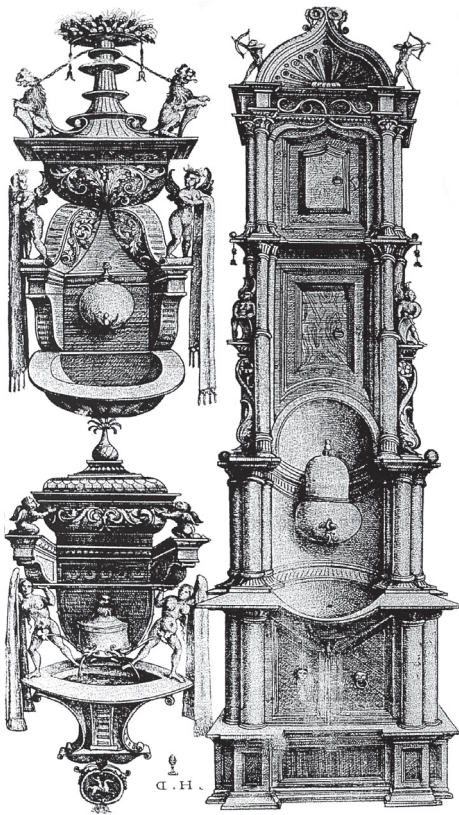
<sup>17</sup> Die Parallele zwischen Annaberg und Prag ist logisch, weil die Annenkirche in Annaberg von Rieds Nachfolger Jakob Heilmann von Schweinfurt projektiert wurde, der am Anfang seiner Karriere in Ried's Prager Hütte tätig war, mehr dazu siehe Pavel Kalina, *Benedikt Ried a počátky renesance*, Praha 2009, S. 175–180.

<sup>18</sup> Magirius (zit. Anm. 16), S. 158.

<sup>19</sup> Heinz Quinger, *Dresden*, Leipzig 1991, S. 21; Magirius (zit. Anm. 16), S. 163–165.

<sup>20</sup> Quinger (zit. Anm. 19), S. 21





**Abb. 9:** Daniel Hopfer,  
Entwurf für drei Waschbecken,  
ohne Datierung.  
Foto: Archiv des Autors.

offen. Während Albrecht Haupt Hans Schickentanz<sup>21</sup> für den Schöpfer des Portals hält, ist es nach Meinung von Heinrich Magirius Christoph Walter I. und seiner Werkstatt<sup>22</sup> zuzuschreiben.

Der Georgenbau wurde nach Herzog Georg benannt, der wie Kardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg<sup>23</sup> ein Verfechter eigener Reformen der katholischen Kirche im albertinischen Sachsen war und der zu den Gegnern Luthers zählte.<sup>24</sup> Angesichts dessen, dass der Bauherr des Tores ein Katholik war, erscheint eine bemerkenswerte stilistische Übereinstimmung mit Bauten von Kardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg, der als Bauherr die Formen der italienischen Renaissance bevorzugte, verständlich.

Die Rezeption der Formen der italienischen Renaissance diente in dieser Zeit sehr wahrscheinlich als unausgesprochenes katholisches Glaubensbekenntnis, und das ist auch der Fall beim Portal am Georgenbau: ...*Herzog Georg war Verfechter einer eigenen Reform der katholischen Kirche und mehr und mehr heftiger Gegner der lutherischen Reformation. Als Bauherr versuchte er mit der Neugestaltung des alten Elbtors seines Dresdner Schlosses zum Georgenbau seinem Bekenntnis zum katholischen Glauben Ausdruck zu verleihen.*<sup>25</sup>

Die Verwendung eines konkreten Stiles oder dessen bestimmter Ausformung hat im Zeitalter der Frührenaissance eine konkrete Bedeutung – der Stil repräsentierte nicht nur die ästhetische, sondern auch die politische, bzw. religiöse Haltung des Auftraggebers.

Margirius hat richtig bemerkt, dass die klassische Wirkung des Dresdner Portals mit der lombardischen Renaissance zusammenhängt.<sup>26</sup> Ich sehe die nächste Parallele zum Portal am Georgenbau in Dresden in der 1507 datierten Porta della Rana am Dom in Como (Abb. 11),<sup>27</sup> Hier stimmen die vorgelegten balusterartigen Säulen überein; nur selten kann man Portale finden, deren Schäfte aus kleinen Kugel-Elementen bestehen. Auch der Reichtum der Ornamentik

<sup>21</sup> Albrecht Haupt, *Baukunst der Renaissance in Frankreich und in Deutschland*, Berlin 1923, S. 270.

<sup>22</sup> Magirius (zit. Anm. 16), S. 164.

<sup>23</sup> Den letzten Stand der Forschung über diesen wichtigen Kunst-Mäzen bringt der Ausstellungskatalog: Thomas Schauerte (Hg.), *Der Kardinal. Albrecht von Brandenburg. Renaissancefürst und Mäzen. Band 1 Katalog*, Regensburg 2006. Andreas Tacke (Hg.), *Der Kardinal. Albrecht von Brandenburg. Renaissancefürst und Mäzen. Band 2 Essays*, Regensburg 2006.

<sup>24</sup> Magirius (zit. Anm. 16), S. 163.

<sup>25</sup> Magirius (zit. Anm. 16), S. 163.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem, S. 164.

<sup>27</sup> Simone Soldini, *Il duomo di Como nel periodo rodariano*; in: Christoph L. Frommel – Luisa Giordano – Richard Schofield (Hg.), *Bramante milanese e l'architettura del Rinascimento lombardo*, Vicenza – Venezia 2002, S. 246.



**Abb. 10:** Dresden, Schloss, Georgenbau, Portal, 1530–1535.  
Foto: Autor



**Abb. 11:** Como, Dom, Porta della Rana, 1507.  
Foto: Autor.

ist bei den Portalen von Dresden und Como vergleichbar, kein Platz ist frei geblieben, und ähnlich ist die Betonung der Figuraldekoratation an den Schäften. Eine Inspiration für den Autor des Dresdner Portals könnte von Zeit um 1530 entstandenen ehemaligen Portal des Schlosses in Chomutov mit seinen Balustersäulen ausgegangen sein.<sup>28</sup>

Neben den italienischen und mitteleuropäischen Vorbildern aus dem Bereich der Bauplastik klingen am Portal des Georgenbaues in Dresden in seinem von Voluten flankierten ädikulaförmigen Aufsatz Beziehungen zur zeitgenössischen Grafik an. Als Beispiel können die Titelblätter von *Vorrede und Schluss der Schandpforte der zwölf Tyrannen des Alten Testaments* von Erhard Schön (datiert 1531) genannt werden. Der Unterschied besteht nur darin, dass der Fries bei Schöns Grafik im Vergleich zum Fries des Dresdner Portals am Georgenbau schmaler ist. Die Originalität des Entwurfs des Dresdner Portals besteht in der Kunst, aus bereits bekannten Elementen ein überzeugendes neues Ganze geschaffen zu haben.

In Sachsen findet sich im Zeitalter der Frührenaissance eine Gruppe von Portalen,<sup>29</sup> die stilistisch an das Portal am Georgenbau anknüpfen und auch gleichzeitig neue Elemente aufweisen. Es handelt sich wieder um Portale mit überreicher Ornamentik, deren architektonische Gestaltung aber sehr unterschiedlich ist. Die Basis bildet immer eine Ädikula; der obere Teil variiert in verschiedenen Formen. Das Portal in Rosswein (Bezirk Chemnitz) am Abtshaus des Andreas Schmiedewald von Alzelle von 1537 und das Portal in Freiberg, Haus Obermarkt 17 aus der Zeit um 1530–1537 (Abb. 12) stehen wegen ihrer Dreiecksgiebel in Zusammenhang mit der österreichischen Bauplastik. Das Vorbild für letztlich genannte Kunstwerke war möglicher Weise das

<sup>28</sup> Zum Schlossportal in Chomutov siehe Renáta Gubíková, *Fragmentárně dochovaný raně renesanční portál bývalého zámku v Chomutově*, in: Ivo Hlobil – Marek Perůtka (Hg.), *Historická Olomouc XVII. Úsvit renesance na Moravě za vlády Matyáše Korvína a Vladislava Jagellonského (1479–1516) v širších souvislostech*, Olomouc 2009, S. 295–309 und hier zitierte Literatur.

<sup>29</sup> Stilistisch waren an den sächsischen Portalen der Frührenaissance mehrere Steinmetz Werkstätten beteiligt, die Bestimmung dieser Werkstätten verdient eine selbständige Studie.





**Abb. 12:** Freiberg, Obermarkt 17,  
Portal, 1530–1537.  
Foto: Autor.



**Abb. 13:** Wiener Neustadt, ehem. Kaiserliches Zeughaus,  
Portal, 1524.  
Foto: Autor.

Portal des ehemaligen kaiserlichen Zeughauses in Wiener Neustadt (Abb. 13), das im Jahre 1524 für Erzherzog Ferdinand I. Habsburg im Stil der italienischen Renaissance ausgeführt wurde.<sup>30</sup>

Die Verwendung des Dreiecksgiebels bei den genannten sächsischen Portalen könnte auf den Einfluss von etwas älteren Portalen im benachbarten Nordwestböhmen zurückgehen. Genannt seien das Westportal der Joachimskirche in Jáchymov mit dem Porträt des Stadtgründers Stepan Slik (1534–1540) und dem Schlossportal in Bečov nad Teplou aus der Zeit von 1530/40.<sup>31</sup>

Der Dreiecksgiebel ist in der Grafik der Frührenaissance nur selten zu finden. Ein Beispiel stellt die Frontseite der Buchillustration der „Dialoge“ von Erhard Schön von 1528 dar, wo ähnlich dem Freiburger Portal der Dreiecksgiebel direkt auf den Seitenpilastern aufruhet. Eine Parallele ist auch im Holzschnitt des Altars der Schönen Maria von Albrecht Altdorfer zu sehen.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Zum Portal des Zeughauses in Wiener Neustadt: Eckart Vanca, Wiener Neustadt (NÖ), Portal des ehemaligen Zeughauses, in: Artur Rosenauer (Hg.), *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich, Teil 3. Spätmittelalter und Renaissance*, München – Berlin – London – New York 2003, S. 271 und hier zitierte Literatur.

<sup>31</sup> Jiří Kropáček, Malý slohový okruh na přelomu pozdní gotiky a renesance, in: Sammelband von Symposium *Podzim středověku 24.–25. 2. 2000*, Moravská galerie 2001, S. 176 und 178. Der Bau der Kirche in Jachymov wurde vom lokalen Baumeister Hans Kopp geleitet unter Teilname des Steinmetzes Jörg von Bamberg.

<sup>32</sup> Walter L. Strauss (Hg.), *The illustrated Bartsch 14. Early German Masters. Albrecht Altdorfer. Monogrammists*, New York 1980, Abb. S. 156.

## Zusammenfassung

Aufgrund der erwähnten Beispiele sieht man, dass der Zeitraum der Frührenaissance in Mitteleuropa eine Epoche war, in der die einheimischen Künstler ihre Frührenaissance meistens in ganz origineller Weise verwirklichten. Ein Vorbild für eine richtige Frührenaissance existierte nicht, weil die Verwendung konkreter Elemente der Gotik und Renaissance frei gewählt wurde. Dazu kommt die Tatsache, dass – was die Verwendung der gotischen und Renaissanceformen betrifft – die Phantasie der Künstler keine Grenze kannte, und dadurch sind viele originelle Kunstwerke entstanden, die im so genannten Mischstil ausgeführt wurden.

Die Ursache dieser erhöhten Originalität der Tätigkeit der mitteleuropäischen Künstler war gerade der Mischstil, der eigentlich keine strenge, klare Regel hat. Das Ziel des Mischstils war es, ein Kunstwerk auszuführen, das die Elemente der Gotik und der Renaissance harmonisch verbindet. Aber es gab keine Regel, wie man die Elemente von Gotik und Renaissance verbinden sollte. Deswegen sind die Kunsthistoriker manchmal nicht einig, ob sie ein im Mischstil ausgeführtes Kunstwerk als harmonisch und qualitativvoll oder unbeholfen bezeichnen sollen. Mitunter kommt es bei der Verwendung grafischer Vorlagen auch zu Fehlinterpretationen.<sup>33</sup>

Bei der Mehrheit der Kunstwerke der Frührenaissance in Mitteleuropa sollte man darüber nachdenken, warum ein Künstler gotische-, Renaissance- oder Mischformen verwendete. Die Vielfalt der Kombination der gotischen und Renaissanceformen ist als Ergebnis der Kreativität und Phantasie der einzelnen Künstler zu beurteilen.

Gerade die 1. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts war ein Zeitraum, in dem die Phantasie der mitteleuropäischen Künstler ihren Gipfel erreichte. Die jüngsten Forschungsergebnisse der mitteleuropäischen Kunsthistoriker beweisen,<sup>34</sup> dass man die mitteleuropäische Kunst der Renaissance mit der italienischen und vor allem mit der toskanischen Renaissance vergleichen sollte. In der Toskana, der Wiege der italienischen Renaissance, wurde die Kunst von vielen Vorbildern beeinflusst – von spätantiken Bauten, Kunstwerken der italienischen Proto-Renaissance des 12. Jahrhundert,<sup>35</sup> theoretischen Abhandlungen von Leon Battista Alberti und anderen.

Die Epoche der Frührenaissance in Mitteleuropa war außergewöhnlich für die bildende Kunst insbesondere für die Architektur, weil keine konkreten Vorbilder existierten. Die zeitlich benachbarten Epochen – Spätgotik und Hochrenaissance waren stark mit Vorbildern verbunden, und verfolgten das Ziel, sich diesen möglichst eng anzunähern. Die Frührenaissancekunst in Mitteleuropa sollte rehabilitiert werden – im Vergleich zur Frührenaissance Italiens sollte man die mitteleuropäische Renaissancekunst wegen ihrer Originalität besser bewerten.

Nach der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts veränderte sich in Mitteleuropa der Charakter der Grafik und vor allem ihre Beziehung zu Bauplastik und Architektur. In dieser Zeit erlebten die Architekturtraktate von Sebastiano Serlio (1475–1554) weite Verbreitung in Mitteleuropa. Im Unterschied zu Architekturzeichnungen der Frührenaissance wurden Serlios Bücher mit den Entwürfen für verschiedene Bauten und ihrer Dekoration zu oft kopierten Vorbildern. Die Beziehung von Grafik und Architektur war nicht mehr gegenseitig, die architektonischen Ideen wurden oft den Serlio Traktaten entnommen oder von anderen Musterbüchern abgeleitet.

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<sup>33</sup> Zum Beispiel die Frührenaissance Bauplastik an der Fassade des Hauses Nr. 9 am Masaryk Platz in Znojmo aus der Zeit um 1540–1550.

<sup>34</sup> Nußbaum Norbert (Hg.), *Wege zur Renaissance*. Köln 2003; Hellmut Lorenz, Spätgotik und Renaissance in Mitteleuropa – Ein „Stil zwischen den Stilen“?, in: Evelin Wetter (Hg.), *Die Länder der böhmischen Krone und ihre Nachbarn zur Zeit der Jagellonienkönige*, Ostfildern 2004, S. 31–47. Čehovský (zit. Anm. 1), S. 21–38; Stephan Hoppe (Hg.), *Stil als Bedeutung in der nordalpischen Renaissance. Wiederentdeckung einer methodischen Nachbarschaft*, Regensburg 2008.

<sup>35</sup> Zum Beispiel die romanische Kirche San Miniato al Monte in Florenz.



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## Ceremonial apparati for the visit to Genoa of Charles V, Philip II and Margaret of Austria

In this paper I will briefly introduce the ceremonial apparati installed in the republican city of Genoa to welcome different personalities: viz. Charles V, Philip II and Margaret and Albert of Austria.

The analysis of these temporary apparati covers a period of about a century: the Hapsburg emperor visited Genoa in 1529 and again in 1533; the Spanish king arrived in 1548; the visits of the Archduke Albert and of his cousin Margaret, who married Philip III, date back to 1599. Although these apparati were all meant to celebrate these personalities, their types, themes and collocation differed both because of the changing political, economic and social situation and because of the role of the personality being welcomed. These differences will guide our analysis of the development of the apparati. In fact, during the 16<sup>th</sup> century triumphal arches and temporary apparati were not only a means to convey a specific image of the city, but were above all meant to bring a precise political message. This was a common trend both among the Italian States and abroad. It is in this light, then, that we can read the following passage, written by Vincenzo Borghini in 1589 to inform the Grand duke Ferdinand De' Medici about the plans for the apparatus to be built on the occasion of his wedding to Christine of Lorraine:

*“Però ho dato ordine che si levi la pianta di tutto il viaggio disegnato da farsi e di più con tutte le misure, le piante particolari di que’ luoghi che si è designato di onorare; aggiuntavi al manco e in dipresso la forma delli archi o altri ornamenti che par che stiano bene e possono capire in quei luoghi, accomodandogli secondo i siti e secondo gli spazi; et ancora avuto un certo che di considerazione alla qualità dell’invenzione. Li quali tutti li mandano a V. E. Ill. non per cosa ferma ma perchè con questo poco schizzo Ella possa considerare e risolvere del quanti, del più e del meno”<sup>1</sup>*

Ornaments and triumphal arches were installed in specific points of the city of Florence to welcome and celebrate the future Grand duchess of Tuscany and, at the same time, to illustrate the mythical history of the House of Medici. It was not only the inscriptions and the figurative motifs, then, that were exploited, but also the buildings themselves – be they real or temporary – could publicize the rise and the dominion of this dynasty of Florentine bankers. In fact, Borghini conceived a triumphal route for the celebration, in which every stage was a declaration of the natural bond between dynastic magnificence and Florentine grandeur.

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<sup>1</sup> “Therefore I ordered that a plan of the journey should be taken, together with the measures and the plans of all the places to be visited; I added thereto the approximate shape of the arches and of any other ornament that could fit in those places. I send all this to Your Excellency not as a settled matter but because, having viewed these drafts, You will be better able to consider the subject”. See S. Mamone, *Il teatro nella Firenze medicea*, Mursia, Milano, 1981, p. 129. See also J. Jacquot, D. Pickering Walker (eds.), *“Fêtes du mariage de Ferdinand de Medicis et de Christine de Lorraine: Florence 1589”*, CNRS, Paris, 1963.

The Tuscan context, however, cannot be taken as a suitable touchstone. The richness of the archives, the variety of iconographic sources and the thoroughness of the chronicles, make Florence as a unique case in the 16<sup>th</sup> century celebrations outlook. It is not by chance then that, in his seminal research on courtly installation, Warburg<sup>2</sup> focused on the Tuscan Grand duchy and, in particular, on scene costumes by Bernardo Buontalenti for the intervals of 1589. In a similar way, back in the Seventies Jacquot and his equip gave much space to the installations in the Florence of the Medici in their research on the feasts of the Renaissance. In recent research, installations have become a phenomenon of primary interest. For instance, Strong<sup>3</sup> analysed the Cosimo De Medici's celebrative strategy through the temporary apparati he installed. Fagiolo Dall'Arco's *Atlas of the Baroque*<sup>4</sup> starts from the wedding of Ferdinando in 1589 and from the apparati built for that occasion. Finally, different essays from the volume *Europa Triumphans*<sup>5</sup> clarify meanings and objects of propaganda in the seigniory of the Medici.

On the contrary, as regards the city of Genoa, the phenomenon of celebrations and temporary apparati in the 16<sup>th</sup> century is less known both because of the lack of iconographic sources and because of the pooriness of the archives, made except for occasional chronicles dating to the end of the century. A 16<sup>th</sup> century book<sup>6</sup>, for instance, reports some details about the welcome ceremony for Christine of Lorraine: the author speaks of “portable bridges, soft music and unnumbered artillery” but makes no mention of complex decorative ornaments or triumphal arches. This fact can be easily understood if we consider what is prescribed in the volume of the *Cerimonie laiche appartenenti alla Signoria di Genova* [Secular Ceremonies of the Seigniory of Genoa]: under the entry “triumphal arches” it was stated that “except for the Pontiff, who is the universal head of all the Christians and who is not subject to any earthly rule, [triumphal arches] shall not be built but by the subjects in honour of their own sovereign or in honour of a Prince who has been victorious against the infidels”<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> The essay was published in the volume *Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike (The renewal of pagan antiquity: contributions to the cultural history of the European Renaissance)* published in Italy in 1980 by La Nuova Italia. The book has recently been reissued by Aragno (2004), followed by a second volume of unpublished essays in 2008. On this essay see also A. M. Meyer, Concerning Warburg's “costumi teatrali” and Angelo Solerti, “*Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*”, 1987, vol. L, pp. 171–188.

<sup>3</sup> Roy Strong, *Art and power: Renaissance festivals, 1450–1650*, tr. It. Arte e potere: le feste del Rinascimento 1450–1650, (Milano, 1987), pp. 12–21 and 143–147.

<sup>4</sup> AA. VV., *Le capitali della festa*, M. Fagiolo (ed. by), 2 voll., De Luca Editori d'arte, Roma, 2007

<sup>5</sup> A. VV., *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe*, J. Mulryne, H. Watanabee O'Kelly, M. Shewring (ed. by), 2 voll., Mhra, Aldershot: Ashgate, London, 2004

<sup>6</sup> The full title of the work is *On the most luxurious and stately entrance of the Her Serene Highness the Grand Duchess of Tuscany into the Noble City of Genoa and the most grand welcome by the Serene Seignory saluting the conquest of the nine Turkish vessels by the Son of the most Illustrious Prince Doria*, Tito & Paolo Diani Fratelli, Roma, 1589.

<sup>7</sup> “Pope Paul III would not have consented [the building of a triumphal arch, TN] in honour of Cesar [the king, TN] in 1536; but, as his soldier and defender in arms of the Apostolic See, in fulfilment of the oath he swore at his Coronation in Bologna, returned from Africa having defeated the enemies of the Christians [he did consent the building of such monument]: otherwise he would not permit. This [not building a triumphal arch, TN] is prescribed in view of the direct and useful Domination of the Roman Pontiff and is to be followed as an example and teaching by those who are not subjects of Cesar or of any other King: by not doing this they will avoid showing themselves as absolute subjects to the Rule of someone else [the supreme Rule belongs to the Pontiff as a Universal Sovereign of all the Christians, TN]. Instead they will build celebrative ornaments along the streets, with works of art and historical and poetical memories, without prejudice of their liberty or appearance of subjection. Had he not returned from a struggle against Christian enemies, the free Republic would not have done this in his honour, but, rightly honouring and celebrating the name of the Conqueror of Schismatic or of the Saracens, both enemies of the catholic faith, they wanted above all to express such a pure

As a matter of fact, the only welcome apparatus installed for the visit of the Grand Duchess of Tuscany was the *bissentoro* (bucentaur), a “floating platform made from different boats tied together” (Mulryne et. al. 2004) built to assist the duchess’ disembarkation. The Master of Ceremonies, Gerolamo Bordonio Sermonetano tells us that “this machinery was all covered with cloth, painted above the level of the sea, with gardens, buildings and diamonds, with coloured paperboards of different dimensions [...] it was beautiful when seen from afar, especially when moving, both forwards and backwards, through rope works underwater”<sup>8</sup>.

This short chronicle, then, let us know a little more about the feasts and ceremonies in the city of Genoa during the 16<sup>th</sup> century which are generally reported in partial contributions on specific occasions or personalities. Accurate essays, albeit not extensive, have been written about temporary installations. Alliverti, for instance, researched the visit of the Spanish king Philip II; Gorse studied ceremonial installations and their connection with the city’s structure and the context of Villa Fassolo, residence of Andrea Doria. In a similar way Laura Stagno studied the decorations and works by Pierino del Vaga on the occasion of the visits of Charles V to Genoa.

This contribution will try to conduct wider analysis of the different temporary apparati by clarifying the function of the different apparati and the strategies carried out on the different occasions. In addition to define the connection between the different apparati and the political, social and economic context, I will also try to integrate the previous researches both by adding still not inquired facts and by tracing an historical evolution of ceremonies in the city of Genoa.

## 1 Charles V and his visits in 1529 and 1533

The tradition of triumphal arches in Genoa was not, in fact, a long one and the occasions for setting up one of them were actually limited to the celebration of a sovereign whose deeds comprised a victory over the infidels<sup>9</sup>.

It is in this light that the entrance of Charles V in Genoa on 12th August 1529 must be interpreted<sup>10</sup>.

Charles’s journey is, in this case, very clear: from Genoa, with the support of Andrea Doria’s fleet, he would reach the duchy of Milan, his dominion, and then the Papal States and Bologna for his coronation. The choice of Genoa for his landing was not casual, as, in fact, he would chose it again later on. In addition to the important role that the Genoese bankers had in sustaining the imperial economy, the key figure for these passages is Andrea Doria. Carlo Bitossi made it clear in a few pages on the history of Liguria. Andrea Doria is not the one who handed Genoa

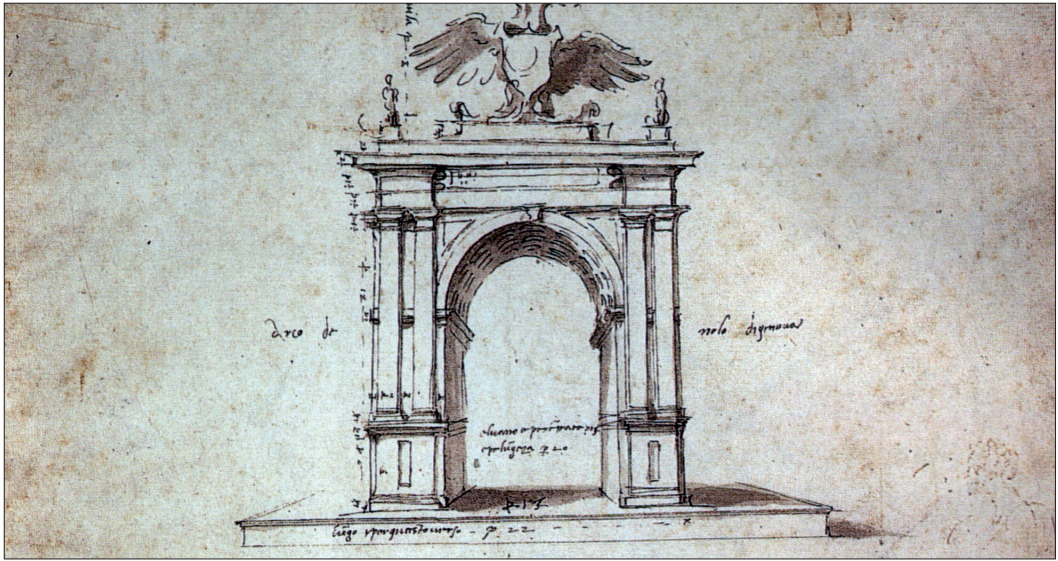
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and grand Act of Victory in the Latin inscription in the arch.” ASG (Archivio di Stato di Genova), Secret archive, *Liber Cerimoniarum*, ms. 473A, cap. 18 also transcribed in L. Volpicella, *I libri dei cerimoniali della Repubblica di Genova*, Scuola tipografica Don Bosco, San Pier D’Arena Genova, 1921, p. 75.

<sup>8</sup> M. I. Aliverti, “*Ordinanza di tutto quello che si preparò per ricevere Madama Christierna di Lorena, moglie del Serenissimo Ferdinando di Medici Gran Duca di Toscana, per ordine del Serenissimo Senato, nel passar che fece da Genova l’anno 1589 adì 18 di Aprile per andare a Fiorenza, et contenuto in esso mentre si fermò qui*”, in Mulryne et al. (2004) p. 300.

<sup>9</sup> On other occasions triumphal entries, set up in accordance with the model of Roman triumphs, were on the contrary rather usual for the welcome of personalities. See Bonner Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State. Triumphant Progress of Foreign Sovereigns in Renaissance Italy (1494–1600)*, (Firenze, 1986); Jacques Jacquot, “La cité et le prince (Les Entrées et rejouissances civiques et le problème du pouvoir)”, *Les fêtes de la Renaissance*, 16–25; Strong, (1987) Bonner Mitchell, *Italian Civic Pageantry in the High Renaissance: a Descriptive Bibliography on Triumphal Entries and Selected other Festivals for State Occasions*, (Firenze, 1986).

<sup>10</sup> See George L. Goorse, “Between Empire and Republic: Triumphal Entries into Genoa During the Sixteenth Century”, *All the World’s Stage... Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque*, B. Wisch, S. Scott Munshower (eds), *Paper in Art History from the Pennsylvania State University*, vol. VI, (1990), 189–256.



Perino Del Vaga, Triumphal Arch for Charles V's Entrance in 1529,  
Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kunstbibliothek

to the Spanish, or rather Hispanic-Hapsburg, aims. He was rather a man capable of calculations about the real independence and convenience of the city, in terms of costs and benefits. We know the names of the Genoese bankers, like Ansaldo Grimaldi and Adamo Centurione (who were also clients of art works), who sustained the Empire and had interests and properties in the Kingdom of Castiglia. However, the relationship between Genoa and the Empire, especially with the Spanish crown, lasted longer than what is traditionally held and must be set from 1525 to 1627 and further<sup>11</sup>.

The triumphal arches, a meaningful symbol of power and welcome, were two in number: one in the harbour and the other in Giustiniani square, close to the financial heart of the city.

The sovereign arrived from the sea and, through a “most superb wooden bridge”<sup>12</sup>, landed on the wharf where he was welcomed by a triumphal arch, a “ceremonial passage” to the city<sup>13</sup>. It is worth noticing this arrangement, especially if we consider that this first triumphal entry into Italy was nothing less than as an explicit declaration both of the role Charles played in Italy and of his relationship with the Republic of Genoa. The great two-headed eagle placed on the top of the arch was not only a tribute to the imperial motto, *Plus Oultre*<sup>14</sup>, but also was to

<sup>11</sup> See Carlo Bitossi, “L’età di Andrea Doria”, *Storia della Liguria*, G. Assereto, M. Doria (eds), (Roma-Bari, 2007), 69.

<sup>12</sup> Surmounted by a pavilion made of cloth and covered with brocades and velvet drapes, see Stagno, *Sovrani spagnoli a Genova*, p. 75.

<sup>13</sup> See E. Gavazza, “Gli apparati per le entrate di Carlo V a Genova”, in *Il Politico di Sant’Erasmus di Perin Del Vaga*, Catalogo della mostra, Stringa Editore, Genova, 1982.

<sup>14</sup> G. L. Gorse, “Entrate e trionfi: cerimonie e decorazioni alla Villa di Andrea Doria a Genova”, in *Disegni genovesi dal Cinquecento al Settecento*, Atti del convegno, Medicea, Firenze (1989), 1993, p. 11. On the invention of the *Plus Oultre*, see K. De Jonge, “El Emperador y la fiestas flamencas de su epoca (1515–1558)”, in *La fiesta in Europa de Carlo V*, Catalogo della mostra, Sociedad estatal para la conmemoracion de los centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, Sevilla, 2000, p. 49



witness Charles's endeavour "to negotiate peace and to bring Italy to a peaceful situation"<sup>15</sup>. In the same way, the only scene on the arch that the chroniclers report – "Andrea Doria together with the Emperor"<sup>16</sup>, was an illustration of the Republic's position: on one side the Republic is crowned by the Hapsburg, its protector, on the other it is supported by the Admiral, who acted as guarantee both of the loyalty of Genoa to the Emperor and of the city's freedom from the direct rule of the Spanish crown<sup>17</sup>.

The structure of the arch, however, served another need, as clearly stated in the said *Cerimonie laiche appartenenti alla Signoria di Genova*. The triumphal apparatus was also conditioned by the implicit intention to renew and remember the imperial oath to defend the Apostolic See and to fight against the "enemies of the Christians"<sup>18</sup>. This is a key to the iconographic apparatus on the arch of the Giustinian family square on the way to the Cathedral: on the top of the arch there was a statue of Justice, with scales in her left and a sword in her right hand and, in the interior panel of the right side opening, a victory scene depicting a character on horseback knocking down an opponent<sup>19</sup>. As with the apparatus at the wharf, the interpretation of this one must rely on the drawings by Perino del Vaga and on other texts by contemporary chroniclers: therefore, there is no absolute certainty as regards the identification of the characters. The scene, however, seems to be an iconographic borrowing from *Saint George and the dragon* or from *Saint Jacob Matamoros* (slayer of Moors); since the Middle Ages these characters had in fact been symbols of the struggle against the troubles of Christianity: the basilisk/devil and the infidels. This interpretation hypothesis is not as unlikely as it might appear at first sight: a portrayal of *Charles as Jacob slayer of Moors* by the painter Jan Cornelis Vermeyen<sup>20</sup> was already circulating at the time<sup>21</sup>; and also a well known *bainnière*, now at the Royal Armoury of Madrid, depicting Jacob fighting together with the *Plus Oultre* insignia and the cross of Burgundy<sup>22</sup>. The suggestion of battles and victories yet to come, however, was, besides all interpretation, essential: among these battles some were against the infidels, as the arches set up in Bologna for his coronation were to remind Charles. The two Doric-style apparati were, through the representations of sovereigns well known for being defenders of the Church (Charlemagne, Emperor Sigismund, Ferdinand

<sup>15</sup> "Gli Annali di Genova dal 1528 che recuperò la libertà fino al 1550 di M. Giacomo Bonfandio...accresciuti da Bartolomeo Paschetti" in, *Genova per gli eredi di Girolamo Bartoli*, 1597, libro secondo, p. 25.

<sup>16</sup> B. Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, G. Milanese (editor), Felice Le Monnier, Firenze, 1858, p. 17. About the figures on the arch Varchi only says that it was "filled with many and beautiful stories showing the good disposition of the Genoese people". For a deeper analysis of the arches, see *Perino del Vaga tra Raffaello e Michelangelo*, Catalogo della mostra di Mantova, E. Parma Armani (ed.), Electa, Milano 2001, pp. 200–203.

<sup>17</sup> See E. Grendi, "Andrea Doria uomo del Rinascimento", *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, XIX, 1, 1979, pp. 91–121.

<sup>18</sup> ASG, Archivio segreto, *Liber Cerimoniarum* ms. 473A, chapter 18, in Volpicella, *I libri dei cerimoniali*, 75.

<sup>19</sup> For a more detailed account, see Parma, *Perino del Vaga tra Raffaello e Michelangelo*, 202.

<sup>20</sup> Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (1500, Beverwijk – 1559, Brussels) was a painter and tapestry designer of the German Renaissance. He probably was a disciple of Jan Mabuse; in 1525 he was hired at the court of Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands, and in 1535 accompanied Charles V to Tunis. During this journey he took inspiration for his following works and paintings, among which the series of tapestries he designed, between 1545 and 1548, or Margaret of Hungary.

<sup>21</sup> The identification of Charles V with Jacob Matamoros has different values: Hispanic, as it meant the defence of Christianity in the Mediterranean; Middle-European, as it meant the defence of Christianity in the north of the Balkans; Flemish, against Protestantism; finally, it referred to the evangelization of the New World. Saint Jacob is still nowadays related to Catholicism on the move.

<sup>22</sup> Cf Early Rosenthal, "Plus Ultra, Non Plus Ultra and the Columnar Device of Emperor Charles' V", *Journal of The Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXVI, (1973), 204–28.

of Aragona, Constantine), to remind the emperor that he should always be solicitous about the matters of faith and committed to fighting against Jews, Protestants and Muslims.

This is a possible interpretation of the triumphal apparatus in Giustiniani Square in Genoa, especially as regards its collocation as ceremonial antechamber and stage for the entrance of Charles in the Cathedral. By placing the arch in front of the present Vico Chiabrera, which is tangential to Giustiniani Street<sup>23</sup>, the impression could be given of a performance inside a theatre<sup>24</sup>. We could also draw a scheme of such theatre, of the natural stage-box (the space in front of the apparatus) and of the raised stage<sup>25</sup>, whose purpose was to contain the “performance” of the emperor’s passage by framing it along the axis centred on the Sovereign’s perspective; as if a dramatic event was taking place within the enclosed space of the court. Not only. The triple triumphal arch, by occupying the whole area and acting as a partition of the square, caused a sort of double performance to take place.

On the one hand, the city, by building a temporary tribute scenography, “put on a mantle” to receive the sovereign, on the other the entrance itself became a performance whose stage was the square and whose backdrop were the streets and buildings of the real city. And, of course, it was the most representative features of the city that were offered. Giustiniani Street and the homonymous square had been, since the XII century, protected from private abuse as they were a crossing point and because of their mercantile function<sup>26</sup>. It is therefore impossible not to recall the perspective backdrops with city images worked out in those same years in the Medici courts or in the courts of the Este family, not to mention the classical scenes, like those of the Sabbioneta theatre by Vincenzo Scamozzi (1588–1590)<sup>27</sup>, which were to appear shortly after.

The apparatus, both because of its impressiveness and of its location, probably represented the climax of the kingly performance; as a matter of fact, it was the last instance of civil celebrations in the city<sup>28</sup>. Soon after, in fact, the sovereign would enter the sacred space of the Cathedral to attend the *Orations*<sup>29</sup>. This fact is a sort of litmus paper to understand also the iconographic apparatus for Justice and for the victories of the Faith<sup>30</sup>. The figurative plates were probably to remember Charles of his future imperial role of both celestial and earthly guarantee; this task was first

<sup>23</sup> Cf William Eisler, *Perino del Vaga – Triumphal Arches for the Entrance of Charles V into Genua, 1529*, in *Il Polittico di Sant’Erasmus di Perin Del Vaga*; Ernst Kantorowiz, *I due corpi del re: l’idea di regalità nella teologia politica medievale*, (Torino, 1989).

<sup>24</sup> See Ennio Poleggi, *Strada Nuova: una lottizzazione del Cinquecento a Genova*, (Genova, 1972); *Una reggia repubblicana: atlante dei palazzi di Genova (1576–1664)*, (Torino, 1998).

<sup>25</sup> A base, accessible through three steps, was part of the triumphal apparatus.

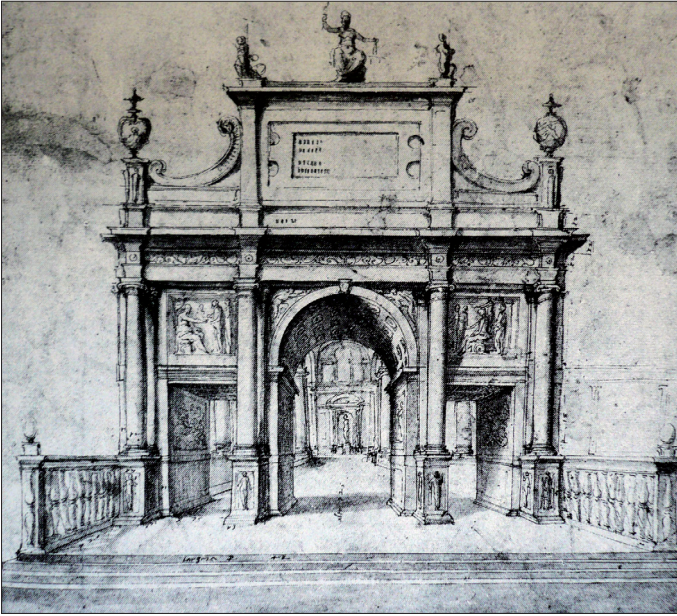
<sup>26</sup> See Giovanni Andrea Ascheri, *Notizie storiche intorno alla riunione di famiglie in Alberghi a Genova*, (Genova, 1846); André Sayous, “Aristocratie et noblesse à Gênes”, *Annales d’histoire économique et sociale*, 9, (1937), 366–81; Vito Piervigiani, “Il Senato della Repubblica di Genova nella riforma di Andrea Doria”, *Università degli studi di Genova, Annali della Facoltà di Giurisprudenza*, IV, n. 1, (1965), 230–75; Edoardo Grendi, “Capitolazioni e nobiltà genovese in età moderna”, *Quaderni storici*, IX, n. 24, (1974), 403–44; Rodolfo Savelli, *La Repubblica oligarchica. Legislazione, istituzioni e ceti a Genova nel Cinquecento*, (Milano, 1981); Arturo Pacini, “La tirannia delle fazioni e la repubblica dei ceti. Vita politica e istituzioni tra Quattro e Cinquecento”, *Annali dell’Istituto storico italo-germanico di Trento*, XVIII, (1992), 57–119; Rodolfo Savelli, “Statuti e amministrazione della giustizia a Genova nel Cinquecento”, *Quaderni storici*, XXXVII, (2002), 347–77.

<sup>27</sup> On this point see Gorse G. L., “A Classical Stage of the Old Nobility: The Strada Nuova and Sixteenth-Century Genoa”, *Art Bulletin*, (1997), 301–27.

<sup>28</sup> See John Shearman, “The Florentine Entrata of Leo X, 1515”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 38, (1975), 136–54.

<sup>29</sup> Varchi, *Storia fiorentina*, 18; Marin Sanuto, *I Diarii*, LI, (Venezia, 1898), col. 400.

<sup>30</sup> Cf André Chastel, *Le lieu de la fête à la Renaissance*, in *Les fêtes de la Renaissance. Fêtes and cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint*, J. Jacquot (ed), vol. I, (Paris, 1960), 422; Frances A. Yates, *Astrea. L’idea di impero nel Cinquecento*, (Torino, 1996).



Perino Del Vaga, Triumphal Arch for Charles V's Entrance in 1529,  
Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kunstbibliothek

prefigured by his entrance into Genoa Cathedral and, then, definitively confirmed with his coronation by the Pope in Bologna in November.

Since we are dealing with temporary apparati, it is impossible to give a complete description of every detail: direct sources are missing. Of course, there are almost hagiographical interpretations of the personality but these monuments, after all, were to last but a few minutes (as the procession passed by) and we know them from preparatory drawings and artists impressions. Only drawings, then: no matter how important, they provide no accurate description.

In 1529 the entrance in the San Lorenzo Cathedral put an end to the civil celebrations: from the church Charles walked to the Ducal Palace, seat of government, and for the occasion also his residence. This is an interesting point since, during the emperor's next visit, his residence would be Villa Fassolo, house of the prince Andrea Doria.

The two arches, built in 1529 to welcome Charles V, originate from a different logic and, by following a route internal to the city, they became instruments to celebrate the role of the Republic. At that time, in fact, it seemed necessary, especially after the events of 1528<sup>31</sup>, to justify the new political order. Hence, the choice of the Ducal Palace as a residence for the sovereign, the welcome by the Seigniorship and the offering of the city's keys, a gesture encoded in the ancient rite of meeting between the city authorities and the visiting sovereign<sup>32</sup>.

The apparati set up in 1533 marked a change in the ceremonial and festive axis. The shifting of the imperial residence to the Prince's Palace was to play such an important role in this change that the palace's new decorations, carried out between the two stays of the sovereign (1529–1533), must be considered in close connection with the apparatus and the entrance ceremonies arranged for

<sup>31</sup> On the events of this period, see Luigi Maria Levati, *Dogii biennali di Genova dal 1528 al 1669*, (Genova, 1930); Claudio Costantini, *La Repubblica di Genova nell'età moderna*, (Torino, 1978); Edoardo Grendi, *La Repubblica aristocratica dei genovesi: politica, carità e commercio a Genova fra Cinque e Seicento*, (Bologna, 1987); Carlo Bitossi, *Il governo dei Magnifici*, (Genova, 1990); *Ibidem*, "Oligarchi: otto studi sul ceto dirigente della Repubblica di Genova (secoli XVI–XVII)", *La letteratura ligure: la Repubblica aristocratica*, E. Buonaccorsi (ed), 2 voll., (Genova, 1992); Arturo Pacini, *La Genova di Andrea Doria nell'Impero di Carlo V*, (Firenze, 1999); Carlo Bitossi, "A Republic in search of legitimation", *Europa Triumphans*, 236–41.

<sup>32</sup> See Maria Luisa Madonna, *El viaje de Carlo V por Italia después de Túnez: el triunfo clásico y el plan de reconstrucción de las ciudades*, in *La fiesta in Europa de Carlo V*, 120–21.



the emperor<sup>33</sup>. Gorse, however, also underlines some important changes brought by the residence in the Republic ceremonial: first, the celebrative *focus*' westwards shifting, then two significant oppositions, one in the ceremonial space (the Prince's Residence, outside the city walls vs. the Ducal Palace, inside the city walls), the other on the aesthetic plan (a series of classical buildings vs. a town which was predominantly medieval, as regards its plan and its main buildings). Gorse points out a sort of political contradiction in viewing the Prince's residence as a part of the imperial territory<sup>34</sup>: I would not insist on this point; rather, I am inclined to seeing this hospitality as a sort of assertion of the fundamental role the admiral played as twofold guarantee both towards the Hapsburg and towards the Republic: the admiral was thus securing the position of Genoa in *medias res* inside the imperial system<sup>35</sup>.

It was, however, with the sovereign's stay that the series of the imperial lodgings was started, together with a new ceremonial system aiming at adding value to the Residence of Andrea Doria (the Residence *par excellence* of the Prince) in harmony with the political and institutional role of the owner. In such perspective, then, the two arches – the one built at the entrance of the suburb of Fassolo, the other in front of the church of Saint Benedict<sup>36</sup>, not far from the western wing of the Prince's Palace – became significant elements. Even if iconography, by celebrating the victory over the infidels on the second arch, met the tenets codified by the treatise of the *Cerimoniae laiche appartenenti alla Signoria di Genova*, what was noteworthy was the collocation of the two apparati. A seminal study by Maria Ines Aliverti pointed out the importance of the arches as strong boundary markers, since they were erected at the very borders of the suburb of Fassolo. The arches were to play the role of ceremonial "thresholds" as they enclosed the institutional path of which the palace became the "classical vestibule" to the city rather than the final stage of the path. In this sense, the suburb of Fassolo became for the occasion a "metonymy" of the city of Genoa itself, where the apparatus was functional to celebrate the institutional path *extra muros* (outside the walls)<sup>37</sup>, as "the said Majesty is not lodged within the city walls"; this condition was also underlined by the ceremonial procession that, by waiting and welcoming the emperor by the arch of Saint Lazarus, defined the welcome ceremony as a solemn entrance in the city<sup>38</sup>. The two entrances, that of 1529 and that of 1533, with their temporary ornaments acting both as

<sup>33</sup> On this subjects see the seminal studies by Luigi Tommaso Belgrano, Andrea Merli, "Il Palazzo del Principe Doria a Fassolo", *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, 10, (1874), 1–99; Elena Parma Armani, "Il Palazzo del principe Doria a Fassolo in Genova", *L'Arte*, 10, (1970), 12–63; *Eadem*, *Perin del Vaga. L'anello mancante*, (Genova, 1986); George L. Gorse, "The Villa of Andrea Doria in Genoa: Architecture, Gardens, and Suburban Setting", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XLIV, (1985), 18–36; Laura Stagno (ed), *Il Palazzo del Principe. Genesi e trasformazioni della Villa di Andrea Doria a Genova, Ricerche di storia dell'arte*, 82–83, (2004). For an analysis of the Doria Palace in the wider context of the Genoese villas, see Lauro Magnani, *Il tempio di Venere. Giardino e villa nella cultura genovese*, (Genova, 1988).

<sup>34</sup> "Uno stato dentro lo stato" see Gorse, "Between Empire and Republic", 1999; Maria Ines Aliverti, "L'ammiraglio, il gatto e l'orologio. La casa di Andrea Doria come teatro cerimoniale al tempo della visita di Filippo d'Asburgo (1548)", in Stagno, *Il Palazzo del Principe*, 118.

<sup>35</sup> On the strategy of Andrea Doria to increase his authority in the eyes of the imperial family so as to avoid a permanent garrison and the direct rule of Charles V, see the analysis of Pacini (in particular his hypotheses on the policy of the Admiral) in Pacini, *La Genova di Andrea Doria*, 610–71.

<sup>36</sup> Adjacent to, at the west end of the villa – local church patronized by Doria.

<sup>37</sup> Letter of Ludovico da Bagno to Isabella d'Este cited in Aliverti, "L'ammiraglio, il gatto e l'orologio", 119. For an interpretation of the meaning of the celebration in villa Fassolo see *Idem*, 118–21.

<sup>38</sup> The modalities of this welcome ceremony are similar to those in honour of Charles V in 1529, see the Letter of Bagno To Isabella d'Este published in George L. Gorse, "An Unpublished Description of the Villa Doria in Genua During Charles V's Entry, 1533", *Art Bulletin*, (1986), 321–22; Piero Boccardo, *Andrea Doria e le arti: committenza e mecenatismo a Genova*, (Roma, 1989), 159–60. On this coming see also the contemporary source in the annals of Paolo Partenopeo, reported *in extenso* in Boccardo pp. 160–61.

construction disguise and as territorial marking, traced the two fundamental guidelines – inside vs. outside the city walls – and marked, at the same time, the double regency of the Republic's government: the institutional regency of the Seignory and of the Senate – internal to the city and the external regency of Andrea Doria, perhaps *de facto* Ruler of Genoa<sup>39</sup>. However, we should not speak of opposition or contrast: it simply was a differentiation in the political power system which always remained dialectical and, within the factiousness internal to the city, became rather a sort of balancing factor.

## 2 Philip II in Genoa

The two installations, that of 1529 and that of 1533, were to communicate, in an unmistakable manner, the condition of the city of Genoa. The city was an independent Republic, ruled by a democratic government, but loyal to the Empire according to the terms drawn up by Andrea Doria: autonomy in exchange for naval support. The subsequent apparati were to convey the same meaning, especially at the time when Philip, first born of the Emperor, ascended to the throne.

The installations set up in 1548 to celebrate Philip's entry were developed around two main themes: on the one hand they aimed at proudly consolidating the connection between Andrea Doria and the king's family and, therefore, Andrea's trust of the sovereign, on the other hand they reaffirmed the independence of the Republic, according to the treaty stipulated by the Admiral and the Emperor. It was not by chance, then, that the theme of *filius autem imago patris* was developed, but with the precise intention of suggesting Philip to continue his father's political strategy.

The occasion of the visit to Genoa was the journey of the Prince through the imperial states: Charles V himself had strongly wanted this journey in order to legitimate his son's status as sovereign<sup>40</sup> in sight of the imperial succession. As it happened with the father, Philip would also be lodged in the Doria Palace and, in this occasion, two ceremonial lines would be again experimented: the first line was within the city, the other outside of it. Charles' heir would be welcomed two times: on 25<sup>th</sup> November by the wharf in front of the Fassolo Palace and on 8<sup>th</sup> December 1548 by the solemn *introitus* of the city. In both circumstances two different apparatus would be prepared with the specific aim of distinguishing the two occasions.

In particular, the sources tell us that, in front of the Doria Palace, a boat bridge was connected to a wharf and decorated "in the shape of a bower". The movable bridge, "adorned with tapestry, carpets, plants and huge glass windows"<sup>41</sup>, was connected to a welcome apparatus placed at the western wing of Villa Fassolo: a temporary quadrangular building, whose façades simulated a two-door triumphal arch. A complex structure, "adorned with different pictures and letters"<sup>42</sup>, which occupied the whole space between the stables and the Palace's wing and that, by joining the

<sup>39</sup> Edoardo Grendi, "Andrea Doria", *DBI*, XLI, (1992), 264–74.

<sup>40</sup> On the political and ideological implication of the journey of Prince Philip see Strong, *Arte e potere*, 147–59; Marcel Lageirse, *La joyeuse entrée du Prince Philippe à Gand en 1549*; August Corbet, *L'Entrée du prince Philippe à Anvers en 1549* in *Les fêtes de la Renaissance. Fêtes and cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint*, J. Jacquot (ed), (Paris, 1960), vol. II, 297–306 e 307–10.

<sup>41</sup> Anfolso de Ulloa, *Vita dell'invittissimo e sacratissimo imperator Carlo V descritta dal signor Alfonso Ulloa. Con l'aggiunta di molte cose utili alla Historia, che nelle altre impressioni mancavano...*, Venetia: dalla bottega d'Aldo, (Venezia, 1575), 247; see Fraser Jenkins, "Cosimo de'Medici's Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence", *Journal of The Warburg and Courtauld Insitutes*, XXXIII, (1970), 162–70.

<sup>42</sup> Ulloa, *Vita dell'invittissimo e sacratissimo imperator Carlo V*, 247; Juan Cristobal Calvete de Estrella, *El felicissimo viaie d'el muy alto y muy poderoso principe don Phelippe, hijo d'el emperador don Carlos quinto maximo, desde Espana, à sus tierras dela Baxa Alemana: con la descripcion de todos los estados de Brabante y Flandes en quatros libros, por Iuan Christoval Calvete de Estrella*, en Anuers: en casa de Martin Nucio, (Anversa, 1552), 11.



Giovanni Battista Paggi, Filippo II's landing in Genoa, Florence, Depositi Gallerie

main street, modified the scenography of the street crossing. The structure modified the crossroads from a ceremonial point of view: the crossing became a place of symbolic representations of a specific political *ratio*. The apparatus of the Doria Palace aimed at confirming the role of Andrea and of the Republic in the agreement with the emperor as regards the issues concerning the city. In this light, the images of Jove and Neptune on the arch can be interpreted not only as alluding to Philip as a ruler of both the earth and the seas but, in accordance with the decorations of the halls of Villa Fassolo<sup>43</sup>, as a symbolic pairing between the figures of Charles V and Andrea Doria. On the other hand, the association between father and son, which permeate the iconographic references, must probably have been interpreted not only as regards the emperor's role as defender of Christendom (*Optabilis Christianorum Assertor*) or as philosopher, ruler of himself (*Vera Dominatio*), by the tenets of the *institutio principis*<sup>44</sup>. The pairing of Charles and Philip must have probably been significant in the light of the continuity of the paternal policy, both as regards the given word (*Dictis Facta Respondent*) and as regards the duties and the generosity of the sovereign towards the Republic (*Nil Minus Regium, Quam Non Dare Regia*)<sup>45</sup>.

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The book was republished as Juan Cristobal Calvete de Estrella, *El felicissimo viaje d'el muy alto y muy poderoso principe Don Felipe*, M. Antigas (ed), I, (Madrid, 1930), 29.

<sup>43</sup> I refer, in particular, to the two symmetrical halls in the Heroes loggia, whose iconography, having the imperial image as ultimate point of reference, has been recently reinterpreted by Katuscia Quinci, "Enea come *speculum principis* in un salone di Palazzo Doria", in Stagno, *Il Palazzo del Principe*, 87–116.

<sup>44</sup> Erasmus Roterodamus, *Institutio Principis Christiani*, impressum Florentiae per haeredes Philippi Iuntae, (Firenze, 1519). This was a courtly manual for the religious, moral and politic education of christian princes and, in particular of Charles V, then archduke of Burgundy, of whom Erasmus was counsellor since 1519.

<sup>45</sup> For an accurate description of the apparatus in Villa Fassolo, see Calvete de Estrella, *El felicissimo viaie*, 1930, I, 30–33; Aliverti, "L'ammiraglio, il gatto e l'orologio", 126 and notes nos. 157–158.



Therefore, during the visit of 1548, Andrea's Residence was not only a stage in the ceremonial route, but also became its final destination; a place which could substitute the city and almost coinciding with it, from an institutional point of view.

The role of Andrea Doria as *de facto* ruler of the city was further stressed by the connotation of the space in front of the palace as a theatre hall. Philip was welcomed here by a "multitude of people": "the boxes were filled with beautiful gentlewomen adorned with great richness" and "on another stand, in front of the door, the Princess and with sixty gentlewomen... adorned in the fashion of the ancient Romans together with brides who wore artificial golden hair on their shoulders, in the fashion of the noble brides of Genoa"<sup>46</sup>. The sources tell us of an audience attending the "performance" of the entrance, which was actually organized as if taking place inside a court theatre. On the occasion, moreover, the street became a sort of extension of the Doria Palace, rather than a public space. This fact is confirmed by the arrangement of structures for the audience. The sources tell of two boxes, probably on both sides of the street (towards the façade and towards the garden) which, together with the windows and the arcade in the garden wall, formed a sort of court theatre. What is noteworthy, however, is the representative and ceremonial nature of the sovereign's entrances. The *topos* of beauty and elegance is actually much too recurrent in the different reports to be only a sign of the chroniclers' gallantry. It is therefore not surprising that this *topos* is already present in the *Chroniques* by Jean D'Auton about the entrance in Genoa of Louis XII, where the author lingers over the description of the dressing, the jewels and the coiffure<sup>47</sup>; also some manuscript illuminations depict an audience of noblewomen at the window<sup>48</sup>. The same happens with the descriptions of the entrances of Charles V. On the contrary, it is quite surprising that the beauty of the audience (especially as regards women) is often mentioned in printed publications and announcements, which were targeted to a wider reading public<sup>49</sup>.

In the XVI century printed volume about Philip's entrance in the city, for instance, the gracefulness and beauty of the Genoese maids flocked to see the sovereign as he came out of the Saint Laurence Cathedral is much lingered over:

*"Tutto è burla al giudicio mio se non le bellezze di giovani donne di questa terra. Quelle vivaci e con politteza fiorite & uniche beltà che già in Sparta, Micene & in tutta la Grecia furo celebrate dal vostro primo Pittor le memorie antiche. La Natura el Cielo credo io che tutte qui l'habbiano trasferite con privilegio singulare"*<sup>50</sup>.

Suspicion may arise, then, that the elegant and rich audience was a part of the entrance performance – at least as a variant of the *claque* – along with the apparatus of temporary ornaments. And, maybe, this crowd of ladies and gentlemen had another function or played a ceremonial

<sup>46</sup> *La partita da Barcellona*, 1548.

<sup>47</sup> Jean D'Auton, *Chroniques de Louis XII*, (La Clavière, 1889), 50–52.

<sup>48</sup> See the illuminated edition of the *Conquête de Gênes* by Jehan Marot (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, FR 5091, f. 22v).

<sup>49</sup> It must be kept in mind that this kind of panegyric literature, intended to celebrate the figure of the sovereign, would appear by the half of the 16th century. It would develop according to a precise political strategy which would actually begin with that the journey Philip II took in order to legitimize the imperial succession; see Strong, *Arte e potere*, 142–43; Aliverti, *Visits to Genoa: the printed sources*, in *Europa Triumphant*, 222–33.

<sup>50</sup> "Everything is a trifle, in my opinion, but the beauty of the maids of this country. I truly believe that those lively, gentle and unique beauties that were celebrated in Greece were brought to this city by a happy fate". See *Li grandissimi Apparati, Trionfi e Feste fatti nella Città di Genova per la Entrata del Serenissimo Principe di Spagna*, (Genova, [10 dicembre 1548]). This 16th century printed source is contained in the *Special Collection* of the *Getty Museum Library*, which kindly provided a scanned copy of the text.

role. This is the conclusion drawn by Aliverti when she reports the position of Peretta Doria and of sixty ladies at the imperial heir's welcome in 1548. The princess presence on the Palace's entrance, which, as we said, was part of the representation space, and in front of the Republic procession, suggests, according to this scholar, a semi-institutional role of Peretta<sup>51</sup> and, therefore, her integration within the choreography of the ceremonial protocol<sup>52</sup>. However, on the occasion of the visit of Philip II, the stressing of the institutional order was realized especially with the second series of apparatus prepared for the entrance of 1548. The procession route, in fact, took place within the city, so as to emphasize those buildings and crossroads which most had a republican nature.

This should be the interpretation of the two-faced Janus head, once on the walls of the Vacca Gate, which, for the occasion, was deeply altered<sup>53</sup> and transformed into a temporary apparatus painted with the personifications of *Faith* and *Liberty*.

The aim here seems to be that of giving a first impression of Genoa in relation to the good rule of the *Res publica*; a rule which, through the practice of tolerance and devotion, could grant his subjects peace and prosperity. In this sense it is worth noticing that the celebrative apparatus was painted on the entrance door of the city walls, the first symbol of institutional power.

Genoa, together with Italy, is also illustrated on the triumphal arch built by San Siro. A printed source makes it clear that it actually was "two [arches] joined by a beautiful work". The themes were those of the Universal Empire and of the *filius autem imago patris*. The latter, in particular, marked the entire structure and defined different iconographic allusions also because the two figures were celebrated in different spaces. The image of Philip was painted especially in the two arches: he appeared armed, mounting, between Jove and Apollo, celebrated by the *Winged Victory* and welcomed by Genoa and Italy; he was represented on the second arch standing, together with Proteus, saluted with palms, laurels, Amaltheas with cornucopias<sup>54</sup> and celebrated by *Fame*. Genoa was to play a central role in the iconography; it might be interesting, as regards this point, the description in the source;

<sup>51</sup> Aliverti, "L'ammiraglio, il gatto e l'orologio", 129.

<sup>52</sup> In the treaties on ceremonial events of the end of the century we actually find traces of gentlewomen's role in the events. We find an explicit mention of this in the *Liber cerimoniarum* by Gerolamo Bordonio Sermonentano about the visit of Maragret of Austria in 1599. The source tells us that "Four elder gentlewomen were chosen to go with the younger ones who were to welcome His Majesty; these were Lady Portia Spinola, Pellina Basadonne, Catetta Negrona, and Giustiniana; but it all came eventually to nothing".

<sup>53</sup> "The door entrance was increased in width by putting to the ground that Face which reduced the width of the door and by removing some small houses which obstruct the bases of the Two Towers which stand by its side; these actions have considerably improved the sight of the place" *Li grandissimi Apparati, Trionfi e Feste fatti nella Città di Genova*, 1548. Gian Giacomo Porta designed the apparatus, while Antonio Semino, Teramo Piaggio, Agostino e Lazzaro Calvi painted the decorations. For a description of the ornaments to welcome Philip II in Genoa see Calvete de Estrella, *El felicissimo viaie* transcribed by Aliverti, in *Europa Triumphans*, vol. I, 290–94; Ulloa, *Vita dell'invittissimo e sacratissimo imperator Carlo V*, 251; Gorse, "Between Empire and Republic", 202–03; Luigi Tommaso Belgrano, "Delle feste e dei giochi dei genovesi", *Archivio Storico Italiano*, serie terza, tomo XIII, parte I, (1871), 110; Belgrano, Merli, *Il Palazzo del Principe Doria*, 397; Federico Alizeri, *Notizie di professori del disegno in Liguria dalle origini al XVI secolo*, III, (Genova, 1874), 397; Elena Parma, schede Calvi Agostino e Calvi Lazzaro e Pantaleo, in *La pittura in Liguria. Il Cinquecento*, E. Parma (ed), (Genova, 1999), 378–379.

<sup>54</sup> The myth has it that the goat Amalthea was wet nurse to Jove and was subsequently put by Him among the stars "because of the milk he had taken from her as he was a child, ha also bestowed her this power, that her horns would produce any sort of nourishment", see Vincenzo Cartari, *Le immagini de i dei de gli Antichi*, G. Auzzas, F. Martignago, M. Pastore, Stocchi, P. Rigo (eds), (Vicenza, 1996), 136. The goat is paired with the cornucopia because it is the symbol of prosperity and abundance.

“[...] in atto tutta humile e riverente par che con interno affetto si rallegrì della venuta sua, come di bene, con sommo desiderio aspettato, e dica che come essa e stata la porta per laquale il sempre Augusto & invittissimo padre suo e entrato a le vittorie e triumphì, & in ogni occorrenza si è dimostrata prontissima a servir S. Maestà, così la medesima prontezza appresenta a S. A. con augurarle simili felici progressi”<sup>55</sup>.

The city presented itself as a stay of good omen in sight of the sovereign's future fortune but, at the same time, the government recalled the bond between city and empire and the city's loyalty as if intending that the good omen the city represented was tightly connected to its freedom. It was not possible to neglect Charles in the apparatus; he was actually depicted within “a great space” between the two arches, where “some of the undertakings of the Emperor<sup>56</sup> are painted”. There appeared also both his deeds in Europe, represented by the personifications of Germany and Hungary, and his future victories, depicted the personifications of Africa, India in the western side and Nile<sup>57</sup> in the middle. The top panel portrayed Charles sitting in front of a “great temple” so as to remark, as the chronicle reports, “that His Majesty always had as his principal care the defence and the preservation of the Kingdom of God”. It was a quasi-apocalyptic image, in which Charles resembles Christ in all His glory<sup>58</sup>: in this way the figure of the ideal sovereign became that of the ideal sovereignty; in this sense, then, also the hint to Jove was important, since the god was, in the classical age, “the source and maker of everything that's good”<sup>59</sup>, but also the first king of the Olympus: the imperial idea became thus tied with every mythic line<sup>60</sup>.

It was significant, then, that the “excellent arch”, almost twelve meters high, was erected in front of the city's ancient cathedral, the church of Saint Siro, consecrated to the bishop who was triumphant over the Basilisk, a symbol of the devil and of heresy. This hint was not only limited to the imperial task of defending the faith, but also included the city of Genoa as an ally in this struggle: it is not by chance then, that “Christ's insignia have passed into the pagan India by the efforts of a Genoese”; it is not by chance that the temporary apparatus tended to efface the every

<sup>55</sup> “[...] she seems, with humble and reverent attitude, to rejoice of his coming; as if expecting some good with ardent desire. She seems to be saying that, as she's been the door through which the August and invincible sovereign his father passed to celebrate his victories and triumphs and as she's always proved ready in serving His Majesty, so she is towards His Highness, to whom she wishes a similar fate”. See *Li grandissimi Apparati, Trionfi e Feste fatti nella Città di Genova*, 1548.

<sup>56</sup> “As His Serenity is seen together with his parent in the height of fortune, we have to fill the world with the glory of his name, which shall be celebrated by excellent writers, so as to preserve it and to illuminate the Posterity”, *Li grandissimi Apparati, Trionfi e Feste fatti nella Città di Genova*, 1548.

<sup>57</sup> On this iconography, see also Cartari, *Le imagini de i dei*, 237.

<sup>58</sup> Actually, an indirect pairing with the figure of Christ could be found in the figure of the *Fame* in the second arch of Saint Syrus, whose iconography took up the traits codified by Ripa: “A woman with a Trumpet in her raised hand and with an Olive branch in the left hand; she has white wings”. The bond between Christ is, from an iconographical point of view: “The trumpet means that her universal shout is for the ears of men. The Olive branch means the goodness of the fame [...] therefore, when talking of the oil as Our Lord, the Scriptures say *Oleum effusum nomen tuum* and, about the Olive, the Psalm says: *Uliva fructifera in domo Domini*”, Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia ouero descrizione d'imagini delle virtù, vitii, affetti, passioni umane, corpi celesti, mondo e sue parti. Opera di Cesare Ripa perugino Cavaliere de' Santi Mauritio, & Lazaro*, In Padova per Pietro Paolo Tozzi, nella stamperia del Pasquati, (Padova, 1611), 154–55. Even if in the arch the figure referred to Philip, the whole celebrative apparatus developed the parallel between father and son and the *Fame* that the prince would acquire through his future deeds, it actually, was an explicit allusion to the fame Charles had already won as an emperor victorious against the Turks.

<sup>59</sup> *Li grandissimi Apparati, Trionfi e Feste fatti nella Città di Genova*, 1548.

<sup>60</sup> Elie Konigson, *Entrées de Charles VIII (1484–1486)*, in *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, J. Jacquot, E. Konigson (eds.), vol. III, (Paris, 1975), 65.



day city in favour of a Sacred Road. In the presence of the Spanish Prince, then, Genoa became another place and in the royal procession Saint Syrus became the temple in front of which the anonymous chronicler imagined Charles. It was important, then, that the celebration axis reached the most significant corners of the city: the walls, the ancient cathedral, Banchi square, a primary economical area<sup>61</sup>, Saint George's Square<sup>62</sup> (with reference to the homonymous sales company) and, finally, Giustiniani Square. The route faithfully followed Charles's royal procession of 1529 and actually was an explicit homage to Philip.

The role and the autonomy of Genoa, however, were also visible through the modes of its auto representation: on the Vacca Gate, in Janus' faces – with reference to the city's mythical founder; on the Saint Syrus arch, the city was paired with *Italy* and, finally, in Saint George's square where the Republic indirectly showed herself through the stories of its patron saint and in the image of the maid saved from the dragon/basilisk.

Besides bestowing honours upon Philip, the installations of 1548 were intended to convey a specific image of the city of Genoa: a Republic loyal to the crown, stable and rich. It must be noticed that loyalty, stability and richness were seen as the results of the agreement with Charles V. The city's loyalty and the prolific business relations to Spain were possible only if the agreement would be pursued. If Charles had no doubt about this agreement, Philip was less prone to follow this policy, always claimed to be treated as a feudal lord and endeavoured to exercise some interference in the government of the Republic. Luckily religious troubles in the Netherlands and the undertakings on the Turkish front strongly limited this interference.

### 3 Margaret and Albert of Austria

The subsequent entry ceremonies were set for figures less remarkable than those mentioned before. The crossing point remained Genoa, a city, after all, capable of ensuring a real safety to the important persons.

It was to honest craftsmen – whose names are well-known – that the establishment turned to for a programme that we should define facile despite the fundamental magnificence of these secular shows. Rules and treaties defined these shows, creativity was abandoned in favour of anything that was codified. What was actually important for the Genoese government is the conformism of a renewed power. The glorification of figures bound to the ispanic-hapsburgic line is supported through the valorisation of the victories against enemies, the Ottoman empire and its allies, which couldn't reply if not by means of warfare and plunder. These were religious enemies but, above all, obstacles to naval trade, which constituted a pivot of the Genoese as well as Spanish economy and of the hapsburgic influence in the Balkans.

We conclude this analysis of temporary apparatus, built on the occasion of the entry of illustrious personalities with two arches built in two circumstances: the passage of Margaret of Austria and her cousin Albert in February 1599 and the Archduke's subsequent visit together with his wife Isabel in the June of the same year, conclude this survey of temporary apparatus built on the occasion of the coming of illustrious visitors.

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<sup>61</sup> The passage through Banchi Square, seat of the commercial loggia, was probably meant to remember Philip that the richness of the city of Genoa was tied to commerce and export, especially with the Flanders, final destination of the Spanish Prince.

<sup>62</sup> The Bank of Saint George, which played a fundamental role both in the financial and institutional life of the city; one of the reasons is that it was this society that raised the taxes, moreover its board of directors always coincided with the Republic's government.



Guiliam Van Deynen, Genoa, receipt for Albert and Isabel of Austria, Private collection

Margaret was the sixteen-year-old daughter of the duke of Styria and was married by proxy to Philip III; in her passage in Genoa she was accompanied by her mother and by her cousin Albert who, in the same wedding ceremony in Ferrara in November 1598, married the Infanta. The welcome arch was built by the Lanterna, “within a little distance from that building” so as to give “the best sight of the city from that promontory”. The two craftsmen who built the arch were, according to the sources, “Master Thaddeus stone-cutter”<sup>63</sup> and “Giacomo Mancini from Montepulciano”, the latter being the author of the booklet describing the arch<sup>64</sup>. The decoration accomplished the task codified in the treatise of the *Secular Ceremonies*. So, if on the one hand the ornament aimed at celebrating the dynasty of Hapsburg, whose branches were again crossing thanks to Philip’s wedding policy<sup>65</sup>, on the other hand it was those characters that were committed to the struggle against the infidels that were most celebrated: the figures of Charles V, John of Austria, along with illustrations of the battle of Lepanto, of the conquest of Tunis, of the Turkish defeat in Vienna and so on. But, actually, the position itself of the arch followed the welcome protocol: the Lanterna was the place where “Grand Princes, [...] firstborn, children or brethren

<sup>63</sup> ASG, Archivio Segreto, *Liber cerimoniarum*, ms. 474, c. 210v.

<sup>64</sup> [I. Mancini], *Descrizione dell’Arco Trionfale fatto in Genova nel passaggio della Maestà della Regina Cattolica e del Serenissimo Alberto Arciduca d’Austria*, Genova 1599. On the *livret* see Mitchell, *The Majesty of the State*, 206, no 131.

<sup>65</sup> This is a possible reading of the statues which decorated the sides of the arch, with the portraits of the members of the royal family, from Margaret and Philip III back to Rudolf I, the allegories of Virtues (Fame, Honour, Eternity and so on), the allegory of the hosting city (on the front), the four eagles and the coats of arms of the of the Austrian family (western side), of the Spanish kings (eastern side). See Mancini, *Descrizione dell’Arco Trionfale* cit., p. 6.

of Emperors and Kings”<sup>66</sup> could be welcomed. In this occasion, then, a topographic reading of the setting isn't particularly interesting, because this had no particular symbolic meaning, but it was rather accomplishing a ceremonial task. The same can be concluded as regards the ornaments built for the Archduke Albert's visit in June 1599. The triumphal arch built by Saint Syrus, in fact, was “*mutatis mutandis* the same one built by the Lanterna for the Queen, with four statues” whereas in Banchi Square two “larger figures, of a man and of a woman”, were built<sup>67</sup>.

It seems, then, that, by the end of the century, the tenets for the building of temporary apparatus were completely codified the tenets of the treaties. It is interesting, in this sense, to notice that it was no longer felt as necessary to include the palace in Fassolo in the ceremonial apparatus. The political situation itself had completely changed: the role of Giovanni Andrea Doria was that of a benefactor; Genoa finally experienced a period of stable internal peace; in the system of foreign policy the Republic was recognized and legitimated and the alliances outline was defined<sup>68</sup>. It seems, then, that it was no longer necessary to give voice to ideological needs or give institutional and political hints. In Italy the cultural climate had changed: the city was no longer a privileged scenery and the background shattered the image of the city into different vanishing points. Later on, when the baroque taste became prevalent, the preferred ground for experimentations would be the room and the theatre stage, which proved to offer a more easily controlled setting, which, in turn, was essential for a scenography characterized by the marvellous and the kaleidoscopic.

## Conclusions

In this essay we have seen how temporary apparati show different structures, themes and collocation in accordance with different messages and aims.

The installations set up for Charles V aimed at indicating the relations among the Republic, the Emperor and Andra Doria. The apparati for Philip II, instead, were intended to reaffirm the status of the city and the base for the maintenance of the *status quo*. Finally, the temporary apparati set up for Margaret and Albert were essentially celebrative as the political situation was at the time stable.

This historical perspective on the ceremonies in the 16<sup>th</sup> century has endeavoured to integrate in a coherent scheme different contributions so as to draw, at least partially, the evolution of temporary apparati in Genoa.

Much labour is still necessary in this field, which is strongly conditioned by the poorness of the sources. Significant improvements might come from the discovery of new sources or from research on Italian and foreign archives. New strategies could emerge or even a better understanding of the historical facts. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in fact, welcome ceremonies and installations radically change: that of the apparati in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Genoa is a new story, far and different, both in its base and in its cultural background, from that of Andra Doria and Charles V.

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<sup>66</sup> “Great Princes, Cardinals or Apostolic Legates; the first child of a King, sons or Brethren of Emperors and King, unto the Lighthouse hill: from the East through the Roman Street, by the shortest way, to the meadow, a place far, as we said, from the Consolazione: this both because it is easier to disembark there, and because an appropriate distance can be kept between the Mayors and the subjects”.

<sup>67</sup> ASG, Archivio Segreto, *Liber cerimoniarum*, ms. 474, c. 221v.

<sup>68</sup> See Grendi, “Andrea Doria uomo del Rinascimento”.



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## Drawings from Cremona – Continued

At the grand exhibition *Drawings from Cremona 1500–1580* (September – November 1995)<sup>1</sup>, for the first time was presented to professional and general public a set of drawings from the so-called Teplice album, an album formerly owned by the Clara-Aldringen family, now deposited in the Regional museum in Teplice in north Bohemia. The Teplice set originally consisted of two albums, each with about one hundred sheets – one album is completely preserved in the library of the Teplice chateau, that is in the Regional Museum, the other one got lost, or rather, was stolen (as many other things) in the postwar era, soon after 1945. In the next years part of the lost album was offered to the purchasing committees of the National Gallery in Prague and in three stages the individual sheets were bought back. In 1955 the Prague NG bought the first 6 drawings, in the next year 16, and another 16 sheets as late as 1987.<sup>2</sup> It is certain that each of them comes from the lost album from the Clara-Aldringen collection. At the exhibition, part of the acquisitions were from the surviving album and part from the NG purchases, to which loans from several world collections were added (Louvre, Uffizi, Albertina, British Museum London). Two years later (1997/1998) the group of Cremona drawings was introduced at another exhibition, held in Cremona,<sup>3</sup> and finally the individual drawings as well as the whole group were discussed in many reviews, specialized studies, and articles.<sup>4</sup>

The main and largest part of the exhibited drawings, displayed at both exhibitions, thus came from the former two albums, the property of the Clara-Aldringen family, which were deposited in the Teplice chateau. The two albums are part of the spoils of war, acquired together with paintings and various valuables, especially from the rich library of the Mantua dukes, by the Imperial general Johann von Aldringen (1588–1634) after the conquest of Mantua in 1630.<sup>5</sup> The preceding history of the two albums and thus of the whole collection of drawings is not quite clear – it could have been part of the library of the Mantua dukes or, which is more likely, the collection of the painter Antonia Marii Viani (1555/60–1630), who came from Cremona. Viani

<sup>1</sup> Bora, G. – Zlatohlávek, M.: *Kresby z Cremony 1500–1580. Umění renesance a manýrismu v lombardském městě*. [exhib. cat.] National Gallery in Prague, Prague 1995 (also in English version).

<sup>2</sup> The data on the purchases of the drawings are derived from the catalogue *ibidem* (in note 1). It cannot be ruled out that more drawings were purchased.

<sup>3</sup> Bora, G. – Zlatohlávek, M.: *I segni dell'arte. Il cinquecento da Praga a Cremona*. [exhib. cat.] Museo Civico Ala Ponzzone Cremona 1997/1998, Milano 1997.

<sup>4</sup> Bober, J.: *I segni dell'arte. Il cinquecento da Praga a Cremona*. (review) *The Burlington Magazine*, 140, 1998, pp 288–290. Zlatohlávek, M.: Antonio Maria Viani, seine Schulung und Reife in München. *Salzburger Barockberichte*, 20–21, 1998, pp 1–12. Ward Neilson, N.: *I segni dell'arte. Il cinquecento da Praga a Cremona*. (review) *Master Drawings*, Vol. 37, 1999, pp 189–192. Tanzi, M.: *Disegni cremonesi del Cinquecento*. [exhib. cat.] Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Firenze 1999. Bora, G.: La Collezione Clary-Aldringen. Integrazioni e aggiunte. In: Maria Grazia Balzarini – Roberto Cassanelli (eds.), *Fare storia dell'arte*. Studi offerti a Liana Castelfranchi, Milano 2000, pp 115–126. Kazlepka, Z. – Zlatohlávek, M.: *Múza pod nebesy – A Muse under Heaven*. [exhib. cat.] Moravian Gallery in Brno, Brno 2009, cat. nos 16, 18, 20–23, 24–26, 27–50.

<sup>5</sup> The history of the collection is described in detail in Zlatohlávek, M.: La collezione Clary-Aldringen ricomposta: i disegni. In: Bora – Zlatohlávek 1997, *ibidem* (in note 3), pp 3–9.



Camillo Boccaccino,  
Agony in the Gethsemane Garden, around 1540.  
Slovak National Gallery Bratislava.



Camillo Boccaccino,  
Figure of a warrior with a shield – verso,  
around 1540.  
Slovak National Gallery Bratislava.

was in the service of the Mantua dukes until he died as *prefetto delle fabbriche* and his work is amply represented in both albums.

At about the same time, when the National Library in Prague acquired fragments from the lost album of the Teplice collection, Dr. Karol Vaculík began to build up a collection of old Italian drawings in the Slovak National Gallery in Bratislava, especially through purchases at antique dealers in Prague.<sup>6</sup> From the drawings unambiguously connected with Cremona it was 10 sheets in 1956, in 1957 7 sheets, and probably the last sheet was purchased as late as 1972. In all of these purchases it may be presumed that they originally were part of the lost Teplice album. The Bratislava collection remained more or less outside professional interest and its more detailed examination only began recently, in connection with the restoration of several sheets.

The collection of old Italian drawings in the Slovak National Gallery in Bratislava now comprises 70 sheets, the provenance of which includes Venice, Lombardy, Bologna and Rome; they date from the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Cremona drawings are important because of their high quality and the possibility of exact identification.

<sup>6</sup> It is not without interest that the main purchases for the Slovak NG in Bratislava were made at the same antique dealer's as for the Prague NG. These were the dealers, Mikuláš Lehmann, originally Salon of Mikuláš Lehman, with a tradition going back nearly one hundred years, and Heřman Štěpánek. At that time purchases were permitted only within Czechoslovakia and this did not change in later years either.





Giulio Campi,  
Study of a seated man, around 1545.  
Slovak National Gallery Bratislava.



Giulio Campi, Study of a figure of an old man –  
verso, around 1545.  
Slovak National Gallery Bratislava.

The earliest drawing in the Cremona set in the collection at the Slovak National Gallery is not very large in size, it rather being a *primo pensiero* by Camillo Boccaccino (1504/05 Cremona – 1546 Cremona), *Agony in the Gethsemane Garden* (L 22, 39–46).<sup>7</sup> The drawing with the motif of the kneeling Christ supported by an angel is done in loose penwork with distinct contours and many radical deletions in interior modelling. Similarly, in the drawing on the verso, depicting probably a warrior, several repeated contours consist of diminutive arches and the interior modelling is indicated by fine hatching. Especially the recto drawing, a figural group done by several precise dynamic lines, betrays an expert hand and associates this sheet with northern Italy, in particular Cremona in the first half of the cinquecento. The loose treatment and freedom from detail ascribes the Bratislava drawing to the similar, not very extensive work of Camillo Boccaccino from Cremona. The warrior on the verso has a parallel in several of his drawings done with the same technique, deposited in the Louvre in Paris (INV 10281, INV 5930BIS, INV 5930TER, etc.), but a real proof is provided by a drawing from the Prague NG, depicting Heracles.<sup>8</sup> The development of the basic contour and the arches of interior modelling are almost identical in the Bratislava and the Prague drawings. Similar analogies are found for the motif of

<sup>7</sup> Red chalk on white (greyish) paper. 141 × 90 mm. Unsigned. In upper part the sheet is soiled by dampness. Verso: *Figure of a Warrior with a Shield*, red chalk. SNG Bratislava, inv. no. K 1457/a, b.

<sup>8</sup> Bora – Zlatohlávek 1995, *ibidem* (in note 1), cat. no. 10, p. 52. The Bratislava drawing was purchased in Prague in 1956, in the same year as the Prague drawing by Camillo Boccaccini (NG in Prague, inv. no. K 31818).





Bernardino Gatti, Study of the figures  
of two Apostles. 1573–1575.  
Slovak National Gallery Bratislava.



Bernardino Campi, St Christopher with  
the Child Jesus, around 1570.  
Slovak National Gallery Bratislava.

the *Agony in the Gethsemane Garden*. At the end of the thirties and the beginning of the forties of the cinquecento, Boccaccino executed designs for one part of the decoration of the church of S. Sigismondo in Cremona. Among other things, he designed there the *Instruments of Christ's martyrdom*. And the recto of the Bratislava drawing matches with these studies in its loose penwork, using hints rather, but with a strong emphasis on the dramatic character of the scene.<sup>9</sup> In 1541, on the occasion of the ceremony of the arrival of Emperor Charles V in Cremona, Boccaccino produced many designs for decorations with allegorical themes and many figures of warriors. Like in the Prague drawing of Heracles, the verso of the Bratislava drawing with the picture of a probably ancient warrior in action with a shield is connected with this event. The Bratislava drawings (r + v) clearly belong to the oeuvre of Camillo Boccaccino, which might be dated relatively accurately around 1540.

From approximately the same period, another drawing comes from Bratislava – *Study of a seated man*, which I attribute to one of the protagonists of Cremona painting in the cinquecento, Giulio Campi (1502? Cremona – 1572 Cremona).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Bora, G.: *I Campi. Cultura artistica cremonese del Cinquecento*, Milano 1985, cat. no. 2.5.10.

<sup>10</sup> Pen in dark brown on white paper, 223 × 149 mm. Unsigned. Verso: *Study of a figure of an old man*, pen in dark brown. In the left upper corner the collector's mark, a black stamp: FD. Inv. no. K 7397. Purchased for the Slovak NG in 1972. The collector's mark refers to the postwar collection of František Dvořák in Prague. The drawing was displayed in 1991 in Bratislava – *Európske umenie v zbierkách SNG*. [exhib. cat.] Bratislava 1991, cat. no. 277 (*Italian artist from the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century*).



Antonio Campi?,  
Study of hands, feet,  
a girl's and a man's face,  
drapery and fishes,  
1560s–1570s.  
Slovak National Gallery  
Bratislava.



Antonio Maria Viani,  
Christ the Judge, 1602–1603.  
Slovak National Gallery Bratislava.



Antonio Maria Viani,  
Angels of the Last Judgment, 1602–1603.  
Slovak National Gallery Bratislava.

Sparing pen lines handled with supreme precision define both the main contours and, in several moves of the pen, the inner modelling of the drapery of the figure, complemented by radical hatching indicating the conditions of light. Thus may be characterized both the drawing of the *Seated man* and the verso with the *Study of the figure of an old man*, the painterly treatment of which almost unambiguously attributes it to the Campi family from the Cremona school. For



comparison, a good deal of material is provided by the set of Giulio's drawings in the National Gallery in Prague and by drawings from many world collections. From outside Prague there is for instance the much related *Figure of a seated man* from the Louvre, with identical, somewhat illogical ending of the right hand of the seated man (INV 5662, partly also INV 8718.2) or the more figural and a little later *Deposition from the Cross* from the Albertina in Vienna (Inv. 2022). Tentatively, the two Bratislava drawings (r + v) may be associated with the christological cycle in St Margaret's church in Cremona, finished by Giulio in 1547 as a sketch of figural types. This allows setting the origin of our drawings around the middle of the fifties of the cinquecento.

Several decades later is another indisputably Cremona drawing – *Study of the figures of two apostles*, which may be safely linked with Bernardino Gatti, known Sojaro (1496 Pavia – 1576 Cremona).<sup>11</sup>

In the Slovak National Gallery this high-quality and spontaneous study has so far been registered as a *Study of male figures with drapery* and was attributed to an *Italian master of the 17<sup>th</sup> century*. In 2007–2009 the drawing was restored and the restorer, Jarmila Tarajčáková-Dóriová, in her unpublished doctoral thesis (2010) partly accepted the old attribution of the verso but claimed that the drawing was made after a detail of the figures of two apostles from a monumental composition by Bernardino Gatti, *Assumption of the Virgin* from the high altar in the cathedral in Cremona. The typical building up of the volumes of the male figures, their typology and the treatment of the drapery do not allow any doubt, I believe, about the Bratislava drawing being an original work by Bernardino Gatti. For comparison, several drawings of basically identical character may be used – especially the *Study of the figure of an Apos-*



Antonio Maria Viani,  
Episode from the Last Judgment I, 1602–1603.  
Slovak National Gallery Bratislava.



Antonio Maria Viani,  
Fall of the condemned, 1602–1603.  
Slovak National Gallery Bratislava.

<sup>11</sup> Drawing in black chalk (coal) on white paper, 278 × 184 mm. The whole recto is covered with a quadrature 4 × 4 cm. At the bottom of the verso in dark brown pen: *Bernardo Gatto*, SNG in Bratislava, inv. no. K 1485.





Antonio Maria Viani,  
Episode from the Last Judgment II, 1602–1603.  
Slovak National Gallery Bratislava.



Antonio Maria Viani,  
Fall of the condemned II, 1602–1603.  
Slovak National Gallery Bratislava.

tle from the Getty collection in Malibu<sup>12</sup> or the *Study of the figure of an Apostle* from the collection of Italian drawings in the British Museum in London.<sup>13</sup> A no less strong analogy is found in the *Group of Apostles from the Assumption of the Virgin* from the Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi in Florence.<sup>14</sup> All these paintings, in spite of differences in technique (in each case it is washed pen drawing), are identical in draughtsmanship and deal with the same motif – groups of Apostles from the lower part of the *Assumption of the Virgin*. In the example used for comparison, it is drawings from the sixties and partly from the seventies of the cinquecento which are sketches for the decoration of the dome in the church of S. Maria della Steccata in Parma, dating from those years. In 1573 Gatti left for Cremona, where he obtained the commission for the monumental picture of the *Assumption*, with numerous extra figures, for the local cathedral. The Bratislava drawing may be regarded as a preparatory study for the left bottom part of the composition, for the pair of Apostles watching the miraculous event. This hypothesis gets a strong support from the quadrature covering the Bratislava drawing as a preparation for the transfer of the motif to the carton, but the support comes especially from four other drawings made for the same occasion.<sup>15</sup> Gatti's late work is distinguished by the use of a fairly wide and soft line in hatching when black chalk is used, which is basically in correspondence with the drawings. The *Assumption* in Cremona is Gatti's final work, the painter died in February 1576.<sup>16</sup> Shortly before his death, around and before 1575, he made a variant of the *Assumption*

<sup>12</sup> Goldner, G. R.: *European Drawings I. Catalogue of the Collections J. Paul Getty Museum* (with the assistance of Lee Hendrix and Gloria Williams). Malibu, California 1988, p. 48, cat. no. 14.

<sup>13</sup> Popham, A. E.: *Italian Drawings in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*. London 1967. Catalogue p. 23, cat. no. 34; Plate 27.

<sup>14</sup> Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, inv. no. 2101F.

<sup>15</sup> Di Giampaolo, M.: Bernardino Gatti: quattro disegni per l'Assunta del Duomo di Cremona. *Antichità Viva*, XV, 2, pp 20–21.

<sup>16</sup> The painting was finished in December 1576 by Girolamo Valle and Antonio Campi.

as a painting of a much larger size (now Collezione Cavalcabó in Cremona) and in this less demanding variant he also used, for the left side of the scene, the same pair of Apostles as in the Bratislava drawing. Our drawing may date from 1573–1575.

Probably connected with the now lost album from the Clara-Aldringen collection is the drawing of *St. Christopher with Infant Jesus*, which I attribute to a follower of the great personality of painting in Parma, Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola, known Il Parmigianino (1503 Parma – 1540 Casalmaggiore).<sup>17</sup>

The older attribution to Parmigiani, by an inscription on the verso, can be accepted only partly. In the economical but very precise contour, in the physiognomy of the saint, and in the characteristic treatment of figures a marked influence of Parmigianini is quite evident. Several typological analogies may be found in Parmigiani's extensive work. The physiognomy and the type of the saint correspond basically e.g. to drawings in the British Museum (BM 1905-11-10-12 or 1952-1-21-66) and the same holds for the typology of the Child Jesus (BM 1905-11-10-37). Similarly, numerous figural analogies may be found in Parmigiani's drawings – e.g. in the figure of *St. Anthony (Diogenes?)* from the Galleria Nazionale in Parma (inv. no. 510/24) or from the same collection in the figure of *St. Jerome* (inv. no. 510/8). Actually the proportions in our drawing are in full correspondence with the known proportions in the male figure preserved in a drawing by Parmigiani, again from the Galleria Nazionale in Parma (inv. no. 510/4).<sup>18</sup> Beside indisputable agreements with Parmigiani's work there are a number of deviations



Antonio Maria Viani,  
Group of condemned sinners I, 1602–1603.  
Slovak National Gallery Bratislava.



Antonio Maria Viani,  
Group of condemned sinners II, 1602–1603.  
Slovak National Gallery Bratislava.

<sup>17</sup> Drawing in pen in dark brown, washed with light brown on white paper. 189 × 118 mm. Unsigned. Paper edges are heavily damaged (obviously due to glue), corners of the sheet are cut, and in the bottom part a piece of paper is torn off. On the verso an inscription in pencil: *Parmigianino* (script in the style of the 20th century). Inv. no. K 1454. Purchased for the Slovak NG in 1956 from Heřman Štěpánek, Prague II, Lazarská 6 (24th purchasing committee of 12 June 1956).

<sup>18</sup> Most of these drawings are described in detail in: *Parmigianino und der europäische Manierismus* [exhib. cat.] Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, ed. S. Ferino – Pagden et L. Fornari Schianchi, Milano 2003.





Antonio Maria Viani,  
The saints and the righteous I, 1602–1603.  
Slovak National Gallery Bratislava.



Antonio Maria Viani,  
The saints and the righteous II, 1602–1603.  
Slovak National Gallery Bratislava.

which rule out a direct attribution. It is primarily the total absence of hatching, the very light and in places even indistinct contours, and the finishing of the volumes by washed tint, these details are never found in Parmigiani. And these very details are typical of another painter coming from and active in Cremona, Bernardino Campi (1522 Cremona – 1591 Reggio Emilia). Certainty about attribution of the drawing to Bernardino (in spite of an identical name he is probably unconnected with the wide Campi family in Cremona) will come from a comparison of the Bratislava drawing with at least two sheets from the Albertina in Vienna (*Christ among the Doctors* – inv. no. 2505, and especially *Arrival of Christ in Jerusalem* – inv. no. 42134). The second of these drawings was used as a foundation for the fresco in the choir in the Cremona cathedral, executed by Bernardino in 1573. I believe that the dating in the seventies of the cinquecento should be given even to the Bratislava drawing and it should be regarded as an authentic work of Bernardino Campi.<sup>19</sup> The real qualities of the drawing are now of course a little handicapped by its poor present-day condition.

In a similar way I date in the seventies another drawing which I originally considered to have originated in the circle of Domenichini in Bologna.<sup>20</sup> Far closer to truth, however, it is that it is a work by another member of the Campi family of painters, Antonia (1523 Cremona – 1587 Cremona). A typical sheet captures the details of hands and feet in various positions together with a boy's (?) and a girl's (?) face.<sup>21</sup> An unusual element here is a diminutive drawing of a fish and a partly legible text (*Il muso*

<sup>19</sup> G. Bora in the catalogue of the exhibition Bora – Zlatohlávek 1997, ibidem (quoted in note 3), pp 336–351.

<sup>20</sup> The first discussion of the Bratislava set of old Italian drawing – Togner, M.: *Súbor talianskej kresby v zbierke SNG v Bratislave*. Typescript, November 2010 – April 2011, cat. no. 35.

<sup>21</sup> *Study of hands, feet, a girl's face and a man's face, draperies and fishes*. Drawing in black and white chalk on greenish paper, 164 × 172 mm. Unsigned. In bottom lower corner an illegible inscription ...*piscina* (?) and then *Il muso aquaceto*. The sheet is adjusted in a mount, the verso was not examined. On the bottom edge of the mount in pencil 196 F 987; 100.-; then *Around 1800 and C1/2*. Inv. no. K 6836. Purchased for the Slovak NG in 1970 (82<sup>nd</sup> purchasing committee of 16 November 1970). Earlier provenance unknown.



*aquaceto* – mouth of a whale). The precision of the execution, the combination of black and white chalks and the fine hatching of the light, in shadowed parts with emphasis on the volumes of the details, all this points to a good, experienced draughtsman, inclining toward the tradition of Cremona drawing in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Almost identical sketches occur in the Clara-Aldringen collection of drawings in Teplice as well in the drawings coming from the same source but now held in the National Gallery in Prague. A distinct, strong similitude links the Bratislava drawing, incidentally, executed on bluish paper like the other drawings, with the Prague sheets (NG – K 57572, K 57571) or those in the Regional Museum in Teplice (CA 514, CA 518).<sup>22</sup> A similar series of analogies is found in the group of Antonio's drawings from the Florentine GDSU (n. 13497 F, 2098 F, 13493 F, etc.).<sup>23</sup> I still put an interrogation mark to the attribution to Antonio Campi because of the adjustment of the sheet in the mount so that the verso was not examined. The poorly legible texts also lack a logical explanation.

In number of drawings, the work of Antonio Maria Viani (1555/1560 Cremona – 1630 Mantova) is best represented in the Bratislava set. It is notably the *Study of the figure of Christ the Judge*, obviously associated with the monumental paintings in the dome of the church of S. Pietro al Po in Cremona.<sup>24</sup> The combination of pen, black chalk and zinc white, and the loose penwork rank this not very large sheet clearly with the fairly numerous drawings by Antonio Maria Viani, directly linked with the interior decoration of the church in Cremona. Abundance of material for comparison is provided by Viani's draw-



Antonio Maria Viani,  
Group of the chosen, 1602–1603.  
Slovak National Gallery Bratislava.



Antonio Maria Viani,  
The prophets and the chosen, 1602–1603.  
Slovak National Gallery Bratislava.

<sup>22</sup> Bora – Zlatohlávek 1997, ibidem (in note 3), pp 317–332.

<sup>23</sup> Tanzi 1999, c. d. (in note 4), cat. no. 68–79.

<sup>24</sup> Pen in dark brown, black chalk underdrawing, zinc white added on white paper, 176 × 110 mm, on the left side the sheet is irregularly clipped. A hint of the quadrature with black chalk, unsigned. Slovak NG in Bratislava, inv. no. K 1625. Purchased for the Slovak NG on 13 February 1957.



Antonio Maria Viani,  
Angel separating the righteous from the condemned,  
1602–1603. Slovak National Gallery Bratislava.

ings from the surviving album from the Clara-Aldringen collection in the chateau in Teplice. The Bratislava drawing is a partial study of the central figure of *Christ the Judge* from the *Last Judgment*, executed in the first decade of the seicento by Orazio Lamberti (1552–1612) in the dome of San Pietro al Po in Cremona, to the design and after the drawings, and, obviously with participation of A. M. Viani. An identical figure of *Christ the Judge* is found in the sketch for the dome painting, which is preserved in the album in the Regional Museum in Teplice (inv. no. CA 679).<sup>25</sup> While the Teplice drawing is a design of the entire decoration of one part of the dome, our drawing is only a study of the central figure. What they share, however, is the spontaneity and relaxed character of the quick sketch. The general attitude of the figure of *Christ the Judge*, with his raised right arm and with crouched legs is obviously derived from the same Michelangelo-esque type in the painting of the *Last Judgment* in the Sistine Chapel (1537–1541), probably through the print documenting the famous composition. In the execution of the painting in the dome, the painter, however, covered the lower part of the figure with a flowing drapery.

Both the motif and its execution allow the dating of the Bratislava drawing like of the Teplice drawing, in the short period of 1602–1603, when the majority of Viani's designs for the decoration of the dome of San Pietro al Po in Cremona was made.

With the large composition of the *Last judgment* is immediately connected a group of another thirteen drawings by Viani, now kept in the Slovak National Gallery in Bratislava.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Zlatohlávek 1998, c.d. (in note 4), pp 169–175. Kazlepka – Zlatohlávek 2009, cat. no. 41 (M. Zlatohlávek).

<sup>26</sup> *Angels of the Last Judgment*, black chalk, with addition of zinc white and partly of dark brown pen on white paper, 340 × 357 mm, quadrature with black chalk. Unsigned. Inv. no. K 1438. *Episode of the Last Judgment I*, identical technique, 298 × 363 mm. Inv. no. K 1439. *Fall of the condemned*, identical technique, 298 × 365 mm. Inv. no. K 1440. The drawing was displayed in 1991 in the Slovak NG in Bratislava – *European art in collections of the SNG*, c.d. (in note 10), cat. no. 279 as *Italian artist from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Episode of the Last Judgment II*, 340 × 357 mm, identical technique, inv. no. K 1442. *Fall of the condemned II*, identical technique, 356 × 360 mm. inv. no. K 1443. The drawing was displayed in 1991 in the Slovak NG in Bratislava – *European art in collections of the SNG*, c.d. (ij note 10), cat. no. 280 as *Italian artist from the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Group of condemned sinners I*, identical technique, 356 × 365 mm. Inv. no. K 1444. *Group of condemned sinners II*, identical technique, 363 × 309 mm. Inv. no. K 1441. Purchased for the Slovak NG as a set on 1 January. 1956 (24th Purchasing committee). The second group of purchased one year later – *The saints and the righteous I*, back chalk, with addition of zinc white and partly dark brown pen on white paper, 269 × 234 mm, quadrature with black chalk. The sheet is irregularly clipped. Unsigned. Inv. no. K 1622. *The saints and the righteous II*, identical technique, 238 × 240 mm. Inv. no. K 1623. *SA Group of the chosen*, identical technique, 209 × 189 mm. Inv. no. K 1624. *The prophets and the chosen*, identical technique, 225 × 253 mm, inv. no. K 1626. *Angel separating the righteous from the condemned*, identical technique, 245 × 245 mm. Inv. no. K 1627. *The saints and the righteous with Noah's Ark*, identical technique, 269 × 234 mm. Inv. no. K 1628. The second set was purchased for the Slovak NG on 13 February 1957 (26<sup>th</sup> purchasing committee).



The first seven drawings are done on a paper cut to the shape of segments corresponding to the curves in the lower part of the dome of San Pietro al Po, where Orazio Lamberti (1532–1612) with Antonio Mario Viani executed the large fresco of the *Last Judgment*. The drawings themselves, distinguished by the combined technique of black chalk, a white, and pen but particularly by the basic contours in the rendition of the bodies and by the typical defining of volumes, are indisputably the work of A. M. Viani. Evidence for that is supplied by abundant comparative material, which was produced for the same occasion and is now concentrated in the so-called Teplice album.<sup>27</sup> Adding the quadrature to the segments allows the hypothesis that these were preparatory drawings for the lower strip in the *Last Judgment* with the episodes of the



Antonio Maria Viani,  
The saints and the righteous with Noah's Ark,  
1602–1603. Slovak National Gallery Bratislava.

fall of the sinners. The execution of the painting of the *Last Judgment* in S. Pietro al Po is basically defined by the first decade of the seicento, and most of Viani's designs may date from 1602–1603. Although a detailed study of the paintings is difficult because of their poor visual accessibility and because of their rather poor condition, in a comparison of the individual part of the painting of *The Last Judgment* and the sketches by Viani only very few direct analogies may be discovered to prove direct following and respecting of the original sketches.<sup>28</sup> If this series of sketches was used, then in details only – the whole set rather makes the impression of being mere sketches, later used only with considerable corrections. There is, however, no doubt, that Viani is the artist who made these drawings.

Likewise, in the second set of six drawings, the preserved album from the former Clara-Aldringen collection (Regional Museum in Teplice) provides enough material for comparison to make us free to attribute the six drawings to Antonia Mario Viani. The treatment and form of the segments are basically a repetition of the previous set, only the subject being different. Whereas the previous set illustrates the fall of the condemned sinners, that is designs for the outer edge of the lower part of the dome, this set depicts the chosen and righteous ones, who are placed nearer to the centre of the composition of the *Last Judgment*. Viani's painterly treatment is no different, both sets are technically and artistically identical and the same holds for the dating of the sketches in the short period of 1602–1603. In a comparison of the drawings and the executed painting, some agreements are found in the grouping of the scenes, there are identities in various figural types, in postures or attributes but the overall solution is somewhat different – it might be called a little simplified. As a matter of fact, fairly great changes between the sketch and the executed painting appear also in another fairly large group of Viani's drawings made for the same occasion.

<sup>27</sup> Bora – Zlatohlávek 1997, ibidem (in note 3), pp 420–434. Similarly Kazlepka – Zlatohlávek 2009, ibidem (in note 4), cat. no. 41–49 (M. Zlatohlávek).

<sup>28</sup> The surface of the paintings is now darkened by fixed dirt and dust.





Bernardino Gatti, Assumption of the Virgin, altarpiece, cathedral in Cremona.

The entire Bratislava set of Viani's drawings plus the still larger collection preserved in the alum of the Regional Museum in Viani's drawings is evidence of Antonio Maria Viani's meticulous preparation for the execution of the large decoration in the dome of San Pietro al Po in Cremona, with the subject of the *Last Judgment*. In spite of the small number of drawings owned by the Slovak Gallery in Bratislava and in spite of the relatively short continuity in collecting, a really high-quality collection was assembled and a detailed survey of old Italian drawings may bring many a surprising discovery. Its part connected with the art of drawing in the cinquecento in Cremona, as defined by the names of its main protagonists, is evidence of that.

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## “Sleeps in this chapel, . . . he sleeps the great sleep”<sup>1</sup>

### Baroque mausoleums, tombs and epitaphs in Olomouc and Kroměříž

Baroque figural tombs and epitaphs or sculptural and painted decorations in interment chapels or mausoleums in the majority of cases are high quality artistic works and extremely interesting objects in terms of iconography and iconology. In their impressive Baroque forms they depict the more generally applied phenomenon of building sepulchral monuments to celebrate the life, activities and qualities of the deceased in a specific allegorical-symbolic language. They are reflections of the desires of the deceased and his line to immortalise their presence on this Earth and to narrate a testimony to their successors and others about themselves and the time in which they lived. This desire was the subject of commemoration for many of the most famous artists and scholars of the time, brought together on projects which were the last great acts of the deceased. Architects and sculptors on the basis of ingenious iconographic programmes designed and realised memorials to the undying fame of the leading men and women of their time.

The connected political events of 1620, caused by the earlier revolt of the Estates against the Emperor and Bohemian King Ferdinand II (1578–1637),<sup>2</sup> occurred at the beginning of the first sepulchral work in the post-White Mountain period in Olomouc. This is the epitaph of St Jan Sarkander (1620–1622), created for the Chapel of St Lawrence at the Church of the Virgin at the Barbican, where the future saint was interred.<sup>3</sup> The rectangular panel, with a description of his death by torture, is filled in the upper part by a circular relief. The scene of Sarkander’s stretching and burning of his side is factually depicted, the figures are garbed in period dress and the centre of the pillar is marked with the year 1620, evidently indicating the date of the event and not the date of the panel. The epitaph however was completed no later than 1622. In that year Matyáš Sarkander,<sup>4</sup> an Olomouc canon and of one of Jan’s two brothers who ordered the tombstone, died.<sup>5</sup> The early creation of the work confirms the authenticity of the indignant text of the epitaph,

<sup>1</sup> From the funeral service for the eternal memory of Cardinal Wolfgang Schrattenbach, by the priest Antonín Josef Dreser on 27 August 1738 in Kroměříž. See František Šigut (ed.), Antonín Josef Dreser, *Bolestná žalost a žalostná bolest nad smrtí dobrotivého otce. Kázání při exequiích za kardinála Wolfganga ze Schrattenbachu 27. srpna 1738 v Kroměříži*. Valašské Meziříčí 1944, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Among other things it averted the “forced Germanisation and Calvinisation” of the Czech lands, as the French historian Olivier Chaline recently put it; see Ivana Čornejová – Jiří Kaše – Jiří Mikulec – Vít Vlnas, *Velké dějiny země Koruny české VIII. 1618–1683*. Prague – Litomyšl 2008, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> Jan Tenora – Jiří Foltynovský, *Bl. Jan Sarkander, jeho doba, život a blahoslavení*. Olomouc 1920, p. 585; Václav Burian, *K umělecké historii zaniklého kostela P. Marie na Předhradí v Olomouci*. *Vlastivědný věstník moravský* 39, 1987, p. 66–77, p. 69–70.

<sup>4</sup> Tenora – Foltynovský (note 3), p. 586–587.

<sup>5</sup> From the text surrounding the epitaph; *Ibid.*



which emphasises the cruelty of the rebels, those “bloody heretics”<sup>6</sup> and the heroism with which Jan faced repeated tortures.

Several years later the bronze tomb of the chapter deacon and Olomouc suffragan bishop, Jan Bedřich Breiner (d. 1637) was placed in the Chapel of St Francis Xavier in the new church.<sup>7</sup> This grand benefactor of the Olomouc Jesuit college is garbed in a cassock with a rochet and a biretta on his head, because his desire was “better to die in black [before his death he was accepted into the Jesuit order – author’s note] than with a mitre”.<sup>8</sup> In the spirit of the older sepulchral tradition, he is depicted in death, with closed eyes and sharp portrait lines. Below his legs is an extensive text recounting the virtues of the deceased, surrounded by a rich auricle ornamentation. At the time, circa 1640, we find these mostly in the German lands, or in Austria, whereas in Bohemia and Moravia this type of decor is relatively unknown. On the other hand, the bronze tomb was cast by 1642 at the latest, in Olomouc itself, in the casting workshop of Jiří Zwerger. Its model could have been the work of a travelling artist from the German lands or from Austria, or the relatives of the deceased may have ordered it from one of those places.<sup>9</sup> There is nothing to connect it to Olomouc, just like another work from the time carrying the name of one famous sculptor from the period of the Thirty Years’ War in Olomouc. That was Petr Wüst,<sup>10</sup> documented as being in the city in the years 1636–1638.



Unknown sculptor, Epitaph of St Jan Sarkander, 1620–1622, Olomouc, Chapel of St Jan Sarkander, crypt.

<sup>6</sup> Cited from the extensive central text of the epitaph; the translation of which is taken from Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Hana Myslivečková, Manýristický bronzový náhrobek Jana Bedřicha Breinera v kostele Panny Marie Sněžné v Olomouci. *Průzkumy památek* 12, 2005, No. 1, p. 110–117.

<sup>8</sup> Citation from the inscription in the lower part of the tomb, see Myslivečková (note 7), p. 116, note 17.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, p. 114–115.

<sup>10</sup> Miloslav Čermák, *Olomoucká řemesla a obchod v minulosti*. Olomouc 2002, p. 181.



Unknown sculptor, The epitaph of St Jan Sarkander, detail, 1620–1622, Olomouc, The Chapel of St Jan Sarkander, crypt.

He is likely the same “master Petr” who restored the Justice fountain on the town’s Upper Square,<sup>11</sup> which, like his own work, has not been preserved.

Other epitaphs and tombstones in the spirit of Early Baroque historicism were still being created in the mid-17th century, as documented by the wooden relief of the Assumption with Donor (1655, Olomouc Archdiocesan Museum), from the vault of St Wenceslas Cathedral in Olomouc.<sup>12</sup> The retrospectively toned Madonna and Child in a mandorla is accompanied by two angels whose facial type and form of drapery are already found in a number of Early Baroque works in Central Europe. At the bottom of the Assumption is kneeling a consecrating bishop or canon with infula; opposite which is a scene of part of the cityscape.

Two marble epitaphs over the side portals of the Chapel of St. Anne on the cathedral rise are the work of the same sculptor. In both cases the objects memorialise a deceased duo who are entombed in the chapel crypt. On the left side is found the double epitaph of Archdeacon Julius Caesar Ginannus, of Pesaro (d. 1624) and the doctor and teacher Jeroným Picenard of Cremona (d. 1638).<sup>13</sup> In 1654 it was ordered by Ginannus’ son Alexandr, provost of the Augustinian Premonstratensian monastery in Šternberk and Olomouc canon. In the same year, the opposite epitaph of the vicar-general and cathedral provost Martin Václav Greifenthal, the restorer of the Chapel of St. Anne, was created in identical form. His monument was ordered by the Olomouc chapter dean Claudius Sorina, memorialised in the inscribed cartouche with an extensive text and also accompanied by a coat of arms.<sup>14</sup> Because it has the identical conception as the opposite double epitaph, it can be assumed that it was created for the same Sorina, forming a double sepulchral object.

The style of the epitaphs is quite conservative and shows the limits of the abilities of Olomouc sculptors at the period of the mid-17th century. The pair of female figures are in places poorly executed anatomically and their drapery strongly approximates the dresses of the angels crowning the Virgin in the Assumption with the relief of the benefactor. Even the faces of the figures of the epitaphs resemble the face of Jesus in the arms of the Virgin Mary. On the figures and the coats of arms of both marble reliefs are still remnants of polychrome to this day.

In connection with an older building of Late Renaissance origin, a new mausoleum was built in the years 1674–1675 in the Church of the Assumption at Hradisko monastery in Olomouc by its Přemyslid founders. The remains of Duke Otto I of Olomouc and his consort Euphemia were placed in a tin casket in 1650, together with the remains of Duke Otto III and his consort

<sup>11</sup> Václav Nešpor, Olomoucké kašny. In: Rudolf Boháč – Václav Nešpor – Albin Rigel, Čtyřicet let měst. vodárny a vodovodu v Olomouci. Olomouc 1929, p. 10.

<sup>12</sup> Ivo Hlobil – Pavel Michna – Milan Togner, Olomouc. Prague 1984, illus. 133; Gabriela Elbelová – Pavel Zatloukal (ed.), Olomouc Archdiocesan Museum. Guidebook. Olomouc 2006, p. 84, cat. no. 108.

<sup>13</sup> Metoděj Zemek, Náhrobky v metropolitním kostele sv. Václava. Rodokmen, zvl. ot. Prague 1948, p. 19, notes 20–22.

<sup>14</sup> Hlobil – Michna – Togner (note 12), illus. 132.



Durancia. Also added were the remains of several other Přemyslids, Olomouc bishop Jan III and the Hradisko abbot Robert.<sup>15</sup> The mausoleum, newly located in the Chapel of the Holy Cross, contained a painting of the Crucifixion by Antonín Martin Lublinský (1636–1690) and wooden statues by Franz Zürn the Elder from a tomb of an unknown form.<sup>16</sup> This is known from an entry dated 15 April 1696, when Franz Zürn the Elder was allowed to take apart the tomb of the founders of the monastery which he himself had built in 1674.<sup>17</sup> After carrying out minor repairs to the casket and tomb, the sculptor was able to bring the tomb back to its original state by 18 April.<sup>18</sup>

Its next transformation took place in 1718, under Abbot Benedikt Bönisch. On 11 April of that year the remains of the founders were placed into a new casket and the Italian stucco artist Baldassare Fontana, who had just returned from Italy, began work on a new tomb.<sup>19</sup> Its look, according to Cerroni's description, had been recently restored by Pavel Suchánek. Supporting the sarcophagus was a personification of Death, over which were the allegories of Generosity and Piety, accompanied by another figure, Eternity. These were supplemented by a painting of St Norbert and St Stephen, the main saints connected with the Premonstratensian monastery.<sup>20</sup> It was for this work perhaps that they wanted at the end of the 1720s to start construction at Hradisko on a separate, self-standing mausoleum, according to plans by the stucco master Antonio Ricca (his dates are unknown) and the architect Antonio Maria Nicolao Beduzzi (1675–1735). The project, documented by two plans, however was never realised.<sup>21</sup>

In the year 1715 there were significant events connecting the history of Olomouc and the Church. On the impetus of Olomouc Bishop and Cardinal Wolfgang Hannibal Schrattenbach



Unknown sculptor – Jiří Zwerger,  
Tomb of the chapter deacon and Olomouc suffragan  
bishop Jan Bedřich Breiner, detail, between 1637–1642,  
Olomouc, former jesuit church Saint Mary Major,  
Chapel of St Francis Xaver.

<sup>15</sup> Pavel Suchánek, *K větší cti a slávě. Umění a mecenát opatů kláštera Hradisko v 18. století*. Brno 2007, p. 114.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115; Suchánek maintains that Zürn's statues could be part of the altar of the mausoleum, but that contradicts the following archival entry from the year 1696, which clearly states the sculptors as the author of the tomb.

<sup>17</sup> Josef Prucek, *Diáře premonstrátské kanonie na Hradisku u Olomouce 1693–1783. Deník rezidence na Svatém Kopečku 1734–1741*. Typescript. Olomouc 1993. [NPÚO, sign. II–593], entry of 15 April 1696.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, entry of 18 April 1696.

<sup>19</sup> Suchánek (note 15), p. 116.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 117–118.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122–127; Ondřej Jakubec – Marek Perůtka (eds.), *Olomoucké baroko. Výtvarná kultura 1620–1780*. 2nd Catalogue. Olomouc Museum of Art – Olomouc Archdiocesan Museum. Olomouc 2010, p. 109–110, cat. no. 38 (J. Kroupa).





Unknown sculptor, Assumption with Donor, 1655, Olomouc Archdiocesan Museum.





Unknown sculptor, Double epitaph of Archdeacon Julius Caesar Ginannus of Pesaro and the doctor and teacher Jeroným Picenard of Cremona, 1654, Olomouc, Chapel St Anne.



Unknown sculptor, Double epitaph of the vicar-general and cathedral provost Martin Václav Greifenthal and Olomouc chapter dean Claudius Sorina, 1654, Olomouc, Chapel St Anne.

(who was in power from 1711–1738), the beatification process of Jan Sarkander was begun.<sup>22</sup> The Sarkander cult, in addition to the transformation of the town prison partly reconstructed in the years 1703–1704 into the Chapel of All Holy Martyrs, was concentrated mainly at the Chapel of St. Lawrence at the Church of the Virgin at the Barbican, where he was buried. There, in addition to the martyr's epitaph, was also Sarkander's sculpturally-rich ornamented tomb. In the year 1703 it was created by an unknown sculptor on the initiative of Deacon Martin Mittwohner and the local priest, Václav Grüner.<sup>23</sup> As is evident in a period book illustration by Anton Freindt (1712),<sup>24</sup> the sarcophagus was accompanied by figures of angels with torture devices. One can make out a wheel, a pillar, and burning torches. On the lid sat six putti holding festoons, behind which grew a square volute of wound acanthus fronds, which joined at the top, supporting a bust of Sarkander.

A more recent drawing<sup>25</sup> by the Prague engraver Anton Birckhart (1677–1748) shows us a different form of the tomb. This was made evidently after the beginning of the beatification process in 1715, perhaps on the occasion of the centenary of Sarkander's martyrdom in 1720.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Pavel Zatloukal – Jindřich Z. Charouz – Vladimír Hyhlík, Olomouc. Kaple bl. Jana Sarkandra. Velehrad 1992, p. 19.

<sup>23</sup> Tenora – Foltynovský (note 3), p. 588; Burian (note 3), p. 67 dates the tomb ("mausoleum") to the year 1704.

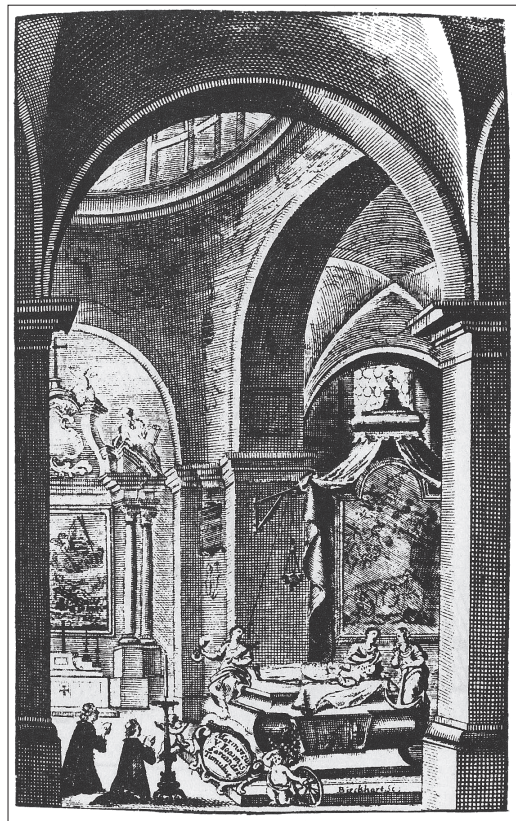
<sup>24</sup> The depiction is found in the book by Bohumír Josef Hynek Bílovský, *Zodiacus Solaris Gloriarum*; see Libuše Spáčilová – Vladimír Spáčil (eds.), *Popis královského hlavního města Olomouce sepsaný syndikem Floriánem Josefem Louckým roku 1746*. Olomouc 1991, p. 232 and Ondřej Jakubec, *Ikonografie barokního kultu Jana Sarkandra v Olomouci*, in: Martin Elbel – Ondřej Jakubec (eds.), *Olomoucké baroko. Proměny ambic jednoho města*. 1st Introductory volume, Olomouc 2010, p. 183, 185.

<sup>25</sup> Zatloukal – Charouz – Hyhlík (note 22), p. 25.

<sup>26</sup> Burian (note 3), p. 67. As a reason for the creation of a new tomb he presents the fact that devotees of the saints had damaged individual sections of it "in their grips", which they took home as souvenirs and as items of miraculous powers. Burian dates the construction of the new building to 1724.



Antonín Freindt, Tomb of St Jan Sarkander by unknown sculptor from 1703 at the Chapel of St Lawrence at the Church of the Virgin at the Barbican, from book by Bohumír Josef Hynek Bílovský *Zodiacus Solaris Gloriam*, Olomouc 1712.



Antonín Birckhardt, Chapel of St Lawrence at the Church of the Virgin at the Barbican with the Tomb of St Jan Sarkander by unknown sculptor (after 1715), z knihy *OSLAVA Marchionatus Moraviae Flumen...* Brno 1728.

At least it existed in 1728, when a book was published in which part of it is depicted.<sup>27</sup> On the lid of the lower sarcophagus lies a figure of the martyr, who is accompanied on the edges by sitting allegories of Faith, Hope and Charity. The sides of the sarcophagus were decorated by reliefs from Sarkander's life. Unfortunately this remarkable work has not survived, and it probably was destroyed by interventions after the abolition of the Marian church (1784) and the transferral of the saint's remains to St Michael's Church.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *OSLAVA Marchionatus Moraviae Flumen in tot rivus, quot Anno dies se uberrime diffundens atque foederato fluctu Aquis Sarcandrinis reverentur illabens Sive Alma Congregatio Magno Mezricziz ad Oslavam Sub terno Sanctissimo Nomine JESUS, MARIA, ANNA.* Brno 1728, see Vladimír Maňas – Zdeněk Orlita – Martina Potůčková (eds.), *Zbožných duší út. Náboženská bratrstva v kultuře raněnovověké Moravy.* Exhibition catalogue. Olomouc Museum of Art – Olomouc Archdiocesan Museum. Olomouc 2010, p. 119–121, cat. no. 46 and Jakubec (note 24), 183.

<sup>28</sup> Ondřej Jakubec, *Kulturní prostředí a mecenát olomouckých biskupů potridentské doby. Umělecké objednávky biskupů v letech 1553–1598, jejich význam a funkce.* Olomouc 2003, p. 153–168; Tomáš Parma, *Dietrichsteinská přestavba olomoucké katedrály,* in: Martin Elbel – Ondřej Jakubec (eds.), *Olomoucké baroko. Proměny ambicí jednoho města.* 1st Introductory volume, Olomouc 2010, p. 63–68, p. 64.





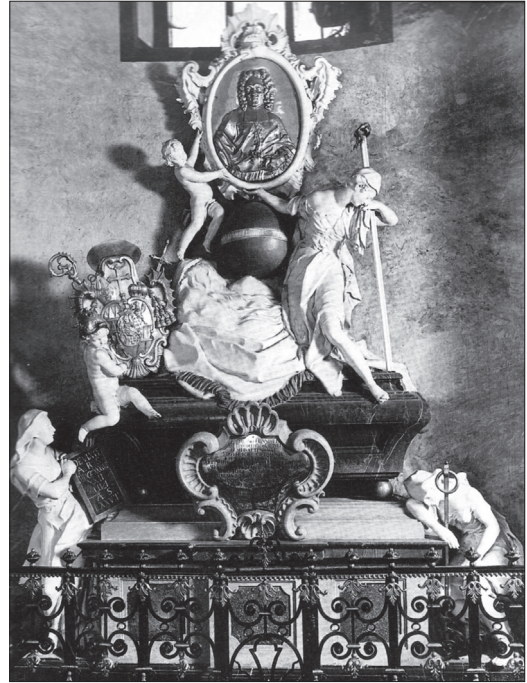
Portal of the Chapel of St Stanislaus, 1736, Olomouc, St Wenceslas Cathedral.

After 1736 a subsequent Olomouc bishop, Jacob Ernst of Liechtenstein-Castelcorn (in power from 1738–1745) initiated a Late Baroque remodelling of the Mannerist Chapel of St Stanislaus, the burial place of the Pavlovský family. Its portal was newly framed by architecture into which on the sides were inserted the Late Renaissance tombs of the Olomouc bishop Markus Kuen (1565–1566) and the Přemyslid dukes Wenceslas and Břetislav (1603), founders of St Wenceslas Cathedral. We can now connect the putti at the top, surrounding the bishop's coat of arms, with Olomouc sculptor Andreas Zahner (1709–1752), who at that time was working on the altar of the neighbouring Chapel of Our Lady of Loreto. The sculptural ornamentation of the Chapel of St Stanislaus however was the work of the sculptor Filip Sattler, and after his death another yet unknown sculptor created the holy figures on the main altar of the chapel. There Sattler probably worked in the years 1736–1738, briefly co-operating with his friend and son-in-law, the Olomouc painter Johann Christoph Handke (1694–1774). He was the author of the paintings which covered the older, Late Renaissance frescoes of the chapel. Their iconography however has remained preserved and here we can see scenes of the Resurrection of Peter, the Royal Court, the Assassination of Stanislaus and the Body of St Stanislaus Torn Apart by Eagles, which relate to the consecration of the chapel. Handke's paintings supplement Sattler's stucco ornamentation, which is in the form of angels and putti seated on a moulding which goes round in a circle. A pair of statues standing on consoles on the sides, facing each other, deserves special attention. They portray men in armour and capes; the left one depicts an emperor with a laurel wreath on his head, the right one depicts a knight with a ducal cap and a model of the church in his hand. A previous attempt to interpret these statues as St Sigismund of Burgandy and St Louis is unacceptable for iconographic reasons.<sup>29</sup> A hypothesis is offered as to whether they are a pair of

<sup>29</sup> Jiří V. Musil, *Dóm sv. Václava. Metropolitní katedrála v Olomouci*. Olomouc 1992, p. 38. St Sigismund of Burgandy is rarely depicted in the monumental Baroque art of Bohemia, and almost not at all in Moravia. St Louis



Filip Sattler, Ferdinand II. (?), 1736, Olomouc, St Wenceslas Cathedral, Chapel of St Stanislaus.



Ondřej Zahner – Jan Šimon Forstner – Matěj Ränckel – František Reimer – Jan Buchstedter, Tomb of the Olomouc bishop, Wolfgang Hannibal Cardinal of Schrattenbach, 1750–1755, Kroměříž, Collegiate church of St Maurice, Chapel of Our Lady of the Sorrows.

founders or supporters of St Wenceslas Cathedral, the bishopric or the chapter. The figure of the knight probably represents Přemyslid Wenceslas (1126–1130), the second founder of St Wenceslas Cathedral. The left figure probably represents the Emperor and Bohemian King Ferdinand II, who granted the Olomouc chapter on 18 August 1623 several new privileges and awarded it new property for its eternal use.<sup>30</sup> If this interpretation is correct, then we find in the Chapel of St Stanislaus another expression of the gratitude of the church institutions to their worldly founders and benefactors. A similar expression was seen in connection with the mausoleum of the Přemyslids in the Premonstratensian monastery Church of the Assumption at Hradisko.

Despite that Olomouc was the site of the bishopric, we do not find here a single bishop's tomb from the Baroque period. There were several reasons for this. A few of the bishops, in the spirit of Council of Trent piety, or respectively on clear conclusions of council in this matter, gave priority to modest tombstones with simple inscriptions. Others almost never resided in Olomouc and were buried elsewhere. Some of them had closer ties to Kroměříž, the main residence town of the Olomouc bishops, and wanted to be buried there. This is why two of the best Baroque tombs in Moravia, in which lie Olomouc bishops, are found in the Chapel of Our Lady of the Sorrows at Kroměříž's St Maurice Church. This chapel was built in 1730 perhaps according to the plans of the bishop's court architect, Ignaz Cyrani of Bolleshaus (ca. 1700–1758). On its main altar was

IX of France or St Louis of Toulouse (it is not clear, which) is not depicted as a prince in the model of the church.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid, p. 13.



placed a statue group of the Pietà originally from the presbytery church. This anonymous historicising work from the period around 1620 was given special esteem in the city. This is proven also by the words of a sermon expressed during a requiem for an Olomouc bishop – Cardinal Wolfgang of Schrattenbach, who was entombed in the chapel: “O! Most dearly assured treasure, Maria of the Sorrows, Mother of Grace, placed on this altar!”<sup>31</sup> It was Cardinal Schrattenbach himself who was its devotee and who founded the chapel: “...I look upon the statues or the painting of Our Lady of the Sorrows, who was his life’s sanctuary, for it was to her devotion and praise he built this chapel thoroughly from his own funds.”<sup>32</sup> The cardinal “chose this cabinet, this chapel, himself for his eternal repose”<sup>33</sup> and “sleeps in this chapel, ... he sleeps the great sleep.”<sup>34</sup> His exquisite tomb on the right side of the chapel,<sup>35</sup> probably of his own design, was realised in the years 1750–1752 by Andreas Zahner. In Olomouc the similarly resident goldsmith Simon Forstner (1714?–1773) gilded the cardinal’s portrait and coat of arms as well as all the gilt metal additions according to Zahner’s models. The stonemason Matěj



František Ondřej Hirnle,  
Tomb of the Olomouc bishop,  
Leopold Friedrich of Egkh und Hungersbach,  
1763–1764, Kroměříž, Collegiate church  
of St Maurice, Chapel of Our Lady of the Sorrows.

Ränckel created the architectonic part of the tomb from marble, the gunsmith František Reimer etched 376 letters into the plate and then blackened them. The final surface repairs on the tomb were carried out by goldsmith Jan Buchstedter up until 1755, when all the work was finished. On the sides of the cubical base, on which stood the sarcophagus with a text cartouche in the forefront, they placed a pair of female allegories. Transience holds a tablet indicating the cardinal’s age, which her other hand is getting ready to erase with a sponge. Opposite is the figure of Hope with an anchor, sitting in sadness on the right side of the tomb, resting her head against the plinth with the burden of sorrow and hopelessness. The allegory of Sorrow kneels on the right side of the cardinal’s portrait, holding out her hand. She leans against a broken torch and is in mourning over his death. The relief of Schrattenbach’s half-figure out of gilt bronze stands on a globe and is in a frame formed out of an ouroboros, symbolising the eternal return.

<sup>31</sup> Šigut (note 1), p. 16.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> Miloš Stehlík, K Zahnerově a Kohlově tvorbě v Kroměříži. *Umění* 7, 1959, p. 56–62; Simona Jemelková – Helena Zápalková (ed.), Ondřej Zahner 1709–1752. Exhibition catalogue. Olomouc Museum of Art – Olomouc Archdiocesan Museum. Olomouc 2009, p. 35–37, 107, cat. no. II. 89; Helena Hocková, Náhrobky, náhrobníky a epitafy vyšších církevních hodnostářů 17. a 18. století v českých zemích. M. A. thesis at the Philosophical Faculty of Palacký University in Olomouc, Olomouc 2011, p. 84–92.





František Ondřej Hirnle,  
Model of the tomb of the Olomouc bishop,  
Maximilian Hamilton, before 1773, Olomouc,  
Regional Museum (No. UP 9851).

A remarkable detail of the tomb is the stucco area on the sarcophagus with the globe and the cardinal's portrait. It depicts a cliff with a spring, which in the lower area flows over a lambrequin with fringes. This motif is reminiscent of the Tomb of the Blessed Ludovica Albertoni (1671–1674) in the Church of San Francesco a Ripa by Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), which there it forms a massive curtain going from the altar communion table to the statue of Ludovica like a stairway of material actually turning into stone. At the Kroměříž tomb however there is an even more interesting motif of the stream, which rises out of the rock below the cardinal's portrait. It is a flowing stream—the heraldic motif from the breast plate of the coat of arms of the family of the counts of Schrattenbach. The symbolic bountifulness of this water source was emphasised in the sermon by Dreser, when he spoke of the living, who "... will walk as mourners, howling, for the gold-flowing stream of Pishon itself from Schrattenbach's Paradise has dried out."<sup>36</sup> The rock which from the stream flows refers to Moses, who twice struck a staff to make water come from the rock and over the centuries was a favourite example of clerical worthies. This is even how the bishop's contemporaries considered him, as Dreser spoke of Schrattenbach thusly: "This father...

for his qualities a second Moses!"<sup>37</sup> It was based on an older tradition, when the church worthies stylised the role of the leaders of the church, in which Moses was the Old Testament model. In this sense Michaelangelo's statue of Moses ended up in the centre of the tomb of Pope Julius II della Rovere (1505–1545) in the Roman church of San Pietro in Vincoli. In the Czech lands during the Baroque period comparisons to Moses were made for example to the Litoměřice bishop Jaroslav Ignác, the Count of Šternberk, who had the ceiling of the ceremonial hall of his residence painted with a picture of Moses bringing forth water from the rock (1691).<sup>38</sup>

The monument opposite to Schrattenbach was made in Kroměříž by the resident sculptor Franz Anton Hirnle (1726–1773) in the years 1763–1764. It is the tomb of the Olomouc Prince-Bishop Leopold II Friedrich von Egkh and Hungersbach (1696–1760). This high quality work, the sculptor's best, can be compared to the best works of Central European Late Baroque anywhere. The piece, of the contemporary popular pyramidal type, is made of marble architecture with figural elements cast out of tin according to the sculptor's models. The bishop kneels on a prie-dieu and devoutly adores the Pietà on the altar of the chapel, which is also a work by Hirnle. In addition to the figure of God the Father at the top, there are also two excellent figures of angels

<sup>36</sup> Šigut (note 1), p. 16.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid, p. 11.

<sup>38</sup> Martin Pavlíček, *Nástěnná malba Trůnního sálu biskupské rezidence v Litoměřicích*. Umění 49, 2001, p. 335–337.

venerating the Pietà. The sculptor was inspired by the decorations of the angel figures from the main altar of St Martin's Cathedral in Bratislava by Georg Raphael Donner (1693–1741). Even the composition of the bishop's figure on the tomb was taken by the sculptor from Donner's Bratislava work, where for a model he chose an excellent marble figure of the Esztergom archbishop Imrich Esterházy (1663–1745) from the Chapel of St John the Almoner (d. 619) in St Martin's Cathedral. Donner in this figure reflected his knowledge of, or he independently resolved, the same decorative solution the sculptor Giuseppe Mazzuoli (1644–1725), who made use of a compositionally close model in the tomb of Marc'Antonio Zondadari (prior to 1725) in the Sienna Church of the Assumption. Bishop Egkh is accompanied on his sides by a pair of putti. The right one, with a broken torch in his hand, is crying; the one opposite holds the bishop's coat of arms. A third putto flies about the pylon-shaped pyramid, looking in the direction of arriving visitors and pointing to the Pietà on the altar, appealing to one for its adoration, after the bishop's example. The apex of the pyramid is covered by drapery and capped by an oil lamp, which is a variation on a fanciful vase designed and shown by the architect Johann Bernhard Fischer of Erlach (1656–1723) in his tract *Entwurff einer historischen Architektur* (1721). The forefront of the plinth carries an enchased cartouche with extensive text commemorating the life and works of the deceased bishop.

It was the same Bishop Egkh who during the life of his predecessor Cardinal Trover after 1750 signed all the contracts with artists working on the decoration of the chapel. We can then truly declare him, after Cardinal Schrattenbach, as the second builder of the chapel. Undoubtedly already at this time he arrived at the idea where he wished to be interred and to be memorialised by a suitably representative monument. The ornamentation of the chapel was finished in 1755 by work on the entry portal. The Olomouc sculptor Jan Michael Scherhauf created, just as in the interior chapel, the pillar capitals. The stucco figures on the sides *supra portam* are the work of the Viennese sculptor Franz Kohl (1711–1766) with the help of another Olomouc sculptor, Johann Anton Richter (1712–1762).

The absence of more ostentatious bishops' tombs in Olomouc could, at the end of the Baroque period, have spurred the intention to erect in the Chapel of St Anne a monumental sepulchral memorial to the Olomouc Bishop Maximilian von Hamilton (1761–1776), who was interred there. We know its form from an exceptional preserved model placed into an architectonically resolved niche, located in the collections of the Natural History Museum in Olomouc.<sup>39</sup> On a base of limned volutes the bishop kneels before a crucifix, held in front of him by an angel. On the left side of the base stands Chronos with a scythe, on the right in a melancholic gesture leans a female figure, perhaps an allegorical figure of Sorrow or Contemplation. The centre of the base is decorated by a cartouche with text. At the top of the tomb there is a putto holding the bishop's coat of arms and the allegory of Rumour. Below on the left the entire composition is symmetrically completed by a lamp, similar to the one on the Kroměříž tomb of Bishop Egkh. Egkh's figure at the *prie-dieu* thus has a close connection with the depiction of Bishop Hamilton. The model, earlier connected with an unknown Lower Austrian sculptor, was recently ascribed<sup>40</sup> to Franz Anton Hirnle, the author of Egkh's tomb. It was created sometime before 19 December 1773, when there is a mention of it in Hamilton's will. This unrealised work brings to a close the hundred and fifty-year tradition of building Baroque tombs, epitaphs and mausoleums in Olomouc and its environs.

<sup>39</sup> Helena Zápalková (red.), *Náhrobek olomouckého biskupa Leopolda Egkha z chrámu sv. Mořice v Kroměříži*. Restaurování 2001–2004. Olomouc Museum of Art – Olomouc Archdiocesan Museum. Olomouc 2004; Jakubec – Perůtka (note 21), p. 207–208, cat. no. 101 (H. Zápalková).

<sup>40</sup> Zápalková (note 39), p. 16.

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## A Page in a scrapbook: Lyonel Feininger, Zwei Yachten

The coloured ink drawing “*zwei yachten*” (*Two Yachts*),<sup>1</sup> which Lyonel Feininger made in 1922,<sup>2</sup> reminds one by its format of common drawn framed picture postcards, “a postcard from a seaside holiday”. Very likely in the year of its origin it was already included into a book having the form of a “scrapbook”, the binding of which carries formal symbols of the Art Nouveau creative climate.<sup>3</sup> The yet unknown initiator of the book, who may have come from France or had the possibility to visit France and other European countries, began in the late 1890s out of an interest in modern art to make contact with living personalities who are now known as significant European artists, working primarily in Paris, Vienna and Germany. It is apparent that at first, upon his request, they (for the most part French artists) created small signed artistic gifts directly on several<sup>4</sup> of the pages of the scrapbook. Several pages with their compositions are on the other side even affixed with the signature *Vollard* and the stamp *6, Rue Laffitte* – the address of Ambroise Vollard’s Paris art showroom. The first owner of the scrapbook, possibly a guest at dinners or lunches in Vollard’s Cave,<sup>5</sup> obviously asked for confirmation of the authenticity of the artistic entries. Already by the first decade of the 20th century the method of obtaining entries into the “scrapbook” had changed, on a number of pages of the book the compositions were of intimate dimensions, worked upon paper of the most diverse qualities via the techniques of drawing, coloured drawing, watercolour, painting with gouache, tempera, pastel or combined techniques, and pasting.<sup>6</sup> These works thus could have been received not only on the basis of direct contact with the artists, but also through the means of correspondence, and after the first half of the 20th century perhaps even occasionally they were purchased. It is likely that this

<sup>1</sup> Lyonel Feininger, *Zwei Yachten*, 1922, pen, India ink, coloured with watercolours and covered by whiting, paper, 10.2 × 14.7 cm, signed by pen in India ink on the lower left under the picture: *Feininger*, below centre: *zwei yachten*, below right: 4. 7. 22, “Scrapbook”, position no. 11, picture glued onto p. 21, private collection, Brno.

<sup>2</sup> Lyonel Feininger (17 July 1871 New York – 13 January 1956 New York).

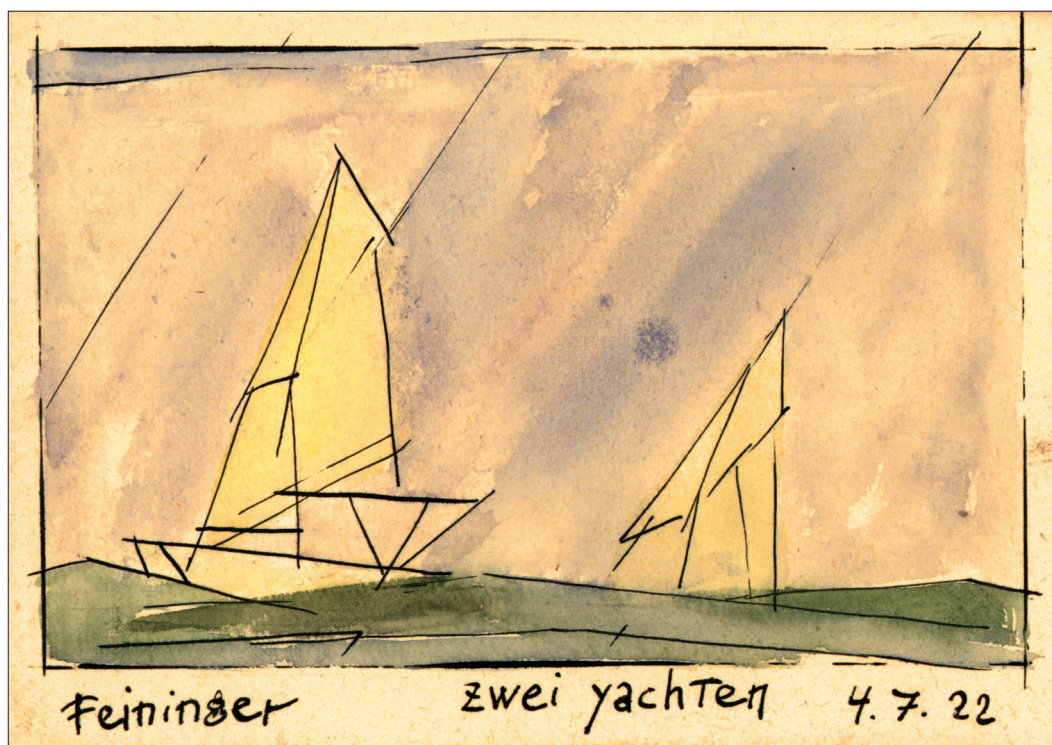
<sup>3</sup> “Scrapbook” (12.3 × 18.8 cm), bound, its paperboard covers are covered by blue canvas, the front cover is decorated by metal plate, figural and ornamental motifs of its low relief show the signs of Art Nouveau stylisation. With great probability none of the pages of the book have been removed. Today the scrapbook is in the property of a private collection in Brno. It was acquired in the first half of the first decade of the third millennium.

<sup>4</sup> In the early phase of the origin of the “scrapbook” the artists actually chose the page on which they made their artistic creations quite randomly, as it is common when the owner of an “autograph book” asks for a signature from famous people as a souvenir.

<sup>5</sup> In the “Cave” of Vollard’s dealership at 6, *Rue Laffitte*, during occasions of dinners and lunches, artists from the circle of Vollard’s dealership regularly met (Cézanne, Renoir, Degas, Bonnard, Redon, ...) poets and writers (A. Jarry, G. Apollinaire, ...) and occasional guests. For more about the guests of his Cave see Ambroise Vollard’s own *Souvenirs d’un marchand de tableaux*, Editions Albin Michel, Paris 1948 – *Vzpomínky obchodníka s obrazy* (Czech translation by J. Fialová – V. Smetanová), Garamond, Prague 2011, p. 81–99.

<sup>6</sup> The owner – or owners – of the “scrapbook” then glued received compositions into it, to gradually “fill” the book, without thinking about the date of origin of individual items nor trying to keep by the order a chronology.





Lyonel Feininger, *Zwei Yachten*, 1922.

“scrapbook” during its nearly one century of history had several owners.<sup>7</sup> Into a book merging in its character the form of scrapbook and album were gathered twenty-six artistic contributions approximately in the period of 1897–1955,<sup>8</sup> created by leading representatives of European art (Egon Schiele, Auguste Renoir, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Edgar Degas, Gustav Klimt, Emil Nolde, Paul Klee, Pierre Bonnard, Suzanne Valadon, Paul Cézanne, Lyonel Feininger, Alfred Sisley, Pablo Picasso, Paul Signac, Georges Braque, Georges Rouault, Raul Duffy, Henri Matisse, Maurice de Vlaminck, Edvard Munch, František Kupka, Kees van Dongen, Joan Miró, Alexander Calder, Giacomo Balla, and Georges Mathieu).<sup>9</sup> The extent of subject matter depicted is quite rich: in addition to rendering nudes, female figures, portraits and heads, landscapes and still lifes, there are also compositions which come from the area of non-figural art. During closer examination of the creations of individual artists it is evident that time and time again they have connections to several of the artists’ resolutions of artistic problems resulting in their work approximately at the same time as their definitive works which are now represented in the most diverse gallery collections in and outside Europe and are generally more or less well-known. In the book however there are also works which are unique.

<sup>7</sup> At the hypothetical level there is meanwhile the idea (shared by the current owner with the author in a letter dated 20 February 2009) that the path of the “scrapbook” (from owner to owner) in the 20th century led most likely from France to Southeast and later to Central Europe; i.e. to the former Czechoslovakia, today the Czech Republic. Results of a proven order will be included in a more analytic study in preparation.

<sup>8</sup> The earliest date (1897) is on a signed pastel by Alfred Sisley (position no. 13 in the “scrapbook”, and the most recent date (1955) is a signed composition in combined techniques by Georges Mathieu (no. 26 in the “scrapbook”).

<sup>9</sup> The order of the artists named is according to their order in the “scrapbook”.

One quite interesting artefact of the “scrapbook” – which one could dub “*A Scrapbook of European Modernist Painting*” – is one piece which so far has not been noted nor professionally evaluated. The following text is dedicated to position no. 11 from the above-named group of works: a composition by Lyonel Feininger, who would have celebrated his 141st birthday this year. This marks the first (and only partial) output from work begun on a project, the main goal of which is to publish a book providing analyses of all the twenty-six artistic works, their evaluation in terms of art history, both in the context of the life works of the named artists and in the context of the history of European modernism and artistic avant-garde of the 20th century; and at the same time evaluate the entire phenomenon of “the scrapbook” in the context of artistic interests of the elite in European society of the time.

The title of the seascape, “*zwei yachten*”, was given by Lyonel Feininger, as an artist announcing in avant-garde lowercase, together with the date and the signature which he placed in the standard way for drawings and graphic work, i.e. below a frame made by spontaneous lines, which again quite typically are cut by lines and coloured surfaces which did not “fit” into the precise frame.

The composition, with the central motif of two sailboats, refers to one of Feininger’s favourite themes, which were boats of various types afloat. As is well-known, the artist fell prey to the charm of the finely designed elegance of boats’ shapes – not as lay observer, but as an admirer with a detailed knowledge of the historical development of form and construction of various ships.<sup>10</sup> In the artist’s captured scene the keel of one of the sailboats drives into the top of a wave whose lower contour is indicated in the foreground of the composition. Of the second boat, which follows the first, only the sails stick up out of the waves. It is as if the artist drew a piece of reality for the perceiver of the drawing as an imaginary third boat sailing against the wind together with those depicted. The yachts, as well as the wavy sea, are energetically sketched by several determining strokes of the pen and India ink. Despite maximum drawing economy, one can make out quite well that Feininger has captured single-masted vessels, always with a square gaffed mainsail and a topsail. In the space between the mast and the prow they have two attached jibs. In the lines of the sailboat in the foreground it is possible to distinguish the mainsail and angular ending jib. If Feininger had not given the drawing a title, it would be possible to precisely identify the sailboats as yachts – cutters. From the placement of the sails, which allows yachts to sail so well against the wind, diagonal lines project freely into the space of the drawing, cutting the pictorial space with the same sharpness, energy and decision as the boats have in cutting their path against the wind in real space. As is generally typical for Feininger’s ink drawings from the 1920s, the sharp group of lines, which gives his compositions a dynamic and motion, is in this case delicately coloured in light transparent watercolours. Black lines are laid over by coloured surfaces of almost tender hues of green, yellow, blue and violet tones. Several clear strokes of the brush going into part of the sky meanwhile confirm the rhythmically drawn lines of the driving ships in the front and at the same time in their tonality and in no way anxious respect to the contours of the sails they provide an illusion of spatial depth. The composition shows economic treatment and expression and leads toward the greatest degree of abstraction,

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<sup>10</sup> Feininger’s extensive knowledge on the form, construction and technical parameters of the most diverse boats, both modern and historic, came from a study of the literature and was projected not only into his artistic creative work – where in drawings, graphic works and paintings he distinguished yachts, cutters, different steamboats, fishing boats, warships, etc. Feininger was at the same time an enthusiastic and gifted model maker. He gathered unforgettable experiences, also important for his art, from trying out models in the summer in the North Sea, helped out by his sons Andreas and Lux (Lukas). For more details, see for example Ingrid Mössinger – Kerstin Drechsel (eds.), *Sammlung Loebermann – Lyonel Feininger – Zeichnung/ Aquarell/ Druckgrafik* (exhibition catalogue, Kunstsammlungen Chemnitz), Prestel, Munich, Berlin, London, New York 2006, p. 35.

meanwhile however it does not forsake the classical expression of the picture as a window onto reality, and despite great transubstantiation of experience from observed scenery into drawing, just as in other thematically related works by Feininger, it features realistic elements which have their origin in his above-mentioned expertise in the area of ship construction, stored safely in the artist's consciousness and written perhaps into even deeper layers of his subconscious.

In the year of the composition's date (1922), Feininger was for the third year a master at Bauhaus in Weimar and led instruction in its graphics workshop.<sup>11</sup> He was working in an environment which had become one of the main post-war seekers for the language of modern times. A romantic-utopian idea of buildings for a new world, based upon artistic foundations, which Feininger in 1919 put into the symbolism of his even cubist-expressionist woodcut of a Gothic cathedral with three stars shining on its towers, famous icons of the emerging Bauhaus, meant to be interpreted by a language whose basic alphabet began to exist especially after a course on *De Stijl*,<sup>12</sup> taken from elementary geometric symbols and from basic colours. The course at Bauhaus changed distinctly from the original expressionism into rational constructivism and abstractionism at the same time as the transformation of the industrial arts school into an industrial design school, in which Romanticism as an expression, just like the individualism of one's freehand work, was forced onto another track. Feininger at this time, for example as opposed to Johannes Itten, was quite agreeable to copy the ideological bases of Gropius in building the school. When he completely took over the responsibility for running the graphic arts workshop, he dedicated so much time to its running and edition plans that in 1921–1922 he showed a temporary decline in the amount of his own private artistic production.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps in the course of the early years of working at Bauhaus the artist exhibited, and in the frustrating pressure coming from the specific conception of the industrial arts school, did not resign from his own work completely; just the opposite, for in the following period he consciously dedicated increased attention to it, early in that era's conditional need to resolve the worsening financial situation occurring in the years of catastrophic rising inflation of 1922–1923,<sup>14</sup> which then persuaded not only Feininger, but also his colleagues at Bauhaus, Paul Klee and Wasily Kandinsky,<sup>15</sup> to renew

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<sup>11</sup> Feininger worked at Bauhaus from 18 May 1919 and it was Walter Gropius himself who included him into the "Board of Masters" ("Meisterrat"). He lived in Weimar from August 1919. For more on his work at Bauhaus see for example H. M. Wingler, *Das Bauhaus. 1919–1933 Weimar Dessau Berlin und die Nachfolge in Chicago seit 1937*, 4th ed., DuMont Literatur und Kunst Verlag, Cologne 2002.

<sup>12</sup> A cycle of lectures and exercises which were conducted in 1921 in Weimar by Theo van Doesburg.

<sup>13</sup> The graphics workshop from the very beginning of Bauhaus was one of the few completely equipped workshops (the result of the fusion of the previous schools out of which Bauhaus was founded). Feininger took over its leadership in April 1921. After fulfilling the task of creating conditions for lithography and other graphic techniques at this time the master printers left the school and all operations aimed at teaching as well as quality printing of artistic works from the part of customers fell fully on Feininger. In the years 1920–1921 he published his map of twelve woodcuts there and he began to work on the important project originally of a five-part cycle of graphic maps entitled "*Neue europäische Grafik*".

<sup>14</sup> Whereas in January 1922 one dollar was worth 191.80 marks, in January 1923 one dollar was up to 17,972 marks – in August of that year the dollar reached 4,620,455 marks and in November 4.2 billion marks. See Helmut Müller et al., *Deutsche Geschichte in Schlaglichtern* (Czech edition: *Dějiny Německa*, Prague, 1999, p. 245).

<sup>15</sup> Paul Klee began to work at Bauhaus in 1920 and Wasily Kandinsky in 1922. Emmy Scheyer, initiator of the founding of the group Die Blaue Vier in 1924, gradually began contacting Bauhaus masters and former members of the group Der Blaue Reiter after 1921. For more information see Vivian Endicott Barnett – Josef Helfenstein (eds.), *Die Blaue Vier. Feininger, Jawlensky, Kandinsky, Klee in der Neuen Welt* (exhibition catalogue, Kunstmuseum Bern, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen Düsseldorf), Cologne 1997.



contacts with Alexej Jawlensky, who was working in Wiesbaden, so that these, in their own way free-working, artists began to form the group Die Blaue Vier.<sup>16</sup>

Despite the progressive changes in the creative climate at Bauhaus in various aspects of Feininger's artistic activity, especially in the area of chosen creative approaches and choice of themes in the following period, there is a clear continual connectivity to the earlier period of his work, especially at the time around 1913, when the artist had an atelier in Weimar and created thousands of sketches in which, with that era's intense power of the new cubist-expressionist and cubist-futurist form, he fixed visual expressions from numerous tours of the surrounding Thüringer villages.<sup>17</sup> Already at this time the drawn notes, creating an extensive "pictorial diary", became an archive of memories, which later served as a storehouse of motifs and almost definitive compositional outlines, from which he drew inspiration repeatedly throughout his life. The often varied themes meanwhile, except for views of the interior of the city with its sacral architecture, became seaside landscapes, the sea, ships. Contact with the open landscape, in which it was possible to relax, meditate, make other creative notes, to fill not only one's sight but also have spiritual experiences, filtered through the moment's psychological frame of mind, became in the interest of maintaining the right to express one's individual intimate relationship to reality, which especially for Feininger – a master at Bauhaus, a school leaning toward engineering of industrial designs – was simply essential. During the period of 1918–1920,<sup>18</sup> when he dealt with his central themes for the most part via the woodcut technique and in graphic works of raw expression it is still possible despite an increasing degree of abstraction to hear the echo of the expressive power of the graphic works by the artists from the Die Brücke group,<sup>19</sup> which was made possible especially by Feininger's summer stay at the North Sea in 1922, causing a distinct shift in his artistic attitude. Perhaps already in a number of artistic paintings and drawings from the second half of the 1910s, in whose cubist-expressionist crystal structure filled with a mysterious light are wedged panoramas and corners of towns with sacral architecture,<sup>20</sup> or square-riggers connecting the rhythms of the sea's waves with an overcast sky,<sup>21</sup> it was not until his stay in the seaside spa of Timmendorf,<sup>22</sup> when Feininger gave his seascapes a romantic character.<sup>23</sup> The compositions become still, the excited spray of facets is replaced by liberal straightening lines and hatchings,

<sup>16</sup> In the framework of activities of the group Die Blaue Vier (1924-1945), Emmy Scheyer's activities included above all managing many exhibitions in America.

<sup>17</sup> See for example Ingrid Mössinger – Kerstin Drechsel (eds.), *Sammlung Loebermann – Lyonel Feininger* (footnote 10), p. 33.

<sup>18</sup> At this time he created about 320 woodcuts. Ibid, p. 34.

<sup>19</sup> Closest to him in the years 1912–1914 were Erich Heckel and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff. For more information see for example Heinz Spielmann, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff – "Lyonel Feininger, eine Künstlerfreundschaft," in: Ingrid Mössinger – Kerstin Drechsel (eds.), *Sammlung Loebermann – Lyonel Feininger* (footnote 10), p. 141–142. And Hermann Gerlinger (ed.), *Lyonel Feininger, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, Erich Heckel, Künstlerfreundschaften/Briefe* (exhibition catalogue), Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesmuseum, Schloß Gottorf, 1998.

<sup>20</sup> E.g. Lyonel Feininger, *The Gate*, 1912, etching and drypoint on handmade paper, 27.2 × 20 cm print, 42 × 32 cm page, Sammlung Loebermann, Grafik-Kabinett der Kunstsammlungen Chemnitz. And *Umpferstedt II*, 1914, oil, canvas, 100 × 80 cm, The Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

<sup>21</sup> E.g. Lyonel Feininger, *Marine*, 1918, woodcut, 28 × 37.6 cm print, 35.1 × 50.1 cm page, Sammlung Loebermann, Grafik-Kabinett der Kunstsammlungen Chemnitz. And *Kreuzende Segelschiffe 2*, 1919, woodcut, 17.1 × 22.5 print, 23.4 × 30.4 cm page, in the same collection.

<sup>22</sup> His companions on holiday at this time were Walter Gropius and Wasily Kandinsky. For more on Feininger's stay at Timmendorf on the North Sea (Timmendorfer Strand) see Werner Timm (ed.), *Lyonel Feininger, Erlebnis und Vision. Die Reisen an die Ostsee 1892–1935* (exhibition catalogue), Museum Ostdeutsche Galerie Regensburg, Kunsthalle Bremen, 1992, p. 119.

<sup>23</sup> For more on the romantic character of Feininger's compositions see e.g. *Lyonel Feininger und die Romantik* (exhibition catalogue), Galerie Quedlinburg, 1991. And Günter Braunsberg, "Feininger und die Romantik,"

surfaces gaining an almost geometric cut and in painted works the light of illuminated colour is allowed in. Into a meditative mood the painter places figures,<sup>24</sup> and with them even the observer, at the proscenium of the scene, often the seashore, with the same sense of place as the lonely beings in the paintings of Caspar David Friedrich.<sup>25</sup> From here perhaps a marvelling vision and a tremulous interior could fill experiences from the theatre of the world, flowing from aqueous abundance and atmospheres, where they issue forth at the mercy of an overwhelming feeling of the immensity of the universe. Feininger's drawings and paintings from this time are far from mere impressions; in addition to sensations there are inner tremors of emotions projected into them and, just as in the case of the landscape paintings of a great romantic, they become metaphors of distance, eternity, unending transformation, human loneliness and transience.<sup>26</sup> Despite the mentioned affinity as to how he dealt with the romanticism of the 19th century, there are however elementary designs by Feininger, defined by seascapes with flowing clouds and boats, sometimes minimised visions in which there are shapes of the horizontally divided surface of the water and skies abridged into rectangles; works contemporary, actual and personally connected to the possibilities of the language of geometric abstraction.<sup>27</sup>

Thus as around the year 1913 and in the period after 1922, when he regularly travelled to the North Sea (Timmendorf, Heiligenhafen, later Depp) the inspirational platform of many compositions of the 1920s and later years became again the indefatigable "diary" of precisely dated drawings. The artist again deposited into them a number of artistic observations of quickly changing landscape scenery, at the same time often attempting to intensively experience the happenings and interpret them even into words, as is witnessed by a number of emotional and poetic sounding texts included in letters to his friends. Evidently this satisfied his need to express the torrent of visual experiences and inner feelings about them in a different form. For example, in this letter from 9 September 1922: *"Ich komme soeben vom Strand herauf, wo ich spazieren war nach dem Frühstück und in heißer Sonne bei kühlem Nordwest saß und die Wolken überm Meer gezeichnet habe. Gestern noch so undurchdringlich bevölkert, und heute früh: strahlendes Cölinblau von unsagbarer Reinheit, und ein ganzer Kontinent von Sturmwolken, die durch die neue Windrichtung gesprengt, hoch aufgetürmt und beiseite geschoben werden und weggeräumt in langen Lagen. Das Wasser unter Land ganz still, nur gleichmäßig von der Brise gekräuselt, und unter den fernen mächtigen hellen Wolken am Horizont leuchtet das Blau des Meeres auf, in breiten Spiegelungen. Ich fühle so unzählige Bilder auftauchen in meiner Phantasie, habe eine solche Sehnsucht nach Verwirklichung dieser Visionen, es ist ein Sichanklammern an dieses Leben mit allen Erinnerungen [...]. Der Anschluß an die gegenwärtige Minute war da – ein rein vegetatives, von außen hereinrückendes Behagen, das mich körperlich und geistig durchrieselte. Ich fing an zu notieren, zuerst halb nur bei der Sache – aber dann, wie durch einen Glücksfall, gestalteten sich die Wolken überm Meer immer schöner, und ich geriet in Schwingung und machte 5–6 Strand- und Wolkennotizen, über die ich mich noch nach Jahren freuen werde. Nichts störte, und ich wußte*

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in: *Lyonel Feininger, Städte und Küsten, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen, Druckgrafik* (exhibition catalogue), Kunsthalle Nuremberg, 1992, p. 38–40.

<sup>24</sup> See for example Lyonel Feininger, *Wolke I*, 1922, drawing in pen and India ink, watercolour, 25.5 × 28.5 cm, private collection, depicted in *Lyonel Feininger Gemälde, Aquarelle, Graphiken* (exhibition catalogue), Galerie Thomas, Munich 1992, unpaginated. And *Regatta*, 1925, drawing in pen and India ink, watercolour, 31.6 × 40.6 cm, Graphische Sammlung, Stiftung Pommern, Kiel. Then especially the later Feininger oil *Wolke nach dem Sturm (Vogelwolke)*, 1926, 43.8 × 71.1 cm, Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge.

<sup>25</sup> Caspar David Friedrich, *Mönch am Meer (Monk by the Sea)*, 1808–1809, Nationalgalerie, Berlin.

<sup>26</sup> Feininger's father died in 1922.

<sup>27</sup> Werner Timm, "Feininger und die Ostsee," in: *Lyonel Feininger, Städte und Küsten* (footnote 23), p. 42.

*gleich, diese halbe Stunde bleibt bestehen, wird Erinnerung und Sehnsucht zugleich, weil das Empfinden des Glücks so unmittelbar lebendig gewesen war.*"<sup>28</sup>

A source of intensively lived feeling of joy for Feininger were especially repeatedly viewed scenes whose main actors were ships, either one or a group of them. Out of their colours, noble shapes, elegant gliding over the waves, confrontations with their individualities are transformed into one of the most powerful aesthetic experiences which the artist again and newly added to his repertoire of artistic themes, which he was able in the near and distant future to call upon. In 1922 for example he enthusiastically wrote in a letter: *"Aber immerhin war ganz bezaubernd der Anblick so vieler Yachten, zum Teil ganz große Segler, und der exquisiten Motorboote. Und eine kleine Kutterjacht sah ich, die wie ein Spielzeug auf dem Wasser saß und die Verwirklichung eines Jugendideals war, ein schmales hochbordig aus dem Wasser ragendes Schiffchen aus Mahagoniholz – leuchtend braunrot – mit tiefem Bleikiel, eingerichtet mit Kajüten ganz unterm Verdeck – so rein und knapp in der Linie! und so, daß ein Mann das Ding segeln könnte. Das zierlichste Jachtlein trug auch eine winzige englische Flogge oben an der Mastspitze, ist natürlich, seetüchtig wie es sich geziemt von einer englischen Jacht, herübergesegelt. Ich werde lange an diese Jacht denken."*<sup>29</sup>

From the above it follows that it is possible to see Feininger's coloured drawing "*zwei yachten*" from 1922 as probably one of many drawn notations which he created during his stay at the North Sea. The choice of the subject of two sailboats chasing each other playfully on the surface like voices in a fugue<sup>30</sup> and his approach are in line with the contemporary developmental phase of Feininger's artistic expression. The artist dealt with this same subject again seven years later. The more worked on and extensive coloured drawing "*zwei yachten I*" is today in the collection of the National Museum in Gdansk.<sup>31</sup> The work on this almost identical composition, differing from the drawing in the "scrapbook" by more precise definition of details (e.g. the alignment of

<sup>28</sup> From a letter by Feininger (Timmendorfer Strand, 9 September 1922). See Johannes Langer, *Lyonel Feininger. Segelschiffe*, Stuttgart 1962, p. 22–23. *"I've just come from the strand, where I went for a stroll after breakfast and sat in the hot sun by the cool northwest breeze and drew the clouds over the sea. Yesterday it was so thickly clouded, and this morning: bright cerulean blue of unspeakable purity, and an entire continent of storm clouds, blown by the new direction of the wind, high-piled, pushed aside and cleared away in long layers. The water below the still land rippled slightly in the breeze and below the distant lights there were powerfully bright clouds on the horizon on the blue of the sea, shining in broad reflections. I feel countless images popping up in my imagination, I have such a yearning for the realization of these visions, there is a clinging to this life with all its memories [...]. The continuation to the present moment was there – a purely vegetative contentment which comes from without, trickling through me physically and mentally. I began noting it all only partially committed – but then, as if by a stroke of luck, the clouds over the sea became more beautiful, and I became more enthusiastic, and made 5–6 sketches of beach and clouds, which will still please me for years to come. Nothing was disturbing, and I knew right away this half-hour would remain with me, will become memory and longing simultaneously, because the experience of happiness had become so immediately alive."*

<sup>29</sup> From Feininger's letter (Timmendorfer Strand, 31 August 1922). See Johannes Langer (footnote 28), p. 22. *"But after all, the sight of so many yachts was so pleasing, some really great sails, and the exquisite motor boats. And I saw a small cutter yacht, sitting on the water like a toy, which was a realization of my youthful ideal: a narrow high-boarded small ship made out of mahogany – a bright amber – high off the water, with a deep leaded keel, furnished with cabins completely below deck – so pure in line! And such that one man could sail the thing. This most graceful small yacht also had a tiny English flag on top of the mast, of course – so shipshape, as befits an English yacht which has made the trip over. I shall remember this yacht for some time to come."*

<sup>30</sup> Lyonel Feininger, a superb violinist, composed his first fugue in 1921 and a number of others in 1922.

<sup>31</sup> Lyonel Feininger, *Zwei Yachten I*, 1929, India ink, watercolour, 29 × 37.8 cm, signed in pen and India ink on the lower left below the picture: *Feininger*, lower centre: *zwei yachten I*, lower right: 3. 9. 29, Muzeum Narodowe w Gdansku (prov: Stadtmuseum Danzig), depicted in *Lyonel Feininger, Die Zeichnungen und Aquarelle*, Hamburger Kunsthalle Tübingen, 1998, p. 138. It is closest in character to the compositions from 1922 and Feininger's oil from 1929, *Sailboats*, The Detroit Institute of Art, which might be considered in its refined form the apex of this theme.



the sheets of the mainsails of the boat in the foreground) and a cooler blue-grey colour scheme in part of the water surface and sky, in the past raised questions of whether otherwise it should be placed alongside a number of other compositions by Feininger with sailboats as their subject. A number of period photographs from the 1920s and later have been preserved<sup>32</sup> in which Feininger's exquisite model boats have been captured on various occasions. As it has already been partly mentioned, working on them, and then later testing their sailing capabilities, was a lifelong hobby for Feininger, and also involved his artistic sons Andreas and Lux, starting in their childhood.<sup>33</sup> Especially the photographs in the collection of the Harvard Art Museums in Cambridge<sup>34</sup> where two model sailboats are engaged, could have been composition drafts for Feininger's drawings. They offer the possibility that in their case the artist identically depicted an experience not from watching real ships, but one made by his own hand by releasing model ships. The border between the method of depicting the scale and the function of distinguishing the objects is quite indistinct and Feininger evidently did not burden himself with making it more clear. Otherwise it is also not so clear as to the difference in the height of the artist's enthusiasm for looking at one or another category of sailboat. Actual ships seen sometimes through eyes of practically childlike enthusiasm were expressed as lovely toys,<sup>35</sup> at other times his small models fought the waves with the heroism of sailboats of more monumental dimensions. In this sense Feininger's words in a letter to his wife from 2 July 1925 still echo: "[...] *Auf der Rega gingen stellenweise große Wellen mit Schaumköpfen, direkt vom Meere herein. Mehrere Male gingen die Jungs und ich Modellboote auf dem stürmischen Fluß segeln, und es war wirklich ganz famos, wie die kleinen Dinger aufkreuzten gegen Wellen, die weitaus höher waren als ihre Mastspitzen. Namentlich mein neuer Kutter übertrifft an 'Am-Wind-Eigenschaften' jedes Modell, das ich gesehen habe, und weit größere Boote würden auch von ihm leicht bezwungen werden, im Kampf gegen starken Wind.*"<sup>36</sup>

Feininger's small coloured drawing "Zwei Yachten" from 1922 goes together with a number of others into the "scrapbook" of integrated works (e.g. by Schiele, Degas, Nolde, Klee, etc.) into a group of works which certainly best fit the collecting interests of perhaps a still more primary owner of the gathered "scrapbook". The economically interpreted simple motif is a personal and typical artistic signature, which despite its conciseness expresses much about its author's artistic attitude, life story and professional career.

Translation: PhDr. Matthew Sweney, M.A.

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<sup>32</sup> Their author was often the artist's son Lux Feininger, who together with his brother from their childhood took part in testing models on the water. For example Theo Lux Feininger, "Models of Yachts on a Stormy Sea," a photograph depicted in *Lyonel Feininger. Aquarelle und Zeichnungen*, Graphische Sammlung, Stiftung Pommern, Kiel 1991, p. 26.

<sup>33</sup> The photographer Andreas Bernhard Lyonel Feininger (27 December 1906 Paris – 18 February 1999), the photographer and painter Theodore Lux (Lukas) Feininger (11 June 1910 Berlin – 7 July 2011 Cambridge, Massachusetts).

<sup>34</sup> Lyonel Feininger?, photograph, 1920s, Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, depicted in *Lyonel Feininger, Die Zeichnungen und Aquarelle* (footnote 31), p. 219.

<sup>35</sup> See the citation from Feininger's letter in Johannes Langer, *Lyonel Feininger. Segelschiffe* (footnote 28).

<sup>36</sup> "[...] *On the Rega River some big waves with foamy heads came in directly from the sea. Several times the boys and I went to sail model boats on the turbulent river, and it was really grand, how those little things sailed against waves far higher than their mastheads. Especially my new cutter, which exceeds the wind characteristics of every model that I have ever seen – far larger boats would be easily bested by it in a fight against strong winds.*" See *Lyonel Feininger, Aquarelle und Zeichnungen* (footnote 32), p. 26.

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## Prague 1948–1989: The nineteenth century became the battlefield

“What happens to the culture of a place after war, during dictatorship? To its sense of history, its memory? What happens to its buildings, to the squares, parks and monuments that provide the settings for urban and national life? How do cities rebuild after war? What happens when entire sections – ghettos, for instance – vanish? Why do some cities strive to recapture the past by duplicating precisely what is gone, while others move into the future by embracing the new? How do citizens retain (or reconstitute) their culture after decades of discontinuity?

What is the relationship between the sweep of world events and the daily round of life?”<sup>1</sup>

It was hard for me to answer Nancy Levinson’s cross examination. I needed more than ten years for answers. First, because the questions are too many for one essay, and second, because I can’t do so without a risky empathy with the views and experiences of western visitors to Prague. I believe that those visitors who saw Prague before 1989, and especially afterwards, were very surprised by how little the communist regime left its signature on the city – if we overlook the general shabbiness, which seemed very “Kafkaesque” to the fans of Prague’s most famous writer, Franz Kafka.

During the communist reign over the city, during 1948–1989, not one important architectural monument disappeared from Prague’s historic core. Some monuments were even added, as we shall soon see. Even the ghetto did not disappear then: it – with the exception of the most valuable synagogues and the famous Jewish cemetery – had already been destroyed by the Haussmannesque reconstruction of part of the historic city center after 1895.<sup>2</sup> Events during the war years, 1939–1945, did not harm Prague very much. What is more, neither in the center nor in the districts surrounding it do we find any monumental, neoclassical “structures of Socialism,” like those in Moscow, Warsaw, Bucharest, or the Czech cities Ostrava and Havířov. The huge Stalin monument, which was supposed to be such a structure in Prague, was destroyed in 1962 by the communist leadership itself.<sup>3</sup> The statues of other communist leaders ended up in museum warehouses soon after the Velvet revolution in 1989. Thus, overall, central Prague looks as if the development of its buildings and culture had stopped before World War II.

However, the more careful observer will not fail to notice that Prague nevertheless change in 1948–1989. For example, during that period, the entire eastern side of the historic center was cut off from the surrounding districts, built in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, by a four-lane highway, the “North-South Highway.” In the heights above the highway, in the Žižkov district, a new television transmitter tower stretches to the sky. If we descend from the foot of the tower into the Žižkov streets, we find that a large part of this working class neighborhood looks like a pre-fabricated housing estate, just like those which have formed the entire outer ring of Prague since the fifties.

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Nancy Levinson, an editor-in-chief of the *Harvard Design Magazine*, to author, March 1, 2000.

<sup>2</sup> Milada Vilímková, *Die prager Judenstadt* (Prague, 1990).

<sup>3</sup> Pavel Büchler, “Stalin s Shoes”, in David Harding, ed., *Decadent: Public Art Contentious Term and Contested Practice* (Glasgow, 1997), p. 26–39. – Zdeněk Hojda and Jiří Pokorný, *Pomníky a zapomníky* (Memorials and Immemorials) (Prague–Litomyšl, 1996).



Jaroslav Fragner, reconstruction of the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague-Old Town, 1949–1954.  
Photo Rostislav Švácha, 2011





The North-South Highway.

Background: Museum of the City of Prague,  
building by Antonín Balšánek, 1896–98.  
Photo Czech Press Agency (ČTK), 1978

Some of these brutal acts can be explained by the inertia of old city planning visions, but also by the influence of contemporary western ideas, which the communist government adapted for its own purposes. However, they also reflect a certain concept of history and historic values. And this concept always – not only in Prague, and not only under the communist government – also determines the way we plan our future.

Events connected with the reconstruction of the Bethlehem Chapel (Betlémská kaple) in Prague's historic center, provide testimony about how the concept of history began to affect Prague's appearance after 1948.

The chapel is generally considered a valuable monument of the European Reformation, because Mistr Jan Hus (John Hus), one of Martin Luther's most important predecessors, preached in it at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In the 1830s an apartment house was built on the site. Fragments of the chapel were discovered during archeological research in 1919, and its restoration began to be considered. However, the decision to go ahead was not made until July 1948, by the communist government.

It was made at the instigation of the Minister of Education and Culture, Zdeněk Nejedlý, a professor of musicology and history at Charles University in Prague, and probably the most influential inventor of the genealogy of Czech communism. Nejedlý saw the Hussites – Hus's military followers, before whom all Europe shook in 1420–1434 – as the true predecessors of the communists. The era of the "Hussite revolution" therefore seemed to him to be the most glorious period in Czech history. A second glorious period began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the Czech nation awoke from the "darkness" of oppression by the Viennese Hapsburgs, and set out on the road toward its political emancipation.

The chapel was reconstructed in 1949–1954 by Jaroslav Fragner, an architect with an outstanding functionalist past, which was clearly reflected in his concept of the reconstruction.<sup>4</sup> Nejedlý himself explained the ideas which the new regime wished to incorporate in the newly revived Bethlehem Chapel, at the festive gathering in front of the chapel on July 5, 1954. According to Nejedlý, the first Czechoslovak Republic (1918–1938) should have renovated the

<sup>4</sup> Benjamin Fragner, ed., *Jaroslav Fragner: Náčrty a plány* (Sketches and plans) (Prague, 1999). – Alois Kubiček, *Betlémská kaple* (The Bethlehem Chapel) (Prague, 1953).



Carl Schlimp, Praha-Těšnov train station, 1872–1875.  
Photo Archives of the Institut of Art History of the Czech Academy of Sciences



Demolition of the Praha-Těšnov train station by Carl Schlimp, 1872–1875. Photo ČTK, 1985





Pavel Štecha, *Žižkov-Křížový vrch*  
(Žižkov-Cross Hill), 1972

chapel, but it was governed by capitalists, so it could not have a sense “for a monument reminding us of our people’s first great resistance against aristocratic, ecclesiastical and secular supremacy.” That was why the chapel had to be renewed by us, “the government and the people of a new, different Czechoslovakia, inspired by the new spirit of the communist party...” Nejedlý answered the delicate question of why the new atheist regime invested so much energy in renovating a religious building, simply by saying that the chapel didn’t even look like a chapel; “it’s completely different from church buildings.” Even Hus’s sermons, according to Nejedlý, were not really the usual church homilies, but were “education of the people.”<sup>5</sup>

The new regime saw architectural monuments as documents of historical developments, from which the “working people” could draw lessons about their glorious past, as an irreplaceable source of “national self-awareness.”<sup>6</sup> Exemplary care for monuments was supposed to become an important argu-

ment in the battle with those nostalgic for the first republic and with western “imperialists,” who allegedly were not able to look after their own monuments the way the new communist society did. In 1950–1952, thirty Czech cities, including Prague, were proclaimed historic reservations.<sup>7</sup> In 1958 the communist government passed a law on historical monuments, which the first republic did not have at all, and which surpassed similar western laws and norms in strictness and generosity. The new regime’s position in this was seemingly made easier by the fact that after 1948 the state confiscated the overwhelming majority of protected buildings from their original owners. However, care for the monuments soon began to exceed the abilities of the underdeveloped socialist economy, and many individual buildings, as well as entire towns, began to deteriorate.

Zdeněk Nejedlý had a tendency to judge monuments selectively. For example, he was not sympathetic to Baroque architecture, because it reminded him of the time of national humiliation after the Battle of White Mountain (*Bílá hora*) in 1620. However, the experts who organized national monument care after 1948 were able to avoid such ideological preferences. Valuable buildings from the entire preserved historic heritage began to be protected, from the early Middle Ages through the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Protection of “monuments of the workers’ movement,” which the regime began to emphasize after the Soviet invasion in 1968, became a kind of communist

<sup>5</sup> Zdeněk Nejedlý, *Husův Betlém a náš dnešek* (Hus’s Bethlehem and Our Present) (Prague, 1954), p. 11–12, 15, 16, 19.

<sup>6</sup> Zdeněk Wirth and Augusta Müllerová, ed., *Architektura v českém národním dědictví* (Architecture in the Czech National Heritage) (Prague, 1962), p. 11–12.

<sup>7</sup> Vladimír Novotný, ed., *Paměť měst* (The Memory of Cities) (Prague, 1975). – Ivo Hlobil, *Teorie městských památkových rezervací* (The theory of urban historical reservations) (Prague, 1985).





Iren Stehli, *Moving from Žižkov*, circa 1980

idiosyncrasy.<sup>8</sup> Nonetheless, it was architectural monuments from the 19<sup>th</sup> century which became the subject of disputes between the regime, historic preservation institutions, and later the general public.

The architecture of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, more precisely the architecture of historicism, began to be taken seriously by the entire cultural world only fifty years ago.<sup>9</sup> Until then, perception of it was determined by the modernist doctrine, which was codified in Giedion's and Pevsner's writings<sup>10</sup> and which saw the products of historicism as non-creative architecture, inauthentic, dressing new purposes in old, ill-fitting clothes. However, in the communist countries, which followed the Soviet cultural model after 1948, these condemnations of historicism lost validity. The architecture promoted by Stalin or Zhdanov was itself a kind of historicism, and its architects therefore began to see 19<sup>th</sup> century historicism as an instructive, legitimate predecessor. For example, the large Prague exhibition in 1952, *Czech architects-realists of the nineteenth century* (*Čeští architekti-realisté devatenáctého století*) was put together in that spirit.<sup>11</sup>

Nonetheless, a difficulty lay hidden in the ideological ambiguity of this historic segment. On the one hand, 19<sup>th</sup> century Czech architecture appeared as the witness of a great era in Czech history, second to the Hussite revolution. On the other hand, however, it appeared as the product of capitalism, or the bourgeoisie, whose heritage the communist regime wanted to cast into the abyss of forgetfulness. "What did the bourgeoisie bring in art that was new, that was its own?" asked Nejedlý rhetorically in 1952. "What are its banks? A pile of bad taste, pompous accumulations of magnificent staircases, fancy ceilings, gilded decorations..." According to Nejedlý

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Eva Šádová, ed., *Staletá Praha X: Pražské památky pokrokových tradic* (Centuries-Old Prague X. Prague Monuments to Progressive Traditions) (Prague, 1981).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Jindřich Vybíral, "Polibek ropuchy: Diskuse o historismu v architektuře 19. století" (Kissing the Toad: A Discussion of 19th-century Architecture), *Umění/Art*, 44 (1996), p. 483–498.

<sup>10</sup> Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time, and Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941). – Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture* (Harmondsworth–New York, 1943).

<sup>11</sup> Jarmila Brožová, ed., *Čeští architekti-realisté devatenáctého století* (Czech Architects-Realists of the Nineteenth Century) (Prague, 1952).



Iren Stehli, demolition of buildings at Komenského square, circa 1980

19<sup>th</sup> century architecture could rise to pure values only if it grew from roots among the “people,” not bourgeois roots. For example, Josef Zíték, architect of the neorenaissance building of the National Theater in Prague from 1868–1883, succeeded in this. Nejedlý did not consider Zíték’s work a “stereotypical bourgeois theater”; “the people themselves gathered the funds for it...”<sup>12</sup>

Some other theoreticians from the fifties, close to the art history sociology of Arnold Hauser and Frederick Antal,<sup>13</sup> tried to find a difference between the early and high period of 19<sup>th</sup> century historicism, when the bourgeoisie still fulfilled its progressive historical role, and the late, declining, eclectic period, a “reflection of the growth of capitalism and the creation of imperialism, a reactionary overthrow...”<sup>14</sup> Yet the values of Zíték’s National Theater seemed unshakable, and some architects even imitated them in their designs.

If the attitude of the new regime’s spokesmen to special monuments of historicism was inconsistent, but predominantly positive, the same cannot be said about their relationship to large 19<sup>th</sup> century city planning areas, such as Vinohrady and Smíchov in Prague, or the redeveloped part of the ghetto in the Josefov neighborhood around today’s Pařížská street. A typical bourgeois neighborhood grew up in the re-developed part of Josefov, “every building tried to outdo the next in luxury and grandeur,”<sup>15</sup> and therefore it would be right to redevelop it again. The planners of the fifties were preparing a similar fate for another typical product of capitalist exploitation, the poor workers’ neighborhoods on the periphery of the inner city. They could find the ideologi-

<sup>12</sup> Zdeněk Nejedlý, *O výtvarnictví, hudbě a poesii* (On Art, Music and Poetry) (Prague, 1952), p. 8–9, 14–15.

<sup>13</sup> Frederick Antal’s book, *Florentine Painting and Its Social Background* (London, 1947), was published in Czech translation in 1954.

<sup>14</sup> Oldřich Starý, “Devatenácté století a národní tradice probuzenecké doby” (The Nineteenth Century and the National Tradition of the Period of Reawakening), *Architektura ČSR*, 10 (1951), p. 350–372.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 371.

cal support for their re-development directly with J. V. Stalin: “An inevitable feature of the big towns in bourgeois countries” – Stalin wrote in *Problems of Leninism* in 1939 – “is the slums, the so-called working-class districts on the outskirts of the towns – a heap of dark, damp and dilapidated dwellings, mostly of the basement type, where usually the poor live in filth and curse their fate. The revolution in the U.S.S.R. has meant the disappearance of such slums.”<sup>16</sup> In the same way, the old working class neighborhood of Žižkov was supposed to disappear from Prague.

The fall of the Stalin cult in 1956 also subverted the vogue for Stalinist architectural historicism. From that point on, Czech architects tried to revive their own functionalist tradition and resume interrupted contacts with western modernism.<sup>17</sup> Of course, renewal of modernist doctrines led to renewal of the critical attitude to 19<sup>th</sup> century historicism. This reversal generally did not affect high-quality free-standing buildings, such as the National Theater. However, it did bring a danger for average historicist works, and particularly for 19<sup>th</sup> century city planning areas. As early as 1957 it seemed unbelievable to the theoretician Otakar Nový that Prague’s Josefov neighborhood would ever become a “monument protected by the state.”<sup>18</sup> And the idea of historical preservation of Žižkov struck him as a bad joke: “Imagine this beautiful paradox: Žižkov as a national historical reservation! Obviously we’d better hurry...”<sup>19</sup>

In the sixties, when Prague’s population grew to one million, the regime hurried primarily to address transportation problems. In 1967 the government decided to build a subway system. It also tried to deal with the growth in private car ownership, which indicated that Czech society was beginning to take on signs of a consumer life style. In 1955, 20 thousand Prague residents owned cars, in 1965 it was 75 thousand, in 1975 as high as 200 thousand.<sup>20</sup> Urban planners therefore returned to the idea of a north-south thoroughfare in inner Prague, various designs for which had been appearing since the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This “North-South Highway” was supposed to lead through traffic away from the city’s historic core. It crossed the Nusle valley on the south border of the historic reservation across a new bridge, built in 1965–1973, and then continued as a highway to Brno and Bratislava.

Since World War II, similar highways through the center of a city had also been planned in the West; for example, in New York under Robert Moses.<sup>21</sup> In Prague the idea took hold with a delay caused by the underdeveloped post-war economy. The communist government, which decided to build the North-South highway in 1965, wanted to present it as evidence of socialism’s technical capability. And it remembered to provide the appropriate ideological accompaniment. Directly in the center of the city, next to the National Museum, the remarkable modernist parliament building grew up above the highway (1967–1973). The Palace of Culture (Palác kultury), intended for communist party congresses, was built in 1975–1981 in the area in front of the new bridge, which was named after the first communist president Klement Gottwald. The names of

<sup>16</sup> See Oldřich Starý, “Sovětská architektura” (Soviet Architecture), *Architektura ČSR*, 10 (1951), p. 19. For an English translation of Stalin’s statement, see “Report to the Seventeenth Party Congress on the Work of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. (B.)” in J. V. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1976, p. 671. Also available on the Internet at [www.marx2mao.org](http://www.marx2mao.org).

<sup>17</sup> See the book *Česká architektura/Czech Architecture, 1945–1995* (Prague, 1995).

<sup>18</sup> Otakar Nový, “Historické město a nový celek” (The Historic City and the New Whole), *Výtvarná práce*, 5 (1957), no. 15, p. 6–7.

<sup>19</sup> Otakar Nový, “Praha stověžatá a jedna věž” (Prague of a Hundred Towers and One Tower), *Výtvarná práce*, 5 (1957), no. 11, p. 6.

<sup>20</sup> Jiří Kohout and Jiří Vančura, *Praha 19. a 20. století: Technické proměny* (Prague of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries. Technical Changes) (Prague, 1986).

<sup>21</sup> Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air* (New York, 1982), p. 169.





School on Komenského square next to pre-fabricated panel buildings. Photo Jan Malý, 2000

individual segments of the highway commemorated events from the pro-Soviet political overthrow in February 1948.

The highway was built over the area of Prague's defunct fortifications, and thus seriously damaged three city parks which had been established on these sites in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It also disturbed the context of several important architectural monuments of historicism. It cut off from the historic center the neorenaissance buildings of the Museum of the City of Prague, the State Opera and the National Museum, which we can now reach from central Prague only via a dark pedestrian underpass. It also brought a tragic fate to the neorenaissance train station Praha-Těšnov, the work of the Viennese architect Carl Schlimp dating from 1872–1875, which Schlimp's contemporaries described as "the most beautiful train station building in Austria–Hungary."<sup>22</sup> Part of Schlimp's building was demolished in 1977. The remaining torso was supposed to be used as a railway museum, a marketplace or a student dining hall.

In Prague in the eighties historicism was already considered an indisputable component of the cultural heritage, which was to some extent due to the influence of western postmodernism. Laypeople as well as experts from state historical preservation offices fought to save the torso of Schlimp's building; the laypeople were mainly represented by the Club for Old Prague (Klub Za starou Prahu), probably the oldest still active civic association of people involved in monument protection in Europe.<sup>23</sup> Despite all this, the train station was demolished on March 16, 1985.<sup>24</sup> Two weeks later, April 1, 1985, the daily *Mladá fronta* published a fictional report about preparations to blow up other neorenaissance buildings around the highway.<sup>25</sup> Although the newspaper confessed to the hoax in the very next issue, on April 2, the author of the article was

<sup>22</sup> Taťána Petrasová, "Vlaky a katedrály" (Trains and Cathedrals) in Vladimír Macura and Rudolf Pohl, *Osudový vlak* (Prague, 1995) p. 35–37.

<sup>23</sup> Kateřina Bečková, ed., *Sto let Klubu Za starou Prahu: 1900–2000* (One Hundred Years of the Club for Old Prague) (Prague, 2000), p. 80–81.

<sup>24</sup> hp [= Jan Plachetka], "Nádraží na konečné" (The Train Station at the End of the Line), *Mladá fronta*, March 18, 1985, p. 1.

<sup>25</sup> Václav Krajánek, "Zdařilý zásah!" (A Successful Stroke!), *Mladá fronta*, April 1, 1985, p. 2.

punished after intervention from “high places”.<sup>26</sup>

In the seventies it was finally the turn of Žižkov, a neighborhood crawling over the hills east of the historic core of Prague. Žižkov grew spontaneously from the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; only in 1865 did the then mayor, Karel Hartig, develop a master plan for it. The network of streets is often irregular, and resembles medieval towns. The greater part of Žižkov consists of poor working class apartment buildings with open corridors in the courtyards; only a fraction of the apartments have bathrooms and flushing toilets. Even though Žižkov offers unhealthy and unhygienic housing, it nonetheless stands out for its unique atmosphere, where a strong local patriotism survives. Workers’ and anarchists’ associations played an important role in the cultural history of Žižkov. The poet Jaroslav Seifert, the only Czech Nobel laureate, was born there in 1901. In 1922 the writer Jaroslav Hašek published his famous novel *The Good Soldier Švejk and his Fortunes in the World War* in Žižkov.<sup>27</sup>

Reconstruction of Žižkov had been planned since the 1930s. However, the decision to go ahead with re-development was only passed by the National Committee of Prague in May 1973. Žižkov was thus intended to have the same post-war fate as old Manchester, London’s East End and other blue-collar neighborhoods in western Europe; in the seventies, however, they were no longer demolished but modernized and reconstructed more sensitively, without denying the principles of their city planning structure. The plan approved for the redevelopment of Žižkov, prepared by the architect Miloš Sádek in 1978, nonetheless anticipated the demolition of entire blocks, which were to be replaced by buildings assembled from concrete panels.<sup>28</sup> The reason



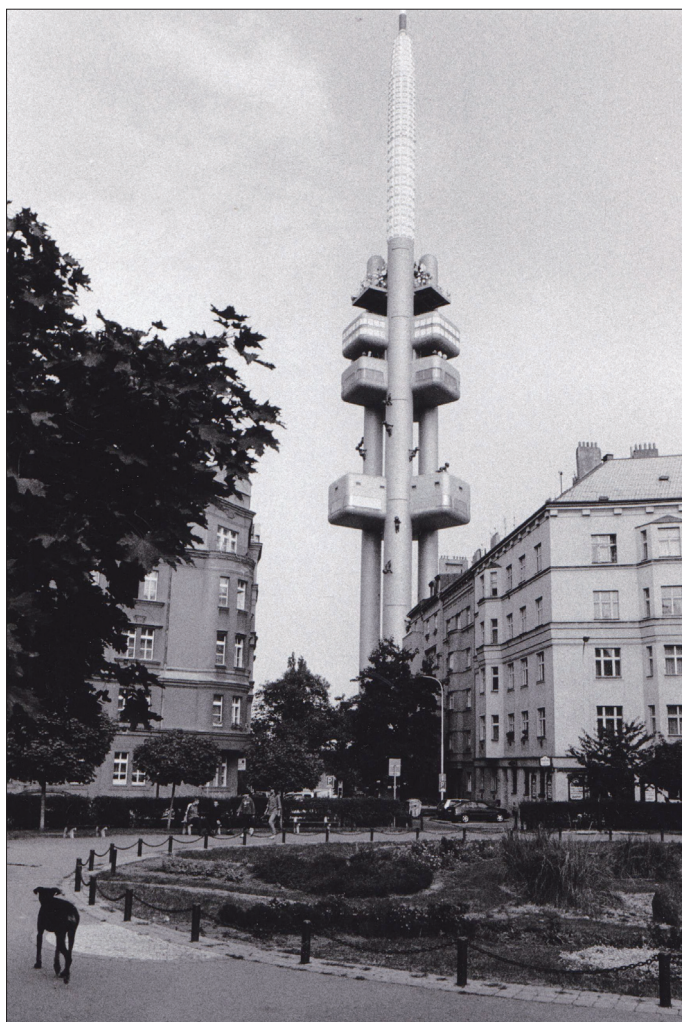
Panorama of Prague with television tower in Žižkov.  
View from the gardens of the Prague Castle.  
Photo ČTK, 1999

<sup>26</sup> According to my mother, who worked in the *Mladá fronta* publishing house.

<sup>27</sup> Pavel Augusta, ed., *Kniha o Praze 3* (Book about Prague 3) (Prague, 1994). – Friedrich Kröhnke, *Ciao Vaschek* (Zürich, 2003). – Zdeněk Šesták, *Jak žil Žižkov před sto lety* (Žižkov, How Lived Hundred Years Ago) (Prague, 2005). – Jaroslav Hašek, *The Good Soldier Švejk and his Fortunes in the World War*, translation by Cecil Parrott (London, 1973).

<sup>28</sup> Miloš Sádek, “Praha 3. Přestavba Žižkova” (The Rebuilding of Žižkov), *Architektura ČSR*, 37 (1978), p. 271–273.





Television tower in Žižkov with David Černý's "babies."  
Photo Jan Malý, 2000.

for this radical approach was primarily the fact that Czech construction companies had undergone thorough industrialization since the fifties and gotten rid of traditional handiwork occupations, and, except for companies specialized in historical preservation, no one knew how to repair old buildings any more. Sádek's team made an honest attempt to design better panel buildings than those in Prague's satellite housing estates. However, the first phase of the reconstruction of Žižkov around Olšanské square, completed in 1984, did not have convincing results.

"If I lived to see the day when our street in Žižkov would be hemmed by white panel towers, I wouldn't cover my eyes, but I would walk down the street like a foreigner through a strange and completely indifferent city," wrote the poet Jaroslav Seifert in his memoirs in 1982.<sup>29</sup> He was not the only one to be troubled by the fate of old Žižkov. Beginning in the seventies, a group of young photographers, including Pavel Štecha, Jaroslav Bárta and Iren Stehli from

Switzerland documented life in the streets and buildings prepared for redevelopment; Nigel Henderson had done something similar twenty years earlier in London's East End. The young architects group DNA organized exhibitions and performances, which tried to make fun of the methods for reconstruction of Žižkov. The mood of the opposition, which began to identify the brutality of the redevelopment with communist social engineering, also gave rise to Václav Havel's 1987 play *Redevelopment (Asanace)*: "BERGMAN: Oh, they're opposed to the redevelopment. They think we want to take their homes away. – ULCH: Typical of those people! If we took their attitude into account nothing would ever be built! Civilization would become moribund!"<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Jaroslav Seifert, *Všecky krásy světa* (All the Beauties of the World) (Prague, 1982), p. 619.

<sup>30</sup> Václav Havel, *Asanace: Hra o pěti jednáních* (Redevelopment: A Play in Five Acts) (Munich, 1988), p. 25. – See also Václav Havel, "Redevelopment," in *Selected Plays, 1984–1987* (London and Boston, 1994) p. 141–207.



In contrast, communist politicians and journalists devoted to them insisted that Žižkov's residents were looking forward to its reconstruction, that they would all be happy to move out into comfortable panel buildings on the outskirts of Prague.<sup>31</sup> "Public and building meetings were held; everyone thus understood the situation, and there wasn't even one case of someone not wanting to move or having to be moved by court order or someone committing suicide," said the chairman of the Žižkov national committee, Jiří Šebek, in the spring of 1989.<sup>32</sup>

By then the second phase of redevelopment was taking place around Komenského square, laid out in 1865 by mayor Hartig. In 1873 Hartig built a school on the square, an average neo-renaissance building, which the redevelopment was supposed to leave alone. However, in 1987 the construction company Konstruktiva decided to tear it down and build a new one instead, made of panels. The Konstruktiva manager argued that a new building would be cheaper than reconstruction, that the old school would not fit esthetically among the new panel buildings, and that in any case it was not a monument protected by the state. By that time, however, he ran up against strong resistance from the public. "It will always be necessary to confront the opinion that it is cheaper and simpler to destroy than to repair," architecture theoretician Petr Kratochvíl wrote in 1988. "Measuring with money here is a deceptive matter, because the value of old buildings and the historical environment in general lies in the fact that they are a living memory."<sup>33</sup> In the end the school on Komenského square survived the redevelopment of Žižkov. The sharpness and openness of debates which took place around it clearly revealed the decay of the communist regime.

Equally strong civic resistance sprang up in the late eighties against the 216 meter high TV tower which began to grow up in 1985 in view of the redeveloped Žižkov streets and indisputably disturbed the familiar image of Prague. The designer of the tower, the architect Václav Aulický, tried to find less conspicuous places for it,<sup>34</sup> but in Prague these were all already occupied by military and police transmitters. His tower finally ended up in Mahlerovy sady (Mahler gardens) in the northern corner of Žižkov, on the land of the less well-known Jewish cemetery, used from 1680 until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and closed in 1958.<sup>35</sup> Today only the most valuable part of the cemetery, in Fibichova street near the tower, has been preserved. The tower's unpopularity also came from the fact that communist politicians tried to present it as a symbol of Prague's modern development and as proof of their efforts to ensure the citizen-consumer's happy life. "A new, modern dominant feature of our capital city, appropriate to our time, is growing up before Prague's eyes day by day," the first secretary of the city committee of the communist party, Miroslav Štěpán, announced in November 1988.<sup>36</sup>

Just before the Velvet Revolution in November 1989, the architects' group DNA, known to us as an opponent of the Žižkov redevelopment, organized an exhibition in the U Řečických gallery; at the opening they burned the tower in effigy. The days of the revolution were accompanied by

<sup>31</sup> Luděk Schreib, "Nemůžeme čekat!" (We Can't Wait!), *Večerní Praha*, November 10, 1988, p. 5.

<sup>32</sup> Jiří Horský, "Žižkovem sem, Žižkovem tam..." (Žižkov Here, Žižkov There), *Československý architekt*, 35 (1989), no. 13, p. 4.

<sup>33</sup> Petr Kratochvíl, "Význam bezvýznamných památek aneb in memoriam jedné žižkovské školy" (The Importance of Unimportant Monuments, or In Memoriam One Žižkov School), *Československý architekt*, 34 (1988), no. 7, p. 1, 6.

<sup>34</sup> Petr Rampír, "Hovoří ing. arch. Václav Aulický" (Architect Václav Aulický Speaks), *Československý architekt*, 32 (1986), no. 4, p. 2.

<sup>35</sup> Pavel Augusta, ed., *Kniha o Praze 3*, p. 45–46.

<sup>36</sup> "Návštěva stavby televizního vysílače" (A Visit to the Television Tower), *Rudé právo*, November 12, 1988, p. 2.

calls for demolition of the tower. One of the then speakers of the Civic Forum, Vladimír Železný, allegedly said that “as long as the tower was standing, the revolution, for him, was not over.”<sup>37</sup>

I should probably outline what has happened with Prague in the last ten years. However, I would need another article for that, as things are far from being as simple as they seemed to be in November 1989. So I’ll stick to the themes I’ve discussed so far.

Redevelopment of Žižkov was halted immediately after the revolution. Part of the neighborhood even became a protected historical reservation in 1993. Nonetheless, wealthy businesspeople are settling here, and so the neighborhood is slowly losing its proletarian character.

As far as the North-South Highway is concerned, in the nineties there were proposals to close it or at least to restrict its capacity. However, as the number of car owners in Prague reached 520,000 in the year 2000, such proposals appear politically unacceptable. Nor did calls for the re-building of Schlimp’s Praha-Těšnov train station meet with greater success.

Vladimír Železný, a stubborn opponent of the Žižkov television tower in 1989, became the director of the phenomenally successful commercial TV station Nova in the mid-nineties. I probably don’t need to say any more. Some Prague residents protested against the tower until 1992, when broadcasting from it began, but today they are getting used to it, just like Paris once got used to the Eiffel tower. Some post-revolution visitors to Prague, who don’t remember what the city panorama looked like without the tower, for example, Kenneth Frampton, and Peter Cook from the legendary group Archigram, have spoken appreciatively about Václav Aulický’s architecture. It is also admired by the youngest Prague architects, the successors to the DNA generation.<sup>38</sup>

However, the sculptor David Černý still considers the tower a monument to communist. He has specialized in ironic metamorphoses of monuments and memorials with which the previous regime expressed its legitimacy and power. In 1990 Černý painted pink a monument of a Soviet tank in Smíchov in Prague; the tank originally commemorated the liberation of Czechoslovakia by the Red Army in May 1945, but many Prague residents tended to associate it with the Soviet invasion in 1968. Not long afterwards, Černý placed huge “Stalin’s bones” into the preserved pedestal of the destroyed Stalin memorial. According to Černý, the Žižkov tower was “pushed through by the Bolsheviks ... and it’s terrible that they destroyed the Jewish cemetery because of it.” To disturb its magical force, in May 2000 the artist attached large plastic sculptures of “babies” to the tower’s tubes. The babies are supposed to appear to the viewer as “angels of death”; they represent “something between childlike innocence and a kind of deep-rooted bacteria, spreading strangely...”<sup>39</sup> Černý’s works thus shift us from thinking about the communist regime’s relationship with the cultural heritage to thinking about our relationship with the heritage of the communist regime.

English translation by Věra Oráčová.

<sup>37</sup> Ivan Adamovič and Lubor Benda, “Věž (Václav Aulický)” (The Tower (Václav Aulický)), *Živel*, no. 9, April 1999, p. 12–16.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid.

<sup>39</sup> Monika Čermáková, “Žižkovská věž je něco divného, tvrdí David Černý” (The Žižkov Tower is Something Strange, Says David Černý), *Mladá fronta Dnes*, May 30, 2000, special section Prague, p. 1, 3.

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## The historical town Kroměříž and its monuments

The historical Moravian town Kroměříž is famous for the Baroque chateau of the Olomouc bishops and archbishops, its rich picture gallery and charming gardens – Chateau and Floral Garden. Nevertheless, it can offer so much more: the historical squares, decorated with sculptural monuments, picturesque streets with facades of town houses, the Renaissance Town Hall or several unique churches with rich interiors. While the castle and gardens enjoyed a professional art-appreciation several times, most recently in the publication of the National Heritage Institute in 2009, the town itself was waiting for new monographs for almost fifty years. However, this year finally released a new publication entitled “*Kroměříž, Historical Town & its Monuments*” (Kroměříž 2012).

“*The town of Kroměříž, the seat of the Bishop of Olomouc, is well built above the river Morava. Jan, Bishop of Olomouc, bought the village of Kroměříž in a fertile region, abounding in everything, from Otto, the Prince of Bohemia. Then Bruno made a town of the village and all bishops coming after him held it in great esteem. They adorned it with churches, in which the Lord is honoured and praised. For this reason the Lord blessed the town and its inhabitants. Thus the lord decorates the town which avoids the rule of fraud and usury. He adorned the town with the lord of the manor according to His will and then with strong walls which the enemy of the church, now matter how powerful, can never conquer.*”<sup>1</sup> This is what was written about Kroměříž in the *Mirror of the Glorious Margraviate of Moravia* in the early 1590s – probably right inside the walls of the Bishop’s Chateau – by the Polish Catholic writer Bartoloměj Paprocký of Hloholy (around 1543–1614), at that time the guest and protégé of the Bishop of Olomouc and his countryman, Stanislav Pavlovský (1579–1598).<sup>2</sup> In his ornate language he characterized Kroměříž as a town subject to and devoted to the Bishops of Olomouc. This condition lasting with a short interruption in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century from 1110–1125 for seven and a half centuries, that is up to 1870, when Kroměříž acquired the autonomous status. During this long era it underwent many changes, while passing – like other Central European towns of comparable size – through all typical periods of town development and stages of style. Due to the decisive share of the Bishops and Archbishops of Olomouc as builders, patrons, collectors, supporters of art and wealthy donors, Kroměříž very early became an unusually attractive town. That is why the poetry-loving 19<sup>th</sup> century adorned it with the attribute “Little Rome” or “Haná Athens”.

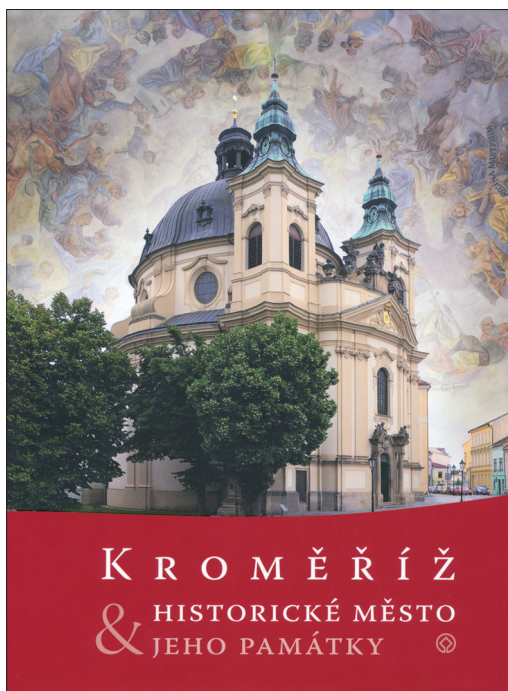
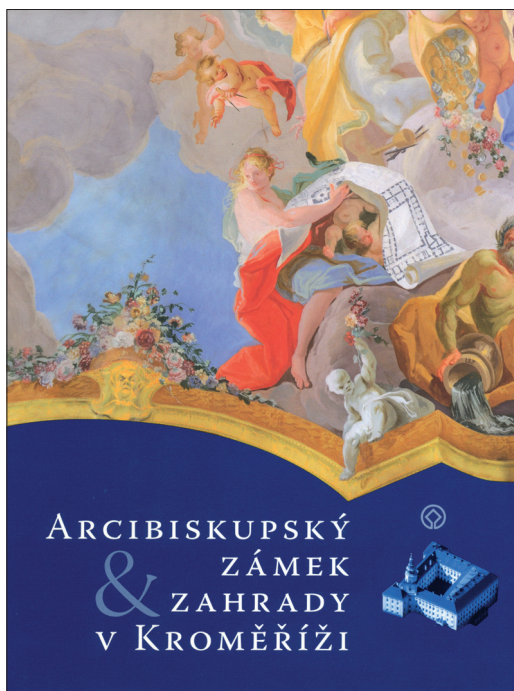
The wealth of such historical monuments as the Baroque Chateau of the Archbishop, a picture gallery of European stature, the historical gardens and the remnants of the medieval and early modern town walls were the reason why it was proclaimed an urban preservation area in 1978.<sup>3</sup> Exactly twenty years later, already after the fall of the Iron Curtain, the Archbishop’s Chateau in

<sup>1</sup> Bartoloměj Paprocký of Hloholy and Paprocká Vůle, *Zrcadlo slavného Markrabství moravského*. Olomouc, heirs of Friedrich Milichthaler 1593. – Quoted after A. Fialová – M. Mercová, *Moje město. Kroměřížská čítanka*. Kroměříž 2006, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> The dates refer to the years when the Bishop was in office. The same holds for all the text – the years given in bishops, archbishops, popes and monarchs are the years spent their office. In all the rest, in the brackets after the name, the common biographical data are recorded – dates of birth and death, as far as they are known.

<sup>3</sup> By a decree of the Ministry of Culture of ČSR no. 15869/78-VI/1 of 8 September 1978.





Ivana Perůtková, Book covers for “Archbishop’s Chateau & Gardens in Kroměříž” and “Kroměříž, Historical Town & its Monuments”, 2009, 2012.

Kroměříž, together with the local Chateau Garden and Floral Garden were put on the *UNESCO List of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage*. Urbanistic, architectural and artistic qualities of the town, and equally outstanding qualities of the surrounding countryside, thus acquired the prestigious, actually the highest possible international acknowledgement. Among those who take the credit for the contemporary glory, are the Olomouc Bishop Karl von Lichtenstein-Castelkorno (1664–1695) and two of his architects, Filiberto Luchese (1606–1666) and Giovanni Pietro Tencalla (1629–1702), accompanied by a large group of early Baroque builders, painters, sculptors and stucco artists. In 1665–1698 they raised the town from the ruins after the Thirty Years’ War, and gave it a new, highly representative face.

When in December 1998 the Archbishop’s Chateau in Kroměříž, together with the local Chateau Garden and the Floral Garden, was put on the *UNESCO List of World Cultural and Natural Heritage*, it was the second set of cultural monuments in the Czech Republic to enter this list, after the Lednice-Valtice grounds. Both of them meet in full the key ideas incorporated in the name of this prestigious charter. The Baroque Chateau in Kroměříž and its historical gardens represent values in architecture and fine arts as well as in urbanism, landscape, and pure nature. Moreover, since their beginning in the middle of the 1660s they have deliberately counted with such a conception. The theme of a universal view of the world as a unity of cultural and natural phenomena, aiming at a more perfect form of spiritual existence, rules both the iconography of the artistic decoration of the Chateau interiors and the conception of space in the Gardens. Although modern analyses and interpretations of their historical epochs have become somewhat obscured by the subsequent changes, the original intention of the creators remains evident in all



Justus van den Nypoort after Georg Matthias Vischer, View of the north-east front of the Archbishops' Chateau from the parterre of the Chateau garden. Etching, paper, 1691. Archdiocesan museum Kroměříž.

the principal features. In spite of the past losses, it is to be seen in particular in the sala terrena in the Chateau and it is no less clearly reflected in the design of the Floral Garden. Both of these incorporate the grand plans of the principal initiator and creator of the historical complex in Kroměříž, the Olomouc bishop Karl von Lichtenstein-Castelkorno.

As a matter of course, Lichtenstein's activity in Kroměříž followed upon notable predecessors. Among them was Bruno of Schauenburg (1245–1281), the founder of the medieval town, and other builders of the local castle, which was later turned into a Renaissance chateau, Stanislas Thurzo (1496–1540), Vilém Prusinovský (1565–1572), and Stanislas Pavlovský (1579–1598). Bishop Franz von Dietrichstein (1599–1636), although he did not pay much attention to Kroměříž, was a personality which without doubt influenced Lichtenstein in many respects. Dietrichstein's effort at raising the standard of his family seat in Mikulov and establishing the local gardens after Italian models became inspiration at first for his neighbours, the Liechtensteins in Lednice and in Valtice,<sup>4</sup> and later affected the form of other residences of nobility and church prelates all over Moravia, not excepting Kroměříž.

Lichtenstein's linking of the residence and the Gardens with the surrounding cultural countryside was developed by many of his successors. Over the next two centuries, in particular the Chateau Garden became a proof of his ability to respond to contemporary trends in the development of landscape and of garden art. It underwent its first radical transformation under Archbishop

<sup>4</sup> More about it in M. Rigasová, *Komponovaná krajina na jižním okraji Mikulova*. In: L. Mlčák (red.), *Kardinál František z Dietrichsteina (1570–1636): Prelát a politik neklidného věku*. Catalogue of exhibition. Olomouc, Muzeum umění. Olomouc 2008, pp. 43–47.





Archbishop's Chateau and St Maurice' church from the south (presbytery and towers 1260–1290, circuit masonry of the nave and the side aisles from the 14th century, with later modifications).

Photo: Petr Zatloukal.

Anton Theodore Colloredo-Waldsee (1777–1811), when it was turned into a sentimental garden in the spirit of the Enlightenment ideal of harmony with Nature. Into the landscape garden of the English type it was transformed by Archbishops Ferdinand Maria Chotek (1832–1836) and Maxmilian Joseph von Sommerau-Beckh (1837–1853).

A no less intensive interest which the Gardens enjoyed was devoted to the building of the Chateau, its painterly and sculptural decoration and rich collections of art. They are comprised of numerous works from the fields of painting, drawing, graphic art, books, music, coins and medals, and precious historical furnishings – furniture, goldsmith's objects, textiles. As a recent exhibition has shown, which went under the title *“Bow & Lyre – From the collections of the Archdiocesan Museum in Kroměříž”* in Olomouc Museum of Art (2008), the contents of the Kroměříž residence cover the European development of fine arts, music, theatre and literature, starting with the late Antiquity and ending with the historicism of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The Archbishop's Chateau in Kroměříž and its historical Gardens could be proclaimed by UNESCO as part of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage only after the essential changes that took place after the fall of the Communist regime opened the way to the moral rehabilitation of the previously neglected cultural and spiritual values of the past. The new social situation positively influenced research and publishing in this field. Over a short period of time, several professional books were published which aim at a true interpretation of the historical monuments and art collections, primarily intending to assess the initiative and the commissions of the bishops and archbishops of Olomouc. In this sense it is still possible to develop the founding





Part of the late medieval fortification wall enclosing the north-east part of the town behind Ztracená Street (view from the Chateau Garden). 14th and 15th century, modified and heightened after mid-17th century.

Photo: Petr Zatloukal.

work of historians Antonín Breitenbacher<sup>5</sup> and František Václav Peřinka,<sup>6</sup> dating mainly from the 1920s to 1940s. And similarly it is possible to critically develop the findings of the Brno historians of art, summed up for the first time in a monograph on Kroměříž in 1963,<sup>7</sup> and recently in a synthetic work on the Baroque in Moravia and Silesia, of 1996.<sup>8</sup>

Among the significant achievements in recent years is the comprehensive catalogue of the picture gallery in Kroměříž Chateau,<sup>9</sup> written by a team of authors headed by Milan Togner, Pro-

<sup>5</sup> In particular A. Breitenbacher, *Dějiny arcibiskupské obrazárny v Kroměříži*. Kroměříž 1925; Idem, *Dějiny arcibiskupské obrazárny v Kroměříži: Archivní studie*. Kroměříž 1927; Idem, *Hudební archiv kolegiálního kostela sv. Mořice v Kroměříži*. *Časopis Vlasteneckého spolku musejního v Olomouci* 40, 1928, suppl.; 41–42, 1929, suppl.; 43, 1930, suppl.; 48, 1935, suppl.; Idem, *Arcibiskupská sbírka grafík*. In: J. Kratoch, *Kroměříž, město a okolí*. Brno 1932, p. 42; Idem, *Přehledný inventář arcib. grafické sbírky a text o ní*. Manuscript. Kroměříž 1935 [Arcidiecézní muzeum Kroměříž]; A. Breitenbacher – E. Dostál, *Katalog arcibiskupské obrazárny v Kroměříži*. Kroměříž 1930.

<sup>6</sup> In particular F. V. Peřinka, *Kroměřížský okres I. Vlastivěda moravská II. Místopis*. Brno 1911; Idem, *Kroměříž za doby biskupa Stanislava Tuřího*. *Časopis Matice moravské* 36, 1912, pp 54–70, 215–230; Idem, *Dějiny města Kroměříže I. Díl první, obsahující dobu po rok 1620*. Kroměříž 1913; Idem, *Dějiny města Kroměříže III/1. Místopis*. Kroměříž 1940; Idem, *Dějiny města Kroměříže II/1–2. Nový život. Biskup Karel z Lichtenštejna*. Kroměříž 1947; Idem, *Dějiny města Kroměříže II/3. Pohled právní, hospodářský a kulturní 1620–1700*. Kroměříž 1948; Idem, *Dějiny města Kroměříže II/4. Od smrti Karla Lichtenštejna do zřízení arcibiskupství 1695–1776*. Kroměříž 1950 (the last item was published after the death of the author).

<sup>7</sup> V. Jůza – I. Krsek – J. Petru – V. Richter, *Kroměříž*. Praha 1963.

<sup>8</sup> I. Krsek – Z. Kudělka – M. Stehlík – J. Válka, *Umění baroka na Moravě a ve Slezsku*. Praha 1996.

<sup>9</sup> M. Togner (ed.), *Kroměřížská obrazárna. Katalog sbírky obrazů Arcibiskupského zámku v Kroměříži*. Kroměříž 1998 (in English and German versions 1999: *Kroměříž Picture Gallery: Catalogue of the Painting Collection in the*



Originally a medieval street entering Great Square in the approximate axis of its north-east side (now Lennonova Street).  
Photo: Petr Zatloukal.

fessor of the Department of the History of Art at the Philosophical Faculty, Palacký University in Olomouc, as well as other work by specialists concentrated in the Olomouc Art Museum and its two branches, the Archdiocesan Museum Olomouc and the Archdiocesan Museum Kroměříž.<sup>10</sup> The team of authors of the book *“Archbishop’s Chateau and Gardens in Kroměříž”* was made up for the most part of the staff of these two institutions, Olomouc Museum of Art and the Department of the History of Art at the Philosophical Faculty in Olomouc, and of its graduates.

Lichtenstein’s and Tencalla’s Kroměříž road paying homage to the Bishop, went from the no longer existing Blacksmith Gate, an entry into town in the direction from Olomouc or Brno, in the shortest way toward the residence in the Chateau. On its way it passed the complex of the Piarist college with the old church of St John the Baptist, the new residences of the Canons in Jánská Street, until it, passing the representative houses

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*Archbishop’s Palace in Kroměříž / Gemäldegalerie Kroměříž: Katalog der Gemäldesammlung des Erzbischöflichen Schlosses in Kremsier).*

<sup>10</sup> P. Zatloukal, *Příběhy z dlouhého století: Architektura let 1750–1918 na Moravě a ve Slezsku*. Olomouc 2002; O. Jakubec, *Kulturní prostředí a mecenáš olomouckých biskupů potridentské doby: Umělecké objednávky biskupů v letech 1553–1598, jejich význam a funkce*. Olomouc 2003; Idem (ed.), *Ku věčné památce: Malované renesanční epitafy v českých zemích*. Catalogue of exhibition. Olomouc, Muzeum umění – Arcidiecézní muzeum. Olomouc 2007; H. Zápalková (ed.), *Náhrobek olomouckého biskupa Leopolda Egkha z chrámu sv. Mořice v Kroměříži: Restaurování 2001–2004*. Catalogue of exhibition. Olomouc, Muzeum umění – Arcidiecézní muzeum. Olomouc 2004; O. Zatloukal, *Et in Arcadia ego: Historické zahrady Kroměříže*. Olomouc 2004; Idem (ed.), *Kroměříž: Květná zahrada 1691*. Kroměříž 2008; L. Mlčák (ed.), *Kardinál František z Dietrichsteina (1570–1636): Prelát a politik neklidného věku*. Catalogue of exhibition. Olomouc, Muzeum umění. Olomouc 2008; O. Zatloukal – P. Zatloukal (eds.), *Luk & lyra: Ze sbírek Arcidiecézního muzea Kroměříž*. Catalogue of exhibition. Olomouc, Muzeum umění – Muzeum moderního umění. Olomouc 2008.





Parish church of the Assumption. The lower part of the tower is Early Gothic (after 1260), the nave and the front of the church are Baroque (Ignatius Josef Cyrani von Bolleshaus, 1724–1736).  
Photo: Petr Zatloukal.

of the burghers and the feudal authorities on the western side of Great Square it reached the Chateau corner and its monumental, still Gothic-and-Renaissance tower. This *via triumphalis*, in the opposite – southern – direction behind the town walls extended toward the Floral Garden below Barbořina Hill, to this day remains the backbone of the urban conservation area. To the west is the quiet enclave of the Gothic collegiate church of St Maurice with a Provost's House, the old and New Vicarage. In the north, between the Chateau and the river Morava, is situated the large Chateau Garden, transformed first by Antonin Theodor Colloredo-Waldsee (1777–1811) into a sentimental garden in the spirit of the Enlightenment ideal of harmony with Nature. It obtained its contemporary character of an English landscaped garden before the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, under Archbishops Ferdinand Maria Chotek (1832–1836) and Maxmilian Josef von Sommerau-Beeckh (1837–1853).

The eastern, “burgher” part of the urban conservation area is dominated by the two squares of Kroměříž. Great Square, the rational rectangular layout of Great Square betrays its early medieval location origin and is dominated by the essentially Renaissance or still older town hall in the southeast corner and the early Baroque Marian Column in the axis of its reversed, lower part. The nearby Riegerovo Square suggests that its irregular, spindle-shaped area is derived from the original non-arranged layout of the prelocation market village. In its northern, widening part, the municipal parish church of the Assumption stands out, now a late Baroque architecture but most probably occupying the site of the oldest sacral building in Kroměříž. Behind the church and the adjacent parish house – Emeritus House, separated by a massive wall, once the Jewish ghetto was situated. Its own Baroque town hall has survived to this day.





Church of St John the Baptist (Ignatius Josef Cyrani von Bolleshaus, 1737–1768).



German Höhere Realschule in Masarykovo Square, now the Judicial Academy. (Gustav Meretta, 1875–1877).  
Photo: Petr Zatloukal.

Among the major historical and urbanistic complexes of the present-day Kroměříž should be mentioned at least the Modernist Psychiatric Hospital, the work of the Viennese architect, a native of Valašské Klobouky, Hubert Gessner (1871–1943), of 1904–1909. The grounds are located outside the urban reservation area but in close neighbourhood of its “dependance”, the Floral Garden. Gessner’s design of the *Emperor Franz Josef I. Land Mental Hospital* was at the beginning of the 20th century a far-seeing project of creating a new, rational, fully functional and at the same time democratic and aesthetically attractive structure, adapted to the layout of the adjacent early Baroque Pleasure Garden of the Bishop.

The monograph *Kroměříž / Historical town & its monuments* is a sequel to the book *The Archbishop’s Chateau and Gardens in Kroměříž*, of 2009,<sup>11</sup> published by the regional section of the National Institute for the Preservation of Historical Monuments in Kroměříž, also supported by a grant from the Town of Kroměříž. Its co-editors and authors were the Department of the History of Art at the Philosophical Faculty, Palacký University in Olomouc, and Olomouc Museum of Art – Archdiocesan Museum Kroměříž. In this monograph about the town, coming out after a gap of two years, it is likewise but the main financial burden is this time carried by the Town of Kroměříž only. Now the two books form a single unit and its texts and pictures cover especially the real estate monuments in historical Kroměříž. To make the picture complete, one should of course add the scholarly catalogue of the picture gallery of the Olomouc Bishops and Archbishops,<sup>12</sup> a team work finished in 1998 headed by Milan Togner and published by the Olomouc Museum of Art.

<sup>11</sup> L. Daniel – M. Perůtka – M. Togner (eds.), *Arcibiskupský zámek & zahrady v Kroměříži*. Kroměříž 2009 (published in the same year in a parallel English version as *Archbishop’s Chateau & Gardens in Kroměříž*).

<sup>12</sup> See note 9.





Baťa department store at the corner of Great Square and Vodní Street (Baťa Building Office, 1930).  
Photo: Petr Zatloukal.

The book *Kroměříž / the historical town & and its monuments* has a traditional pattern. In three principal and ten partial chapters it traces the evolution of the town and its historical monuments according to the gradual stages in the town planning and the general periods of style. By coincidence, the co-authors are members of four generations of Olomouc historians of art. Each contributes to the gradual build-up of the overall picture, both according to his specialization and in line with his personal methodology. Due to this, the team work contains an assessment of related issues from several different angles, which complement one another. Incidentally, it offers comparisons on the level of various methodological approaches – from traditionally “positivist” conception and emphasis on standard formalized artistic and historical analysis through the reflections on “everyday culture” and social stratification of the people in each period, up to the narration of individual “stories” of the protagonists of

artistic activities. Thanks to the participation of the doyen of the team of authors, Milan Togner, a foremost expert in Moravian Baroque painting, the former pupil of Brno professors Václav Richter and Ivo Krsek, in the book is implicitly represented even the scholarly line, going back to two of the co-authors of the founding Odeon monograph on Kroměříž, of 1963.<sup>13</sup>

Already the preparatory work going on for more than one year – and the more so the conclusion of the manuscript – made it clear that the recapitulation of the contemporary state of knowledge of the arts in Kroměříž can be enriched by various remarkable new scholarly discoveries. Among them are the so far most detailed analysis of the evolution of the construction of the collegiate church of St Maurice (Jan Štětina), the semantic and iconographic interpretation of Renaissance art in the context of the post-Trent dogmatic conflicts (Ondřej Jakubec), an account of the triumphalist town planning by the Olomouc Bishop and untiring commissioner

<sup>13</sup> See note 7.



of buildings, Karl von Lichtenstein-Castelkorno, and the comprehensive passages treating the themes in monumental Baroque painting and sculpture (Milan Togner and Martin Pavlíček).

The final section of the book, on the evolution of the town “from Classicism to the Contemporary”, deserves special mention. The studies by Pavel Zatloukal, Martina Mertová and Klára Jenišťová (the latter two are our youngest co-authors, for which their Professor Rostislav Švácha takes the credit) present for the first time a comprehensive and with the exception of the period of Communist dictatorship a surprisingly consistent picture of the town planning and architectural development of Kroměříž, in the wide range from the onset of Enlightenment to the present day. At least two scholarly novelties should be remembered, from the opposite pole of this time axis. One is the recent surprising recognition of the Classicist town planning design by Anton Arche (1793–1851), who before the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, referring to the ground plan of Rome, linked the composition of his own new buildings in the Chateau Garden with the early baroque, Lichtenstein’s Floral Garden, also originally inspired – by what else than by Rome.<sup>14</sup> Today this is linked with the topical theme of conservationists, who think of a new functional linking of communications of two relatively distant and yet ideologically closely related historical and natural entities. Another discussion was opened by a young architect, Bronislav Stratil, with his imaginative vision of the renewal of the Moravian island Bělidla. This graduate of the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague, in his diploma project of 2005<sup>15</sup> proposed a radical revision of the river regulation, done in 1907–1909, and thus offered for Kroměříž the chance of an adapting the water system in the Chateau Garden to a more natural and more historical conditions. Although his idea goes beyond present-day economic pragmatism, it does bring new topics for discussion in the field of care of monuments.

By enumerating several more issues, this time in general history and art history, the thoughts on the message of this book could continue. The work on the manuscript also brought the realization of the limits set by the contemporary state of research. In order that the history of the art in Kroměříž could advance in the future, a critical revision of the detailed and in the history of the town still unsurpassed book by the regional historiographer František Václav Peřinka (1878–1949) is necessary. The more than one hundred bibliographical references to his works from 1911–1949 (or 1950),<sup>16</sup> found in the appendix notes in each paper, is the best proof. In those cases when Peřinka became subject to critical reassessment and where his data were checked or reinterpreted, often new knowledge emerged. Similarly, recently the artists from the circle of Bishop Lichtenstein were more accurately identified and their shares in the development and decoration of the Floral Garden and the reconstruction of the Bishop’s residence were determined more precisely.<sup>17</sup> In the future thus a still greater insight in the Kroměříž era of late Renaissance or High and Late Baroque could be achieved and the authors of some of the so far anonymous structures and works of art might be identified.

<sup>14</sup> P. Všečetka – R. Václavík, Generel a zadání projektu Národního centra zahradní kultury v areálu Arcibiskupského zámku a Květná a Podzámecké zahrady v Kroměříži. *Zahrada – park – krajina* 20, 2010, Nr 1, pp 22–25.

<sup>15</sup> B. Stratil, *Ideální Kroměříž. Diplomní projekt Školy architektury Akademie výtvarných umění*. Praha 2005.

<sup>16</sup> See note 6.

<sup>17</sup> For instance M. Mádl, Giacomo Tencalla and Ceiling Painting in 17-th Century Bohemia and Moravia. / Giacomo Tencalla a nástěnná malba 17. století v českých zemích. *Umění* 56, 2008, pp 38–64.; J. Zapletalová, “Jacobus Tencalla fi glius Joannis de Bissone” aneb původ a život malíře Giacoma Tencally. *Umění* 56, 2008, pp 65–76.; M. Togner, Barokní rezidence – Biskupské a arcibiskupské sídlo. In: L. Daniel – M. Perůtka – M. Togner (eds.), *Arcibiskupský zámek & zahrady v Kroměříži*. Kroměříž 2009, pp 31–74, esp. pp 41–49; M. Pavlíček, Sochařská výzdoba zámku. In: L. Daniel – M. Perůtka – M. Togner (eds.), *Arcibiskupský zámek a zahrady v Kroměříži*. Kroměříž 2009, pp 77–95; L. Křesadlová and others, Květná zahrada. In: L. Daniel – M. Perůtka – M. Togner (eds.), *Arcibiskupský zámek & zahrady v Kroměříži*. Kroměříž 2009, pp 123–147, esp. pp 130–140.



The "Sfinx" villa on Barbořina Hill (New Work, 1999–2001).  
Photo: Petr Zatloukal.

Another major desideratum from the oldest and early medieval history of the town is the still insufficient level of archaeological knowledge. It is no wonder. Archaeologists in Kroměříž (and the same holds for anywhere else in our country) are mostly restricted to accidental rescue surveys. Thus they are unable to develop a systematic research focusing on the solution of some cardinal issues in the evolution of this historical place. This holds, in spite of the prolonged and patient field work of Helena Chybová, archaeologist of the Museum of the Kroměříž Region, and in spite of the respectable list of her publications.<sup>18</sup>

What was said about the archaeology of the town, also refers to historical surveys and restoration projects of houses. Contemporary history of art cannot do without the knowledge of the authentic appearance of the houses under analysis, their subsequent evolution, the knowledge of inner structure, materials and technology. So here too we hope that maybe in the future the study material will become more abundant. Thus it will be possible to make precise or revise the existing hypotheses of the gradual transformations of medieval and early modern town walls, the housing in the historical core of the town, including individual houses. Here we face the greatest mystery – or rather two mysteries – in the history of Kroměříž: the localization of the original Bishop's residence (a Romanesque manor?) and the beginnings of the construction of the Archbishop's Chateau. Strictly speaking, and when excluding the fantasizing in this matter,

<sup>18</sup> Especially H. Chybová, *Kroměříž zmizelá a znovu objevená aneb Historie ukrytá pod dlažbou města*. Kroměříž 2009; see also eadem, *Nálezy drobné středověké plastiky z Kroměříže*. *Zpravodaj Muzea Kroměřížska*, 1991, Nr 1, pp 29–33; Eadem, *Pravěké a slovanské osídlení Kroměřížska. Průvodce archeologickou expozicí a sbírkami Muzea Kroměřížska*. Kroměříž 1998; Eadem, *K ikonografii pozdně gotického kamenného kachle z Kroměříže*. In: *Muzeum. Sborník Muzea Kroměřížska I*. Kroměříž 1999, pp 3–7; Eadem, *Skrytá řeč sgrafit*. In: *Muzeum. Sborník Muzea Kroměřížska IV*. Kroměříž 2001, pp 15–32.

the oldest dated building element of the present-day Chateau complex is its defensive, prismatic tower with the Late gothic portal, both dating from 1500–1516.<sup>19</sup> The chronological relation between the assumed foundation of the (early?) Gothic castle of the Bishop and the location of the town represents the centrepiece of any thoughts on the evolution of town planning in Kroměříž. Incidentally, for the Archbishop's Chateau no comprehensive account is available of the historical survey of its construction, there is even no modern surveying of the present building (and, of course, no complex archaeological survey of the cellars, courtyards and immediate environs of the Chateau).

The book *Kroměříž / Historical town & its monuments* is being published soon after the monumental exhibition, *Olomouc Baroque / Visual culture of 1620–1780*, ended successfully in Olomouc. It was prepared jointly by the Museum of Art, the Archdiocesan Museum and the Regional Museum in Olomouc. This large exhibition and the equally grand three-volume catalogue<sup>20</sup> provided fundamental stimuli for the development of research in art history in Olomouc itself and at the same time stimulated new contextual surveys in the sisterly Kroměříž. The appearance of Olomouc and Kroměříž, “*the two towns so close to one another, in which the verticals in one formed the base for the horizontals of red bastions and kurtin in the other, while the towers of the churches and the Chateau in the other were based on the soft, green bed of its gardens and parks*”,<sup>21</sup> as Pavel Zatloukal expressed it in poetic words, at once inspires an adequate professional reflexion.

The analogy does not hold for the Baroque only, though in it holds most true that “*the two towns were improved by the same maecenases and artists*”.<sup>22</sup> Their relations and similarities start on the very threshold of the known history of the two places. While leaving aside the shared past of Great Moravia and the next, for historians “dark era”, the first parallel theme is the construction of the collegiate church of St Maurice in Kroměříž, which is the closest image of the assumed early Gothic cathedral of St Wenceslas in Olomouc. The commissioner of the two buildings, Bishop Bruno von Schauenburg (1245–1281), was the first in the series of Olomouc Bishops who were involved as founders, donators and commissioners equally in Olomouc and in Kroměříž. Among others were for instance Stanislav Thurzo (1496–1540) and Stanislav Pavlovský. For both of them Kroměříž as a town directly owned by the Bishop often provided more opportunity for representative plans than the royal town of Olomouc with its sovereign town council, and moreover, in the 16<sup>th</sup> century increasingly succumbing to anti-Catholic moods. Beginning with Franz von Dietrichstein (1599–1636) and particularly with Karl von Liechtenstein-Castelkorno, all the next Bishops and Archbishops continued in this way until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

One pride of the Baroque Olomouc is indisputably the unique complex of town fountains with allegorical sculptural decoration. Due to the ingenious iconological interpretation by Rudolf

<sup>19</sup> J. Štětina, *Gotický hrad*. In: L. Daniel – M. Perůtka – M. Togner (eds.), *Arcibiskupský zámek & zahrady v Kroměříži*. Kroměříž 2009, pp 17–20; O. Jakubec, *Renesanční zámek*. In: L. Daniel – M. Perůtka – M. Togner (eds.), *Arcibiskupský zámek & zahrady v Kroměříži*. Kroměříž 2009, pp 21–32, esp. p. 28.

<sup>20</sup> M. Elbel – O. Jakubec (eds.), *Olomoucké baroko I. Proměny ambicí jednoho města. Úvodní svazek*. Catalogue of exhibition. Olomouc, Muzeum umění – Arcidiecézní muzeum – Vlastivědné muzeum. Olomouc 2010; O. Jakubec – M. Perůtka (eds.), *Olomoucké baroko II. Výtvarná kultura let 1620–1780. Katalog*. Catalogue of exhibition. Olomouc, Muzeum umění – Arcidiecézní muzeum – Vlastivědné muzeum. Olomouc 2010; O. Jakubec – M. Perůtka (eds.), *Olomoucké baroko III. Výtvarná kultura let 1620–1780. Historie a kultura*. Catalogue of exhibition. Olomouc, Arcidiecézní muzeum – Vlastivědné muzeum. Olomouc 2011.

<sup>21</sup> O. Jakubec – M. Perůtka (eds.), *Olomoucké baroko II. Výtvarná kultura let 1620–1780. Katalog*. Catalogue of exhibition. Olomouc, Muzeum umění – Arcidiecézní muzeum – Vlastivědné muzeum. Olomouc 2010, p. 15 (introduction by the Director of the Olomouc Museum of Art).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*.



Chadraba,<sup>23</sup> and the identification of particular literary and graphic inspiration, known from the research by Ivo Hlobil,<sup>24</sup> it seems that everything essential for the genesis and meaning of the fountains inspired by Antiquity is sufficiently known. But little is spoken in Olomouc about the immediately preceding sculptural decoration of the Floral Garden in Kroměříž with the Lions' Fountains and the Tritons' Fountain in the parterre, the Venus and Neptune fountains in the garden Colonade, and with the statues of the river god Morava, the Nymphs and Triton in the Dutch Garden and on the little islands in the trout basins.<sup>25</sup> In addition to the thenatic (and without doubt also symbolic) relation with Olomouc, there is here the authorship link: the maker of all these works in Kroměříž (1670–1673) and the first two fountains in Olomouc – Neptune's and Hercules' (1683–1688) – was the Baroque sculptor Michael Mandík (around 1640–1694), in 1669 brought to Moravia by Bishop Lichtenstein. In his work in the Floral Garden Mandík must have proceed according to the iconographical concept from the painter Antonín Martin Lublinský (1636–1690), Dean of the Olomouc Augustinians and Lichtenstein's adviser in works of art.

The enumeration of known as well as less familiar proofs of the "relationship" of Kroměříž and Olomouc could continue for a long time. Only in architecture there are more than twenty names the works or reconstructions or even urban complexes are found in both places. Starting with the Italians Filiberto Luchese and Giovanni Pietro Tencalla through Anton Arche (1793–1851), Josef Erwin von Lippert (1826–1902) and Gustav Meretta (1832–1888) up to Klaudius Madlmayr (1881–1963), Jaroslav Kovář Snr (1883–1961) and Lubomír Šlapeta (1908–1983).

As you can see, this book, just finished, could have a continuation. The subject might be developed in two main directions: extensively, with the link to Olomouc and other towns of the Bishop in Moravia – Vyškov and Mohelnice, and of course with Brno, or intensively in order to make more precise and detailed the register of historical monuments in Kroměříž. There is even a third, more ambitious option: the European context. Kroměříž rightly belong to it and offers an opportunity for stepping out of its old local isolation. There is an enough strong institutional background for it in the town. It is the seat of the National Institute for the Preservation of historical Monuments – a professional section for the Zlín Region, the Museum of the Kroměříž Region, and the latest Archdiocesan Museum and the National Centre for Garden Culture. All these institutions participated in a significant way in the writing of the book.

English translation by Jaroslav Peprník.

<sup>23</sup> R. Chadraba, K programu olomouckých barokních kašen. In: *Sborník památkové péče v Severomoravském kraji I*. Ostrava 1971, pp 17–35.

<sup>24</sup> I. Hlobil, Nově objevená promoční dedikace Jana Lysovského z Lysovic – nejstarší emblém olomoucké univerzity z roku 1640. *Zprávy Vlastivědného ústavu v Olomouci*, Nr 184, 1976, pp 15–23; I. Hlobil – M. Perůtka (eds.), *Od gotiky k renesanci. Výtvarná kultura Moravy a Slezska 1400–1550 III. Olomoucko*. Catalogue of exhibition. Olomouc, Muzeum umění. Olomouc 1999, pp 64–66, cat. no. 35 (I. Hlobil).

<sup>25</sup> L. Křesadlová and others, Květná zahrada. In: L. Daniel – M. Perůtka – M. Togner (eds.), *Arcibiskupský zámek & zahrady v Kroměříži*. Kroměříž 2009, pp 123–147, esp. pp 136–138 (M. Pavlíček).